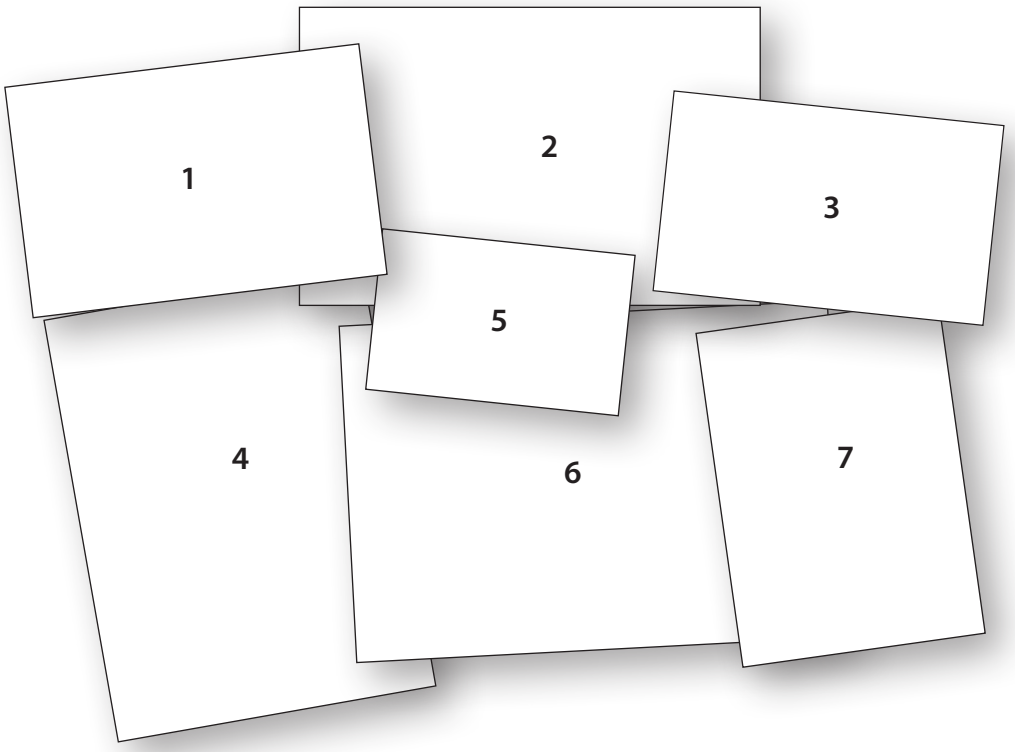
National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior
Ethnography Program
Northeast Region

A Generous Sea:
Native Hawaiians, Pacific Islanders, and the Jewish Community in New Bedford Whaling & Whaling Heritage



Special Ethnographic Report

New Bedford Whaling National Historic Park



Cover Image Identification:

Top, left to right:

1. State Alms House, Bridgewater, ca. 1850 (Figure 2.11)

2. A Kanaka whaleman, native of the Sandwich Islands. New Bedford, Mass., 1882 (Figure 4.4)

3. S. Horvitz Boots and Shoes store at its original location, 64 Union Street in New Bedford (Figure 3.17)

Bottom, left to right:

4. Rabbi Hyman Papkin, the second Rabbi of Ahavath Achim Synagogue (Figure 3.7)

5. Whaler's Harpoon with Toggle Head (Figure 4.3)

6. The *Charles W. Morgan* leaving Round Hill for Mystic, Connecticut in 1941 (Figure 5.8)

7. C. W. Morgan Whaler, New Bedford, Mass, postcard ca. 1930-45 (Figure 1.2)

A Generous Sea:
Native Hawaiians, Pacific Islanders, and the Jewish Community in New Bedford Whaling & Whaling Heritage

Marla R. Miller and Laura A. Miller

Prepared under cooperative agreement with
University of Massachusetts Amherst
Task Agreement # P12AC10828

New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park
Special Ethnographic Report

Northeast Region Ethnography Program
National Park Service
Boston, MA

2016

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study aims to provide New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park with information about the historical participation of two ethnic groups in the New Bedford whaling industry—Pacific Islanders, and the Jewish community—and describe their continuing association with New Bedford and its whaling history. The project also seeks to understand the evolution of the memory of whaling in New Bedford, especially as it pertains to these two groups. Through ethnographic and oral history interviews, archival and genealogical research, examination of crew lists and other data sources, and the use of a database provided by the NPS, the study creates an ethnohistorical context for understanding the history of whaling between 1825 and 1925, and provides insight into how men and women in contemporary New Bedford relate to those stories. Building on previous scholarship that examines other New Bedford ethnic communities associated with whaling, the study extends existing knowledge in several ways.

Key Findings:

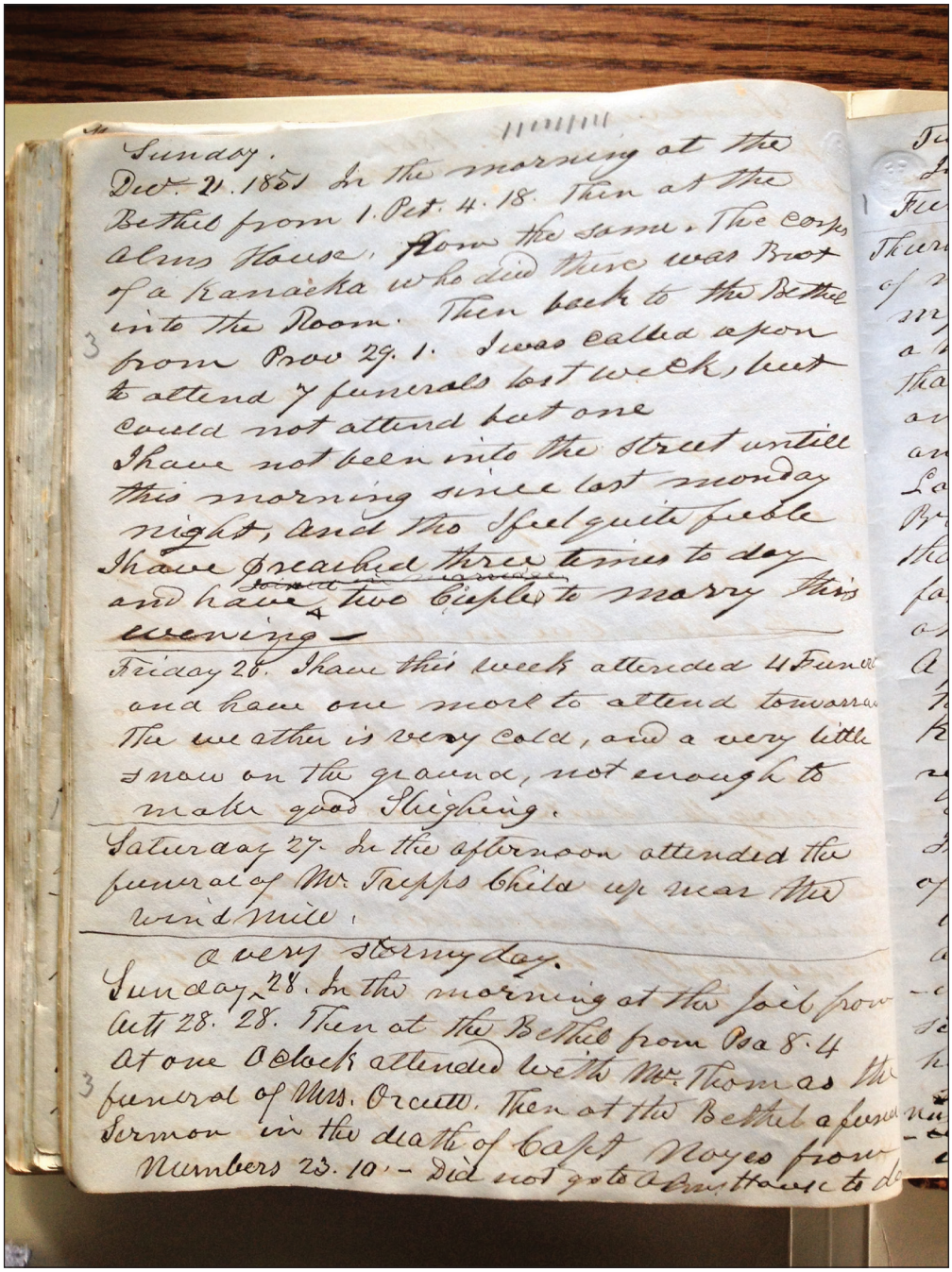
- Both Pacific Islanders and Jewish immigrants are nineteenth-century diasporic communities whose history in New Bedford is inextricably linked to global migration and geopolitical forces, particularly in the second and last quarters of the nineteenth century.
- Both Pacific Islanders and Jewish New Bedford have been "collapsed," in local memory, into a figure that simplifies that group's history and role in maritime heritage. In the case of Oceanic peoples, that figure is Queequeg, the iconic harpooner of Herman Melville's novel *Moby-Dick*. In the case of the Jewish community, that figure is the "Last Outfitter," Samuel Horvitz, who story has become sufficiently well known that it has come to eclipse other ways that members of the Jewish community engaged with whaling and whaling heritage.
- Pacific Islanders and Native Hawaiians were a steady presence on New Bedford streets not only in the second quarter of the nineteenth century when whaling was at its peak, but also until the very end of the century, as the industry went into decline. Many of those mariners populated boardinghouses reserved for men of color, while others availed themselves of charitable institutions, including the Overseers of the Poor, the city almshouse, and the state almshouse at Bridgewater.

A small number married African American and Native American women, though there is no known descendant community today.

- Pacific Islanders are both everywhere and nowhere in the city's collective memory of whaling. Despite their significance to nineteenth-century whaling and presence throughout nineteenth-century New Bedford and closely-connected nearby communities (including Bridgewater and Nantucket), in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century pastkeeping, nativism, nationalism, imperialism and other cultural anxieties caused them to be excluded from formal expressions of local whaling heritage as that story took shape via area museums and memorial art.
- The "Maritime Revival" of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, as it drew sharp, if distorting, distinctions between sea and shore, tended to marginalize Pacific Islanders/Native Hawaiians, and also the Jewish community. In the former, these laborers became associated with the sea, and largely forgotten as members of New Bedford's shoreside population; in the latter, the Jewish community has been isolated on the edges of the story, when in fact they were an integral part of New Bedford's early twentieth century whaling industry.
- The Jewish community takes significant pride in its association with whaling as represented in the origin stories of Aaron Lopez and the Sephardic Jews of colonial and revolutionary New England.
- The Jewish community in New Bedford is notable for both its porosity and its insularity: on the one hand, Jewish residents of New Bedford were deeply entwined throughout the community (e.g many businessmen were multilingual, and able to work with members of the Portuguese, French, and other ethnic groups), while at the same time, the distinct needs of the Judaism as well as a degree of anti-Semitism prompted Jewish residents to retreat to family and communities of faith.
- The Jewish community has played a significant role in the preservation of the material culture and memory of whaling, activities that proved natural outgrowths of the Jewish peddler tradition, and also the philanthropic culture of the Jewish community.

Key Recommendations:

- New Bedford Whaling NHP could develop and strengthen ties with other NPS sites that already interpret or could interpret the histories of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, especially Salem Maritime NHS and Fort Vancouver NHS as well as the NPS sites throughout the Pacific, particularly Kaloko-Honokohau NHP and Pu`ukohola Heiau NHS. Fort Vancouver NHS, in particular, has developed a number of interpretive tools that could serve as models for New Bedford Whaling NHP (See Ch 1 n 3).
- The park should consider developing ongoing joint programs with the UMass Dartmouth Center For Jewish Culture.
- Additional interviewing with younger members of the Jewish community should be undertaken to further document this story.
- The park should consider a study of the history of indigenous Alaskans as they relate to New Bedford whaling; their story will be not unlike those of the Pacific Islanders in that it only tangentially touches on the city itself, but is another place where the history of New Bedford whaling intersects with indigenous people around the globe.
- The park should work with Dr. Alfred H. Saulniers to address documentation of the French Canadian community and its associations with whaling.
- New Bedford Whaling NHP should consider funding a separate study on the role of women in the work of whaling (in shoreside industries, as the wives of whaling captains, and in other roles), and in the preservation of the city's whaling heritage.
- Future research should explore the degree of intermingling between the New Bedford Whaling Museum, the Nantucket Whaling Museum, and Mystic Seaport. How were these entities (and others) mutually constitutive? To what extent were the relationships collaborative, and to what extent competitive, or even adversarial? ■



Sunday.
Dec. 21. 1851 In the morning at the
Bethel from 1. Pet. 4. 18. Then at the
Alms House. Room the same. The corps
of a Kanaeka who died there was Brot
into the Room. Then back to the Bethel
from Prov 29. 1. I was called upon
to attend 7 funerals last week, but
could not attend but one
I have not been into the street until
this morning since last monday
night, and tho I feel quite feeble
I have preached three times to day
and have two couples to marry this
evening —

Friday 26. I have this week attended 4 Funer
and have one more to attend tomorrow
The weather is very cold, and a very little
snow on the ground, not enough to
make good Sleighing.

Saturday 27. In the afternoon attended the
funeral of Mr. Tripps child up near the
two mile.
a very stormy day.

Sunday 28. In the morning at the Jail from
Acts 28. 28. Then at the Bethel from Psa 8. 4
At one O'clock attended with Mr. Thomas the
funeral of Mrs. Orcutt. Then at the Bethel a funer
Sermon in the death of Capt Noyes from
Numbers 23. 10. — Did not go to Alms House to d

Photo A: Page from the diary of Moses How, chaplain of the New Bedford Seaman's Bethel from 1844 to 1859, New Bedford Free Public Library. Photo credit: Laura A. Miller.

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Acknowledgments

The title of this study, "A Generous Sea," is taken from New Bedford Poet Laureate (2007-2010) John Landry's poem "Dancing to the Music of the Spheres." Here, Landry's Earth, "Living for the benefit/ of all living things," is a place where "nothing is separate/ everything's connected" and "everything is the hinge upon which/ everything is hinged." "We are a collage of fragments," Landry writes, "engaged by the rush of/ generous land/ generous sea."[1] This sense of global interconnection over time and space necessarily permeates this study of people from very different parts of the world, who at very different times were brought to New Bedford as parts of much larger diasporas. But it suits our sense, too, of the interconnectedness of scholarly research, and the many ways in which nothing is separate and everyone is connected, as we drew on the expertise of many people from disparate places in the course of this work.

This study could not have been completed without the generosity and good will of historians, archivists and curators across New Bedford and beyond. We are indebted to the staff of the New Bedford Free Public Library, and especially Paul Cyr, Janice Hodson, and Joan Barney for their insight and collegiality; Christina Connett, Michael Dyer, Arthur Motta, and Melanie Correia at the New Bedford Whaling Museum, and especially Mark Procknik at the Whaling Museum Archives, who was a constant source of aid and good cheer. At the Massachusetts State Archives, we are grateful to Jennifer Fauxsmith, Martha Clark and Stephanie Dyson for making available the records of the state almshouse at Bridgewater, still being processed at the time they so kindly allowed us to consult them. Area Public Historians Karlee Etter, Judith Farrar and Jason Mancini fielded our various inquiries, and Aaron Lansky, director of the National Yiddish Book Center, not only sat for an interview, but also directed us to some valuable Yiddish-language sources. Laura Orleans and Diana Limbach Lempel of New Bedford's Working Waterfront Festival were also generous with their time and insight into the city's maritime heritage. Brent Talbott, Exhibits Specialist at the Statue of Liberty National Monument & Ellis Island, promptly replied to our query about the Jewish Colonization Association broadside that Aaron Lansky recalled having seen there. Local historian Raymond Patnaude kindly shared several primary source documents with us, including a crucial newspaper article that led us to research the life of Abram Herman, a Jewish immigrant in New Bedford who invested in whaleships in the early twentieth century. We are deeply

1 John Landry, "Dancing to the Music of the Spheres," in *New Man International Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies* Vol. 1 No. 1 (January 2014), 2-3.

grateful to Rabbi Barry Hartman, Cindy Yoken, Ellen Hull, and Rabbi Raphael Kanter and the members of Tifereth Israel Synagogue for sharing their deep expertise on the history of New Bedford and the Jewish community there, and for welcoming us to a memorably warm and lively *Simchat Torah* service.

We are also grateful to the many oral history interviewees who graciously shared their memories and family documents with us for this research. Cindy Yoken and Ellen Hull helped connect us with several interviewees from the Jewish community; Cindy also shared her own insights and research in an oral history interview, and gave us an invaluable driving tour of Jewish New Bedford. A fortuitous meeting with Morgan Levine at the New Bedford Whaling Museum's Whaling History Symposium in 2013 opened several productive lines of inquiry, including the role that Jewish antique dealers played in preserving whaling artifacts in New Bedford and New England. Alan Herman of the New Bedford Antiques at the Cove also cheerfully offered his perspective on the maritime antiques trade.

We are indebted to friends and colleagues who read and commented on various sections of this draft; many thanks to Ted Mellilo, Nancy Shoemaker and Seth Bruggeman for making the time to help sharpen and deepen the arguments herein. We are also indebted to research assistants Lauren Aubut and Emily Esten for their time and talent in the archives and beyond. We are especially grateful to Emily Esten for locating—with the help of Smithsonian Institution Archives Assistant Archivist Ellen Alers and her reference team—the photograph of the "Kanaka Whaleman."

At UMass Amherst, in departments across campus, Amy Fleig, Adam Howe, Sarah M. Vega-Liros, David Gazzillo, Andy Cote, and Nancy Swett kept the trains running on time. Our fellow researcher Cathy Stanton provided advice and models of excellent practice. At NPS, Chuck Smythe brought his intellect, warmth, understanding and good humor to the effort; it was a pleasure working with him. At New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park, we are especially indebted to Janine Da Silva who kept a steady hand on the wheel over this long journey, and Erik Kreusch for his thoughtful comments on the draft. We also wish to thank designer Michael Ruocco for his careful attention to our work, and patience with us throughout this process.

Lastly, we wish to thank NPS rangers Judy Roderiques and Lucy Bly, whose commitment to recovering and telling the stories of the city's "Kanaka whalemen" made these two historian-interpreters a constant source of information, and inspiration. We dedicate this work to them. ■

Chapter One: Background, Purpose and Methodology of This Study

Background

New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park (NHP) commemorates and interprets the dynamic era when New Bedford was a world-renowned whaling port. Established in 1996 "to preserve, protect and interpret certain districts, structures, and artifacts that are associated with the history of whaling and related social, economic and environmental themes," the park also partners with community organizations to tell the story of whaling. In order to accomplish its mission, New Bedford Whaling NHP's 2001 General Management Plan (GMP) recommended the generation of a series of ethnohistories that highlight the historical and contemporary relationships that particular groups or peoples have had with the city's central waterfront and whaling history. This effort to understand the Pacific Islanders who participated in New Bedford's economy and society, as well as the members of the Jewish community who contributed to whaling at sea and on shore and particularly to the ways that whaling would be remembered in the community in the decades that followed whaling's demise, joins a gathering of research projects that have already documented Native American, African American, West Indian, St. Helenian, Azorean and Cape Verdean communities.

The current study was designed to deepen the park's connection with the Jewish community of New Bedford, and also to better understand the Pacific Islanders who once lived in New Bedford, by providing more information about each group's history over time. The two groups discussed here were not juxtaposed toward any particular end; they, along with the city's French Canadian population—a group that was eventually set aside here for further study later—were simply populations not yet tackled in this multiyear effort to document New Bedford's various ethnic communities. Yet we did find it surprisingly productive to consider the two populations in tandem, as together they help narrate the long history of whaling in the city—Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders illuminating the trajectory of whaling largely in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, and the Jewish community shedding light on the city from the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the present. The study of both groups also reveals

important aspects of the memory of whaling in New Bedford as it took form in the twentieth century, suggesting the consideration of whaling's collective memory that comprise the final two chapters herein.

It is important to note that this is by no means a comprehensive account of the history of New Bedford's Jewish community, or of Pacific Islanders in the city's whaling industry as a whole, but rather an exploration of how these groups' association with the city's whaling industry and whaling heritage shaped and reflected life in this coastal city. In the case of Pacific Islanders, though the narrative herein covers people and places across the Pacific World, our focus in on the Anglophone Pacific, and especially Hawai'i, which supplied the vast majority of New Bedford's mariners from this region of the world.[1] Surveyed by British explorers and traders in the late eighteenth century, today's Hawaiian Islands were the scene of intense competition once the newly-independent United States entered the world stage. In the case of the Jewish community, while our text traces this story from its origins through the several waves of Jewish migration to this stretch of coastal New England, our emphasis is on the twentieth-century history

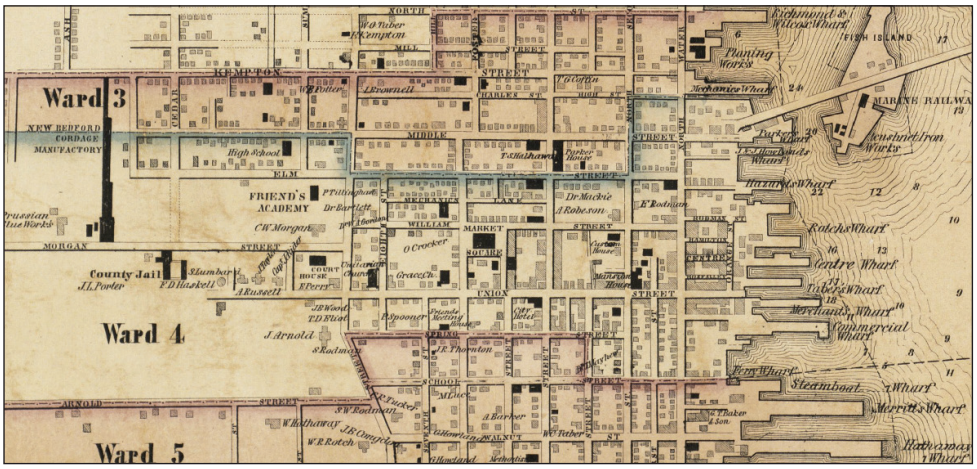


Figure 1.1: Detail: Map of the City of New Bedford and the Village of Fair Haven, from actual survey by H.F. Walling. Henry Francis Walling: C. & A. Taber (Firm),1851.

1 Significant parts of the Pacific World would become associated with another imperial power—France—after French explorer Louis Antoine de Bougainville visited Tahiti in 1768. French Catholic missionaries arrived on Tahiti in 1834, and eight years later Tahiti and the Marquesas were declared a French protectorate. In 1880, France annexed Tahiti, changing its status from protectorate to colony. A series of other annexations ensued; in 1946, Polynesians gained French citizenship and the islands together became an overseas territory. Today "French Polynesia" encompasses groups of islands: The Society Islands archipelago, which includes Tahiti, as well as the Tuamotu Archipelago, the Gambier Islands, the Marquesas Islands and the Austral Islands. On international competition concerning whaling in this region, see Edouard A. Stackpole, *Whales and Destiny: The Rivalry Between America, France and Britain for Control of the Southern Whale Fishery, 1785-1825* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1972). On France in particular, see John Dunmore, *Visions & Realities: France in the Pacific, 1695–1995* (Waikanae, New Zealand: Heritage Press, 1997).

of Jewish New Bedford, the ways in which Jewish residents participated in businesses related to whaling, and especially how they came to engage with the city's maritime heritage.

The essays gathered here describe the involvement of both Pacific Islanders and Jews in the whaling industry in the century between 1825 and 1925. Pacific Islanders' participation in whaling peaked in the early decades of the industry's thriving period, but so-called "Kanaka" whalemen (a term discussed below) continued to be found in New Bedford through the whole of the century. The story of Jewish New Bedford begins in the late eighteenth century and is punctuated by the arrival of a smattering of German peddlers in the mid-nineteenth century, but it expands significantly in the whaling industry's latter decades, as immigrants from Poland and Russia transform the city. Understanding their story requires bringing the story forward, following the changing nature of the Jewish community through the 1940s, 50s, and 60s, decades during which Jewish residents turned attention and energy to the preservation of whaling's heritage.

Though seemingly far afield from one another, both the Pacific Islanders and the Ashkenazi Jews of New Bedford were nineteenth-century diasporic communities whose global migrations eastward and westward toward coastal Massachusetts were driven by a complex set of political, economic, cultural, and social forces. Like Fort Vancouver NHS, New Bedford Whaling NHP is integral to the history of the Pacific World—that is, as framed by historian Ted Mellilo, "the peoples and ecosystems in and around the Pacific Ocean"[2]—as Pacific Islanders and Hawaiian mariners in particular were essential to the whaling industry's success, and New Bedford was a key node in the diasporic Hawaiian communities of the nineteenth century.[3] At the same time, New Bedford proved a haven for Jewish families leaving poverty, pogroms, political pressure, and other adverse

2 We are extremely grateful to Ted Melillo for his careful reading of a draft of this study. His scholarship on related topics is cited in the notes that follow.

3 On Islanders in the Pacific Northwest, see Janice Duncan, *Minority without a Champion: Kanakas on the Pacific Coast, 1788– 1850* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1972); Jean Barman and Bruce McIntyre Watson, *Leaving Paradise: Indigenous Hawaiians in the Pacific Northwest, 1787-1898* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996); and Tom Koppel, *Kanaka: The Untold Story of Hawaiian Pioneers in British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest* (Vancouver/Toronto: Whitecap Books, 1995). See also Dr. Edward and Alice Beechert's series on the Hawaiian history of Fort Vancouver, http://www.nps.gov/fova/. Several reports generated by Fort Vancouver NHS can be found at http://www.nps.gov/fova/learn/historyculture/hawaiians.htm. An award-winning mobile app, Fort Vancouver Mobile, developed in partnership with the local Hawaiian community and featuring the story of William Kaulehelehe can be found on ITunes; "The Grand Emporium," an app designed for use in middle school history classrooms, can also be found on ITunes. Many thanks to NPS staff members Meagan Huff and Gregory Shine for sharing these materials, and for providing the image of "Kanaka Town" at Fort Vancouver pictured in Figure 2.1.

conditions in Eastern Europe. While few other places on the eastern seaboard of the United States hosted Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in large numbers (perhaps only Nantucket sharing a significant place in that story), many cities—notably Boston and New York—also saw the development of thriving Jewish communities. New Bedford's Jewish history, then, is knit within a larger story of Jews in the Northeast.

Another of the project's aims tackles the history of whaling's public history in New Bedford, especially as this story illuminates and is illuminated by the histories of the two communities discussed here. There is no known descendent community associated with Native Hawaiians or Pacific Islanders—an element in the narrative, as in the absence of a population actively advocating for those stories, local memory of the Pacific presence in nineteenth-century New Bedford faded. In the case of the Jewish community, this project documents relationships between contemporary community members and the city's whaling history, and thus helps to expand the ethnography of the legacy of whaling in park-associated communities. We find surprisingly deep-rooted engagement with the city's whaling heritage as the children and grandchildren of the first wave of migrants embraced their new home's maritime heritage. Today, the Jewish community plays a tangible role in sustaining that heritage.

Understanding how, why, and when the histories of both Pacific Islanders and the Jewish community have been both present and absent in contemporary memory requires situating those threads within a larger fabric of regional public memory. The history of maritime museums and the public history of New England's whaling heritage is a subject of emerging scholarly interest, with historians James Lindgren, Seth Bruggeman, Glenn Grasso and others establishing the field's foundations and lines of inquiry.[4] Though all trace their pastkeeping origins to the decades Glenn Grasso has termed the "Maritime Revival" (1870-1940), places like Nantucket and Salem, Massachusetts, and Mystic,

4 Seth C. Bruggeman, "'A Most Complete Whaling Museum': Profiting from the Past on Nantucket Island," *Museum History Journal* 8:2 (July 2015), 188-208. James M. Lindgren; "'That Every Mariner May Possess the History of the World': A Cabinet for the East India Marine Society of Salem," in *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 68, No. 2 (Jun., 1995), 179-205; Lindgren, "'Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood': The New Bedford Whaling Museum, 1903-1941," *The New England Quarterly* Vol. 72, No. 2 (Jun., 1999), 163-206 and *Preserving South Street Seaport: The Dream and Reality of a New York Urban Renewal District* (New York: NYU Press, 2014). Useful dissertations include Glenn Michael Grasso, "The Maritime Revival: Antimodernity, class, and culture, 1870—1940," (PhD dissertation, University of New Hampshire, 2009); Jamie Lynn Jones, "American Whaling in Culture and Memory, 1820—1930," (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2011); and Kristin A. Williams, "Waterfronts for work and play: Mythscapes of heritage and identity in contemporary Rhode Island," (PhD Dissertation: University of Maryland, College Park, 2010).

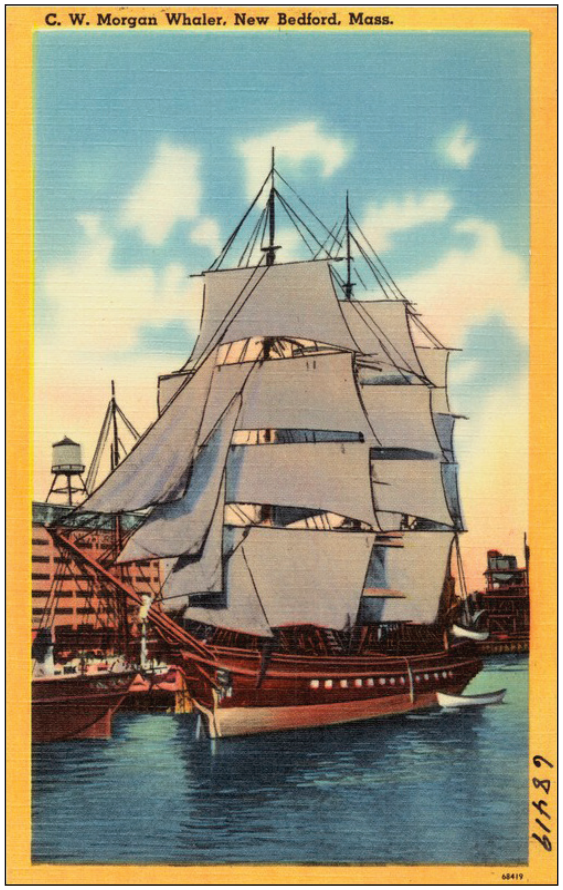


Figure 1.2: C. W. Morgan Whaler, New Bedford, Mass, postcard ca. 1930-45, Pub. by Berger Bros., Providence, R.I. Berger Bros. Publishers, Providence, R.I. By the second quarter of the twentieth century, the *Charles W. Morgan* had become a relic of the city's whaling heritage--a popular play spot for children, and a cherished artifact among adults, for whom it was a source of pride and nostalgia.

Connecticut, each have separate historical trajectories and priorities.[5] Each community created an image of seafaring that was a "small slice of the entire experience-as-lived, and convincing Americans of its completeness, value, and significance" but one that responded to its community's unique demands and interests.[6]

On the island of Nantucket, as Seth Bruggeman explains, after whaling's center of gravity shifted to New Bedford, the successor economy was not industrial (as it would be in New Bedford) but rather based in tourism and the arts, the vision of "a coalition of off-islanders and old families eager to attract newcomers."[7] The Nantucket Historical Association, founded in 1894, emerged decades after whaling's heroic age on the island had collapsed. By contrast, in New Bedford, when the Old Dartmouth Historical Society emerged in 1903, whaling was still a going concern, albeit in a far

5 For the term "pastkeeping," see Michael Batinski, *Pastkeepers in A Small Place: Five Centuries in Deerfield, Massachusetts* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 2004). The term is useful because it encompasses all forms of heritage work undertaken by amateurs, avocational historians and professional scholars and curators, and includes the widest range of meaning-making activities, from the publication of historical texts to the creation of museums and historic sites to the private and public curation of artifacts and antiques. We use it throughout this text to signal all forms of activity that seek to preserve and interpret the past.

6 Grasso, "The Maritime Revival," 6. Grasso "proposes that from about the Centennial to the Second World War, certain wealthy, white Americans utilized the maritime past as a means to maintain their position in the social order, insulate themselves from social change, sustain their cultural heritage, and influence mass culture's tastes during a period of rapid and dislocating flux resulting from immigration, industrialization, urbanization, economic downturn, and war." See "The Maritime Revival," 2-3. Grasso also emphasizes throughout his study the significance of technological change transforming all maritime work, including the rise of steam power.

7 Bruggeman, "A Most Complete Whaling Museum," 190.

weakened state. Aimed as it was in attracting affluent vacationers to resorts on the island, pastkeeping on Nantucket seized upon the "many reminders of the whaling days" (in the words of museum founder William F. Macy) as "assets…in attracting and holding the right kind of people."[8]

Conversely, in Salem, Massachusetts, the heritage enterprise was far older. Formed in October 1799 to improve knowledge of the sea and its navigation as well as provide aid to a mariner's family in need, the East India Marine Society turned its attention to collecting objects brought home from distant places. Eventually the Society established a museum, "that every mariner may possess the history of the world."[9] Already by 1820, the collection was large enough to justify a curator, and by 1825, the museum gained a new building—the same one it occupies today.[10] Salem's pastkeeping, then, commenced even before New Bedford whaling had entered its heroic age; when in the early twentieth century New Bedford began to consider its own artifactual record, it could turn to Salem's century of curatorial expertise for insight and inspiration.

Lastly, in Mystic, Connecticut, the 1929 Marine Historical Association (MHA) would, like New Bedford, be fully entangled in the textile industry that grounded both cities' economies in the decades after whaling's demise. The MHA's first exhibit halls were in the onetime woolen factory of the Mystic Manufacturing Company, and co-founder Edward E. Bradley had made his money in silk production. And New Bedford and Mystic pastkeepers would share roles in the preservation and interpretation of the *Charles W. Morgan*, arguably the most important extant whaling artifact.[11] Patriotic MHA founders saw their work as addressing national malaise: celebrating the nation's maritime heritage is necessary to the nation's health because "those higher qualities invaluable to national well-being, such as courage, sacrifice, the pioneer spirit of adventure, co-operation, loyalty, high aspiration and true religion" are all nurtured by life at sea.[12] Just as the East India Marine Society museum had prepared Salem's mid-nineteenth-century youth for lives at sea, giving them a glimpse of the faraway places they would encounter as

8 Ibid., 196

9 See Lindgren, "That Every Mariner May Possess the History of the World," 184.

10 Lindgren, "That Every Mariner May Possess the History of the World," 188.

11 Leigh Fought**,** *A History of Mystic, Connecticut: From Pequot Village to Tourist Town* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2007), 111, 126.

12 MHA Statement of Plan and Purposes, 3, as quoted in Grasso, "Maritime Revival," 315.

successful mariners, so too did the founders of the Marine Historical Association envision an institution that would revive and support a new era of maritime entrepreneurship. The comparatively later entry of Mystic into maritime history meant that it could look to new models—the success of outdoor history museums like Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia, Greenfield Village in Michigan, and Old Sturbridge Village closer to home emboldened Mystic's memory stewards to envision a maritime version of these sites—a vision that would come to include New Bedford's own *Charles W. Morgan*.[13] Like their Nantucket counterparts, they were interested in cultivating tourism based on their maritime heritage, but geography influenced how the two cities imagined their audiences: while Nantucket in time saw their future with the yachting class, Mystic looked to automobile tourism and the families who embraced it.[14]

New Bedford's own maritime pastkeeping likewise unfolds from its own historical contexts, and the cultural, economic, and social imperatives of its formative years. Chapters four and five here track moments in the formation of the city's public memory of whaling, charting watershed moments in the forging of both collective and collected memory.[15] This project and its predecessors have documented the extraordinary diversity that characterized whaling in the nineteenth-century city. How, we began to wonder, did the story of the so-called "Kanaka" whalemen who, together with vast numbers of men of color from around the world, labored on the city's whaleships through the industry's heroic age come to be so noticeably overshadowed by images of Yankee captains and crew? Turning to Jewish New Bedford, we wondered, how has the Jewish community, which arrived in the city well after profits from whaling had been channeled toward the city's textile mills, participated in the nourishing of whaling heritage?

In the case of the Pacific Islanders, we contemplate how the "kanaka whalemen" of the nineteenth century have been both remembered and forgotten, and the specific

13 Fought, *History of Mystic, Connecticut*, 130-131. The MHA's founders' aims went beyond mere nostalgia, and involved nothing less than the "re-creation of a powerful maritime civilization," and helping the U.S. to "'regain, in a measure, her former position' on the sea." See Grasso, "Maritime Revival," 312-13; and, on the *Charles W. Morgan*, 320, 335-36.

14 On the automobile and heritage tourism, see Cathy Stanton's insightful blog *History on Wheels: Reflections on the heritage industry, automobility, and the making of North America's past(s);* and also Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

15 "Collective memory," a concept proposed by Maurice Halbwachs in his landmark study *Le Mémoire Collective* (Pariso, 1950), refers to narratives shared by social groups, a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts. "Collected memory"--a concept advanced by, among others, Judaic Studies scholar James E. Young–refers to the constellation of individual memories. See Young, *The Texture of Memory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993).

shape public memory of these men has taken over time in the city. We consider the foundational years of the city's main history institutions, the Old Dartmouth Historical Society and the Bourne Museum, as well as the creation of The Whaleman Statue on the grounds of the public library. Turning to the Jewish community, we illuminate how Jewish dealers in maritime antiques have helped preserve artifacts related to whaling, and also how the philanthropic tradition within the Jewish community has also helped create and sustain public memory of this important chapter in New Bedford's history.

The project as originally conceived also aimed to document the French Canadian community of New Bedford and its associations with whaling. Once our research was underway, we quickly discovered that a member of that community had already undertaken substantial research to identify French Canadians involved in whaling; economist and noted local historian Dr. Alfred H. Saulniers presented his extensive research in a paper at the October 2013 New Bedford Whaling Museum (NBWM) symposium titled "Franco Americans in the New Bedford Whale Fishery, 1790-1910." Recognizing immediately that it would be both inefficient and ill-advised for us to attempt to duplicate his work, we successfully proposed an alteration to this project's scope that replaced the discussion of the French Canadian community with an investigation of how public memory of whaling took its particular shape in twentieth-century New Bedford, in ways that marginalized the communities under study alongside other non-European populations. Our recommendations include the formal suggestion that the park, as it continues this series of ethnographic reports, reach out to Dr. Saulniers and engage his expertise and associations with the city's French Canadian community.

Defining Terms

Place names change over time for reasons both historical and cultural. For instance, as Katrina Gulliver explains, "Although Magellan called it the 'Pacific,' the name 'South Sea' stuck for much longer. The use of the term 'Pacific' only takes over from 'South Seas' after Cook's voyages."[16] Likewise, for much of the period under study, the archipelago situated some 2,000 mi (3,200 km) southwest of the United States' west coast, was known as the "Sandwich Islands." The lands that Captain James Cook in 1778 christened in honor of his benefactor, First Lord of the Admiralty John Montagu, 4th Earl of Sandwich, is a region comprising the islands of Niʻihau, Kauaʻi, Oʻahu, Molokaʻi, Lānaʻi, Kahoʻolawe, Maui and the island of Hawaiʻi. It became known as the Hawaiian

16 Katrina Gulliver, "Finding the Pacific World," *Journal of World History* Vol 22., No 1 (March 2011), 86.

Islands about 1840 (Hawai'i meaning "homeland"), a shift explained partly by native preference and partly by an American desire to minimize Britain's influence in the Pacific. On the spelling of Hawai'i, the 'okina—a diacritical mark represented by an apostrophe—indicates a glottal stop. The Admission Act of 1959, which granted Hawaiian statehood, recognizes "Hawaii" to be the official state name though many state and municipal entities and officials now prefer "Hawai'i." In this study, we use both terms.[17]

"Polynesia" typically refers to the triangular sweep between Hawai'i, Easter Island and New Zealand (taking in Tonga, Samoa, and the Society Islands), with Micronesia (which includes Kiribati, the Marshall Islands and the Marianas) and Melanesia (encompassing Fiji, the Solomon Islands, and New Guinea) laying just to the west. But this taxonomy is itself a construction imposed on this part of the globe—specifically, in 1832 by the French explorer and naval officer Jules Sébastien César Dumont d'Urville, whose assessment of the regions and its peoples were deeply informed by scientific racism—rather than terms or concepts developed by islanders themselves.[18] The term "Oceania," preferred by many scholars today, has taken on an array of meanings, from the ecological to the geopolitical to the ethnocultural. This study tends to embrace the term in the most encompassing sense.[19]

Our charge has been to explore the lives of New Bedford's "Kanaka" whalemen, a term contemporary linguists tell us derives from the Polynesian term "Te Enata," or "the men," used to identify themselves.[20] In the period under study, the term referred indiscriminately to refer to mariners from across Oceania. On occasion, the term "Kanaka" carried a disparaging connotation and was applied liberally throughout the Pacific, and so in general in the text herein we prefer the term "Pacific Islanders." But even identifying who is included under that umbrella raises questions. Our research has

17 See Russell Clement, "From Cook to the 1840 Constitution: The Name Change from Sandwich to Hawaiian Islands," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 14 (1980), 50-57.

