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Cynthia Alicia Smith

Candidate for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

_____
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_____
Dr. Michele Navakas, First Reader

_____
Dr. Katharine Gillespie Moses, Reader

_____
Dr. Anita Mannur, Reader

_____
Dr. Kimberly Hamlin, Graduate School Representative

ABSTRACT

SENTIMENTAL SAILORS: RESCUE AND CONVERSION IN ANTEBELLUM U.S. LITERATURE

by

Cynthia A. Smith

Sentimental Sailors recovers a largely neglected genealogy of sentimental fiction that promotes non-national forms of personal and collective identity in the early U.S. The "sentimental sailor"— a term that I take from Thomas Mercer's 1772 poem of the same name — is an antebellum ocean character who works to preserve Christian morals by saving those in physical peril, including individuals who are often considered marginalized or foreign. Appearing in texts across a broad range of genres, this figure develops a humanist, religious identity shaped by ocean adventures. Through acts of rescue, the sentimental sailor encourages citizens on the landed frontier to avoid fixed identities, and to instead develop a mobile fluid mind that could see beyond nationalism and the cultural prejudices of their own communities.

While the sentimental sailor is unique to the antebellum era, this figure has gone virtually unnoticed by literary scholars. This oversight, I argue, results from the continued focus of much nineteenth-century American literary scholarship on the relation between literature and conceptions of U.S. national or imperial identity. In particular, scholars have shown that sentimental fiction promotes the idea that a productive and healthy home life will lead to a strong community and nation. For example, Amy Kaplan argues that domestic ideologies unite men and women under a central idea of nationalism, allowing them to stand against outsiders that they considered a threat to the country. Relatedly, Margaret Cohen notes that sea narratives emphasize the ideal of imperialism by showing how labor at sea contributes to the nation's pursuit of a global saltwater empire. However, the figure of the sentimental sailor does not fit into the imperialist agendas and cultural modes of most domestic and ocean fiction, but rather uses the experience-based education of the sea to advocate a form of cultural internationalism that requires scholars to reconsider the history of nationalism during the antebellum period. Using a range of texts—from canonical works of fiction such as *Hope Leslie* (1827) and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), to popular pirate tales such as *Fanny Campbell, The Female Pirate Captain* (1844)—my project shows how writers used the figure of the sentimental sailor to promote human rights, particularly for women, enslaved persons, and mariners themselves.

SENTIMENTAL SAILORS: RESCUE AND CONVERSION IN ANTEBELLUM U.S. LITERATURE

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of

Miami University in partial

fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of English

by

Cynthia A. Smith

The Graduate School
Miami University
Oxford, Ohio

2019

Dissertation Director: Dr. Andrew Hebard

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DEDICATION

For Andrew Hebard and Michele Navakas

and for my mother, father, sister, and brother-in-law.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am privileged to thank all of those who have generously provided support throughout my years as a Ph.D. student and candidate. My most heartfelt thanks go to my mentors Andrew Hebard and Michele Navakas to whom I dedicate this dissertation. All of the milestones, successes, and rewards that have come through my experiences in academia occurred because of the great care they took in training me toward the profession. Andrew Hebard has a sharp, discerning insight that identified my learning process in a way that was especially enlightening and revelatory. Through his keen observations, I could imagine and shape my identity as a scholar, particularly as one who derives joy from archival research. For his compassion, pedagogical training, timely advice, and steadfast support in navigating all aspects of the profession, I am deeply grateful. Michele Navakas is also an exceptional mentor whose own professional development inspires me to strive toward a higher standard in all aspects of scholarship. Always energetic and hopeful, as well as a mindful listener, her sincere advice, reassurance, and encouragement continually motivates me to approach my writing and teaching with care and confidence. Her ingenuity and creativity in navigating the perils and rewards within academia opened an abundance of opportunities for me throughout my Ph.D. candidacy. To both of my mentors who continue to support me through all the difficulties and joys that come from the first experiences of a graduate student and early career scholar, I am sincerely thankful.

I would also like to thank the members of my committee for their support throughout the years particularly Anita Mannur who offered much guidance; Katharine Gillespie for our enlightening conversations; Kimberly Hamlin for celebrating each milestone with me and joining the committee when I needed her the most. I am also grateful to the late Drew Cayton who encouraged me to use religion in my analysis of nineteenth-century American culture, taught me how to analyze the narratives of history, and demystified the narrative structure of academic books which gave me the foundation I needed to write this dissertation. Martha Schoolman created an environment at Miami where I could thrive as a scholar. Other faculty members at Miami University have been a source of support including Mary Jean Corbett for her timely assistance, Madelyn Detloff for her treasured advice, Jason Palmeri for invaluable training in composition pedagogy, Erin Edwards, Tim Lockridge and Colin Jennings for job market training, Katie Johnson for her support during the ALA conference, and Cynthia Klestinec who is the best teacher in the world and taught me at the start of my Ph.D. training to have confidence in my abilities as a scholar.

During my MA years as a creative writing graduate student at CSUS, I was mentored by many professors who supported me in my endeavors toward a Ph.D. in literature. To Nancy Sweet who introduced early American and antebellum literature to me, I am forever grateful. Her patience in answering my numerous questions about the history and culture of these time periods and training in literature pedagogy shaped my career as a scholar. To Doug Rice, my MA advisor who taught me to see the world with wonder and

to wholeheartedly pursue my goals, I am deeply grateful. And to Julie Yen, David Bell, Susan Wanlass, and Peter Grandbois, I am thankful for their continual support.

I am profoundly honored to have received financial support for this project through internal and external fellowships. From Miami University's English Department, the Sinclair Dissertation Fellowship generously gave me a year where I could focus completely on research and drafting the dissertation. The Library Company of Philadelphia's long-term Albert M. Greenfield Foundation Dissertation Fellowship provided me with invaluable research materials, networking opportunities, and numerous moments of great excitement and discovery. Special thanks to LCP librarians Connie King and Jim Green who taught me how to handle rare books and offered much guidance with my research. I would also like to thank the LCP staff and fellows who made my stay in Philadelphia especially enjoyable.

I am also indebted to numerous academic libraries and institutions who gave assistance with dissertation research in Philadelphia, particularly the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Independence Seaport Museum, the University of Pennsylvania's rare book collection, and the Free Library of Philadelphia. Invited presentations at the Library Company of Philadelphia, the University of Pennsylvania's McNeil Center for Early American Studies, and the American Philosophical Society also provided me with essential feedback on chapters one, two, and four. I am also grateful to the McNeil Center for giving me access to the University of Pennsylvania's library during my LCP fellowship.

Thanks are owed to various societies and historical houses which supported my research. I'm deeply grateful to the Catharine Maria Sedgwick Society who warmly welcomed me into the field, created memorable experiences during the conference at Stockbridge, and continue to support my career as a scholar. The Harriet Beecher Stowe Society supported my chapter on *Uncle Tom's Cabin* during the early stages and provided support at the ALA conference for which I am grateful. I also would like to thank the staff of the Herman Melville House at Arrowhead, the Harriet Beecher Stowe House in Cincinnati, and the historic houses in Ripley, Ohio, for their tours and information which contributed to the development of Chapter Four.

Throughout my grad school years, I have been lucky to have the support of friends and colleagues. Rachel Oriol and Tyler Groff provided numerous conversations and feedback which helped shape and polish my dissertation. Dinidu Karunanayake and Sammani Perera became family while in Oxford. Tory Lowe, Rachel Schaefer, Catherine Tetz, Nicolyn Woodcock, and Hua Zhu has shown deep friendship throughout my journey at Miami. Thanks are owed to Bob and Ann Wicks, and the Sutter family for their dinners and support. I am also grateful for friendships that have continued past my MA degree days at CSUS. Handwritten letters from Mai Lee Lor, Skype conversations from Cyprus with Tara Wilson-Gürler, and numerous phone calls with Melissa Gant have sustained me.

I also wish to thank my extended family for their support. My cousin Allen Smith generously gave free dental care throughout my time in Ohio; Uncle Wayne Smith and Aunt Ann gave great assistance during my first year at Miami when I had to undergo surgery; and my American grandfather, Hadyn Lowell Smith, sent cards full of love until his passing last year.

Finally, to my immediate family, I also dedicate this dissertation. To my father, Michael Smith, who cared for me after surgery, and always took great interest in all of my scholarly achievements and endeavors, I owe a great deal of thanks. His fascination with nautical terminology and history influenced my own interest in maritime literature. To my mother, Mihoko Smith, who always had a fascination with literature and encouraged me to read books from a young age, I owe everything. I also am grateful for my younger sister, Marie Smith, and brother-in-law David Chung for their abundant love.

Preface

During the first half of the nineteenth century stories about the heroic, sentimental sailor became popular reading material among the American public. Sentimental sailor tales are stories of rescue that follow the extraordinary adventures of a righteous mariner who saves others from captivity and life-threatening dangers. I refer to these mariners as "sentimental sailors," a term I borrow from the title of Thomas Mercer's 1772 poem of the same name as well as from the writers of early and antebellum America who frequently label the sympathetic mariner as both "sentimental" and "heroic."

One example of a sentimental sailor is Emma Cole from the 1844 pamphlet novella, *The Life and Sufferings of Miss Emma Cole: Being a Faithful Narrative of Her Life*. As an orphaned teenager, Emma is left to find her own means of survival. After she is nearly raped by a man, whom she stabs to defend herself, she worries that she might have committed murder. Although the narrative indicates that the man survives the knife wound and that Emma had not killed him, out of desperation Emma dresses up as a sailor and secures employment as a ship's cook. After experiencing many adventures at sea, Emma one day rescues a three-year-old girl who had fallen off the harbor and into the water. The grateful parents take Emma into their home, and upon hearing about her true gender and challenges as a sailor, they adopt her into their family. At the novel's end, Emma's status as an adoptive daughter helps her marry a distinguished gentleman.

Although scholars[1] tend to interpret tales like *Emma Cole* as a cross-dressing, feminist adventure narrative, reading Emma as a sentiment sailor presents another

[1] In *Beneath the American Renaissance: The Subversive Imagination in the Age of Emerson and Melville*, David S. Reynolds notes that during the 1840s a series of "Dark Adventure pamphlet novels" which featured "adventure feminist" protagonists emerged (347). Reynolds categorizes Maturin Murray Ballou's novella *Fanny Campbell, the Female Pirate Captain: A Tale of the Revolution* (1844), *Emma Cole, The Remarkable Narrative of Cordelia Krats: or The Female Wanderer* (1846), Lorry Loff's *Antonita: The Female Contrabandista* (1848) as adventure feminist stories. Interestingly, Reynolds

dynamic of the tale – one which emphasizes Emma's ability as a mariner to rescue and convert others toward a more humanitarian mindset. A central moment in the text emphasizes the rewards Emma receives for acting on her Christian faith and moral values. When Emma and her crew are kidnapped by pirates, she prays to God for strength and declares to the ruffians that she refuses to participate in their villainy. The pirates threaten Emma, bind her, and attempt to torture her when a sudden storm interrupts the scene, endangering all of their lives. The captain orders the pirates to free Emma as the crew scrambles to take control of the ship. However, they all end up shipwrecked on a nearby island. After stealing boats from the local islanders, and attempting to raid a British merchant vessel, the pirates are captured and taken to trial in London where the pirate captain and first mate defend Emma and declare her innocent of piracy. The court allows Emma to go free while the pirates hang for their crimes. Not long after this event, Emma saves the life of the toddler who falls from the docks and is rewarded when the parents adopt Emma and provide her with a life of financial stability.

Emma's story demonstrates how charity, rescue, and gratitude are key components that make up the conventions of the sentimental sailor, a cultural figure who was reused throughout a surprisingly diverse range of genres in antebellum America including fictional and non-fictional texts. For instance, Lydia Sigourney's 1850 poem "The Hero," features a sailor who performs a "deed of love" for those "above" by rescuing a baby from a burning building thereby gaining the approval of Heaven. Additionally, Frederick Douglass's 1852 slave narrative, *The Heroic Slave,* centers on the deeds of an enslaved protagonist, Madison Washington, who uses his nautical skills to rescue both slave traders and enslaved persons from a tempest on the ship Creole. Washington's maritime prowess enable him and the other enslaved persons on the ship to gain their freedom. Although Washington is not a Christian, other characters experience conversion by observing Washington's deeds. For instance, when Mr. Listwell hears of Washington's trials as a slave, he declares that Washington is "a child of God" and vows

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fails to comment on the nautical nature of these tales and how the protagonists are all female sailors and pirates.

to become an abolitionist (181). Fictional texts were not the only narratives that included the sentimental sailor. Even Josiah Henson's memoir, *The Life of Josiah Henson* (1849), records of an incident where a Scottish sea captain rescues Josiah and his family as they escape from slavery. The captain hides them aboard his ship, takes them to Canada, and gives them money for their new life. Although the sea captain's religion is not mentioned in the text, Josiah turns this rescue into a moment of conversion by promising, "I'll use my freedom well; I'll give my soul to God."

As indicated through the above examples, writers used the conventions of the sentimental sailor figure to promote humanist values through a wide-range of genres, particularly through the conventions and cultural modes of sea adventures and maritime sentimentalism. Margaret Cohen explains in *The Novel and the Sea* that ocean narratives incorporate the adventure genre which emphasizes action rather than the psychology of their characters.[2] Adhering to this convention of sea narratives, sentimental sailors are generally depicted as righteous saviors who possesses extraordinary athletic abilities, intelligence, and a talent for seamanship that enables them to act quickly in moments of crisis. Although sentimental sailors were self-reliant survivors who acted independently by dissenting against local laws that unjustly abused or incarcerated others, these heroic mariners also understood the importance of submitting to a higher power by following the commandments of God over the laws of the land or ship. Additionally, as mariners, sentimental sailors also recognized that heeding the orders of an officer or captain during dangerous situations at sea benefits the safety of everyone onboard. However, in living under a system that gives an individual extreme power over another, sailors understood the tyrannical abuse that could arise under a mean spirited-captain. For this reason, the maritime profession places sentimental sailors in a position where they can discern and deeply sympathize with the misfortunes of those outside of their communities who are distressed or held captive.

The most crucial component in sentimental sailor tales is, of course, sentimentalism, which writers used to evoke an emotional reaction from readers. Andrew Burstein explains that Revolutionary America believed that sentiment and sympathy

[2] See "Introduction: Seafaring Odysseus" in Cohen's *The Novel and the Sea*.

allowed the developing nation to create a national consciousness through a unifying feeling of sentimental democracy.[3] Evoking emotion through storytelling continued in the antebellum period when authors used sympathy to promote human rights issues within their texts, particularly through domestic novels which featured sentimental heroines – morally virtuous women who used self-discipline and Christian values to change the political and cultural atmospheres in their households and communities. Novels such as Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) used sentimentality to move readers to feel sympathy for enslaved persons and consider the moral state of a nation founded on the oppression and captivity of others. By focusing on texts that include sentimental heroines and figures of republican motherhood, scholars[4] have recovered a number of female authors and their works to the literary canon. However, by viewing antebellum sentimentalism as women's writing or a cultural component of the woman's domestic sphere, scholars have neglected to trace a maritime sentimental literary tradition which also played a key role in influencing the emotions of readers in antebellum America.

Recovering the sentimental sailor forces us to rethink our critical history of sentimentality. Although sentimentalism is known for eliciting emotion and sympathy, scholars[5] have claimed that nineteenth-century sentimental texts have nationalist and imperialist tendencies. Amy Kaplan notes that as middle-class domestic ideologies are centered on the idea that a moral home life would lead to a productive community and nation, the domestic sphere enforces America's imperialist agendas. [6] Under this

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[3] See the "Preface" in Andrew Burstein's *Sentimental Democracy: The Evolution of America's Romantic Self-Image.*

[4] See Mary Kelley's *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America*, Nina Baym's *Woman's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and about Women in America 1820-70*, and Jane Tompkins's *Sensational Designs: the Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790-1860.*

[5] Mary G. DeJong notes that Laura Wexler, Amy Kaplan, and Karen Sánchez-Eppler all discuss how sentimentalism centers on nationalism.

[6] See Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture*, pages 1-22.

definition, Kaplan's vision of domesticity's relationship to imperial conquest suggest that the ship as well as the home is a domestic space. Yet Kaplan's analysis, particularly in "Manifest Domesticity," focuses specifically on the home's role in imperial discourse and neglects to include how sentimentalism at sea and the domestic sphere of the ship specifically contributes to a global saltwater empire.

Interestingly, the sentimental sailor figure reveals an alternative genealogy of sentimentalism, one that encourages American readers to use the experience-based education of the sea to convert from a nationalist perspective to an international mindset. For this reason, antebellum authors featured these open-minded mariners in texts of various genres, especially those that highlighted human rights issues. The popularity of the sentimental sailor thus shows that nineteenth-century Americans were very much aware that nationalist discourse perpetuated racism and captivity, and that sentiment in nineteenth-century writing is not always directed toward the consolidation of the nation. As a cultural figure who represents a vision of humanist global relationships, the sentimental sailor acts in apology for nationalism and empire and therefore is the foundation for non-nation-based bonds.

In American culture, sailors were often imagined as international beings whose open-minded nature are centered on the unique education afforded by nautical labor. Scholars such as Hester Blum, Margaret Cohen, Marcus Rediker, Paul Gilje, and Brian Rouleau[7] all relate how sea education, particularly yarns or oral narratives told at sea, created an atmosphere of unity and circulated maritime culture throughout the ports and ships of the world. While the scholars mentioned above do inform my project, their research has not yet considered how conventions of sea literature influence land-based

[7] Works include Hester Blum's *The View From the Masthead: Maritime Imagination and Antebellum American Sea Narratives* (2008), Margaret Cohen's *The Novel and the Sea* (2010), Marcus Rediker's work *Outlaws of the Atlantic: Sailors, Pirates, and Motley Crews in the Age of Sail* (2014), Brian Rouleau's "Dead Men Do Tell Tales: Folklore, Fraternity, and the Forecastle" (2007), and Paul Gilje's *Liberty on the Waterfront: American Maritime Culture in the Age of Revolution* (2004), and *To Swear Like a Sailor: Maritime Culture in America, 1750-1850* (2016).

narratives. The frequent appearance of sentimental sailors in novels set on land not only emphasize the mobile nature of the domestic sphere, but also show how the mariner's ability to put humanity first is a mode of thinking that is encouraged both on land and sea.

Each chapter that follows centers on how antebellum sentimental sailors promote liberty for others. Due to the sentimental mariner's frequent participation in humanitarian discourse, these figures evoke strong emotions from readers who cannot help but to support the life-threatening risks these brave mariners take when they enact their rescues. Additionally, sentimental sailor narratives also move readers to sympathize with the plights and sufferings of the drowned, captive, and abused, thus becoming a narrative that writers strategically used to convert others toward women's rights, mariner rights, and abolition. The chapters in this dissertation are structured to reflect the diverse range of sentimental sailor characters. Chapter One traces the genealogy of the sentimental sailor as a white, male crewmember or captain, Chapter Two features the figure of the Italian-Catholic sailor, Chapter Three shows how cross-dressing female sentimental sailors were prominent in the 1840s, and Chapter Four highlights how texts in the 1850s used the conventions of the sentimental sailor narrative to promote abolition.

Chapter One provides the groundwork for later chapters by presenting an overview of the genealogy of the sentimental sailor as a figure who originated in the late eighteenth-century alongside the beginnings of the sentimental movement. By examining *The Female American* (1767), Catharine Maria Sedgwick's short story "The Chivalric Sailor" (1826), and *Memoirs of Life of Samuel E. Foote* (1860), Harriet Beecher Stowe's mariner uncle, I argue that the sentimental sailor's focus on the experience-based education of the sea allowed antebellum authors to use the sea narrative genre to address humanitarian issues, particularly for women, enslaved persons, and mariners themselves.

Chapter Two addresses how Catharine Maria Sedgwick's 1827 novel, *Hope Leslie,* is often read as a text that focuses on landscape and nineteenth-century constructions of nation. Yet the landed frontier of western expansion is not the only border in *Hope Leslie,* for the narrative is set primarily on the coast of the Massachusetts Bay Colony where the sea plays a major role in the geographic imaginary of the novel. By examining scenes on the ocean and waterfront that follow the appearance of Antonio

Batista, the Italian-Catholic pirate who converts into a sentimental sailor, I argue that Sedgwick includes maritime sentimentalism to incorporate an international context.

In Chapter Three, I examine Maturin Murray Ballou's 1844 pamphlet novel *Fanny Campbell, the Female Pirate Captain: A Tale of the Revolution*, a narrative that follows the journey of Fanny who dresses up as a male sailor and goes out to sea to rescue her incarcerated fiancé. While scholars frequently read the narrative through the conventions of the dime novel, I argue that Ballou additionally made *Fanny Campbell* a sailor's yarn, a crucial form of ocean storytelling that shaped maritime culture. When reading Ballou's novella as a yarn, it becomes clear that Fanny is a sentimental sailor who learns to expand her land-based education as a scholar of books to the experience-based learning of the sea. Education from the ocean is one that Ballou advocates for land-based readers whom he believes are too conforming in their social practices.

Chapter Four argues that Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1852 abolitionist novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin or, Life Among the Lowly* compares Tom, the novel's hero, to a sentimental sailor. The maritime world was a highly regarded social organization that culturally and legally gave black mariners privileges, including paid wages and educational training. Thus, labeling Tom as a mariner helped Stowe urge readers to view enslaved persons through the lens of an acceptable social system that portrayed blacks as individuals who are capable of living with their own freedom.

Although postbellum writers acknowledged the key role sentimental sailors played in promoting humanitarian issues in antebellum America, current scholars define nineteenth-century sentimentalism through the genre of the domestic novel, oftentimes relating sentimentality solely to women's fiction and nationalist, inland-based culture. However, a maritime sentimental literary tradition also shaped American literature. *Sentimental Sailors* expands our current views of nineteenth-century sentimentality by portraying domesticity as a potentially mobile, international phenomenon. Additionally, to advocate humanism, sentimental sailors uses an experience-based education to defend individuals and their communities from captivity and abuse. The presence of sentimental sailors in both inland and sea-based literature proves that antebellum Americans were not only aware of sentimentalism at sea, but they also viewed these heroic mariners as

characters who worked alongside sentimental heroines to advocate charity, rescue, and conversion as a means of evoking cultural and political changes in the developing nation.

Chapter One

The Sentimental Sailor: A Nautical Ideal in Early and Antebellum America

The sentimental sailor, a figure who appeared in texts that used maritime sentimentalism to highlight international perspectives, is unique to the antebellum era and appeared in multiple genres such as fiction, newspapers, poetry, children's literacy textbooks, memoirs, dime novels, yarns, songs, slave narratives, abolitionist literature, and religious tracts. Using charity to promote kinship, family relationships, and the significance of preserving the liberty and agency of others, the sentimental sailor's heroic rescues always led to moments of conversion. Conversion, however, took on multiple meanings throughout the nineteenth-century and while some sentimental sailors converted others to Christianity, many converted the rescued to the principles of the golden rule[1] and to humanitarian movements such as abolition. Despite the prominent

[1] The "golden rule" is a concept that is shared among many religions (both Eastern and Western), basically stating that everyone should treat each other as they wish to be treated. In Christianity, the golden rule comes from the Bible in Matthew 7:12 which states "whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." In John Winthrop's 1630 speech "A Model of Christian Charity," the Puritan leader centers his ideals of living in the New World on this concept. Yet Winthrop's notion of charity extends only to those in the Puritan community, and his speech emphasizes American exceptionalism. In the nineteenth century, the golden rule frequently appeared as a song for children. One example of this song is recorded in Sarah L. Griffin's 1841 *Familiar Tales for Children*: "To do to others as I would that they should do to me, will make me gentle kind and good, as children ought to be" (62). Even Charles Dickens uses this very same verse in his 1854 novel, *Hard Times,* when Sissy Jupe quotes the lyrics. However, the golden rule can also represent internationalist concepts such as Norman Rockwell's 1961 painting "The Golden Rule" which includes the inscription "Do unto others as others would do unto you." Rockwell depicts people of all ages, genders, and countries in his painting to claim that the principle of the golden rule is one that he believes is shared by all religions.

appearance of this figure in a range of genres, including narratives that are set inland, scholars have neglected the significance of this character. Why have critics missed the multiple appearances of the sentimental sailor in antebellum literature?

When scholars consider nineteenth-century sentimentalism, they often look to the literary history of women's writing. In 1966, historian Barbara Welter wrote a groundbreaking article, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860" which identifies a cultural ideal that influenced how society categorized women and how women also perceived themselves. Emphasizing the values of piety, purity, domesticity, and submissiveness, those who strived for the Cult of True Womanhood became angel in the house figures, moral beings who used Christian values and selflessness to overcome trials. Within fictional works, sentimental heroines became leading protagonists who possessed the qualities of angel in the house figures and through their Christian deeds and moral suasion, their actions would strengthen the home, community, and in turn the nation. As angel in the house figures had the power to influence the nation, it is no wonder that antebellum women often used the ideal of the Cult of True Womanhood to participate in the development of the new Republic. Yet the opposite side of the angel in the house binary portrays negative stereotypes of women by labeling them as whores, witches, or madwomen in the attic.[2] Female villains destroyed homes with their promiscuous wickedness and also threatened to harm the morals of society. As many scholars such as Nancy Cott and Laura Laffrado have noted,[3] ideals rarely reflect reality and many antebellum women actively resisted True Womanhood, showing Americans that the domestic sphere was not the only space for women. Whether women actively sought to become angels in the home or challenged the binaries this ideal constructed,

[2] Susan Gubar and Sandra Gilbert, "The Madwoman in the Attic."

[3] See Nancy Cott's *The Bonds of Womanhood; "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* and Laura Laffrado's *Uncommon Women: Gender and Representation in Nineteenth-Century U.S. Women's Writing.*

historians and literary critics agree that the Cult of True Womanhood significantly shaped women's roles in antebellum America.

While the Cult of True Womanhood influenced the portrayal of women in literature, particularly in domestic fiction through the moral deeds of the sentimental heroine, interestingly the nautical world also used maritime sentimentalism to promote the figure of the sentimental sailor. Acting against the wicked rum drinking, swearing, rambunctious seamen, the sentimental mariner instead advocated kinship, family ties, and fought for the liberty of others. Differing from the nationalist agendas of angel in the house figures, sentimental sailors were instead global travelers who sought to develop kinship with the world by advocating internationalism through their self-sacrificing rescues. The widespread appearance of the sentimental sailor in sea narratives and land-based narratives, in nonfiction and fiction, and in tall tales such as yarns but also in periodicals suggest that the sentimental sailor was a prominent cultural ideal, one whom mariners were encouraged to become.

The sentimental sailor's cultural power among antebellum writers and readers existed because this figure combines the international nature of mariners with kinship and concerns toward liberty. During the years of the Civil War, a sailor's periodical, *The Boatswain's Whistle*, printed an article by William Rounseville Alger. In "Effect of Sea Life on Land Life" (1864), Alger analyzes how the presence of the Union Navy brings a positive influence to the divided nation, not just in war efforts, but also through the Navy's interactions with the rest of the world. Alger writes:

> [Sailors] transmit and equalize the spiritual peculiarities of many governments, races and civilizations. They thus tend strongly to develop the cosmopolite spirit, bring into experience the vital unity of mankind, make each feel himself the brother of the rest, and at home everywhere. (5)

Here Algers articulates a common cultural perception of sailors, a perception that was often made whether a mariner labored aboard a merchant ship, whaling vessel, in the Navy, or even as a pirate or privateer. Seamen were often thought of as global beings who possessed cosmopolitan beliefs due to their international travels. Additionally, as the ship was the sailor's home, this made the world the sailor's domestic space. For sentimental sailors, then, antebellum writers and readers used this imaginative view of

seamen to make the sentimental mariner figure one who used domesticity and kinship to advocate for the rights and liberties of all.

The idea that the ship is a mobile domestic space, one which situates the ocean as an international home is a concept that Amy Kaplan discusses in *The Anarchy of Empire* (2002). Kaplan argues that nineteenth-century domestic discourse combined the separate spheres of Manifest Destiny, which is often associated with the economic and political world of men, with the woman's sphere of the home. This combination of the separate spheres enabled men and women to unite together against those whom they consider marginalized or foreign. Indeed, by viewing domesticity as an "ambiguous liminal realm between the national and the foreign," Kaplan also asserts that the domestic spaces of the woman's sphere extended far beyond the nation's borders and allowed for the erasure of imperial violence (27). Similar to the woman's sphere, which is often defined through the angel in the house ideal, maritime sentimentalism situated the sentimental sailor as a domestic being who worked to make the world a home by rescuing those in need, including individuals who were considered foreign. These acts of rescue and conversion also erased the violence of imperialism by highlighting the educational, moral uplift of equal exchange.