18 See Edward Duyker, *Dumont d'Urville: Explorer and Polymath* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2014).

19 See the Encyclopedia Britannica entry, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/424424/Oceania. On D'Urville and scientific racism, see Shoemaker, *Native American Whalemen and the World*, 87. Nancy Shoemaker, *Native American Whalemen and the World: Indigenous Encounters and the Contingency of Race* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

20 Briton Cooper Busch, *Whaling Will Never Do for Me: The American Whaleman in the Nineteenth Century* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2009), 45. An earlier iteration, predating the late eighteenth-century period of contact, may be *tangata;* see S. Savage, "Origin of the Word Kanaka," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* Vol. 18, No. 4 (72) (December, 1909), 216-218. On the term's translation in the first Hawaiian-English dictionary, see Shoemaker, *Native American Whalemen and the World*, 87.

uncovered, for instance, mariners clearly of Portuguese descent who were born in the Hawaiian Islands and eventually found themselves on New Bedford whalers, and in New Bedford. Though not indigenous Hawaiians, they are mariners who called Hawai'i home, reminding us how complex a world the Pacific was, and remains.

Also challenging is the term "community." We refer often to "the Jewish community" in the singular, knowing full well that the term is as misleading as it is descriptive, masking the diversity of beliefs, origins, and practices within that group.[21] Moreover, there is a "double-identity" issue here, in that Jews are practitioners of a faith as well as members of an ethnic group with its own segmentations (Ashkenazi, Sephardic, etc.). The "Jewish community" of late eighteenth-century New Bedford (largely Sephardic) is not continuous with the (German) "Jewish community" of mid-nineteenth-century New Bedford, and those groups and times are also distinct from the Jewish community of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century New Bedford, the Eastern European migrants who are the forebears of most of contemporary Jewish New Bedford. Likewise, any discussion of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders necessarily glosses over very real distinctions between men from a wide range of Pacific places.

Methodology: Challenges and Opportunities

This study is grounded in the archival record of New Bedford whaling, including crew lists and protection papers (largely as they are now represented in powerful databases), vessel and crew accounts; federal and state censuses; village and city directories; diaries and correspondence; tax and probate records; records of New Bedford's Overseers of the Poor; and newspaper accounts. At the Massachusetts State Archives, we consulted the records of the state almshouse at Bridgewater, and at the Baker Library at Harvard Business School, we reviewed the records of R.G. Dun and Company. We also draw, when possible, on visual and material culture. Existing and new oral histories offered further insight into the whaling industry during its decades of decline and uncovered new themes that informed the research, particularly about the ways the story of whaling has been both remembered and forgotten in New Bedford.

The work is also informed by existing scholarly literature: dissertations, journal articles, and monographs on whaling as well as prior unpublished studies of New

21 See Cathy Stanton and Jane Becker, "In the Heart of Polish Salem: An Ethnohistorical Study of St. Joseph Hall and Its Neighborhood," Special Ethnographic Report, Salem Maritime NHS (December 2009), 8-9, for a useful discussion of the use of the term "the community" in the singular. http://www.nps.gov/sama/learn/historyculture/upload/sama-rpt-small.pdf.

Bedford and whaling. The discussion of Pacific Islanders draws on the lively literature on the Pacific and Hawaiian diasporas—today about a third of Hawaiian's indigenous population lives on the United States mainland—which explores how global migration and interracial mixing has shaped native identity.[22] The recent rise of "Pacific World" frameworks in global historiography has generated a rich scholarship that informs this narrative.[23] Meanwhile, cultural historians have contemplated how Pacific Worlds crop up in American culture, and the ways they have been so often flattened into fads for surfboards and tiki lamps, ukuleles and hula-hoops.[24] We have also benefited from published studies of the indigenous whalemen of New England, including Nancy Shoemaker's important 2015 book *Native American Whalemen and the World: Indigenous Encounters and the Contingency of Race*.[25]

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22 For the statistic, see Rona Tamiko Halualan, *In the Name of Hawaiians: Native Identities and Cultural Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 247. Other good places to enter this literature include Paul R. Spickard, et al, eds. *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and Across the Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002); Shawn Malia Kana'iaupuni and Nolan Malone, "This Land is My Land: The Role of Place in Hawaiian Identity," in J. Frazier and E. Tetty-Flo, *Race, ethnicity and place in a changing America* (New York, Global Press, 2006), 291-305; J Kàhaulani Kauanui, "Diasporic Deracination and "Off-Island" Hawaiians," *The Contemporary Pacific* Vol. 19, No. 1 (2007), 138-160; and David A. Chappell, *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships* (NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997). On Pacific Islanders and others on Nantucket, especially useful work includes Frances Karttunen, *The Other Islanders*, available online at http://www.nha.org/history/otherislanders.html. (consulted 5 May 2015).

23 On the rise of "Pacific World" frameworks and a critique of "world" frameworks more generally (e.g. "Atlantic World") see, e.g. Edward D. Melillo, *Strangers on Familiar Soil: Rediscovering the Chile-California Connection* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015) as well as his article "Making Sea Cucumbers Out of Whales' Teeth: Nantucket Castaways and Encounters of Value in Nineteenth-Century Fiji," *Environmental History* (July, 2015), 449-474; Ryan Tucker Jones, *Russians and the North Pacific's Strange Beasts of the Sea, 1741-1867* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); David Igler, *The Great Ocean: Pacific Worlds from Captain Cook to the Gold Rush* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Gregory Cushman, *Guano and the Opening of the Pacific World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Matt K. Matusda, "The Pacific," *American Historical Review* 111 (2006), 758-80, and *Pacific Worlds: A History of Seas, Peoples and Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Kornel Chang, *Pacific Connections: The Making of the U.S.-Canadian Borderlands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), and Stuart Banner, *Possessing the Pacific: Land, Settlers, and Indigenous People from Australia to Alaska* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007). Also see the chapters in *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People*, ed. David Armitage and Alison Bashford (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Katrina Gulliver, "Finding the Pacific World" *Journal of World History* Vol 22 No. 1 (March 2011), 83-100; Peter A. Coclanis, "*Drang Nach Osten*: Bernard Bailyn, the World-Island, and the Idea of Atlantic History," *Journal of World History* 13, no. 1 (2002); and Coclanis, "Atlantic World or Atlantic/World?" *William and Mary Quarterly* 63, no. 4 (2006): 725–742. A recent survey is Donald B. Freeman, *The Pacific* (London: Routledge, 2009).

24 See, e.g. Adria L. Imada, "Hawaiians on Tour: Hula Circuits through the American Empire," *American Quarterly* Vol. 56, No. 1 (March 2004), 111-149; "Transnational 'Hula' as Colonial Culture," *The Journal of Pacific History*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (September 2011), 149-176; and *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012). See also Sven Kirsten, *Tiki Pop: America imagines its own Polynesian Paradise* (Taschen, 2014; and Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman, "Pacific-ing Asian Pacific American History," *Journal of Asian American Studies 7*, No. 3 (2004): 241–270.

25 For full citation, see note 19.

Jewish studies in New England have also become increasingly robust, thanks to the scholarship of Michael Hoberman, Hasia R. Diner, Jonathan Sarna and others.[26] We are especially indebted to the UMass Dartmouth Center for Jewish Culture (CJC) for the series of oral histories that body has undertaken, and the preservation of archival material associated with Jewish families in New Bedford.

At the same time, the study builds on the rich scholarship already generated by New Bedford Whaling NHP. Christine A. Arato and Patrick L. Eleey's 1998 cultural landscape report "Safely Moored at Last" provided an indispensable grounding in whaling's history in the city from the perspective of its streets, neighborhood and waterfront.[27] The Faces of Whaling Oral History Project (begun in 1998), led by Laura Orleans, documented the life experiences of former whalemen of New Bedford and their descendants in the industry's last quarter century; meanwhile, the Places of Whaling Ethnography Project—also led by Orleans—identified sites significant to the Azorean, Cape Verdean and West Indian communities, including boardinghouses, social clubs, manufacturers (boat shops, cordage companies, and oil refineries), and outfitters. Importantly, that work also resulted in the 30-minute documentary film "The Last of the Whaling Outfitters," about the Whaling Outfitters owned by Jewish New Bedford resident Samuel Horvitz.[28] Finally, this study could not have been completed without the foundational scholarship of Kathryn Grover's *The Fugitive's Gibraltar* as well as Earl F. Mulderink III's study of *New Bedford's Civil War*.[29]

Each of the subjects under study presented distinct research challenges. In the case of Pacific Islanders, because these mariners did not migrate together with their families (as is the case with the Jewish community also under study here), but rather came as young men generally aiming to return home, these migrants left comparatively

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26 Michael Hoberman, *How Strange it Seems: The Cultural Life of Jews in Small-town New England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008); and also *New Israel/New England: Jews and Puritans in Early America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011); Hasia R. Diner, *The Jews of the United States, 1654-2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); Jonathan Sarna and Ellen Smith, eds, *Jews of Boston* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Karin J. Goldstein, *A History of Jewish Plymouth* (Charleston: History Press, 2013).

27 Christine A. Arato and Patrick L. Eleey, *Safely Moored at Last: Cultural Landscape Report for New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park*, Cultural Landscape Publication 16 (Boston: National Park Service, 1998).

28 "The Last of the Whaling Outfitters" (New Bedford: Robson Studios, 2002).

29 Kathryn Grover, *The Fugitive's Gibraltar: Escaping Slaves and Abolitionism in New Bedford, Massachusetts* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001); Earl F. Mulderink III, *New Bedford's Civil War* (Fordham University Press, 2014).

little mark on the local landscape.[30] They only rarely married New England women or acquired local property; a handful of their children are found in the archival record, but there is no known descendent community. Transient by definition, they lived in boardinghouses and did not create the kinds of local institutions—the churches, schools, or social organizations—that generated and preserved the materials that document other New Bedford ethnic groups. The waterfront buildings that Pacific Islanders once frequented have been largely lost to urban renewal initiatives in the 1960s, and their possessions almost never collected or preserved by the area's cultural institutions.[31]

Most of what we know about Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders who participated in New Bedford whaling comes from records associated with their life at sea, particularly documents associated with the moment they joined a crew or disembarked on a whaleship. The New Bedford Whaling Museum maintains a database of more than 120,000 entries that captures information from surviving archival records. From this resource we extracted more than one thousand entries related to men who clearly (or likely—in some cases, researchers must necessarily make a "best guess" based on a combination of surname, physical description, residence and port at which they joined or left a voyage) were Native Hawaiians or Pacific Islanders, which affords important insight into naming practices, occupations, income and patterns of movement.[32]

Locating material relevant to "Kanaka" lives in New Bedford is another matter. Documentation generated by whaling voyages, including seamen's protection papers, crew lists, and other records, did not include race or ethnicity as a category; crew lists might note "complexion" and describe hair color, but these records are poor, and even actively misleading, indicators of race or ethnicity.[33] And before 1860, when the federal census first enumerated birthplace along with race, it is equally hard to identify Pacific Islanders who resided in New Bedford. Compounding that issue is the extent to which those people who gained any purchase in New Bedford took on Anglicized names:

30 We found no evidence that women from Hawai'i or the Pacific Islands traveled to New Bedford, though a handful of scattered references suggest that on rare occasions, women from Oceania did travel to Nantucket, Boston, and other New England destinations. See Shoemaker, *Native American Whalemen,* Chapters 6 and 9.

31 This of course does not include the large amount of cultural material from Oceania brought home by ship captains, sailors and other travelers and preserved today in Bristol County cultural institutions; instead, we mean the homes and possessions of the Hawaiian mariners.

32 Our deep thanks to Mark Procknik for making available to us the raw data behind the public interface that is the Whaling Crew List Database (cited here throughout as NBWM database), found publicly at http://www.whalingmuseum.org/online_exhibits/crewlist/. This information was also used in combination with another important online resource, the National Maritime Digital Library, at http://nmdl.org/index.htm.

33 See, e.g. Shoemaker, *Native American Whalemen*, 41.

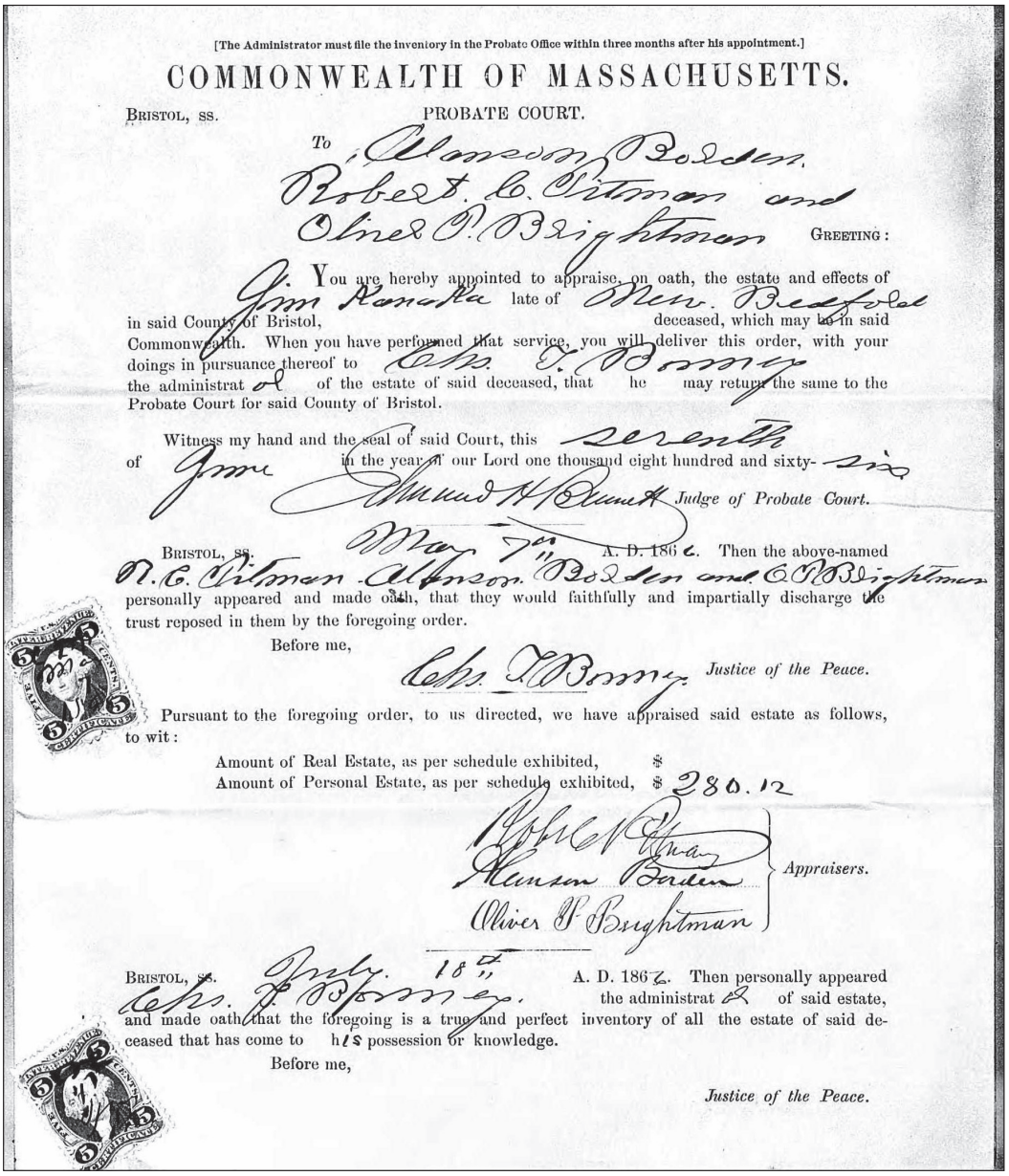
John Adams, John Swain, and so forth. New Bedford resident John Green, who crewed the ship *Parnasso* as it stalked the Brazil whaling grounds in the mid-1820s, appears in archival materials as a black man born in the Sandwich Islands, and so likely a Pacific Islander, but his name in the crew list looks like any other.[34] For every "Joe Kanaka" or "Jim Tahiti" there is a James Henry or John Hall who was born in the Pacific and is likely a member of the group under study, but whose identity is ambiguous at best. Lastly, another challenge to the recovery of archival material is the alien status of these maritime workers. The U.S. Naturalization Act of 1790 limited access to naturalized citizenship to "free white persons," and though (as we shall see) Massachusetts interpreted "white" fairly liberally, Pacific Islanders were not typically citizens, and so cannot be cross-referenced in many of the other sorts of records that document American seamen.

Oral history proved elusive as well. Given that the Pacific Islanders who participated in New Bedford whaling have not left any identifiable descendant community, it was not possible to talk with people who see themselves part of any "Kanaka" heritage group. We would have liked to have located current residents of New Bedford who consider themselves Pacific Islanders, to discuss their feelings about this aspect of New Bedford's history and the degree to which they feel connected to that story however long their residence in the city, but that aim was not realized. Today (as of the 2010 federal census) Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders comprise just 0.1% New Bedford's population; the 50 respondents who indicated this ethnicity included 6 Native Hawaiians, 37 Guamanian or Chamorro, and 7 from elsewhere in the Pacific Islands.[35] Since the U.S. Census office does not reveal personal information about recent respondents, we could not identify, locate or contact these individuals. Other efforts to connect with New Bedford's small number of Pacific Islanders through organizations (e.g. via the UMass Boston Institute for Asian American Studies, whose activities include research and publications on Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, and the Napua O' Polynesia dance troupe in Providence, Rhode Island, founded in 1988 by artistic director Carolyn Castro) did not prove fruitful.

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34 NBWM database.

35 The U.S. Census in 2010 found 2,223 Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in Massachusetts (less than .1% of the state's total population), a drop of almost 11% from the 2000 figure of 2, 489. See Shauna Lo, "Asian Americans in Massachusetts: A Census Profile" (2012). *Institute for Asian American Studies Publications.* Paper 31. http://scholarworks.umb.edu/iaas_pubs/31.



[The Administrator must file the inventory in the Probate Office within three months after his appointment.]

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

BRISTOL, ss. PROBATE COURT.

To Almeson Borden, Robert C. Pitman and Oliver P. Brightman GREETING:

You are hereby appointed to appraise, on oath, the estate and effects of Jim Kanaka late of New Bedford deceased, which may be in said County of Bristol, in said Commonwealth. When you have performed that service, you will deliver this order, with your doings in pursuance thereof to Chas. F. Bonney the administrat ol of the estate of said deceased, that he may return the same to the Probate Court for said County of Bristol.

Witness my hand and the seal of said Court, this seventh of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six

Edmund H. Bennett *Judge of Probate Court.*

BRISTOL, ss. May 7th A. D. 186 6. Then the above-named N. C. Pitman Almeson Borden and O. P. Brightman personally appeared and made oath, that they would faithfully and impartially discharge the trust reposed in them by the foregoing order.

Before me,

Chas. F. Bonney *Justice of the Peace.*

Pursuant to the foregoing order, to us directed, we have appraised said estate as follows, to wit:

Amount of Real Estate, as per schedule exhibited, $

Amount of Personal Estate, as per schedule exhibited, $ 280.12

N. C. Pitman
Almeson Borden
Oliver P. Brightman
Appraisers.

BRISTOL, ss. July 18th A. D. 186 7. Then personally appeared Chas. F. Bonney Esq. the administrat or of said estate, and made oath that the foregoing is a true and perfect inventory of all the estate of said deceased that has come to his possession or knowledge.

Before me,

Justice of the Peace.

Figure 1.3: Probate document for Jim Kanaka, Bristol County Registry of Probate. Documents preserving the history of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in New Bedford are relatively scarce, especially in archival records beyond those associated with systems of poor relief.

Telling the story of Pacific Islanders in New Bedford, then, depends largely on archival sources—and archival sources of a certain kind at that. The men who found themselves in New Bedford between 1820 and about 1890 have not left diaries or correspondence that capture their perceptions or motivations; in fact, only two narratives from the perspective of a "kanaka" whaler are known to survive (that of Charles Edward Kealoha and J. Polapola, published by Susan Lebo in 2006), and those accounts describe

events that unfolded in the Arctic, thousands of miles from the streets of New Bedford.[36] To document the presence of Pacific Islanders on New Bedford whalers and in New Bedford institutions we must turn to the diaries and letters of their Yankee shipmates, and also to institutional records—the state almshouse in Bridgewater, for instance, and the Seamen's Bethel—and so necessarily see the islanders through the eyes of the (often pitying, sometimes disparaging) Yankee stewards of these institutions. People generally come to the attention of such organizations when they are in some sort of need; as a result, the picture of Kanaka men that necessarily emerges from such records is one of indigence, helplessness, and vulnerability. These sources tend to show men at their worst, as poverty or sickness—or both—have drawn them into the orbit of charitable or relief agencies. We do not see the successful mariners who spent some time at sea and returned to lives of comfort and happiness at home; nor do we see the islanders who married New England women and established comfortable and loving homes here. Readers should recall that the bias of such sources means that we do not get the whole picture.[37]

Our chapter on Pacific Islanders, then, draws on social and cultural history techniques to recover the history of these mariners, mainly in New Bedford, though the text attends as well to their shipboard experience. In order to better contextualize the Islanders in and of New Bedford, and to understand how city residents understood the distant islands of the Pacific, we have also developed discussions of U.S.-Hawaii diplomacy and economic imperialism (particularly in view of the royal visits the city hosted), as well as the literary production and newspaper accounts that shaped the ways New Bedford residents encountered the real Pacific Islanders who walked their city's streets. These sections synthesize secondary literature on politics and imperialism in the nineteenth-century Pacific, as well as scholarship on how Islanders may fit into larger narratives about race and ethnicity in the first half of the nineteenth century. This discussion then turns briefly to the shipboard experiences of Kanaka whalemen, before shifting focus to New Bedford and ways in which Pacific Islanders experienced and were experienced by Yankee residents of the city.

When we turned to the Jewish community, other challenges manifested themselves. One immediate issue was identifying Jewish residents of New Bedford in the

36 Susan A. Lebo, "Native Hawaiian Seamen's Accounts of the 1876 Arctic Whaling Disaster and the 1877 Massacre of Alaskan Natives from Cape Prince of Wales," *The Hawaiian Journal of History,* Vol. 40 (2006), 99-129.

37 A helpful critique of tropes of agency and victimhood in scholarly literature is found in David A Chappell, "Active Agents versus Passive Victims: Decolonized Historiography or Problematic Paradigm?" *The Contemporary Pacific* Vol. 7, No. 2 (Fall 1995), 303-326.

archival sources. Before 1870, the U.S. census—disinclined to gather information about faith—did not attempt to identify Jewish residents.[38] In the 1970s, historian Rudolph Glanz cited New Bedford among heretofore unrecognized Jewish communities in place before the Civil War, an assertion he was able to make because his definition of what constitutes a Jewish community – anyplace "local settlers were possessed of a will to continue their communal Jewish existence through the creation of some kind of Jewish institution"– was so encompassing.[39] But there was very little continuity between those communities and the Jewish community of contemporary New Bedford.

Given the absence of good census data, we had to find other ways to identify members of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century Jewish community. At times, we became uncomfortable with what felt like profiling, searching for names that "sounded" Jewish. And so, we were delighted to discover, in the records of the Merchants National Bank of New Bedford, long lists of prospective donors from Jewish community generated during a World War I fundraising effort by the New Bedford Hebrew Relief Committee in 1918. This gave us a good start, as did the names of nineteenth-century Jewish businessmen identified in the records of R.G. Dun & Co., a credit-reporting bureau, in Harvard University's Baker Library.

Fortunately, the 1910 census—reflecting the preoccupations of its moment in time—introduced a new question that informed our study: what was the respondent's mother tongue? The 1920 census also inquired about the year of naturalization, as well as the respondents' "mother tongue." Also, in the wake of changes in some European boundaries after World War I, enumerators reported the province (state or region) or city of persons declaring they or their parents had been born in Austria-Hungary, Germany, Russia, or Turkey. Suddenly, in entries describing one's mother tongue as "Yiddish," "Jewish," and "Hebrew," we could begin to identify more reliably New Bedford's early

38 See Lee Shai Weissbach, "The Jewish Communities of the United States on the Eve of Mass Migration: Some Comments on Geography and Bibliography," *American Jewish History* Vol. 78, No. 1 (September 1988), 79-108. Moreover, interest tended to center on particular cities with large Jewish communities; as Weissbach observes, the 1880 publication *Statistics of the Jews of the United States* indicates (pp. 81-82) that the compilers "had almost no information on Massachusetts Jewry outside of Boston."

39 See Glanz, "The Spread of Jewish Communities through America Before the Civil War," *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science* 15 (1974), 7-45; and Lee Shai Weissbach, *Jewish Life in Small-Town America: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 28. Weissbach rejects this definition, asserting that it is "unlikely" that New Bedford and the other places cited "had enough of a Jewish population to be truly worthy of the designation 'Jewish community' as early as 1861. See "The Jewish Communities of the United States on the Eve of Mass Migration," p. 90 n 14.

twentieth-century Jewish community. A spreadsheet documenting the people identified through these means has been provided to park staff.

With a universe of surnames in hand, we turned to the archival record to see if Jewish families could be connected to whalers or shore-side industries. Finding Jewish mariners proved difficult for the reasons discussed above: nothing in a ship's documentation was likely to mention this matter of faith. It seems likely, even probable, that Jewish businesses were associated with the whaling industry; we were therefore somewhat surprised to discover very little here, apart from Abram Herman, who invested in whaleships, and the Horvitz family—already well-known and much-studied outfitters. The New Bedford Whaling Museum's substantial library does not appear to contain significant records from Jewish-owned businesses closely and clearly associated with whaling. On reflection, however, given that the small number of German Jews who arrived in the mid-nineteenth century were largely peddlers who spent only brief periods in the city, and given that the large Jewish migration from Eastern Europe of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century blossomed as the whaling industry was in its waning years, we came to understand the reasons for that absence of substantial intersection.

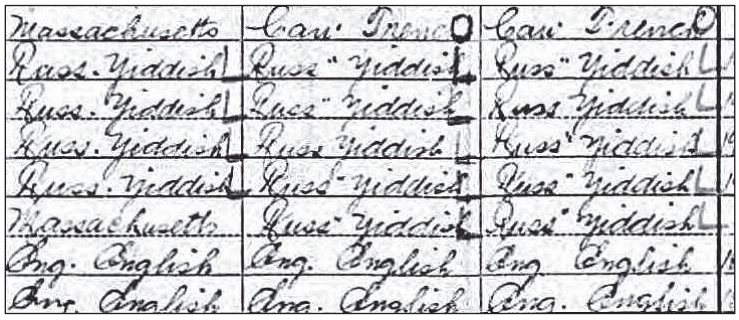


Figure 1.4: Detail, 1910 United States Federal Census. Image Credit: Ancestry.com.

Other resources, however, helped us understand the trajectory of the Jewish community's history more broadly speaking. The rich archival collections of the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth's Center for Jewish Culture, housed in the Claire T. Carney Library's Archives and Special Collections, proved invaluable in reconstructing the late nineteenth and twentieth century history of Jewish New Bedford. The archives include records of synagogues, Jewish philanthropic organizations, family collections, personal papers, photographs, and an extensive oral history collection. Collectively, these documents helped us better understand and illustrate where the history of New Bedford's Jewish community intersected with the whaling industry – and, more often, where it did not.

In terms of the contemporary community, we learned that there was a small but dedicated group of Jewish residents actively engaged in the preservation of the history of New Bedford's Jewish community, including Cynthia Yoken and Rabbi Barry Hartman. Yoken—an interviewee of this study and co-author with Judy Farrar of an historical driving tour of Jewish New Bedford—graciously introduced us to the congregants of New Bedford's Tifereth Israel Synagogue, many of whom became interviewees for this study. Rabbi Hartman, another of our interviewees, has conducted extensive historical research into the history of New Bedford's Jewish community, and particularly the life of Rabbi Hyman Papkin, who led the Ahavath Achim synagogue with only a few interruptions from 1900 until his death in 1960.

In one of the project's most intriguing findings, we learned over the course of our oral history interviews and informal conversations with Jewish residents of New Bedford and surrounding communities, that although the city's Jewish community played a limited role in the whaling industry itself, in recent years they have played an outsized role in the preservation and interpretation of the city's whaling history. We found that there were current and former Jewish New Bedford residents who were dealers in maritime antiques. We also learned that as the children and grandchildren of Jewish immigrants assimilated, prospered, and established themselves more fully in the city, they became more invested in city's civic and cultural institutions. Several became volunteers, donors, and board members of the New Bedford Whaling Museum; in the process, they have made lasting and essential contributions to the city's historical memory.

Finally, this project sought to connect those two stories, and to understand how the remarkably diverse world of whaling that the Pacific Islanders once inhabited (together with Native American, African American, Portuguese and other mariners) became flattened in popular historical imagination to comprise mainly Yankee whalemen. This collective memory is bodied forth in public art like The Whaleman Statue on the grounds of the Public Library, but present throughout the city's maritime heritage landscape, infusing the world of the Jewish dealers and the collectors and museums they served. To trace the history of whaling's public memory in New Bedford, we undertook archival research as well as oral history on the city's main heritage organizations, from the Old Dartmouth Historical Society in the early 20th century through to the summer 2014 celebration of the *Charles W. Morgan*'s return to New Bedford. Here, our work focused on how the memory of whaling's heroic era took on its particular shape, watching for moments that selected some aspects of the industry's past for preservation or celebration while eliding others.

This aspect of the study is deeply informed by the robust scholarship of recent years on the work of (to again invoke Michael Batinski's useful term) "pastkeeping" in American life.[40] In her study of public history in Lowell, Massachusetts, Cathy Stanton illustrates, among other things, the importance of understanding the culture and priorities of heritage workers if we wish to understand the heritage they preserve and interpret.[41] On maritime memory, we have drawn on James Lindgren's important study of memory and masculinity at the New Bedford Whaling Museum, 1903-1941, as well as his studies of maritime heritage in Salem and New York City.[42] We also rely on other historians interested in the history of maritime heritage enterprises, especially Seth Bruggeman, Glenn Grasso and Phyllis Lefler.[43] The study engages the rich literature on collective and collected memory in the contemporary United States, a field that has blossomed in recent years.[44]



Figure 1.5: Project investigator Laura Miller interviews Cynthia Yoken in her New Bedford home, 25 September 2013. Photo: Marla Miller.

40 Michael C. Batinksi, *Pastkeepers in a Small Place: Five Centuries in Deerfield, Massachusetts* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004).

41 Cathy Stanton, *The Lowell Experiment: Public History in a Postindustrial City* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006).

42 Lindgren, "Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood"; "That Every Mariner May Possess the History of the World"; and *Preserving South Street Seaport* (New York: New York University Press, 2014).

43 Bruggeman, "'A Most Complete Whaling Museum': Profiting from the Past on Nantucket Island," *Museum History Journal* 8:2 (July 2015). See also James M. Lindgren "'That Every Mariner May Possess the History of the World': A Cabinet for the East India Marine Society of Salem," in *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 68, No. 2 (June, 1995), 179-205; Lindgren, "'Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood': The New Bedford Whaling Museum, 1903-1941," *The New England Quarterly* Vol. 72, No. 2 (June, 1999), 163-206 and *Preserving South Street Seaport: The Dream and Reality of a New York Urban Renewal District* (New York: NYU Press, 2014); Phyllis Leffler, "Peopling the Portholes: National Identity and Maritime Museums in the U.S. and U.K.," *The Public Historian*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2004).

44 See Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1992); Noa Gedi and Yigal Elam, "Collective Memory, What Is It?" *History and Memory* Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring - Summer, 1996),

Ethnographic Interviewing

Though this project has been framed as an ethnographic study, ethnographic interviewing was not possible for the Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders whose stories the project engaged; we could find no descendant community that claims an association with those populations (an outcome anticipated by NPS ethnographer Chuck Smythe at the outset of our work), and no contemporary community of Native Hawaiians or Pacific Islanders present in the city today who, though absent any genealogical relationship to that history, still felt some cultural association with that history. However, among the most rewarding elements of this project were the interviews undertaken with members of New Bedford's Jewish community, and others who could speak to the history of memory in the city. For this project, we located ten members of New Bedford's Jewish community who agreed to be interviewed (and made use of existing interviews with many more, on file at the Center for Jewish Culture at UMass Dartmouth).[45] Participants from the Jewish community were selected through a "snowball sampling" method, starting with Cindy Yoken, a noted historian of Jews in New Bedford and co-author of a well-received driving tour.



Figure 1.6: Rabbi Barry Hartman in his New Bedford office 15 January 2014. Photo: Marla Miller.

30-50; Jeffrey K. Olick, et al, eds. *The Collective Memory Reader* (Oxford University Press, 2011); James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory. Holocaust, Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993).

45 As per our agreement, interviews were taped, but not transcribed. Second and subsequent citations to our own interviews provide only the name of the interview subject; when we quote interviews conducted by others, both the interview subject and interviewer are listed.

We attempted to find people who could help us to understand the history and nature of the Jewish community from the second quarter of the twentieth century to the present, relationships between members of that community and the city's whaling heritage, and the history of the collective memory of whaling itself.

Some key figures were chosen because of their unique and particularly deep-rooted knowledge of the community over time—for example, Rabbi Barry Hartman, and Cindy Yoken. Others (Frances Levin, Calvin Siegal) were selected because their involvement with the New Bedford Whaling Museum or other organizations interested in Jewish History (Aaron Lansky). Still others (Harris Sederholm, Brenda Marder, and Morgan Levine) were chosen because of their familial connections to the city's whaling industry in the early twentieth century. Interview topics typically included family background, work, and recollections of childhood as well as memories of participation in whaling heritage, from visits to the *Charles W. Morgan* to activities of the New Bedford Whaling Museum. A complete list of interviewees and interview dates is included as Appendix B. In addition, we made use of the collection of oral history interviews described above, housed at the UMass Dartmouth Center for Jewish Culture.

Lastly, taking a page from Cathy Stanton's important study of Public History in Lowell, Massachusetts, which turns the ethnographic lens onto public historians themselves, we conducted a handful of interviews, and had less formal conversations, with informants who could help us understand pastkeeping in New Bedford. NPS interpreters Judy Roderiques and Lucy Bly, Carl Herzog of the Sea Education Association (and formerly of the *Ernestina*), and Madelyn Shaw of the New Bedford Whaling Museum allowed us to interview them, while Laura Orleans and Diana Limbach Lempel of the Working Waterfront Festival were kind enough to sit down over lunch and help us understand the city's heritage landscape.

Outline of this Report

The chapters herein are roughly chronological in nature, alternating between discussions of the historical themes associated with each of the two populations considered herein, and consideration of those groups' relationship to whaling heritage in New Bedford. Chapter Two, then, **Beyond Queequeg: Native Hawiians and Pacific Islanders in New Bedford**, tracks the history of these Oceanians in New Bedford whaling, a story that begins in the late eighteenth century and concludes in the late nineteenth. Its focus is on the decades between about 1830 and 1860, when the use of

Pacific laborers in whaling reached its peak. Chapter Three, **"Whaling was the Path for Them into America": New Bedford's Jewish Community and Its Contributions to Whaling,** then turns to the history of New Bedford's Jewish community, a narrative that begins in the late eighteenth century with the arrival of Spanish and Portuguese Jews in Rhode Island and coastal Massachusetts, and touches on the presence of German Jews in mid-nineteenth century New Bedford, before exploring in greater depth the advent of Eastern European Jews in New Bedford in the last decades of the century.

Chapter Four, **Remembering and Forgetting the Kanaka Whalemen,** explores the history of pastkeeping in New Bedford, and particularly the ways in which the "maritime revival" of the 1880s through the 1930s constructed the public memory of whaling around the "Yankee whaleman." This process moved to the margins Pacific Islanders and Native Hawaiians in an effort, inflected by both nationalism and nativism, to celebrate only some slices of whaling's diverse history. By the 1920s, the iconic whaleman of popular historical imagination was decidedly American, of European descent, and white. The final chapter, **The Evolving Memory of Whaling in (Jewish) New Bedford** picks that story up in the middle decades of the twentieth century, and examines the ways in which second and third generation Jewish residents of New Bedford connected to the city's whaling heritage, particularly in the creation of markets for "maritime antiques" and in the advancement of the city's cultural institutions, including the now-mature New Bedford Whaling Museum.

Conclusion

New Bedford Whaling NHP is to be commended for taking on this series of studies. As it turns to future needs, we note that the NPS planners initially envisioned the city's French-Canadian population as a part of this project. When we discovered that a member of the French Canadian community had completed much of that research (presented, among other places, at the New Bedford Whaling Museum's Whaling History Symposium, 2013), we recommended to NPS staff (successfully) that this study's scope be amended, to free park staff to pursue collaboration with this local scholar, who is much better positioned to provide the scholarly information wanted while also thickening ties with that population.

We also recommend that the park tackle the history of indigenous Alaskans in the whaling industry. Their story will be not unlike those of the Pacific Islanders in that it

only tangentially touches on the city itself, but is an important element of the industry, life in New Bedford, and the historical, geographical and ethnographic imagination of New Bedford residents.

We also recommend further, focused study of the history of pastkeeping in New Bedford. Our study suggests that in the early twentieth century, narratives of the city's whaling history praising heroic Yankee whalers and marginalizing people of color emerged alongside a dramatic influx of immigrants to the city. The foundations of the city's whaling heritage were laid by many of the same men who earned their fortunes in the city's burgeoning textile industry, and who had a vested interest in advancing a particular narrative of the city's whaling past. One area especially worthy of attention is the relationship between historical institutions in New Bedford, Nantucket, and Mystic. How have these institutions collaborated or competed over time, and how did they individually and collectively work to construct a regional whaling heritage?



Figure 1.7: Project research assistant Emily Esten visits the Charles W. Morgan during its New Bedford homecoming celebration. Photo: Kathrine Esten, 2014.

Lastly, though women in a wide variety of roles—as wives, mothers and daughters; as laborers; as philanthropists and charitable workers; and as pastkeepers—trace through the studies the park has already commissioned, neither women's history nor gender history have been a particular focus of those projects. In our interview with former NBWM curator Madelyn Shaw, we learned (in conversation about the exhibition *Needlework - Art, Craft, and Industry in a Port City*, and other topics) about some of the rich ways in which women's history and women's labor history in New Bedford (especially related to textile industries) intersected with the history of whaling, and also the challenges in incorporating women's history into larger narratives of whaling in New Bedford, and our own experience confirms both the opportunity and need for more concentrated attention on this front. Given the significant amount of scholarship relevant to these subjects as well as the rich archival record extant in New Bedford, we also suggest a separate study on the role of women in the work of whaling, in the care of maritime families, and in the preservation of its memory. ■

Chapter Two: Beyond Queequeg: Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in New Bedford

Anyone aware of the history of Pacific Islanders in New Bedford conjures quickly the scene famously described in Herman Melville's 1851 novel *Moby-Dick*, where "actual cannibals stand chatting at street corners, savages outright," and "Feegeeans, Tongatabooans, Erromanggoans, Pannangians and Brighggians" ranged through the city.[1] Melville wrote from experience, having sailed from New Bedford aboard the whaler *Acushnet* in January 1841. After eighteen months at sea he jumped ship in the Marquesas Islands, embarking on a series of adventures around the Pacific before returning to New England in 1844. His novels *Typee*, *Omoo* and later *Moby-Dick* would shape the Pacific Islands—and Islanders—of popular American imagination for decades to come.