Yet Kaplan's focus on the sentimental heroine, the Cult of True Womanhood, and the influences of the angel in the house narrative in positioning domesticity as a mobile, nationalist force does not acknowledge the presence of maritime sentimentalism in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century America. While ships are domestic spaces, they are also a completely different type of social geography from houses as ships are composed of a space which combines both the public and private spheres together. Maritime sentimentalism, then, presents an alternative tradition of sentimentalism in nineteenth-century America, one which creates opportunities for internationalism and acts of human rights as well as nationalist and imperialist moments. The popularity and impactful nature of the sentimental sailor's rescues on nineteenth-century authors and readers indicate that there was a deep cultural awareness that empire is very rarely a moral enterprise. Paradoxically, while the sentimental sailor performs the cultural work of making empire more palatable, and even moral, the Christian deeds of these characters also seem to act in apology toward the racist and nationalist nature of imperial discourse. Thus, maritime

sentimentalism and the figure of the sentimental sailor reveal the complicated tensions that existed in nineteenth-century America toward nationalist and non-national forms of identity.

In what follows, I first discuss how critics currently view the literary traditions of sentimentalism by chronicling the genealogy of the sentimental heroine. Next, I trace the development of maritime sentimentalism and the sentimental sailor in early America, particularly throughout the years of the American Revolution and War of 1812, explaining how the experience-based education of the sea turned sentimental sailors from nationalist figures in early America to figures who advocate internationalism in the antebellum era. Finally, I explain how antebellum seamen ministry societies introduced a Christian component to the figure of the sentimental sailor.

The Literary Tradition of the Sentimental Heroine

In order to understand how scholars view the literary traditions of sentimentalism in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American literature, I will first discuss how the lineage of the sentimental heroine is perceived by current critics. The sentimental heroine and the sentimental sailor are founded from the same eighteenth-century sentimental movement and the popularity of these imaginative figures attests to the cultural significance of domesticity. For antebellum authors who often used sentimentalism to promote human rights issues, the presence of the land-based sentimental heroine and the sea-bound sentimental sailor allowed writers to engage with issues that were both national and global within their texts.

One text that scholars[4] often refer to as an example of the sentimental movement's origins in the eighteenth century is Adam Smith's 1759 treatise, *The Theory of Moral Sentiment*. In Smith's text he argues that the ability to relate to another's emotions is what allows individuals to build political and social communities. Originating

[4] See page 3 of *Sentimental Men: Masculinity and the Politics of Affect in American Culture* edited by Mary Chapman and Glenn Hendler (1999), and page 1 of *Sentimentalism in Nineteenth-Century America: Literary and Cultural Practices* edited by Mary G. De Jong (2013).

from Enlightenment moral theory, the cult of sensibility used emotion to draw readers toward causes and pedagogical lessons.[5] For example, eighteenth-century seduction narratives such as Hannah Webster Foster's *The Coquette* (1797) and Susanna Rowson's *Charlotte Temple: A Tale of Truth* (1791) moved readers to not only weep over the tragic circumstances of the heroines but also taught young women to defend their moral reputations.

While the sentimental movement began with male writers like Adam Smith and Henry Mackenzie in the eighteenth century, interestingly scholars often relate nineteenth-century sentimentalism to the writings of middle-class women[6] who used sentimentalism as a way to form kinship that extended beyond the family by uniting people through shared emotions and sentiments.[7] In the antebellum era, women writers used sentimentalism and domestic ideology as way to further their agency especially in matters of the home, community, and the politics of the nation. As Nina Baym explains, sentimental literature was about the "psychology of women" by showing female readers that that they have the "opportunity and responsibility to change their situation by changing their personalities" (19).[8] Young female characters such as Jane in Catharine Maria Sedgwick's *A New England Tale* (1822) and Ellen in Susan Warner's *Wide Wide World* (1850) showed how orphaned young women can use Christian principles to overcome trials caused by wayward and sometimes abusive relatives. The ability to use moral suasion to persuade others toward humanitarian issues was also a way for female authors to influence the political climate of the time.

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[5] See pages 1-2 in De Jong's *Sentimentalism in Nineteenth-Century America: Literary and Cultural Practices.*

[6] Scholars have also identified that men used sentimentalism in nineteenth-century America. Elizabeth Schultz's article "The Sentimental Subtext of Moby-Dick: Melville's Response to the 'World of Woe'" addresses how Melville strategically uses sentimentalism to show sympathy and care among the crew of the Pequot.

[7] See page 1 in De Jong's work.

[8] *Woman's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and about Women in America; 1820-70.*

However, as sentimentalism is a cultural mode which uses empathy as a means to persuade others toward unification, this also created numerous tensions, especially when an author's "range of positions on social, religious, and political issues" contradicted their own opinions.[9] For example, Harriet Beecher Stowe's use of romantic racism, which depicted black characters as stereotypes, was a tactic that both harmed and helped her abolitionist cause. Sentimentality could also "universaliz[e] . . . human feeling," and this rhetorical practice did "fee[d] racist and classist stereotypes, especially by privileging the voices of some over others" (De Jong 3).[10] Yet sentimentalism also became a powerful tool for humanitarian purposes, and while sentimentalism may employ racial stereotypes, black authors found sentimental writing an influential narrative strategy for abolitionism.[11]

While scholars often consider how nineteenth-century sentimental heroines of land-based fiction emphasize nationalist agendas, the sentimental sailor's heroic rescues instead promote internationalism. To further examine the sentimental sailor's

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[9] In "Women's Novels and Women's Minds: An Unsentimental View of Nineteenth-Century American Women's Fiction," Nina Baym explains that, "[t]he fiction women wrote was perhaps as often polemical as it was domestic (and, as in the case of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, often both at once); novels and stories took a range of positions on social, religious, and political issues including abolitionism, states' rights, baptism by complete immersion, temperance, the annexation of Cuba or Texas, Manifest Destiny, relations with the indigenous population, immigration, Mormonism, Catholicism, party politics, and virtually every other current topic both local and national" (335-336).

[10] De Jong notes: "More ironically, sentimentality could also go bad when its universalization of human feelings blocked respectful recognition of the very real differences in experience between privileged observers and the objects of their gaze . . . sentimentalism seemed to license privileged writers to appropriate others' voices and stories for their own ends, feeding racist and classist stereotypes in other, subtler ways" (3).

[11] Mary G. De Jong notes that abolitionists Frances Ellen Watkins Harper and Frederick Douglas "used sentimentality in equality's name" (5).

internationalist perspective, I use a literary study informed by a historical study that draws on historian Akira Iriye's concept of "cultural internationalism." Although scholars often consider internationalism as the global relationship that emerged between nations in the twentieth century,[12] Iriye points out that the deeds of individuals throughout history are equally significant as their "influence . . . [can extend] across national boundaries . . . and clashes of national interest" (2). As an example, Iriye explains that there are many artists, thinkers, and musicians whose works have global significance across nations.[13]

In order to further explore Iriye's notion of cultural internationalism within the nautical world of early and antebellum America, Hester Blum's insight that sailors in fact "embod[y]" internationalism helps us understand that maritime labor requires seamen to work and live among shipmates from diverse races and ethnicities (672). [14] Along with nautical labor, Blum explains that global travel also made it difficult for sailors to participate in voting as they often missed hearing news of candidates and elections days while out at sea. Invested more in international affairs, particular those that affect maritime labor, sailors were beings who experienced and carried back tales of the world to their land-bound fellow Americans. As an example of the international nature of nautical life, Blum turns to Herman Melville's oeuvre of sea literature. For instance, the

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[12] Scholars suggest that internationalism began in the twentieth century because of the formation of the United Nations and the alliances that developed between nations during the World Wars. See Cornelia Navari's work *Internationalism and the State in the Twentieth Century* (2000). Interestingly, Frank Ninkovich's book *Global Dawn: The Cultural Foundation of American Internationalism, 1865-1890* (2009) argues that in order to understand twentieth-century internationalism, one must also look at how the postbellum era began to create a foundation for international relations. However, it is unusual for scholars to consider internationalism during the early American and antebellum period. Akira Iriye is one of the few scholars who notes that "cultural internationalism" was prevalent during the founding years of the nation through individuals who had garnered global influence.

[13] See Akira Iriye's *Cultural Internationalism and World Order*, page 2.

[14] Hester Blum, "The Prospect of Oceanic Studies."

Pequod in *Moby Dick* (1851) presents a crew which includes "Tashetego, a Gay-head Indian; Daggoo, an African; Queequeg, a Pacific Islander; as well as briefly noted French, Lascar, Tahitian, Spanish, Dutch, Sicilian, Malaysian, Maltese, and Icelandic sailors" (114). And within *The Confidence-Man* (1857), Melville includes an ethnically diverse register of passengers on the Fidèle.[15]

Drawing from the international nature of maritime culture and the global influence of seamen, antebellum authors used the sentimental sailor to promote humanism through the domestic sphere of the home and the ship. The relationship between the home and the ship is mentioned frequently throughout nineteenth-century literature. For instance in the 1848 religious tract "Appeal of the Churchmen's Missionary Association For the Seamen of the Port of Philadelphia," the Association states that "[t]he forecastle is [the sailor's] fireside, - say rather, his kennel, - the bare deck near the windlass his table, his chair, his sideboard, his sofa, often his bed" (6). With the sailor's home as a movable space, kinship and familial bonds are central features of the sentimental mariner figure.

The literary tradition of antebellum sentimentalism in women's fiction emphasizes nationalism while maritime sentimentalism instead emphasizes the international nature of the sentimental sailor's heroic rescues. Sharing the domestic spheres of the home and the ship to evoke the emotions of readers, both the sentimental heroine and the sentimental sailor work to promote human rights issues within the nation and throughout the world. For this reason, many of the works I analyze throughout this dissertation do contain elements of nationalism. In fact, most contemporary scholars analyze these works for their nationalist agendas. However, the presence of the sentimental sailor also presents alternative internationalist or cosmopolitan perspectives. By urging readers to reflect on their own prejudices and to view the world with a more open mind, these texts suggest that nineteenth-century Americans were aware that imperial discourse does promote a type of nationalism which advocates racism. Although the sentimental sailor's presence in these texts promotes human rights for all, acting as an

[15] Hester Blum, "Atlantic Trade" in *A Companion to Herman Melville*, edited by Wyn Kelley.

apology for imperialism, these tales also simultaneously erase the violent effects of conquest, making empire more acceptable for nineteenth-century Americans.

The Literary Tradition of Maritime Sentimentalism and the History of the Sentimental Sailor

Maritime sentimentalism has a unique history that is heavily influenced by the nautical world's participation in the development of the young Republic. Interestingly, the sentimental sailor originally started out as a symbol of nationalism. However, over the years as American writers began to include the sentimental sailor more in texts that emphasized humanitarian issues, the sentimental sailor then became a figure of internationalism. By chronicling how the American Revolution and War of 1812 influenced America's view of sailors, and by also analyzing early American works that included the sentimental sailor such as *The Female American*, I will trace the history of maritime sentimentalism and the development of the sentimental sailor as an emotional being who advocates for kinship and the liberty of others.

The sentimental sailor did not start off as an advocate of internationalism but was instead a symbol of nationalism during the late eighteenth century. The history of early American mariners during the American Revolution and War of 1812 shaped the literary tradition and conventions of the sentimental sailor in antebellum literature as a figure who promoted liberty and rescue. Sentimental sailors first appeared in eighteenth-century literature during the beginnings of the sentimental movement. For instance, one novel which scholars such as Andrew Burstein, Mary Chapman, and Glenn Hendler[16] identify as a central text that influenced the sentimentalism movement is Henry Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling* (1771). Printed alongside the novel in subsequent editions, particularly the 1782 first American edition published in Philadelphia, was Thomas Mercer's 1772

[16] Andrew Burstein, *Sentimental Democracy: The Evolution of America's Romantic Self-Image*, xi-xxi; and Mary Chapman and Glenn Hendler eds, *Sentimental Men: Masculinity and the Politics of Affect in American Culture*, pages 3, 7.

poem "The Sentimental Sailor."[17] Mercer's poem constitutes evidence that scholars should consider the role of sea narratives in eighteenth-century sentimentalism. Mercer's sentimental sailor, a passionate mariner who pines over his lost love, represents the eighteenth-century trend to portray fictional seamen as individuals who longed for their mothers, sisters, children, and lovers. These characters began to especially appear in theatrical productions in both Britain and America.[18] Plays such as J.C. Cross's *The Purse; or Benevolent Tar* (1797)[19] and Isaac Bickerstaff's *Thomas and Sally: Or, The Sailor's Return* (1791)[20] feature female characters waiting for their mariner companions

[17] Henry Mackenzie and Thomas Mercer, *The Man of Feeling: A Novel, by Mr. Mackenzie, of Edinburg and The Man of the World. With The Sentimental Sailor. A Poem, Originating From Rousseau's Eloisa. Six Lines of Verse From Propertius* (Philadelphia, Robert Bell, 1782), accessed March 23, 2017, *Early American Imprints*.

[18] Both Paul Gilje and Martina Kado refer to the eighteenth-century sailors who appeared in theatrical productions as "sentimental" seamen and sailors. See Paul Gilje, *Liberty on the Waterfront*, 241 and Martina Kado's "The Ship as Assemblage: Melville's Literary Shipboard Geographies," page 43.

[19] In *The Purse*, Will Steady and Edmund go out to sea and are shipwrecked and taken captive by Algerians for eight years. When they return home, both are worried about their lovers. Will was married right before leaving for sea and worries that he left Sally in poverty, completely destitute. He hopes that she hasn't died of a broken heart. Edmund worries about Louisa his cousin and love interest. Both sailors return with riches and stop Theodore who has attempted to embezzle Edmund's father the Baron, and has taken in Will's son as a servant, treating the boy poorly. The return of the sailors bring stability to the two families as both Will and Edmund thwart Theodore's villainy. For Will's family in particular, he brings economic wealth to help better the situations of his wife and son.

[20] In *Thomas and Sally*, while Thomas is away at sea fighting in a war, Sally mourns the absence of her suitor. She is however pursued by the relentless Squire who attempts to force her to an alcove and seduce her. Thomas returns to port laden with

to return home. Throughout the course of these plays, these women found themselves entangled in situations of misfortune and are often rescued in a timely manner by their returning sailor lover. As Thomas Philbrick notes, these fictional mariners worked against the satirical realism often found in British ocean novels. While eighteenth-century sea novels such as Tobias Smollett's naval stories portrayed sailors as stoic men, sentimental seamen in theatrical productions were instead domestic beings who expressed "universal" emotions about kinship and family life.[21]

The domestic need and desire for kinship among sailors is especially emphasized in the 1767 novel *The Female American*, a story which is often thought of as a female *Robinson Crusoe* tale. *The Female American* is an example of an earlier tradition of the sentimental sailor where familial bonds are valued even more than individual freedom and agency. When Unca Eliza Winkfield's Native American mother and British father both pass away in Virginia, Unca decides to travel to her father's relatives in Britain. However, the captain of the ship insists that Unca marry his son. When Unca refuses, the captain murders and injures her servants, steals Unca's possessions, and abandons her on an island. Unca uses the resources of the island to survive, and she soon notices a group of Native people who worship an idol. Hiding herself inside the idol, she acts as a god and teaches the Natives Christianity. After a time, she emerges from the idol as a divine messenger and continues to live with and teach the Native people. However, Unca's time on the island is suddenly interrupted by the arrival of her cousin John Winkfield, a suitor whom Unca already refused in the past. John insists that Unca marry him and as she is placed in a position where she cannot refuse, she reluctantly accepts his hand.

Captain Shore, who had brought John Winkfield to the island, is a sentimental sailor who emphasizes to readers the significance of developing familial bonds. As a

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riches from his services during the war and finds Sally in time to rescue her from the Squire.

[21] Works of Tobias Smollett that Thomas Philbrick particularly mentions are *Roderick Random* (1748), *Peregrine Pickle* (1751), and *The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves* (1760-1761). See pages 4-11 of Thomas Philbrick's 1961 work *James Fenimore Cooper and the Development of American Sea Fiction.*

pirate who roams the seas, Shore commandeers the ship of the captain who had abandoned Unca on the island. Learning from Unca's injured servants of her predicament, Shore decides to notify Unca's family about her situation. This decision leads Shore to compare his piratical acts with the captain who had both robbed and abandoned Unca on the island. Realizing that he was leading himself and his crew to Hell, Shore decides to give up piracy and turns himself in to the British authorities. Shore repents of his past deeds and returns all of the stolen property that he had taken. Wanting to reform himself, Shore brings John Winkfield to the island and decides to live there with John and Unca. On the island, Shore can assist in missionary work among the Natives and can begin a new life - one that is devoted to Christian principles instead of piracy.

As a sentimental sailor, Shore rescues Unca and provides her with a future for domestic life. Yet the text indicates that Shore's rescue may have benefited himself more than Unca. Michelle Burnham notes that Unca experiences a "fantasy of unrestricted female freedom" while on the island and yet after Shore appears in the narrative and Unca is married, her first-person narrative begins to "slip inconsistently" as "I" turns to "we" (21). Unca's opinions, now hidden behind her obedience as a wife, are overshadowed by Shore's narrative which is ironically retold by John Winkfield at the end of the novel. As the rescuer of Unca, Shore also uses his privilege by deciding to stay with the couple on the island. Although this decision emphasizes Shore's conversion from piracy to Christianity and his desire to build bonds of kinship, all of Shore's choices infringe on Unca's agency. In this way the eighteenth-century sentimental sailor vastly differs from the nineteenth-century figure. Antebellum sentimental sailors, who were also concerned with kinship, took care to preserve the liberty and agency of those they rescued.[22] More specifically, nineteenth-century sentimental sailors understood how the

[22] Aside from cases of immediate danger such as drowning, many antebellum sentimental sailors consult with the person they intend to rescue and gather information and permission before assisting. For instance, in Catharine Maria Sedgwick's 1827 short story "The Chivalric Sailor," Frank Stuart speaks with Perdita to see if she is willing to follow his plan to break her free from her plight of indentured servitude. In Maturin

abuse of power and privilege can infringe on the rights of others and worked to help the distressed reclaim their freedom and liberty.

Much of this understanding came from the long history of abuse, captivity, and concerns for liberty which existed in the maritime world during the American Revolution and the War of 1812. In Revolutionary America, sailors were at the forefront of riots and rebellions that drove the Revolution on both sides. For instance, the Sons of Neptune, a group that preceded the Sons of Liberty, rioted for the rights of the colonies and boycotted the Stamp Act in 1765 and 1766.[23] Sailors were also involved in the 1770 Boston Massacre[24] and the Boston Tea Party which took place on the waterfront.[25] However on the opposite side, mariners also boarded ships to prevent stamp distribution and the anti-Stamp Act in Newport was led by a seaman.[26]

Mariners were known for their disturbances at the waterfront. Paul Gilje notes that during the 1760s, crowds of rowdy sailors were at the center of riots, parades, and bonfires "in almost every American port, including Falmouth (now Portland, Maine), Boston, Salem, Gloucester, Newburyport, Marblehead, Newport, Providence, New

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Murray Ballou's 1844 dime novel *Fanny Campbell, the Female Pirate Captain: A Tale of Revolution*, Fanny (as Captain Channing) was advised by her officers to execute an unruly British prisoner. However, to save the man's life, Fanny releases him from his bindings and talks with him. By respecting the man's liberty, she manages to convince the British sailor to no longer threaten the colonist ship. Likewise, in Josiah Henson's 1849 memoir, *The Life of Josiah Henson*, a Scottish sea captain offers to help Henson and his family escape from slavery. The two have a conversation and make plans for Henson's escape. In all of the above cases, the sentimental sailor figures speak with those they intend to rescue first. They obtain permission to conduct a rescue and discuss plans to verify that the distressed approves of the method of rescue. Each of these situations vastly differs from Unca's predicament as she had no say in Shore's plans or actions.

[23] See Paul Gilje, *Liberty on the Waterfront*, page 99.

[24] Gilje, *Liberty on the Waterfront*, page 99.

[25] Gilje, *Liberty on the Waterfront*, page 100.

[26] Gilje, *Liberty on the Waterfront*, page 102.

Haven, New London, New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Norfolk, Wilmington, New Bern, and Charleston" (103). A particularly "jovial" incident by a group of Tars in Philadelphia was noted in the October 19th, 1769 edition of *The New York Journal*. An informer, who had participated in a wine run and received pay for his labor, had told authorities about the smuggled cargo. The newspaper reports:

> [A group of sailors] seized him, bound him, tarred him from head to foot, feathered him, led him through the streets, huzza'd him at every custom house officer's door, and made a great parade at the collector's. They then set the poor wretch in the pillory for a quarter of an hour, and afterwards carted him, after which they washed the tarry devil in the mud of one of our docks, and then peaceably dismiss'd him.[27]

With sailors at the center of riots and rebellions, mariners soon became the face of the Revolution.

While there were sailors who were active participants in politics and hoped that the Revolution would bring an end to impressment, many seamen also were caught up in significant Revolutionary moments due to the nature of their livelihood. With trade, shipping, and fishing in decline because of the war, for most sailors the only positions available for maritime labor were with the Navy or privateer ships.[28] As sailors were now at the center of ocean battles and waterfront riots, political propaganda depicted them as symbolic liberty loving beings. For example, the Revolutionary song "Manly" is "addressed to all the JOLLY TARS who are fighting for the RIGHTS and LIBERTIES of AMERICA." While not all sailors were for the Revolution, the cultural narrative of mariners made them into loyal figures who advocated for the cause of the colonies.[29]

The War of 1812 also positioned sailors at the center of politics. In the March 4, 1813 "Second Inaugural Address" of James Madison, he "call[s] into view the unlawfulness of the practice by which our mariners are forced at the will of every cruising officer from their own vessels into foreign ones" and declares that the "cruel

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[27] From the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[28] Gilje, *Liberty on the Waterfront*, pages 104 and 110.

[29] Gilje, *Liberty on the Waterfront*, page 127.

sufferings of [sailors] have found their way to every bosom not dead to the sympathies of human nature." Not only was impressment a central political concern with the War of 1812, but most of the songs from the time period centered on sea battles and the brave deeds of sailors. The song "The United States and Macedonian" about the events of October 24, 1812 praises American sailors within the first line: "How glows each patriot bosom that boasts a Yankee heart, to emulate such glorious deeds and nobly take a part; when sailors with their thund'ring guns, prove to the English, French, and Danes that Neptune's chosen fav'rite sons are brave Yankee boys" (118).[30]

As early American sailors were individuals who experienced firsthand the threat and loss of their freedom either as prisoners of war or through impressment during both the American Revolution and War of 1812, they became symbols of liberty for the U.S. Sailors were viewed as individuals who played a significant role in the founding of the nation. Mariners were also emotional beings who understood captivity and valued freedom to the point of rebellion. As Paul Gilje notes, "Americans made the sentimental seamen their own and transformed him into an important symbol for the new nation" (241).

Yarn Spinning and the Experience-Based Education of the Sea

Along with an affiliation for liberty and rescue, another convention of sentimental sailors is that they also receive an experience-based nautical education, a pedagogical style that is centered on the circulation and analysis of narratives – both oral and written. While literacy textbooks from early and antebellum America focused on nationalism and citizenship, pedagogical practices out at sea were tailored to meet the needs of sailors during their global travels. The experience-based education of the sea made sailors into master craftsmen of narratives, giving them such command over language that they became beings who were capable of using rhetoric to defend themselves and others. While narratives of the sea do occasionally highlight nationalism and imperialism,

[30] *American War Ballads and Lyrics: A Collection of the Songs and Ballads of the Colonial Wars, the Revolution, The War of 1812-15, The War With Mexico and the Civil War*. Edited by George Cary Eggleston. LCP.

experience-based nautical education created a vast amount of opportunities to include international perspectives as sailors themselves came from numerous backgrounds and experiences. For antebellum writers who presented sentimental sailors as global beings who used rescue to promote humanism, sea education helped shape and strengthen the heroic nature of these characters.

Early and antebellum American literacy instruction for the most part was centered on nationalism, patriotism, and promoted the development of intellectual citizenship.[31] The titles of late eighteenth-century readers reveal the extent that textbook writers went to unify the nation through a shared patriotism among learners. Works such *as The American Spelling Book, An American Selection of Lessons in Reading and Speaking,* and *The Columbia Orator* all related literacy to American identity.[32] Nila Banton Smith notes that from 1776 through the 1840's, these readers sought to encourage loyalty to the new nation and tried to unify the country by encouraging everyone to practice correct grammar and enunciation.[33] Even Noah Webster emphasizes these notions in his Preface of *The American Spellbook* (1793):

> To diffuse a uniformity and purity of language in America – to destroy the provincial prejudices that originate in the trifling differences of dialect, and produce reciprocal ridicule – to promote the interest of literature and harmony of the United States – is the most ardent wish of the Author; and it is his highest ambition to deserve the approbation and encouragement of his countrymen. (x)

As Webster's words suggest, the purpose of many of these readers was to encourage all Americans to develop a similar dialect regardless of their immigrant background or regional affiliation. Speech, grammar, and reading practices all shaped the identity of Americans. The trend of aligning reading practices with American identity continued throughout the 1840s through 1880s when readers began to focus heavily on developing

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[31] See chapters three and four of Nila Banton Smith's *American Reading Instructions*.

[32] Smith, *American Reading Instructions*, page 34.

[33] See Chapter Three, "The Period of Nationalistic – Moralistic Emphasis in Reading Instruction" of Smith's *American Reading Instructions.*

intellectual citizenship. Throughout the years before, during, and after the Civil War, literacy textbooks emphasized that reading practices helped one become an effective citizen of the United States.

The nautical world also valued literacy skills and education. Hester Blum explains that mariners were well-educated as the conditions of a ship such as the isolation and rest between labor enabled sailors to study reading, writing and basic arithmetic. All of these skills were necessary to not only run the ship but also to advance in position. The forecastle, where the sailors bunked, then became an atmosphere that was similar to a schoolhouse.[34] While maritime advancement is centered on literacy, another crucial component of nautical education is the telling of oral narratives or yarns, a pedagogical practice that suits international travel. As Blum notes, sailors "seldom received the benefits of national identification" as they are under the authority of their own captains at sea and often are away from home during election season (672). In order to accommodate the global travel of seamen, sailors not only learned to read, but they also learned to tell and circulate yarns, a type of storytelling which accommodated their travels and unexpected circumstances out at sea.

Using an experience-based education, sailors at sea were often taught by performing labor alongside experienced seamen. Labor however included not just nautical skills above and below deck but also the practice of circulating oral narratives. Spinning yarns or relating stories orally and singing sea shanties was an interwoven cultural practice that accompanied maritime labor. As Marcus Rediker explains, the word "yarn" refers to "spun fiber" or the rope in which sailors used for rigging (12). Oftentimes sailors would need to repair the ship's rigging by unraveling the rope and then replacing the rope by weaving it back together with a spun yarn to hold it all together. Then, they would cover the rope in tar.[35] To pass the time, sailors often told stories that came from their own experiences or passed on another tale that they heard from a mariner

[34] Hester Blum, "The Prospect of Oceanic Studies," page 162.

[35] Paul Gilje, *To Swear Like a Sailor: Maritime Culture in America, 1750-1850*, page 109.

in their own social network.[36] To reflect the act of repairing the rigging, these tales were referred to as yarns.

Yarn spinning had many practical purposes for sailors. While telling stories did act as form of entertainment, yarns also served pedagogical purposes allowing experienced mariners to teach novice sailors the perils of the sea, related nautical culture and history, created opportunities for cooperation, and provided advice for maritime labor.[37] Yarns were not only a way for sailors to communicate among each other but also gave them opportunities to practice their narrative skills for a skillfully spun yarn would increase a sailor's reputation among shipmates.[38] Additionally, for sailors listening to a shipmate's yarn, they in turn would become literary critics who would critique and analyze the points in the story. Yarns also created a productive space where sailors could express and reflect on their current circumstances as each yarn was shaped and molded to fit the audience and situations that the sailors were experiencing.[39] In this way, yarns provided a safe space where sailors could debate issues through storytelling and literary analysis.

Yarns also encompassed a wide range of genres which included personal stories, experiences about a mariner's friend or acquaintance, tall tales about the ocean or waterfront, stories of the supernatural, adventure narratives, and religious conversion stories that took place while out at sea or on land. Even books were occasionally considered yarns. For example, In *The History of Little Peter the Ship-Boy* published by the American Sunday School Union in Philadelphia, Hixon the sailor refers to the Bible as a "yarn" (64). Thus, as sailors related experiences and learned from each other's stories, both oral and written, the experience-based education of the sea was a central component that circulated maritime narratives, culture, and history throughout the nautical world.

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[36] Rediker, *Outlaws of the Atlantic*, page 4.

[37] Rediker, *Outlaws of the Atlantic*, page 14.

[38] Gilje, *To Swear Like a Sailor*, page 118.

[39] See Brian Rouleau, "Dead Men Do Tell Tales: Folklore, Fraternity, and the Forecastle," page 48, and Marcus Rediker, *Outlaws of the Atlantic*, page 21.