Melville's Queequeg (as we shall see in a later chapter) has become an iconic figure of art and literature, but when the novel first appeared in 1851, its New Bedford readers already well knew Queequegs of their own. In the middle decades of the nineteenth century, hundreds of men from the so-called Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands, as well as the Marquesas, Tahiti, and other places around the Pacific, found their way onto New Bedford whalers, and to the wharves, boardinghouses, streets and public institutions of Nu Bedefoda, as the city was known among Hawaiians.[2] In doing so, these mariners, as historian David A. Chappell has explained, "exchanged their own maritime heritage for new firsthand skills;" along the way, they also "helped to mediate between indigenous custom and the encroaching world economy."[3] The Islanders who walked the streets of New Bedford—whether for a season, several years, or permanently—likewise both shaped and reflected the city's presence in global markets.

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1 Herman Melville's *Moby-Dick; or, The Whale* (1851). The Norton Critical Edition, ed. Harrison Hayford and Hershel Parker (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1967, Second Edition), of *Moby-Dick* notes that "Brighggians" appear to be a fictional group of South Sea Islanders (footnote p. 41).

2 On "Nu Bedefoda," see James Revell Carr, *Hawaiian Music in Motion: Mariners, Missionaries, and Minstrels* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), 115.

3 David A. Chappell, *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), xiv, xvi.

In the nineteenth century, Americans tended to lump these highly diverse Oceanic peoples together under one term: *Kanaka*. An 1834 editorial in the New Bedford *Mercury* introduced the city's readers to this new word, explaining that the term "*Canackers*" "as applied to the natives of the Sandwich Islands . . . bears the same signification as our English word *man*, and is used by the natives to signify *man*, in general, and *a man* as distinguished from a woman or female. The present established mode of writing it is Kanaka, pronounced *Kah nah kah*, with the accent on the second syllable."[4]

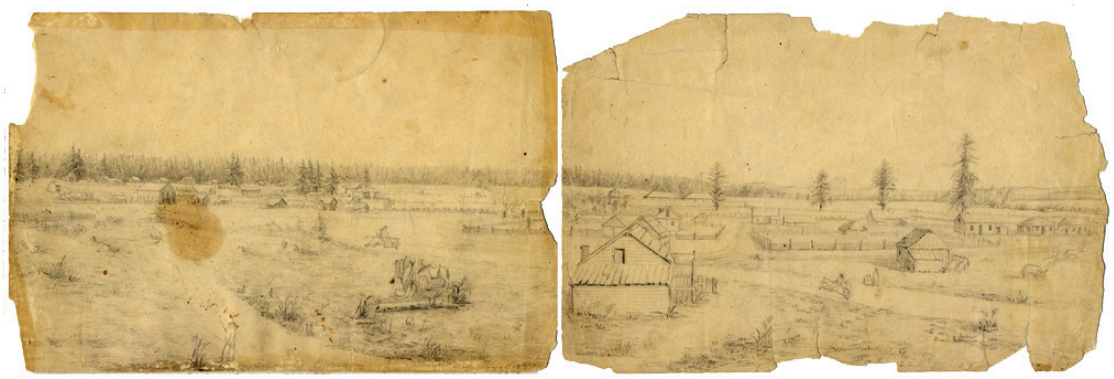


Figure 2.1: Sketch, Kanaka Town, attributed to George Gibbs, Courtesy of Fort Vancouver National Historic Site. Global travels of Pacific Islanders affected communities around the world, including New Bedford but also places in the Pacific Northwest, South America, and elsewhere. In the 1850s, American visitors to this area of Fort Vancouver referred to the Village as "Kanaka Town."

This chapter examines the history of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in New Bedford and on New Bedford whalers in the nineteenth century. It focuses on the role of Hawaii and Hawaiian laborers in the growth of New Bedford's whaling industry, as well as the status and treatment of these laborers aboard nineteenth-century whaleships. It also looks at the experiences of these sailors once they arrived in New Bedford. Some men settled permanently in the city (or stayed for an extended period of time), marrying, buying property, and earning a living there. Others were less fortunate: dozens of men relied on public relief in the city and state almshouses, while others ended up crammed into boarding houses, living in squalid conditions while waiting for their next opportunity to ship out. Many succumbed to diseases like cholera before they had a chance to leave the city. Historians Kathryn Grover (*The Fugitive's Gibraltar*) and Earl F. Mulderink III (*New Bedford's Civil War*) have argued that New Bedford's Quaker

4 New Bedford *Mercury*, 19 September 1834. The Marquesan pronunciation of the Hawaiian word kanaka is "Te enata," another terms that appears in these contexts; see, e.g. see Briton Cooper Busch, *Whaling will never do for me: the American whaleman in the nineteenth century* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2009), 45. Both Marquesan and Hawaiian are in the Polynesian language family.

foundations made it racially tolerant compared to other New England towns and cities.[5] We consider how and to what extent the Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders might fit into this analysis.

This study also situates New Bedford's whaling history within the broader history of American economic, religious, and cultural interests in the Pacific, and particularly Hawaii. The intersecting migrations of Yankee whaleships and Oceanic laborers were part of a much larger story of international trade, American political and cultural imperialism, and Pacific diasporas.

The Diplomatic Context: American Interests in the Hawaiian Islands

The Pacific Basin, historian Bradley Jay Cartwright explains, "encompasses a staggering 68 million square miles in area," "features an extremely broad range of ecologies and environments," and includes over "20,000 islands, which total more than one million square miles of land;" this "unique and varied physical environment, in turn, has been the home of a diverse cast of peoples, languages and cultures."[6] New Bedford whalers—and New Bedford residents—encountered men from across this vast territory, including the Society Islands, the Marquesas, and New Zealand.



Figure 2.2: Omai of the Friendly Isles, Sir Joshua Reynolds, c.1774. Rex Nan Kivell Collection, National Library of Australia.

Western contact with the islands of the Pacific began with the 1768-1771 voyage of the British ship *Endeavor*, a scientific

5 Kathryn Grover, *The Fugitive's Gibraltar*: *Escaping Slaves and Abolitionism in New Bedford, Massachusetts* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 1 and 6-10; and Earl F. Mulderink III, *New Bedford's Civil War* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012). See also Grover's "African American, West Indian, and St Helenian Whalemen and Whaling Tradespeople in New Bedford, Massachusetts, 1825-1925," Part Two of Russell G. Handsman and Don Warrin, "New Bedford's Ethnic Whaling Legacy, 1825-1925," in draft and on file at New Bedford Whaling NHP. Grover's essay is hereafter cited Grover, "African American, West Indian, and St Helenian Whalemen."

6 Bradley Jay Cartwright, "Pacific Passages: American Encounters with the Pacific and Its People, 1815-1855" (PhD Dissertation, University of Colorado at Boulder, 2006), 1-2.

expedition (sponsored by the Royal Society) that launched a period of exchange that would transform Europe, the western coast of North America, Alaska and islands around the Pacific. Under the command of English explorer Captain James Cook, the expedition tracked the Venus Transit, mapped the coast of New Zealand, and collected botanical specimens. A second voyage (1772-1775) explored the Antarctic, and visited Tahiti as well as the Friendly Islands, Easter Island, Norfolk Island, New Caledonia, and Vanuatu. At Tahiti, Cook met and brought a Ra'iatean man (named Omai, or Mai) back with him to London; the Islander became a celebrity, circulating among the aristocracy. He met King George III and had his portrait both drawn and painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds. And so Oceania began to gain purchase in the geographical imagination of the West.[7]

In 1776, Cook embarked on yet another voyage, ostensibly to return Omai to Tahiti, though the voyage's sponsors hoped Cook would also locate a Northwest Passage between the Atlantic and Pacific. After returning Omai to Tahiti, he headed north, and encountered the archipelago we today recognize as the Hawaiian Islands. Cook christened the archipelago the "Sandwich Islands" in honor of his patron, John Montagu, the 4th Earl of Sandwich. Sailing onward, Cook and the crew of the HMS *Resolution* entered Vancouver Island's Nootka Sound, where they received the pelts of sea otters among other traded goods. The expedition went on to map the coast to the Bering Strait, laying the groundwork for future commercial expansion in both the islands and in the northwest mainland.

In the wake of Cook's visit, the eight main islands (Ni'ihau, O'ahu, Moloka'i, Lana'i, Kaho'olawe, Kaua'i, Maui and the island of Hawai'i) in this chain, as well as hundreds of smaller islands, became increasingly familiar to European audiences via Cook's maps and publications. Connecticut entrepreneur John Ledyard's 1783 book *Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage*, published five years after the crew's visit to the Sandwich Islands, drew still more attention to the region, and especially the prospect of tapping the fur supply present among the sea otters that inhabited the islands between the Kamchatka peninsula and the United States. Europeans had long been engaged in the North American fur trade; seeing the opportunities already embraced by Russian enterprises to harvest these pelts for a robust Chinese market drew immediate American attention. In fact, it was Ledyard's observations that first encouraged New England traders to enter the transpacific fur trade; two American ships, the *Columbia* and the *Lady*

7 On Omai, see Richard Connaughton, *Omai: The Prince Who Never Was* (London: Timewell Press, 2005).

Washington, joined the trade in 1787.[8] Thus it was not whaling, but rather the maritime fur trade that first brought American ships to Hawaiian ports in the late eighteenth century.

The first half of the nineteenth century were decades of acute imperial predation in the Pacific; Britain, France and the United States each set their sights on the region, France focused especially on Tahiti and the Marquesas, and Britain in New Zealand.[9] In this environment, traders from the newly-independent United States were eager to stake their own claims. New England ships headed to the Pacific Northwest in search of sea otter pelts to sell at a great profit in Canton, China; in turn, they brought back Chinese goods including tea, porcelain, and silks to sell in Europe and the United States.[10] As adventurers, explorers, and traders descended on the islands, it did not take long to grasp the assets of the deep-water bays at Honolulu (meaning "sheltered bay") on the island of Oahu and Lahaina (translated as "cruel sun") on the island of Maui. Hawai'i became an important way station in these patterns of global exchange for both American and British traders: captains paused in the archipelago to regroup, replenish their supplies of fresh water, fruits, and vegetables, and supplement their crews, or to winter over before continuing their voyages. In the early 1800s traders introduced Hawaiian sandalwood—a native heart wood valued for its fragrance, medicinal properties, and architectural appeal—into an already-thriving exchange with China, ensuring that "Hawai'i became more than a stopover for provisions."[11] Between 1788 and 1826, American ships made some 127 voyages to the Northwest Coast and China, typically sailing from New England to the Pacific Northwest in time to commence the fur trade in summer through early fall, and then heading to Hawai'i for the winter. The infusion of money and technology from these developments would transform the islands.

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8 Davianna McGregor, "Engaging Hawaiians in the Expansion of the U.S. Empire," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 7, No. 3 (October, 2004), 210. On the fur trade, see Thomas Vaughan and Bill Holm, eds., *Soft Gold: The Fur Trade and Cultural Exchange on the Northwest Coast of America* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1982); James R. Gibson, *Otter Skins, Boston Ships, and China Goods: The Maritime Fur Trade of the Northwest Coast, 1785-1841* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992); and Richard S. Mackie, *Trading Beyond the Mountains: The British Fur Trade on the Pacific, 1793-1843* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997).

9 See, e.g., Edouard A. Stackpole, *Whales and Destiny: The Rivalry Between America, France and Britain for Control of the Southern Whale Fishery, 1785-1825* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1972).

10 McGregor, "Engaging Hawaiians," 210.

11 McGregor, "Engaging Hawaiians," 210-211.

Some islanders were recruited into the fur trade and employed as sailors on American ships. These early shipboard encounters between Westerners and Pacific Islanders produced positive reports. In 1792, John Boit, fifth mate on the *Columbia* fur-trading voyage, called the Pacific Islanders he met "fine stately looking fellows," and said that the "inhabitants" of these "beautiful Isles" "appear'd to me to be the happiest people in the world. Indeed there was something in them so frank and chearful [sic] that you cou'd not help feeling prepossesd [sic] in their favour."[12] Other Pacific Islanders employed in the fur trade manned trading posts in the Pacific Northwest, where they traded with indigenous peoples and helped create settlements. The governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's American territory offered this assessment of the Pacific Islanders he met at trading posts in the Pacific Northwest:

> A few Sandwich Islanders mixed among the Canadians and Europeans can be usefully employed here as guards and for common drudgery about the establishments but they are not generally disposable men being unfit for the laborious duties of the voyage; they are however valuable in establishing new countries or they can be depended upon in cases of danger from the natives.[13]

Westerners would repeat these assessments of Pacific Islanders – cheerful, likeable, and dependable – for decades to come.

Contact begat exchange of native objects and people. The earliest Boston traders "brought back something more than wealth. Their acquisitions in the way of feather garments; native carving, tapa cloth, and heathen idols, founded the rich Hawaiian ethnological collections at Cambridge and Salem."[14] The flow of people mainly brought westerners to the Islands, but as soon as European masts began gathering in Pacific ports, a smattering of Islanders began travelling to New England and other destinations in the Atlantic world. Some, like Cook's passenger Omai, became spectacles rather than laborers. In 1789, after the *Columbia* became the "first American ship to circumnavigate the globe," captain Robert Gray "paraded an Hawaiian Islander" —a young man named Attoo who had joined the crew as an ordinary sailor— "arrayed in a feather cloak and helmut, up Boston's State Street in front of a cheering crowd."[15] In 1801, another native

12 As quoted in S.E. Morrison, "Boston Traders in the Hawaiian Islands, 1789-1823," *Washington Historical Quarterly* Vol 12, No. 3 (July 1921), 166-201; esp 168.

13 Quoted in McGregor, "Engaging Hawaiians," 212.

14 Morrison, "Boston Traders," 178.

15 Cartwright, "Pacific Passages," 3; and Morrison, "Boston Traders," 167.

who had joined the crew of a Boston trader returned to Boston and lent some authenticity to a production of the "Tragedy of Captain Cook."[16] In the early 1820s, a ship captain named Benjamin Morrell brought two Melanesian men back to New York; exhibited as sideshow "cannibals," the two men (christened "Sunday" and "Monday") would also learn English and serve as interpreters.[17] Native Pacific Islanders became performers, literally and figuratively, in theaters of European and American imperialism in the Pacific.

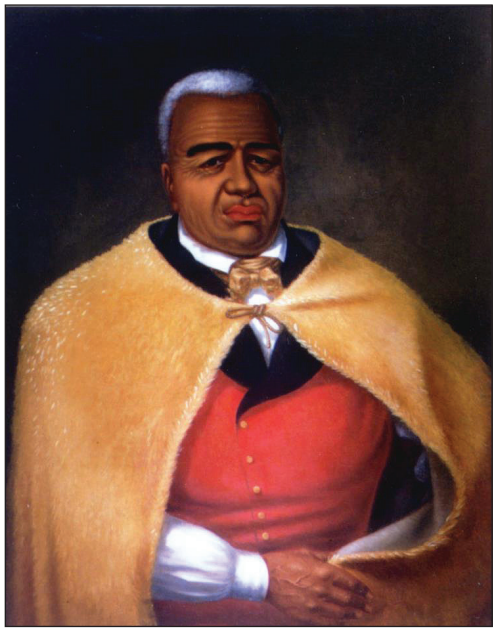


Figure 2.3: Kamehameha I (ca. 1758 – May 8, 1819). Courtesy of the Hawaii State Archives.

Despite these early encounters, the islands remained remote and mysterious to most Americans at the turn of the nineteenth century. This would soon change, as American commercial and missionary ties to the islands expanded. Two events were integral to this shift. First, the flourishing foreign trade in the Sandwich Islands enabled chief Kamehameha I (1758-1819) to consolidate power. By 1810, he had stockpiled enough guns and money to defeat his rivals and bring the Hawaiian Islands under unified control for the first time. He established the Kingdom of Hawai'i and a dynasty that would survive for nearly a century.[18] Second, the end of the War of 1812 further brightened prospects for cultural and commercial exchange with the Islands. By the early 1820s, American whalers and missionaries had both arrived in the islands, initiating two very different kinds of exchange.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) was established in 1810, the same year that Kamehameha I consolidated his power. The ABCFM was created by the General Association of Congregational Churches in

16 Morrison, "Boston Traders ," 167.

17 Cartwright, "Pacific Passages," 100. On Morrell and his theatrical activities, see James Fairhead *The Captain and "the Cannibal": An Epic Story of Exploration, Kidnapping, and the Broadway Stage* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015); Fairhead claims that Morrell's New Guinea captive, Dako, inspired Melville's Queequeg.

18 Cartwright, "Pacific Passages," 47.

Massachusetts with the aim of "devising ways and means, and adopting and prosecuting measures, for promoting the spread of the gospel in Heathen lands."[19] Their efforts reflected the early nineteenth century American Protestant revival movement known as the Second Great Awakening. The ABCFM saw the newly unified Sandwich Islands and their inhabitants as ripe for missionary outreach.[20]

Before they had ever set foot in the Sandwich Islands, missionaries were educating Native Hawaiians who had been brought to New England. In the summer of 1816, the New Bedford *Mercury* reported that "four natives of Owhyhee" were being educated in Connecticut, to be returned as missionaries to the Sandwich Islands. Among the students were John Honolii (a Hawaiian sailor), William Kanui, and George P. Kaumualii.[21] In 1817, the ABCFM founded the Cornwall School, a foreign mission school in Cornwall, Connecticut. One of the school's first pupils was Henry Opukahaia (1792-1818).[22] Opukahaia, known as Obookiah, was born at Napoopoo, near Kealakekua Bay. Opukahaia, an orphan, joined the crew of the *Triumph* captained by Caleb Britnall of New Haven, Connecticut. He left the Sandwich Islands in 1807, joined by fellow Hawaiian cabin boy Thomas Hopu. Opukahaia remained with the Britnell family in New Haven and converted to Christianity in 1815. In 1817, he became a student at the Cornwall School.[23] Fully half of the school's first ten pupils were Hawaiians.[24] Opukahaia died at Cornwall in February 1818, before he could return home. But in 1819, the publication of the *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah* proved a catalyst, helping inspire New England missionaries to plan a mission to the Sandwich Islands.[25]

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19 Quoted in Jennifer Fish Kashay, "Agents of Imperialism: Missionaries and Merchants in Early-Nineteenth-Century Hawaii," *New England Quarterly* Vol. 80, No. 2 (June 2007), 280.

20 Kashay, "Agents of Imperialism," 280. See also John Demos, *The Heathen School: A Story of Hope and Betrayal in the Age of the Early Republic* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014).

21 The New Bedford press reported that a "number of ladies of Savannah" had raised $335 toward the cause. New Bedford *Mercury*, 28 June 1816.

22 The best recent source on Opukahaia is Demos, *The Heathen School.*

23 The year the school started twelve students were enrolled: seven Hawaiians, one Hindu, one Bengalese, an Indian and two Anglo-Americans. In the second year, the twenty-four students included four Cherokee, two Choctaw, one Abenaki, two Chinese, two Malays, a Bengalese, one Hindu, six Hawaiians, and two Marquesans as well as three American. See Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Foreign Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut," http://digital.library.okstate.edu/chronicles/v007/v007p242.html.

24 Cartwright, "Pacific Passages," 51; see also Ernest S. Dodge, *New England and the South Seas* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965).

25 Robert W. Kirk, *Paradise Past: The Transformation of the South Pacific, 1520-1920* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 2012), 111.



Figure 2.4: Henry Opukahaia (circa 1792–1818), also known as Obookiah. Portrait of Henry Obookiah, undated frontispiece in *Memoir of Henry Obookiah* (American Tract Society, rev. ed., no date).

American commercial and missionary interests in the Sandwich Islands grew simultaneously during these years. As early as August 1816, the New Bedford *Mercury* published a news item (recycled from a London paper, itself recycled from a French publication) announcing that "a new commercial nation has arisen in the Sandwich Islands, the whole of which have become subject to the chief, possessed of great talents, speaking the English language, and conforming to English manners"; this chief, Kamehameha I, "has taken into his service, a great number of English and American sailors" in the formation of a navy, and "carries on a lucrative commerce with China, which together with his commercial relations with the English and Americans, have procured to his country great wealth and abundance."[26] This commerce would extend to whaling in 1819, when American whalers visited the islands for the first time.

Yankee whalers had been pressing beyond their Atlantic waters since the mid eighteenth century, making their way to the coasts of Africa, Brazil and the Falkland Islands. By 1791 they had rounded Cape Horn to the whaling grounds near Chile, and soon reached Peru. In 1819, a vessel from Brighton, Massachusetts, en route from China to the Sandwich Islands observed large numbers of sperm whales, and reported the sightings to contacts on Nantucket. Captain Joseph Allen of the ship *Maro* quickly confirmed that the North Pacific teemed with sperm whales. In October of that year, New Bedford ship captain Edmund Gardner, of the ship *Balaena*, enlisted the first native Hawaiian seamen on a foreign whaleship (given the names Joe Bal and Jack Ena), en route to New Bedford.[27] By 1822, more than thirty ships were scouting these grounds.[28]

26 New Bedford *Mercury*, 20 September 1816.

27 Susan A. Lebo, "A Local Perspective of Hawaii's Whaling Economy: Whale Traditions and Government Regulation of the Kingdom's Native Seamen and Whale Fishery," *Coriolis* Vol. 1, No. 1 (2010), 8.

28 Alexander Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery from its earliest inception to the year 1876* (Waltham, Mass., 1878), 96.

The arrival of Western explorers and merchants in the late eighteenth century contributed to the slow unraveling of traditional Hawaiian religious and political systems. Historian Jennifer Fish Kashay notes that beginning with Captain Cook's arrival, "Foreign disregard for Hawaiian religion, known as the *kapu* system, undermined the fabric of Sandwich Island society, causing cultural dissolution. Stresses on the structural underpinnings of Hawaiian culture created a process of disjuncture, making it impossible for the system to wholly reproduce itself in perpetuity."[29] The stresses were myriad. Westerners inadvertently introduced a number of diseases that significantly reduced the native population, "caus[ing] the Sandwich Islanders to feel betrayed by their gods."[30] In addition, the islands' *ali'i nui*, or high chiefs, found that it was in their interest to disregard the *kapu* system in order to bolster their own political and economic strength, and correspondingly, to reduce the power of the *kahuna*, or priests.[31] Collectively, these and other changes contributed to the demise of the islands' traditional way of life.

The final blow came when Kamehameha died in 1819.[32] His son Liholiho's (1797-1824) reign was by some accounts disastrous for islanders and led, among other things, to the disintegration of traditional systems of religion. Known as Kamehameha II, he launched the 'Ai Noa, or "free eating," meaning the dismantling of *kapu* (taboo), the island's fundamental systems of faith and society. The religious system was already under stress when, in the wake of the death of the first King Kamehameha, Kamehameha II capitulated to the wishes of Ka'ahumanu (Kamehameha's politically powerful wife) and Keōpūolani (his mother, another wife of King Kamehameha) that *kapu*, typically suspended in periods of mourning, not be reinstituted. Both women were likely motived by, among other things, a desire to dismantle traditions that would effectively limit their influence as the Kingdom entered this new era.[33] When word spread that Kamehameha

29 Jennifer Fish Kashay, "From Kapus to Christianity: The Disestablishment of the Hawaiian Religion and Chiefly Appropriation of Calvinist Christianity," *Western Historical Quarterly* Vol. 39, no. 1 (Spring 2008), 18.

30 Kashay, "From Kapus to Christianity," 24.

31 Ibid.

32 An "extract" from Kotzebue's "Voyage of Discovery" contained an account of a visit with Tameamea (Kamehameha I). His "wardrobe…consisting of a shirt, a pair of old velvet breeches, a red waistcoar and a black cravat"--an ensemble donned in the presence of guests as Tameameaha had returned from fishing ("The uniforms which King George...sent me are very dazzling," the King is reported to have remarked, "but they are of no use to me, for Tameameaha outshines everything!"); New Bedford *Mercury*, 1 November 1822.

33 See Jennifer Thigpen, *Island Queens and Mission Wives: How Gender and Empire Remade Hawai'i's Pacific World* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

II had joined, in public, a meal traditionally reserved only for women, *kapu* collapsed.[34] These traditional systems buckled just as the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions turned their attention toward Hawai'i. In the wake of *kapu*'s collapse, the islands' high chiefs would prove receptive to Calvinist Christianity, seeing it as a means of reinforcing their own power.[35]

The Hawaiian monarchy was already transforming Hawai'i's religious and social fabric for its own reasons when, in October 1819, the first New England missionaries left Boston on the *Thaddeus*. The party of fourteen (seven couples) plus six single men included the four young Connecticut-educated Hawaiians (who would serve as interpreters), all led by Rev. Hiram Bingham and his wife Sybil Mosley Bingham. The New Bedford *Mercury* covered the missionaries' preparations and departure. In September, readers learned that the ABCFM was planning a voyage, to include four of the Pacific Islanders studying at Cornwall (including "Thomas Hopoo, *the friend of Obookiah*," [emphasis original]) several American missionaries and teachers, as well as a physician, printer, and farmer.[36] On 15 October 1819, the newspaper printed the brief announcement that the missionaries would depart from Boston the next day. A week later, the *Mercury* published a long account of a prayer meeting that had been held in Hartford, in preparation for the voyage.[37] A brief report in the January 28 paper assured that another ship had spoken with the missionaries, and all was well.

When the ABCFM's missionaries reached the coast of Hawaii in March 1820, British merchants implored Kamehameha II to deny them entry. They worried that the missionaries' arrival would give American traders the upper hand. The King denied the request, but the British traders nevertheless went out of their way to make life difficult for the newcomers. In a letter to the ABCFM, Bingham expressed his exasperation with the hostility they encountered from the British merchants: "It would perhaps be difficult for you to conceive . . . how, on any rational ground, the spirit of *mercantile monopoly* should rise up suddenly as a lion from his lair to prevent a feeble missionary from visiting his brethren in another part of the Pacific Ocean." He noted that American merchants, too,

34 See Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992).

35 Kashay, "From Kapus to Christianity," 39.

36 New Bedford *Mercury*, 17 September 1819.

37 New Bedford *Mercury,* 22 October 1819, 19 November 1819; see also S.E. Morrison, "Boston Traders."

had been unwelcoming of their mission.[38] Although commercial and missionary efforts to the islands both proceeded apace in the 1820s, they came into conflict early and often.

The mission's work was followed closely in New Bedford, and the newspaper coverage accompanying these early contacts helped shape how New Bedford residents would encounter Pacific Islanders on city streets in the years to come. Through the local press, they became acquainted (albeit often in a patronizing and misinformed way) with the Hawaiian government, culture, and environment. For example, the hand of Providence seemed visible in the collapse of Hawaiian religious tradition under King Kamehameha II. In July 1820, readers of the New Bedford *Mercury* read about the breaking of *kapu*. They learned that the "sovereign" of these islands had "destroyed the whole system of idolotry" and "burnt the temples," which was remarkably good fortune for the missionaries there: the "kingdom of god shall cover the earth," the paper's editors enthused.[39] Readers also began encountering columns about the flora and fauna of the islands, and the Yankee men already settled there. New Bedford learned that "tropical fruits grow here [atooi] in abundance," and that at least two Anglo men—John Adams and John Young—lived there.[40]

Despite the ongoing conflict between missionaries and traders in the Sandwich Islands in the 1820s, their activities increasingly converged in the pages of New Bedford's newspapers as the city's whaling industry, and its connection to the islands, grew. Late in 1821, *Mercury* readers learned that the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions would send a "large reinforcement" to the Hawaiian mission—"the whole number of persons, to be embarked in this enterprise, probably not be less than thirty—would head to the islands the following summer or fall, and that the Native Hawaiians "now at the Foreign Mission School" would return home on that voyage.[41] Meanwhile, the "Marine Diary" of the port of New Bedford in these same pages began to bring news of success in the Pacific whale fishery.[42] A report reprinted from the *National Gazette* claimed that whales at Oonalashka "were sometimes found one hundred and eighty feet

38 For background on the conflict between ABCFM missionaries and British traders, and the quote from Bingham, see Kashay, "Agents of Imperialism," 283.

39 New Bedford *Mercury*, 28 July 1820.

40 New Bedford *Mercury,* 27 April 1821.

41 New Bedford *Mercury*, 28 December 1821.

42 See e.g. New Bedford *Mercury*, 15 March 1822; 7 June 1822; 13 February 1824.

in length—making it necessary for the people engaged at opposite ends of the fish to haloo very loud to be able to hear one another."[43]

In 1823, Kamehameha II determined to visit London to seek King George IV's counsel about Hawaii's social, political, and economic upheaval, and protection from the increasing presence of foreigners seeking to dominate the Sandwich Islands.[44] "Increasingly distrustful of the intentions of the resident Americans and other foreigners," he "formed a plan to travel to England to learn directly from King George himself how best to manage these new, complex commercial relations within his kingdom."[45] The *Mercury* covered the travel of the royal entourage, which left the Sandwich Islands on 27 November 1823. En route to England, the royal entourage made a stop in Rio de Janeiro, where the King and Queen "substituted for their own proper costume" local modes of dress; their "deportment" was found to be "very decorous and respectable."[46] They arrived in London in May of 1823, and a report in the *Mercury* affirmed that the royals also "arrest most attention" there as well; "The King is a tall, Indian built gentleman, and dresses in our costume. The Queen is extremely fond of dress, and changes her attire three or four times a day."[47] Their presentation at court was also described for New Bedford readers, who learned that he "Queen was dressed partly in European fashion, and partly in her native costume, and the royal pair were attended by their Prime Minister, Poki and his wife."[48] But these accounts cannot be mistaken for respect accorded the Hawaiian royalty, for just a week later, the *Mercury* also reprinted a blurb from the *National Advertiser*: "The King of the Sandwich Islands, now in London, is called Tirahee Tirahee, which translated means Dog of Dogs," and so perhaps the "Queen is entitled to the appelation [sic] of Slut of Sluts."[49]

43 New Bedford *Mercury*, 22 November 1822.

44 Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, 128.

45 J. Susan Corley, "The British Press Greets the King of the Sandwich Islands: Kamehameha II in London, 1824," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* Vol. 42 (2008), 71.

46 New Bedford *Mercury*, 14 May 1824.

47 New Bedford *Mercury*, 9 July 1824.

48 New Bedford *Mercury,* 9 July 1824.

49 New Bedford *Mercury,* 16 July 1824. Amy Kaplan notes that the stereotype of Hawaiian women as "excessively sexual, demonstrated by their actively taking multiple sexual partners and their apparent disregard of marriage and domesticity," was common during this time period. The stereotype was part of a "colonial discourse of missionaries and travelers in the Pacific, that linked Hawaiian women with a pre-Christian uncivilized past. Women became the yardsticks for measuring the barbarism of traditional Hawaiian society

Kamehameha II (Liholiho) and Queen consort Kamamalu both contracted measles and died in London in summer 1824.[50] Though eleven-year-old Kauikeaouli (the second son of Kamehameha I, and younger brother to Kamehameha II) ascended to the Hawaiian throne, the transition was not smooth.[51] The king's son, George P. Kamuali`i, launched a short-lived challenge, which New Bedford residents followed with interest perhaps in part because he attended school in New England, and his success would bode well for American commercial and missionary interests. In March 1825, the *Mercury* carried this account: "George Tomarree, who was sent out by the Missionary Society, had rebeled against the Regent, and a civil war ensued, which was carried on in the most savage manner."[52] Ten days later, another story described how the "people of Attooi" rose up against the Regent. George Tommarree, "educated at the Cornwall School in Connecticut" "headed up the malcontents," but was, after bloody battle, defeated.[53]



Figure 2.5: Portrait of King Kamehameha II (c. 1797 – 1824) attributed to John Hayter, 1824. Lolani Palace.

and the ancient system of 'tabu.'" Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 66-67.

50 For an account in the New Bedford press of the return of the bodies to Oahu, and ensuing ceremonies, see the New Bedford *Mercury*, 11 November 1825.

51 His stepmother, Queen Kaʻahumanu, ruled as regent until her death in 1832, succeeded by Kauikeaouli's half-sister Elizabeth Kīnaʻu, who ruled until March 1833.

52 New Bedford *Mercury,* 18 March 1825.

53 New Bedford *Mercury,* 25 March 1825.

Whaling had been present in New Bedford from the late eighteenth century, but it was in the 1820s that it really began to boom. Its deeper harbor, more convenient for ever-larger vessels, eventually helped box out Nantucket as the capital of American whaling. As demands for goods and services skyrocketed, New Bedford's attention became increasingly focused on the Kingdom of Hawai'i as a partner in global commerce. New Bedford closely watched the unrest unsettling the Islands; England, with ninety whaleships in the South Pacific that year, could use the unrest to press its own claims in the region, in an ongoing effort to achieve "commercial mastery of the Pacific world."[54] On 20 May 1825, readers of the *Mercury* were assured that steps were being taken toward the "protection of the whale fishery." "For the information of all concerned," editors wrote, "we publish with much satisfaction the following document:"

> Navy Department, 28th April 1825
>
> The Petition of sundry Merchants and others engaged in the Whale Fishery from the Island of Nantucket, has been referred by the President of the United States to this Department and I am directed to inform you that the subject has been considered, and that instructions will be given to Commodore Hull to visit the Sandwich Islands, when the public interests will permit his absence from the South American Coast for a sufficient period (Samuel L Southard)

Isaac Hull, commander of the USS *Constitution* as well as the Portsmouth Yard during the War of 1812, had in 1823 assumed command of the U.S. naval presence in the Pacific, from his post aboard the USS *United States*. In 1826, Hull (acting on orders originating with Secretary of the Navy Samuel L. Southard) directed Commander Thomas Ap Catesby Jones to negotiate with Hawaiian leaders. Jones, who arrived in Hawaii on the sloop-of-war *Peacock*, succeeded in securing "most favored nation status" for the United States, as well as American trading rights in Hawaii and an agreement that Hawaiian leaders would repay their debts to American citizens amounting to an estimated $150,000.[55] The resulting treaty between Hawai'i and the United States—a direct challenge to Britain's claims in the region—was signed between Captain Jones and Queen

54 As quoted in Gulliver, "Finding the Pacific World," 92. See also Edouard A Stackpole, *Whaling and Destiny: The Rivalry between American, France, and Britain for Control of the Southern Whale Fishery* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1972), 381. Great Britain would come to control (by treaty in 1840) New Zealand, though they retreated from the whaling industry; by the 1840s, with some seven hundred American whaleships now at sea, Britain reduced, and then repealed, its protective duty on sperm, importing oil and bone from the U.S. valued in the millions of pounds. See Stackpole, *Whaling and Destiny*, 382.

55 Mark Rifkin, "Debt and the Transnationalization of Hawai'i," *American Quarterly* Vol. 60, no. 1 (March 2008), 43.

Ka'ahumanu in 1826. It would be the first of five agreements between the Hawaiian Kingdom and the U.S. recognizing the Hawaiian government and affirming friendship and peace. This was the beginning of a neocolonial relationship between Hawaii and the United States, with chiefly debts serving as the means by which American economic interests succeeded in gaining a foothold in the Hawaiian economy.[56]

As it happens, the first reference in New Bedford newspapers to the Kanaka whalemen also came in the summer of 1826, as editors observed that "many of the American whale-ships, which touch at the Sandwich Islands, bring away one or more of

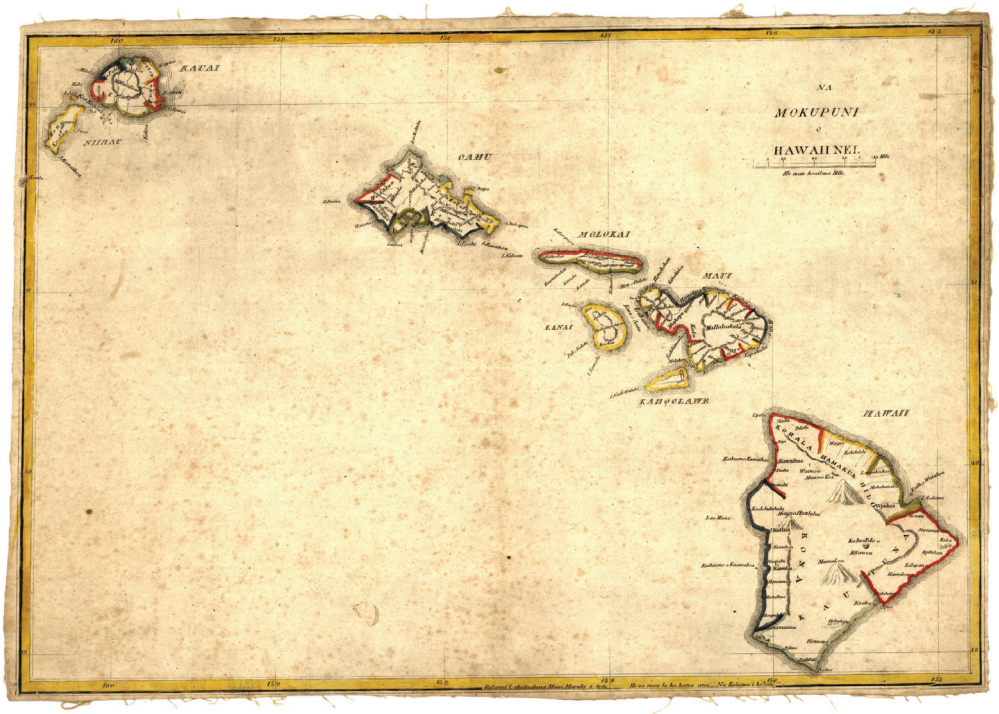


Figure 2.6: Simona P. Kalama, Na Mokupuni o Hawaii Nei, [Lahainaluna] Maui: Kulanui Lahainaluna, 1837. 1 map : hand col. ; 31 x 47 cm. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, 98680907.

the natives, who are useful at the oar, and in other services. There are 20 of these islanders now in Nantucket, and 13 of the have been collected into a Sunday school they are orderly and attentive and seem eager to learn."[57] In the years to come, as New Bedford's whaling industry took off, Kanaka whalemen would become an increasingly common sight on the city's whaleships and streets.

56 Rifkin, "Debt and the Transnationalization of Hawai'i," 46.

57 New Bedford *Mercury*, 7 July 1826. On the December 1830 voyage from New Bedford to the American Board mission in Hawai'i, see Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of twenty-one years in the Sandwich Islands*, 2nd edition (Hartford, 1848), 413.

Kanaka Labor and the Rise of New Bedford's Whaling Industry

New Bedford and Hawai'i's whaling industries both peaked during roughly the same time period. Christine Arato and Patrick Eleey observe that by 1830, New Bedford had surpassed Nantucket "as the nation's preeminent whaling center, employing nearly 10,000 men in an industry capitalized at more than $12 million"; "her fleet of 120 square-rigged ships was nearly twice the size of Nantucket's whaling flotilla, imported nearly 85,000 barrels of sperm and whale oil, and supported ten local spermaceti factories." Perhaps it is no coincidence that the third group of missionaries sent to supply the American Board mission, in December 1830, departed from New Bedford rather than Boston.[58] Similarly, for the quarter century from 1830 through the mid-1850s, the whaling industry was Hawai'i's "central economic force."[59] The New Bedford *Mercury* of 19 April 1833 reported that seventy-eight vessels, "principally American whalers," had touched at Oahu during the first eight months of the past year. Three years later, the *Mercury* crowed that "the whole amount of oil taken" during the season was "19,390 barrels, an average of 554 barrels for the season, to each ship." Only four of the thirty-five whaleships anchored at Lahaina had registered fewer than 300 barrels.[60] In 1843, 132 American whaleships arrived in Hawaiian Islands; in 1844, there were 160 in Honolulu and an astonishing 326 at Lahaina.[61] In the record year of 1846, some 736 whaling ships arrived in Hawai'i.[62]

The growing success of the American (and New Bedford's) whaling industry relied heavily on the labor of Pacific Islanders. By the late 1820s, Pacific Islanders became a key source of labor for American whaleships, driven in part by the burgeoning neocolonial relationship between the United States and Hawai'i. Susan A. Lebo argues that Hawaiian sailors "became Hawaii's primary export commodity as trade in sandalwood declined, as the United States exercised gunboat diplomacy to force repayment of chiefly debts, and as the high chiefs and king increasingly exacted more days of labor from commoners to help pay these debts." She continues, "The employment of native seamen on U.S. vessels served America's expanding political-economic interests in

58 Arato and Eleey, *Safely Moored*, 19.

59 Cartwright, "Pacific Passages," 53.

60 New Bedford *Mercury*, 17 June 1836.

61 Dodge, *New England and the South Seas*, 105.

62 Grover, *The Fugitive's Gibraltar*, 52.

the Pacific," which "included ensuring Hawaii's participation in international trade and securing American rights to trade in Hawai'i, including acquiring 'most favored nation' status."[63] By 1844, an estimated five to six hundred "Kanakas" crewed American whalers; by mid-century, 1 in 5 sailors on American whaleships were Pacific Islanders.[64] Their participation at midcentury peaked alongside the industry's profits; in 1854, whaling profits crested when the industry harvested whalebone and oil worth nearly $11 million.[65]

Between 1845 and 1847, almost 2,000 Hawaiian men signed onto foreign ships; one source finds some 4,000 Kanaka aboard whaleships in 1849, comprising 5 percent of the total population and as much as seventeen percent of men between eighteen and fifty three.[66] Many of these men jumped at the chance to enjoy the independence, adventure and mobility that accompanied work in the global economy, particularly when the likelihood at home was the grinding work of a sugar plantation.[67] Sugar production had begun in earnest on Hawai'i only in 1835, but it boomed as the advent of steamships together with the California Gold Rush boosted both supply and demand. The unappealing nature of the work provided a "push" factor, while the appeal of western commerce proved a pull; "seafaring," as Cartwright explains, "also offered Pacific Islanders a means of developing skills, such as translating, trading and navigating, that might improve their economic prospects at home. Perhaps the largest percentage of islanders shipped in hopes of attaining prosperity, and life aboard a foreign vessel required less readjustment than adapting to new forms of commerce and agriculture" that Europeans were even then introducing in the islands.[68]

As more and more Pacific Islanders signed on to whaleships, they increasingly settled in places around the globe. As the historian Gary Okihiro writes, by the 1840s, "Hawaiian seamen and laborers were at Papeete, Tahiti and Peru to the south and on the

63 Lebo, "A Local Perspective of Hawai'i's Whaling Economy," 8.

64 Grover, *The Fugitive's Gibraltar*, 52; Cartwright, "Pacific Passages," 102.

65 Kirk, *Paradise Past*, 199.

66 Ralph Simpson Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1958) Vol I, 312-13; and Ty P. Kàwika Tengan, *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai'i* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 38.

67 See Carr, *Hawaiian Music in Motion*, 160.

68 Cartwright, "Pacific Passages," 101.

Columbia River and the Aleutian islands to the north. Such was their spread and influence that the Hawaiian minister of interior declared in 1846: 'We have heard that there is no port in this ocean [Pacific] untrodden by Hawaiians; and they are also in Nantucket, New Bedford, Sag Harbor, New London, and other places in the United States.'"[69] In the 1830s and 40s, Hawaiians became indispensable to California's maritime industries; by 1850, a report of the holdings of the Russian-American Company in the territory between northern California and the Aleutians would find more Hawaiians there than Russians.[70]

The demand for Pacific labor produced a series of complex interactions between the Hawaiian royal government and the United States. Beginning in the mid-1830s, in order to protect its population and to ensure the sound treatment of the men who joined whaling crews, the royal government of Hawai'i began to require that whaling captains or masters secure the government's permission to recruit native seamen (which, Susan A. Lebo notes, "was inclusive of all Polynesians"—not just Hawaiians). Once permission was secured, they had to post a $200 bond for each man taken aboard ship, to be returned when the sailor returned safely to the islands.[71] But the Hawaiian government also recognized the need to ensure the continued presence of foreign whalers, which were integral to the Hawaiian economy. Their reliance on native labor ensured that they would keep returning to the islands. Hawaii's Minister of the Interior, Keoni Ana, reported in an 1846 address that although it was problematic to have approximately one in five Hawaiian men between the ages of fifteen and thirty years old "wandering on the ocean or in foreign lands," it was also a necessity: "whaling ships lay the foundation for nearly all of the islands' foreign commerce."[72]

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69 Okihiro, *Island World*, 143.

70 Ibid.

71 Susan A. Lebo, "A Local Perspective of Hawaii's Whaling Economy," 9-10; see also Chappell, *Double Ghosts,* 39. Grover contends that Native Hawaiians were a strong presence in the whaling fleet until the owners of island sugar cane plantations, "equally interested in securing low-wage workers, compelled the government" to implement this policy of posting bonds in order to recruit island labor. Combined with other charges implemented over time, the cost per recruit in time reached $600. Eventually, this became "an expense," she argues, that "most owners were unwilling to incur." Grover, "African American, West Indian, and St Helenian Whalemen," 187, citing Eric Jay Dolin, *Leviathan: The History of Whaling in America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2008), 359; Pacific Islanders remained integral to the whaling labor force well into the 1850s however, so the impact of the bonds was a drawn out one. Sally Engle Merry discusses relationships between labor on sugar plantations and aboard ships in *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

72 Quoted in Lebo, "A Local Perspective of Hawaii's Whaling Economy," 9.

U.S. government and business interests became increasingly concerned with the affairs of the Hawaiian Islands, as American and Hawaiian economic interests became increasingly intertwined in the mid-1830s. Even the once-distinct efforts of American missionaries and merchants in Hawaii began to converge. The Panic of 1837 spurred an economic crisis in the United States, and resulted in the ABCFM's inability to continue financially supporting the missionaries in the Sandwich Islands. Many missionaries who had once focused their efforts on educating and converting Hawaiians to Christianity now "expanded their calling . . . to offer the Hawaiians training in plantation agriculture." Jennifer Fish Kashay describes the shift that occurred in the late 1830s:

> Reversing its long-standing rule against acquiring property in the islands, the mission passed a resolution allowing individual evangelists to invest their salaries as they chose. Missionaries convinced the chiefs to distribute their lands and grant individual property rights to Hawaiians and naturalized citizens (known as the Great *Mahele*). When foreigners were also granted the right to own property, a familiar American story played out once again. Like Native Americans, Hawaiians were soon persuaded to sell most of their land to outsiders, and by the 1840s foreigners had gained control of the Hawaiian government.[73]

"Building an empire for God," Kashay asserts, "came to look, in time, more and more like building an empire for self and nation."[74]

In October 1840 Kamehameha III enacted a constitution establishing a constitutional monarchy in which all adult males were eligible to vote. (The constitution also discarded the term "Sandwich Islands" in favor of the native name Hawai'i, marking an important moment in the place name transition). Two years later, an envoy traveled to Washington, D.C., seeking U.S. recognition of Hawaiian sovereignty. The U.S. did not formally recognize the Kingdom of Hawaii, but on December 30, 1842, President John Tyler gave a report to Congress declaring that the islands' proximity to the United States and the extensive nature of American trade with the islands "could not but create dissatisfaction on the part of the United States at any attempt, by another Power, should such attempt be threatened or feared, to take possession of the islands, colonize them, and subvert the native Government." In short, the declaration promised that Americans would protect the islands from attempts at colonization, and brought Hawai'i into the

73 Kashay provides a thorough outline of the shifting focus of American missionaries in Hawaii in "Agents of Imperialism," 296.

74 Kashay, "Agents of Imperialism," 281.

countries encompassed by the Monroe Doctrine.[75] The unspoken truth was that by this point, Hawaii was already dominated by foreign – and especially American – commercial and religious interests.[76]

The 1840s saw heightened attention on the Pacific. Though France and the United Kingdom had recognized the Kingdom of Hawaii in 1843, the U.S. withheld recognition until 1849.[77] In 1851, Kamehameha III signed a secret agreement that in the event of the further spread of French imperialism, Hawai'i would be protected by the United States.



Figure 2.7: Portrait of King Kamehameha III (1813–December 15, 1854) painted in Boston from a daguerreotype, by an unknown artist, Bishop Museum.

Diplomacy of the Forecastle: Kanakas on New Bedford Whalers

The rise of Pacific Islanders on whaling crews followed a decline in African American labor.[78] White racial prejudice at home and at sea combined with black labor preferences to marginalize African American workers in positions as cooks and stewards, and to ultimately drive black Americans out of whaling and into other sectors of the economy. Grover observes that "African American whalemen . . . knew too much about whaling to remain part of the 'tractable' workforce owners typically sought in order to reduce the possibility of desertion and mutiny."[79] As the availability of African American laborers contracted,

75 John Tyler, "Message to Congress Regarding US-Hawaiian Relations," 30 December 1842, http://millercenter.org/president/tyler/speeches/message-to-congress-regarding-us-hawaiian-relations. Cartwright, "Pacific Passages," 63; and Kirk, *Paradise Past,* 120.

76 Kashay, "Agents of Imperialism," 298.

77 Though a commercial agent (or, after 1844 a consul) had presented American interests in the islands since 1820, the first minister to the islands was David L. Gregg, appointed in 1853.

78 See Grover, *The Fugitive's Gibraltar*; and Grover's "African American, West Indian, and St Helenian Whalemen," 155-275.

79 Grover, "African American, West Indian, and St. Helenian Whalemen," 186.

shipping agents turned to Pacific Islanders. "The proportion of foreign-born men of color among all crewmen of color was highly variable," Grover has found, "but over the long term tended to increase: foreign-born whalemen made up less than 10 percent of all black crew up to 1843, from nearly 5 to nearly 15 percent up to 1844, almost 20 percent in 1852 and 1853, and more than 31 percent on the eve of the Civil War."[80]

The degree to which maritime culture was heterogeneous, and so racially tolerant, has been a topic of historical debate in recent years.[81] While some scholarship has argued that the demands and conditions of life aboard ship created a necessarily tolerant culture at sea, others have tracked shifting patterns of racism and nationalism that constantly reconfigured maritime demographics and social relations. Brian Rouleau cautions that historians cannot treat life at sea as somehow separate from life on land; prevailing attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs shoreside are inextricably intertwined with those shipboard. Diversity, he argues, should not be mistaken for tolerance or integration; "the forecastle's mixed landscape, and the necessity of cooperation and harmony in a functional vessel, may have served to check racial distinctions, but by no means eradicated them."[82] In fact, negative ideas about Kanakas increased as the U.S. hurtled toward a civil war over slavery and as U.S. agricultural and economic interests in the islands grew. Cartwright concurs that the exigencies of life at sea encouraged a certain meritocracy but also that, "as each decade passed, Anglo-American sailors' expressions of admiration for non-white sailors in the Pacific became less common. By midcentury, the increasing acceptance of virulent notions of non-white racial inferiority in Anglo-American society resulted in the consolidation of racial hierarchies aboard Pacific vessels."[83]

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80 See Grover, "African American, West Indian, and St. Helenian Whalemen," 169 and Table 11.2. See also Bolster, *Black Jacks: African-American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 220, 228.

81 Major works include Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: The Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000) and Bolster, *Black Jacks*. For a summary of this literature, see Brian Rouleau, *With Sails Whitening Every Sea: Mariners and the Making of an American Maritime Empire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014). This project commenced before Rouleau's book appeared; we drew on his dissertation, cited below.

82 Brian J. Rouleau, "With Sails Whitening Every Sea: Commercial Expansion, Maritime Empire, and the American Seafaring Community Abroad, 1780 – 1870" (Ph.D dissertation: University of Pennsylvania, 2010), 35.

83 Cartwright, "Pacific Passages," 77.

On ship, Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders could be found at all ranks, though decreasingly so at the highest levels of authority and compensation.[84] Pacific Islanders often started as unskilled labor, but some eventually earned promotion to boatsteerers and even mates.[85] Most Pacific Islanders drew relatively small fractions of a voyage's profits, and were routinely subjected to discriminatory compensation practices. Beginning in the 1840s, Hawaiian law regulating recruitment helped native sailors achieve some parity with Euroamericans, and the handful that rose through the ranks could do well.[86] As greenhands, Pacific Islanders typical drew lays of about 1/200, while an "ordinary" might receive 1/145 to 1/180 and a "seaman" between 1/120 and 1/190.

Some mariners found their way into other roles that were also comparatively better compensated than simple greenhands. James Mowee while on the ship *Golconda* (1847) earned 1/160 as the ship's blacksmith; ship's carpenter Joe Allie, of Nahoo, Hawaii, in 1886 earned 1/180 on the schooner *Golden City*. Joseph Mowee, cook on the ship *Amethyst* (1850), earned 1/145, while his counterpart on the ship *Addison*, George Oahu (1841), did slightly better, at 1/140.[87]

Boatsteerers like Robert Tahiti on the ship *Kingston* (1848), or George Kanaka of the bark *Huntress* (1857) could earn 1/90; Hawaiian boatsteerer John Q. Adams on the bark *Russell*'s 1840 voyage pulled down 1/75, and another John Adams, on the 1844 voyage of the ship *Science*, commanded 1/45.[88]

Higher in a ship's hierarchy, and so also better paid, were the mates. Joseph Oahu reached the position of 4th mate on the ship *Alice Mandell* (1855), collecting 1/80. Forty-two-year-old John Adams of the bark *Bertha* commanded 1/48 of the lay in 1883.

As Pacific Islanders entered Yankee culture via the whaleship, some seem to have retained their Oceanian identity: crewlists contain reference to men like "Emeo" (*Twilight*, 1854), "Moco" (*William Badger* (1857), "Leuonyu" (*Ansel Gibbs*, 1868),

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84 Nancy Shoemaker argues that Native Americans were much more likely to be made officers than either Native Hawaiians or African Americans; after 1840, if Native Americans persisted with whaling, they would become officers, which was not so with African Americans and Pacific Islanders; see Shoemaker, *Native American Whalemen*, esp. 24-25.

85 Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun, eds., *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 84.

86 Cartwright, "Pacific Passages" 115, and Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, 42 and 58.

87 See the New Bedford Whaling Museum crew list database (hereafter NBWM database). See Chapter 1 n32.

88 Other boatsteerers include Nathian Oahu of the *Pantheon*, and Harry Tahiti of the *LC Richmond*. See NBWM database.

"Tomalee" (*Canton II*, 1870), and "Tahe" and "Tari" (*Union*, 1879) who seem to have been known aboard ship by the same name they used at home. Historian Elmo Paul Hohman observed that, "if the native names were short and easily pronounceable," they were "frequently retained; and consequently the whaling account-books contain such euphonious names as Kama, Kahana, Kavna, Kaune, Kohopu, Kalua, Pahia, Nahina, and Nakauna."[89]

More commonly, hundreds of Pacific Islanders were assigned names by the Yankee representatives of the whaling industry. Far and away, the vast majority of these mariners—nearly 400 of the 1000 Pacific Islanders listed in the New Bedford Whaling Museum's database of crew members—were given the surname "Kanaka." Close to 180 additional men received no surname at all, but were assigned the names "Thomas," "Frank," "Charley"—first names only, and whatever came to mind as the workers appeared. Others took on names related to maritime labor [e.g. "Boatswain" (*Marcus*, 1850)], American popular culture ["Sambo" (*America*, 1851)], history [George Washington (*Euphrates*, 1846)] or literature ["Friday" (*Silas Richards*, 1852)]. Some names suggest the first thing the Captain saw as the man's name was entered into the register: William "Bowline," (*Florida II*, 1845) "Peabucket" (*Elizabeth*, 1854), "Jewsharp" (*Arab*, 1867); "Mirror" and "Spunyarn" Kanaka [*Mermaid*, 1880]. Other men found themselves assigned placenames, like "Japan" (*Charles and Edward*, 1858) or "Solomon" (*Janus II*, 1877); many men carried surnames like Tahiti (36 entries on the NBWH database carry this name), Roratanga (33 entries), Maui (or Mowee; 64 entries), and Oahu (30 entries). Some names—like "Frida" (*Alfred Gibbs*, 1859), Sally (*Tropic Bid*, 1878) or "Sarie" (*Hercules*, 1862) —sound curiously feminine to modern ears. Several men, of a range of ages, found themselves rechristened "John Boy" (e.g. a 30-year-old man from Honolulu, sailing on the bark *Petrel* in 1880; a 34-year old on the bark *Merlin* in 1876, and a 45-year-old man on the bark *James Allen II* in 1880). Richard Henry Dana claimed that, of the Kanaka he bunked with in San Diego, "one was named 'Mr Bingham,' after the missionary at Oahu; another, Hope, after a vessel that he had been in; a third, Tom Davis, the name of his first captain; and the fourth, Pelican, from his fancied resemblance to that bird."[90]

89 Elmo Paul Hohman, *The American Whaleman: A Study of Life and Labor in the Whaling Industry* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928), 55. A database of some 7000 Hawaiian mariners has been present on the website of the Bishop Museum; as of this writing a remnant of the database can be accessed via the Internet Wayback Machine, but it is no longer a functioning part of the Bishop Museum's website.

90 Dana, 143, as quoted in Cartwright, "Pacific Passages," 109. Nancy Shoemaker also discusses the renaming of Hawaiian mariners in *Native American Whalemen and the World*, 50.

Much has been written about the meaning we might infer from these naming practices. As the historian James Revell Carr has proposed, "the use of geographic or ethnic references in whalers' nicknames linked the man to his origins, while providing him with a new identity."[91] But while it is easy to interpret this as an act that stripped recruits of their native identity, for some mariners, David Chappell posits, the shedding of identity could also be liberating.[92] Shipboard traditions around the conferring and cultivation of nicknames also gave Islanders a chance to try out new identities, as "oceanians sometimes borrowed names from men they admired or resembled," while others thought an Anglo name might improve their status or treatment.[93] Like African American mariners, some of whom were freed slaves, Pacific Islanders who took on a new name seized the advantages of anonymity at sea, embracing a practice that historian W. Jeffrey Bolster says was also on the rise among New Bedford's white seamen in the 1830s.[94] Nicknames, new names, names both multiple and sequential—flexibility allowed Oceanians, like black and white Yankees, to explore, shed and create identities while also perhaps affording some protection from the worst of an exploitative labor market.

Ship records also tell us that Islanders often travelled in groups, and not necessarily in isolation. To cite just one example, in mid-May 1844 eight men—who entered the log books as Jim, Bill and George Kanaka, John Hall, Charley Hawaii, George Howland, Charley Kaloa, and Charley Oahu —joined the crew of the ship *Samuel Robinson* as greenhands together, and then deserted together just days shy of a year later.[95] Whatever names they are known by in the archival record today, in that Spring, the men traveled in the company of others who probably knew something about their past, their families and their communities. If it seems to us today that that history was stripped away in the process of renaming, that was unlikely to have been the case as long as they remained in the company of these same men. These Hawaiian mariners also looked after one another: when a man known as "Jim Kanaka" died in New Bedford in July 1866, his personal estate of $280 (less court costs) was conveyed via two "legacies" of $125 each

91 Carr, *Hawaiian Music in Motion,* 64.

92 Chappell suggests this was true for Euroamerican sailors in *Double Ghosts,* 45; it seems plausible that men from Oceania may also have embraced a chance to reinvent themselves, or temporarily escape their personal history and connections.

93 Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, 50.

94 Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 216.

95 As recorded in the NBWM database.

to a Tom Kanaka and a Charles Kanaka—possibly shipmates on the *Canton II*, which had sailed from New Bedford to the Indian Ocean in October 1862 and returned in April 1866 with more than 1400 barrels of sperm oil and 81 of whale oil.[96] The money may have been his lay, divided among his two countrymen.

Cartwright argues that at first, Pacific Islanders were "an unfamiliar 'race'" that "complicated shipboard relations;" to understand these new members of the global community, whites drew on stereotypical understandings of both native North Americans and African Americans. But "while images of 'barbaric,' blood-thirsty islanders—dating from the killing of Captain Cook—still resonated in the US," Cartwright observes, "the early nineteenth century also represented a period of flexibility in racial thought when white Americans did not necessarily view all Pacific Islanders as innately inferior. Because Pacific Islanders did not pose the same predicaments presented by Native Americans and African Americans residing on North American soil, many Anglo Americans considered these 'savages' capable of becoming 'civilized.'"[97] After all, evangelists were hard at work in the mission fields of the Pacific, and they had widespread support among everyday New Englanders who aided these efforts with church contributions and magazine subscriptions.

In time, however, tolerance would be supplanted by racism. As Nancy Shoemaker has documented in her study *Native American Whalemen and the World*, genuine affection for Kanaka crew members remained possible through the mid-nineteenth century, though even then, it was "still premised on a belief in the racial superiority of white men."[98] And as the nineteenth century wore on, white American attitudes toward Pacific Islanders hardened. Jennifer Fish Kashay places the escalation of racism against Pacific Islanders in the 1830s. She notes that as missionaries increasingly interfered with the political and economic influence of the island's white merchants, especially after 1837, the merchants increasingly employed paternalistic language reminiscent of slaveholders in the American south, that "portrayed the islanders as happy workers who wanted nothing more than to cultivate the land under the direction of white men from

96 National Maritime Digital Library, American Offshore Whaling Voyages: A Database (http://nmdl.org/aowv/whindex.cfm), hereafter American Offshore Whaling Voyages Database. THEN, please go to these places and make the notes consistently read: American Offshore Whaling Voyages: A Database. p. 86, n 239; p. 89, n 248; p. 178, n 13; p. 182, n 33.

97 Cartwright, "Pacific Passages," 99.

98 See Shoemaker, *Native American Whalemen and the World,* 49.

the West."[99] Once the missionaries saw their funding from the ABCFM subside in 1837, they, too, employed such language. In 1837, the mission circulated a newspaper article ("Means Whereby the Kanakas May Become Rich") to Native Hawaiians that encouraged them to work harder: "The kanakas are a lazy people; they don't wish to work," it noted. It admonished them to "put off laziness; put off sloth and idleness: Be strenuous and persevere in labour every day."[100] It is also no coincidence that the shift in public rhetoric around Pacific Islanders came as the United States was implementing its agendas of Indian removal across the American West in the 1830s, and, soon after, hurtling toward Civil War over slavery.

These shifts can also be seen in the context of scientific racism.[101] "While longstanding commercial and cultural ties with the Atlantic left racial categories there a modicum of stability," Brian Rouleau has observed, "the Pacific's novelty to American eyes left 'appropriate' human classification in a state of disarray," a "situation [that] became a particular problem of the whaling industry, whose ships spent the most appreciable periods of time in the region, with the largest number of laborers hired (or stolen) out of indigenous communities." Pacific Islanders "proved especially troublesome for American men struggling to apply familiar nomenclature to an unfamiliar group."[102] Over time, Yankee whalemen drew on their (often indirect) knowledge of other indigenous people of North America, as well as native communities of New England, to place Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders alongside other "primitive" people. As historian Nancy Shoemaker notes, the concept of "Indian" was "flexible enough in [white American] minds to encapsulate the Gay Head harpooner on the ship whose savage hunting instincts furthered their whaling mission, the anonymous Kanaka shipmates in the forecastle, and the dangerous or titillating hordes of savages encountered in canoes or alongside islands."[103]

These changes were also evident on whaleships. By the 1840s, remarks like those of William Alfred Allen, who "railed against [Native Hawaiians] as "*things*...bare-assed niggers, a species of brute upon two legs," were becoming increasingly representative of

99 Kashay, "Agents of Imperialism," 292.

100 Kashay "Agents of Imperialism," 294.

101 See Rouleau, "With Sails Whitening Every Sea," 57-67.

102 Rouleau, "With Sails Whitening Every Sea," 3, 6.

103 Shoemaker, *Native American Whalemen and the World*, 91-92.

public perception.[104] "By mid-century," Cartwright has argued, "the flexibility of racial divisions aboard ships increasingly disappeared as a result of the overall hardening of racial attitudes in the United States. The 1850s witnessed the increased degradation of both non-white and white mariners. For black seamen seeking seafaring employment after 1840, shipboard prospects progressively dwindled. The increased availability of ethnic white laborers along the American waterfront and changes in hiring practices led to the hiring of primarily white foreigners who could ill afford to resist despotic treatment"[105] Even Hawaiian royalty could not escape the routine indignities of American racism: Amy Kaplan notes that "When the current King, then Prince Lot, and his brother Prince Liholiho Alexander visited the United States as young men in 1850, a conductor threw them off a train bound for Baltimore because they were not white. On a Hudson River boat in New York they were refused entry to a dining salon for the same reason."[106] Undisputed is the fact that, as Cartwright argues, "by the 1850s, extended encounters with Pacific peoples, increasingly virulent racial attitudes, and the steady encroachment of middle-class influences within the maritime environment silenced the cacophony of early Anglo-American perspectives and set the state for future conflicts with Pacific peoples."[107]

By the end of the nineteenth century, racist tropes about Pacific Islanders would be used to justify their domination by American empire: the "international image of nonwhites as naturally indolent and incapable of self-discipline supported a related image of the same people as childlike and incapable of self-government."[108] But it was not merely that African Americans and Native Americans provided models for how to understand nonwhite Kanakas; there was a strong economic interest in emphasizing that Pacific Islanders were "uncivilized." As U.S. economic interests in Hawaii expanded, and particularly with the rise of sugar plantations, an economic and imperial interest emerged in portraying Pacific Islanders as lazy and incapable of self-government. These cultural imperatives laid the groundwork for colonization, exploitation, and eventually annexation.

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104 Journal of William Alfred Allen [1842] aboard the *Samuel Robertson*, New Bedford Whaling Museum, ODHS Log 1040, as quoted in Rouleau, "With Sails Whitening Every Sea," 44.

105 Cartwright, "Pacific Passages," 117-18).

106 Kaplan, *Anarchy of Empire*, 81-82.

107 Cartwright, "Pacific Passages," 22.

108 Kaplan, *Anarchy of Empire*, 81-82.

Who were "The Kanaka?"

Whales held an important place in native Hawaiian culture, which featured proverbs, chants, and stories about whales. In Hawaiian oral traditions, whales often carried men on spiritual journeys to priesthood, and one of the Hawaii's major gods, Kanaloa, had the bodily form of a whale. Hawaiians had traditionally only utilized those whales that had beached on island shores, and they were deemed the property of the chief who owned that land. In addition to being used for whale meat (which was only for men; for women it was *kapu*, or prohibited), they made tools, ornaments, and other objects from whale teeth and bones. Whale teeth were used to create whale-tooth necklaces, or *niho palaoa*, that served as a marker of chiefly rank.[109] With the arrival of American whaleships, Hawaiians began participating in whale hunts. According to Susan Lebo, "This shift altered but did not extinguish the kinship of Native Hawaiians with whales, Kanaloa, and the ocean fisheries."[110]

Most sailors from the Pacific Islands were teenagers or young men in their twenties. Some observers did not, and perhaps could not, differentiate among the diverse places of origin represented by these mariners, conflating all under the name "Kanaka." Others drew distinctions between men from, say, the Hawaiian Islands and the Marquesas (for instance, see James B. Congdon's description of natives from the Pacific Northwest, below).

Several accounts describe a distinct Kanakan culture and personality. In May 1846, Thomas Atkinson, a carpenter aboard the Nantucket whaler *Potomac*, described a gam with New Bedford's *Roscoe*: "Their mate came to our ship and with him came four South Sea Islanders or 'Kankas' as they call themselves. . . They seemed good tempered and afforded a good deal of amusement by singing & dancing for us after the manner of their country. Their dancing consisted in putting their bodies into all kids of positions and their singing was also of an original character but not unpleasant as they kept good time. They appear to be very fond of their native island and were never tired of talking about it."[111] Many surviving accounts make reference to the role of mimicry in their culture,

109 Lebo, "A Local Perspective of Hawaii's Whaling Economy," 4; Susan Lebo, "Native Hawaiian Whalers in Nantucket, 1820-60," http://www.nha.org/history/hn/HNwinter2007-lebo.htm.

110 Lebo, "A Local Perspective of Hawaii's Whaling Economy," 4.

111 Atkinson, 16 May 1846, as quoted in Carr, *Hawaiian Music in Motion*, 67.

giving these sailors "great powers of ridicule."[112] It seems that this particular form of humor provided hours of entertainment during long days aboard ship.

Among the more recognizable markers of Kanaka identity in the nineteenth century was traditional tattoo art (*kakau*). In 1819, Jacques Etienne Victoire Arago—an artist attached to the French vessel *Uranie*—created some of the earliest images of Hawai'i before western colonization; he documented the tattoo art common among Hawaiians in this era, including the *makaloa* or checkerboard patterns on the legs of Hawaiian men.[113] Though never as elaborate as was seen in the Marquesas, New Zealand or Samoa, tattoo art was embraced throughout the Hawaiian Islands; men's arms, legs, torso and face were ornamented with both geometric and natural patterns (by contrast, Hawaiian women "were most often tattooed on the hand, fingers, wrists and sometimes on their tongue.")[114] In time, the practice became one of Oceania's more enduring cultural exports; embraced by European sailors, tattoos became "the hallmark of a sailor's appearance."[115]

Clothing also helped identify Kanaka whalemen on New Bedford streets. They, like most mariners of the period, embraced a sartorial syncretism that announced visually their global maritime experience. James Revell Carr finds that "Kanaka seamen were quick to adapt styles and dress that would signify them as whalers." Citing a September 1858 edition of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* that described the newly-returned whaler "dressed in span new broadcloth with standing shirt collars," Kanakas, he argues, "signifying whaler-ness with fragmentary costume engage the same mimetic imperative as the Euro-American who adopted fragments of Pacific Island appearance, like tattoos, in their own whaler personae."[116] Put another way, in the highly mobile and cosmopolitan world of nineteenth-century seafaring, men of all origins—Pacific Islanders and Yankees alike—found cultural borrowing both entertaining and meaningful. "By attaining foreign material objects," Cartwright adds, a seafarer could "quickly [gain] the attention and

112 Cartwright, "Pacific Passages," 117. See also Chappell, *Double Ghosts,* 61, 166.

113 Juniper Ellis, *Tattooing the World: Pacific Designs in Print and Skin*, 113-115; and Adrienne Kaeppler, "Hawaiian Tattoo: A Conjunction of Genealogy and Aesthetics" in Rubin, Arnold, ed. *Marks of Civilization: Artistic Transformations of the Human Body* (Los Angeles, CA: Museum of Cultural History, University of California, Los Angeles, 1988), 157-170. See also Tricia Allen, *Tattoo Traditions of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2006); Mark Blackburn, *Tattoos from Paradise: Traditional Polynesian Patterns* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer, 1999).

114 Skin Stories. http://www.pbs.org/skinstories/history/hawaii.html.

115 Cartwright, "Pacific Passages," 93.

116 Carr, *Hawaiian Music in Motion*, 65.

friendship of his island's kind, and thus, raised his social status."[117] The draw of western apparel was sufficiently strong, John Papa Ii adds, that some *kanaka* were motived to enlist by the promise of goods from the slop chest.[118]

One distinct element of Kanaka dress in New Bedford may have involved an affinity for top hats. The iconic Queequeg sported a top hat, and other instances affirm native interest in this particular item. A Kiribati Islander, for instance, "proudly displayed his western attire, which included excessively large pants, a multi-colored calico shirt with an exceedingly large collar, a vest made for a small boy, two left shoes, a tall top hat, and an umbrella."[119] The association may come from Kanaka participating in the fur trade, which sought beaver pelts for the tall, flat-crowned, broad-brimmed hats that had become so very fashionable in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (succeeded in time by the stovepipe hats popular in the 1840s and 50s, felted beaver pelts giving way eventually to silk as the primary material).

Clothing and other items of Yankee material culture would prove important for those Pacific whalemen who returned home. Cartwright tells the story of one Pacific Islander who returned "with a large box full of wealth, in the shape of figs of tobacco, knives and files," and a musket. His time at sea made him "one of the most eligible men on the island."[120] In fact, men who had gained experience and knowledge through their labor on whaleships, upon return could serve as "interpreters, trade advisors, founders of syncretic religious sects, war leaders and pilots."[121] In *Typee*, Melville hinted at a circuit of what he labeled "tabooed kannakas" who used their travel experiences to become middlemen in trade by building local partnerships through gift exchange.[122] For Pacific Islanders able to return home in good health, the experience and goods acquired could be parlayed into social and material success.

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117 Cartwright, "Pacific Passages," 102. Other sorts of cultural borrowing occurred as well. See Stanton Garner, ed., *The Captain's Best Mate: The Journal of Mary Chipman Lawrence on the Whaler Addison, 1856-1860* (University Press of New England, 2000), for the ambrotype of young Minnie Lawrence, taken in Honolulu; the ship captain's daughter is photographed with a wreath in her hair, to "look like a Kanaka."

118 John Papa Ii, *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, 87.

119 Cartwright, "Pacific Passages," 102.

120 Cartwright, Pacific Passages," 102, citing Diamond 136.

121 David Chappell, "Ahab's Boat: Non-European Seamen in Western Ships of Exploration and Commerce," in Klein and Mackenthun, eds., *Sea Changes*, 84.

122 Ibid.

Lastly, there is some evidence associating New Bedford's islanders with the scrimshaw tradition. The vast majority of this work is unsigned, making it difficult to know the extent to which Pacific Islanders embraced this form of expression, though it seems likely that these mariners would find similar solutions to dull moments at sea.[123] Among the best-known scrimshaw artists from Oceania is George Parkin Christian, the great-grandson of Fletcher Christian. Born on Norfolk Island (a small island between Australia, New Zealand, and New Caledonia) in 1856, Christian went to sea at fourteen. In time, he found work building ships in Auckland. Christian joined the crew of the New Bedford bark *California* in the 1870s and 80s, and sailed a dozen times in the bark *Charles W. Morgan* between 1893 and 1913, working as boatsteerer, second officer and first mate. He also served as first mate of the New Bedford schooner *A.M. Nicholson* (1914-1916). "Of the many Pacific Islanders who served in American whaleships in the nineteenth century," writes Stuart Frank, "George Parkin Christian is one of the few who made a lifelong career of it, and one of the even fewer who made scrimshaw in the classic Yankee manner."[124]

The historian David Chappell notes that for some Kanaka, after several years at sea, visiting the world's ports and encountering the world's peoples, returning home to the Pacific proved difficult, even impossible.[125] The men whom Gray had once paraded through Boston—Opai and Atu—chose not to resettle in Hawaii; Opai lived for a time with King Kamehameha before shipping out again, having renamed himself Kalehua or Jack Ingraham, while Atu stopped briefly again in the Pacific before heading on to Canton.[126] The better part of a century later, when Bill, Larry, and Parsilene Kanaka of the bark *Alaska* in 1885 listed their home as "Pacific Ocean," they may have been signaling a similar preference for life as a citizen of the world.[127]

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123 See Chappell, *Double Ghosts,* 62; on Pacific Islanders and scrimshaw on Long Island, see Gregory Rosenthal, "Hawaiians in North America, 1834-1865," 14 June 2010. http://pacificdreamsnewyorklife.blogspot.com/2010/.

124 Stuart M. Frank, I*ngenious Contrivances, Curiously Carved: Scrimshaw in the New Bedford Whaling Museum* (Jaffrey, NH: David R Godine, 2012), 349.

125 Chappell, *Double Ghosts,* 138-40.

126 Chappell, *Double Ghosts,* 139.

127 NBWM database.

Kanakas Ashore in New Bedford

By the time natives of the Sandwich Islands became visibly present in New Bedford, beginning in the late 1820s, New Bedford was not wholly unprepared for their arrival. News of the earlier visits of Pacific Islanders to places including London, New York, and Boston had made their way to New Bedford, and readers of the local papers had already been caught up in the saga of the Sandwich Island missions. Meanwhile whaling families had already begun to form ideas, from correspondence with loved ones at sea, about the Pacific islands and the people who populated them. By the time men from Pacific Islands began walking the streets of New Bedford, they had already begun to appear in the city's popular imagination. [128]

The journal of Captain Edmund Gardner contains an account of what appears to be the first visit of Pacific Islanders to New Bedford. "Left Oahu 10th of 10 Mo 1819 for Coast of California," Gardner wrote; "I shipped two Kanakas from Maui and had them the remainder of the Voyage and took them to New Bedford. Their names were Joe Bal and Jack Ena, the two names comprising that of my ship Balaena." The men arrived in June 1821, and "much notice was taken of them, singing their national songs and airs. They were the first brought to this place." On a subsequent voyage Gardner returned the men to Maui, "they preferring to stay at their own Island."[129] Gardner's account contains several themes that many Pacific mariners would recognize. Apparently Gardner had assigned the men new names while they were aboard his whaler, and apparently they came aboard ship as a pair, creating his opportunity to divide the ship's name between them. They regaled Yankee observers with Hawaiian song, and in time returned to Maui.

In the 1820s, New Bedford was not yet the nation's preeminent whaling port: it was still Nantucket—or Nanetuteka, as the Hawaiians termed it—and a 'Kanaka Boarding House' thrived there.[130] Men from across the Pacific mingled with blacks in a section

128 As Carr notes, "the literature of eighteenth-century Pacific explorers had created an emergent category of Oceanan Otherness in Euro-American popular consciousness, which Kanakas both confirmed and confounded." This and following from Grover, *The Fugitive's Gibraltar*, 52; and Carr, *Hawaiian Music in Motion*, 9.

129 *Captain Edmund Gardner of Nantucket and New Bedford: His Journal and His Family*, ed. and compiled by John M. Bullard (New Bedford, MA: Cabinet Press, 1958), 35. "Six months later," writes Susan Lebo, "returning home in the *Baleana* with clothing "sufficient for three years," Joe and Jack left the ship once they reached Maui. With the desertion of another seaman, Captain Gardner chose four Native Hawaiian replacements—"two natives from Mowee, one from Woahoo and one from Onehow." The names he "gave them were Henry Harmony, George Germaine, John Jovel, and Sam How." See "Native Hawaiian Whalers in Nantucket, 1820-60*," Historic Nantucket,* Vol 56, No. 1 (Winter 2007), 14-16.

130 Carr, "In the Wake of John Kanaka," 209.

of Nantucket called New Guinea, and by 1830 "there were at least six Pacific Islanders in at least semi-permanent residence on the island, three of whom had typical whaler's surnames that indicated their origins—Kanaka, Maui and Oahu—while the other three had taken the names of prominent Nantucket families—Swain, Owens and Coffin."[131]

As the whaling industry's center of gravity shifted from Nantucket to New Bedford, so too did the Kanaka community. By the 1840s, the population of Pacific Islanders at work on American whalers numbered around five and six hundred; New Bedford crew lists in 1844, for instance, "show twenty among the 217 whaling crew of color," fourteen of whom, Kathryn Grover determined, remained in the city "long enough to be listed in a census or directory." Nine of those fourteen persisted after 1855, "by which time New Bedford controlled half of the entire American whaling industry."[132] One contemporary source noted that "In 1850, there were residing in the State of Massachusetts, 65 natives of the Sandwich Islands; and in 1860, the number had increased to 89."[133] Many, if not most of these men likely resided in New Bedford. By midcentury, Pacific Islanders were a common sight on the city's streets.