Using Walter Benjamin's work on storytelling, Hester Blum notes that sailors were in fact artisans who honed their skills in the art of crafting and critiquing narratives.[40] But even more significant, spinning yarns gave sailors such a command of narrative and language that they became skilled with the rhetoric of defense which enabled them to protect themselves and others. For example, as I will discuss at greater length in Chapter Four, Matthew Brown explains that sailors had the ability to defend themselves against "power structure[s] that would silence or misuse [them]."[41] Isolated at sea and living under a hierarchical system, sailors learned to immediately identify how power structures worked. As Brown observers, maritime culture and language is what enabled free black sailors to become effective abolitionists as a nautical education had given them the discourse of defense. For sentimental sailors, the experience-based education of the sea provides them with the rhetorical skills they need to convert others from a nationalist perspective to an international mindset. As yarns were a fluid form of storytelling, often acting as a "cosmopolitan, universal . . . communicative ability"[42] among sailors, it is no wonder that antebellum writers used sea education to enhance a sentimental sailor's internationalist perspective and sensitivity to the distressed.

One example of how sea education was a central feature of the sentimental sailor is shown in in John P. Foote's 1860 record of his mariner brother in the *Memoirs of the Life of Samuel E. Foote*. Samuel Foote, who was Harriet Beecher Stowe's uncle, became a sea captain at eighteen and traveled around the world, bringing back nautical tales and trinkets for his relatives, including his favorite niece Harriet. Within diaries and letters kept among the Foote, Beecher, and Stowe family members, it is clear that Samuel was especially admired for his experience-based nautical education. In a chapter on education in *Memoirs* John Foote explains that although his brother had not "aquir[ed] knowledge . . . with any established system of education" the strength of Samuel's intellect came from

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[40] Hester Blum, "The Prospect of Oceanic Studies," page 672.

[41] See page 194 of Matthew Brown's "Olaudah Equiano and the Sailor's Telegraph: *The Interesting Narrative* and the Source of Black Abolitionism."

[42] Brian Rouleau's "Dead Men Do Tell Tales: Folklore, Fraternity, and the Forecastle," page 26.

his ability to "meet and to control circumstances" and "act promptly in every emergency" (41), a talent that made him "one of the best educated men of his time" (39). As an example, John Foote relates a moment when Captain Foote used his nautical education, specifically the language of defense, to protect a member of his own crew. When the British navy had attempted to impress one of the mariners on Captain Samuel Foote's vessel, Foote threatened to capture the British ship, a resolution so determined that the lieutenant decided to allow the seaman to remain under Foote's command. Indeed, as John Foote notes, Captain Foote never had a sailor taken from his vessel and his mariners "felt safe, under his protection and government, from the dangers of the sea, being confident that he could foresee and avoid all the dangers to which they were exposed" (50). Through this tale, John Foote renders his brother as a sentimental sailor by emphasizing Samuel's skill with the language of the sea. This in turn suggests that education was a crucial feature of the sentimental sailor during the antebellum era.

Among the Foote, Beecher, and Stowe families however, Samuel was most known for his narrative skills and internationalism. As an avid reader who kept a library full of books in his ship's cabin, Samuel convinced the Beecher household to read other forms of literature besides their Calvinist texts, and presented his nieces and nephews with the works of Byron, Moore, and Sir Walter Scott. Stowe's father, Lyman Beecher, who had originally declared that novels were "trash," was quite horrified when he heard his children reading out loud from the texts that they had received from Uncle Samuel. But the narratives themselves caught Beecher's interest and he eventually concluded that his children "may read Scott's novels" as these works showed "real genius and real culture" (Hedrick 20). Like her father, Harriet loved Scott's works and read all of them, including his sea narratives, throughout her youth. In addition to introducing literature to the Beecher family, Samuel also brought an international perspective. Having traveled the world as a sailor, even learning languages throughout his journeys by picking up the "Spanish language at Cadic, and the French in the West Indies," Samuel's relatives took great interest in his cosmopolitan viewpoints (Foote 47). Harriet's sister, Catharine, recorded a conversation between Samuel and Lyman Beecher:

> I remember long discussions in which [Uncle Samuel] maintained that the Turks were more honest than Christians, bringing very startling facts in evidence. The

> new fields of vision presented by my uncle, the skill and adroitness of his arguments, the array of his facts combined to tax father's powers to their utmost. (Hedrick 20)

Like Catharine, Stowe witnessed the effects of her uncle's sea education as he converted family members toward a mindset that would see past their own prejudices. When writing *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Stowe made Tom a metaphorical sentimental sailor so that her hero could also possess the rhetorical power of nautical discourse to rescue and proselytize others to an international perspective of abolitionism.

Just as Uncle Sam brought cosmopolitan ideas from his nautical education to the home of the Beecher family and to his own crew on his ship, maritime ideas and narratives became a popular form of storytelling both on sea as well as land. Records of written yarns were published in various genres throughout the nineteenth century from children's stories, dime novels, fictional tales like Melville's works or even memoirs such as Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast*. However, it is interesting to note that just as yarns told at sea often took place in the forecastle or the place where sailors resided, yarn spinning on land also gained a reputation for occurring in the domestic sphere – the fireside. Even Stowe has a collection of stories, *Sam Lawson's Oldtowne Fireside Stories* (1871), which features a storyteller who ironically bears the same name as her mariner uncle. The stories that Sam Lawson tells by the fireside about Oldtown, Massachusetts, includes sea-captains in some of the tales such as "The Widow's Bandbox," and "the Ghost in the Cap'n Brown House," hunting for pirate treasure in "Captain Kidd's Money," and sailor yarns told in "A Student's Sea Story."

Interestingly, Stowe is not the only author who related the fireside to ocean tales. In the 1849 poetry collection *The Seaside and the Fireside*, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow reflects in his Dedication how poetry and narratives are exchanged at both the seaside and the fireside. Recognizing that his poems are read in America and across the seas, Longfellow feels overcome by the "sympathies" and "kind messages that pass from land to land" to reach him (2). In addition, he realizes that readers are bound together under the same experience of reading regardless of where they originate: "Not by chance of birth or place has made us friends, Being often times of different tongues and nations, But the endeavor for the selfsame ends, With the same hopes, and fears, and

aspirations" (3). As a way to universalize all people together through sentiment, Longfellow reflects on how his books, ideas, and words "join [readers on their] seaside walk[s]" and their "warm fireside," indicating that his poetry has an international nature and is written to appeal to global readers for the seaside and the fireside exist everywhere in all nations (3-4). While Longfellow does not include the sentimental sailor in his poetry collection, his connections between the seaside and fireside emphasize that while the sea can elicit nationalist tendencies, stories from the sea can also include sentimental elements that also draw on internationalism. *The Seaside and the Fireside* thus uses both the sentimental literary traditions of the domestic sphere and the maritime world and exemplifies how authors frequently incorporated both types of sentimentalism to evoke nationalist and international references within their texts.

Although literacy textbooks that provided instruction on reading and grammar in early and antebellum America focused on nationalism and citizenship, education at sea provided wider avenues of engagement with national and non-national forms of identity. Through an experience-based education, sailors not only learned basic nautical skills to keep a ship in working order, they also became masters of narrative through the circulation of yarns. Yarn spinning was not only a pedagogical practice that passed on maritime skills, history, culture, and advice for sailors, but it was also a form of entertainment, a mode of expression, and a way for sailors to bond together as they shared in the telling and analysis of stories. Through yarns, sailors became masters of language and narrative, so much that they could use the rhetoric of the sea to defend themselves and others from powers that would abuse them. Additionally, the popularity of sailor yarns at both the seaside and the fireside made this genre of storytelling one that was effective and entertaining for antebellum readers. When shaping the sentimental sailor, antebellum authors incorporated all of these elements to create a figure who uses the experience-based education of the sea to rescue others from physical peril and to convert them toward a more international mindset.

Sentimental Sailor Narratives From Floating Chapels and Seamen Ministries

The fact that sailors were beings who had the ability to travel the world is one that also intrigued religious communities who were concerned about influences sailors

exerted on those that they met throughout their voyages. Portrayals of the wicked sailor – the cursing, rum drinking, womanizing mariner -- appeared in literature throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[43] However, acting in conversation with the unfaithful sailor was the educated, literate sentimental sailor who valued agency, liberty, and the ability to establish and maintain familial bonds even while out at sea. In religious tracts put out by seamen ministries in the antebellum period both nonfiction and fictional accounts of sentimental sailors who encountered wayward seamen and rescued them through Christian conversion presented a solution to the wicked habits of American mariners. Although eighteenth-century sentimental sailors originally were non-Christian characters who emphasized family life, the religious tracts of antebellum America shaped the sentimental sailor into a Christian missionary – a Presbyterian ideal who would spread philanthropy and "a holy influence . . . abroad."[44]

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[43] In *The Nautical Songster, or Seamens Companion* the song, "Sailor's Reflection" show the promiscuous nature of sailors:

I've just returned from a foreign station
Where I remained almost three years;
And when I left, the girls all around me,
Black, white, and brown shed many tears.
Says they, my dear, why will you leave us?
Once more upon the seas to roam:
Why hold your tongue said I, you're foolish,
You know I've got a wife at home. (28)

Another song in the collection "Jack in His Element" likewise brags that Jack has "[a]t every port a wife." Additionally, in the 1828 "Address of the Directors of the Seamen's Friend Society at the City of Boston," sailors are described as men who struggle with "[i]ntemperance, and profanity, and gambling, and quarrelling, and all those vices which degrade and destroy men …" (7). LCP.

[44] In page 22 of "A Sermon Before the Churchmen's Missionary Association For Seamen," Rev. Alonzo Potter notes, "[a]nd hence it is that among seamen, sooner than elsewhere, the leaven of a holy influence spreads itself abroad." LCP.

The history of seamen ministries in America relates to the founding of the sentimental sailor figure in the eighteenth century. The sailor's prominent role as a symbol of liberty during the American Revolution and War of 1812 caught the attention of Evangelical leaders during the Second Great Awakening, and many organizations decided to take on the cause of reforming the conditions for sailors and to also save the souls of mariners themselves. In the late eighteenth century, Britain already provided Bethel[45] societies specifically for mariners and encouraged ships to raise the Bethel flag onboard whenever conducting religious services.[46] Inspired by British reform movements for sailors, American seaports began to form seamen ministry societies such as the Churchmen's Missionary Association for Seamen, Seaman's Church Institute, and American Seamen's Friend Society which had various branch organizations throughout New England including Female Seamen's Friend Society organizations. Along with providing Bethel flags to captains to raise on their ships during service, these societies also created Floating Chapels which were church buildings that floated on the ocean. Realizing that mariners often felt uncomfortable as strangers in port, especially walking into unfamiliar churches, the floating chapels were designed to help sailors feel comfortable in an environment that was made for the nautical community. Not only were

[45] In Hebrew, "Bethel" translates to "house of God." In the Bible, Bethel is a town north of Jerusalem where numerous significant events occurred. In Genesis, Abraham builds an altar there. Later, Jacob has a dream while resting in that location where God promises to give him the land of Canaan. After waking, Jacob names that area Bethel. The Old Testament records that as time passes, the ark of the covenant was kept in Bethel, and that a number of prophets such as Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha all visited the town. Although Evangelical seamen ministries in nineteenth-century America and Britain named their churches "Bethel," Presbyterian churches were not the only ones to refer to churches in this manner. The first African Methodist Episcopal Church, organized in 1794 Philadelphia, was named the Mother Bethel A.M.E. Church.

[46] Gilje, *Liberty on the Waterfront*, page 199.

the church buildings themselves associated with the sea, but all sermons and philanthropy were specifically geared toward seamen and their families.[47]

The Floating Church of the Redeemer located on the port off of Spruce and Dock Streets in antebellum Philadelphia. Picture from the Library Company of Philadelphia.

[47] In an "Appeal of the Churchmen's Missionary Association for the Seamen of the Port of Philadelphia" (1848) for the Churchmen's Missionary Association for Seamen in Philadelphia, Bishop Potter noted that "Sailors, especially those on the high seas; are gregarious. They are men who need *special religious instruction*. They shun promiscuous assemblies. As they will live only in sailor boarding-houses, and associate only with sailor companions, so for the present at least, they will frequent only sailor churches" (italics original, 8). LCP.

In additional to building floating churches for maritime communities, seamen ministry societies also strove to reform the conditions of the nautical world. By collecting donations from members, local churches, and sailors themselves, these organizations built boarding houses that charged fair prices for sailors. A common problem among maritime communities was that waterfront landlords would cheat visiting seamen with high rent. The seamen boarding houses not only strove to advocate for sailor rights, but they also provided retired mariners with a home to stay in should they ever become injured or disabled through nautical labor. In addition to providing rooms for board, seamen housing and floating chapels worked together to assist distressed mariners and their families through acts of philanthropy. Mariners could also obtain free Bibles and prayer books from these organizations. But most significantly, these organizations also published and distributed numerous religious tracts which chronicled conversion narratives, especially stories that featured the heroic sentimental sailor.

Sailors have long been of interest to church goers as the Bible contains many scriptures that focus on the sea and the condition of mariners. Many of the seamen ministries referred to these passages as proof of the necessity of ministering to mariners. In an 1826 religious tract produced by the American Seamen's Friend Society in New York, John Truair notes in "A Call From the Ocean or An Appeal to the Patriot and the Christian in Behalf of Seamen" that the Bible marks the sea as a significant place of conversion[48] and that sailors are the main missionaries for Christ,[49] especially since

[48] In "A Call From the Ocean or An Appeal to the Patriot and the Christian in Behalf of Seamen" by the American Seamen's Friend Society (1826)," John Truair points mainly to scriptures in Isaiah to show how God portrays the sea as a space of conversion. For instance Isaiah 60:5 states, "the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee," and Isaiah 42:12 asserts "Let them give glory unto the Lord, and declare his praise in the islands" (4-5), LCP.

[49] Truair notes that Jacob the prophet designated by the spirit of prophecy for part of his lineage to become mariners: "Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea; and he shall be for an haven of ship" – Genesis: 49:13. Additionally in Deuteronomy 33: 18-19, Moses declares that the purpose of mariners (the people of Zebulun) is to act as

Jesus's own disciples were fishermen. But most significantly, Truair and many writers would refer to Psalm 107:23-31 as proof of God's relationship with sailors:

> They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters; [t]hese 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 wits' end. Then they cry unto the LORD in their trouble, and he bringeth them unto their desired haven. Oh that men would praise the LORD for his goodness and for his wonderful works to the children of men!

According to the Psalm of David, sailors are beings who witness the wonders of God and are therefore close to Him in nature, often praising God for His miraculous works.[50] In "The Storm at Sea" a small pamphlet made for girls by the Philadelphia American Sunday School Union, the pamphlet refers to Psalms 107 and tells children to "[p]ray for the poor sailor . . . [l]et him feel the kindness of friends on shore, not only to make him comfortable and happy in the stormy passage through this world, but to secure for him a safe and blessed rest beyond the grave" (3). Lydia Sigourney also used Psalms 107 as an epitaph to her poetry collection *Poems for the Sea* (1850) which was dedicated specifically to mariners and included a poem, "The Hero," about a sentimental sailor who rescued a baby from a burning building. The interest that men, women, and children took in the welfare and influential examples of mariners shaped the figure of the Christian, rescuing sentimental sailor.

Interestingly while the Bible portrayed sailors as beings who are intensely moral and close to God, this categorization of sailors was embedded in both the sentimental

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missionaries and spread the word of God: "And of Zebulun he [God] said, Rejoice, Zebulun, in thy going out . . . for they [mariners] shall suck of the abundance of the seas, and of the treasures hid in the sand" (4-5).

[50] In the 1874 "Thirtieth Annual Report" by the Pennsylvania's Seamen's Friend Society, Rev. A. Vincent Group notes that the greatest school is nature and that the ocean specifically teaches men sympathy. See page 31.

sailor figure and public opinion about seamen. In Rev. Alonzo Potter's 1848 "Sermon before the Churchmen's Missionary Association for Seamen" in Philadelphia, the Bishop of the Diocese of Pennsylvania remarks, "[sailors] have hearts. They are rarely skeptical. They see too much of the wonders of the Lord in the deep, and know by sad experience, too much of the uncertain and vanity of life, to take refuge in the cheerless creed of the unbeliever. They feel as all friendless men feel, an inexpressible yearning for sympathy; and their hearts open like those of children to the appeals of any who show that they are friends indeed" (21). The Pennsylvania Seamen's Friend Society likewise notes in their "Twenty-Fourth Annual Report" from May 1868 that "the sailor's heart is generally impressed by acts of kindness, and beats with emotions as soft and generous as that of any of the human family" (6). The idea that sailors were sentimental individuals who performed acts of charity often appeared in newspaper stories as well. A tale related in the *Sailor's Magazine* put out by the American Seamen's Friend Society describes how two sailors saved a widow woman and her children. When a greedy landlord was in the process of removing the widow and her children from her home, the two mariners, upon seeing the distressing scene, paid for the widow's rent, gave her additional money for future payments, and bought her children a delicious dinner. The account was so intriguing that the article was originally published by the *Boston Herald* and then later picked up by the Seamen's Friend Society as proof of the charitable nature of sailors.[51]

However as generous as seamen were, their impressionable nature was also shaped by wicked habits and practices that came from their experiential education and harsh circumstances at sea. Thinking that mariners endured some of the most difficult trials of life, religious members also believed that this led to drinking practices, swearing, and promiscuity on the waterfronts. As the "Address of the Directors of the Seamen's Friend Society at the City of Boston" (1828) notes, "Men of experience in this profession have always found much difficulty arising from the disorderly conduct of immoral and dissolute sailors. When intemperance and its kindred vices have the ascendancy, then insubordination is the consequence, and mutinies with all their horrid train of evils may

[51] See *The Cabin Boy's Locker, Volumes of the Sailor's Magazine from the American Seamen's Friend Society* (1858) edited by J.K. Davis, pages 43-45. LCP.

be expected" (7). While the wicked, licentious sailor was a stereotyped category of mariners that has long existed in literature, for seamen ministry societies, the sailor's capacity toward wickedness was a threat to both domestic and global communities.

In order to help sailors give up their wicked habits and sins, seamen ministry societies worked to improve the conditions of the lives of mariners through literature. Seamen ministry societies considered reading a way to help sailors develop their spiritual nature and avoid the bad habits of sin. Literature and conversion work hand in hand to create an experience of learning for sailors. Many believed that after reading the Bible, if one would pray to God to know if the contents were true, then one could experience a moment of conversion through the Holy Spirit. The idea that reading the Bible would lead to a conversion experience is one of the fundamental principles of Calvinism, Mormonism, Unitarianism, and even the Presbyterian seamen ministry societies. For instance, the Boston Seamen Friend Society explained in 1828:

> [L]et seamen be well instructed, let them be trained to habits of reading and reflection, which may easily be effected in those who are young; . . . let them be led to the house of God, and brought constantly under the means of grace, and with a common blessing, which might confidently be expected, such a moral change would be produced as would give to every crew the appearance of a family of brothers. (7).

Seamen ministry societies worked to supply ships with religious reading material and also built reading rooms within sailor homes to provide mariners with an alternative activity that encouraged moral, spiritual, and intellectual enlightenment. In the Eleventh Annual Report of the Female Seamen Friend's Society in Philadelphia (1843), the society reports that "[a] reformation among Seamen is manifested in the increased desire for reading matter. To satisfy this demand, thousands of religious papers, pamphlets, and tracts, have been sent forth as bread upon water . . . Our desire and efforts are to place a library on board every vessel that leaves our port" (17-24). Reporting on the results of placing literature on ships, in 1848's Thirteenth Annual Report by the Female Seamen's Friend Society, the report includes a letter from a sailor aboard the Revenue Cutter Legare who writes "We can never be sufficiently thankful for the library put on board our vessel. . . All are sober and serious. Much of our time is spent in reading and singing

hymns . . . Oh, the time is not far distant, I trust, when all crews will be thus employed, then indeed it will be a pleasure to go to sea" (22).

Interestingly even Richard Henry Dana Jr. emphasized how the Bethel societies' ministrations, particularly with their publication and distribution of religious tracts, has helped sailors. In *Two Years Before the Mast* Dana writes:

> The exertions of the general association, called the American Seamen's Friend Society, and of the other smaller societies throughout the Union, have been a true blessing to the seaman; and bid fair, in course of time, to change the whole nature of the circumstances in which he is placed and give him a new name, as well as a new character . . . The distribution of Bibles and tracts into cabins and forecastles, will do much toward this. There is nothing which will gain a sailor's attention sooner, and interest him more deeply, than a tract, especially one which contains a story. It is difficult to engage their attention in mere essays and arguments, but the simplest and shortest story . . . often touches the hearts of the roughest and most abandoned." (369-371)

Many of the stories which Dana refers to included sentimental sailor characters who used rescue as a means of conversion. The idea that seamen could become converted like the sentimental sailors is most likely why both fictional texts and memoirs portrayed rescuing mariners as sentimental sailor figures.

One sentimental sailor story, *The History of Little Peter the Ship-Boy*, put out by the American Sunday School Union portrayed reading as a moral conversion activity that will lead to the development of a sentimental sailor's character. When Peter's mother passes away from illness, Peter is left to fend for himself in the world. Taking the Bible his mother gave him on her deathbed, Peter goes out to sea, unaware that the ship he has signed up for is known for abusing cabin boys. Interestingly, Peter is the only sailor who is capable of reading indicating that literacy can reflect one's ability to develop and learn from Christian principles. After enduring abuse from his shipmates, a sudden storm destroys the vessel, leaving Peter alone up in the mast, reading his Bible while waiting for rescue. When Peter is rescued by another ship, he is finally permitted to read his Bible in front of the other sailors and frequently offers to read out loud to his shipmates. While Hixon allows Peter to do this for him, the other sailors onboard make fun of Peter's

Christian ways, including the captain. However, when another storm destroys the ship, Peter saves the captain's life by having the other sailors tie a rope around his waist while he jumps into the raging waves to rescue the drowning man. While the captain, Peter, and Hixon are stranded on a rock, the other sailors stay nearby on a raft, waiting for rescue. The captain marvels at Peter's faith and reconsiders Christianity. A ship with Christian mariners, basically a ship full of sentimental sailors, rescues them and the novel ends with Peter's happy reunion with his long-lost seaman father and his eventual marriage to a young woman who is, of course, a devout Christian.

Peter's story represents the numerous religious tracts and novels of sentimental sailors which were published by religious societies in hope that a wayward sailor would read these texts and experience moments of rescue and conversion.[52] Emphasizing the importance of retaining familial connections even while out at sea, these stories often highlighted the joy of family reunions such as Peter's happy ending when he finds his long-lost father. However, seamen ministry societies recognized that a sailor's ability to follow Christian values and make an honest living as a mariner depended on the conditions of the nautical world. Sailors were unfortunately often placed in harsh conditions where their own rights were violated such as flogging and other abuses on ships that occurred under the rule of a tyrannous captain. To help improve the conditions

[52] For example, the American Sunday School Union's 1864-1907 story "The Honest Cabin Boy" from *My Little Library*, features a cabin-boy who uses the Bible to comfort his shipmates during a vicious storm. LCP. The Seamen Friend Society also published many non-fictional accounts of mariners who rescue others in the *Cabin Boy's Locker* and *The Sailor's Magazine and Naval Journal*. In volume XXII (1850, pp. 82-84) of *The Sailor's Magazine*, the article "True Courage" relates how Morton the sailor bravely ventured out in rough waters in a dinghy to rescue mariners from a shipwreck. The article relates how Morton was frequently made fun of for his Methodist religion, yet after his brave deed, his shipmates began to take Christian principles more seriously. Even though many of his shipmates did not convert to Christianity themselves, they began to practice the principles of the golden rule after witnessing Morton's heroic rescue. Independence Seaport Museum Archives.

of the nautical world, seamen ministry societies put the figure of the sentimental sailor at the center of their literature and distributed these works to the American public, to ships, and to the reading rooms of their sailor homes. Much like the cult of True Womanhood which urged women to become angel in the house figures, the sentimental sailor was presented as an exemplary ideal for mariners.

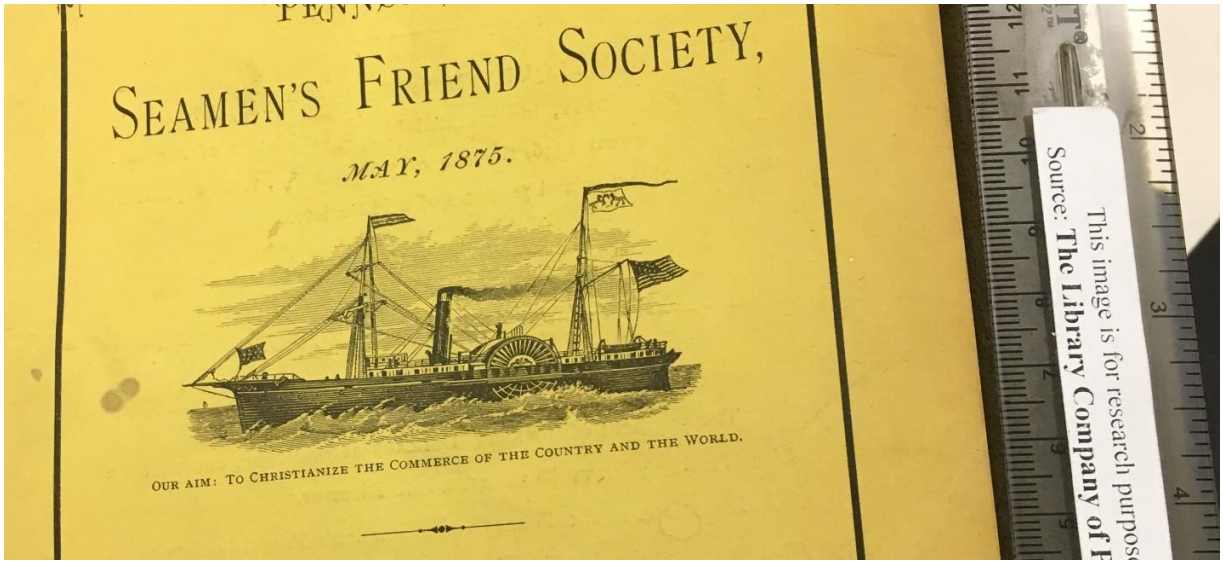
However, not all antebellum writers agreed with the romantic depictions of sentimental sailors. For instance, although Melville is known for using sentimentalism within his sea narratives, he was also careful to avoid such portrayals of mariners when discussing issues of abuse on ship. In *White Jacket*, Melville explains:

> Be it here, once and for all, understood, that no sentimental and theoretic love for the common sailor; no romantic belief in that peculiar noble-heartedness and exaggerated generosity of disposition fictitiously imputed to him in novels and no prevailing desire to gain the reputation of being his friend, have actuated me in any thing I have said, in any part of this work, touching the gross oppression under which I know that the sailor suffers. Indifferent as to who may be the parties concerned, I but desire to see wrong things righted, and equal justice administered to all.

While Melville, much like the seamen ministry societies, acknowledges the oppression which mariners often endure on ocean vessels, Melville is opposed to the idealized, romantic image of the sentimental sailor. For Melville, portraying sailors as heroic, tender hearted individuals makes it all the more difficult to obtain justice for mariners who endure flogging and other violations of their rights as citizens. Despite Melville's opposition to the sentimental sailor, the fact that he reacts to the conventions of sentimental sailors in religious tracts indicates how much the ideal of the generous, noble-hearted, sentimental sailor had taken hold of the American public. So much in fact that the figure of the sentimental sailor had shaped how mariners were viewed in antebellum America.

The seamen ministry societies played a key role in turning sentimental sailors into Christian heroes who used rescue to convert others toward family life. However, the seamen ministry societies were not the only ones who advocated proselytizing the world. Interestingly, Amy Kaplan uses Catharine Beecher's *A Treatise on Domestic Economy* to

point out how female authors, like Beecher, used the angel in the house ideology to promote global missionary work. For instance, Beecher writes that America's mission is to "exhibit[] to the world the beneficent influences of Christianity" (Kaplan 29). Kaplan argues that "America's global mission" to convert the world to Christianity is an example of how the woman's sphere culturally promoted "imperial domesticity." The seamen ministry societies likewise possessed the same goals. During the postbellum era, the Seamen Friend's Society began to frankly articulate their institution's purpose in an epigraph on all of their Annual Reports: "Our aim: to Christianize the commerce of the country and the world."[53] Written under an illustration of a steam ship, these covers clearly emphasized the seamen society's support of American imperialism. The sentimental sailor, as a prominent figure in all of the seamen ministry religious tracts, may have promoted internationalism through rescue, however, these miraculous moments of charity and international exchange also advocated the expansion of America's empire by emphasizing the rewards that come from following the golden rule.



Front Cover of the "Thirty-First Annual Report of the Pennsylvania Seamen Friend Society," May 1875. From the Library Company of Philadelphia.

[53] "Thirty-first Annual Report of the Pennsylvania Seamen's Friend Society," May 1875. LCP.

The Sentimental Sailor and Antebellum Human Rights Movements

While the international nature of the sentimental sailor attracted seamen ministry societies to this figure, for antebellum writers who advocated for humanitarian issues, the sentimental sailor became a key figure to emphasize human rights and liberty. Retaining the Christian values of the sentimental sailor – although not all sentimental sailors are Christian – antebellum authors used the mariner's desires for kinship, domesticity, and liberty to promote mariner rights, women's rights, and abolition. Spiritual conversion was occasionally included in these tales, however, antebellum authors showed that "conversion" can take on multiple meanings by including the sentimental sailor in works of all genres. A frequent storyline that was included within these narratives were moments where sentimental sailors were rewarded for their rescues by receiving boons from the very people whom they saved, emphasizing that the golden rule was often a more effective way of exchange. In this manner, nineteenth-century sentimental sailors highlighted internationalism – a vastly different ideal from the patriotic, nationalist portrayals of their eighteenth-century predecessors.