Boardinghouses, and Boarding in Houses

Pacific Islanders congregated in the same places that welcomed other people of color. Historiographical debate about the degree to which racial hierarchy was suspended at sea notwithstanding, when Pacific Islanders stepped onshore in New Bedford, they were subjected to the racial hierarchies of antebellum New England. Melville's fictional pairing of Queequeg and Ishmael, bedding down side by side in the Spouter Inn, where even "the swinging sign had a poverty-stricken sort of creak to it," may well have been an act of artistic license; Melville surely knew that shoreside, such interracial mingling was unlikely. As Kathryn Grover writes, "most if not all boardinghouses operated by whites were closed to black mariners"; this policy undoubtedly extended to Pacific Islanders, too.[134] Frances Karttunen, too, finds that, on the island of Nantucket, whatever exoticism may have been associated with these men from halfway around the world, for practical purposes Pacific Islanders were considered

131 Carr, ibid., citing Frances Kartunnen, "Far Away Neighbor Islands: Pacific Islanders on Nantucket During the Whaling Era," Paper presented at the New Bedford Whaling Museum Whaling History Symposium, 2002.
132 Grover, *The Fugitive's Gibraltar*, 52-53.

133 *The Friend* Vol 26, No 4 (1 April 1869), 29.

134 Grover, "African American, West Indian, and St Helenian Whalemen," 203.

black, and subject to the racial discrimination associated with that status.[135]

Pacific Islanders who found themselves in New Bedford for weeks or months between voyages likely lodged in the same places that housed other workers of color. By 1830, African Americans made up five percent of the total population of New Bedford.[136] In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, African American settlement was densest on the westernmost ends of Bedford and Wing Streets, the intersection of South Sixth Street with both streets, and the Seventh Street extension. By the mid-19th century, a more defined African-American neighborhood called the "West End" had developed between present day Union, Kempton, and Cedar Streets.[137]

The city's racial geography was in flux in these decades. The prosperous Quaker families whose wealth was vastly expanded by whaling profits had begun retreating from the harbor as early as 1821, when Joseph Rotch built his family's elegant Greek Revival mansion at the Corner of County and William Street.[138] Others soon followed, and County Street became an avenue of elegance overlooking the hustle and grime of the wharves. That such displays of affluence were built on the backs of a global labor force were not lost on observers of the time. Melville himself wrote that

> . . . nowhere in all America will you find more patrician-like houses, parks and gardens more opulent, than in New Bedford. Whence came they? How planted upon this once scraggy scoria of a country? Go and gaze upon the iron emblematical harpoons round yonder lofty mansion, and your question will be answered. Yes, all these brave houses and flowery gardens came from the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian oceans. One and all, they were harpooned and dragged up hither from the bottom of the sea.[139]

Meanwhile, another landscape emerged on the city's waterfront and other neighborhoods dominated by maritime workers. The "Marsh" on Howland Street, "Hard-Dig" on Kempton Street, and "Chepachet" in the West End (near what is now Buttonwood Park) contained the boardinghouses, saloons, dance halls, and brothels

135 Frances Karttunen, "The Other Islanders," Nantucket Historical Association (2002), 6-7.

136 Cuffee Lawton House, NBE.171, Massachusetts Cultural Resources Information System (MACRIS), Massachusetts Historical Commission.

137 Ibid.

138 Grover, *The Fugitive's Gibraltar*, pp. 1, 6-10.

139 Melville, *Moby-Dick* (Norton Critical Edition, ed. Harrison Hayford and Hershel Parker, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1967), 38.

frequented by the "vicious, lawless characters who resorted to the disreputable sections for unrestrained dissipation."[140] These New Bedford streets were rough in the extreme. One notorious brothel—the Ark—was dismantled by vigilantes in 1826 only to be rebuilt and demolished a second time. Mobs torched buildings again in 1840 and 1856.[141]

Examination of the New Bedford city directories reveals the degree to which mariners of color there were limited to certain addresses around the city. The 1836 directory provides a snapshot of mariners' housing patterns in that year. Some 161 addresses appear as places where at least one mariner was boarding. The majority of addresses (some two-thirds of the total) were mentioned by only one mariner; put another way, most men appear to have been the only sailor boarding at their address.

	Number 160	Percentage
Addresses mentioned by only 1 mariner	100	63
Addresses mentioned by 2 mariners[142]	26	16
Addresses mentioned by 3 mariners	18	11
Addresses mentioned by 4-7 mariners	11	7
Addresses mentioned by 11 or more mariners	5	3

Table 2.1: Addresses at which mariners boarded, 1836. From Henry H. Crapo, *The New Bedford Directory* (New Bedford, Massachusetts: J.C. Parmenter, 1836).

The impact of segregation is seen in the way sailors of color were crowded into just a handful of addresses, while white sailors were distributed across the city.[143] Some 35 mariners, all men of color, listed the Spring Street boarding house of "colored" innkeeper John Adams as their address. No other boarding house in the city reflects comparable clustering, because men of color had so few options. Next largest was the (seemingly

140 Arato and Eleey, *Safely Moored*, 24.

141 Arato and Eleey, *Safely Moored*, 24.

142 It's worth noting that, in cases where two men both appear at the same address, they often share a surname, suggesting that they are relatives lodging someplace together.

143 A "Sailors Temperance Boardinghouse" was opened by African American reformer and activist William P. Powell in 1834; the 1838 city directory places it at 94 North Water Street. See *Picture History of New Bedford.* Also Bolster, *Black Jacks,* 184; Grover, *The Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 48, 170.

mixed-race) boarding house at 94 North Water Street, which 27 men—2 white (at least the city directory does not indicate otherwise) and the remainder of color—reported as their address.[144] The only other black boarding house of any scale was 163 Elm Street[145], where mariners Andrew A. Brown, Frank Niles (aboard the *Janus*), Henry F. Jackson (aboard the *Heroine*) and Milton Draper (at sea) boarded alongside Portuguese seamen Lewis and Nicholas Antone (both then aboard the *Pacific*) and Manuel Antone (in the brig *Rising State*). Mary R. Dyre (see below) on Howland Street boarded mariners John Moores and William Kay, then aboard the *Endeavor*, and at 9 First Street, the home of David Lewis, a black clothesdresser, "colored" seamen George Brown and Charles Friends (both in the ship *Liverpool*) boarded with "colored" mariners George William Henry and James Thompson.[146] Historian Kathryn Grover notes that in these same years Charles W. Morgan was paying Dyre to board Charles Coffin, John Adams and Charles Canaka; that these men do not show up in the city directory is a reminder of the gap between the archival record and the reality of life in antebellum New Bedford.[147]

It is possible that innkeeper John Adams was himself a Pacific Islander. Certainly many mariners from the Hawaiian Islands and elsewhere chose or were assigned the name John Adams (of nearly thirty entries for men named John Adams in the New Bedford Whaling Musuem's database of crew members, more than one third list Honolulu or Hawaii as their place of origin). Adams could well have been a Hawaiian mariner who, having boarded in one of these places, remained on as a boardinghouse keeper; John Swain, as we shall see, was another Pacific Islander whose life in New Bedford involved keeping a boarding house. Adams would not have been the only Pacific Islander to have pursued this work, as men from the Pacific World are known to have run boardinghouses elsewhere in the area. In the 1820s on Nantucket, New Zealander William Whippy (who was either part or all Maori) offers an example of a man from Oceania who engaged in this business; Whippy married Maria Ross (whose father was born in Africa), and the couple together opened a well-known boardinghouse in

144 Listing an address in the directory does not necessarily mean ongoing residence; such listings could also signal an address of record while an individual was at sea. Put another way, 27 men were not necessarily in residence simultaneously at 94 North Water Street; instead, the directory indicates that 27 men considered this their base.

145 This is the house of Peter Nelson, who is listed as a "colored" laborer.

146 Grover, *The Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 54.

147 Coffin and Canaka, Grover notes, also stayed at the Dunbar house (see below).

Nantucket's New Guinea neighborhood to serve Pacific Islanders, which continued to thrive until his death in 1847.[148]



Figure 2.8: Sign for William Whippy's "Canacka Boarding-House" in Nantucket's New Guinea neighborhood. Courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association, 1992.212.1.

Case Study: The Dyre Boardinghouse and the Cholera Outbreak of 1834[149]

A glimpse into the world of these boardinghouses is offered in a series of documents associated with an outbreak of cholera in August and September 1834. The city had been watching for weeks as cholera swept through cities across North America; the New Bedford *Mercury* reported outbreaks from New York and Montreal to Charleston, New Orleans, Albany, and Rochester.[150] So they knew what to expect after Friday, August 22, when selectman James B. Congdon recorded the death of an

148 Frances Karttunen, "The Other Islanders," 6-7.

149 Note that the spelling of this name has varied in both primary and secondary sources, appearing as both Dyer and Dyre. Paul Cyr's transcription of period records around the cholera outbreak uses "Dyre," as do the Board of Health records that survive at NBFPL and the city directory, but Kathryn Grover's account of this boarding house uses "Dyer." We have made our references consistent with the Board of Health records.

150 New Bedford *Mercury,* 1, 8, 15, & 29 August 1834.

Islander named Opukahaia who was "boarding with many others of the same race at the house of a coloured man by the name of James Dyre."[151] James and Mary (or "Polly") Dyre, an African American couple who kept a boardinghouse in a "filthy hole" (in the eyes of local Board of Health members), "in the south part of the town," had begun to take in "'destitute' Sandwich Islanders in part because black mariners were said to shun the place."[152] James appears to have moved to New Bedford around 1820, when Mary was about nineteen.[153] They had formed a household by the mid-1820s, and in 1833, when illness erupted in their home, the couple had (at least) three children aged five and under—two young sons and a year-old daughter named Ann.[154]

When sickness broke out at the couple's boarding house, Dr. Julius Mayhew was called to attend, and determined that cholera was the cause of death.[155] The following Saturday, another three men at the boardinghouse became sick, and they, too, were diagnosed with cholera. The public health officials had to act, and quickly. The "board of health informed the Selectmen that the inmates of Dyre's home must be removed," Congdon said, adding "such was the condition of the house that if the boarders there were allowed to remain they would all die."

The board of health described the Dyre house as a "filthy hole"; at best it was called "little," in reference to its four small rooms above ground and two cellar rooms.[156] Yet the Dyres (a family of six or seven in 1834) apparently took in as many as eighteen or nineteen boarders at a time, though the house could not "at most accommodate

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151 "Cholera in New Bedford, August & September, 1834," Transcription of documents created by New Bedford Selectman James B. Congdon, courtesy of Paul Cyr, [hereafter Congdon, "Cholera in New Bedford"], NBFPL

152 See New Bedford Board of Health Quarantine and Epidemic Regulations, 1832-1834, NBFPL; Grover, *The Fugitive's Gibraltar*, 54.

153 Grover, "African American, West Indian, and St Helenian Whalemen,"192. Mary's approximate birth year, 1801, is derived from the 1850 United States Federal Census, New Bedford, Bristol County, Massachusetts, Ancestry.com. All U.S. Census data hereafter was accessed via Ancestry.com.

154 The 1850 federal census shows household of 48-year-old John Swain, a black man born in the Sandwich Islands, with his 49-year-old wife Mary (also described as black, and born in Massachusetts) together with children William H Dyer, Ann Dyer & July Dyer, ages 21, 17 & 22 respectively. See 1850 United States Federal Census, New Bedford, Bristol County, Massachusetts.

155 This was likely physician Julius S. Mayhew, based on listings in Crapo, *The New Bedford Directory*, (1836).

156 Congdon, "Cholera in New Bedford," NBFPL; see also New Bedford Board of Health Quarantine and Epidemic Regulations, 1832-1834, NBFPL; and "Cholera," in New Bedford *Mercury,* 5 September 1834.

more than 5 or 6 persons comfortably."[157] At the time of Congdon's visit, all of the boarders were from the Sandwich Islands. Pacific Islanders were "brought to this place in whaleships . . . and not having any means for paying for comfortable board, were obliged to get in anywhere they could."[158]

The occupants of the Dyre house at the time of the breakout provide a snapshot of one of these boardinghouse communities. The men's ages ranged from 20 to 35, with a median age of 28.[159] Several had arrived on the ship *Milo* in May, which returned after fully three and a half years at sea.[160] Jim, George, John Bill, Tar Bucket, Josey of the ship *Milo* all "had but a trifle to receive from the owners of the ship when they arrived," and had "long been boarding at Dyre's to whom they are all in debt."[161] Jack and Harry had arrived on the *Barclay* on June 22, and thirty-year-old Tom came via the *India* in January. Rope Yarn arrived on the *Lancaster* in late May; the owners of the ship had given him man about $70 on arrival, which he then gave to Dyre, apparently paying in advance for his room and board.[162] Charley arrived via the ship *William Thompson* in mid-August; the ship's owners "say they have funds belonging to him and will pay his board. We must see to this." Congdon added that "Mr. Perry"—perhaps Peter Perry, a Hawaiian mariner who had a home in New Bedford—"says he will try to find a boarding house for him."[163]

According to Congdon, Dyre had taken the men "into his hovel," and "gave them such food as was the easiest to be procured"—including a hog that had spoiled, but was nevertheless eaten by the boarders. The boarders fished to supplement their diet ("they would wake the fish, clean them and lay them in the sun until they became soft and they would eat them"), and ate vegetables raw from the adjacent garden, too hungry, even to

157 Congdon, "Cholera in New Bedford," NBFPL.

158 Congdon, "Cholera in New Bedford," NBFPL.

159 "Names of the Canackers admitted into the Hospital August 31, 1834," New Bedford Board of Health Quarantine and Epidemic Regulations, 1832-1834, NBFPL.

160 The ship *Milo*, under master Leonard West, brought home 1400 barrels of sperm oil and 400 barrels of baleen whale oil. See American Offshore Whaling Voyages: A Database.

161 Congdon, "Cholera in New Bedford," NBFPL.

162 The *Barclay,* under master Alexander G. Coffin II, arrived with 1331 barrels of sperm oil in her hold, and the *India,* under master Grafton Luce, with 2000 barrels; *Lancaster*, under master Obed Nye Swift, returned with 2200 barrels of sperm oil after three years at sea.

163 The William Thompson, under Stephen N. Potter, had left New Bedford in October 1830, and returned with 2600 barrels of sperm oil in August 1834.

wait for them to be cooked ("but eat indiscriminately cucumbers, squash, cabbage, &c"). The house, "both inside and out," was so "filthy" that some people reporting not being able to walk past it. For his part, Dyre was hoping to recover his costs when they shipped out again.[164]

Congdon was unsurprised that men living in such conditions would succumb to disease. The Board of Health's chairman, Dr. E.W. Green, found a "suitable building" to take the men: a "large stone building on South Street, built by George Tyson for a candle house," was commandeered to serve as an ad-hoc hospital for cholera patients. Congdon made his way to the Dyre house where he "found three of the poor Canackers apparently in the last stages of this terrible disorder." They were "stowed away" in the building's garret, "without bedding and almost without clothing, laying in the filth that they had made." James Dyre himself had become infected, though he had moved his own bed to the cellar to make room for the boarders.

For her part, Mary Dyre, Congdon reported, showed "great indifference to the sufferings" of the men removed from her home, and "seemed only to fear that she should lose her debts by their deaths. She stipulated for the return of their clothes" should they "die at the Hospital." His report makes her a villain in this story, and maybe rightly so, but her actions are also a document of her own poverty and desperation. In fact, years later, Congdon would remark that she was "a woman of very industrious habits" who lived in fear of her violent husband.[165]

Fifteen Pacific Islanders would be admitted to the makeshift hospital, while area physicians came to help and learn. John Brewer, a Philadelphia physician who had witnessed the cholera outbreak there, stepped in, as did a Dr. MacKay, who had been sent to New York to help with that city's 1832 outbreak. The removal of the men from the Dyre house and their encounter with public officials allowed the men to report the conditions under which they lived at the boardinghouse. Only one of the hospital patients—a man named Harry who "has been many years in this country" and "has no means of subsistence" —spoke "English so as to be understood" (itself a clue into how they experienced New Bedford). Harry, whom Congdon calls a "smart fellow," reported that at Dyre's, "they were badly used. Dyre would sometimes flog them." Also Mrs. Dyre bought and served them "rum every day. The rum was bought at Mary's a little grog-shop

164 Congdon, "Cholera in New Bedford," NBFPL.

165 James B. Congdon to Rev. Jared Curtis, 10 December 1839, NBFPL.

close by." "Canackers no understand," one of the Hawaiians reported: "Canackers at everything. Canackers go about eat every thing they find."

Some of the men used the opportunity of the intervention of the town's leaders to try to enlist their aid in shipping out for home. Harry, who had arrived in Newport on the ship *Governor Fenner* in early May, told Congdon on a hospital visit that he "wants to go to sea." Congdon called on one of the *Milo*'s owners, who referred him to "Mr Parker," the "largest owner" in the ship, and also visited the owners of the Barclay, to see if they would take a man named Jack out again on their next voyage. The owners of the *William Thompson* reported that they had money belonging to Charley, and would pay his board and also try to find a different place for him to stay when he was released from the hospital.

Many of the sick Pacific Islanders died in the cholera outbreak, together with a small number of other New Bedford residents. In the end there would be fifteen cases and eleven deaths. The Islanders from the ship *Milo* found themselves moved to Moses Shepherd's boarding house (near the academy); Congdon again urged the owners of the ship on which they traveled here to assume responsibility for their welfare. Congdon blamed the miserable living conditions in New Bedford as well as the climate. "They ought not to be brought here," he concluded. "It is sometimes necessary to take them from their native land in order to complete the crews of our vessels, they ought to be re-landed when the ship is full. A full crew of whalemen is not necessary to navigate the ship."[166]

New Bedford's reading public would learn that the outbreak was due almost entirely to gross negligence on the part of Dyre, though the "Canackers" bore some responsibility as well. Greene's "official communication" to the *Mercury* noted that all of the inflicted were "poorly clothed and of dissolute habits," while the Selectmen reported being "entirely satisfied that the disease is of local origin," and that they need look "no further for the cause of their disorder" than the "place from which they were taken," which was "in the highest degree filthy—large numbers were confined in a small and ill-ventilated room, the food which had been dealt out to them was unwholesome, and all the circumstances attending their residence in Dyre's house were such as not only to shock every dealing of humanity, but pregnant with danger to their health and to the health of the community."[167] A follow-up report the following week affirmed that "in

166 Congdon, "Cholera in New Bedford," NBFPL.

167 New Bedford *Mercury,* 5 September 1834.

every instance, we believe, the disease may be traced to imprudence in diet, or improper exposure to change of atmosphere and neglect of personal cleanliness."[168]

James Dyre himself would survive the outbreak at his house; in fact, once well, he became outraged at what he took to be Congdon's slanderous descriptions of his boardinghouse. On a June day the following summer, Dyre approached Congdon in the street, a cowskin in hand. Demanding "satisfaction," Dyre began beating Congdon on the head and shoulders with the whip. A crowd gathered, saved Congdon, and was ready to beat Dyre until Congdon intervened on his behalf. Dyre was arrested, charged and jailed. He entered a plea of guilty, and was fined $30 and costs—a light sentence that outraged the community, or at least the editors of the Journal of Commerce.[169] But Dyre was not yet satisfied. He also lashed out against Dr. Green, Chairman of the Board of Health at the time of the outbreak. At 5 o'clock one afternoon, he showed up in the doorway of the doctor's shop, called out, and—when the physician looked up—began hurling stones at his head. Again, passers-by rushed to rescue the doctor. Dyre was once again apprehended and indicted for "assault with a dangerous weapon with an intent to kill." He was found guilty, and went to the state prison in Charlestown to serve a four-year sentence.

Four years later, as the end of James Dyre's sentence approached, many in New Bedford braced for the worst, certain that he would be all the more angry and eager to find his revenge. Congdon was worried about his own safety and that of the public, as well as Mary Dyre's; in the intervening years, Mrs. Dyre had sought out Congdon's help in changing her own circumstances. She had, in his absence, "managed to accumulate a little money, she being a woman of very industrious habits."[170] Interestingly, the outbreak and committee report notwithstanding, Charles W. Morgan continued to board Islanders with Mary Dyre, paying her for lodging Charles Coffin, John Adams, Charles Canacka, and likely others in the following years.[171] Almost as soon as James Dyre was out of the picture, Mary formed a union with another man who "has been in the family a long time" and who she "intends to marry...as soon as she can legally do so." This, apparently, was

168 New Bedford *Mercury,* 12 September 1834.

169 "How they do things in New Bedford," quoted in Congdon, "Cholera in New Bedford," NBFPL.

170 The 1836 city directory shows Polly Dyre, "wife of James," in a "house opposite 36 Howland."

171 According to Grover, "Morgan's financial records list three payments to her in 1837 and 1838 for boarding black whalemen, including Pacific islanders, due to ship out on his ships *Emily Morgan* and *Hector*." See Grover, *The Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 54.

one of the Kanaka boarders; Mary wed a John Swain of the Sandwich Islands on 1 May 1842. She continued to board mariners at the same house (now 151 South Water Street) until at least 1851.[172]

Mary Swain had the sad task of burying many of the islanders with whom she shared her home. In April 1848, Reverend Moses How, chaplain of the New Bedford Seaman's Bethel (1844 to 1859) recorded in his diary, "In the afternoon at the Bethel a funeral sermon on the death of a sailor from Psa. 23.4. The man died at Mrs. Swains. Was a Kanacka."[173] A couple months later, he again recorded: "In the afternoon attended the funeral of two men one of them a Kanacka at Mrs. Swains. He died very sudden."[174] And a year later: "In the morning at 10 'O Clock attended the funeral of a kanacka at the Bethel. He died at Mrs. Swain's."[175] How's son, W. S. G. How, also helped bury Kanakas from Mary Swain's boarding house. In July 1851, he wrote in his diary, "This morning a Kanaka died at Mrs. Swain's boarding house. I saw that a coffin was provided, and also a sheet. He was buried from the Bethel at 3 o'clock this P.M." In the same year, vital records also show an unnamed "Kanacker" having died at 151 South Water Street on 2 June, of "lung fever," or pneumonia.[176] Tending to these dying mariners and seeing to their funerals and burials must have been a regular element of her life as a boardinghouse keeper, until her death in 1853.[177]

There is a postscript to the cholera outbreak that tells us a bit more about Pacific natives in antebellum New Bedford: in his report, Congdon notes with some surprise that "three out of the ten now at the hospital" were not Kanaka, as he initially believed, but in

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172 In 1841, on the eve of her marriage, Mary Dyer appears at 121 South Water, with two boarders of color: Thomas Gardner and John Swain. The federal census of 1850 indicates that the house was worth about $1000 at that time; see 1850 United States Federal Census, New Bedford, Bristol County, Massachusetts, Ancestry.com.

173 Moses How Journal, Volume II, 30 April 1848; from Moses How (1789-1881) Journals: 1813-1881, Autobiography, & Photograph, NBFPL.

174 How journal, 13 July 1848.

175 How journal, 28 May 1849.

176 Grover, "African American, West Indian, and St Helenian Whalemen," 205. Her note: "Excerpts from the Diary of W. S. G. How," in *Diary of Rev. Moses How*, "No. 59 In "Series of Sketches of New Bedford's Early History" (n.d.), entry for 3 June 1851. There are two vital records in 1851 of "Kanackers" dying at the 151 South Water Street boardinghouse, one, "Jim Crow (Kanacker)" of Roratonga, who died of consumption on 20 May 1851, and another, simply labeled as Kanacker, on 2 June of lung fever.

177 Grover, "African American, West Indian, and St Helenian Whalemen," 192.

fact natives from the Pacific Northwest. "They have some resemblance to the Indians of this country," he noted.

> While at the Hospital this afternoon I saw them go through with a performance which I hardly know how to name, but which was quite interesting. They took off their jackets and stood in a row. They then commenced singing in a very low tone, so low as hardly to be heard and clapping . . . in unison with their music. This was continued but a short time. Their voices now became louder and their gestures were more violent. They would slap their breasts, extend first one arm & then the other, jump from the floor & turn their heads quickly from one side to the other, in all their motions keeping exact time with their song and the motions of each of them being exactly alike. . . . Nothing could exceed the heaviness of their appearance before they commenced, but when once they got fully engaged in their performance, no person would have supposed them to be the same inanimate natures whom we had seen a moment before. They were all animation, their countenances were expressive, their eyes flashed with excitement and I could almost fancy myself in the forest looking upon a festive celebration of the aborigines of our country.

Congdon's anecdote indicates that there were natives of other parts of the Pacific World in New Bedford, men who residents confused with the Native Hawaiians and other islanders more commonly present on the city streets. Congdon's appreciative description here departs noticeably from the view of Kanaka seamen captured in his account more generally, which find these Pacific mariners to be "docile and humble. They need, when sick, constant attention, but they obey every command willingly." Congdon and others seem to have perceived Hawaiian mariners less favorably than the Maori or, in this case probably Tlingit, natives also encountered through global trade.[178]

If men like Congdon felt measurable pity for the Kanaka men in their city, it was not without cause. Seaman's Bethel Chaplain Reverend Moses How recorded several other deaths of Kanaka men in his diary, which offers a particularly sympathetic glimpse into the hardships they faced when lodging in the city in the 1840s and 50s. In 1844, How noted in his diary that he attended the funeral of "another Kanaka who died at Mr. Carter's, a number more are sick and no doubt will soon die." In addition to the deaths of Kanaka men at the Swain boardinghouse, How recorded deaths at "Mr. Allens on Water

178 Nancy Shoemaker also discusses ways in which Yankee mariners perceived Kanaka whalemen alongside other indigenous peoples of North America in *Native American Whalemen and the World;* see, e.g., pp 79, 87-92.

St,"[179] "Mr. Scotts on Russell St,"[180] and "Mr. Bushes on Water St."[181] Not all of these men were fortunate enough even to lodge in a dwelling. One summer afternoon in July 1856, How "attended the funeral of a child . . . . and found at the house 4 Kanackas sick in the barn and gave them some meddicine [sic]." "O how crewel that these poor creatures should be brought here to suffer as they do," the affected clergyman was moved to add.[182]

New Bedford's Overseers of the Poor also regularly paid for the burials of Kanaka mariners whose lives ended in the city.[183] A grave and coffin for "Jack Tahiti" of the Sandwich Islands in April 1847 drew $5 from the Overseers' accounts; in the ensuing months they also paid the funeral expenses for an unnamed Kanaka man who had died in July, as well as Ned Kanaka and another unnamed Kanaka the following April and May. In November 1849, they again paid $5 for the funeral of a Kanaka man buried by Samuel Bliss, and April paid for the funeral of Jack Kanaka, another ward of the state. On May 21 they funded the funeral of "Jim Crow," noted as Kanaka in the Overseers' ledger; the following three funerals were also Kanaka men, unnamed in these columns. Joe Kanaka, another ward of the state, was buried at their expense September 20. They also attended to sick and dying Kanaka mariners: on 2 November 1858, the Overseers noted the illnesses of Henry Lattoo and Richard Lattoo, both sick and in the care of a barber named Moses Potter at 50 Howland Street, or "Mormon Hall," a boardinghouse on the north side of Howland street east of Front Street, in "the Marsh."[184]

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179 How journal, 12 September 1851.

180 How journal, 29 May 1853; probably the home of William Scott at 16 Russell.

181 How journal, 8 May 1855.

182 How journal, 30 July 1856. See also 1 August 1856: "Found the sick Kanackas no better. Saturday 2. Got a permit for 2 sick Kanackas to be carried to the alms house but before they were removed one of them died." In 1857, the New Bedford Port Society opened a Mariner's Home in the former Rotch house, which they moved from Water Street to the lot just north of the Bethel, an effort to address what they perceived to be the depravity of the seamen's waterfront. No registers appear to survive that document whether Pacific Islanders lodged in the Mariner's Home.

183 New Bedford Overseers of the Poor records, Personal Profiles and Index, 1845-52, Funeral Expenses, NBFPL.

184 Entry dated 2 November 1858, New Bedford Overseers of the Poor Daybook, Sept. 28, 1858 – Mar. 31, 1866, microfilm, NBFPL. The record noted that the men's possessions, contained in a trunk and two bags, were still at the state almshouse in Bridgewater, suggesting at least a short stay there as well. Other occupants of Mormon Hall about that time, as listed in the city directory, were laborer Thomas Tillman and widow Eliza Gardner. Mormon Hall was demolished in 1897. See *City Documents: Municipal Register, Mayor's Address, Annual Reports, Etc*, for the year 1897-98 (New Bedford: Mercury Publishing Co., 1898), "Building Statistics for 1897," 12.

Gamaliel Taber, an undertaker and coffin maker active in New Bedford in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, buried several of the island mariners who died in the city.[185] Born in Little Compton, Rhode Island, in 1802 or 1803, by 1836 Taber was listed in New Bedford's city directory as part of the firm Taber & Tobey, cabinetmakers at 48 North Second Street. Taber's partnership with Charles C.P. Tobey persisted over a decade, and by 1849 Taber had added undertaker to his services. Death was good business in mid-century New Bedford; in the 1850s the firm advertised themselves as "ships wheel and coffin makers." For many Kanaka men, the hands to offer what in early New England was often called the "last kind office" may well have been those of Taber's wife Camilla and daughter Lucy, who perhaps prepared the bodies for burial.

When Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders died alone in the city, it appears that the Commonwealth of Massachusetts sometimes benefited. Henry Kanaka died in New Bedford "soon after the 4th day of January" 1869, and "left no widow or next of kin in this Commonwealth."[186] A Tahitian, Henry Kanaka was twenty-five years old when he signed on to the bark *Stamboul*; the vessel, under master Reuban Kelley, had set out from New Bedford in May 1866, and didn't return until summer 1869, so apparently Henry Kanaka had died aboard ship.[187] William W. Crapo was appointed administrator of the estate, presumably because Kanaka was due $194.36 at the time of his death—his lay from the voyage.[188]

Crapo found that $10 of Kanaka's assets were owed the bark's agents. Sylvanus Allen claimed debts totaling $35 (while this could be the Sylvanus Allen who was the white proprietor of a New Bedford meat market, it is likelier the black blacksmith of the same name), and Crapo debited the estate another $10 as compensation for his own time and trouble. Other administrative expenses reduced the total by a further $22. In the

185 "Deaths Registered In the City of New Bedford", NBFPL. On Taber, see the 1880 United States Federal Census; and New Bedford city directories for 1836, 1838, 1849, 1852 and 1869.

186 This and below from "Henry Kanaka," Bristol County Registry of Probate, 1869. This file contains an inventory, account an Administrators' Affidavit of Notice of Appointment and an Administrator's Petition, Citation and Decree.

187 NBWM database.

188 The remains of the bark *Stamboul* lie partially buried in the bottom sediment of Carquinez Strait at the foot of West 12th Street in Benicia, California. A merchantman built in 1843 in Medford, Massachusetts, for service in the ice trade, in 1865 the vessel was purchased by New Bedford whaling investors Joshua, Charles, and Edward Hitch, who converted her into a whaler. Henry Kanaka would have participated in the first voyage in this new configuration. The ship's remains are listed on the National Register of Historic Places; see http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/NRHP/Text/88002030.pdf. The logbook of this 1866-69 voyage is in the collection of the New Bedford Whaling Museum Library.

end, the $177.36 of the mariner's remaining income was "paid over to the state treasurer," as per state law.

It is important to remember that, while the poverty and hardship attached to many Kanaka men in antebellum New Bedford is striking, others found more comfortable circumstances. This was perhaps more often the case in later decades, as the number of Pacific Islanders declined and these men were absorbed into the city's larger multi-racial and multi-ethnic communities. In 1860, for instance, seaman John P. Booth, a "mulatto" born in the Sandwich Islands, lived alongside John Q. Adams (a mulatto born in France) in the mulatto household of Thornton and Eliza Smith, in New Bedford's 4th Ward. In another household, three seamen from the "south Sandwich Islands"—30-year-old George Adams, 30-year-old John Williams, and 60-year-old John Marvin (all noted as "black" by the census taker) —lodged with the black Haskill family in New Bedford's 6th Ward.[189] In that same year, two "colored" seamen from the Sandwich Islands, William Guy and William Moher, boarded with William and Julia Castle, along with the 28-year-old Chinese seaman John Apho and 22-year-old George Stephens of the West Indies. William Castle had been born in Maryland and his wife Julia in Washington, DC, so they had apparently left the southern slave economy for the safer surroundings of New Bedford. Other occupants of their School Street dwelling included 12-year-old Ellen Wood, a mulatto girl from St. Helena; 17-year-old Celestine Young, from Pennsylvania; three "colored" barbers (22-year-old Charles Perkins and 25-year-old Napolia Cross, both from Virginia, as well as the 22-year-old New Yorker David Cross); 24-year-old "colored" hostler Nathaniel Munroe; and a 21-year old Irish domestic servant named Margaret Connor. Had only the building's final resident, 30-year-old black ambrotypist William Dutton, captured an image of his home and its residents, we would have quite a picture of the globe-in-microcosm that such boarding houses represented.[190]

189 1860 United States Federal Census, New Bedford Wards 4 & 6, Bristol County, Massachusetts.

190 In time, an elaborate system would emerge among outfitters, boardinghouse keepers and whalemen. In the 1880's, James Templeman Brown described the frenzy that greeted the arrival of a whaleship in the port of New Bedford: "The whalemen, many of whom are strangers to us and our customs, are idle spectators of the busy bustle of numerous little boats about them, their vessel being under snug sail and in care of the tug. The old hands know what to expect, but they cannot avoid it; and the new ones know not what to expect and have something to learn. All of them have packed their chests and tied their superfluous clothing in bags made of cotton duck, and both chests and bags are securely fastened with frequent turns of pieces of lance warp or whale-line. The men, leaning upon the bulwarks or main rail, gaze listlessly upon the little boats darting hither and thither; but the scene changes when the "sharks" swoop down upon them. One "shark" fastens upon a whalemen, another upon his chest of clothing, and a third upon his bundle; some exact premises for trade and others for board. The boarding-house keeper having-induced a whaleman to sojourn at his house, marks its number and name of street upon the chest with a piece of chalk. Now the cartman comes in for his

The Seamen's Bethel and the Port Society: Pacific Islanders and Private Charitable Support

Those Pacific Islanders who found themselves in need of the assistance while in New Bedford found help in services offered by both church and state agencies. One of these institutions was the Port Society and its associated Bethel. In May 1830, a group of New Bedford men gathered at the offices of the Merchants' Insurance company to discuss the creation of a new "society" to serve the needs of area sailors; the "New Bedford Port Society for the Moral Improvement of Sailors," dedicated to the "religious, moral and professional instruction of seamen," was formed that year (and incorporated by the Massachusetts General Court in February 1832).[191] Eight months later, the group determined to build a chapel for mariners and by May 1831, land had been purchased from Mary Rotch. The nonsectarian Seamen's Bethel was dedicated in 1832.[192] A "Ladies Branch" of the Port Society formed in June 1833; in keeping with middle-class women's activism of the era, they held fairs to raise funds, and for a time ran a "Ladies Clothing Store" for seamen.[193]

The Bethel's first chaplain, Enoch Mudge (a Methodist), was born in Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1776. He served twice in the Massachusetts legislature while a clergyman in Maine (1799-1816), returning to itinerancy in 1816. In 1832, he became chaplain of New Bedford's Seamen's Bethel, a position he held for twelve years, before turning the pulpit over to the Reverend Moses How. Born in 1798 in Haverhill, Massachusetts, How married Frances Dearborn in 1823 in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and together the couple had three sons.[194] The Baptist clergyman served as pastor of New

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profit, which is 25 cents for every chest or bundle he conveys to the hotel, the sum being paid on the delivery of goods by the boarding-house keeper and afterwards collected from the boarder, for be it remembered that the whaleman under all circumstances foots the bills. The head cartman, therefore, who may be engaged by the "sharks," or a part of them, takes under his charge every package marked by the boarding-house keeper for whom he is working, all agreements having been previously made." Though by this time Pacific Islanders were comparatively rarely the target of this activity, there were still "kanaka" whalemen at this date. See Goode, *The Fishery and Fishery Industries of the United States*, 290.

191 *Private and Special Statutes of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts,* 1832, Chapter 29 (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, 1837) Vol III p. 176.

192 In 1833 a boardinghouse for "temperance and moral improvement" was also established by Samuel Rodman; this later became the Port Society.

193 On middle-class women's activism in this era see Anne M. Boylan, *The Origins of Women's Activism: New York and Boston, 1797-1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

194 "Diary of Rev. Moses How," *Series of Sketches of New Bedford's Early History*, No. 59.

Bedford's North Christian Church from 1819 to 1826, and then moved to the First Baptist church of Portsmouth from 1826 to 1837. He and Frances returned to New Bedford in 1837, where How pastored the Middle Street Christian Church until 1844. How also became Chaplain of the Seamen's Bethel, succeeding Elder Mudge. He would remain in that position until 1859.

How's 70-year journal affirms that the Bethel's clergyman was attentive to the Pacific Islanders in the community, and often presided over their funerals.[195] He carried "gruel and other things to make them comfortable" and "spent much. . .time in taking care of them." He noted with pleasure his success at reaching the sailors the Bethel hoped to serve, and the Pacific Islanders in particular:

> We have reason to believe that seamen have felt perfectly free to call at our house when they wished to see me, or wanted my assistance, for in the months of March, April and May, we have had more than 500 calls from them, but 14 was the greatest number at any one time. To make their calls pleasant they have been invited into the parlor to hear the piano, with which, Kanackas in particular, have appeared remarkably pleased, having never heard or seen one before. And your agent has not neglected to give them, on all proper occasions, the best counsel and advice in his power in reference to their money, their health, their moral character and the salvation of their souls, and it is believed that these labors have not altogether been in vain.[196]



Figure 2.9: Mariner's Home. EAST (FRONT) ELEVATION - William Rotch Jr. House, 15 Johnny Cake Hill (formerly Bethel Street), New Bedford, Bristol County, MA. Historic American Buildings Survey (Ned Goode, Photographer, August 1961).

195 How journal, Volume II, 18 August 1844, 14 May 1849, 10 May 1857.

196 How journal, 22 August 1844 and 17 January 17 1852.

The Ladies Branch also concerned itself with the welfare of Islanders. In 1867, "Some destitute seamen" had "been boarded for a few days, and aid has been rendered to three South Sea Islanders through the Chaplain."[197] Later notes describe a "native of the Sandwich Islands" who, "having enlisted during the last war, in the army, contracted there a disease, and for one year, was confined to the hospital on Staten Island. At the expiration of that time he embarked for New Bedford, hoping to secure a passage on board one of the whale ships. He was considered however too feeble for the undertaking, and therefore returned to New York."[198] "By the aid of the Ladies Branch of the NBPS the Seamen's Aid Society, and the Ladies Home Sewing Society," they stated, much has been done to "mitigate the severity of the lot of the sailor who with no home to receive him,… and has destitute and diseased, come to the home which we have provided, for consolation and relief."[199]

The Port Society augmented their outreach to Pacific mariners through a partnership with the New Bedford Bible Society, as the latter distributed bibles in Hawaiian at least by 1870.[200] After the first Christian ministers had arrived in Hawai'i in 1820, they had begun working with locals to translate the bible. Eight ministers labored fifteen years to translate the original Hebrew of the Old Testament and the Greek used in early New Testament text into the Hawaiian language.[201] Thousands of these testaments made their way to whaling ships. Whatever effect they had on a man's spiritual life, they must have served as vehicles through which Islanders became increasingly familiar with English.

The City and State Almshouses: Pacific Islanders and Public Relief[202]

Many of the Pacific Islanders who came to New Bedford eventually found their way to a public (municipal or state) almshouse. The access to public support from

197 11 April 1867, Item #17: Ladies Branch, 1858-68, New Bedford Port Society Records, NBWM.

198 10 October 1867, Item #17: Ladies Branch, 1858-68, New Bedford Port Society Records, NBWM

199 Entry dated 27 January 1860; Records of Executive Board Meetings, February 1852-January 1866, New Bedford Port Society records, NBWM.

200 Minutes, Executive Board, New Bedford Bible Society, 18 December 1870, NBWM. The Bible Society also distributed bibles in Portuguese, German, Spanish, French, Swedish, Danish & Dutch.