Catharine Maria Sedgwick's 1827 short story "The Chivalric Sailor,"[54] exemplifies how the antebellum writers depicted the sentimental sailor through moments of international exchange. When a fifteen-year-old girl from England dresses up a as a boy and goes out to sea in 1768 to elope with her fiancé, she is horrified to find that her beloved never shows up. Left alone on a strange ship, heading to a foreign land, the young woman manages to keep her disguise as a boy until a bibulous celebration among the mariners frightens her and she reveals her true gender to the captain while begging for his protection. The American sea captain's pride is wounded when he learns how his cabin boy had deceived him, and he takes her home to Oxford, Maryland and forces her to work among the enslaved persons in his scullery. Perdita, as she is nicknamed, is miserable and longs to return to England. When Frank Stuart, a young American seaman, hears of Perdita's plight, he offers to hide her on the ship Hazard where Stuart is a hired hand. Stuart promises to take care of Perdita as a sister and she agrees. Hiding in the

[54] Published in 1826 and 1827 as "Modern Chivalry," the short story was renamed "The Chivalric Sailor" in Sedgwick's 1835's collection *Tales and Sketches*.

cargo hold, Sedgwick makes connections between Perdita's predicament and the Middle Passage. However, Stuart does his best to make Perdita as comfortable as possible. When a sudden storm occurs, the elderly captain gives up his authority to Stuart. Using his nautical skills, Stuart saves the entire ship and grateful passengers provide him with extra food and supplies which he in turn gives to his hidden charge. Stuart believes that the storm and extra food are a gift from Heaven, and he praises God for these events.

However, a malicious shipmate catches sight of Perdita and attempts to turn her in to the captain. Stuart, who is skilled with nautical labor, and as readers can assume, the rhetorical narrative skills of the sea, argues with the seaman and threatens to fight him. His threats manage to persuade the sailor to keep silent. Finally, the ship reaches England and Perdita obtains her freedom. Many years pass, and Stuart is now a privateer captain under John Paul Jones during the American Revolution. When a British ship captures him and takes the wounded Stuart prisoner in Antigua, Stuart is greatly surprised when the governor greets him, treating him as a guest and comrade. Stuart discovers that the governor's wife is Perdita – now known as Selina Liston. Stuart is overcome with emotion when he realizes that Perdita has never forgotten her rescue many years ago. Because of Stuart's past charity, he is set free along with his ship by the British. The story ends with Stuart as an old man surrounded by his grandchildren, telling them yarns of his younger years and thinking fondly of his days at sea as a sentimental sailor.

"The Chivalric Sailor" represents a number of the conventions of antebellum sentimental sailor narratives. Sedgwick introduces moments of women's rights issues with Perdita's enslavement to the American sea captain. Perdita's situation also refers to the inhuman treatment of enslaved persons throughout America, even in northern states such as Maryland. Sedgwick is very much aware of the North's participation in slavery as it was her father, the abolitionist lawyer Theodore Sedgwick, who fought for the rights of Elizabeth Freeman in court thus making slavery illegal in Massachusetts.

As for Frank Stuart's nature as a sentimental sailor, Sedgwick indicates that Stuart is a Christian through his acts of charity and prayers, however Stuart never actively attempts to convert other sailors to Christianity. Instead, Stuart's religion motivates him to advocate for the liberty of others. This is shown later in the story when Stuart becomes a privateer under John Paul Jones and fights for the colonies during the American

Revolution. However, instead of highlighting Stuart's patriotism, Sedgwick focuses on the reunion between Stuart and Perdita – a reconciliation between individuals who are supposedly at war with each other. The gratitude, goodwill, and overwhelming emotions that come from this reunion highlight the significance of international exchange and the golden rule rather than nationalism. Finally, the story's ending which places Stuart among his grandchildren, telling yarns of his sailor days once again associates the sentimental sailor with the homes of the ship and the fireside. Like Longfellow's poetry, Sedgwick's story will also reach the homes of an international audience who will find Stuart's rescue of Perdita a story that incites emotion and sentiment.

While authors like Sedgwick advocated for the sentimental sailor, and other writers like Melville pushed against this ideal, the cultural impact that sentimental sailors had on both the nautical world and inland conceptions of sailors indicate the far-reaching influence of this figure. Originating in the eighteenth century alongside the beginnings of the sentimental movement, the sentimental sailor was shaped by mariners' roles in the American Revolution and War of 1812. Although early American sentimental sailors were liberty loving, emotional individuals devoted to family life, antebellum seamen ministry societies began to use sentimental sailors as Christian ideals – world-wide missionaries who would spread good will to all nations. With sailors as international beings who receive an experience-based nautical education, human rights activists found that the sentimental sailor figure was a powerful symbol to include within their narratives. As an ideal that permeated all genres of print culture, the sentimental sailor shaped the way antebellum Americans perceived popular conceptions of empire and internationalism. Additionally, the sentimental sailor also influenced the way Americans viewed mariners and the way that sailors considered their own roles in developing the new nation and the world.

Chapter Two

Hope Leslie at Sea

In volume two of *Hope Leslie, or Early Times in the Massachusetts* (1827), Catharine Maria Sedgwick's heroine, Hope, is caught in the middle of a conflict between the Puritans and the Pequots. When the chief's daughter, Magawisca, is captured by the colonists, Hope is taken hostage by Chief Mononotto and his son, Oneco. In order to evade the colonists, the Pequot men take Hope out to sea in a canoe during a raging tempest. When a lightning bolt strikes Mononotto rendering him unconscious, Hope uses the distraction to flee to a nearby island. However, the island is inhabited by a crew of inebriated pirates who chase Hope and threaten her chastity. Hope escapes the island on a dinghy and a fortuitous wave pushes her to safety. As she begins to pray, thanking God for her deliverance, Antonio Batista, an Italian-Catholic pirate who was sleeping in the boat, wakes up and mistakes Hope for the Virgin Mary and his patron, Saint Petronilla.[55] Unable to convince the mariner of her mortality, Hope recognizes an opportunity for escape: taking on the guise of Saint Petronilla, she orders Antonio to row her back to the colony, and the pirate delivers her safely to the docks.

This scene reveals the importance that Sedgwick placed on maritime sentimentalism – even at the center of a novel that is usually read in relation to the landed-frontier. Given Sedgwick's depiction of the removal of the Native Americans from their lands, it makes sense that scholars read *Hope Leslie* as a novel that is centered on landscape and nineteenth-century constructions of nation. For example, Christopher Castiglia claims that the text is a captivity romance that challenges the stereotypes of female characters by allowing them to take their domesticity out of the home and into the liminal space of the frontier. Differing from the male model of frontier narratives where heroes adventure into the wilderness to develop their own individualism, [56] captivity

[55] Interestingly, Saint Petronilla's symbol is a dolphin making her the perfect patron saint for a sailor.

[56] In *Love and Death in the American Novel*, Leslie Fiedler argues that nineteenth-century U.S. canonical texts show a pattern where male characters abandon the domestic

romance heroines instead establish community-oriented relationships that eventually assist them in their escape from imprisonment. Castiglia's reading defines the frontier as a land-based concept, especially when he compares the captivity romance to the Western. Yet the landed frontier of western expansion is not the only border in *Hope Leslie*, for the narrative is set primarily on the coast of the 1630s and 40s Massachusetts Bay Colony where the sea plays a major role in the geographic imaginary of the novel.

Sedgwick wrote *Hope Leslie* during a time when sea narratives were immensely popular with antebellum readers. Her contemporary, James Fenimore Cooper published his first ocean adventure *The Pilot: A Tale of the Sea*[57] in 1824, and Sedgwick herself was an immense fan of Sir Walter Scott's 1821 novel *The Pirate*.[58] Familiar with the sea narrative genre, Sedgwick even tried her hand with a nautical tale, "The Chivalric Sailor" published in 1827, the same year as *Hope Leslie*. As I discussed in chapter one, Sedgwick's hero in "The Chivalric Sailor," Frank Stuart, is a sentimental sailor figure – an antebellum ocean character whose devotion to God leads to daring rescues of the captive and distressed. As a moral being, the sentimental sailor is an extraordinary individual who will act independently from society to protect the liberty of others. In *Hope Leslie*, Sedgwick participates in the literary tradition of maritime sentimentalism by creating another sentimental sailor character through Antonio Batista, the Italian-Catholic pirate.

Keeping in mind this neglected context of maritime sentimentalism in *Hope Leslie*, my analysis centers on Antonio's presence in the ocean and waterfront scenes of the novel. Although scholars often dismiss Antonio as a minor character who is incapable

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sphere, particularly heterosexual love, and travel instead with male companions out to the frontier.

[57] Cooper's novel *The Pilot* was written in response to Sir Walter Scott's *The Pirate*.

[58] On February 21, 1821, Sedgwick wrote to Mrs. Channing, "I hope you have read *[T]he Pirate* with delight as we have. It certainly is a highly poetical production. Who but Walter Scott could have created such a scene on a barren isle of the Northern Ocean!" (Dewey 147).

of thinking for himself,[59] Sedgwick sets up her narrative structure to position Hope's encounter with the sentimental sailor as a key moment in the text. Throughout volume one, there are various references that foreshadow Hope's ocean adventure, and at the climax of the narrative, all the events that take place on the waterfront are a direct result of Hope and Antonio meeting on the bay. This carefully crafted plot structure suggests that Sedgwick skillfully incorporated a beginning, middle, and end that contains elements of maritime sentimentalism. In this regard, viewing *Hope Leslie* as a land-based novel presents a limited picture of Sedgwick's narrative and neglects how the ocean was a geographical space that significantly shaped antebellum writing.

Scholars of early and antebellum America have recognized the need to incorporate more international context into the field. By looking to the ocean instead of land, scholars can reconceptualize U.S. history and culture to include a framework that tells the narratives of America's interactions and interconnections with the rest of the world. The works of Paul Gilroy (1993), Thomas Bender (2006), and Hester Blum (2008)[60] all speak to the significance the maritime world has in the historical and cultural developments of the new Republic. Even Sedgwick herself was actively involved with a transatlantic social network.[61] Sedgwick grew up in the late eighteenth century, a time

[59] Elizabeth Fenton notes that Antonio is a "superstitious Italian who crosses himself and complies" (50) while Susan Harris likewise argues that "[a]lthough few Catholic figures as major characters in [Sedgwick's] novels, those that do either have questionable morals or else have been so robbed of independent reasoning by their Catholic training that they cannot think for themselves" (280).

[60] See Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*; Bender, Thomas. *A Nation Among Nations: America's Place in World History*; and Blum, Hester. *The View From the Masthead: Maritime Imagination and Antebellum American Sea Narratives*.

[61] See Lucinda Damon-Bach's second chapter "Catharine Maria Sedgwick Tours England: Private Letters, Public Account" in *Transatlantic Women*.

where citizens took great interest in the affairs and news of Europe.[62] Including maritime sentimentalism and ocean scenes allows Sedgwick to reflect the global interactions of the early American and antebellum period in *Hope Leslie*.

In this chapter I argue that Sedgwick includes elements of maritime sentimentalism alongside the conventions of the captivity romance to make a claim about U.S. nationalism: specifically, that while America is using nationalist identities to develop the young Republic, *Hope Leslie* shows us how non-national forms of identity are also included in America's history and cultural narrative. By incorporating Antonio's role as a sentimental sailor into the plot of the novel, Sedgwick encourages citizens on the landed frontier to acknowledge their global history and see beyond the cultural prejudices of their own community.

I begin by explaining how Sedgwick uses nautical education and religious cultural views of the ocean to situate how Hope and Antonio interpret their experiences on the ocean. Sedgwick's labeling of Hope as a Divine Woman and Antonio as the Italian-Catholic, sentimental sailor also allows her to use these familiar maritime characters to challenge readers, through her ocean and waterfront scenes, to think introspectively about their own nationalist assumptions and prejudices.

Conversion and the Experience-Based Education of the Sea

The ocean is often depicted in literature as a place of change or conversion. At the heart of this notion are yarns or oral narratives told by mariners. Yarns allowed sailors to pass on their experience and knowledge about the sea with each other and this type of experience-based education centered on moments of change or learning. The sea, then, was viewed as a place of education where conversion can occur. From a religious perspective, the ocean is a place that is under the control of God. In the Bible, the ocean is where Christ calmed storms and even walked on water. Therefore, nineteenth-century Christians viewed the sea as a setting for miracles where sailors could witness the works

[62] See chapter one "Imagining a Nation of Politicians: Political Printers and the Reader-Citizens of the 1790s" of Seth Cotlar's *Tom Paine's America: The Rise and Fall of Transatlantic Radicalism in the Early Republic*.

of the divine and therefore establish a relationship with deity. For both Hope and Antonio who expect to experience miracles at sea, they both read their experiences on the bay as moments of divine intervention. Thus, Sedgwick uses their religious perspective of the sea to make their experiences on the ocean a moment of conversion.

In *Hope Leslie,* Sedgwick portrays the ocean as a space of learning where conversion and miracles occur. Throughout the ocean scene, Hope experiences a series of incidents that she deems as divine intervention. This sequence of events – escaping from Chief Mononotto through the help of stormy weather, running into pirates and escaping them with the assistance of ocean waves – all show how Hope reads nature as the hand of God intervening on her behalf. Likewise, Antonio reads his encounter with the Saint Petronilla, or Hope's performance of a Catholic saint, as a moment of divine intervention where he is warned away from the wicked habits of his pirate shipmates. Hope's and Antonio's view of the ocean as a space where one is close to God through nature is an idea that originates from nineteenth-century interpretations of the Bible. As discussed in Chapter One, many antebellum seaman societies referred to Psalm 107: 23-31[63] which states that sailors are beings who witness the wonders of God and are therefore closer to Him and his miraculous works.[64] Additionally, Isaiah 60:5 notes that the sea is a place of

[63] See John Truair's "A Call From the Ocean or An Appeal to the Patriot and the Christian in Behalf of Seaman" published by the American Seaman Friend's Society in 1826 (New York), and "The Storm at Sea," a pamphlet for girls published by the Philadelphia American Sunday School Union. Also, Lydia Sigourney's 1850 poetry collection *Poems for the Sea* include Psalms 107 as an epigraph.

[64] Psalm 107: 23-31: They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters; [t]hese 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 wits' end. Then they cry unto the LORD in their trouble, and he bringeth them unto their desired haven. Oh that men would praise the LORD for his goodness and for his wonderful works to the children of men!

conversion.[65] As these scriptures were often related to sailors in religious tracts, poetry, Sunday school pamphlets, and novels, antebellum readers commonly viewed the ocean as a place of divine intervention, including the great miracle of conversion.

Religious identity is the most pervasive form of non-national identity that Hope and Antonio confront. Ironically, Hope's humble prayer leads Antonio to mistake her for a Divine Woman figure and Hope's next adventure on the ocean is her performance of the Saint Petronilla. By placing Hope's and Antonio's divine interventions side by side in the narrative, Sedgwick suggests to readers that Hope's Protestant faith and Antonio's Catholicism bear similar components as both characters actively search for signs of God's presence and power while out at sea. Their interpretations of the ocean, which is, in turn, similar to many antebellum Americans, marks this scene as a critical moment in the text.

Hope Leslie, As the Divine Woman Figure

Throughout the novel, Hope is presented as a character who is "superior to *some* of the prejudices of the age," especially when she rescues Nelema, an innocent Native American medicine woman, from the colony's jail (Sedgwick 127, italics added). However, Sedgwick indicates with the word "some" that Hope, like all of the Puritans in her community, has picked up on the Massachusetts Bay Colony's cultural habit of perpetuating anti-Catholic sentiments.[66] Hope's intolerance towards Romanism leads her to act in a tyrannous manner toward Catholic characters by condemning their choices and religious practices. Hope's prejudice harms her growth as a heroine until she learns from her experiences at sea that she must think more broadly to survive on the ocean. Through this experience with the Italian-Catholic pirate, Hope comes to learn by the end of the

[65] Isaiah 60:5 states, "the abundance of the sea shall be converted unto thee."

[66] For more on anti-Catholicism in the nineteenth century, see Jenny Franchot's *Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism*, Susan Griffin's *Anti-Catholicism and Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, and Elizabeth Fenton's *Religious Liberties: Anti-Catholicism and Liberal Democracy in Nineteenth-Century U.S. Literature and Culture*.

novel to adopt a multicultural mindset that respects the practices of Catholicism. In other words, the context of the sea leads Hope, and later Antonio, to accept non-national forms of identity and difference.

Despite the similarities between Hope's and Antonio's belief in divine intervention, Hope's decision to act as a Catholic saint is manipulative and disrespectful toward the pirate's religious beliefs. Yet Sedgwick is careful to indicate through an earlier scene in volume one that Hope has thought carefully about what it means to take on a performance of Catholicism. When her friend Esther attempts to reveal a personal secret, Hope pretends that she is a Catholic priest who is conducting confessionals. Horrified, Esther chastises Hope, "do not trifle with holy words, and most unholy rites; but listen, seriously, and compassionate a weakness that can never be forgotten" (140). Esther not only derides Hope for impersonating religious authority, but she finds Hope's performance of a Catholic an especially harmful act. Although Esther may consider Catholicism to include "unholy rites," she also acknowledges that both the Catholic and Calvinist faith use common scriptural rhetoric in their worship when she chides Hope "do not trifle with holy words" (140). To perform Catholicism in a sense means that Hope is also indirectly poking fun at her own Protestant doctrine. This lesson resonates with Hope and later in volume two, when she learns that her sister, Faith, has converted to Catholicism, she concludes "any Christian faith was better than none" (197). Like Esther, Hope comes to recognize that Catholicism does bear similar Biblical language to Calvinism and this is something that Hope keeps in mind when she also encounters Antonio.

Hope's challenges with Catholicism also teach her that participating in the Puritans Anti-Catholic prejudices only further harms her moral and intellectual development. Susan Harris explains that in Sedgwick's works, Catholicism is often portrayed as an institution that bears too much authority over members.[67] The idea that Catholicism exemplifies a type of tyranny is also why Esther finds Hope's performance offensive. Esther suggests that Hope use compassion and sympathy to socially interact and influence others. For Esther, the act of showing compassion by truly listening to

[67] Harris, "The Limits of Authority," pages 280-281.

another with an open mind and no barriers of judgment or prejudice is seen as a type of Christian charity similar to what John Winthrop preached in in "A Model of Christian Charity" when he incorporated a portion of the scripture in Matthew 7.12 within his speech: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them" (149). For Esther who lives with this doctrine, Hope's performance as a Catholic priest is shocking as Hope places herself in an authoritative power similar to tyranny rather than the democratic approach Winthrop proposes. In pretending to conduct confessions, a practice where a sinner speaks to the priest behind a wall, Hope's performance indicates a barrier between the two friends as Hope is approaching Esther's concerns from a position of judgment rather than empathy. During this moment, Hope mistakenly believes that her actions are meaningless as she herself does not believe in Catholic doctrine, but mocking Catholicism[68] only harms Hope's character, and as she learns, her friendship with others as well.

Casting judgement on the lifestyles of another goes against Hope's own educational upbringing. Within the Fletcher household, Hope is raised by adults who are from various backgrounds and religions. Hope's aunt, Dame Grafton, is a firm believer in the Church of England. While the novel presents her as a humorous woman who frequently obsesses over fashion and material goods, her great love for her niece also positions her as a positive character who has her charge's best interests at heart. Likewise, Master Cradock, Hope's socially awkward tutor, is extremely fond of his charge and traveled to the colonies with Aunt Grafton to provide Hope with a European based education. While Dame Grafton teaches Hope how to paint, a craft that she picked up in Paris from the Convent of Chartreux, Master Cradock, who had obtained his own education in Rome, teaches Hope to speak Italian. Through their European education, Hope learns that there are other cultural modes of thinking that exist outside of the Calvinist doctrine of the Puritan community.

In addition to her aunt and tutor, Hope is also educated by her guardian, Mr. Fletcher. Although Mr. Fletcher is a devout Calvinist, he despises the prejudices of the

[68] Griffin, *Anti-Catholicism*, page 5.

Puritan community and chooses to move his family out to the frontier.[69] Out among nature, Mr. Fletcher gives his children the freedom to act on their own thoughts without suffering the judgment of their Calvinist neighbors. As a result, Hope grows up in an "atmosphere of favour and indulgence" which allowed her "natural qualities to shoot forth in unrepressed luxuriance" (127). Known for always getting her "own way," a way that enables her to act as she wishes without interference, Hope is a character who learns to freely challenge cultural categorizations as well as use them for her own benefit (235). Hope's high intelligence also allows her to comprehend how social constructions work and when they should be challenged to advocate for the rights of another. This type of education teaches Hope to value independent thinking, yet whenever she casts judgement on Catholic characters, she adopts a tyrannous mindset that upsets her own learning process.

Hope learns through Esther's warnings that performing Catholicism is dangerous to her own spirituality and education. However, when she becomes a Catholic saint in volume two, she does so to save herself from Native Americans and pirates that would hold her in captivity. Hope tries at first to heed Esther's suggestion of using sympathy as a form of cross-cultural interaction, but when her Native American and pirate captors disregard her pleas, she uses performance to switch her position from a female captive to a female Catholic saint who possesses the power to protect and rescue the distressed. In this case, although she still disregards the sacredness of Catholic doctrine in her second performance, she uses her authority as a Divine Woman and her own experiences with religious faith to ensure her survival at sea.

Another reason why Hope knows that she can give an accurate performance of a Divine Woman figure is because she constantly encounters men who label her as a saint in volume one. When Governor Winthrop hosts a festal day dinner, Hope recounts an incident when the early Pilgrims were saved from hunger by a timely ship that arrived with supplies. During Hope's retelling, Sedgwick notes that Hope's tutor, Master Cradock, experiences "an emotion similar to that of a pious catholic, when he fancies the image of the saint he worships to bend propitiously toward him" (153). The allusion to

[69] Fenton, *Religious Liberties*, page 48.

Hope as a saint continues further when Sir Philip Gardiner, who is secretly Catholic, plays on Hope's mistake of the vessel's name by commenting that Hope herself "should have been named, the Blessing of the Bay" (154).[70]

Sedgwick places an interesting comparison in this scene between Master Cradock and Gardiner. While Cradock is alluded to as a Catholic who worships a patron saint, a reference that insinuates a spiritual, sacred connection, Gardiner's declaration that Hope should bear the name of the ship "The Blessing of the Bay" has a more perverse connotation. Within the maritime community, ships were gendered female, often in reference to the female body as the architecture of a ship has curves and also a womb like structure.[71] In the late eighteenth century when figureheads began to take on the shape of women, sailors referred to their vessels with feminine pronouns. Figureheads were also considered the spirit of the ship, and sailors frequently related the name of their ship to the female figurehead itself. When Gardiner mentions that Hope should take on the name of a ship, "the Blessing of the Bay," he objectifies her as a vessel, and only views Hope for her female body, a perspective that is later revealed in the novel when he attempts to kidnap and seduce her.[72]

Through Gardiner's comment, Sedgwick makes it clear that Hope lives in a world where patriarchy exists both on land and sea. Indeed, in Sedgwick's historical tales, the sea is a space of masculinity and for female characters to have the power of mobility on the ocean, they must adopt a masculine gender performance. In "The Chivalric Sailor" (1827), fifteen-year-old Perdita procures employment on a vessel because she is dressed as a boy. Likewise, in *The Linwoods; or, Sixty Years Since in America* (1835), Sedgwick

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[70] Hope originally misunderstands Sir Philip Gardiner's allusion to her as the "Blessing of the Bay" and Aunt Grafton must explain, with frank language, what Gardiner is insinuating. The above quote is from Aunt Grafton's conversation with Hope.

[71] David Cordingly, *Women Sailors and Sailors' Women*, page 157.

[72] Margaret Creighton explains that "sailors tended to see in their vessels the woman they could 'own' as property and the woman they could command sexually," especially as "[w]oman in generic form, as the subject of song or art, or as the ship itself, could be molded into whatever the mariner wished" (158).

includes one female character, Lizzy Bengin, who can assist the novel's hero, Herbert, in maneuvering the boat due to her masculine nature and nautical knowledge:

> Her father had been a pilot, and Lizzy being his only child, he had repaired, as far as possible, what he considered the calamity of her sex, by giving her the habits of a boy. Her childhood was spent on the water, and nature and early training had endowed her with the masculine spirit and skill that now did her such good service. (336)

Through Lizzy's character, Sedgwick suggests that nautical skills will endow a woman with a "masculine spirit."

Christopher Castiglia's point that Hope has no mobility on the ocean is an accurate observation within the framework of Sedgwick's novel. [73] The novel begins with William's and Alice's failed elopement with William rowing a dinghy in desperate attempt to save his fiancé from the King's men, and later in the novel, although Hope is credited with freeing Nelema and Magawisca from jail, it is Digby who ferries the Native American women across the bay to safety. Thus, Hope lives within the patriarchal society of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and the ocean is positioned as a masculine space where only men have control over ships and boats. Even though Hope cannot physically row her own dinghy, she uses her femininity and both the mythology and iconographic symbols of Catholicism to persuade Antonio to row her to shore. As a mortal woman who is the victim of kidnapping, she is in a position of vulnerability, but as a Divine Woman, she has power over all the sea and the sailors within it. Her performance as Saint Petronilla gives her control over her own escape vehicle as a temporary captain – an act that fulfills Margaret Fuller's declaration that nineteenth-century women should have the choice of becoming "sea captains" (95). The men who label Hope as a saint may view her in idealized terms, but when Hope takes on this role, she finds a way to use the idolization of the female body to give herself authority and power.

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[73] Castiglia notes, "All the forces Hope encounters, furthermore, immobilize her, putting her at the mercy of men, who command the means of movement (the canoe, the ship, the dinghy)" (13).

Despite Hope's good intentions, her performance in front of Antonio leads Governor Winthrop to question Hope's choices and he accuses her of promoting the Italian-pirate's "idol worship" (Sedgwick 285). Sedgwick purposely has Winthrop question Hope's choices with her performance so that the text can articulate Hope's thoughts during the ocean chase scene. Hope explains, "I did not esteem it worship; I thought it merely an affectionate address to one who – and I hope I erred not in that – might not have been a great deal better than myself" (285). Hope's insistence that she views Saint Petronilla as a mortal woman enables her to play act the role of the female Catholic saint without harming the state of her own Protestant spirituality. Catholicism is foreign enough to Hope that she can perform the role of a saint without feeling sacrilegious. Sedgwick has to take great care to keep her heroine humble and dutiful to her own religion so that readers will not view Hope's performance as evidence of vanity. The narrative may label Hope as a stereotyped Divine Woman symbol of feminine power and self-reliance, but Hope cannot view herself this way if she is to remain the heroine of novel.

Whether Hope is faithful to her own Protestant religion during her performance of Saint Petronilla becomes a point of conflict within the Winthrop household. While Governor Winthrop believes that Hope's impersonation of a Divine Woman was a harmful act that endangers both Hope's and Antonio's spirituality, Master Cradock, Mr. Fletcher, and Mrs. Grafton all view Hope's actions as appropriate for her dire situation. Master Cradock is especially affected by Hope's exploits. Having taught Hope Italian, he is filled with emotion when he realizes that his student communicated with Antonio so well that the sailor mistook her for a saint. He specifically expresses gratitude to God that Hope's education had "saved her most precious and sweet life" (284-285). Mrs. Grafton also agrees by proclaiming that Hope had shown good judgment by "using the means the Lord chose to place in her hands" (286). Hope's education is what allowed her to act on her own intuitive thoughts and return safely back to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. In this manner, the ocean episode is a key moment in the text where Hope's story could have easily turned into a seduction narrative. However, by situating Hope as a heroine who strives to develop a perspective that is informed by a transatlantic education,

Sedgwick can endow her self-reliant protagonist with the ability to rescue others and even herself through cross-cultural interactions.

To emphasize Hope's learning process even further, Sedgwick has Esther vocalize her opinion of Hope's performance as a Catholic saint. Although Esther is Hope's closest friend, the two young women have opposite upbringings. As John Winthrop's niece, Esther grew up within the borders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and has associated only with those within her community. She is considered a model Puritan woman by Winthrop and the colonists, and her companionship with Hope was planned by the Puritan leaders so that Esther might influence Hope and teach her to behave with more propriety. When Hope curiously asks Esther what she might have done if she were kidnapped and taken out to sea, Esther replies, "I would rather, Hope, thou hadst trusted thyself wholly to that Providence that had so wonderfully wrought for thee thus far" (286). Esther gives an answer of faith, yet her suggestion to trust in God and wait for deliverance is passive and dangerous at sea. Hester Blum notes that labor and intellectual reflection are both necessary on the ocean. Hope survives her adventure because she is constantly in motion both physically and intellectually – making quick decisions while escaping from the Native American canoe to the island inhabited by pirates and finally to Antonio's dinghy. When she is unable to move further in the dinghy, she must use her intellect to convince the pirate to row her to safety. Her quick thinking and constant inclination to act on behalf of her own escape mimics the mindset of sailors who use their wit and physical strength to survive turbulent waters.[74]

Esther's answer also does not mention cross-cultural interactions and instead reveals her background as a Puritan who has never socialized with others outside of her own social circle. For Esther, she cannot visualize help coming from a Native American or an Italian-Catholic pirate and turns instead to God for assistance. But Hope can, and she continues to ask for sympathy throughout the entire ocean episode while also giving gratitude to God for saving her. Hope's ability to ask for sympathy is a result of her

[74] Hester Blum argues in *The View From the Masthead* that within sea narratives both the "thinking body" and the laboring body are key components for survival out at sea (1).

education. She herself would grant assistance to those outside of her community like Nelema and Magawisca and this is why she believes that others would also render the same service for her.

Although Hope is willing to ask others for help regardless of their religious or cultural affiliations, she still struggles with her own prejudices toward Catholicism. Hope especially finds it difficult to understand Faith's conversion to Catholicism and her choice to live among the Native Americans. At the close of the novel, Magawisca attempts to explain Faith's choice to Hope: "Both virtue and duty . . . bind your sister to Oneco. She hath been married according to our simple modes, and persuaded by a Romish father, as she came from Christian blood, to observe the rites of their law" (Sedgwick 351). Magawisca points out that there are principles such as "virtue and duty" and even faith that are felt and honored among all religious individuals regardless of cultural affiliation. She continues, "Those beautiful [star]lights that shine alike on your stately domes and our forest homes, speak to me of [God's] love to all" (351-352).

After Hope's adventure at sea where she had to use her own understanding of miracles to create a scene of divine intervention for Antonio, Magawisca's parting words which emphasize once again the similarities between all religions leave a lasting impact on her. When Hope learns that Faith has fled back to the forest with Oneco, she recognizes that her friends and family would consider Faith's Catholic, Native American marriage invalid. But Hope herself "took a more youthful, romantic, and perhaps natural view of the affair; and the suggestions of Magawisca, combining with the dictates of her own heart, produced the conclusion that this was a case where 'God had joined together, and many might not put asunder'" (359). In this concluding scene, Hope finally comes to respect and accept the practices of other cultures and fully adopts a multicultural perspective.

Shortly after this scene, Hope marries Everell and has children of her own. Having Hope's marriage occur right after she accepts Faith's Catholic marriage suggests that Hope is now prepared to shift from her role as a student to a teacher who can educate her children to act with moral independence. As Mr. Fletcher, Mrs. Grafton, and Master Cradock are all part of her household, the conclusion of the novel suggests that Hope's children will likewise receive a similar type of educational upbringing as she did.

Everell's own upbringing in the Fletcher household, and his travels in England also positions him as a father who has obtained his education outside the boundary of the colonies. Interestingly, it is Mrs. Fletcher, a character who is considered extremely proper in her traditional Calvinist views, who encourages Mr. Fletcher to send Everell to England. She writes to her husband:

> Be gracious unto me, my dear husband, and deem not that I overstep the modest bound of a woman's right in meddling with that which is thy prerogative – the ordering of our eldest son's education . . . Everell here hath few except spiritual privileges. God, who seeth my heart, knoweth I do not undervalue these – the manna of the wilderness. Yet to them might be added worldly helps, to aid the growth of the boy's noble gifts . . . Trust then to the promised blessing, and fear not to permit him to pass a few years in England, whence he will return to be a crown of glory to thee, my husband, and a blessing and honor to our chosen country. (36)

Mrs. Fletcher argues that Everell needs both an education in the colonies and in Europe to become a productive member of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Although Mrs. Fletcher is introduced as a strict woman who tries relentlessly to convert Magawisca to Calvinism rather than respect the fifteen-year-old's Native American customs, she recognizes that living solely within the boundaries of the Puritan community would limit Everell's intellectual and spiritual potential. Mrs. Fletcher's last words to her husband gives Mr. Fletcher permission to act against the traditional parenting style of the colony and encourage Everell to obtain a Transatlantic education.

To even further emphasize the importance of viewing the world beyond one's own national boundaries, Sedgwick also has Esther leave the Puritan community and live in England for a couple of years before she returns to the colony and becomes a figure of charity. In reference to Esther, Sedgwick ends the novel with a quotation, "Give to a party what was meant for mankind" (371). Although the heroes and heroines are positioned as the ancestors of nineteenth-century Americans in the closing chapter, the last word of the narrative "mankind" suggests that the characters have an identity that reaches beyond the nation-state. Hope's, Everell's, and Esther's narratives are examples to antebellum readers of individuals who can fully learn from and adopt an experience-

based education. Their stories show how U.S. history is intertwined with the cultural narratives and educational practices from across the Atlantic.

Antonio Batista, the Italian-Catholic Pirate, and Sentimental Sailor

Antonio is a character who longs to strengthen his nautical education by experiencing a moment of divine intervention and conversion at sea. However, to complicate a reading of Antonio, Sedgwick labels him with two common sea narrative figures that nineteenth-century readers would recognize and immediately try to categorize: the naïve Italian-Catholic sailor and the treacherous pirate. Yet, Antonio becomes a confusing figure to Protestant readers as he may act within the conventions of the Italian-Catholic sailor and pirate, yet he also pushes against acts of immorality, especially when Sedgwick has him convert into the figure of the rescuing sentimental sailor. Antonio's relationship with God surpasses even Hope's and his actions at the denouement of the narrative, including his abandonment of piracy, positions him as a heroic character in the novel.

Sedgwick depicts Antonio as the typical Italian-Catholic pirate so that readers will judge him by the stereotypes of his figure. Within American literature, the Italian sailor is often paired with a Divine Woman figure. Divine Women have a long history in the maritime world from Mediterranean goddess worship in 3,000 B.C.,[75] to later Christian beliefs that considered the Virgin Mary as a protectress of the ocean.[76] The relation between the Italian Catholic mariner and Divine Women began with Christopher Columbus who was a worshipper of the Virgin Mary. When books about Columbus's exploits grew in popularity during the early American period, references to the Divine Woman and Italian-Catholic sailor also increased.[77] Overly zealous in their devotion to the Virgin Mary and their patron saints, Italian-Catholic sailors were comedic characters

[75] John Gatta, *American Madonna: Images of the Divine Woman in Literary Culture*, page 8.

[76] Cordingly, *Women Sailors and Sailors' Women*, pages 155-157.

[77] Claudia Bushman, *America Discovers Columbus: How an Italian Explorer Became An American Hero*, pages 22-40.

that Protestant writers made fun of yet also admired for their extreme loyalty to divinity. For example, in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Harriet Beecher Stowe compares Tom to an "Italian sailor," a metaphor that suits Tom's religious beliefs and Christian actions throughout the novel (379).

***The Virgin of the Navigators* by Alejo Fernández (1531–1536) depicts the Virgin Mary as a Divine Woman who protects ships at sea and explorers such as Columbus who is one of the men under her cloak. The painting is a central panel of an altar piece for the Chapel of the Casa de Contratación in Alcázar of Seville, Seville, Spain.**

However, Italian-Catholic sailors were also depicted as narrow-minded characters who were entrapped by their own religious idealism. Jenny Franchot explains that Protestants viewed Catholicism as a religion that confined members into enclosed spaces such as convents, confessionals, and cathedrals.[78] As a result, many Protestants deemed

[78] Franchot, *Roads to Rome*, page 112.

Catholicism as a tyrannous religion that acted against nationhood itself.[79] At first glance, Antonio seems to fit this description as he is also introduced to readers as a pirate, an occupation that places him within a culture of dissent against the laws of all nations.[80] In nineteenth-century literature, pirates were the ultimate villains often appearing in newspaper comics, dime novels, sea narratives, and even land literature as characters who participated in violence, seduction, and cruelty. When Hope first meets Antonio's pirate crewmates who are drunk and even attempt to rape her, readers expect that Antonio will likewise act similarly. As a pirate and a Catholic, Antonio is immediately labeled as a villain and a potential threat to Hope. Yet, Sedgwick presents Antonio as an extraordinary character who defies the typical behaviors expected from his stereotypes.

Antonio's intense spiritual devotion and desire for an experience-based education sets him apart from the rest of his pirate shipmates. When Hope discovers Chaddock's pirate crew, they are all asleep on the forest earth, completely drunk. With drinking as a common social practice in maritime culture,[81] Antonio acts in an unusual manner when he refuses to participate in the bibulous activities of his crewmates and even removes himself from their celebrations by resting instead on a dinghy tied to the shore. In placing himself back on the ocean setting, Antonio not only shows his connection with the sea and nature, but he also physically separates himself from the rambunctious activities of Chaddock's crew by sleeping in a space that is isolated from them. When Hope meets Antonio, he is sober and his willingness to believe that Hope is his patron saint suggests that the pirate sincerely desires to a have miraculous conversion experience that will mark him as an individual who is blessed and separate from his crewmates.

At the end of the novel, Antonio once again separates himself from his crew – while they are on the ocean, he is on land at Governor John Winthrop's door, and he

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[79] Griffin, *Anti-Catholicism and Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, page 4.

[80] Hans Turley, *Rum, Sodomy, and the Lash*: *Piracy, Sexuality, and Masculine Identity*, page 40.

[81] David Cordingly, *Life Among the Pirates: The Romance and the Reality*, page 114.

attempts to seek help for Hope whom the novel's villain, Sir Philip Gardiner,[82] plans to kidnap and seduce. This is an interesting use of Antonio on Sedgwick's part. Rather than have the sailor disappear from the novel altogether after Hope's ocean adventure, Sedgwick purposely shows how Antonio's experience with divine intervention changes him. Although Antonio is not converted to Hope's Protestant religion, he becomes converted to her ways of performing social dissent by separating himself from his community in order to rescue and preserve the liberty of another.[83] In fact, Antonio's last name, Batista, is derived from the French surname Baptiste, or baptism – a reference to Christ's cousin John the Baptist. Through Antonio's name and actions, Sedgwick shows how Antonio becomes a sentimental sailor, a being who uses nautical education to develop an international mindset that considers the well-being of humanity. Sedgwick knows that antebellum readers will expect Antonio to act as a villain according to the stereotypes of a pirate and a Catholic, but by making him a figure of the sentimental sailor, she challenges readers to confront their own prejudices and exercise a more open, and less judgmental mindset.

The action sequence at the waterfront is critical in labeling Antonio as a hero rather than a villain. To further complicate this scene, Sedgwick pairs Antonio with Oneco, a Native American, to purposely highlight this hero/villain dichotomy. It is no coincidence that Hope encounters Catholic-pirates and Native Americans in the ocean scene in volume two as they are often positioned as villains in early American captivity narratives. Due to the similarity between anti-Catholic convent-escape narratives[84] and

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[82] Sir Philip Gardiner is a Catholic, however he acts like a Protestant and hides his Catholic identity in order to trick the Puritans.

[83] In "Saltwater Conversion: Trans-Oceanic Sailing and Religious Transformation in the Iberian World," Guiseppe Marcocci notes that for Italian-Catholic sailors in the early modern period the ocean was "a space of personal transformation" where spiritual conversions occurred (238).

[84] In the nineteenth century, there were many anti-Catholic convent-escape narratives which featured heroines who converted to Catholicism and went into a nunnery. After enduring abuse, the heroine would escape the convent and journey out

Native American captivity tales, both groups were frequently deemed as enemies to the Protestant religion. [85] Calvinists were especially bothered by Native American conversion to Catholicism. Franchot does note though that Protestants were also awestruck by the religious devotion that Native Americans often showed to Catholicism, an act that was extremely unsettling for Puritans who left Europe to escape from the strict practices of the Church only to see such rituals performed again by a people they deemed as the racial other. Sedgwick shows this anxiety when Hope is reunited with her sister, Faith, who had been raised by Native Americans. Although Hope is known for her superior judgment and lack of prejudice, she is horrified by her sister's Native American clothing, mannerism, and "absolute vacancy" (Sedgwick 240). Her inability to connect with Faith emphasizes the extent of discomfort even Hope has when the categories of race and religion are broken through her sister's unique upbringing. This scene that preludes the oceanic chase adventure highlights the connection between Native Americans and Catholics as the outcasts of Puritan society – a relation that will appear again during the final scenes of the novel.

During the denouement of the narrative, the characters that appear in the ocean chase scene once again have a strange encounter on the waterfronts of Massachusetts. Oneco, Chief Mononotto's son, steals one of the pirate's clothes and disguises his skin with light colored paint. Dressed as a sailor, he goes to John Winthrop's house to rescue his wife, Faith, and take her back home to the wilderness. When Faith and Oneco arrive on the docks, the pirates mistake Oneco for Antonio and leave the couple free to make their escape across the bay. In the meantime, the pirates kidnap the Fletcher's servant, Jennett, who they mistake for Hope, and Antonio searches for the governor's mansion to warn the Puritans of his crewmate's villainous intentions.

This brief moment in the text where Oneco is mistaken for Antonio by the sailor's own crewmates emphasizes the Protestant connection between Native Americans and

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into the American wilderness or travel across the Atlantic to gain her freedom. For more information about the transnational nature of the convent-escape narrative see Nancy Sweet's work "A Woman with a Cross."

[85] Franchot, *Roads to Rome,* pages 88-89.

Catholics as enemies of the colonies. This connection however also links Antonio and Oneco to the sentimental sailor narrative. As sentimental sailor tales are inverted captivity narratives that focus on sailors who rescue the distressed, Antonio's betrayal of his pirate comrades and attempt to warn Governor Winthrop about Hope's kidnapping marks him as a converted sentimental sailor. In this regard, Oneco, who is costumed as Antonio and merely wants to rescue his wife, likewise must give a performance that resembles the figure of a rescuing sailor. Although Antonio and Oneco were once Hope's own captors, their moral actions at the waterfront reveal the complexity of cross-cultural interactions as they evoke the reader's sympathy for characters who are usually stereotyped alongside their ostracized communities.

Oneco's dress and makeup as a European pirate is reminiscent of theatrical costuming, making the scene very similar to a stage performance where characters use disguise and create humor through a Shakespearean type of mix up. Indeed, what also makes this scene intriguing is that while Oneco is mistaken for Antonio, Hope has her tutor, Master Cradock, switch clothes with the incarcerated Pequot chief's daughter, Magawisca, and trade places with her so that she can escape safely across the bay. Through these parallel moments, Sedgwick has Hope, Cradock, the main Native American characters, and Antonio the Catholic-pirate all enact and participate in theatrical performances simultaneously. By connecting all of these characters together through their shared acts of rescue, Sedgwick challenges the social constructions of a homogeneous society where the outcasts must resort to defiance to obtain justice and mercy.

After this final scene of rescue, Sedgwick concludes the novel with an explanation of what happens to the characters thereafter. Antonio is not included in this listing and disappears from the novel entirely. Of Chaddock's pirate crew, Sedgwick reports that all of the sailors perished when their ship exploded, except for one nameless mariner who managed to survive and spread the tale of what had occurred onboard the vessel. Although Antonio is not mentioned or listed among the characters in Sedgwick's conclusion, he is very much alive at the end of the novel. Before the pirate ship explodes, there is a crucial conversation between the crew and Captain Chaddock that indicates what happened to Antonio:

> "What hath kept you?" called out one of the sailors.
>
> "The devil and Antonio," replied the captain. "We left him with the boat, and while we were grappling the prize he ran away. I had to be chains and fetters to the prisoner – we had not hands to man our oars, so we waited for the fellow, but he came not, and has, doubtless, ere this, given the alarm. Weigh your anchor and spread your sails, boys – start with the wind and tide we'll give them a devil of a chace [sic], and bootless at last." (340-341)

From this brief dialogue, Sedgwick indicates that Antonio never returned to the ship after warning Governor Winthrop. The pirates also left him onshore after realizing that he had betrayed them to the Puritans. As a deserter, Antonio is no longer considered a pirate or part of Chaddock's crew. Yet by attempting to save Hope, Antonio's moral deed saves his own life by keeping him on land when the pirate ship explodes on the ocean.

Although Sedgwick does not include Antonio in her listing of influential characters at the end of the novel, she still marks him as an important character, especially through the symbolic cultural meaning of the sentimental sailor. As the name Antonio in Latin means worthy of praise, or an individual who is of great value, Sedgwick labels Antonio as a character who will make significant moral choices. During the waterfront scene as Oneco, Hope, Master Cradock, Everell, and Antonio all set out to rescue women held in captivity, only Antonio is striving to save a stranger. Since Antonio believed in Hope's performance as the Saint Petronilla, he fails to recognize that the individual Chaddock is planning to kidnap is the very same woman he had met in the dinghy. Antonio's willingness to risk his reputation, occupation, and comradery with his former crew to save an unknown woman shows the extent of his conversion to the sentimental sailor figure. He develops a complete cosmopolitan mindset at the end of the novel by demonstrating a pure sense of compassion for humanity. In this manner, Antonio's conversion which reflects his process with experience-based education surpasses even Hope who enacts dangerous rescues on behalf of women that she knows and considers friends. However, as Hope is Antonio's Saint Petronilla, her influential performance as a Divine Woman will extend beyond the shores of New England—just as Antonio will most likely act according to the figure of the sentimental sailor and continue to rescue the distressed as he travels across the seas.

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In *Hope Leslie,* Sedgwick incorporation of the sea and waterfront promotes the importance of viewing America's legacy and history through an international context. As Hope's story works as an example to antebellum readers of how an individual can conquer her own prejudices through experience-based learning that is influenced by the context of the sea, Antonio's story helps readers to think introspectively about their own prejudices and how they view the world around them. Although Antonio may disappear at the novel's end, his presence as a sentimental sailor in *Hope Leslie* allows Sedgwick to include elements of maritime sentimentalism alongside the captivity romance and show readers the significance of recognizing the global culture and histories of colonial and antebellum America.

Chapter Three

Fanny Campbell, The Female Pirate Captain and the Sailor's Yarn

In 1844, Maturin Murray Ballou published *Fanny Campbell: The Female Pirate Captain. A Tale of the Revolution* serially in periodicals and later in pamphlet form under the nautical pseudonym Lieutenant Murray. Fanny, a young woman from the colonies, dresses up as a man during the years of the American Revolution and goes out to sea to rescue her mariner fiancé, William Lovell, who was kidnapped by pirates and imprisoned in Cuba. When Fanny, as Mr. Channing, learns that the English captain, Brownless, intends to force the colonist sailors into service in the British navy, she conducts mutiny and becomes a pirate captain who raises the flag of the colonies and captures British ships throughout her journey. At the novella's end, Fanny returns to Massachusetts with her rescued fiancé, and a fleet of ships to fight alongside the colonies. Ballou's narrative about a heroic female sentimental sailor immediately gained widespread popularity among antebellum readers, so much that the narrative was revised to include additional information about the characters, sold 80,000 copies during the first few months of its release, and remained in print until the 1870s well after the Civil War.[1]

While many scholars who analyze *Fanny Campbell* such as Katherine Anderson, Barbara Cutter, Holly Kent, Robin Miskolcze, and Gretchen Woertendyke[2] have done significant work on Fanny's cross-dressing and gender roles, more work needs to be done on the significance of the sea and maritime culture, particularly within the genre of the

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[1] See page 97 of Katherine Anderson's article "Female Pirates and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century American Popular Fiction."

[2] See Katharine Anderson's "Female Pirates and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century American Popular Fiction;" Barbara Cutter's *Domestic Devils, Battlefield Angels: The Radicalism of American Womanhood*; Holly Kent's "'Our Good Angel': Women, Moral Influence, and the Nation in Antebellum American Pirate Novels;" Robin Miskolcze's *Women & Children First: Nineteenth-Century Sea Narratives & American Identity*; and Gretchen Woertendyke's *Hemispheric Regionalism: Romance and the Geography of Genre.*

yarn. Along with Ballou's work in the publishing industry, he also was a prominent travel writer who frequently went on ocean voyages to the West Indies and elsewhere with his wife for health reasons. Through these journeys, Ballou became highly familiar with maritime culture and the navy.[3] Using his knowledge of the nautical world, Ballou incorporated yarn spinning in *Fanny Campbell* in several different ways. Not only does Lieutenant Murray, Ballou's maritime storyteller, spin the yarn of *Fanny Campbell*, but various other characters throughout the novella spin yarns making the narrative design have yarns within a yarn. As yarns are an oral-form of storytelling that change with each new telling, to capture such a fluid narrative in a written text takes a great amount of skill and creativity.

At the heart of Ballou's yarn are the conventions of the sentimental sailor which emphasize kinship, mobile domesticity, and the ability to convert others to the golden rule through extraordinary feats of rescue. While Ballou chronicles Fanny's journey toward a sentimental sailor as she obtains an experience-based nautical education, other characters in the novel such as the hero William Lovell and Fanny's colonist pirate crew also become sentimental sailors. All of the sentimental sailor characters in *Fanny Campbell* are from the working-class and as yarns are stories that give voice to the common sailor, Ballou uses the genre of the yarn to praise and demonstrate the intelligence of his working-class heroes. Unlike most pamphlet and dime novels who use the plot to reform working-class readers toward better morals and manners, *Fanny Campbell* instead strives to teach those in elite society of the virtues of working-class culture. Additionally, Ballou believes that elite society is harmful as middle- and upper-class individuals are too dependent, "pampered" (120), and in many ways practice unhealthy, useless social activities. Fanny's yarn, then, shows land-based readers how an experience-based education can lead individuals toward independence, and give them the opportunity to become "your own master" (120). For Ballou travel is the key to obtaining an experience-based education and the coast and the sea are healthy environments that

[3] See page 45 of *American Travel Writers, 1850-1915*, edited by Donald Ross and James J. Schramer. Gale Research, Detroit: 1998. Dictionary of Literary Biography, volume 189.

will give those who reside there excellent health, intelligence, bravery, and a "dauntless spirit[…]" (8). Attributing the positive traits of Fanny's character to environmental determinism, Ballou urges readers to consider using travel as a way to break out of harmful practices of social conformity.

In what follows, I begin with an explanation of how Ballou highlights the intelligence of working-class characters through the genre conventions of the yarn. As Ballou wants to use the extraordinary character traits of his working-class sentimental sailors as examples to the upper class, he also reveals to readers that the regional elements and environment of Lynn, plays a major part in developing the heroic qualities in his characters. After establishing Fanny's natural qualities, Ballou shows his protagonist's learning process as she becomes skilled at reading and interpreting the characters of other sailors as a pirate captain. Finally, I analyze Fanny's disguise as she hides the physical features that came from the climate of Lynn. By looking at the cultural references of Fanny's disguise, antebellum readers would understand that Ballou was incorporating elements of the abolitionist and women's rights movements, and noting how sentiment, which was used in literature from both movements, encourages others to perform their civic duty. As Ballou believes that individuals in elite society are too conforming in their social habits, he hopes that the examples of his working-class sentimental sailors in *Fanny Campbell* will encourage his readers to strive to obtain an experience-based education – a type of pedagogy that is embedded within the conventions of travel narratives such as the yarn.

The Working-Class and the Sailor's Yarn

As an author and editor whose works preceded the popular dime novel publishing houses such as Beadle and Adams, Maturin Murray Ballou is considered the "father" of the dime novel.[4] Although literary source books often categorize Ballou's stories as dime novels,[5] his first story, *Fanny Campbell*, differs from some of the typical conventions of

[4] See page 45 of *American Travel Writers, 1850-1915*, edited by Donald Ross and James J. Schramer, volume 189.

[5] See *The Dime Novel Companion: A Sourcebook* by J. Randolph Cox

dime novels. As Michael Denning claims, dime novels reveal the culture of the working-class, yet these texts were also used as a tool by the middle- and upper-class to reform the mannerisms and morals of the working-class. [6] However, in *Fanny Campbell*, Ballou does the opposite. By making his first fictional work a yarn, Ballou depicts his American Revolutionary heroes as working-class people who act as examples to reform middle- and upper-class readers. As yarns are the main form that sailors used to communicate and circulate maritime culture, these stories highlighted the lessons that seamen learned from their experience-based nautical education. For Ballou, who views elite society as "pampered," the yarn then becomes the perfect genre to teach readers about the significance of developing self-reliance through an experience-based education (120).

In order to understand how Ballou uses the genre of the yarn in his pamphlet novella, I will first discuss the conventions and print history of pamphlet stories and dime novels. Dime novels, or popular literature, were written for working-class readers and featured heroes and heroines who experienced extraordinary adventures on land and sea. Often using sensationalism, these narratives encompassed multiple genres such as mysteries, detective stories, frontier adventures, western romances, pirate tales, and sea narratives. While these stories always have happy endings, a denouement that did not reflect the lives of the working-class, these narratives did however represent the culture, feelings, and thoughts of their readers.[7] The purpose of these works were to entertain readers through adventurous and thrilling narratives to help the working-class momentarily escape from the drudgery of their daily lives.[8] The stories themselves were sold on cheap pamphlet paper – so cheap in fact that the paper was frequently left uncut by the printers, leaving each page a different length within the pamphlet. The inexpensive production of these narratives meant that the working class could afford to purchase dime novels and collect the newest narrative from their favorite author or series. *Fanny Campbell* in particular, was sold for twenty-five cents.

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[6] See page 45 of *Mechanic Accents*.

[7] See pages 3-4 of *Mechanic Accents*.

[8] See pages 28 and 65 of *Mechanic Accents*.

Although dime novels were made for the working-class, Michael Denning also notes that upper- and middle-class writers used the morals and extraordinary feats of the dime novel protagonists to reform working-class readers toward proper behavior.[9] Sentimentality was an especially popular way for upper-class writers to emphasize moral deeds and good manners to working-class readers. Although *Fanny Campbell*, like many of these tales, feature religious protagonists whose good deeds are sentimentalized, Ballou makes his novella different by specifically telling readers the faults of the elite and the virtues of the working-class. For instance, in the "Conclusion," Lieutenant Murray emphasizes the sharp intelligence of working-class sailors: "We have designed to show that among the lower classes of society, there is more of the germ of true intellect and courage, nobleness of purpose, and strength of will than may be found among the pampered and wealthy children of fortune" (120). Interestingly, the way that Ballou highlights the intelligence and moral nature of sailors is through the spinning of yarns.

As mentioned in Chapter One, yarns are a central part of maritime culture and education. Originating from the nautical labor of repairing rigging, yarns are oral stories that sailors told each other for entertainment during nautical labor. Yarns also circulated maritime history and culture, passed on crucial information about maritime networks, and trained novice sailors with nautical skills.[10] Spinning a yarn well gave sailors a high reputation among shipmates as such skills demonstrated a mariner's intelligence and nautical education.[11] Yarns additionally gave sailors authority on ships as their own personal experiences, rather than their own social economic status, put them in a position where they could give voice to the conditions and situations of a voyage.[12] Like the global travel of mariners, yarns were constantly created and reinvented to fit various circumstances out at sea. As a fluid form of storytelling which would change with each

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[9] See pages 45-46 of *Mechanic Accents*.

[10] See pages 13-15 of Marcus Rediker's *Outlaws of the Atlantic: Sailors, Pirates, and Motley Crews in the Age of Sail*.

[11] See page 118 of Paul Gilje's *To Swear Like a Sailor: Maritime Culture in America, 1750-1850.*

[12] Page 20 of Rediker's *Outlaws of the Atlantic*.

telling, yarns enabled sailors to perform and practice their talents for an audience who was oftentimes different with each new voyage.[13] Yarns also gave sailors from multifarious backgrounds and regions a universal language. However, the mobile and everchanging nature of yarns made these stories difficult to trace and as Marcus Rediker notes, the yarn is a "fugitive form" that is challenging to study (23). Aside from the yarns that were recorded and published, scholars are unable to study the genre in its true form. Yet, yarns are a central component to literary studies as these maritime narratives have influenced drama and literature worldwide.[14] Margaret Cohen particularly credits yarns for helping create the rise of the novel.[15]

Interestingly the word "yarn" itself is a nineteenth-century creation. Paul Gilje claims that the first use of the phrase "spinning a yarn" appeared in the 1819 book of the Oxford English Dictionary.[16] "Yarn" also did not appear in nautical dictionaries until the nineteenth century. For instance, William Falconer's 1784 *An Universal Dictionary of the Marine* has no entry with the word "yarn." However, Falconer's 1815 version has an entry for "yarn," relating the word to a ship's rigging. Hester Blum likewise explains that written yarns became popular in antebellum print culture.[17] So it is no surprise that Ballou, who frequently traveled abroad, viewed the yarn as a genre that could give voice to the working-class, especially within antebellum pamphlets.

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[13] Page 13 of Rediker's *Outlaws of the Atlantic*.

[14] Rediker notes that yarns influenced authors like Shakespeare, Kipling, and John Milton. See page 23 of *Outlaws of the Atlantic.*

[15] *The Novel and the Sea*.

[16] See page 110 of *To Swear Like a Sailor: Maritime Culture in America, 1750-1850*.