201 See Howard M. Ballou and George R. Carter, "The History of the Hawaiian Mission Press, with a Bibliography of the Earlier Publications," *Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society* Vol 14 (1908), 9-44.

202 State Almshouse at Bridgewater. Record of Admission and Discharge. 1854 to 1887, Massachusetts Correctional Institution Archives, Bridgewater. State Almshouse at Bridgewater, Record of Deaths, Massachusetts Correctional Institution Archives, Bridgewater, MA.

this non-resident, international workforce presented a challenge to formal systems of support. For instance, when the American Consul in the Hawaiian Islands in winter 1867 determined that the federal government would not supply aid to foreign seamen in foreign ports, both the Honolulu *Friend* and New Bedford's *Republican Standard* rose up in protest, pointing out the utter dependence of the whaling industry on both Pacific Islanders and Portuguese mariners, men who were "toiling and spending their lives under the American flag, but without enjoying the *relief* of American seamen" should they become sick or disabled.[203] The American flag, editors asserted, should both protect and relieve Americans and foreigners alike: "They toil and endanger their lives together, and enrich our countrymen and extend our country's commerce, hence it is only fair, just and honorable that they should share alike our country's *protection and relief*."

The position of Islanders in Massachusetts systems of charity was complicated by their nonresident status. Public relief in the Commonwealth had long hinged on one's place of legal settlement, men and women being assured relief in their town of origin, but nowhere else. Meanwhile, in a two-tiered system that helped address the needs of nonresidents, Massachusetts also apportioned a fraction of provincial taxes for the "province poor account," funds that could be tapped when transient people were in need.[204]

But port cities like New Bedford, which saw the constant flow of international travelers, had a special challenge in the provision of aid. In theory, shipmasters were responsible for the welfare of their employees, though town officials regularly needed to remind these men of their obligations. In New Bedford, a culture of support emerged to assist foreign mariners. Though many aid recipients were not considered legally-established residents eligible for municipal support, the city's mayors on the whole supported local relief; after the state almshouse opened in nearby Bridgewater they only reluctantly sent the needy there. Twenty years later, historian Thomas McMullin finds that "New Bedford, contrary to state law, gave 'state paupers' (those without settlement in the city) direct outdoor (outside the almshouse) aid. The overseers noted in 1874, 'It is generally supposed that a State pauper is one who was born in a foreign country, which is a mistake. . . . A very large portion of our poor if dependent upon their own efforts, would be state paupers"—that is, they would be chargeable to the province poor account rather

203 New Bedford *Republican Standard,* 7 February 1867.

204 The best description of this process is found in Cornelia H. Dayton and Sharon V. Salinger, *Robert Love's Warnings: Searching for Strangers in Colonial Boston* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

than local sources of aid—"but they are fortunate enough to have ancestors from whom they derived a settlement. While on the other hand, the foreigners, not having the benefit of an ancestral settlement, are deprived of its advantages, although equally worthy.'"[205] Given the seasonal nature of the city's whaling economy (and also the strong Quaker presence in the community), drawing on the city's considerable tax base to assist foreign seamen made sense to New Bedford citizens, both those serving on the board and those who elected them to office. These systems and values (as we shall see) persisted until the 1880s, when changing conditions nationally and locally generated support for restricting access to relief.

Some sort of facility to house the local poor had been established in New Bedford (on Sixth Street) as early as 1773, but in 1828, the city purchased the Perry Russell farm in the southern part of town, on Clark's Point along the Acushnet River. There they developed a new almshouse, moving the structure from Sixth Street and joining it to the farmhouse to create a new and larger building that could house seventy-five and even eighty residents (though in the 1830s, it typically hovered between thirty-five and fifty residents). When smallpox broke out during the winter of 1839-40, a small hospital was constructed there as well. Residents able to work helped farm the land and labored in a salt-works on the property.

In addition to being a dedicated place for the homeless and (after an April 1838 vote of the town) a "work house" to which the Police Court might direct offenders, the facility served as a "Marine Hospital"—"Congress never having deigned to furnish a better one," Henry Howland Crapo complained in the pages of the city directory. Seamen from near and far could be accommodated in this facility. "The number of sick seamen entitled to hospital aid" and admitted in 1839 was 27; 43 were admitted in 1840.[206]

In 1847, the same year that New Bedford was incorporated as a city, the community built a large building on the site at Clark's Point. The substantial two story building, some 105' in length and 45' in depth, which opened in January, boasted a broad projecting center gable beneath an elaborate cupola; built of granite, like the city's new custom house (1836) and city hall (1839), the almshouse was a statement of prosperity, strength, and the city's enduring commitment to the ongoing care of its least fortunate residents.

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205 Thomas A. McMullin, "Overseeing the Poor: Industrialization and Public Relief in New Bedford, 1865-1900" *Social Service Review* Vol. 65, No. 4 (Dec., 1991), 548-563, esp p. 551.

206 Crapo, *New Bedford Directory* (1841), 26.



Figure 2.10:
New Bedford Almshouse. This 1956 view shows the 1847-48 stone structure (built as New Bedford formally attained city status) with its later additions. The town purchased 75 acres at Clark's Point for the purpose of offering relief to the poor in 1828; this stone structure replaced an earlier building that served as an almshouse and as a marine hospital in 1839 and 1840. Courtesy of Spinner Publications.

In May 1854 the Bristol County landscape of relief changed when a state almshouse opened at Bridgewater; within two weeks, its 500 beds were filled to capacity.[207] The state almshouse would prove the scene of last refuge for many Kanaka whalemen. The 1854 Annual Report from the almshouse notes that

> A large number of 'Kanakas' are sent here from New Bedford. Their complaint is generally one of the lungs. They are shipped on board our whalers that have lost their crews by desertion or death; they know not where they are going; their stock of clothing is poorly fitted, for the native of the South Seas, to make a long cruise in the Northern Ocean with; they contract colds while there, and by the time the ship arrives home, they are in the last stages of consumption. They have no money, no friends—they are sent here to die. The number of this class is rapidly increasing.[208]

207 Robert Wilson Kelso, T*he History of Public Poor Relief in Massachusetts, 1620-1920*, 136; and Lucille O'Connell, "Caring for the Sick Poor: The State Almshouse at Bridgewater, 1854-1887," *Bridgewater Review* Vol 3 No 1 (Dec 1984).

208 *Annual Report of the Inspectors of the State Almshouse at Bridgewater, December 1854* (Boston: William White, 1855), 15. Note: burial plots at the Bridgewater almshouse were not numbered until 1932, and registers from earlier years do not specify whether someone was buried at Bridgewater or elsewhere. Though it seem likely that Pacific Islanders are interred on the almshouse grounds, it does not seem possible to recover information about specific burial locations.



Figure 2.11: State Alms House, Bridgewater, ca. 1850. Augustus J. Caillaux (lithographer). Publisher: J.H. Bufford's lith., Boston. Many Pacific Islanders and Native Hawaiians found refuge in the state almshouse at Bridgewater. Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.

The narratives goes on to report that the "larger number of consumptives which annually swell the list of mortality here in proportion to the like cases in other almshouses in the State, is accounted for in part by arrivals of Kanakas and Western Islanders from the whaling ships of New Bedford. The climate of this State is very unfavorable to this class of invalids."[209] The directors of the New Bedford Port Society concurred. In 1858 they complained that "a great many foreigners shipped at the islands when the ship was homeward bound, find themselves on landing here destitute of money, clothing and friends, and a place to board. Quite a number of this class have of late been sent to the state alms house in Bridgewater to spend the winter. If captains would cease to bring such here, or if Agents would take them again for a voyage, they would in either case prevent a great amount of crime, suffering and death…"[210]

209 Ibid., 22.

210 Entry dated 29 January 1858; Records of Executive Board Meetings, February 1852-January 1866, New Bedford Port Society records. See also the *Republican Standard,* 10 February 1859, p. 1 column 2.

The movement of such men can also be glimpsed in the ledgers of New Bedford's Overseers of the Poor. Notations about Kanaka men travelling to and from the almshouse, especially as winter began to set in, regularly punctuated entries. In November 1858, the daybook recorded visiting John Stephens (sent "to state in 1855") and Charly Kanacka ("to state in 1856")."[211] The entries continued into 1859 and 1860: in January 1859, for example, a twenty-two year old named John Adams was transferred to the care of the state.[212] In December 1860, the Overseers recorded "James Kanacka, age 48, Sandwich Island to state in 1860, has scurvy, is at Charles Haskills, 187 So. Water . . .."[213]

The registers of the state almshouse are filled with entries describing Pacific Islanders.[214] Among the first to appear at the almshouse door in summer 1854 were three Islanders—named "T. Bucket" (presumably Tarbucket), Reuban and John Dow—described as either "lame" or "feeble."[215] Reuban and John Dow were eventually discharged, but Bucket may have found the almshouse to be a resource preferable to a New Bedford boardinghouse: he returned, again "lame," for ten days in November, and was admitted a third time in mid-December 1854. He would ride out the winter in the almshouse, departing the following April. In January, he would find company in five other Sandwich Islanders (Charles Joanna, Samuel Joanna, Thomas, Henry, and again Reuban), all described as healthy upon admission—again perhaps seeking shelter from the worst of the Massachusetts winter. In 1857, John Brace and Henry Slater, both men of color born in Honolulu, reported having "pains in their bones" to gain admission in August 1857; they stayed until April the following Spring. Just days after Brace and Slater checked in, another five men (David Antone, John Antone, Peter John, James Kanaka and Thomas Kanaka, all men of color born in the Pacific Islands) also arrived, described as "feeble" in the facility's intake logs; three would remain for about six weeks, another almost three months, while the last stayed nearly a year.[216] Semma Kanaka arrived in

211 Overseers of the Poor Daybook, 8 November 1858.

212 Overseers of the Poor Daybook, 6 January 1859.

213 Overseers of the Poor Daybook, 11 December 1860.

214 See Bridgewater Almshouse Registers, HS9.10/series 2545X, Massachusetts Archives.

215 Bridgewater Almshouse Registers, HS9.10/series 2545X, Vol 1, Massachusetts Archives.

216 Ibid.

October 1863, and lived in the Bridgewater facility for fourteen months before his death in December 1864.[217]

The majority of Pacific Islanders who died in the state almshouse succumbed to consumption. In October 1865, officials acknowledged the comparatively high death rates seen in the Bridgewater facility, arguing that "the larger number of consumptives which annually swell the list of mortality" in proportion to other state almshouses "is accounted for in part by arrivals of Kanakas and Wester Islanders from the whaling ships of New Bedford."[218] John Makela of the Sandwich Islands was admitted when "very sick," but recovered, spending just three weeks in the almshouse before his November 1864 release; Peter Kanacka of Oahu, on the other hand, was less fortunate. He died just six days after arriving, "very low," in August 1865.[219] John Veter of Orotongo had become blind by the time he was admitted in April 1866; he would be dead in three weeks' time.[220]

Over the ensuing decades, many more Pacific Islanders would conclude their lives in the Bridgewater facility; between 1854 and 1869, about 40 Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders died in the state almshouse, and are presumably interred in the burial ground there.[221] Among the last were Benjamin Kanaka of Manilla, who died a year shy of his thirtieth birthday, in April 1896; and James Kanaka, a sixty-seven year old sailor from Tahiti who died in September 1897.[222]

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217 Bridgewater Almshouse Registers, HS9.10/series 2545X, Vol 3, case 14193, Massachusetts Archives.

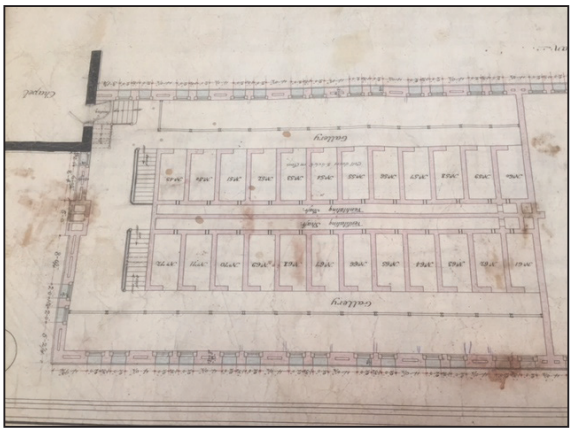
218 *Annual Report of the Board of State Charities of Massachusetts*, Vol II (Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers, 1866), 157. A rebuttal appeared in *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* of April 1866, which argued that in fact only "a very small percentage of recent deaths" at Bridgewater "were Kanakas or Western Islanders—not enough to materially affect the statistics," implying that there was in fact "something unfavorable" in the conditions or treatment at the Bridgewater facility to produce the comparatively high death rate. See "Our State Charities," *The New England Journal of Medicine* (Volume 74), 227.

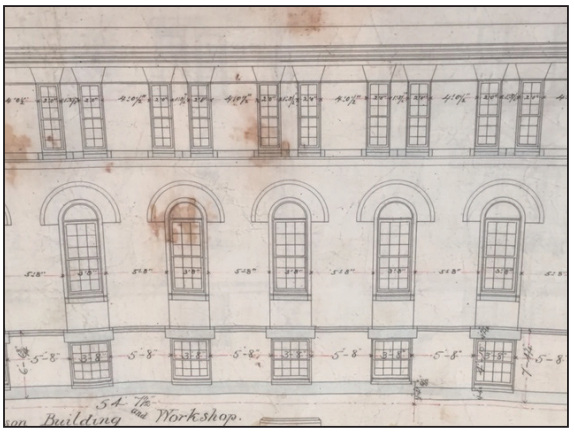
219 Bridgewater Almshouse Registers, HS9.10/series 2545X, Vol 3, cases 14279, 15074. Grover also notes Makela, whom she believes is from Africa. See *The Fugitive's Gibraltar*, 46.

220 Bridgewater Almshouse Registers, HS9.10/series 2545X, Vol 3, case 16048.

221 Bridgewater Almshouse Registers, HS9.10/series 2545X, Vols 1 and 2, Massachusetts Archives. The number is necessarily approximate because the information recorded here is so spare. In some cases, men whose birthplaces are listed as the Sandwich Islands have names that seem distinctly Portuguese (though whether these are names from birth are unknown), creating some mystery about their ethnic or cultural identities.

222 Massachusetts, Town and Vital Records, 1620-1988, "Deaths Registered in Bridgewater," 1896 and 1897.





Figures 2.12a and 2.12b: Bridgewater Almshouse, plans for 1884 renovation, Massachusetts State Archive. Photos: Emily Esten.

In the decades following the Civil War, the city of New Bedford was a leader in public relief; between 1865 and 1880, it ranked either first or second in per capita relief expenditures among Massachusetts' largest cities.[223] But the community's booming textile mills attracted new populations of foreign migrants, and the city began to see this mass migration as problematic. Poverty was increasingly believed to be a result of bad behavior (namely drinking) rather than broader economic conditions. As attitudes toward public relief shifted, poor relief waned: by 1893, New Bedford had dropped to 9th among Massachusetts' twelve largest cities in per capita poor relief expenditures.

By that time, very few Pacific Islanders were still present in the city. But among them was a thirty-eight year old "Kanaka sailor" named John C. Moore, who was boarding with William Castle, the longtime boardinghouse keeper, by then in the city's old Market Square.[224] Moore "in a fit of despondency, caused by illness and poverty," cut his own throat. A doctor was summoned, but Moore could not be saved. He died and was buried in the city.

Marriage, Family, and Citizenship

Not all paths to New Bedford ended in such desolation; some Pacific Islanders married in New Bedford and had families. In 1836, for instance, the *Mercury* published news of the death, on 9 November 1834, of Peter Perry: "He was a native of the Sandwich

223 Thomas A. McMullin, "Overseeing the Poor," 549.

224 New Bedford *Republican Standard,* 5 October 1882; and Deaths Registered in the City of New Bedford, 1882.

Islands, but visited this country some years since in one of our whaleships and married respectably in this town; since which he has acquired a small property by his industry and frugality by following the occupation of a mariner. He sailed from this port in the boat *Pacific* as a boatsteerer, on her last voyage, and while she was lying at his native islands, was taken sick and died. In his last moments he did not forget his distant family, but by will left his wife his property in this country, and his hard earnings on board the ship, after providing for a Christian burial."[225]

Born about 1808, Perry in October 1832 had married Hannah Niles Smith (both called "of color" in vital records); the two appear to have had a daughter together, but the child died before marriage, leaving no continuing line in the city.[226] Since at the time of his death Perry had "no kindred in the Commonwealth legally competent to administer" his property, John Burrage—an attorney, the Town Agent, and perhaps not coincidentally also the corresponding secretary for the New Bedford Anti-Slavery Society—was appointed by the court to settle the estate. Burrage located several of Perry's creditors, including dry goods merchants William Crocker and Samuel Southgate (owed Perry's largest debts, $11.58 and $8.50, respectively), cabinetmaker William Knights ($5.48), and African American Henry Kendall (for what we do not know, but it may be worth noting that Kendall worked at 87 Union Street, a boardinghouse in the city). Two creditors who cannot be identified are a woman, Lydia B. [illegible], to whom Perry owed $6.48, and Jedediah Haskell, owed $3.68. When all was said and done, Perry's widow Hannah was allowed $95.34 from an estate valued at 146.70.[227]

Historian Nancy Shoemaker has recovered the stories of two Hawaiian mariners who formed unions with native women of New England; their rich family histories remind us how complex these global genealogies could be.[228] In 1839, the Hawaiian

225 New-Bedford *Mercury*, 15 January 1836. Unfortunately we have been unable to locate any reference to Perry in the Bristol County Registry of Deeds.

226 "New Bedford Marriages, Massachusetts, Town and Vital Records, 1620-1988**,** 414, accessed via Ancestry.com. One Ancestry family tree says they had a daughter Anne E Perry who died in March 1851 at 17. The widowed Hannah Perry married William Henry Johnson 28 June 1836. See also Carr, *Hawaiian Music in Motion,* 115. No records in the New Bedford Registry of Deeds show Peter Perry as the purchaser of land in the city. But on his death and the settlement of his estate see Bristol County Registry of Probate Volume 77, p. 44; Vol. 78, p. 23; Vol. 154, p. 34; and Vol 160, p. 39.

227 This is the value given for Perry's personal property, though no inventory appears to survive in the Bristol County Registry of Probate.

228 Shoemakers recounts these findings in *Native American Whalemen*, 165-66.

whaleman William Allen married Gay Head's Mehitable DeGrasse, the granddaughter of a Cape Verdean mariner and his Wampanoag wife. Shoemaker speculates that Allen may himself have been the son of an African American beachcomber named Anthony Allen, who by the 1820s with his Hawaiian wife was running a Honolulu boardinghouse. John Luley, another Hawaiian mariner, would (in January 1866) wed Rachel Anthony, whose father John had been born in Sierra Leone. Luley had sailed aboard the New Bedford ship *Draco* in 1862, as boatsteerer; also on board was fourth mate Francis Spencer, of Christiantown, Massachusetts. After the ship returned home, Luley seems to have traveled with Spencer to Martha's Vineyard, where he met and married Rachel.[229]

Other Pacific Islanders also established homes in New Bedford. When 26-year-old John Kanaka died of consumption on 10 May 1857 at 185 South Water St., his death record listed him as married. In 1860, a black man named Henry Jones, listed in the U.S. census as born in the Sandwich Islands, shared a home with his 20-year-old daughter Ellen, born in Rhode Island. And on 26 December 1876, a 50-year-old man called "Mr Joseph (Kanaka)" married 35-year-old Lydia A. Nicholson (or Nichols). Joseph was from Oahu, and Lydia from Dover, New Hampshire. It was the groom's first marriage, the bride's second. Likewise, in June 1858 clergyman Moses How united in marriage 28-year-old James Smith and 26-year-old Margaret Stevens.[230] In this case, too, it was her second marriage and his first, something of a pattern among Kanaka unions in the city.

Intermarriage among Pacific Islanders and women from New Bedford's African American, Native American and even the poor white community, then, was not uncommon. In 1863, in his response to the "Special Commission to Inquire into the Condition of the Colored Population of New Bedford," James Bunker Congdon commented on the degree to which people of African descent had intermarried. Congdon, replying to an inquiry from Samuel Gridley Howe of the American Freeman's Inquiry Commission about the "position, morally, mentally, socially of the African in New Bedford," was asked to limit his response to those "not of the mixed races,--of the pure African descent." Congdon rejected the possibility, citing African intermarriage not only with Indians but with Pacific Islanders: "No human being can select from among

229 Luley shipped out on the subsequent voyage of the *Benjamin Franklin*, but Shoemaker finds no evidence that Luley ever returned to New England; Rachel Anthony gave birth to a son John, who also went to sea, but drowned in the course of his first and only voyage. See *Native American Whalemen*, 166.

230 Smith is listed as having been born in the Sandwich Islands, and the record lists no parents, which makes him seem likelier an Islander than the child of a ship captain or missionary. Margaret's father was Irishman Peter Galen.

the 'colored people' of New Bedford, those who are of 'pure African descent.' . . . I have no skill that will enable me to pick out those who are untainted with the blood of other races. . . .With the staple of the African there have been mingled the blood of Massasoit and Uncas. Fayal has sent its contribution, and the feeble Cannacker and the sturdy and warlike Marquese have added to the diversity."[231]

Marriage could also prove a short-term condition for some Kanaka men. In February 1861, Harriet Jones sought help from New Bedford's Overseers of the Poor. She reported to them that she had had two husbands—Peter Sherman and Henry Jones— "both Kanackas" who "went off to sea."[232] Henry Jones, called "colored" in the 1860 census (as was Harriet), was born in 1812 in the South Sandwich Islands; the two were together by 1852 when their daughter Julia was born.[233] Henry must have since left Harriet to her own devices. "She keeps a house of ill fame," the Overseers noted, adding that they "can't tell from her statement anything about her parentage." They refused to provide aid. She returned empty-handed to her home at No. 6 Pine Street. What became of her, or of Julia, is unknown.

The fact that some Pacific Islanders chose to settle permanently in the United States raises a further question: did any of these men seek to become naturalized citizens of the United States? Until 1870, U.S. law—namely the Naturalization Act of 1790—restricted naturalization to "white" persons, but whether or not an applicant was "white" was an open question.[234] An article published in New Bedford's *Republican Standard* on 28 July 1870 suggests that some Pacific Islanders did become citizens. The newspaper reported that at least since the mid-1840s, the District Court in Massachusetts had employed a "liberal construction of the word 'white'" that extended citizenship to Chinese immigrants, "persons of African descent who are not darker than ordinary white persons," and "natives of the Sandwich Islands."[235] Relaying a report from the Boston

231 NBFPL, quoted in *The Fugitive's Gibraltar* pp. 50-51.

232 Overseers of the Poor Daybook, 12 February 1861, NBFPL.

233 Also in their home were twenty-year-old Ellen T Jones, a "colored" woman born in Rhode Island, and Elizabeth Johnson, twenty-six and also "colored," born in the District of Columbia.

234 See also Shoemaker, *Native American Whalemen*, 47.

235 *Republican Standard*, 28 July1870 (p. 6, col. 3). In 1862, Massachusetts passed legislation putting native Americans in the Commonwealth on "equal footing" as other inhabitants, and in 1869 the Massachusetts General Court declared all Indians to be citizens; see Deborah A. Rosen, *American Indians and State Law: Sovereignty, Race, and Citizenship, 1790-1880*, 166-67.

Advertiser, the *Standard* claimed that race was literally in the eye of the beholder: the court made no effort to inquire into an applicants' origin or descent, but rather conferred citizenship to anyone who, "upon inspection. . .appears to be a white person." "The practice," the *Advertiser*'s author concluded, "seems to be well settled in the district of Massachusetts," being "more in harmony with the spirit of our institutions, with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States." Contrary to the author's assertion, however, the practice was not yet settled: the *Standard* article was printed two weeks after the passage of the Naturalization Act of 1870, which amended the 1790 Act by extending naturalization to "to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent." By linking color with geography (specifically, Africans and people of African descent), the 1870 law would deny most other "non-Whites" from the right to naturalize.[236] Presumably, this would have included Pacific Islanders.

Case Study: John B. and Emma Swain

Born in the Sandwich Islands between 1802 and 1807, John B. Swain came to New Bedford as a mariner and in time married and settled in the city. By 1841, the city directory listed him as a laborer. Twenty years later, Swain applied for help from the Overseers of the Poor. His petition tells us a good bit about his fortunes.[237]

A native of Maui, Swain joined the crew of Captain Obed Swain's ship *Awashonks*. The ship, which hailed from Falmouth, left for the Pacific in November 1830, and returned from the whaling grounds laden with 2000 barrels of sperm oil in November 1833.[238] Swain wintered over on Nantucket (probably at William Whippy's "Canacka" boardinghouse), and spent the spring and better part of the summer on the island before shipping out on the *Clarkson* (Captain William Plaskett) for what would be a four-year voyage.[239] For more than two decades, Swain spent most of his time at sea: he joined the crew of the ship *Japan* from June 1838 to December 1841 under Captain John Tobey and seems to have proceeded directly then to the ship *Edward Cary* (again captained by Tobey) in July 1845. After just a few weeks ashore, he joined the crew of the ship *Potomac*

236 Ian Haney-Lopez, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 32.

237 The full text of the petition is published in Grover, *The Fugitive's Gibraltar*, 53.

238 The logbook from this journey survives at the Falmouth Historical Society.

239 This and below from Swain's testimony to the New Bedford Overseers of the Poor as well as the American Offshore Whaling Voyage (AOWV) database**,** nmdl.org/aowv/whindex.cfm.

(with Captain Oliver C. Swain), which sailed from September 1845 to May 1849, and again, after just a few weeks on Nantucket, took a second voyage (with Captain Charles Grant from August 1849 to May 1853). He spent October 1853 to April 1857 aboard the *Levi Starbuck* (under Captain Jernegan). By this time, Swain had risen to the position of 2nd mate. His next voyage—he left Nantucket in the bark *Elizabeth* in May—was cut short. Swain returned "home" after six months, ill, on the bark *Azor*, only to find that, by the end of summer, his wife Emma had moved to New Bedford.

In 1861, Swain sought assistance from New Bedford's Overseers of the Poor. He told the Overseers that he owned a "house & lot at Nantucket on York St" that he had purchased from Barzilla Burdett. He claimed the house "cost about 600.00," and that Captain Obed Swain "has the paper," and "he (John B) dont know anything about it. He also reported that he "is not Naturalized." Perhaps they were particularly sympathetic, as Swain had brought with him a child, also called John. Swain told the Overseers that the boy was "no relative," but that he had been acquainted with John's father at Fayal and "wished to take John & bring him here & send him to school." Emma, the overseers noted, had never had a child. Apparently he and Emma were now at 178 Kempton Street, where the Overseers authorized a delivery of coal.[240]

Grover adds that Swain died in New Bedford "a little more than two months later," leaving his wife (elsewhere called Emily) and "a nine-year-old boy, now called John Swain, born in Portugal in 1852."[241]

Case Study: Joseph and Charlotte Dunbar[242]

Joseph Dunbar was born in the so-called Sandwich Islands about 1802-1805, before Kamehameha I had united the Kingdom of Hawai'i. Sometime in the 1820s he joined his first whaling voyage, since by the time he was in his late twenties he was sailing (from August 1833 to June 1835) on the ship *Nile* under master James Townsend, stalking the Atlantic whaling grounds. The vessel returned with 700 barrels of sperm oil, 1300 baleen whale oil, and 18,000 pounds of bone, or baleen.[243] The *Nile*'s crew included men

240 Details of Swain's interactions with the New Bedford Overseers from Grover, *The Fugitive's Gibraltar*, 53.

241 Grover, *The Fugitive's Gibraltar*, 53.

242 On the 9 August 1835 marriage, see *Massachusetts, Town and Vital Records, 1620-1988*, Ancestry.com.

243 NBWM database, citing NBFPL.

from around New England, Philadelphia and New York as well as France and England, though only one other crew member (Joseph Danter) was from the Sandwich Islands.

By 1836 Dunbar was settled in New Bedford in a house at 66 South Second Street, a home his new wife Charlotte had inherited from her first husband.[244] The previous summer, within weeks of his arrival in New Bedford after two years at sea, Joseph had married Charlotte Quanwell (the daughter of Joseph and Cynthia Quanwell, who is identified as "mustee," or parts Indian and African), whose first husband had died. Charlotte was intimately familiar with the work of whaling: the Quanwells were longtime members of the community of African American whalemen. For instance, a man named James Quanwell, born in Dartmouth about 1801, traveled on at least eight whaling voyages between 1815 and 1829; his son Joseph Quanwell served on a half-dozen ships between 1815 and 1841.[245] Grover finds that a Joseph Quanwell "seems to have been operating a boarding house" by 1800; perhaps this was how Dunbar came to meet Quanwell's widowed daughter Charlotte. Or perhaps Dunbar shared a berth during one of the several voyages undertaken by a member of the Quanwell family.

The house on South Second stood in a neighborhood fully immersed in whaling. Walking from the corner of Walnut and South Second toward the Dunbar house, one would have passed the homes of cooper Nathaniel Doten and mariners Rounsville Slocum and Isaac Stackhouse. Just beyond the Dunbars lived ropemakers Griffin and Jonathan Barney, mariners John and Shubael Drayton, and cooper and gauger David Drayton. Walk on further still and you would have found boat builders Frederick and Shubael Coffin, cooper Stafford Healey, and master mariner Edward Merrill. Other residents of the Dunbars' neighborhood included grocer Samuel Heather, dressmaker Amy Ann Harrison, and hardware dealer James H. Collins. Most of Joseph and Charlotte Dunbars' neighbors were white.[246]

Joseph Dunbar continued to earn his living at sea, finding berths on three more whaling voyages between 1838 and 1849.[247] The ship *Coral* under Harvey Shearman

244 See Crapo, *New Bedford Directory* (1836), 51; and Grover, *The Fugitive's Gibraltar*, 53.

245 See Grover, *The Fugitive's Gibraltar,* 47 and, "African American, West Indian, and St Helenian Whalemen," 176. She also finds three other whaling Quanwells.

246 Crapo, *New Bedford directory*, (1836).

247 Dunbar is listed as a mariner on the ship *Coral* in Crapo, *The New-Bedford Directory*, (1838), and the bark *Smyrna* in *The New-Bedford Directory* (1849). Grover indicates there was a third voyage in *The Fugitive's Gibraltar*, 53.

returned in November 1838 with some 2400 barrels of sperm oil. The bark *Smyrna*, under Captain Griffin Hillman, left New Bedford in October 1845 and did not return until June 1849, laden with some 777 barrels of sperm oil.[248] By this voyage, Dunbar had risen to the rank of 3rd mate, earning a lay of 1/60. A step below the 1st and 2nd mates (Edgartown mariners Jeremiah and Jared Norton), but a step above the boatsteerer in the shipboard hierarchy (on this voyage, Charles H. Maxim[249] and Thomas Joseph), the third mate saw some deference from the ship's crew.

Meanwhile, Charlotte found a livelihood boarding seamen of color in their home on South Second Street.[250] The 1850 census finds forty-eight-year-old Joseph Dunbar, returned from the sea but without property of value, living with fifty-nine-year-old Charlotte. Also in their household was a twenty-two year old Massachusetts woman, Madeline R. Pease; thirty-eight-year-old Emanuel Pease (a mariner from Cape Verde), sixteen-year-old Joseph Smith (a black man born in Massachusetts); and a three-year-old named Emma Williams. Dunbar died sometime before the city directory was published in 1852.[251] The daybook of New Bedford's Overseers of the Poor contains steady references to Charlotte Dunbar in her widowhood, who secured wood, coal and other necessities from the board, with orders on Stephen Howland.[252]

Charlotte Dunbar survived her husband by some twenty years. Until her death in 1872, city directories suggest that Joseph's widow remained in their South Second Street home, persisting some 40 years in that location. The Pease, or Peace family, remained there with her, Manuel, Madeline and Emma all still present when census-takers returned in 1870. Charlotte Dunbar is buried in New Bedford's Rural Cemetery.

The Fading Kanaka Presence

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, fewer and fewer Pacific Islanders would make their way to New Bedford, a result of declining numbers of Kanaka mariners

248 American Offshore Whaling Voyages: A Database**,** National Maritime Digital Library, http://nmdl.org/aowv/whSelect.cfm.

249 Maxim went on to serve as first mate of the ship *Zephyr*, and captain of the ship *Osceola.*

250 Grover, in *The Fugitive's Gibraltar*, 53, finds that in 1838 Charlotte Dunbar received payment from Charles W. Morgan for boarding "Chas Canacka" before he sailed on the *Hector*, and that in 1841 she boarded three unnamed black mariners.

251 Charlotte Dunbar is listed as a widow in *The New-Bedford Directory* (1852).

252 See e.g. Overseers of the Poor Daybook, 10 February 1859.

as well as the declining state of the industry in general. Their diminishing physical presence in New Bedford was accompanied by a weakening cultural presence, as the completion of transcontinental railroad and the addition of California to the United States transformed both real and imagined relationships between New Bedford and the Pacific. As Katrina Guliver observes, "this shift, where the focus for Americans became the West Coast as viewed from the East, rather than from the water, is the point at which the Pacific started to become an absence rather than a presence in the mental map."[253] The story of Kanaka whalemen in the latter half of New Bedford's nineteenth century is, likewise, a story of absence over presence.

In 1857, half of the American whaling fleet called New Bedford home; the city "launched more whaling expeditions than all other American ports combined."[254] But this was the heroic moment: whaling would never again reach such heights of profitability. Overfishing had driven whalers further into the Arctic, while the disruption of the American Civil War reduced maritime resources available for whaling (in 1857, the year the size of the fleet reached its peak, the average take was only half of what it had been seven years before).[255] As whaling collapsed, the industry saw a shift away from Pacific and back to the Atlantic. Grover reports that "between 1856 and 1860 fully 57 percent of New Bedford vessels whaled in the Pacific and only 5.5 percent in the Atlantic. Between 1896 and 1900 eight of every ten voyages were Atlantic cruises."[256] The 1859 discovery of petroleum in Titusville, Pennsylvania, introduced a competing source of fuel. The 1869 completion of the transcontinental railroad meant that a booming San Francisco could resupply New England ships. In 1871 most of the Pacific fleet was caught in early ice and abandoned—a blow from which the industry never recovered. In Hawai'i, whaling profits were replaced by those of the sugar industry, which had increased tenfold during the American Civil War, when planters shifted production out of the war zone to the more pacific Pacific.[257]

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253 Gulliver, "Finding the Pacific World," 93. Gulliver also cites Patricia Nelson Limerick, "Disorientation and Reorientation: The American Landscape Discovered from the West," *Journal of American History 79*, no.*3* (1992): 1021–1049.

254 Arato and Eleey, *Safely Moored*, 19.

255 Ibid.

256 Grover, "African American, West Indian, and St Helenian Whalemen," 210.

257 Kirk, *Paradise Past*, 122.

Some Pacific Islanders seized the opportunity of the American Civil War to ship out. Historian Gary Okihiro notes that "Hawaiians were among those African American units on the Union side" during the conflict, serving in both the army and navy—recruited, he speculates, alongside African Americans assembled in "Liberty Hall to hear Colonel Maggi's 'stirring speech' and, a few days later, going down to the recruiting office 'on William Street.'"[258] At least four Hawaiian sailors—Henry Williams, George Holland, William Rodoma and Peter Warren—enlisted in New Bedford, as did Thomas Domingo, of Manila in the Philippines.[259] Both Williams and Holland listed their "previous occupation" as "mariner." Another man (Antone Henry, born Rota, near Guam) on 3 September 1864, enlisted in the U.S. Navy for three years, serving as an ordinary seaman.[260] Another "negro" man, a twenty-three-year-old called Bob Macator, enlisted in December 1864, reporting his place of birth as "Macator, Pacific Islands." Interestingly, his rating, "landsman," suggests he was not a mariner. A dozen years later, on July 4th, 1876, as New Bedford gathered on the steps of Liberty Hall to celebrate the nation's centennial, orator William W. Crapo would reflect on the town's history, including the 3,200 men who left New Bedford to join the ranks of the union army and navy--some becoming "martyrs who died that our flag might still wave a symbol of freedom and the equal rights of all mankind;" "numbered among that 'noble ancestry,' Gary Okihiro observes, "although unacknowledged by Crapo, were helmsmen of the Hawaiian diaspora who had a hand in directing and renewing that precious birthright of liberty."[261]

As the number of Hawaiians on whaling vessels began to decline, ship owners filled their places other foreign-born men. One whaling master in an 1854 letter told his vessel's owners that he had been compelled to ship seven native New Zealanders because white men refused "to talk of shipping on a lay short of an eighteenth of one hundredth."

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258 Ellis, *History of New Bedford*, 347, as quoted in Okihiro, *Island World*, 162.

259 Okihiro, *Island World*, 163. Williams, who enlisted November 17, 1864, appears in the NPS Civil War Soldier and Sailors database as a thirty-year-old ordinary seaman, 5' 7", with copper colored skin. His place of birth is "Owyhee, Sandwich Islands." George Holland, enlisting 28 May 1864, was thirty-eight-years old, and is called "negro" in these records, while William Rodoma (enlisting July 1861) and Peter Warren (enlisting January 1864) are called "mulatto." Twenty-nine-year-old Domingo Thomas, enlisting January 1863, was called "yellow."

260 NPS Soldier and Sailor Database; thanks to Carol Shively, author of *Asians and Pacific Islanders and the Civil War* (NPS, 2015) for providing this information, and that in n259 above.

261 Okihiro, *Island World*, 166.

Agents also turned to native-born men in desperate circumstances, a practice of relatively long standing: in 1833 and 1837 Charles Morgan had indentured two men then at the "House of Refuge" to serve as apprentices on whaling vessels (both deserted); for the July 1839 voyage of the *Abigail* and again for the August 1840 voyage of the *Rodman* he paid to have three men, at least one of them African American, released from jail to serve on the vessels' crews. In 1839 Morgan paid a local man $1.62 to watch one recruit "to prevent his running away" before sailing. When the unemployed shoemaker Jacob Hazen went whaling in 1837 he wrote of his crew, "My companions, consisting of about twenty men, were decidedly, to my mind, the roughest looking set of fellows that I had ever fallen in with." Half of them were drunkards, he wrote, and most "looked as if they had seen nothing larger than a fip-penny-bit for the last six months."[2] Hazen deserted in Brazil. As whaling profits declined the search intensified for men who were ignorant of the conditions aboard whaling vessels, running from the law, desperately poor, or had few opportunities in their native places.[262]

In the postbellum era whaling went into steep decline. In 1869 there were 488 Kanakas on whalers; just three years later, that number had dropped some twenty percent.[263] Still, Pacific Islanders continued to labor on New Bedford wharves.



Figure 2.13: Kamehameha IV (Alexander Liholiho, 1834-1863), Photo attributed to Henry L. Chase; Courtesy of the Hawai'i State Archives.

Royal New Bedford: Hawaiian Monarchs in the Victorian City

Kamehameha III died in 1854 and was succeeded by a nephew, who became Kamehameha IV. He reigned until 1863, presiding over a growing, and increasingly worrisome, American presence. Fearing annexation, Kamehameha IV tried (and failed) to implement a reciprocity treaty. Attempts to limit the influence of American

262 Grover, "African American, West Indian, and St. Helenian Whalemen," 187.

263 John N. Cobb, "Commercial Fisheries of the Hawaiian Islands" (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office: 1901), 381-499.

commercial interests failed to gain traction before his November 1863 death launched the reign of his brother, Kamehameha V. Another revision to the constitution in 1864 was perceived as anti-American.



Figure 2.14: King David Kalàkaua (1836 –1891), ca. 1882, by an unknown photographer. Courtesy of the Hawai'i State Archives.



Figure 2.15: Kamehameha V (Lot Kapuàiwa, 1830–1872), ca 1872. Retouched image from an original produced by the James J. Williams (1853–1926) photography studio. Courtesy of the Hawai'i State Archives.