[17] In *The View From the Masthead*, Hester Blum notes that antebellum reform movements who encouraged literacy among sailors so that they could read the Bible ironically also increased popular interest in sailor narratives. Therefore, in the nineteenth century, there was a wide interest in the literary marketplace for sea narratives. See page 5 of Blum's "Introduction."

Ballou strategically made Fanny's working-class crew educated men who excel with nautical labor and yarn spinning. Fanny's crew are also sentimental sailors as they practice the philosophy of the golden rule and they accept Captain Channing's plan to rescue William and his shipmate from jail in Havana. For this reason, Ballou dedicates chapter seven to the crew of the Constance and their yarns. He explains that his purpose for the chapter is to reveal to readers how the common sailor has incredible "intelligence" and "genius," as evident through their skillfully spun yarns (77). Interestingly, the themes of each of these tales relate to the conventions of sentimental sailor narratives.

In this chapter, Fanny saves the life of a British seaman, and the crew of the Constance gather together to tell yarns and sing shanties as a way for them to reflect on their captain's heroic rescue. The first two sailors bring up the themes of charity and rescue, with Terrence Mooney's story about how Captain Channing (Fanny in disguise) paid for his mother's doctor's bills and funeral, and Brace's yarn about a group of sailors who rescued a near frozen dog from a ship whose crew was frozen to death by Arctic weather. Marling then sings a song that he composed about the sea as a sailor's home. Finally, Jennings tells a regional story about two Native American sisters and how one must act out of revenge to receive justice for the other. While the beginning two stories emphasize the significance of equal exchange, the song highlights kinship and domesticity, Jennings' tale discusses colonialism and how a British man disrupts and destroys the lives of these two sisters. Just as sentimental sailor characters oftentimes rescue others in apology for nationalism, Jennings' yarn acts as a reminder to readers of the severe consequences of imperial violence. Through the yarns told by the crew of the Constance, Ballou not only highlights the intelligence of working-class men, but he also has the sailors remind readers of the conventions of sentimental sailor narratives. A focus on rescue, charity, mobile domesticity, and the destructive consequences of imperial violence prepares readers to recognize and praise the deeds of the sentimental sailor characters in the novella who are not only the crew of the Constance, but also Ballou's leading protagonists – Fanny Campbell and William Lovell.

Interestingly, Fanny Campbell and William Lovell are also from the working-class. Living as neighbors in Lynn, Massachusetts, both the Campbell and Lovell families are fishermen who share ownership of a fishing boat. When William is offered work on a

merchant ocean vessel, an opportunity which Ballou describes as "a bold push for fortune" (9), Fanny encourages William to go because such a journey would give him "experience . . . of the world," an education that "books cannot teach" (10). Fanny and William recognize that working out at sea provides economic advancement. Additionally, as Fanny and William are the sentimental sailor characters in the novella, both recognize that an experience-based education at sea is a higher form of learning, one which Ballou advocates for middle- and upper-class readers.

Although the Constance sailors and leading protagonists of the story are from the working-class, ironically Ballou's chosen pen name, Lieutenant Murray, suggests that the narrator is an elite individual. Yet Murray's rank as "lieutenant" serves a crucial purpose in the narrative. As the main spinner of the *Fanny Campbell* yarn, Murray's rank in the navy as a lieutenant positions him as a man who has good standing and respect in his community. When Murray insists that Fanny's story is real, Ballou also has other prominent men in the narrative echo Murray's testimony. Captain Burnet, a high ranking British naval officer in the narrative explains, "Why Fanny, your story is a romance; no fairy tale could exceed it in extravagance, and yet it's all true" (98), while Fanny's own father also acts as a witness to his daughter's adventures: "Now if we had read that in a novel, we should have said that the author was telling a very improbably story; but here it is all true, and there is no getting away from it" (102). Through the male characters in the text, along with Lieutenant Murray's own assertions, these men act as witnesses to the truthfulness of Fanny's adventures. A similar tactic was used by early American publishers who featured testimonies from prominent men to verify the authenticity of narratives written by people of color and women. This is significant to Fanny's story as Fanny is a white woman who costumes herself as a male sailor with browned skin when she becomes Captain Channing. To make the yarn more accurate and Fanny's feats as a sentimental sailor a tale of truth, Ballou makes Murray an individual of the higher-class.

Yet Murray's status as lieutenant does not diminish his authority as a storyteller who relates narratives about working-class sentimental sailors. In fact, Murray tells readers within the first few paragraphs that he is from Lynn, Massachusetts. Giving an elaborate description of Lynn's famous landmark, High Rock, Murray reveals that he has many fond memories as a boy of visiting the local fortune-teller, Moll Pitcher, at the base

of the rock where he heard yarns that she had collected from the local sailors. Not too long after this description, Murray relates how Fanny and William met at High Rock to look out at the sea and exchange their farewells before William's journey. The sequence of Chapter One is significant as Murray must introduce the storytellers first before he focuses on the sentimental sailor protagonists. By depicting himself as a child who receives stories, Murray sets himself up as a credible yarn spinner. Murray also explains in his opening that Moll Pitcher had passed away and that the residents still "remember with pleasure their visits to the strange old fortune-teller of Lynn" (6). With Moll Pitcher's passing, Murray and the other residents of Lynn need to preserve her memory and take on the task of circulating the tales of the region themselves. Murray then is fulfilling a duty to Lynn by spinning the yarn of *Fanny Campbell*.

There is a great deal of evidence both in *Fanny Campbell* and its sequel that Moll Pitcher was frequently spinning yarns about Fanny. As a character in *Fanny Campbell*, Moll is a witness to Fanny's exploits. Moll physically appears in the novella for the first time when Fanny's fleet of captured ships sails into port. Although Ballou explains in *Fanny Campbell* that only William, the Englishman, and Fanny's parents knew of her exploits, somehow Moll eventually discovers that Fanny was a pirate during the American Revolution. The revised version of *Fanny Campbell* includes an entire chapter on Moll Pitcher where Murray explains that "[Moll] has told such parts of this tale [of Fanny Campbell] as was familiar to her, more than once, to many of the writer's friends, but Moll was never made acquainted with the particulars of the story, which she was never at a loss, however, to supply, by aid of her ready invention" (76).[18] As most skilled yarn spinners do, Moll took liberties with Fanny's story and reinvented it with each new telling. The 1845 sequel *The Naval Officer; or The Pirate's Cave: A Thrilling Story of the Last War* which features Fanny's oldest son, Herbert, gives additional insight into Moll's storytelling skills. Murray explains through the conversation of two sailors that the boatswain hears about Fanny's exploits as a pirate from Moll. His mariner companion

[18] Ballou, Maturin Murray (Lieutenant Murray). *Fanny Campbell: Or The Female Pirate Captain. A Tale of the Revolution.* New York: Samuel French, 1844. University of Pennsylvania Rare Book Collection.

immediately doubts the tale and exclaims that Moll Pitcher "always tell[s] lies," but the boatswain points out that regardless of the sailor's doubts, all "seamen in these parts . . . get Moll's approval afore he sails" (9). In the sequel, readers see a glimpse of Moll as a storyteller who also interacts with and blesses each of the sailors before they go out to sea. How Moll knows about Fanny's piracy is a mystery, yet as the local fortuneteller and storyteller of Lynn, Moll manages to obtain Fanny's tale and make it into one of her own. Ballou has Murray, in turn, adopt Moll Pitcher's yarn of Fanny and recirculate the narrative in written form. Through this narrative structure of having Murray retell a yarn he heard as a child, a story which also includes the yarns of Fanny's crew – basically yarns with in a yarn - Ballou shows the complex narrative design of yarns themselves. Ballou also highlights the pedagogical purposes of yarns by having the sentimental sailor characters - Fanny, William, and the Constance crew - learn from each other's stories while also simultaneously teach the reader about the value of an experience-based education.

Along with using Moll Pitcher's name to emphasize how yarns are created and retold, Murray also uses Moll to indicate that his tale will focus on the voices of working-class characters. Although Moll Pitcher had passed away at the start of *Fanny Campbell*, New England readers would have immediately connected the real historical figure of Moll Pitcher with the working-class. Moll Pitcher, named Mary Diamond before her marriage, was an actual fortune-teller who lived during the eighteenth century and was well known throughout Massachusetts for her witchcraft. Stories about Moll Pitcher appeared in poetry, prose, dime novels, and newspapers[19] and while each version tells a

[19] See the poem "Moll Pitcher and the Minstrel Girl" by John G. Whittier (1840), the pamphlet *Moll Pitcher The Fortune-Teller of Lynn: A Tale, Founded on Events Connected With the Life of that Notorious Woman* by J.S. Jones (1843), the dime novel *The Pirates of Cape Ann; or, The Freebooter's Foe: A Tale of Land and Water* (1848) by Charles E. Averill and ironically published by Maturin Murray Ballou's publishing company Gleason at the Flag of Our Union in Boston, and the November 17th, 1864 article "Moll Pitcher" in the sailor's magazine *The Boatswain's Whistle* (No. 8), edited by Julia Ward Howe in Boston. All texts are from the LCP.

different narrative about her, all agree that Moll used her fortune-telling skills to earn her keep. She was never a wealthy individual and fortune-telling became a livelihood that sustained her and her three daughters and son. John Pitcher, Moll's husband, is rarely mentioned in these narratives. His occupation is unknown and John's inability to provide enough support for the family is why Moll turns to fortune-telling in the first place.[20] For Murray to include Moll in the beginning of the narrative, a historical figure who used her wit, intellect, and skills to provide for her family, the yarn is then set up to highlight working-class laborers in Lynn. Murray also makes sure to establish Moll's position among the working-class by explaining how her eccentricities are due to an unfortunate incident that occurred during her youth when a wealthy British suitor seduced and abandoned her. Moll, never truly recovering from her heartbreak, becomes an eccentric fortune-teller or the "witch of Lynn," a figure whom "the mariners more particularly, for many miles along the coast, paid willing tribute" (95).

Interestingly, *Fanny Campbell* depicts Moll as a tragic, eccentric heroine rather than a villain, perhaps because Ballou wants to emphasize Moll's status as a storyteller who influenced sailors on the waterfront. Most antebellum texts depicted Moll as an evil witch. For instance, in John G. Whittier's 1840 poem "Moll Pitcher and the Minstrel Girl," Moll is portrayed as a sinner with all the features of a stereotyped witch such as "a crooked back and chin" (4). Even dime novels began to include Moll, such as Charles E. Averill's *The Pirates of Cape Ann; or, The Freebooter's Foe: A Tale of Land and Water* (1848). In this pirate adventure, the heroine Ella is kidnapped by a pirate and taken to Moll Pitcher's house. The pirate bargains with Moll and asks her to hide Ella, which Moll does by tossing Ella into the well. When Ella's father comes to the neighborhood in search of his daughter, Moll refuses to reveal Ella's whereabouts. Despite Moll's wicked ways in other antebellum tales, Ballou focuses on Moll's interaction with the sea. The real Moll Pitcher was known for inheriting her powers from a male relative, Captain Diamond,[21] who was both a sea captain and a wizard. Captain Diamond was known for

[20] See "Moll Pitcher" in *The Boatswain's Whistle.*

[21] *Moll Pitcher The Fortune-Teller of Lynn: A Tale, Founded on Events Connected With the Life of that Notorious Woman* by J.S. Jones (1843) notes that Moll's

using his powers to rescue sailors from storms and shipwrecks out at sea. While Moll was not a sailor herself, she was popular among the nautical communities and would tell fortunes for seamen, letting them know when a ship would have a safe voyage or a perilous journey. Many mariners refused to leave port until receiving her blessing, and if Moll predicted a bad end for a ship, sailors would refuse to board the vessel. Ballou highlights this aspect of Moll's fortune-telling in *Fanny Campbell*, insinuating that Moll's seafaring lineage makes her an appropriate character to become the local yarn spinner of Lynn. Additionally, in the revised version of *Fanny Campbell* which includes a new chapter on Moll Pitcher, Murray informs readers that Moll Pitcher was George Washington's spy during the American Revolution. While Moll may not act as a sentimental sailor like Fanny, she definitely displays the same bravery and heroics as the main protagonist of the novella, making her a worthy storyteller – one who can relate to and reinvent Fanny's nautical tale.

Using the genre of the sailor's yarn, Ballou sets up his working-class characters, especially his sentimental sailors and yarn spinners, as examples for middle- and upper-class readers. For Ballou, elite societies circulate unhealthy social habits that destroy an individual's ability toward self-reliance. Take for example Ballou's description of Fanny in Chapter One where Murray notes that "[Fanny] was none of your modern belles, delicate and ready to faint at the first sight of a reptile; no, Fanny could . . . do almost any brave and useful act" (9). With this introduction of Fanny, Murray immediately points out the "useful" nature of each of her deeds, a usefulness that is lost to women in elite societies who "faint" during an emergency. The inability for the elite to take care of themselves and others is an issue that Ballou brings up throughout the novella. By

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grandfather, John Diamond, was a sea captain and a wizard however the article "Moll Pitcher" *in The Boatswain's Whistle* (1864) notes that her father, Captain John Diamond was a ship master. Some references online such as "The Legends of America" website claim that Moll's father was a shoemaker and that it was Moll's grandfather, Aholiab Diamond, who was a wizard sea captain. Regardless of all the genealogical discrepancies, all of these versions agree that the sea captain in the family was the male relative who passed on his genetic talent with wizardry to Moll.

incorporating the heroic deeds of sentimental sailor characters and yarn spinners like Moll Pitcher, Murray uses the fluid, everchanging genre of the yarn to teach readers of pamphlet novels, especially those in the middle-class, how an experience-based education can heighten one's ability toward "independence" (120). Just in case readers miss this message, Ballou once again reinforces his point in the "Conclusion" where he encourages readers to travel to Lynn with "romance" instead of by train, so that they can, in turn, have experiences that will teach them to become "[their] own master[s]."

History and Romance, Truth and Fiction, and Environmental Determinism

While Ballou's suggestion to travel by "romance" rather than by train may seem an impossible task as romance is generally a literary device of fiction, for Ballou fiction and truth are compatible components that make up the narrative of an individual's experience. As the yarn is a narrative form that is constantly reshaped and retold by various storytellers in multifarious circumstances out at sea or on the waterfront, the yarn is a genre that is often thought of as both containing truth and exaggerations. With the yarn's reputation for bordering between truth and fiction, history and romance, Ballou recognizes that readers may view his pamphlet tale about working-class heroes with skepticism. After all, the heroic deeds of a sentimental sailor are so extraordinary that readers might not believe that such rescues are possible. To show the compatible nature between history and romance, Ballou uses the regional landmarks, climate, and the environmental of Lynn to prove that Fanny and her crew can possess the characteristics of the sentimental sailor.

Sailor yarns are based on the storyteller's ability to relate both history as truth, and romance as fiction within the tale.[22] Yarns are oral stories that are constantly

[22]From Paul A. Gilje's *To Swear Like a Sailor: Maritime Culture in America 1750-1850*: "[T]he yarn did not have to accurately represent the truth. The whole point of the yarn was to sail along the borders of the factual and the fanciful" (106). In *Outlaws of the Atlantic: Sailors, Pirates, and Motley Crews in the Age of Sail*, Marcus Rediker notes, "The sailor was a performer, especially when telling a 'tall tale' – full of lies, humor,

reshaped and reinterpreted by the storyteller. Each telling is different, even exaggerated, yet the yarn's fantastical elements of fiction meant to entertain sailors during long days at sea are also a historical record that chronicles and trains mariners about the nature of the nautical world.[23] As a yarn, *Fanny Campbell* incorporates both the genres of romance and history, especially as Ballou announces to readers in the author's note that his novella is a historical romance.[24] This declaration aligns his story with early American notions of romance that perceive history and fiction as complimentary elements.

Interestingly, as Gretchen Woertendyke notes, Charles Brockden Brown also argues that the writer of romance and the historian both have the same narrative structures with their storytelling. In Brown's 1800 essay "The Difference Between History and Romance," he claims that while history is "truth" and romance is "fiction," a historian must arrange the narrative of history through evidence claimed by both the historian and the previous work of other scholars. Without an organized narrative, history becomes a set of facts that have no set pattern. Narratives help historians make sense of history, but there is always a sense of "probability" as historians rely on the evidence of other historians to provide evidence of the truthfulness of their narratives. Similar to the storytellers of romance, historians must also work with the past, present, and future simultaneously as they structure the facts of history into a cohesive narrative. In this way, Brown argues that historians are as much writers of romance as authors of fiction.

One way that Ballou presents romance and historical truth as part of the conventions of the yarn in *Fanny Campbell* is through the famed regional landmarks of Lynn. The landscape itself bears the marks and evidences of the region's history, stories,

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exaggeration, embellishment, and literally outlandish claims, as well as deep and necessary truths" (19).

[23] See Brian J. Rouleau's "Dead Men Do Tell Tales: Folklore, Fraternity, and the Forecastle," and Rediker's *Outlaws of the Atlantic.*

[24] Gretchen J. Woertendyke notes in her book *Hemispheric Regionalism: Romance and the Geography of Genre* that romance is a "self conscious genre" that "announces" its presence in the text (5).

and myths that circulate among residents. Claiming that romance is embedded in the landscape, he explains:

> Indeed its history abounds with matter more akin to romance than fact. There are here the Pirate's cave, Lover's Leap, the Robber's Dungeon, all within a pistol shot of each other. The story of its early Indian history is also of a most interesting character, and altogether the place is one destined to be immortal from these causes alone. (5)

The names of each of these landmarks are centered around yarns of romance – piracy, a betrayed lover, and bandits, and yet the physicality of each of these sites are hard evidence of people who lived there previously. As a storyteller of romance novels, Ballou recognizes that stories are not a solid form – they are constantly changing with each telling. This is why the landmarks of Lynn are so crucial to his opening of *Fanny Campbell*. Through these three locations Ballou suggests that if the landscape stays intact, the stories of the region will always have proof that there is some truth to them.

To become a part of Lynn's legacy of romantic tales, Fanny's yarn also needs a landmark that represents evidence of the truthfulness of her narrative. Before Fanny and her fiancé William are even introduced, Ballou describes High Rock in great detail as this is the landmark that represents Fanny's adventure. The Puritan fishing town of Lynn resides at the base of High Rock, a large outcropping of porphyry that overlooks the ocean. The landmark has a well-worn seat that Fanny and William use when they have their conversations. Ballou explains that "the rough stone seat" was most likely "hewn from the solid rock by the hand of the red man, or perhaps by some race anterior even to them," noting once again that the landscape bears the marks of history and even the romantic stories of the region (9). For Ballou, High Rock is the starting point of Fanny's and William's adventure, the landmark where the two lovers meet before William must leave Lynn to sail to the West Indies. In the sequel to *Fanny Campbell, The Naval Officer,* Ballou has Fanny's eldest son, Herbert, begin his sea adventure by standing on High Rock to view the ocean. Although High Rock has its own regional history as shown with the worn-out seat made by Native Americans, Ballou purposely leaves out additional information about the rock so that this landmark will still contain an element of

romance as well as history, making Fanny's ocean adventure a yarn that bears both components.

In addition to showing history and romance in the regional landmarks of Lynn, Ballou uses environmental determinism to prove that there is logical evidence that accounts for the unique traits that make up Fanny, William, Moll Pitcher, and the other working-class characters of Lynn. The adventures of Fanny and her companions are so extraordinary that even the characters themselves frequently discuss with awe the miracle of such events. When William discovers that Fanny was Captain Channing in disguise, he declares, "But I cannot believe that a female, a mere girl of but twenty years, could accomplish what thou hast done Fanny; how can it be possible?" (54). To help readers enjoy the adventurous moments of romance but also have some belief in the truthfulness of Fanny's story, Ballou uses the climate and environment of Lynn to account for the heroics of the characters.

Ballou believed that one's environment formed the physical traits, health, attributes, personalities, and characteristics of the people who resided there. Since Lynn is along the coast, the residents there are physically and characteristically molded by their interactions with both the land and the sea, making them a unique type of people. The women of Lynn especially are mobile, non-conformist beings whose very characters are shaped by the fluid nature of the waterfront. Ballou uses the climate of the coast to show how Fanny's environment shapes her to become a sentimental sailor.

A number of scholars such as Bruce Dain, Roxann Wheeler, and Greta LaFleur[25] have traced how environmental determinism influenced the way eighteenth and nineteenth century Americans conceptualized character, race, and sexuality. [26] Many of these concepts originated from the Greeks such as Hippocrates and Galen who asserted

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[25] See *A Hideous Monster of the Mind: American Race Theory in the Early Republic* by Bruce Dain, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* by Roxann Wheeler, and Greta LaFleur's *The Natural History of Sexuality in Early America*.

[26] See chapter one, "The Face of Nature" in Bruce Dain's *A Hideous Monster of the Mind: American Race Theory in the Early Republic.*

that one's environment determined an individual's character.[27] Based on this idea, Scottish Enlightenment philosophers such as Adam Smith, David Hume, Adam Ferguson, and John Miller conceptualized race through climate rather than genetic make-up. Adam Smith particularly believed that the influences of environment, climate, dress, living habits, social networks, and employment were responsible for giving an individual a lighter or darker complexion.[28] In observing cultural moments of environmental determinism with race and character, American Studies scholar, Greta LaFleur, argues that climate also influenced how eighteenth and nineteenth century people conceptualized sexuality.[29] Ballou is an example of an antebellum author who uses environmental determinism in *Fanny Campbell* to account for the traits of his female characters.

To show readers what the climate of Lynn does to a woman's character, Ballou describes the traits of a mariner's sixty-year-old mother who has long done labor on the waterfront as a fisherman's wife. This mother's name is never revealed, and she is known only as Jack Herbert's mother to show readers that this elderly woman is a typical example of a resident from Lynn. Ballou writes:

> A neatly dressed woman of some sixty years of age opened the door. She was still hale and hearty notwithstanding three score years had passed over her head. The refinements of civilization had never marred her health or vigorous constitution, for she had never resorted to those means of shortening life practiced in these

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[27] See page 34 of Greta LaFleur's *The Natural History of Sexuality in Early America*.

[28] LaFleur, *The Natural History of Sexuality in Early America*, 40. A number of eighteenth-century writers such as J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur highlighted these ideas within their writings. For instance, in *Letters to an American Farmer* (1782), the character Farmer Brown asserts that "we are nothing but what we derive from the air we breathe [and] the climate we inhabit" (599).

[29] See "Introduction: Toward an Environmental Theory of Early Sexuality" in Greta LaFleur's *The Natural History of Sexuality*.

> more advanced periods of refinement. No cramping or painful corsets had ever disfigured her fine natural form, nor had her feet even been squeezed into a compass far too small for their size, in order to render them of delicate proportions. No, no the good old practices of the Bay Province seventy and eighty years ago, were productive of hale and hearty old age, long lives, and useful ones, with health to enjoy life's blessings. (22-23)

With Jack Herbert's mother, Ballou highlights how living on the coast brings natural health to the people who live there. Rather than living under the constrictions of fashion such as wearing tiny shoes and corsets, which are impractical wear for a fisherman's wife who frequently works outdoors "drying and preserving the fish," Jack's mother instead can move about freely and allow her body to live in its natural state (7). Although Jack's mother may not go directly out to sea like her son, even from the shoreline she is surrounded by the influence of the ocean and "the good old practices of the Bay Province" brings her natural good health.[30]

Similar to Jack Herbert's mother, living on the coast also brings Fanny excellent health that enables her to have the athleticism necessary to later perform as a male captain. Ballou describes Fanny's physical appearance as "height [t]hat would be called tall at the present day for a female, and yet she was not particularly so, for a healthy girl, who had never known a day of sickness, born and brought up in the free and invigorating air of the sea coast" (12). Fanny's perfect health is measured through her height, a physical attribute that gives Fanny the athleticism needed for hard labor onboard a ship and allows her to pass as a man of average height when she becomes Captain Channing. Ballou also describes Fanny's extraordinary athleticism – how she can "row a boat, shoot

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[30] In antebellum culture, the ocean was often depicted and thought of as an environment that would bring good health. In Richard Henry Dana Jr.'s ocean novel *Two Years Before the Mast*, he explains that his decision to go out to sea was because of health issues: "I had undertaken from a determination to cure, if possible, by an entire change of life, and by a long absence from books and study, a weakness of the eyes, which had obliged me to give up my pursuits, and which no medical aid seemed likely to cure" (7).

a panther, ride the wildest horse in the province, or do almost any brave and useful act" (9). All of Fanny's athletic skills, which point to "useful" survival skills on both the land and the sea, further emphasizes how coastal living has made Fanny into a fluid, mobile being who is fully capable of becoming a sentimental sailor.

This illustration of Fanny as Captain Channing was included in Ballou's 1845 publication of *Fanny Campbell*.

Hester Blum notes that sailors need both athleticism and intellect to survive out at sea. [31] To prove that Fanny has the capacity to become a mariner and take on the role of the sentimental sailor, Ballou attributes Fanny's inclination toward education to Lynn's

[31] See *The View From the Masthead: Maritime Imagination and Antebellum American Sea Narratives* for more information about the "sea eye," what Blum defines as "the type of vision that encompasses both labor and contemplation" (3).

healthy environment. Fanny is known throughout the novella for having a passion for learning. Besides Murray's explanation that Fanny's "education was of no mean character" (9), other characters such as Captain Burnet notice that Fanny possesses "a love for acquiring knowledge on every subject" (22). Looking for a way to increase her knowledge, Fanny receives an "excellent education" from a priest in Boston, an education that she in turn relates to William so that they both are "looked up to in all matters of information and scholarship" by their community (10). However, as much as Fanny loves book learning, she believes that she needs to experience the world to have a fuller education. When William prepares to leave for sea, Fanny tells him "I . . . envy you the experience you necessarily gain of the world, something that books cannot teach . . . Had I been [a man], I would . . . go abroad and see the world." Fanny recognizes that she is inhibited in her education as a woman as it is culturally inappropriate for her to go out to sea. But just as Fanny received her education from the priest and later related her lessons to William, he likewise will go out to sea and relate what he learns to Fanny. As nautical lessons are conveyed through yarns, Fanny must rely on William's ability to spin yarns to teach her about sailing and the world.

Ballou recognizes that even though the women of Lynn are more independent, healthy, and free in nature because of their environment, patriarchy prevents Fanny from reaching the full potential of her character as her gender denies her the opportunity to learn through an experience-based nautical education firsthand like William. However, war breaks all social boundaries and allows women like Fanny and even Moll Pitcher to fully use their talents. Ballou explains that the American Revolution created situation where "dangers . . . often surrounded the homes of females," and this "gave rise to a stern and manly disposition even in those of the gentler sex" (8). War created circumstances where the women of Lynn needed a "manly disposition" to survive. But to protect the virtue and modesty of these women, Ballou also takes care to explain that the women of Lynn possess the better traits of masculinity such as a "stern and dauntless spirit" rather than harmful characteristics. Fanny's athleticism, bravery, and intelligence are needed during the war: when William becomes kidnapped by pirates and incarcerated in Cuba, Fanny realizes that she must use her talents to become a rescuing sentimental sailor so that she can bring William home.

Just as yarns bring the world of fiction and fantasy together, Ballou shows how the regional landmarks, environment, and climate also present elements of history and romance, truth and fiction as compatible with each other. Lynn is a place that has romance in its history and therefore has a history of romance. Likewise, Fanny's ability to act as a sentimental sailor comes from her traits that are found in the women of Lynn, indicating that while Fanny's adventurous deeds may seem miraculous, it is very possible for a woman from that region to become and act as a sentimental sailor. Although Ballou focuses mostly on the characteristics of women, he also indicates that if women in Lynn are brave, athletic, and intelligent, then of course men like William and Jack Herbert who are from the Massachusetts coast would also possess such qualities. Environmental determinism then becomes a way for Ballou to show truth in his yarn even while he romanticizes the oceanic adventures of working-class characters.

Critical Thinking and the Experience-based Education of the Sea

Literary analysis was a significant part of nautical life. Most sailors knew how to read, write, spin yarns, and critically analyze stories.[32] As discussed in the previous section, Fanny has a high intellect and passion for education. After William goes out to sea and is captured by pirates, Fanny begins to study nautical labor so that she can have the skills necessary to travel to Havana and rescue him. Fanny learns maritime skills by going out to sea on the fishing boat with her father and his co-owner, William Lovell senior. Fanny also learns navigation from the same priest who taught her book-learning. But as Fanny told William before he set out to sea, there are some types of study that are only gained through experience, and Fanny lacks the ability to read and interpret the

[32] In "The Prospect of Oceanic Studies," Hester Blum explains, "[The] conditions of isolation and distance granted sailors certain benefits over other laboring groups . . . One such advantage, for example, is the uncommon extent of literacy among seamen. Knowing how to read, write, and perform basic math was a condition of advancement for sailors – estimates of early-nineteenth-century sailor literacy range conservatively from seventy-five percent to over ninety percent – and long periods at sea made for ample time for reading, storytelling, and study" (672).

deeds of other sailors. As Brian Rouleau explains, sailors are from different backgrounds and need to learn to cooperate with each other to complete their nautical duties.[33] The ability to read others creates a safer and unified environment on board ships. Ballou chronicles how Fanny as Channing learns to become a careful reader of people as a captain and a sentimental sailor. As yarns are a pedagogical tool which circulate information about experiences at sea, it makes sense that Ballou would focus his yarn on Fanny's learning process.

When Fanny first goes out to sea, a series of events occur that show how Fanny is at first too trusting and somewhat careless in how she reads and interprets the characters of others aboard the ship. Fanny learns from each incident and becomes more cautious in how she discerns the intentions of others. After Fanny commits mutiny and takes over the Constance, she believes that the former Captain Brownless and the cook, who are the only British sailors onboard, are harmless as they are surrounded by colonist sailors who would prevent them from retaking control of the ship. This decision puts Fanny's life at great risk. When Brownless and the cook try to murder Channing by hiding in the captain's cabin, each mistakes the other for Channing and they end up killing each other. Fanny luckily escapes any injury and she learns from this incident to take caution in whom she trusts. Immediately after this incident, the Constance crew encounters a British vessel and after a brief ocean battle, the colonists manage to capture the British ship. Fanny, who has learned from the situation with Brownless and the cook, orders that the British mariners are to "be treated as prisoners of war" and she locks them up below deck in the brig, an act that she refused earlier but now realizes is a necessary precaution (41).

[33] Rouleau explains, "The vessel collected men of staggeringly divergent lives, backgrounds, and opinions and placed them in close confines for extended durations. Forced to live together, sailors faced the choice of constant conflict or the forging of grounds for cooperation. . . Mariners, somewhat prone to tumultuousness while on shore, maintained, at least nominally, a great degree of concord while at sea by carefully constructing an identity and lifeway that specifically deemphasized potential sources of conflict" (32).

Even Ballou notes that Fanny's incarceration of the British sailors proves that, "Captain Channing had learned a lesson by his former cruising that he would not soon forget" (42).

However, merely locking up British prisoners is not enough and Fanny's skills as captain are once again tested when Fanny's generosity brings more danger to the colonist crew. Fanny's philosophy in only allowing "our own countrymen" (41) to register as sailors of the Constance backfires when one of the mariners from the British vessel, who claims "to be American," is loyal to the British. As this misrepresented sailor is freely allowed to go about the ship, he gathers allies and conducts a mutiny where he not only injures and captures Fanny's first officer, Jack Herbert, but also tries to cut the sails to the newly captured ship, the George of Bristol. Fanny learns the hard way that nationality is not something that is so easily identified, especially as the colonists are technically still British citizens. Despite this, she takes matters into her own hands by shooting the sailor in the heart when he refuses to heed her warnings. Although Fanny misread the sailor when he originally claimed himself an "American," Ballou explains that Fanny correctly interpreted how to handle the mutineer when he persisted in threatening the crew. Fanny's "cool and decided action" also completely puts an end to any form of rebellion, and from this moment forward, Fanny's decisions as a pirate captain are strict, but also considered necessary during a time of war (44).

Becoming a harsher and wary captain who no longer naively trusts others puts Fanny in a position where she commits some of the same deeds as the villains of the novella. Like the pirates who kidnap William and murder his crewmates, or Brownless who wants to enslave the colonist sailors with impressment, Captain Channing also incarcerates British sailors and takes the life of another. Yet Ballou is careful to distinguish between Fanny and these villains by continually labeling Fanny as a sentimental sailor who works to read the character and feelings of others. Fanny takes care to consider everyone's intentions before calling out her final orders as captain. In this manner, Ballou can distinguish Fanny from the villains of the novella who attack, threaten, and incarcerate others for their own personal benefit. As the novella takes place during a time of war when heroism and villainy is often a matter of perspective it is crucial to explain Fanny's thinking process so that readers can view her as a heroine. While the pirates who kidnap William are enemies of "the marine of every nation" and

are "literally no respecters of persons" by plundering all they come across, Fanny is instead a pirate who is a rescuer of humanity (15). As a symbol of freedom and liberty, Fanny shows an opposing side of piracy that follows the golden rule, one that Ballou emphasizes in her conduct as captain by noting, "How easy a matter it is to gain the affection and regard of those dependent upon us, by treating them as we ourselves would wish to be treated in a like situation. There is a golden rule touching this point" (78).

As sentimental sailors are religious beings who abide by the covenants they made with God to act in a moral and virtuous manner, Fanny likewise makes a covenant with her crew that she will "have the comfort and good of every man . . . at heart" as long as they obey her orders for the safety of the ship (34). She keeps this promise when she reads that Brownless intends to trick the colonist sailors into impressment and commits mutiny alone to keep her crew free from piracy. Becoming a pirate is Fanny's way of protecting and keeping her promise to her crew. Likewise, shooting the rebellious British mariner allows Fanny to protect the lives of her sailors. She puts her life at risk to save others, even if it means taking the life of another.

With Fanny capturing British ships to create a fleet that will fight for the cause of colonies throughout the first half of the novella, many scholars such as Katherine Anderson and Gretchen Woertendyke claim that *Fanny Campbell* is a text that is centered on nationalism and imperialism.[34] Yet it is important to recognize that the patriotic tone that exists within the first half of the novella shifts in the middle of the text when Fanny becomes a rescuer of humanity and saves the life of an English sailor. The last few chapters which occur after the war ends also focus on William's development into a sentimental sailor and Fanny's reunion with the British sailor whom she had saved during her days as Captain Channing. This sudden shift in focus from imperialism to the results of Fanny's non-nationalistic rescues as a sentimental sailor is Ballou's way of chronicling Fanny's nautical education. Once Fanny learns to read and interpret others, she becomes

[34] See Katherine Anderson's article "Female Pirates and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century American Popular Fiction" and Gretchen J. Woertendyke's fourth chapter "Maturin M. Ballou, Periodical Romance, and the Editor Function," in her book, *Hemispheric Regionalism: Romance and the Geography of Genre.*

so skilled as a sentimental sailor that she can even rescue a seaman who is fighting on the opposing side of the war. While imperialism and nationalism have a presence in the narrative, by making Fanny into a sentimental sailor, Ballou uses her rescues to apologize for imperial violence – a common trope found in sentimental sailor narratives. The rescue of the British sailor, then, is the most significant scene in the narrative which is why this moment takes place right in the center of the narrative.

When Fanny rescues the Englishman, Ballou frequently uses the word "read" to describe Fanny's unique talent in interpreting the character of this man. The Englishman arrives on the Constance as a prisoner of war, however, he escapes from the brig and attempts to set the ship on fire. After he is captured and thrown back into the brig, Fanny's crew becomes concerned as the Englishman swears that he will find another way out and will destroy the ship. Calling on Captain Channing to execute the prisoner, Fanny has a meeting with her officers, William Lovell and Jack Herbert, who advise that they put the needs of the ship first and execute the man. On the day of the execution all of the sailors feel uneasy. Fanny has the muscular English sailor brought to her before his hanging and asks him to recollect both his familial environment along with his national beliefs. After the Englishman vocalizes a love for family and country, Fanny tells him, "if I have read you aright, it best behoves us to hold converse with such as thou art on *equal* terms" (67, italics original). Fanny then talks to him as an equal, and after expressing her views on the American Revolution, she manages to convert the Englishman to a point of view that resonates with the colonist sailors. This transformation turns the Englishman into a self-regulating individual who conforms to the normative and disciplinary regimes of the ship, leaving Fanny free to cancel the execution and to allow the Englishman to labor freely onboard the Constance as a comrade. To even further emphasize that Fanny grasped the literacy of the sea, Lieutenant Murray tells readers at the end of the incident that "Fanny in her ready wit and judgment, read something of the true character of the prisoner" and "[a] stubborn spirt was conquered by kindness and reason" (68). To have Ballou use the word "read" at the beginning and end of the scene demonstrates the care he put in his narrative to chronicle Fanny's learning process and show, through the Englishman's rescue, how much Fanny developed into a sentimental sailor.

Additionally, while Fanny is surrounded by experienced seamen, she alone can interpret the Englishman's character and convince him toward a peaceful resolution. For this reason, all of the sailors were astonished by Fanny's deed. Ballou however suggests that Fanny's ability to read the Englishman not only came from her experience-based nautical education, but also her natural affinity with domesticity. In fact, when Ballou first introduces Fanny in the text, he shows her "industriously pursus[ing] some female occupation" in her home while William reads a book out loud to her (3). Like all the coastal women of Lynn, Fanny excels with labor both in the home and outdoors. Because of Fanny's affinity with domesticity, she instantly recognizes that she needs to appeal to the Englishman through his family. Reminders of family life helps the Englishman understand the colonists' point of view regarding the Revolution and Fanny thus can release him as he no longer poses a threat to their cause.

Interestingly, the Englishman's actual family plays an influential role in Fanny's own decisions about motherhood. At the end of the novella when Fanny and William travel to the Isle of Man, Fanny is attacked by a bandit and injured. William saves Fanny, an act that shows how William has grown into a sentimental sailor figure, and he takes her to the nearest home where a family welcomes the couple in and nurses Fanny until her injuries heal. Later, the Englishman walks into the house and the surprised couple learn that they were helped by his wife and children. While watching the Englishman in his domestic setting, Fanny decides that she too would like to have children and bears her first child out at sea. This closing scene reflects the convention of sentimental sailor narratives where the heroic, sentimental sailor is often rescued in some form at the end of the tale by the very same individual that was saved earlier in the text. By closing the novella with this scene, Ballou highlights Fanny's journey as a sentimental sailor and the rewards that she has received from her days as Captain Channing the pirate.

Just as yarns are used to educate sailors, Ballou uses his yarn to outline Fanny's process as she learns to read and interpret the character of others. Ballou chronicles all of the mistakes that Fanny makes in this regard but also emphasizes how she embraces an experience-based nautical education so well that she can save and convert the British sailor to the cause of the American Revolution. While most scholars like Anderson and Woertendyke focus on moments of nationalism and imperialism in the novella, it is also

important to note that Ballou structures his yarn to highlight Fanny's rescues as a sentimental sailor – a cultural figure who acts in apology to imperial conquest. Additionally, Fanny's affinity with domestic work from the home accommodates her well as a sea captain who lives in the mobile, domestic world of the sea. Using kinship, domesticity, rescue, and charity which are all conventions of the sentimental sailor narrative, Fanny manages to convert William, her crew, the Englishman, and as Ballou hopes, readers, toward the idea of the golden rule and an experience-based education.

Sentimentalism and Civic Identity

What is ironic about Ballou's emphasis on character development in *Fanny Campbell* is the fact that his leading heroine must also hide her identity to become Captain Channing. As discussed previously, Greta LaFleur claims that environmental determinism often influences both race and sexuality. As Fanny disguises herself as a man, she also must disguise her complexion. By using dark make up, Fanny hides the traits that she has developed as a woman from Lynn. Yet in doing so, Fanny's disguise also makes use of cultural references toward sentimentalism's role in abolitionism and the women's rights movement. These cultural references, along with Fanny's rescues as a sentimental sailor, shows how sentiment is an important part of civic identity.

In the "Conclusion," Lieutenant Murray articulates the lesson of his yarn by positioning Fanny and her crew as ideal examples of "modest and true" working-class characters for antebellum readers (120). To further understand how this dynamic between Fanny and her sailors works throughout the novella, it is important to recognize how the crew viewed Captain Channing. Although Lieutenant Murry and readers know that Fanny is a woman, within her crew only William and the Englishman are aware of Fanny's gender performance. Even more so, another aspect of Fanny's disguise that is never mentioned by scholars is that Fanny is also potentially switching races alongside gender. Most likely scholars miss this aspect of the story because Ballou himself at first notes that Channing's skin, which was darkened with makeup, "wore the browned hue which exposure to the elements always imparts," indicating that Channing was tanned by the sun (25). Yet during a conversation with William after his rescue from Cuba, Fanny

works to keep up her disguise by reading her darkened skin as proof that she is not a part of the Campbell family from Lynn who have white skin:

> 'I'm told that I am rather dark for an American. Are the [Campbell] family of whom you speak peculiar in this respect?'
>
> 'Not at all sir.'
>
> 'Where's the resemblance, then?'
>
> 'That is the very matter that has so puzzled me for the last five minutes, sir, for were you of lighter complexion-' (53)

Through this conversation, Ballou shows readers that Fanny's disguise enables her to act either as a tanned sailor or a person of color and she can switch between these two readings as needed to sustain her performance as Captain Channing. William's observation about Channing's Campbell-like facial features also suggests that Fanny purposely browned her skin to distance herself from her origins as a white woman from Lynn. As the climate and environment of Lynn shapes Fanny's character and physical traits, disguising herself as a white man would still put her in a position where she would bear the influences of her region. But as Dain explains, nineteenth-century culture believed that environment affects each race differently[35] and as a person of color, Fanny disassociates herself from the environmental influences that Ballou spends so much time describing in Chapter one. Although Ballou never makes it clear what race Fanny is performing, the fact that Fanny, who has painted her skin brown, conducts mutiny against Captain "Brownless," clearly indicates that for Ballou, Channing's brown skin is a significant marker of identity that contributes to the dynamics created between Fanny and her sailors.

Fanny's performance of race is indeed problematic, especially as Ballou indicates that Channing's heroic deeds at sea are in part due to Fanny's innate characteristics and traits as a white woman from Lynn.[36] Yet reading Captain Channing as a sailor of color

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[35] See chapter one, "The Face of Nature," in Dain's *A Hideous Monster of the Mind: American Race Theory in the Early Republic.*

[36] Edmonds notes that "Ballou endorses the cultural stereotypes prevalent in American in the nineteenth century" within his writing (22).

also further strengthens Fanny's role as a sentimental sailor who converts her mariners to an awareness of social justice and their own civic duties. Channing is the only person of color onboard the Constance yet his "browned hue" is not an unusual sight to the colonist sailors (25). As Rouleau explains, maritime work was one of the few careers where African Americans could work as equally paid laborers among their white counterparts while also experiencing mobility and freedom.[37] In fact, yarns that featured black sailors were often categorized as freedom narratives. Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker both note that Olaudah Equiano's famous 1789 slave narrative *The Interesting Narrative of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* is indeed a yarn.[38] With Fanny conducting mutiny against Captain Brownless who plans to impress the colonist sailors during the American Revolution, Ballou has likewise labeled his yarn a tale about freedom.

However, this moment on the Constance also points to a broader historical context that brings up references to the abolitionist movement. *Fanny Campbell* was published during a time where slave revolts on ships were portrayed frequently in literature. In 1839, a slave revolt occurred on La Amistad, a slave ship traveling from Cuba, and a U.S. naval ship intercepted and rescued the captive crew. This event led to legal battle where the Spanish claimed ownership over the slaves yet the U.S wanted to release the slaves.[39] When the slaves were set free in 1841 after the case went to court, the incidents similar to La Amistad was seen frequently throughout literature such as in

[37] Rouleau explains, "Several historians have noted how African Americans pursued maritime careers wherever possible, not only because of the freedom and mobility they offered but also because of the relative degree of equality black sailors enjoyed when subject to the same conditions at sea as white sailors" (34).

[38] See page 232 of Peter Linebaugh's and Marcus Rediker's "*The Many-Head Hydra*: A Roundtable Response."

[39] For more information about La Amistad, see Marcus Rediker's book, *The Amistad Rebellion: An Atlantic Odyssey of Slavery and Freedom.*

Frederick Douglass's 1852 novella "The Heroic Slave,"[40] which features the slave revolt on the ship Creole, and Herman Melville's 1856 novella "Benito Cereno."[41] As *Fanny Campbell* was popular during the years before, during, and after the Civil War, the dime novel was still in print when Douglass's and Melville's works appeared in the literary market.

Along with references to slave revolts onboard ships, Channing's disguise of brown make- up shows how Fanny is using a darker complexion to act as a medium between Fanny as a white woman and her sailors who are white men, enabling her to use sentiment to influence and remind the men around her of their civic duties. As mentioned in Chapter One, the figure of the male sentimental sailor originated in the late eighteenth century, a time that scholars[42] identify with the beginnings of sentimentalism. Yet in the antebellum period, sentimentalism also became a movement for women and positioned middle-class white women in the role of teaching and protecting the moral state of the developing nation.[43] As a middle-class white woman who uses either the tanned hue of a sailor or a person of color, Fanny now has a solid form of authority as captain to influence and remind her sailors of their civic duty to follow the golden rule, a

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[40] Douglass's novella "The Heroic Slave," features an escaped slave, Madison Washington, who leads a slave revolt on the slave ship Creole. As a sentimental sailor, Washington manages to save the lives of everyone onboard, including the white slave traders, when he uses his nautical skills to lead the ship to safety during a fierce tempest.

[41] See Andrew Delbanco, *Melville: His World and Work*, 232-233.

[42] See Mary Chapman's and Glenn Hendler's book, *Sentimental Men: Masculinity and the Politics of Affect in American Culture* and Andrew Burstein's *Sentimental Democracy: The Evolution of America's Romantic Self-Image.*

[43] Mary G. De Jong notes, ". . . sentimentality contributed to the emergence of bourgeois subjectivity and helped authorize middle-class women's role as America's moral housekeepers and teachers. Unable to dictate public policy, women, through their gift for emotional suasion, influenced it, working at the local level for their own benevolent concerns but also, as Sarah Josepha Hale urged, to meet the nation's needs as well" (4).

philosophy that encourages equal treatment of all people regardless of gender, economic station, race, and nationality. In placing humanity over gender, race, and national identity, Fanny's philosophy as a sentimental sailor correlates with a prominent notion that existed with antebellum women's rights movements. Mary Kelley notes that in the 1830s, female activists who followed Garrisonian abolitionism believed that women were human beings first and women second, and asserted this philosophy during the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention which resulted in "The Declaration of Sentiments."[44] Fanny's costume as Channing reflects for antebellum readers the merging of ideas between abolitionism and women's rights activism.

Although these references are apparent to antebellum readers, from the perspective of Fanny's crew, Channing is an extraordinary captain whom they devote their loyalties to, even to the point where they willingly convert to the philosophy of the golden rule. The perspective of Fanny's crew is significant as these men bear witness to Channing's exploits as a male, "browned hue[d]" sailor who is also a woman in disguise (25). Their sound opinion of Channing's nautical talents and heroics as a sentimental sailor is one that readers cannot dismiss as Ballou purposely describes these sailors' intelligence through their yarns and even makes this a central point in his conclusion when he positions Fanny and her crew as an ideal group of sentimental mariners who possess the talents and education unique to maritime life.

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For Ballou who takes issue with the way elite society is dependent, pampered, and follows societal habits to the point of depriving their health, the working-class sentimental sailor is an ideal figure to reform readers toward a more productive way of

[44] Mary Kelley explains "[t]he abolitionist movement of the 1830s, particularly the Garrisonian wing, with its emphasis on the absolute moral equality of all human beings, had planted in the consciousness of a number of female abolitionists, including some at Seneca Falls, the principle that women were essentially human and only secondarily female. The principle embodied the most fundamental challenge possible to common perceptions of woman's person and place" (317).

life. Using the genre of the yarn to chronicle the educational development of Fanny, particularly her experience-based nautical education, Ballou shows readers how experience, and even sentiment can bring an awareness toward one's civic identity. For Ballou, who has traveled abroad at sea himself to improve his own health, the ocean and the waterfront are areas that naturally bring out independence and confidence. Ballou suggests to antebellum readers that travel would help land-based Americans develop experience that would enable them to see beyond the fixed cultural boundaries of their communities and develop a more fluid, international mindset.

Chapter Four:
Uncle Tom's (Ship) Cabin

In *Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life Among the Lowly* (1852), there are several curious, largely unexamined moments when Tom figures as a sailor. He assists the steamboat mariners with their labor, rescues little Eva when she falls into the river, is referred to as an "Italian sailor" (379), a "mariner shipwrecked" (463), and a "half-drowned mariner" (498). Tom also encounters the novel's villain, the pirate and slaveholder Simon Legree. Nineteenth-century readers and artists noticed such references to Tom as a sailor,[1] so why have scholars missed this dimension of the novel?

The absence of critical consideration of the novel's references to Tom as a sailor may in fact have to do with the way he is imagined in sentimental narratives. Stowe's enslaved hero is known for exhibiting the traits of a nineteenth-century heroine through his "gentle, pious, chaste, domestic, long-suffering and self-sacrificing" nature (162).[2] The feminization of Tom allows contemporary readers to resolve the tensions that arise from depicting a black male protagonist through sentimental characteristics.[3] In viewing

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[1] Henry Louis Gates Jr. notes that during a visit to a collection of Sambo Art in Branford, Connecticut, he saw a 1940s postcard that illustrated Tom as "a lithe black man in white sailor pants and a blue and white striped navy shirt" (xvii).

[2] Elizabeth Ammons, "Heroines in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*."

[3] Many scholars discuss Tom's femininity as a heroine in their work such as Harold K. Bush, *American Declarations: Rebellion and Repentance in American Cultural History*, pages 72-73; Amy Schrager Lang, "Slavery and Sentimentalism: the Strange Career of Augustine St. Clare," page 40; Jo Ann Morgan, *Uncle Tom's Cabin: As Visual Culture,* pages 73-74; Samuel Otter, "Stowe and Race," in *The Cambridge Companion to Harriet Beecher Stowe,* ed. Cindy Weinstein, pages 19-21; Peter Stonely, "Sentimental Emasculations: *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Black Beauty*," page 64; Isabelle White, "The Use of Death in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," pages 10-11; and Brian Yothers, *Reading Abolition: the Critical Reception of Harriet Beecher Stowe and Frederick Douglass*, page 15.

Tom as a passive antebellum heroine who uses Christian morals, self-discipline, and selflessness to cope with physical and mental tribulations, scholars can relate Stowe's protagonist to the domestic sphere, a setting often associated with U.S. nationalism and the growth of the nation's economy through institutions such as the American slave market.[4] Additionally, sentimental heroine narratives are meant to educate readers, particularly female readers, that women have the capacity to improve their situations through their own virtue and morality. [5] Tom's status as a heroine aligns Stowe's novel with the lineage of nineteenth-century women's fiction, a genre of popularized domestic novels that empowered female authors to participate in key political and cultural changes.[6]

However, there is more than one sentimental tradition in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Reading Tom as a sailor reveals another cultural lineage, one that positions Stowe's narrative within a maritime sentimental tradition. In fact, Stowe was familiar with the maritime world through her uncle, Samuel Foote, who became a sea captain at eighteen[7] and brought nautical tales and trinkets from his travels for his relatives, including his favorite niece, Harriet. Samuel influenced the development of young Harriet's literary talent by introducing her to romantic literature, including the sea narratives of Sir Walter Scott,[8] and by later bringing the adult Stowe into the Semi-Colon club, a writing group that Samuel joined in Cincinnati after retiring from sea.[9] Stowe's immense fondness and

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[4] Gillian Brown, *Domestic Individualism: Imagining Self in Nineteenth-Century America*, pages 13-60; Lang, "Slavery and Sentimentalism," page 40; Stonely, "Sentimental Emasculations," page 64; White, "The Use of Death," pages 10-11.

[5] See Nina Baym, *Women's Fiction: A Guide to Novels By and About Women in America 1820-1870,* page 19.

[6] Elizabeth Ammons, "Stowe's Dream of the Mother-Savior: *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and American Women Writers Before the 1920s," page 156.

[7] John P. Foote, *Memoirs of the Life of Samuel E. Foote*, pages 36-37.

[8] Joan D. Hedrick, *Harriet Beecher Stowe: A Life*, page 20.

[9] Stowe not only learned to write parlor literature with the Semi-Colon club, but as Martha Schoolman explains, the political and literary scenes in Cincinnati gave Stowe

esteem for her cosmopolitan, mariner uncle significantly influenced the way she structured Tom's journey as a metaphorical sailor.

Reading Tom as both a sentimental heroine and a "sentimental sailor," a common antebellum sea narrative character, produces a number of new, interpretative possibilities for the novel. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has rightly been criticized for its "romantic racism," a racism that depicts racial differences as "essential and permanent but not hierarchical" (19-20). This has left *Uncle Tom's Cabin* open to critiques of its tendency to flatten out black characters into stereotypes. Many of Stowe's later novels have not been subject to the same criticism, and, as Samuel Otter notes, Stowe's depiction of black characters changes in later works,[10] particularly in *Dred* (1856), a novel that Otter claims bears more "complexity" than *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by revealing "the characteristic peculiarity – of her thinking about race" (18). And yet, I would argue that such complexity can also be found in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* if critics complicate their understanding of the sentimental tradition that Stowe draws upon. Using both the literary traditions of the sentimental heroine *and* the sentimental sailor, Stowe resolves her often contradictory understandings of black persons and their role in post slavery America.

More specifically, by perceiving Tom as a sailor, readers can view him in relation to the nautical world – a social organization that gave free black mariners privileges including paid wages and educational training. While at times Tom acts as a submissive

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the materials and literary development she needed to write *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* See page 125 of *Abolitionist Geographies*. Stowe's fondness for Uncle Samuel is particularly shown through the name of her sixth child, Samuel Charles. Baby Samuel's sudden death from cholera inspired scenes of mother and child separation in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. For more information on the Semi-Colon club and Stowe's son, Samuel Charles, see Hedrick, *Harriet Beecher Stowe: A Life*, pages 72-88, 199 and David S. Reynolds, *Mightier Than the Sword: Uncle Tom's Cabin and the Battle for America*, page 88.

[10] Building on Otter's work Michele Navakas argues that Stowe's 1873 novel *Palmetto-Leaves* additionally shows "a more complicated account of race and slavery." See pages 127, 199-200 of *Liquid Landscape: Geography and Settlement at the Edge of Early America*.

character with innate, racially essentialist traits, interpreting Tom through the literary tradition of the sentimental sailor reveals that he is also conditioned by circumstance and the experience-based education afforded by the sea. Additionally, although scholars such as Amy Kaplan have aligned sentimentalism with the nationalist agendas of the domestic sphere, [11] the nautical elements of the novel—including Stowe's use of maritime law, piracy, and human rights discourse around flogging—encourages readers to perceive abolitionism through an international framework. Put otherwise, Stowe incorporates maritime sentimental traditions to raise awareness of the global nature of the slave trade.

In what follows, I begin by examining the literary tradition of the sentimental sailor and how Tom is included in this maritime genealogy. Tom's method as a sentimental sailor of using an experience-based maritime education to convert others to abolitionism is a practice that Stowe advocates throughout her narratives. Next, I argue that by making Tom a sentimental sailor and the novel's villain, Simon Legree, a pirate, Stowe uses maritime law and the conversations that existed in the nautical community to advocate for the human rights of sailors and the enslaved. Finally, I argue that the closing image of the novel, Tom's cabin, also evokes a ship's cabin: as such, it allows Stowe to portray the homes of the land and the sea as one international community that should work together to abolish the global slave trade.

Uncle Tom as a Sentimental Sailor

As a sentimental sailor, Tom participates in the literary tradition of sea narratives wherein heroic mariners strive to preserve Christian morals by saving those in physical peril. Sentimental sailors were known for converting other characters and nineteenth-century readers to a mindset of humanist values. While Tom is often positioned as a passive victim used for abolitionist purposes, reading Tom as a metaphorical sentimental sailor emphasizes how he uses the typical traits of Jack Tar to act as an active abolitionist. Stowe's agenda of converting her readers to a moral and religious viewpoint

[11] See Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture*, pages 1-22.

is precisely the role adopted by the sentimental sailor character. The sentimental sailor, therefore, becomes the perfect figure to encourage readers to convert to abolitionism.

Although Stowe does label Tom a sailor so that she can relate her hero to the figure of the sentimental mariner, unlike Madison Washington, an escaped enslaved person who saves the ship Creole from a tempest in Frederick Douglass's 1852 novella "The Heroic Slave," [12] Tom never goes out to sea. Instead, Stowe consciously crafts Tom as a sailor through more subtle means, specifically by endowing him with the characteristics of a typical antebellum mariner. Interestingly, these traits are often interpreted by scholars as evidence of Tom's status as a sentimental heroine. As Ammons claims, Stowe does feminize Tom in specific moments of the text by highlighting his self-sacrificing, sentimental nature.[13] But it is important to note that Stowe also emphasizes his masculinity through his large stature and physical strength. Tom has such a large build that Haley, the slave trader, must stop at a blacksmith shop to have new fetters made for Tom before they board the steamboat.[14] In fact, throughout the novel, Stowe continually credits Tom's good deeds to his bodily strength. Tom uses his strength to rescue little Eva from drowning, to carry her when she is dying, to help an enslaved woman collect her daily share of cotton on the Legree plantation, and to distract Legree while Cassy and Emmeline escape. Building on Ammons' work, Cynthia Griffin Wolff reads Tom's muscular body and sympathetic nature as an alternative version of black masculinity that works against the stereotype of the aggressive, animalistic black male

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[12] Robert Stepto notes that Douglass' novella was written in response to Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to portray an alternative type of black hero who uses mutiny to escape the bonds of slavery rather than self-discipline and submission as Tom does. See Robert B. Stepto, *A Home Elsewhere: Reading African American Classics in the Age of Obama*, pages 100-120.