Figure 2.16: Kamehameha Royal Family, circa 1853, including Kamehameha III (center) and his wife, Queen Kalama (right); Kamehameha IV (right rear), Kamehameha V (left rear) and their sister, Victoria Kamàmalu (left). Photo: Hugo Strangenwald; Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

In 1872 King Kamehameha V died without naming an heir. In the popular election that followed, the comparatively liberal William Charles Lunalilo (who promised to give Hawaiians a greater voice in their government) ran against David Kalākaua, who pledged to restore Native Hawaiians to positions of influence. Given the degree to which Americans dominated the electoral process, Lunalilo won handily—but then died, the following year, again without an heir. The contested election of 1874 pitting Kalākaua against the dowager Queen Emma produced political confusion and rioting. U.S. and British troops landed, ostensibly to restore order. The election of David Kalākaua was affirmed.

Kalākaua, eager to address the economic malaise that had settled across the Kingdom, traveled to Washington, D.C. to meet with President Ulysses S. Grant—the first reigning monarch of any nation to visit the U.S. Hoping to negotiate a reciprocity treaty, the king also took the opportunity to explore the people and towns of the country, in addition to his efforts to foster tariff-free trade.[264] The city of New Bedford was one of several New England places to invite the King to visit. Kalākaua accepted, and a reception committee was convened to handle all aspects of the King's visit, including transportation, dinner, and housing.[265]

On 31 December 1874, King Kalākaua arrived in New Bedford. He was accompanied by Chief Justice Elisha Hunt Allen of the Hawaiian Supreme Court, the Governors of Maui and Oahu, and lieutenants of the United States Army and Navy. The royals immediately went to their accommodations at the Parker House, which was elaborately decorated with local furniture and paintings.[266]

The following day, on 1 January 1875, the King, City Marshal, and members of the Reception Committee took a carriage and toured the city. "The streets," one observer reported, "are thronged with citizens who are greeting him with gladness."[267] They visited the Potomska cotton mill, showing and describing the entire manufacturing process. Everywhere the party went, people were out in the streets or looking out their windows

264 Accounts of the visit can be found in Kirk, *Paradise Past,* 224-226*;* Ralph S. Kuykendal, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: 1874-1893, the Kalakaua dynasty,* 23-24; and Andrea Cronin,. "King Kalakaua's Tour of the United States," in The Beehive: Blog of the Massachusetts Historical Society, http://www.masshist.org/blog/1017.

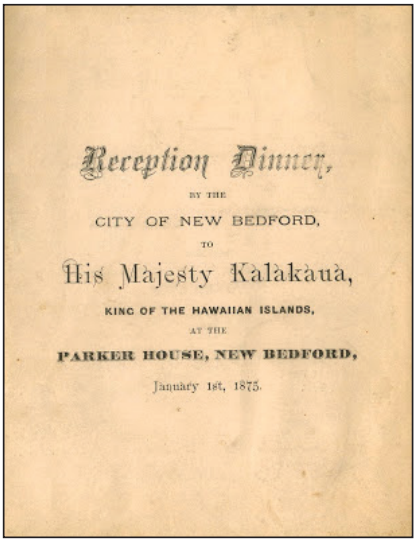
265 New Bedford *Daily Mercury,* 26 December 1874.

266 New Bedford *Daily Mercury*, "King Kalakau's Visit," 1 January 1875.

267 *The Friend* Vol 32, No 3 (1 March 1875).

to view King Kalākaua. One home, opposite the Parker House, patriotically displayed the US flag beside the Hawaiian ensign. The King and his entourage also visited the principal wharves, and ended their tour at the residence of Mayor George B. Richmond for a lavish reception. After an hour of greeting the various gentlemen and ladies in attendance, a procession led the King and party to City Hall.

Participating in the procession alongside the dignitaries were the Israel Smith American Band; the Chief Marshal; city guards; the New Bedford Band; the (all-black) Schouler Guards; and the carriages of guests of the reception. When the procession reached City Hall, the soldiery presented arms and escorts opened ranks. As King Kalākaua walked into his reception he was greeted by the sounds of the New Bedford Band playing the Hawaiian national anthem. "Scores of hoary-headed veterans of the sea" turned out to greet and honor the king, who recalled some of them from earlier encounters in Hawaii. With nearly three hundred people jammed in hoping to catch a glimpse of royalty, City Hall had never been so full.[268] Mayor Richmond addressed the crowd, celebrating the historical significance of the king's arrival and welcoming "him who comes to us from the isles of the sea." He also wished the king and his people a happy new year, filled with continued cordial relations between the US and the people.


Reception Dinner,

BY THE

CITY OF NEW BEDFORD,

TO

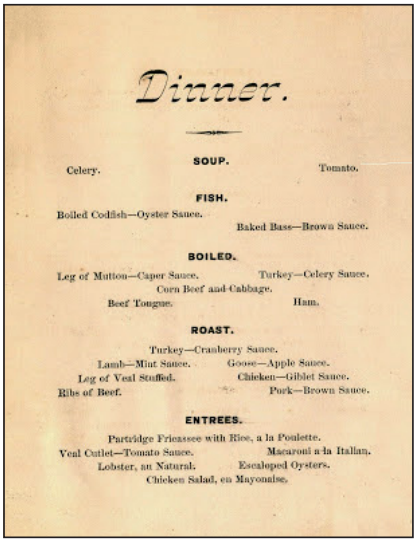
His Majesty Kalakaua,

KING OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS,

AT THE

PARKER HOUSE, NEW BEDFORD,

January 1st, 1875.


Dinner.

SOUP.

Celery. Tomato.

FISH.

Boiled Codfish—Oyster Sauce.

Baked Bass—Brown Sauce.

BOILED.

Leg of Mutton—Caper Sauce. Turkey—Celery Sauce.

Corn Beef and Cabbage.

Beef Tongue. Ham.

ROAST.

Turkey—Cranberry Sauce.

Lamb—Mint Sauce. Goose—Apple Sauce.

Leg of Veal Stuffed. Chicken—Giblet Sauce.

Ribs of Beef. Pork—Brown Sauce.

ENTREES.

Partridge Fricassee with Rice, a la Poulette.

Veal Cutlet—Tomato Sauce. Macaroni a la Italian.

Lobster, au Natural. Escaloped Oysters.

Chicken Salad, en Mayonnise.

Figures 2.17a and 2.17b: Menu for King Kalakaua's reception dinner during his visit to New Bedford. Courtesy, The Henry Voigt Collection of American Menus.

268 New Bedford *Daily Mercury,* "King Kalakau's Visit," 2 January 1875.

Unfortunately, King Kalākaua—having come down with a cold—was unable to make a speech. Instead, Chief Justice Allen addressed the gathering, mentioning the intimate relationship between the Sandwich Islands and New Bedford and assuring the men in the crowd that "New Bedford men who have never seen the Sandwich Islands are well known there. The names of Howland, Tucker, Parker, Swift, and Perry are as household words. From the merchants of New Bedford the Sandwich Islands have received commercial advantages that could have derived from no other source." If the Hawaiian people should desire to change their residence," Allen further enthused, "they would choose New Bedford."[269]

At the end of January, the King and President Grant signed the Reciprocity Treaty of 1875, enabling Hawaiian goods (primarily "Sandwich Island Sugar") to enter the US without levies. Kalakaua's negotiations also provided the U.S. access to the land that would become the naval base at Pearl Harbor. Most immediately, as the newspaper observed, "King Kalakaua's visit appears to have put the people and the press in good humor towards himself and people, so that the disapprobation of constituents is less to be feared now by members of Congress in the matter of the Treaty than at any former period; but should the Treaty fail, the King's visit will not be lost, for it has raised himself and his people in the estimation of his friends, and at the same time disabused the minds of those who remember the Sandwich Islands only as they were in the days of Captain Cook."[270] Reciprocity boosted prosperity in Hawaii.[271] Hawaiian sugar entered the U.S. duty-free, as long as Hawai'i resisted territorial encroachment from other nations.

No coverage of the King's visit mentioned any contact with any of his countrymen then in the city, though, as we shall see, there were several in residence at the state's almshouse in nearby Bridgewater. Kalākaua did meet ninety-one-year-old Edmund Gardner, a member of one of the first crews to land in Hawai'i.[272] But there is no other record of him making contact with, or inquiring about, Pacific Islanders in the area.

The celebrated December 1874 visit of "His Majesty Kalakua" to New Bedford should be seen within the context of both the formal American takeover of the islands,

269 New Bedford *Daily Mercury,* "King Kalakau's Visit," 2 January 1875.

270 *The Friend* Vol 32, No 3 (1 March 1875).

271 Helen Wong and Ann Rayson, *Hawaii's Royal History* (Honolulu: Bess Press, 1987), 179.

272 As discussed in Okihiro, *Island World*, 166.

and whaling's decline as an economic driver in the city. There was already a certain whiff of nostalgia in the way the event was covered, as evidenced in references to the "scores of hoary-headed veterans of the sea" who turned out for the King's visit.

Facing mounting dissatisfaction with his reign, Kalākaua was compelled, under threat of force, to sign the 1887 Constitution of the Kingdom of Hawaii. The new frame of government (the so-called "Bayonet Constitution") stripped the king of most of his executive power, while property qualifications together with gender, literacy and other requirements favored white residents over Native Hawaiians—75% of whom could not vote under this constitution. Now little more than a figurehead, Kalàkaua nevertheless reigned until his death in 1891.

When his sister and successor, Queen Lili'uokalani, was overthrown in 1893, monarchy in Hawaii ended. The 1890 McKinley Tariff Act, which lifted the duty on raw sugar entering the U.S. and gave American producers a bounty on every pound of sugar produced, had undermined the benefits of the 1875 Reciprocity Treaty, and propelled supporters of Hawaiian annexation to press their cause. In January 1893, a coup was engineered by a group of western businessmen—mostly American sugar growers and including several alumni of the events surrounding the Bayonet Constitution—with the support of American diplomat John L. Stevens and the force of United States Marines dispatched to the islands. The coup ousted Queen Lili'uokalani in an effort to see Hawai'i annexed to the United States. President Cleveland opposed immediate annexation; he would condemn these events in his 1893 State of the Union Address.[273] And the land grab occurred over the objection of "nearly every living Native Hawaiian at the time"—some 38,000 out of the islands' 40,000 natives registered their protest via petition.[274] But a Republic of Hawaii controlled by U.S. interests was nevertheless declared. Queen Lili'uokalani spent a year under house arrest; eventually pardoned by the government of the Republic of Hawaii, she continued to lead efforts to resist annexation.

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273 These events were still under scrutiny a century later. In 1983, the Native Hawaiian Study Commission, created by the United States Congress, concluded that it had found no legal, historical, or moral obligation for the U.S. government to compensate Native Hawaiians for losses of land or sovereignty; in 1993, on the centenary of the overthrow, the U.S. government passed a formal resolution of apology for its involvement in the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii.

274 Shawn Malia Kana'iaupuni and Nolan Malone, "This Land is My Land: The Role of Place in Hawaiian Identity," in J. Frazier and E. Tetty-Flo, *Race, Ethnicity and Place in a Changing America* (New York, Global Press, 2006), 291-305, 294.

In August 1897, as New Bedford prepared to celebrate its semi-centennial, a visit from Ex-Queen Lili'uokalani was contemplated.[275] Lili'uokalani was in the United States ostensibly to visit relatives, but also to plead her cause. The former ruler had traveled to New England almost a decade earlier, as a princess in the company of her sister-in-law, Queen Kapiolani (part of a larger trip to attend the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria in London).[276] She journeyed now under very different circumstances, as an ex-queen lobbying against the current Hawaiian administration. She said that she only abdicated the throne due to death threats, the Hawaiian people did not support annexation, and she would do whatever it would take to prevent it from happening.[277]

During these same months, Lili'uokalani was invited to participate in New Bedford's celebration, and apparently to the surprise of almost everyone, she accepted.[278] "Liliuokalani has relatives and old missionary friends living in Massachusetts," newspapers reported, "and with them she intends to make a visit pending the meeting of Congress."[279] According to the 15 September 1897 *San Francisco Call*, "Liliuokalani… has accepted a nattering invitation to attend in a few weeks the reunion at New Bedford, Mass., of the old whalers. They hope to be able to assist her in her opposition to annexation with its implied control of the islands."[280]

The erstwhile queen did get to New England, traveling by train from San Francisco to Boston, where she stayed at the Parker House while visiting family of her late husband, sea captain John Dominis (1796–1846). She then moved on to Washington

275 San Francisco *Call*, 6 August 1897.

276 The Boston portion of that 1887 trip is described in the Honolulu *Independent*, 16 January 1897, in an article reprinted from the 22 December 1896 Boston *Post*.

277 See Alice Kim, "Liliuokalani Preventing U.S. Annexation," in the Hawai'i Digital Newspaper Project. https://sites.google.com/a/hawaii.edu/ndnp-hawaii/Home/historical-feature-articles/liliuokalani-preventing-us-annexation.

278 An article entitled "Whalemen in Hawaii" in the 2 February 1929 edition of the *Mercury* was clipped and saved in the Old Dartmouth Historical Society's (New Bedford, Massachusetts) Scrapbook No. 1. In the collections of the New Bedford Whaling Museum Library. Attributed to "Z. W. P." [local historian Zephaniah W. Pease] the article recounted the Queen's near-visit to New Bedford decades earlier, in 1897: "To the surprise of the committee she accepted and then the celebration committee was quite disturbed just what to do with an ex-queen and her attendants, but later the Queen recalled her acceptance."

279 "Going to New Bedford, Liliuokalani Will Soon Attend Reunion of Old Whalers in Massachusetts," *San Francisco Call,* "Going to New Bedford," 25 September 1897.

280 "Going to New Bedford," 25 September 1897.

DC, where she had an "informal" visit with President Grover Cleveland, during which she thanked him for withdrawing the treaty of annexation that President Harrison had sent to the Senate some four years earlier.[281] Four months later, William McKinley succeeded Cleveland in the White House. Liliuokalani indicated that her visit to the U.S. did have a political motive, as she announced her desire to see the U.S. intervene and help dismantle the government led by Sanford Dole (President of Hawai'i's provisional government from the aftermath of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy until annexation by the United States); she wanted to see new elections held that would supersede the illegal election she believed had occurred.[282]

New Bedford's "jubilee" was held in October 1897, but Liliuokalani was still in Washington, making her case.[283] In November, the *New Bedford Journal* published a brief statement expressing dismay at a proposal to delay annexation, and leave Hawaii "in a Territorial condition" for no fewer than thirty years. "This seems," the paper asserted, "rather like putting off the evil day of decision upon a difficult question than like statesman like attack of it at present. Thirty years from now new men will have the responsibility of deciding how they will meet this difficult question which was thrust upon them by their predecessors, and perhaps they will not be so lost in admiration of the annexationists as the annexationists are lost in admiration of themselves. This tentative suggestion that at some distant day Hawaii may be made a State of the American Union opens up some interesting speculations. It is wholly a new thing to admit a distant colony to participation in the affairs of home government. It would be possible that the Sandwich Islands might be the crucial point in a Presidential election"—a reference to the contest between Grover Cleveland and William McKinley.[284]

But New Bedford by then was caught up in another struggle, as labor unrest in the city's textile mills produced a general strike. By early March 1898, workers were in seventh week of a long strike. Internationally, on February 15th the Maine had exploded in Havana's harbor, killing 266 of the 355 sailors aboard. By April 1898, the U.S. would be at war. Spain would cede Guam and the Philippines, and the U.S. annexed the

281 Alice Kim, "Liliuokalani Meets U.S. President Cleveland Again," Hawai'i Digital Newspaper Project.

282 Sacramento *Record-Union*, 13 April 1897.

283 The events were described in the *New York Times*, 12 October 1897.

284 *New Bedford Journal*, 18 November 1897.

independent Republic of Hawaii. The Organic Act of 1900 made Hawai'i a U.S. territory and granted Hawaiian men the vote. Hawaii became the fiftieth state in 1959.[285]



Figure 2.18: Queen Liliuokalani, Princess Kaiulani, and Prince David Kawananakoa in Washington Place after the Annexation of Hawaii to the United States, as the flag of Hawaii was lowered for the last time, August 12, 1898. Photo: Frank Davey.

Pacific Islanders who came to New Bedford late in whaling's history continued to conclude their lives in the city. While we cannot know with certainty when the last of these whalemen left the city, the 1880 federal census finds seaman John Kanaka boarding with fellow mariner Carter Domingo (of Spain) in his house on Water Street and as late as 1896, Benjamin Kanaka, a "sailor" who was born in 1862 on Manilla Island [sic], died of tuberculosis in the state workhouse at Bridgewater.[286] By 1900, there appear to be no Kanaka mariners listed on New Bedford's federal census. ■

285 In 1993, the United States issued a formal apology for its actions during these events, and acknowledged that "indigenous Hawaiians never relinquished claims to their inherent sovereignty." See Kana'iaupuni and Malone, "This Land is My Land," 294.

286 For John Kanaka, see Year: *1880*; Census Place: *New Bedford, Bristol, Massachusetts*; Roll: *525*; Family History Film: *1254525*; Page: *211A*. For Benjamin Kanaka, see "Deaths Registered in Bridgewater in 1896, p. 170 accessed on Ancestry.com.

Chapter Three: "Whaling Was the Path for Them into America": New Bedford's Jewish Community and Its Contributions to Whaling

At the 1924 dedication of New Bedford's Tiferes Israel Synagogue, Samuel Barnet, a local judge and early historian of the city's Jewish community, pointed to the important role of Newport's eighteenth-century Jewish merchants in the history of Jewish New Bedford:

> With the whaling fleet sailing out of New Bedford and the sperm oil industry flourishing in Newport where it had been introduced in 1748 by Jacob Rodriguez Rivera . . . both cities were closely tied by bonds of mutual interest. . . . *Portuguese and Spanish Jews wrote the first chapter of the Jewish history of New Bedford* [emphasis added].[1]

Today, New Bedford's Jewish community continues to take great pride in this early connection to the city's whaling history.[2]

Although this early association gave New Bedford's Jewish community a stake in the region's whaling history at its origins, the history of Jews in New Bedford does not really begin until the mid-nineteenth century. During this time period, German Jews, mostly peddlers, began migrating to the city. This community was largely transient, however; despite some early institution-building, it never fully took root. Jews remained only a light presence in New Bedford until the turn of the twentieth century, when a new, larger wave of Eastern European Jews settled in the city. These immigrants would create a more lasting community, with a Jewish religious, social, and business infrastructure to sustain it. It was this early twentieth-century Jewish migration to New Bedford that would result in a more direct tie to whaling, as a few of the city's Jewish residents played crucial roles in the industry's final years.

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1 Samuel Barnet, "Life of the Jewish In New Bedford," in Tifereth Israel Synagogue Dedication Book, September 14, 1924, "Tifereth Israel Congregation Records, 1923-2003," Box 1, Folder 9 (Dedication/ Anniversary Books 1924), MC 26/CJC, Archives of the Center for Jewish Culture (hereafter CJC), University of Massachusetts Dartmouth Archives and Special Collections, North Dartmouth, MA.

2 We use the term "community" in an expansive sense that includes Jewish people with ties to the city but who no longer live there. Many of the Jewish people who were interviewed for this study grew up in the city of New Bedford, but now live in suburban areas outside the city.

Origin Stories: Eighteenth-Century Sephardic Jews in Newport, Rhode Island

New Bedford's contemporary Jewish community embraces prominent eighteenth-century Sephardic Jews in Newport, Rhode Island, as an early Jewish presence in the New England and New Bedford whaling industry. Sephardic Jews began settling in Newport (as well as other early American port cities like New York, Philadelphia, Charleston and Savannah) in the late 1650s. Little is known about these early settlers, who are believed to have come either from Barbados or Brazil by way of New Amsterdam. Fifteen Jewish families formed a congregation in Newport sometime around 1658; they established a burial ground in 1677, and a school in 1680.[3] This early community likely formed the first Jewish congregation in British North America (before even New York), but the population soon dispersed. They were followed by another group of Jews who came to Newport from Curaçao in the 1690s, but that community, too, left soon after.[4] For the remainder of the century, their small numbers fluctuated as Jewish settlers came and went.

Newport did not have a more settled, lasting Jewish community until the 1750s and 1760s.[5] These new Jewish settlers were drawn to Newport not only because of Rhode Island's reputation for religious tolerance, but, equally important, because many worked as traders and Rhode Island was a "jumping-off point for . . . transatlantic and intercolonial trade," and "the colony offered an ease of access to markets throughout the Atlantic world."[6] Reverend Dr. Ezra Stiles, the Congregational minister of Newport, recorded the increase in the Jewish population from ten families in 1761, to twenty families in 1764, and twenty-five families in 1773.[7] As Newport's commercial importance grew during this time period, these Jewish families prospered. Historian William Pencak notes that "In 1772, at the height of Newport's commercial 'Golden Age' just before

3 William Pencak, *Jews & Gentiles in Early America: 1654-1800* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 83.

4 Michael Hoberman, *New Israel/New England: Jews and Puritans in Early America* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011), 126.

5 Hoberman*, New Israel/New England*, 132.

6 Hoberman, *New Israel/New England*, 126.

7 Pencak*, Jews & Gentiles in Early America*, 88; Hoberman, *New Israel/New England*, 136.

the American Revolution, nearly all of its Jewish heads of household ranked among the town's top 135 taxpayers (total number approximately 1,200)."[8]

As Newport's Jewish population grew, so did the need for a formal, permanent congregation. A synagogue, begun in 1759 and completed in 1763, filled this need. The synagogue was designed by Peter Harrison, a British-American sea captain, businessman, and self-taught architect (who also designed Newport's Redwood Library), and was built in the Palladian style. It is the oldest synagogue in the United States, and is known today as the Touro Synagogue, after the congregation's *Hazzan* (prayer leader) Isaac Touro. It was a visible reflection of the Jewish merchants' growing prosperity.

Two wealthy families, the Lopezes and the Riveras, were integral to the establishment of a more permanent Jewish presence in Newport. They also form the early link between Newport's Jewish community, New Bedford (at the time the town of Dartmouth), and the region's burgeoning whaling industry. Aaron Lopez was born Duarte Lopez in Portugal in 1731, and was raised an observant Catholic. His family was Jewish but, like many other Sephardim (Spanish and Portuguese Jews), they were forced underground during the Inquisition. From the fifteenth well into the eighteenth centuries, Iberian Jews faced persecution, forced conversion, expulsion, and even death. Lopez and many other Sephardim were drawn to British North America, where they could live publicly as Jews after generations of persecution.[9] Lopez's older half-brother Moses preceded him, moving first to New York, where he was naturalized, and then to Newport in 1743. In 1752, Duarte Lopez moved to Newport from Lisbon, and changed his name to Aaron soon after. (Aaron Lopez was not naturalized until 1762, in Taunton, Massachusetts).

Aaron Lopez became actively involved in a variety of commercial enterprises, most likely beginning in candlemaking with fellow Jewish merchant Jacob Rodriguez Rivera (described in detail below). Lopez's candlemaking operation, reliant as it was on acquiring spermaceti—the waxy material found in sperm whales' head cavities—spurred his investments in whaling voyages and engagement in global commerce.[10] Newport was

8 Pencak, *Jews & Gentiles in Early America*, 88.

9 Hasia R. Diner, *Jews of the United States, 1654 to 2000* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 15-16; Jonathan D. Sarna, *American Judaism: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 21-23.

10 Virginia Bever Platt, "'And Don't Forget the Guinea Voyage': The Slave Trade of Aaron Lopez of Newport," *The William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 32, No. 4 (October 1975), 601-602.

an ideal location for participating in transatlantic commerce. As Michael Hoberman writes, "by North American standards, the Newport Jews were urbane, and their ties to the network of Jewish merchants on both sides of the Atlantic conferred upon them an extreme form of transatlantic cosmopolitanism" that would prove useful in whaling and other global commerce.[11] This showed in Lopez's myriad business ventures: "retail merchandising, the manufacture and sale of spermaceti, and shipping enterprises that took the over thirty vessels he owned at various times on hundreds of voyages to the West Indies, South America, Canada, the Middle Atlantic colonies, the Carolinas, and ports throughout Europe." He also "traded all manner of goods, including fish, lumber, tobacco, rum, spermaceti, and slaves."[12] By the early 1760s, Aaron Lopez's store on Newport's Thames Street carried everything from wine to shoes to Philadelphia bar iron; he also dealt in "ship bread."[13]

The other family that was integral to the establishment of Newport's Jewish community—both spiritually and commercially—was the Riveras, from Spain. Abraham Rodriguez Rivera moved to America and settled in New York sometime in the early eighteenth century; Rivera was identified as a merchant and a freeman of New York City as early as 1726. A freeman was a category of citizenship that allowed a person to participate in retail trade, vote, and hold public office; although British rules required that freemanship be bestowed only on those who were native born, naturalized, or denizens, they were not regularly enforced.[14] Abraham Rivera was finally naturalized in New York between 1740 and 1741, and moved to Newport in 1748.[15] While in New York, Abraham played a central role in that city's Jewish congregation, leading historians to believe that he similarly helped foster the establishment and growth of Newport's Jewish community.[16] From his house at 53 Washington Street on "the point" (Easton's Point) in

11 Hoberman, *New Israel/New England*, 124.

12 Hoberman, *New Israel/New England*, 144.

13 Newport *Mercury,* 10 October 1763 and 7 May 1764, in Irwin S. Rhodes, *References to Jews in the Newport Mercury* (Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1961), 5-6, in HathiTrust Digital Library, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/wu.89073055022.

14 Leo Hershkowitz, "Some Aspects of the New York Jewish Merchant and Community, 1654-1820," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* Vol. 66, no. 1, Special Bicentennial Issue: American Jewish Business Enterprise (September 1976), 18 and 31.

15 Hershkowitz, "Some Aspects of the New York Jewish Merchant and Community," 17.

16 Hoberman, *New Israel/New England*, 127-128. For notice of Abraham Rivera's death, see Newport *Mercury*, 8 July 1765, in Rhodes, *References to Jews in the Newport Mercury,* 8.

Newport, Rivera imported and sold cloth, cutlery, ironmongery, copperware, and other goods.[17] Rivera's son Jacob Rodriguez Rivera, born in 1717, was naturalized in New York in 1746 and moved to Newport around 1748. A leading member of the community, among other things, Jacob Rivera served on Newport's committee to gather and send aid to besieged Boston in 1774.[18]

The Lopez and Rivera families were closely intertwined in business and marriage. Jacob Rivera became business partners with Aaron Lopez, and also became Lopez's father-in-law; Lopez married Rivera's daughter, Sarah, after the death of his first wife, Abigail. Moses Lopez was married to Jacob's sister, Rebecca. Aaron Lopez and Jacob Rivera's business partnership covered an extensive range of activities, beginning with candlemaking. Their partnership also included investing in and outfitting slave ships to Africa; they outfitted twenty voyages between 1761 and 1774, and it is estimated that during this time period they brought 3,000 slaves to the Western Hemisphere.[19] The Lopez and Rivera families were among several other Newport Jews associated with maritime industries, including Frances and Jacob Polock, who sold ship chandlery alongside European goods, and Nathan Hart, who also dealt in ship chandlery alongside china glass and stoneware.[20] Additionally, Naphtali Hart and Isaac Stelle each owned a candleworks in Newport.[21]

Some historians believe that Jacob Rivera may have introduced the process of manufacturing spermaceti candles in the United States. Not long after his arrival in Newport, sometime around 1751, he began purchasing whale head matter for

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17 Newport *Mercury*, 16 December 1774, in Rhodes, *References to Jews in the Newport Mercury,* 6.

18 Newport *Mercury*, 31 October 1774, in Rhodes, *References to Jews in the Newport Mercury,* 15; Jacob R. Rivera together with the Lopez family fled Newport in 1777, waiting out the war in Leicester, Massachusetts, after which they returned to the coast; Rivera died in 1789, in Newport. See Max J. Kohler, "The Jews in Newport," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* No. 6 (1897), 76.

19 Pencak*, Jews & Gentiles in Early America*, 89; see also Virginia Bever Platt, "'And Don't Forget the Guinea Voyage': The Slave Trade of Aaron Lopez of Newport," *The William and Mary Quarterly* Vol. 32, No. 4 (October 1975), 601-618.

20 Newport *Mercury*, 31 December 1764; 15 April 1765, in Rhodes, *References to Jews in the Newport Mercury*, 6-7.

21 Richard C. Kugler, "The Whale Oil Trade, 1750-1775," in *Seafaring in Colonial Massachusetts, Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, Vol. 52 (Boston, 1980), 155 and 163.

manufacturing candles.[22] The head matter of sperm whales was a mix of oil and spermaceti, and the two had to be separated. Spermaceti was used to make candles; the remaining oil was soon prized in its own right as a superior form of lamp oil than that obtained from right whales and humpback whales.[23] As early as 1759, Moses Lopez had a "spermacoeti house" on Marlborough Street.[24] Most of New England's early candleworks were located in Newport, and Jewish merchants, including Jacob Rivera and Aaron Lopez, owned four out of the five in Newport.[25] Joseph Rotch, a Quaker merchant of Nantucket, was the primary supplier of head matter to colonial candleworks, including those owned by Lopez and Rivera. He and his three sons—William, Joseph Jr., and Francis—were in business together as Joseph Rotch & Sons. Rotch decided to expand his family's business into the production of spermaceti candles, and purchased land in the town of Dartmouth in 1765 (part of Dartmouth was incorporated as New Bedford in 1787).[26] In 1767, Joseph Sr., Joseph Jr., and Francis moved to Dartmouth, while William stayed to manage the family's business interests in Nantucket.

In 1768, Joseph Sr. oversaw the construction of a spermaceti candleworks in Dartmouth; although it was owned by Joseph Russell and Isaac Howland, according to historian Richard Kugler, "Rotch was its instigator and guiding spirit."[27] During the crisis of the American Revolution in late August 1775, Francis Rotch and Aaron Lopez sought and received permission from the Federal Court of Massachusetts "to put to sea the Vessels in which they are Interested, on a Whaling Voyage," on the condition that any whale oil and bone they harvested be landed anywhere but Boston (which was at that

22 See Kugler, "The Whale Oil Trade," 155; and Hoberman, *New Israel/New England*, 127. This is up for debate, however; Eric Jay Dolin notes that others believe that Benjamin Crabb of Rehoboth, Massachusetts, started the industry in 1751, and Dolin also points out that a 1748 advertisement in the *Boston News-Letter* for "Sperma-Ceti Candles," manufacturer unknown, "casts doubt on the primacy of either man's position." See Dolin, *Leviathan: The History of Whaling in America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2007), 109-10.

23 Kugler, "The Whale Oil Trade," 155.

24 Newport *Mercury*, May 22, 1759, in Rhodes, *References to Jews in the Newport Mercury*, 3.

25 The other Jewish merchants were Naphtali Hart and Isaac Stelle. See Kugler, "The Whale Oil Trade, 1750-1775," 163.

26 Kugler, "The Whale Oil Trade," 172. On the Rotch family see John M. Bullard, *The Rotches* (New Bedford: Cabinet Press, 1947), in the HathiTrust Digital Library, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/wu.89064842222; and Joseph L. McDevitt, The House of Rotch – Massachusetts Whaling Merchants, 1734–1828 (New York – Garland Publishing, 1986).

27 Dolin, *Leviathan*, 116; Kugler, "The Whale Oil Trade," 172.

point controlled by British troops) or Nantucket (controlled by neutral Quakers).[28] Peter Nichols describes the relationship between the Lopezes, Rivera, and the Rotches: "in the Lopez brothers and their Jewish partners in the Spermaceti Trust," which included Jacob Rivera, "the Quaker Rotches had discovered formidable rivals and dependable trading partners."[29]

Lopez and Rivera had another New Bedford connection. Samuel Rodman (1753-1835) was born in Newport, Rhode Island, and became orphaned when he was thirteen years old; as a young man, he was apprenticed to Rivera and worked for Lopez in his various business ventures.[30] Rodman married Elizabeth Rotch, the daughter of business partner William Rotch, moved from Newport to Nantucket, and then eventually to New Bedford in 1798. The Rodman Candleworks building was built on 58 North Water Street (later 72 North Water Street and still extant) in approximately 1815 to manufacture whale oil and spermaceti candles.[31]

The American Revolution "brought the business of whaling in the colonies to a halt" and Newport's Jewish community scattered during the hostilities.[32] Several Newport Jews were Tories, including Isaac Touro, who ultimately fled to Jamaica. Others, like Lopez, managed to maintain some semblance of neutrality for a time: "The protection of the crown . . . made it easier for Sephardim in Newport to be fairly unimpeded in their prosperity, not to mention their freedom to worship as Jews."[33] But Lopez, Rivera, and many other Newport residents left the town to escape the British raids and later occupation of Newport between 1776 and 1779. Lopez and his family fled to Leicester, Massachusetts. On his family's return trip to Newport in May 1782, Lopez drowned in a pond while attempting to get his horse water. Rivera died in 1789 and is buried in Newport's Colonial Jewish Cemetery (also known as the Touro Cemetery), along with

28 Bullard, *The Rotches*, 50-51.

29 Peter Nichols, *Final Voyage: A Story of Arctic Disaster and One Fateful Whaling Season* (New York: Putnam, 2009), 115.

30 Grover, *The Fugitive's Gibraltar*, 44.

31 Lauren H. Laham, "Rodman Candleworks, Double Bank Building, United States Custom House: Historic Structures Report, New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park, New Bedford, Massachusetts," (Lowell, MA: Historic Architecture Program, Northeast Region, National Park Service, 2011), 26.

32 Richard C. Kugler, "The Whale Oil Trade," Old Dartmouth Historical Sketch Number 79 (1980), http://www.whalingmuseum.org/explore/library/publications/old-dartmouth-historical-sketches/odhs_no_79.

33 Hoberman, *New Israel/New England*, 210.

Abraham Rivera and Moses Lopez. The war ultimately did in Newport's Jewish community. Without a minyan, the Touro synagogue was shuttered until a new congregation was formed nearly a century later, in 1881.[34]



Figure 3.1: Sephardic ledger stones in the Touro Cemetery, Newport Rhode Island, marking the graves of (from front to back) Jacob Rodriguez Rivera, Abraham Rodriguez Rivera, Moses Lopez, and Isaac Polock. Photo by Laura Leibman. From Reed Digital Collections, Indian Converts Collection, http://academic.reed.edu/indianconverts/.

Early Sephardic Jews like Aaron Lopez and Jacob Rivera may or may not have ever visited New Bedford, but Jewish people in New Bedford continued to see them as an important origin point for the city's contemporary Jewish community. Decades after Samuel Barnet first made the connection between Newport's Sephardic Jews and New Bedford's contemporary Jewish community, in a 1979 oral history interview, community historian Bertha Leen emphasized that this is the first chapter in their community's history: "We consider Aaron Lopez born in Lisbon a Sephardic Jew of Marrano ancestry, as the first Jew with ties in our area. As a business partner of Rotch, his name is found in the Rotch family history book which is located in the genealogical room upstairs in the

34 Pencak, *Jews & Gentiles*, 110-111.

library downtown in the New Bedford Public Library."[35] Lopez and Rivera's active role in the region's whaling industry and their business ties to prominent New Bedford whaling families make them an important link to both the city's whaling history and the history of its Jewish community.

The First Jewish Migration to New Bedford in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

There were two substantial waves of Jewish immigration from Central and Eastern Europe (the Ashkenazim) to the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The first came from primarily Central Europe between the 1820s and 1870s, peaking in the 1850s. The second came primarily from Eastern Europe in the late nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century. Both migrations were a consequence of economic instability and the persistent persecution of Jews in their home countries. A nineteenth-century transportation revolution, from steamship travel to railroads, facilitated their migration to the United States (along with the migration of other non-Jewish European immigrants). These immigrants were also enticed by economic opportunity and the promise of religious freedom in the United States.[36] Hasia R. Diner describes the threads that tied together these two waves of migration:

> The massive waves of Jewish immigrants that surged westward from 1820 through the 1920s owed their origins, in large part, to the great upheavals of European Jewish life ushered in by the age of emancipation, industrialization, population growth, and urbanization. The Jewish migrants grew out of a wrenching internal Jewish debate accompanying the *haskalah*--the Jewish enlightenment--and the breakdown of coherent, self-governing Jewish communities. Jews embarked on their journeys as their political and legal status underwent dramatic changes. They were not only leaving Europe, but they were also moving "out of the ghetto."[37]

The first wave of Jewish immigrants to the United States, in the mid-nineteenth century, came primarily from Germany and Poland—specifically, small rural villages in Bavaria, Western Prussia, Silesia and Posen. Jonathan D. Sarna notes that these immigrants "were not the poorest of the poor but, rather, lower-middle-class Jews

35 Transcript, Bertha Leen interview by Martin Butler in Dartmouth, MA, 3 December 1979, New Bedford/ Fall River Jewish Community Oral History Collection, MC 23/CJC, CJC.

36 Diner, *Jews of the United States*, 73-74.

37 Diner, *Jews of the United States*, 74.

stymied on the road to economic advancement"; they were drawn by the possibility of better employment and religious freedom.[38] They were part of a larger migration of individuals—Jewish and Gentile—leaving Central Europe for the United States during this time period. All saw migration as a preferable alternative to the increasing food prices, declining wages and employment prospects, and the political turmoil associated with the wave of failed liberal revolutions throughout Europe in 1848. The circumstances were even more acute for Jews, who left in greater numbers than their gentile counterparts. Unlike Christians, they faced additional restrictions on their everyday lives, which often circumscribed the places they could live and work. In Bavaria, for example, these constraints were particularly harsh: Jews' ability to marry was limited (only eldest sons could marry), and they were forced to take German names, among other requirements. In Bohemia, Jews faced a tax simply for being Jewish, and those who were not educated in a German-language elementary school were unable to marry.[39] Jews also became targets of frequent bursts of mob violence through the 1830s, and particularly after the failed 1848 revolutions.

Jewish immigrants' decision to migrate was often facilitated, logistically and emotionally, by the earlier migration of family members, friends, and other people from their home communities. Those already in the United States sent letters home describing the economic and religious freedoms they enjoyed there (which were sometimes printed in local newspapers), which spurred further migration. Many also sent money as they earned it to enable the migration of additional family members, bit by bit. This process, known as chain migration, contributed to the rapid growth of the American Jewish population in the mid-nineteenth century from a population of 3,000 individuals in 1820 to 150,000 by 1860.[40]

In 1821, Massachusetts revised its constitution to ensure full protection and citizenship rights to all religious minorities, which facilitated Jewish settlement in the Commonwealth.[41] Central European Jews began coming to New Bedford in the late

38 Jonathan D. Sarna, *American Judaism: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 64-65.

39 Diner, *Jews of the United States*, 85.

40 Sarna, *American Judaism*, 63-65.

41 Jonathan D. Sarna, et al., *The Jews of Boston* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 45. There are an array of studies that narrate the history of Jewish communities in Massachusetts places, including: Shirley Kolack, *A New Beginning: The Jews of Historic Lowell, Massachusetts* (New York: P. Lang, 1997); Bruce A. Phillips, *Brookline: The Evolution of an American Jewish Suburb* (New York: Garland Pub., 1990); James A. Gelin, *Starting Over: The Formation of the Jewish Community of Springfield, Massachusetts, 1840-1905* (Lanham, MD: University Press

1840s and early 1850s, but in New Bedford—as was true also in nearby Boston—the migration of German Jews that transformed other American cities gained comparatively little traction.[42] Some did test out their prospects in New Bedford, and as was common for Jewish immigrants throughout the United States, many from this first wave of Jewish immigration were single young men who found work as peddlers.