[13] There are moments where Stowe specifically compares Tom to women. When young Master George frantically meets up with Tom to say goodbye to him before Haley, the slave-trader, takes him away, Tom speaks to the boy with "a voice as tender as a woman's" (172).

[14] See pages 169-170 of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

often depicted in nineteenth-century literature and culture.[15] Yet in looking at the traits that both Ammons and Wolff interpret – athleticism, self-discipline, submission, and an overly sympathetic nature – all of these characteristics are also how sea narratives and the maritime community portrayed Jack Tar, the typical American sailor.

In 1871, Captain Giraud noted that seafaring was commonly perceived as an occupation that helped boys transform into men.[16] Maritime work required sailors to constantly use their physical strength to maintain the productivity of the vessel.[17] For this reason, nautical labor often had the reputation of turning weakling novice sailors into strong, muscular men. In addition to improving physical strength, maritime labor was also known for helping youth improve their morals by teaching them rigid discipline, community labor, and the significance of following the exact orders of one's superior officers.[18] Sailors were also known for their generous, charitable nature as they were often depicted as individuals who had sympathy for the distressed, even giving up their own possessions to assist the needy.[19]

Stowe's hero, Tom bears all these qualities of bodily strength, obedience, self-discipline, and a charitable nature from the start of the novel. However, to truly emphasize the relationship between Tom's masculinity and his role as a metaphorical sailor, Stowe has Tom, "w[i]n the good opinion of all the [steamboat] hands, and spen[d] many hours in helping them with as hearty a good will as ever he worked on a Kentucky farm" (227). In fact, Tom was in the middle of helping the sailors load wood onto the steamboat when Eva falls into the river. His position on the lower deck allows him to

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[15] See Cynthia Griffin Woolf, "'Masculinity' in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," pages 595-618.

[16] Timothy J. Gilfoyle, *A Pickpocket's Tale: The Underworld of Nineteenth-Century New York*, page 36.

[17] See Hester Blum, *The View From the Masthead: Maritime Imagination and Antebellum American Sea Narratives*, pages 1-15.

[18] Myra C. Glenn, *Jack Tar's Story: The Autobiographies and Memoirs of Sailors in Antebellum America*, page 31.

[19] Paul Gilje, *Liberty on the Waterfront*, page 12.

easily jump into the water and rescue her. Although Tom never participates in maritime labor out at sea, by having him work alongside the steamboat mariners as shipmates, Stowe can mark her hero as a symbolic Jack Tar who bears all the nautical skills and traits of an ocean mariner regardless of Tom's upbringing on a Kentucky plantation.

Tom's traits as a mariner also helps readers to see that one of his greatest acts as a sentimental sailor is his rescue and conversion of little Eva. While many scholars such as John C. Harvard believe that Eva converts Tom to Christianity, viewing Tom as a sailor reveals how Stowe's protagonist actively uses his agency to foster his own spiritual development.[20] Although Tom's conversion took place under the influence of Mrs. Emily Shelby, who made it her mission to bring Christian values to the enslaved on her plantation, Stowe is careful to explain Tom's reasoning behind his Christian conversion. For Tom, acting on Christian values allows him to express his humanity and his agency. Stowe notes that Tom was "proud of his honesty" as this was one of the few dignities he could retain as an enslaved person (194). As the main religious leader on the Shelby plantation for the black community, Tom is both used to and talented with proselytizing, a skill that comes with experience-based learning. However, Stowe first starts to label Tom as a sailor when he begins to travel on the same steamboat as Eva. While on the steamboat, Tom helps the sailors with their labor and rescues Eva when she falls into the river. This rescue marks Tom as a sentimental mariner who will convert Eva to abolitionism and Christianity.

At first, Eva is shown to possess the same material indulgence as her parents. When Aunt Ophelia tells Eva to clean up her belongings in the steamboat cabin, the child is confused and questions the purpose of cleaning when lost items are easily replaced by her father's money. Stowe suggests through Eva's messy habits that the child is developing an affinity for material wealth. But after she meets Tom on the steamboat and is rescued by him, Eva begins to learn that her financial privileges are founded on the slave system. Eva's conversion process, however, is not an immediate one. Tom was with the St. Clare's for two years and as Eva became older, Tom could better instruct her in

[20] See John C. Harvard, "Fighting Slavery by 'Presenting Facts in Detail': Realism, Typology, and Temporality in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," pages 249-266.

Christian doctrine. When Tom first arrives at the St. Clare plantation, he becomes Eva's playmate and begins to teach her abolitionism and religious doctrine through songs and stories, the same way that sailors teach and spread maritime culture by spinning yarns. In watching Tom and Eva from the window, St. Clare observes that "Tom is now a hero to Eva, his stories are wonders in her eyes, his songs and Methodist hymns are better than opera, and the traps and little bits of trash in his pocket a mine of jewels" (273). Tom's stories are of course from the perspective of enslaved persons, and Eva's growing understanding of the suffering of those who are forcibly separated from their families suggests that Tom may have told stories about his family and life growing up in Kentucky.[21]

Figurines that show Tom wearing sailor like clothes with Eva on a boat. Figure on the left: "Uncle Tom and Little Eva on a bale of cotton in a boat" by Staffordshire. From the Harry Birdoff Collection, Harriet Beecher Stowe Center. Figure on the right: "Uncle Tom seated on a bale of cotton; looks like a hymn book in lap; holding eaten apple in hand." From the Katherine Seymour Day Collection, Harriet Beecher Stowe Center.

[21] Eva tells her father, "Papa, these poor creatures love their children as much as you do me. O! do something for them! There's poor Mammy loves her children; I've seen her cry when she talked about them. And Tom loves his children; and it's dreadful, papa, that such things are happening, all the time!" (403).

In addition to an awareness of the conditions of slavery, Tom also teaches Eva Methodist hymns and scripture. Tom gives Eva singing lessons so that she can learn to sing the hymns herself, and as Eva grows older and develops literacy skills, Tom asks Eva to read the Bible to him. At first Eva reads to please Tom, but she ends up loving the Bible herself and starts to take the doctrine to heart. The spiritual change in Eva from a girl who had no thought of material wealth to one who wishes that the slaves "were all *free*" is a credit to Tom's ability to teach others through the experience-based education of the sea (402). As Eva acts as one of the main "[e]vangelist[s]" in the novel, her conversion process inspires readers to actively seek out experiences that will also awaken them toward abolitionism and Christian conversion (405).

Following the conventions of the sentimental sailor narrative, Tom is rewarded for his charitable deeds when little Eva, in turn, rescues Tom's spirituality. After Legree orders Tom to give up Christianity, Tom has a deep foreboding that he may not survive the New Orleans plantation. In despair, he questions if God could exist in a place of "dire misrule, and palpable, unrebuked injustice" and becomes the "half-drowned mariner" who is wavering in faith (498). Immediately after this moment, Tom dreams of Eva who reads from Isaiah 43:3: "When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee, and the rivers shall not overflow thee." Stowe suggests that the dream not only manifests Eva's longing from heaven to comfort Tom, but also places her in a situation where she, as the rescued, can now act as a savior. Just as Tom saved Eva from drowning in the river, Eva also rescues the "half-drowned mariner" by assuring him that God will not abandon him on Legree's plantation. Eva's chosen scripture also indicates that just as the river Jordon[22] parted for the children of Israel, Tom will also experience a similar miracle where, with the help of God, he will manage to pass through the slave system with his Christian faith still intact.[23]

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[22] Within the Underground Railroad system, the "River Jordon" was a secret code for the Ohio River, which Eliza crossed at the beginning of the novel as she and little Harry made their way toward freedom.

[23] To emphasize the significance of Tom's dream, Stowe foreshadows Eva's status as a divine being in Chapter XXII "The Grass Withereth – the Flower Fadeth." In

Legree's plantation is the ultimate test for Tom who, up until now, had never experienced flogging or was asked by his masters to give up his religion. Although Tom has shown proof of his Christian conversion numerous times throughout the novel, even he questions if he can retain his morals under the abusive conditions of the Legree plantation. With the enslaved overworked, underfed, and both verbally and physically abused, Stowe shows that they cannot convert to or practice Christian values while in slavery. This makes Tom's determination to retain his faith even more miraculous as he still manages to show charity and kindness to others. Although the price of retaining moral values under such a system is death, Stowe shows that even in death, Tom manages to still rescue and convert others when George Shelby, inspired by Tom's life, sets the enslaved persons on the Kentucky plantation free. Understanding that slavery impedes educational opportunities, George promises to give the formerly enslaved, including Tom's wife and children, an education on independent living so that they can "use [their rights] . . . as free men and women" (616). George's actions at the close of the novel continue Tom's method of using Christian morals and the discourse of abolitionism to put humanity first.

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this chapter, Stowe uses a maritime reference to describe how Tom "loved [Eva] as something frail and earthly, yet almost worshipped her as something heavenly and divine" just as "the Italian sailor gazes on his image of the child Jesus" (379). Stowe's allusion harkens back to the nautical history between the maritime figure of the Italian-Catholic sailor and his intense devotion to the Divine Woman. The Virgin Mary has long been positioned as the protectoress of the ocean. As popularized accounts of Italian-sailors, like Christopher Columbus' letters, openly discussed the importance of praying to the Virgin Mary while out at sea, antebellum ocean literature often included fictionalized Italian mariners whose excessive spiritual devotion to Divine Women were mocked but also admired by Protestant characters. By referring to Tom as an Italian sailor who views Eva as a divine being, Stowe foreshadows that after death, Eva will help Tom regain his faith during a moment of spiritual crisis. Calling Tom a sailor in both Chapter XXII and later during Tom's dream is Stowe's way of connecting these two scenes together.

Stowe, Maritime Law, and Piracy

By positioning Tom as a sentimental sailor who actively participates in abolitionist conversion, Stowe encourages readers to consider the global nature of the slave-trade, a point that she emphasizes further through Tom's interactions with the novel's villain, [24] the slaveholding pirate[25] Simon Legree. Scholars often claim that Legree is the worst villain in nineteenth-century American literature however, it is Tom's status as an enslaved person and a sentimental sailor that gives Legree's piracy meaning. Reading Legree's villainy through Tom's position as a sentimental sailor shows how Stowe uses a discourse of maritime law and piracy to emphasize America's participation in the international slave market. Even though *Uncle Tom's Cabin* follows routes of inland geography from the Midwest to Canada and Tom's journey alongside the Mississippi River to the South, Stowe depicts the steamboat as a slave ship to show how the Atlantic slave trade is perpetuated on America's rivers. As piracy was part of a larger conversation on slavery that existed in abolitionist lecture circuits and literature where slave holders and slave traders were often referred to as pirates, Legree's presence and exploitation of Tom on the steamboat acts as a reminder to nineteenth-century readers that through U.S. maritime law, slavery was an illegal act of piracy.

Abolitionist writers often noted that slave traders were deemed pirates by the federal government through the Act of 1820.[26] The act gives a definition of what the

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[24] Samuel Otter notes, "Legree [is] one of the most revolting villains in nineteenth-century literature (21). Henry Louis Gates Jr. also explains that "Legree is perhaps the most well known character, after Uncle Tom and Little Eva (and perhaps Topsy). His was the part that most actors yearned to play in the Tom shows" (351).

[25] Marcus Rediker notes in *Villains of All Nations* that "[t]he pirate was thus a threat to property, the individual, society, the colony, the empire, the Crown, the nation, the world of nations and indeed all mankind. His villainy was complete" (129).

[26] Take for example, Frederick Douglass' 1845 *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* where he calls "a swarm of slave traders" "a band of pirates," (2112) and notes that when Master Hugh takes the wages that Douglass earns, he resembles "the grim-visaged pirate upon the high sea" (2116).

United States considers piracy: "[i]f any person shall, upon the high seas, or in any open roadstead . . . or in any river . . . commit the crime of robbery, in or upon any ship or vessel . . . such person shall be adjudged a pirate . . . and being thereof convicted before the circuit court of the United States . . . shall suffer death." The act also claims that slave trading on the open seas and taking "negroes or mulattoes, not held to service" on the United States or foreign shores is also piracy. Although the act discouraged American mariners from participating in the global slave trade at sea, the law itself was not enforced until the Lincoln administration began to conduct trials and executions in the 1850s and 60s.

Antebellum abolitionists used the Act of 1820 as proof of the immoral nature of the Atlantic slave trade and argued that the American slave market was equally a form of piracy.[27] In the 1852 speech "What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July," Frederick Douglass exclaimed, "Must I argue the wrongfulness of slavery? . . . That trade has long since been denounced by the government, as piracy." Stowe herself mentions the act in her "Concluding Remarks" of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by declaring that "[t]he slave-trade is now, by American law, considered as piracy. But a slave-trade, as systematic as ever was carried on the coast of Africa, is an inevitable attendant and result of American slavery. And its heart-break and its horrors, *can* they be told?" (622).

As Stowe indicates, even though the Act of 1820 bears evidence of the illegality of the Atlantic slave market, slave trading still takes place on American soil.[28] To prove

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[27] William Lloyd Garrison noted, "[i]t is piracy to buy or steal a native African, and subject him to servitude. Surely the sin is as great to enslave an American as an African." William Lloyd Garrison, "Declaration of the National Anti-Slavery Convention." Additionally, Angelina Emily Grimké declared that "no one will now vindicate the slave-trade so far as to assert that slaves were bought from the heathen who were obtained by that system of piracy." Angelina Emily Grimké, "Appeal to the Christian Women of the South."

[28] Ironically, the 1824 Gibbons vs. Odgen court case declared that the federal government has jurisdiction over all of America's waterways including rivers. As the Act

that the Atlantic slave-trade and American slave markets are rooted in the same system of piracy, Stowe purposely depicts the steamboat as a slave ship.[29] Marcus Rediker explains that the slave ship was a leading symbol that abolitionists used to describe the terror and sorrows that came from the slave system. The slave ship was a particularly effective image as the vessel drew attention to the individual narratives of enslaved persons who experienced the Middle Passage.[30] In depicting the steamboat as a slave ship, Stowe also highlights the extreme griefs of enslaved persons recently parted from family members such as the mother who throws herself into the river after losing her baby, or Tom's own griefs when he is verbally abused by Legree who tells him, "*I'm* your church now! You understand, - you've got to be as *I* say" (482). In fact, when Tom travels to Legree's plantation on a steamboat called "The Pirate" down the Red River, Stowe titles the chapter "The Middle Passage," emphasizing the piracy that takes place on America's rivers.[31]

By portraying the steamboat as the slave ship of America's rivers, Stowe creates more opportunities for conversations about slavery in her narrative, especially among steamboat passengers. As Walter Johnson notes, the steamboat is a space where segregation is clearly apparent, and it was common for passengers to discuss slavery during their voyages.[32] Stowe depicts these conversations on the steamboat La Belle

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of 1820 defines piracy as thievery on the ocean and rivers, then slave trading on the rivers should also be considered illegal.

[29] See Schoolman, *Abolitionist Geographies*, page 130 and Robin Miskolcze, *Women and Children First: Nineteenth-Century Sea Narratives and American Identity*, pages 88-98, for more about the use of rivers in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

[30] See Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History*, pages 1-13.

[31] The idea that rivers are a place of terror for the enslaved is shown at the beginning of the novel when Tom's wife, Aunt Chloe, notes that the worst fate for enslaved persons is to "be toted down river where they kill niggers with hard work and starving" (90).

[32] See Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom*, pages 126-150.

Riviére, when a group of mothers, upon hearing about the enslaved persons in fetters on the deck below, discuss how slavery lowers the morals of the nation. Additionally, on the steamboat Pirate, a group of observing passengers who witness Legree's behavior toward the enslaved, discuss how the law makes the slaveholder's "brutality" legal (486).

Although Stowe uses the opinions of passengers to bear witness to the cruelties of slavery and even Tom's own perspective from the upper level of the boat where he "saw the distant slaves at their toil" in the plantations alongside the river, Stowe recognizes that the American steamboat does not strike as profound an image of terror and foreboding as the slave ship in the minds of white readers (228). As Johnson notes, the common depiction of the steamboat in American culture was to present the boat among the sublimity of nature, a romantic view that celebrates the economic progress of the nation.[33] Stowe purposely describes La Belle Riviére, the first steamboat in the novel, as a "brave and beautiful . . . boat" "floating gayly down the stream, under a brilliant sky the stripes and stars of free America waving and fluttering overhead," to match her readers' expectations of steamboat sublime, but she quickly subverts this image by using narrative distance to focus on the lower level of the boat where Haley "store[s]" enslaved persons "with other freight" to show that the foundation of this picturesque ideal of steamboat economy is based on the piracy of the global slave market (198).

Labeling the steamboat as a slave ship helps Stowe emphasize to readers that the Atlantic slave trade is perpetuated on America's rivers and if such deeds are deemed as piracy by the Act of 1820, then the U.S. slave market should also become illegal. Stowe's descriptions of the steamboats and rivers, conversations among passengers, and the perspectives of the enslaved themselves continually repeats this point to readers throughout the narrative. However, the final section of the novel proves that the laws of the seas and rivers need to have moral consistency when Legree, an actual pirate from the sea, can legally continue his villainy in New Orleans without interference. To have an individual who is the enemy of all nations freely use the rivers of America to increase his plunder is horrifying to nineteenth-century readers and further strengthened the argument

[33] Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams,* pages 73-96.

that Stowe and her contemporaries made when they referred to the Act of 1820 as proof of the immoral nature of slavery.

Citizenship and the Human Rights of the American Mariner

Another consequence of embedding *Uncle Tom's Cabin* with the narrative of the sentimental sailor is that Stowe is also drawing on a human rights discourse around corporal punishment and maritime culture, a conversation that also imagines possibilities of black citizenship. One concern that existed between abolitionists and maritime communities related to flogging, a violent act that demeaned the dignity of both sailors and enslaved persons. By depicting Tom as a sentimental sailor, Stowe allies her hero with nineteenth-century human rights discourse shared among abolitionists and maritime communities regarding violence and the individual rights of American citizens.

Myra C. Glenn explains that for mariners, flogging not only emasculated sailors but also put them in situations of enslavement. For this reason, mariners often compared incidents of flogging to slavery, even adopting the language of abolitionists to convey to Americans back home the extent of brutality that sailors had to endure on ocean voyages. Like the plantation, ships were isolated settings where acts of cruelty were often hidden from public-view. In addition, both ship officers and slave-drivers used flogging to gain power and control as the beating of one individual would warn others away from future acts of disobedience.[34]

In *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Simon Legree uses threats, and later flogging, to control Tom. Legree tells Tom, "You see the Lord an't going to help you; if he had been, he wouldn't have let *me* get you! This yer religion is all a mess of lying trumpery, Tom. I know all about it. Ye'd better hold to me; I'm somebody, and can do something!" (554). Legree eventually flogs Tom to death at the end of the novel showing readers the brutal nature of slavery.

[34] See Glenn, *Jack Tar's Story*, pages 112-143. A discussion of the likeness between ships and slave plantations can be found in W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail*, page 10.

Interestingly, a similar scene occurred in Richard Henry Dana Jr.'s *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840). Although Dana acknowledges that it is necessary for captains to have full authority on a ship, the severity of punishment given by tyrannical captains is a critical problem within the nautical world. As an example, Dana relates a brutal scene that he witnessed where the captain flogs two sailors and uses the language of the slaveholder:

> "I'm no negro slave," said Sam.
>
> "Then I'll make you one," said the captain . . . "Seize him up! Make a spread eagle of him! I'll teach you all who is master aboard! . . . Don't call on Jesus Christ . . . *he can't help you. Call on Captain T-*, he's the man! He can help you! Jesus Christ can't help you now! . . . You see your condition! . . . You've got a driver over you! Yes, a *slave-driver* – a *negro-driver*! I'll see who'll tell me he isn't a negro slave!" (102-105)

In Dana's scene, both the captain and sailors relate flogging to slavery – the captain to assert his right over the minds and bodies of his sailors and the mariners in effort to reclaim their human dignity. The captain's threats are also similar to Simon Legree's behavior toward Tom. Not only were these scenes of violence within Stowe's and Dana's novels horrific to nineteenth-century readers, but the idea that a captain or a slave-driver could sacrilegiously claim the power of God revealed the extent of depravity that existed within slavery and the system of hierarchal authority that allowed for abuse on ocean vessels.[35]

Stowe and Dana were not the only authors to compare mariners to enslaved persons and slaveholders to pirates or ship officers. A wide-spread campaign emerged in the antebellum era that protested flogging and other acts of violence that used pain to enslave, discipline, and demean the human body. Activists in this movement expressed a growing concern of how mariners, enslaved persons, and convicts were treated in the U.S., and used narratives written by these groups to draw attention to the ways that

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[35] Samuel Sharpio notes that "[s]ome critics have thought of [*Two Years Before the Mast*] . . . as a kind of companion volume to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and asserted that Dana did for the common sailor what Mrs. Stowe was to do for the Negro slave" (188).

violence against the body emasculated men and demeaned their humanity. Seamen authors particularly emphasized to readers that flogging a sailor violated his rights as an American citizen. Even worse, these acts of violence were not enacted by foreigners but by fellow Americans who used their power and authority to abuse their own countrymen. [36] Herman Melville joined his voice among sailors who protested flogging by declaring in his 1850 novel *White Jacket* "Is it lawful for you my countrymen, to scourge a man that is an American? to [sic] scourge him round the world in your frigates?" (142).[37]

In considering how U.S. sailors used their citizenship to claim their rights to human dignity, it might seem strange that Stowe would label Tom a mariner when her hero, as a black, enslaved man, cannot bear the rights of American citizenship. However, for free black sailors who also joined their shipmates in challenging the practice of flogging, nautical life gave them more access to wealth, privilege, mobility, and even citizenship than they would have experienced with a land-based occupation. [38] Although racism existed aboard ships, maritime culture created a space where both black and white sailors experienced "common ground" that momentarily "transcend[ed]" race.[39] Nautical life required that all sailors labor together for the good of the vessel, and during moments of bad weather, cooperation was the only means of survival.[40] Nautical labor also highlighted the masculinity of black sailors by giving them "manly reputations" among their communities, and wages which allowed them to act as breadwinners for their families.[41]

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[36] See Glenn, *Jack Tar's Story*, page 142.

[37] See Glenn, *Jack Tar's Story*, page 126 for discussion on Melville's *White Jacket*.

[38] See Bolster, *Black Jacks*, page 36.

[39] See Bolster, *Black Jacks*, page 5.

[40] Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 82.

[41] See Bolster, *Black Jacks*, page 5.

But most significantly, black mariners were identified as American citizens while out at sea through their Seamen Protection Certificates.[42] These identification papers marked all sailors from America as citizens of the United States and helped protect U.S. mariners from possible impressment or servitude in foreign countries. Although black mariners could not vote or hold property on American soil in the same way that their white shipmates could, these papers however did claim that black sailors were citizens of the United States while they were at sea or on foreign soil. In addition to protecting all American sailors from impressment, the Seamen Protection Certificates often kept black sailors from slavery when slave catchers and traders on American docks questioned their status as free blacks.

For Frederick Douglass who borrowed a black sailor's clothes and certificate when he escaped from slavery, a maritime costume and identification gave him the mobility to travel safely across slave states until he gained his freedom.[43] In *Narrative of the Life*, Douglass writes about his escape:

> I have been frequently asked how I felt when I found myself in a free State. I have never been able to answer the question with any satisfaction to myself. It was a moment of the highest excitement I ever experienced. I suppose I felt as one may imagine the unarmed mariner to feel when he is rescued by a friendly man-of-war from the pursuit of a pirate. (2119-2120)

Although it makes sense that Douglass would refer to himself as an "unarmed mariner" since he used the dress of a sailor to escape, by portraying his escape through the imagery of the seaman fleeing the pirate, he not only participates in the abolitionist trend of

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[42] From 1796 all U.S. mariners were issued Seamen Protection Certificates. Throughout the American Revolution and the War of 1812, many U.S. mariners were forced to serve in the British Navy. The federal government hoped that these papers would provide American sailors some protection from servitude and impressment while out at sea. Bolder, *Black Jacks*, page 5.

[43] Douglass writes about using his mariner friend's "free papers" to escape slavery in his 1881 autobiography *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass From 1817 To 1888: Written By Himself*, page 246.

referring to the Act of 1820, but also makes use of the conversations that existed in the maritime and abolitionist communities about flogging by depicting himself, a fugitive enslaved person, as a sailor.

By referring to Tom as a sailor, Stowe calls to mind a familiar scenario in which black persons hold some of the rights of citizenship. According to the campaign movements against flogging at sea, the rights to U.S. citizenship would include the freedom to develop one's own masculine independence, and the right to labor for wages without the threat of physical violence. This reading of citizenship may seem to contradict Stowe's problematic opinion at the end of her novel that black persons should take "the lessons they have learned in America" and reside in Africa rather than the U.S (626). However, as black mariners only have access to citizenship at sea or on foreign ground, Stowe's view relates to the conditions of the Seamen Protection Certificate. As Carrie Hyde argues, citizenship was not legally defined during the antebellum era, and a variety of imaginative formulations of citizenship existed within U.S. literature. [44] Stowe possibly considers the privileges granted to free black sailors when she calls Tom a mariner. She also incorporates the conversations that brought the maritime and abolitionist communities together when they considered how flogging demeaned the dignity of both the sailor and the enslaved.

Uncle Tom's (Ship) Cabin

Although Stowe wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in response to the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, an inland law based on the sovereignty of states, she also looks seaward to critique the global slave trade by using Tom's status as a sentimental sailor to reference maritime legal practices and culture from the early decades of the antebellum era. In the "Concluding Remarks," Stowe once again brings communities together by pleading with the people of the land "farmers of the rich and joyous," "ye of the wide prairie state," and "mothers of America" and those of the sea "generous sailors and ship-owners" to consider the cruelties of the American slave system (623). Aware that the U.S. slave

[44] Carrie Hyde, *Civic Longing: The Speculative Origins of U.S. Citizenship,* pages 3-10.

market is interrelated with the global slave trade, Stowe asks all people who live on the land and the sea to join together and concern themselves, as Tom did, with the "great interests of humanity" (624). For Stowe, who imagines the solution to slavery through an international framework, the closing image of Tom's cabin on the Shelby plantation reflects the humanist perspective of the sentimental sailor. The eponymous cabin is often read as a symbol of domesticity by scholars such as Gillian Brown, Thomas F. Gossett, and Henry Louis Gates Jr.[45] However, Stowe uses the word cabin in two ways throughout the novel – to describe the living quarters for enslaved people on plantations and to also refer to the various rooms on steamboats. For nineteenth-century readers who viewed Tom as a sentimental heroine and a sentimental sailor, they considered the symbolic nature of the cabin in both domestic and nautical terms.

On ships, cabins are the main sleeping quarters for sailors, and it was not uncommon for cabins to be related to the home. In a letter to Evert A. Duyckinck on December 13, 1850, Herman Melville wrote:

> I have a sort of sea-feeling here in the country, now that the ground is all covered with snow. I look out of my window in the morning when I rise as I would out of a port-hold of a ship in the Atlantic. My room seems a ship's cabin; & at nights when I wake up & hear the wind shrieking, I almost fancy there is too much sail on the house, & I had better go on the roof & rig in the chimney. (173)[46]

Looking out from the window of his study at Arrowhead to view the peaks of Mt. Greylock which resemble the back of a sperm whale, Melville was inspired to write his novel *Moby Dick* (1851) which came out the same year that Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was serialized. Melville's imagining of his home as a ship's cabin is also an image that one of Stowe's readers took with *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. In *Harper's Round Table*, a tale by W.J. Henderson called "The Accommodating Island: One of the Old Sailor's Yarns"

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[45] Brown, *Domestic Individualism*, pages 13-60; Thomas F. Gossett, *Uncle Tom's Cabin and American Culture*, page 102; Gates Jr., *The Annotated Version of Uncle Tom's Cabin*, page xiv.

[46] Herman Melville, "Melville's Letters 1850's," *The Writings of Herman Melville: Correspondence*, ed. Lynn Horth.

features an old mariner named Tom Crawley, who owns a ship called the "Lily o' the Valley" that he resides in at the dock. Ironically, the maritime community in the tale refers to Tom's ship with a nickname – "the *Uncle Tom's Cabin*" (391-392). While Ammons' reading of Tom as a passive, sentimental heroine has led scholars to view the cabin as a symbol of nationalism and imperialism, reading Tom as a sentimental sailor, an active hero who converts others to humanism, reveals how domesticity is also a symbol of mobility and internationalism.

Sentimental heroine narratives, which focus on domesticity and nationalism, may seem at first to completely contradict the internationalist agenda of sentimental sailor tales. Yet Stowe gives Tom the double role of a heroine and sailor to produce a complex account of race in antebellum America. While viewing Tom as a sentimental heroine provides a significant framework for understanding the novel, interpreting Tom as a sentimental sailor also reveals how Stowe draws from various literary traditions to make a case for abolition from both a nationalist and international standpoint. The flexibility of her project allows Stowe to work with multiple geographies, even using the sentimental appeals of the inland domestic heroine and the heroic seafaring sailor to evoke the emotions of a broader readership. Like eighteenth-century writers who began the sentimental movement in hope that empathy would unite the new nation, Stowe likewise hopes to convert an international audience toward abolition.

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