Historians of Jewish migration to the United States describe peddling "as the nearly universal American Jewish male experience," and peddlers as "the foot soldiers of [the] far-reaching [market] revolution" that began in the early nineteenth century.[43] Peddling was an obvious starting point for these new immigrants seeking a role in the nation's growing market economy; it was a practice that many knew well from their lives in central Europe. Peddlers bought goods from manufacturers or other sellers (sometimes second-hand) and then sold them to purchasers; the business required little capital upfront, and many men were able to make decent money doing so. If the peddlers were successful, after a few years they would be able to parlay their profits into other business ventures and industries, and they often moved to new locations, if necessary, to pursue greater profits.[44] The process often followed a common pattern: an immigrant peddler saved enough money to bring a brother over to the United States from the old country; they worked in business together to accumulate and save money; and they eventually saved enough money to marry and establish a store. It was at this point—marriage—that many finally settled down in one location.[45]

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of America, 1984); Richard Klayman, *The First Jew: Prejudice and Politics in an American Community 1900-1932* (Malden, MA: Old Suffolk Square Press, 1985); Norma Feingold with an appendix by Nancy Sadick, *Water Street: World Within a World* (Worcester, MA: Worcester Historical Museum, 1983).

42 Sarna et al., *The Jews of Boston*, 4. The associated online project "The Jews of Boston," at Brandeis University, adds, "the 19th century found many Jews from German territories fleeing to America to seek their fortunes, changing the tenor of American Jewish culture from Sephardi to Ashkenazi. Naturally, the first few Jews to settle in Boston proper were German, a small but distinctive ethnic minority in a city becoming more and more Irish Catholic. In 1842 this tiny community of Southwest German Jews, composed of about 9 families, created the first, tentative iteration of what would become Boston's first organized Jewish congregation, Ohabei Shalom." See "The Jews of Boston," http://omeka.lts.brandeis.edu/exhibits/show/boston-synagogues/jewsofboston.

43 Diner, *Jews of the United States*, 100 and Sarna, *American Judaism*, 68.

44 Sarna, *American Judaism*, 68.

45 As Diner succinctly notes, "The point at which Jewish peddlers became married men coincided with the point at which they became sedentary shopkeepers;" see Diner, *Jews of the United States*, 101.

Many of the earliest Jewish settlers in mid-nineteenth-century New Bedford followed a similar path.[46] Credit reports compiled by employees of R. G. Dun & Company suggest that the Jewish men applying for credit were primarily merchants and peddlers dealing in dry goods and clothing. Henry Herman, a Dutch Jewish merchant, was given limited credit in 1849 for his new and secondhand clothing trade. By 1850, he was observed to be "an active, industrious fellow and apparently doing a good business in a small way."[47] By 1851, he and his wife Esther Herman, along with their children, left New Bedford for New York City. According to Mrs. Herman's 1911 obituary in *The American Hebrew & Jewish Messenger* newspaper, Mr. Herman "amassed a competence" "as an importer of cloths and velvets." The family became prosperous and gave generously to local institutions and causes including the Barnard College for Girls, the Hebrew Technical Institute for Boys, the American Museum of Natural History, and the Bronx Botanical Gardens.[48] The Herman family's experience reflects the transient nature of Jewish immigrant peddlers: many stayed in New Bedford for only a few years, where they learned business skills through peddling. They saved up their money, married (if they were not married already), and then moved on to other locations to pursue their fortunes – usually in larger cities like Boston and New York City.

It was likely the same Henry Herman who helped launch the business career of Leopold Morse, another well-known German Jew who lived briefly in New Bedford in the mid-nineteenth century. Morse was born in Wachenheim, Bavaria, on August 15, 1831. When he was seventeen years old, Morse moved to the United States to join his older brother in Tamworth, New Hampshire. Morse then moved to Boston in 1849, and soon after, began working for a clothing dealer named Henry Herman. Herman "encouraged young Leopold and his brother to open a clothing store in New Bedford," and in 1850, they took his advice.[49] But Leopold and his brother did not stay in the city for long: "The Morse brothers returned to Boston after a time . . . and bought out

46 On Jewish peddlers in Boston, and labor patterns more generally, see Sarna et al., *The Jews of Boston,* 52-56.

47 New Bedford, Massachusetts, Vol. 17, p. 456, R.G. Dun & Co. Collection, Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School, Boston, MA.

48 "Mrs. Esther Hermann Dead," *The American Hebrew & Jewish Messenger*, 7 July 1911.

49 Daniel P. Toomey and Thomas C. Quinn, *Massachusetts of To-Day: A Memorial of the State, Historical and Biographical* (Boston: Columbia Publishing Company, 1892), 134, in the Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/massachusettsoft00toom.

Mr. Herman's business."[50] Morse went on to have a prominent political career, serving several terms as United States Democratic Representative from Boston in the 1870s and 1880s.[51]

The patterns of transience are evidenced throughout the credit reports of New Bedford's early Jewish community. In 1851, Henry Harris was described in the Dun reports as being "A Jew in business here but a short time." His store was owned by cap manufacturer Simon Wolf, another Jewish man "whose endorsement," the creditors believed, "would be a safe guarantee" for extending credit to Harris. A subsequent report in 1852 identified Harris as "A German Jew" backed by Simon Wolf, who was identified as "a leading Jew here." Again, these men were constantly on the move: in September 1855, the creditors noted that Harris "Lately came from Randolph, Mass.," and noted, "Good character, means small. May do for small amounts." But by the end of July 1856, Harris had "left this place last year without paying his debts."[52] Even cap manufacturer Simon Wolf, considered a "leading Jew" in New Bedford in the early 1850s, had "gone to New York" by July 1856.[53] In June 1855, the records reported that "Is. C. Barnston," "are Israelites and we cannot find anyone who knows anything abut [sic] them. They have a store here, also seen about town peddling goods." In September, the credit reporter determined that they are "Germans. Doing some snug business," suggesting that their business was relatively successful. This may explain why, by July 1856, the credit reporter noted: "Left town last year."[54]

The associations between Jewish communities in smaller towns and cities and larger urban centers ran deep. Peddling relied on "a long economic chain linking shopkeepers to Jewish wholesalers in larger cities on whom they depended for credit. The Jewish peddler on the road served as the agent of the Jewish town shopkeeper and the bit city jobber."[55] These networks were fostered and facilitated through shared

50 Toomey and Quinn, *Massachusetts of To-Day*, 134.

51 "Leopold Morse Dead," *New York Times*, 16 December 1892.

52 New Bedford, Massachusetts, Vol. 17, p. 481, R.G. Dun & Co. Collection, Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School.

53 New Bedford, Massachusetts, Vol. 17, p. 489, R.G. Dun & Co. Collection, Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School.

54 New Bedford, Massachusetts, Vol. 17, p. 512, R.G. Dun & Co. Collection, Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School.

55 Diner, *Jews of the United States*, 100.

language, religion, and familial and social networks. Diner observes, "They often turned to those larger cities to get kosher food and matzo at Passover. They received newspapers published in these cities, which provided them with Jewish news from around the world. For many of these immigrants these small-town stores represented just a first (or often a second) stage in their American lives. Many who lived in places like Tupper Lake, New York, or Elman, Wisconsin, or who peddled for some part of their lives ended up in big cities later on."[56] The same could be said of New Bedford: for German Jews in the mid-nineteenth century, the city's lack of a Jewish infrastructure ensured that it was primarily a way station on the way to larger cities like New York and Boston.

Although New Bedford's Jewish community in the mid-1800s was characterized primarily by transience, there appeared to be signs that some Jews were making a more permanent home for themselves in the city. There were enough Jewish immigrants settling (however briefly) in the city that, by the late 1850s, New Bedford was home to one of Massachusetts' four Jewish congregations. According to an 1859 survey of American Jewish congregations conducted by *The Jewish Messenger* newspaper, there were three Jewish congregations in Boston and one in New Bedford, the Beth Israel congregation.[57] New Bedford's Jewish community also established the B'nai Israel Society. In April 1857, the Society purchased a cemetery plot in the Peckham West Cemetery on Mt. Pleasant Street. In his 1924 essay, "Life of the Jews in New Bedford," Samuel Barnet identified the plot's first grave as "that of Zipporah Mindel Feibelman, daughter of Wolf Feibelman, who came to this country from Pozen, Germany. Miss Feibelman was laid at rest November 27, 1857".[58] Little else is known about the B'nai Israel Society, but one more small fragment can be found in a January 23, 1860 letter from the B'nai Israel Society to the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, an organization that sought to aggregate statistics on Jewish life in the United States. In the letter, the Society politely declined to join the Board of Delegates, noting that its members "could for the present not decide of joining your honorable Institution."[59] The letter noted that

56 Diner, *Jews of the United States*, 101-102.

57 "Our Congregations," *The Jewish Messenger*, 15 April 1859.

58 The last person buried in Peckham West would be Bashie Levine, in 1899. Judy Farrar and Cynthia Yoken, "Historical Tour of Jewish New Bedford" (Dartmouth, MA: University Library and the Center for Jewish Culture, University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, 2005), http://lib.umassd.edu/sites/default/files/jewishtour02.pdf. The Jewish Cemetery on Old Plainville Road was the primary burying place for Jewish people after 1899. See National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, http://www.nps.gov/nr/feature/places/pdfs/14000155.pdf.

the Society's president was Philip A. Philips, and its Secretary (and letter-writer) was Louis Bass. Philips was a married twenty-six year old immigrant from England working in dry goods. Information about Bass could not be located in the U.S. census for New Bedford.[60]



Figure 3.2: Peckham West Cemetery, located in the Mt. Pleasant Street cemetery in New Bedford's North End, 1954. Courtesy of the Archives of the Center for Jewish Culture, Claire T. Carney Library Archives and Special Collections, UMass Dartmouth.

There were other signs of more permanent Jewish settlement. In 1862, the Beth Israel congregation was listed as one of four Jewish congregations that sent money to support Dr. Arnold Fischel's fundraising for Jewish Army Chaplains in the Civil War (before Congress passed a new law in 1861, only Christians could serve as army chaplains).[61] And a little over a decade later, according to New Bedford's *Republican Standard* newspaper, the city saw its first Jewish wedding, between Julius Goldbeck of Providence, and Riecke Cohen (presumably of New Bedford). The event took place on May 7, 1874 at the Purchase Street home of Julius Simon, a German Jewish immigrant and dry goods dealer in the city.[62]

59 The records do not indicate why the B'nai Israel declined to join, or any other information about the society. But the document provides a small archival glimpse into an era of the New Bedford's Jewish history that is largely missing from the archival record. Louis Bass to the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, 23 January 1860, Board of Delegates of American Israelites records, Surveys and Correspondence (Box 3, Folder 7) 1859-1878**,** Center for Jewish History Digital Collections, http://access.cjh.org/.

60 Information about Philip A. Philips from 1860 United States Federal Census, New Bedford Ward 4, Bristol County, Massachusetts.

61 "Dr. Fischel's Mission," *The Jewish Messenger*, 10 January 1862.

62 *Republican Standard*, 7 May 1874, "Roots, Family Trees Collection," Folder B2.1, "Ketubot and wedding information," CJC.

Julius Simon provides another example of the movement of German Jewish immigrants between New York City and New Bedford. Sometime around 1869, Simon and his family moved to New Bedford from New York City, where his three children were born.[63] By 1871, Simon was living at 62 Purchase Street and owned a "fancy dry goods" business.[64] He, too, shows up in the R. G. Dun credit reports; in March 1870, they observed that Simon "has bought real estate. Keeps a good stock and appears to be doing a good business." But they soon revised their assessment of Simon's business: by September, they noted that "Business is small and probably not making anything, should be careful trusting him." In July 1872, the business failed and was closed by the sheriff; by late September, he sold the business to Nathan Simons, a relative from New York City who had a business in the Bowery.[65]

Just as the German Jewish community appeared to begin taking root in New Bedford, it dispersed. It appears to have been a relatively short-lived experiment; by the 1870s, Jews had largely moved on from the city. At its core, peddling was characterized by impermanence, and the Jewish peddlers seem to have left to pursue their economic prospects elsewhere—often to larger Northeastern cities (and economic centers) including Boston and New York City. The infrastructure needed to sustain a Jewish community—including a synagogue, Hebrew schools, access to kosher food, and a mikveh (ritual bath)—was not yet in place.[66] All of these factors help explain why this earliest Jewish community seems to not to have gained real traction. It also explains why they did not participate in New Bedford's whaling industry, even though the industry was in those decades at its peak. As the German Jewish community of mid-nineteenth-century New Bedford dwindled, there was no immediate successor population to assume its place; "Files of the Standard-Times," the newspaper would report, "show that the key to Peckham West Cemetery was eventually left at the New Bedford Police Station by the last Jewish settler up to that time."[67]

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63 Julius Simon, 1870 United States Federal Census, New Bedford Ward 4, Bristol County, Massachusetts.

64 Crapo, *New Bedford Directory* (1871), 191.

65 New Bedford, Massachusetts, Vol. 17, p. 593, R.G. Dun & Co. Collection, Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School.

66 Rabbi Barry Hartman made this point an interview by Laura Miller and Marla Miller, 15 January 2014.

67 *Sunday Standard Times*, 25 November 1954, transcribed article in "Jews of New Bedford (1898-1967)," Notebook compiled by Shirley Cohen, MC 107/CJC, CJC.

The dispersal of this first Jewish community in New Bedford was so complete that when the next wave of Eastern European Jewish immigrants began arriving to the city in large numbers in the 1870s, there were very few Jewish people remaining in the city. Simon Davidson, a Jewish resident of Water Street who emigrated from Russia/Poland to the United States and moved to New Bedford from Providence, Rhode Island in 1871, witnessed the disconnect between the two groups. In 1917, he told a reporter from the *New Bedford Sunday Standard* that "When he arrived [in New Bedford] he had heard that there had been an earlier colony, only one family of which was then remaining, that of Charles Fischer, who at one time had a large drygoods store on Purchase Street."[68] The newcomers knew little about the German Jews who had come before them. They set about making a new, and this time lasting, Jewish community in New Bedford.

The Second Migration: The Late Nineteenth Century

The next wave of Jewish migration to the United States, and New Bedford soon after, began in the 1870s and continued until 1924 when the National Origins Immigration Act (Johnson-Reed Act) created a quota system severely restricting immigration. These new immigrants were primarily from Eastern Europe, and particularly Russia; unlike their Central European predecessors, they tended to come from urban areas. And they came in much larger numbers than the previous wave; 2.5 million eastern European Jews came to the United States between 1881 and 1924.[69] Between 1880 and World War I, "more than 90,000 Jews informed immigration officials in ports across the United States that their final destination was Massachusetts," though many would not remain long before moving on to New York City.[70] Their migration was spurred by the country's growing need for cheap labor, and the growing ease with which steamships could transport large numbers of immigrants.

There were significant push factors as well, including the *pogroms*, or mob violence against Jews, in Russia. The year 1881 marked a pivotal year in Jewish migration to the United States. Following the assassination of Czar Alexander II in March, *pogroms* broke out in dozens of cities throughout Russia; mobs killed Jewish people, destroyed

68 We were unable to identify a Jewish resident named Charles Fischer in the federal census or in the New Bedford city directories. Newspaper clipping from the *Sunday Standard*, 2 December 1917, in "Roots, Family Trees" collection, Box 1, Folder 1, "Story of Early Settlers," CJC.

69 Diner, *Jews of the United States*, 88.

70 Sarna et al., *The Jews of Boston,* 65-66.

their property, and looted their homes and businesses. Over the course of the year, "about three hundred more such attacks had been visited on Jews in communities throughout southern and southwestern Russia."[71] The *pogroms* would continue, on and off, until 1921, and were particularly brutal during World War I, the Russian Revolution, and the ensuing civil war from 1917 to 1921. An equally important push factor, however, was the dire poverty experienced by many Eastern European Jews—there were areas of Eastern Europe experiencing significant Jewish outmigration that were *not* affected by the *pogroms* in Russia. Jews in Galicia (a part of Poland annexed by Austria-Hungary) and Hungary, for example, were emancipated in the late 1860s; although they did experience some anti-Semitism, "Galician Jews migrated out of the utter desperation of their poverty. They emigrated at the same time and in the same ways as did the Russian Jews who lived with the knowledge that pogroms could break out at any time."[72] The *pogroms* alone cannot explain the dramatic migration during this time period. It was instead a combination of economic motivations and religious persecution.

Once again, chain migration played a significant role in the immigration process. Many of the Jewish migrants that came to New Bedford during this second wave at the turn of the twentieth century were from Lithuania, principally from towns such as Stukelshok, a suburb of Vilna, and from Bialystok and Brest (or Brisk, in Yiddish).[73] Vilna (known today as Vilnius), "became part of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1569. It fell under the domination of the Russian Empire after the Polish Partition of 1795."[74] Mid-nineteenth-century Vilna became a thriving political, cultural and economic center, drawing Jews from the struggling countryside to the city. By the late 1890s, Vilna's Jewish population rose to 63,000—more than forty percent of the city's population. And by 1905, those numbers rose to 100,000, or more than fifty percent.[75] The huge explosion in population resulted in growing poverty and increased persecution, which in turn fueled emigration to the United States.

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71 Diner, *Jews of the United States*, 90.

72 Diner, *Jews of the United States*, 93.

73 Devora Klein and Yitzchak Schwartz, "Laying the Foundation: Shuls that Strengthened Orthodoxy in the U.S. a Century Ago" (Brooklyn, NY: Hamodia Newspaper, 2011), http://www.bialystoker.org/Hamodia_Shul_Supplement.pdf.

74 See *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe,* http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Vilnius.

75 http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Vilnius; see also Israel Cohen, *Vilna* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1943); N. N. Shneidman, *Jerusalem of Lithuania: The Rise and Fall of Jewish Vilnius: a Personal Perspective* (Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1998).

In his 1924 essay about the history of New Bedford's Jewish community, Samuel Barnet identified Isaac Goodman, Simon Simansky, and Simon Davison as some of the earliest known Jewish residents from this second wave of Jewish immigration to the city.[76] Simansky (1848-1902) emigrated from Poland about 1880, and came to New Bedford soon after; it would be Simansky who would pick up the key to the Jewish cemetery left years earlier with city police.[77] In 1881 he is listed in the city directory as selling dry goods retail at 133 South Water Street; in 1883 "Simon Symyanski" is listed in partnership with Ezekiel Horwich at that same address, shop below and residence above.[78] R.G. Dun credit reports support this narrative, recording in April 1883 that "Simon Symanski: dry goods. . . . Is an Israelite. Has been here several years and is smart and indust[rious] but not believed to have much means." In April 1885, Dun's agents reported that the business was "Now Symanski & Hurwitz. Are Russian Jews. S[ymanski] has been here some 9 years . . . always paid their bills and have established credit in the Boston trade to the extent that they are trusted small amounts. Run two little stores in the southern part of the city and cater to a cheap element."[79] The Simansky example demonstrates that larger cities nearby continued to play an important role in the livelihoods of New Bedford's Jewish merchants. An 1899 *Boston Globe* article suggested that neighboring cities impacted the growth of New Bedford's Jewish community in other ways, too: "The growth of the Jewish Colony in this city [New Bedford] is beginning to attract attention and it is attributed to the efforts of neighboring cities to make it hard for peddlers to do

76 "5000 Jews Now Reside in City," Clipping, Notebook compiled by Shirley Cohen, MC 107/CJC, CJC. Years later, the obituary of Lithuanian Bernard Lumiansky, who came to New Bedford in 1888 after a decade in New York, would claim that "he was the third Jewish resident to establish himself in New Bedford." *Sunday Standard Times*, 10 August 1944, transcribed article in "Jews of New Bedford (1898-1967)," Notebook compiled by Shirley Cohen, MC 107/CJC, CJC. Lumiansky established a clothing business on South Water Street, which persisted over fifty years.

77 Birth year is approximate; the birth year 1848 for Simon Simanski is recorded in the 1900 United States Federal Census, New Bedford Ward 5, Bristol County, Massachusetts, Ancestry.com. A death record for Simon Semansky places his birth year as about 1839, and his death date 15 October 1902; *Massachusetts Death Records, 1841-1915*, Ancestry.com. See also *Sunday Standard Times*, 25 November 1954, transcribed article in "Jews of New Bedford (1898-1967)," Notebook compiled by Shirley Cohen, MC 107/CJC, CJC.

78 Simanski is listed in the 1881 and 1883 New Bedford city directories (p. 316 and 297, respectively) with his surname spelled "Symyanski."

79 New Bedford, Massachusetts, Vol. 17, p. 513, R.G. Dun & Co. Collection, Baker Library Historical Collections, Harvard Business School. The 1887 city directory lists "Simiensky & Davidson," a dry goods shop run by Simon Simiensky and Jenney B. Davidson at 113 South Water Street. *New Bedford City Directory* (1887), 324.

business with them rather than to the natural attractiveness of this city."[80] New Bedford, it seems, was far more hospitable to Jewish peddlers than other nearby cities.

As in Boston and other major cities throughout the United States, there were efforts in New Bedford to aid Eastern European Jewish immigrants through local and national charitable organizations.[81] New Bedford featured in efforts by organizations including the United Hebrew Charities and the Jewish Colonization Association. These organizations—often organized and headed by German Jews—sought to keep Eastern European Jewish immigrants from congregating entirely in a few cities in order to facilitate their acceptance and assimilation in American society, an effort that anthropologist and historian Jack Glazier describes as "self-protection through immigrant distribution."[82]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, New Bedford's primary industry shifted from whaling to textiles; the process began with the opening of Wamsutta Mills in 1849, and then took off in the 1870s and 1880s with the establishment of Potomska Mill in 1871, and the Acushnet and Grinnell Mills in 1882.[83] A robust textile industry bode well for immigrant laborers in the related clothing trades. Historian Hasia Diner notes, "Tailors in particular had a chance of successfully transferring their work experiences to the United States, a place that in the middle of the nineteenth century had assumed the premier place as the world's manufacturer of ready-made garments."[84] New Bedford, with its burgeoning textile and clothing manufacturing industries, was desirable both in the eyes of immigrants and in the eyes of the organizations looking to settle them outside of New York City.

For these reasons, New Bedford drew the attention of the United Hebrew Charities (UHC). The UHC was a service organization established in 1874 that coordinated relief and charitable work of several groups across New York City and sought employment for newly arrived Jewish immigrants. One of its efforts focused

80 "Jewish Settlers in New Bedford," 19 March 1899; article transcribed from the *Boston Globe* by Z. Pease, in "Roots, Family Trees Collection," Box 1, Folder B1.1 "Story of Early Settlers," CJC.

81 Sarna et al., *The Jews of Boston*, 6.

82 Jack Glazier, *Dispersing the Ghetto: The Relocation of Jewish Immigrants Across America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), 24.

83 Arato and Eleey, *Safely Moored*, 39-40.

84 Diner, *Jews of the United States*, 95-96 and 108-109.

on finding Jewish immigrants employment in the garment industry in areas near New York City, including in New Bedford.[85] Glazier notes that "whatever the concerns of the UHC with immigrant welfare, its program of dispersion sprang in large measure from fears that its financial resources would collapse under the weight of an increasing immigrant population."[86] This was especially true between 1890 and 1896, the UHC's peak resettlement years. More than 16,000 Jewish immigrants were resettled in places outside of New York City, including roughly 50 people who were sent to New Bedford. A February 1892 article in the New Bedford *Daily Mercury* noted this strain on UHC and on New York City: "It is estimated that 46,000 of this class of people arrive annually at New York and the United Hebrew Charities has its hands full. The people are sent around to the different manufacturing towns where employment can be found for them . . ."[87]

Max J. Ullman, a Jewish resident of New Bedford and chairman of the city's Young Men's Hebrew Association, wrote to the New York-based *Jewish Messenger* newspaper to report on the arrival of the fifty Russian immigrants, men, women, and children of varying ages, who were settled in New Bedford by an agent of New York's UHC, Louis Strasburger. The organization "made arrangements with some of the large cotton and woolen mills in this town to give them employment and he has also rented apartments for them."[88] In his letter to the *Jewish Messenger*, Ullman was careful to point out that "While acting as chairman of the down-town branch of Y.M.H.A. I came in contact with some of these people but those that I met here yesterday did not impress me as being the common, low, degraded class that a great many people think they are. I held conversations with several of them and I must say I found some of them quite intelligent, much more so than is generally supposed."[89]

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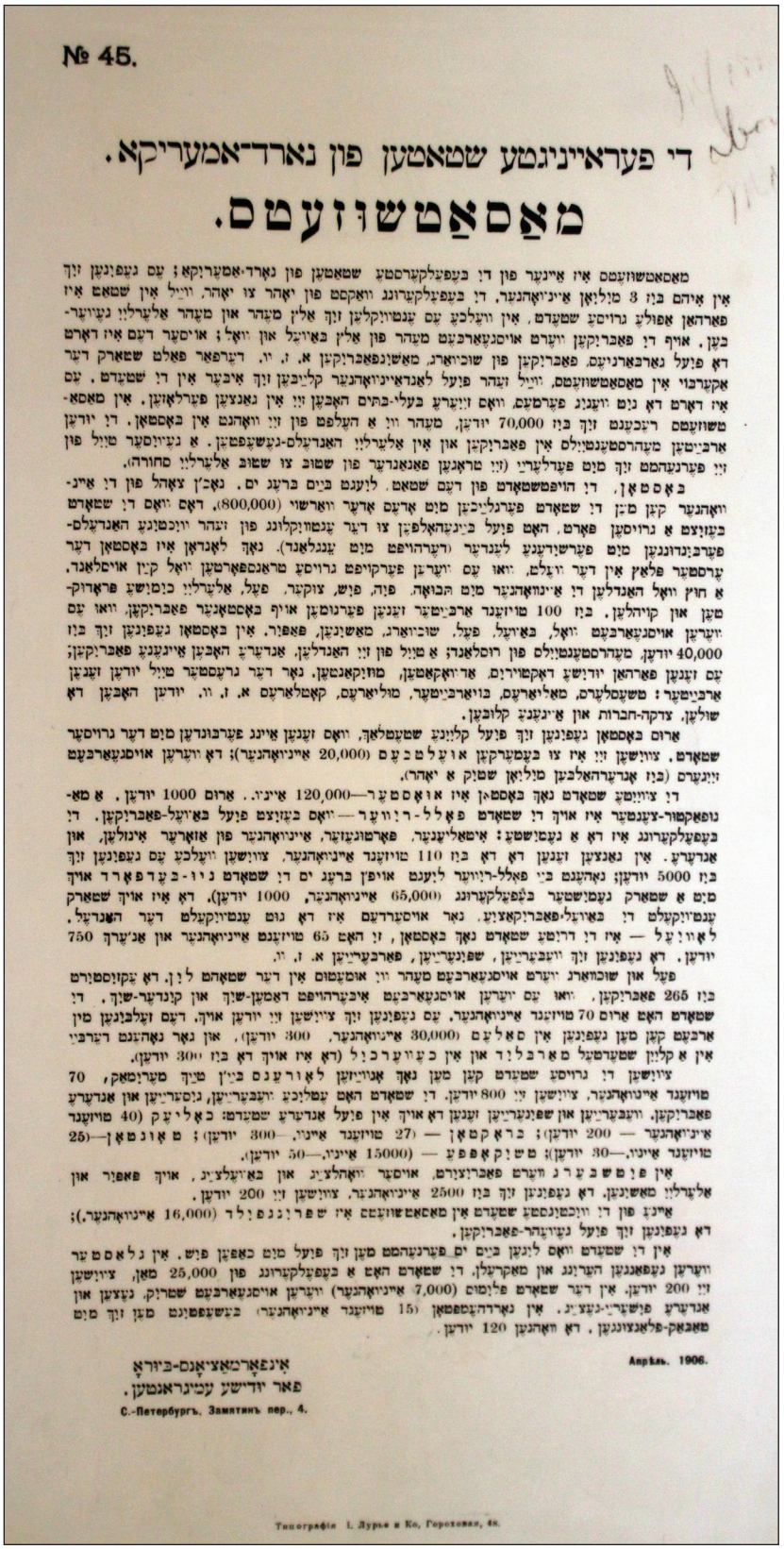
85 Jack Glazier notes that these efforts "yielded only modest success . . .. The number of workers resettled were not significant in proportion to the scope of the problem that Jewish philanthropies had defined." See *Dispersing the Ghetto*, 47.

86 Glazier, *Dispersing the Ghetto*, 28.

87 *Daily Mercury*, 10 February 1892, transcribed version in "Roots, Family Trees" collection, Box 1, Folder 1, "Story of Early Settlers," CJC.

88 *The American Hebrew*, 19 February 1892. The *Daily Mercury* article from February 10, 1892 placed the number of immigrants to the city at forty people.

89 *The American Hebrew*, 19 February 1892.



№ 45.

די פּראייניגטע שטאטען פון נארד־אמעריקא.

מאַסאַטשוזעטס.

מאסאטשוזעטס איז איינער פון דן בעפעלקערסטע שטאטען פון נארד־אמעריקא; עס נעפינען זיך אין איהם בלז 3 מיליאן איניואהנער, דן בעפעלקערונג וואקסט פון יאהר צו יאהר, ויייל אין שטאט איז פראהאן אפּולע גרויסע שטעדט, אין וועלכע עס עגטוויקלען זיך אלין באזיגל און וואל; אויסער דעם איז דארט אך פויל נארבארניעס, פאברזקען פון שוכיארט, מאשינפאברזקען א. ז. ו. דערפאר פאלט שטארק דער אקערבוי אין מאסאטשוזעטס, ויייל ועהר פויל לאנדאיניואהנער קלייבען זיך איבער אין דן שטעדט. עס איז דארט אך נים וויעניג פערמעס, וואס זייערע בעלי־בתים האבען יזי אין נאנצען פערלאזען. אין מאסאטשוזעטס רעכענט זיך בלז 70,000 יודען, מעהר ווי א העלפט פון זיי וואהנט אין באסטאן. דן יודען ארבייטען מעהרסטענטיילס אין פאברזקען און אין אלערלזי האנדעלס-נעשעפטען. א נעזיוסער טייל פון זיי פערנעהמט זיך מים פערלאנרי (זיי טראנען פאנאנדער פון שטוב צו שטוב אלערלזי סחורה).

באסטאן, דן הויפטשטאדט פון דעם שטאט, לויגט בים ברעג ים. נאכ'ן צאהל פון דן איינוואהנער קען מען דן שטארק פערגלייכען מים אדעם אלטע וואהרשו (800,000), דאס וואס דן שטארק בעווייזט א גרויסען פארט, האט פויל בייגעהאלפען צו דער עגטוויקלונג פון זיהר ווייכטיגע האנדעלס-פערבינדונגען מים פערשידענע לענדער (דערהויפט מים ענגלאנד). נאך לאנדאן איז באסטאן דער ערסטער פלאץ אין דער וועלט, וואו עס וויערען פערקויפט גרויסע טראנספארטען וואל קיין אויסלאנד. א חוץ וואל האנדלען דן איינוואהנער מים הבואה. פיה, פיש, צוקער, פעל, אלערלזי כעמישע פראדוקטען מען אוך קויהלען. בלז 100 מויזענד ארבייטער זענען פערנומען אויף באסטאנער פאברזקען, וואו עס ווערען אויסגעמאכט וואל, באיגל, פעל, שוכיארס, מאשינען, פאפיר. אין באסטאן נעפינען זיך בלז 40,000 יודען, מעהרסטענטיילס פון רוסלאנד; א טייל פון זיי האנדלען, אנדערע האבען איינעגע פאברזקען; עס זענען פארהאן יודישע דאקטוירים, אדוואקאטען, מחזקאנטען. נאר דער נרעסטער טייל יודען זענען ארבייטער: משעלערס, מאליארס, בויארבייטער, מוליארס, קאטלארס א. ז. ו. יודען האבען אך שולען, צדקה־חברות אוך אייגענע קלויבען.

ארום באסטאן נעפינען זיך פויל קלייגע שטעטלאך, וואס זענען אייגע זעהר נוט פער גרויסע שטאדט. צוויישען זיי איז צו בעמערקען אוועלטבים (20,000 איניואהנער); דא ווערען אויסגעארבעם ויינגערס (בלז אנדערהאלבען מיליאן שטוק א יאהר).

דן צוויישע שטאדט נאך באסטאן איז אואסטער—120,000 איניו. ארום 1000 יודען. א מאנופאקטור־צענטער איז אוך דן שטארם פאלל־רויווער — וואס בעזיצט פויל באזיגל־פאברזקען. דן בעפעלקערונג איז אך א נעמישטע: אימאליגענער, פארטוגזזער, איניואהנער פון אזאערע אינזלען, און אנדערע. אין נאנצען זענען אך בלז 110 מויזענד איניואהנער. צוויישען וועלכע עס נעפינען זיך בלז 5000 יודען; נאהענם בי פאלל־רויווער לויגט אויף ברעג ים דן שטארם נייו־בעדפארד אוך מים א שטארק נעמישטער בעפעלקערונג (65,000 איניואהנער, 1000 יודען). דא איז אוך שטארק עגטוויקעלט דן באזיגל־פאברזקאציע. נאר אויסערדעם איז דא נוט עגטוויקעלט דער האנדעל. לאוט על — איז דן דריטע שטאדט נאך באסטאן, זי האט 65 מויזענד איניואהנער און אנ'ערך 750 יודען. דא נעפינען זיך יעבערלייגן, פארבערייען א. ז. ו.

פעל און שוכוארג וועדט אויסגעארבעם מעהר ווי אומעטום אין דער שטאדט לין. דא עקזיסטירט בלז 265 פאברזקען, וואו עס ווערען אויסגעארבעם איבערהויפט דאמען־שוך און קינדער־שוך. דן שטארם האט אדום 70 מויזענד איניואהנער. עס נעפינען זיך צוויישען זיי יודען אוך. דעם וועלבונגען מין ארבעם קען מען נעפינען אין סאלעם (30,000 איניואהנער, 300 יודען), און נאר נאהענם דערביי אין א קלין שטארסטעל מארבלזד און אין כעיערכיל (דא איז אוך דא בלז 300 יודען).

צוויישען דן נרויסע שטעדט קען מען נאך אנווייזען לאורענס בייז מיך מעריממק, 70 מויזענד איניואהנער, צוויישען זיי 800 יודען. דן שטארם האם עסליכע יעבערייען, נעסערייען און אנדערע פאברזקען, וועבערייען און שפינערייען זענען דא אוך אין פויל אנדערע שטעדט: כאלייק (40 מויזענד איניואהנער — 200 יודען); בראקטאן — (27 מויזענד איניו. —300 יודען); מאונטאן—(25 מויזענד איניו.—30 יודען); טשיקאפפע — (15000 איניו.—50 יודען).

אין פרוווידענס ווערט פאברוצירט, אויסער וואלצייג און באומלצייג, אוך פאפיר און אלערלזי מאשינען. דא נעפינען זיך בלז 2500 איניואהנער. צוויישען זיי 200 יודען.

אייגע פון דן ווייכטיגסטע שטעדט אין מאסאטשוזעטס איז שפרינגפילד (16,000 איניואהנער.); דא נעפינען זיך פויל נעווער־פאברזקען.

אין דן שטארם וואס לויגען בים ים פערנעהמט מען זיך פויל מים כאנדל פיש. אין גלאסס־ווערען נעפאנגען הערינג און מאקרעל. דן שטארם האט א בעפעלקערונג פון 25,000 מאן, צוויישען זיי 200 יודען. אין דער שטארם פלימוט (7,000 איניואהנער) ווערען אויסגעארבעם שטריק, נעצען און אנדערע פישערי־צייג. אין נאנטאסקעט (15 מויזענד איניואהנער) בעשעפטיגט מען זיך מים מאנאק־פלאנצונגען. דא וואהנען 120 יודען.

Апрѣль. 1906.

אינפארמאציאנס־בירא
פאר יודישע עמיגראנטען.
С.-Петербургъ. Замятинъ пер., 4.

Типографія І. Лурье и Ко, Гороховая, 48.

Figure 3.3: The Jewish Colonization Association, established in 1891, published and distributed Yiddish circulars about 21 U.S. states, in an effort to decentralize the large Russian Jewish emigration. This 1908 broadside about Massachusetts describes employment opportunities and provides the number of Jews and their occupations in each city. The text notes that New Bedford "is situated on the edge of the sea and has a diverse population (65,000 residents, 1,000 Jews). Here the textile industry is highly developed, as is commerce." Courtesy, National Archives. We thank Aaron Lansky for the partial translation of the poster text.

Although in other major cities this influx of Eastern European Jews exacerbated tensions between different Jewish groups, New Bedford seems to have largely avoided these kinds of conflicts because there were so few remaining German Jews (perhaps none) in the city when this new wave of immigrants arrived. More pressing was the potential for conflict between the various immigrant groups struggling to gain a foothold in the economy of New Bedford and surrounding areas. The February 1892 *Daily Mercury* article offered a sympathetic portrait of the newest Jewish immigrants to the city, describing some of the reasons that drove the immigrants' decisions to leave Russia and come to United States. But the author indicated that many natives of Fall River and New Bedford did not feel quite so charitable, fearing that the incoming Jews would take all of their mill jobs. It was, apparently, a hot topic in the local press: "So much has been printed in the Fall River and local papers about the 'Russian Jews' of late, and the wretched condition in which they landed in the big mill cities . . . In Fall River the large number of mill hands objected to the immigrants on account of a story started that Hebrews would usurp their places in the mills."[90] The article did note that the agents of the United Hebrew Charities "take care to find places for the immigrants where they will not conflict with those who are already working."[91]

Another organization, the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, sought to make Jewish farmers; Jews could not own land in Poland, but they could in America. Many had longstanding agricultural experience in their home countries, and so refugee organizations attempted to resettle immigrants on farmland. But, in the words of New Bedford Rabbi Barry Hartman, "then they met the rocky soil of New England... Ah! Going to become cattle dealers now!"[92] Across New England, Jewish immigrants embraced this sector of the agricultural economy, and several members of New Bedford's Jewish community became cattle dealers. "In the space of a single generation," historian Michael Hoberman writes, "Jewish cattle dealers—many of whom were born and raised overseas—had become intricately involved in the agricultural and economic lives of

90 *Daily Mercury*, 10 February 1892, transcribed version in "Roots, Family Trees" collection, Box 1, Folder 1, "Story of Early Settlers," CJC.

91 Ibid.

92 Rabbi Barry Hartman interview. On the effort to resettle Jewish emigrants on New England farms, see Mary M. Donohue, "Jewish Refugees Revived Connecticut Farms," *Hartford Courant*, 8 December 2011; and Michael Hoberman, *How Strange it Seems: The Cultural Life of Jews in Small-Town New England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 57-62.

small-town New Englanders."[93] In and around New Bedford, cattle dealers included the Fleishes in Acushnet and the Goldsteins in Dartmouth, who "had their land in Dartmouth, lived in New Bedford."[94] Another family, the Helfands, became dairy farmers (UMass Dartmouth now stands on part of their land).[95]

With the arrival of this second wave of Jewish immigrants to New Bedford in the late 1800s, there were now enough Jews now in the city to form a minyan. Services were held in Simon Simansky's house on South Water Street.[96] By 1892, the same year that the United Hebrew Charities placed a large group of Russian immigrants in the city, the Jewish community was outgrowing this space.[97] That year, they established New Bedford's first place of worship that was not a private residence, Ahavath Achim [Brotherly Love] Congregation, in the South End. The Orthodox congregation's charter noted that Ahavath Achim's purpose was "to worship God under the rites and usages of the Hebrew or Jewish faith, and for the purposes of burying the dead under said rites,

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93 Hoberman, *How Strange it Seems*, 57-60. He adds, "the experience of Jewish cattle dealers emerges as a fitting metaphor for the entire Jewish experience in small town New England. Clearly, the cattle dealers' adjustment to rural New England could have nothing to do with their having lived in the area for a long time; their success, on the contrary, was a direct function of their ease and fluidity within both the Old World and the New, between an agrarian and an industrializing economy."

94 William and Rebecca Fleish, both from Russia, appear in the 1920 federal census as owning a farm in Acushnet. According to Rabbi Hartman, the Goldsteins were one of the few families who lived on their land in Dartmouth. The 1940 federal census lists cattle dealer Harvy Goldstein, who lived with his wife Rebecca and two children in the home they owned at 57 Hixville Road in North Dartmouth. Cattle dealers in the 1930 census for Ward 1 in New Bedford were Morse and Zelda Novin; in Ward 2, Hyman and Florence Goodman (both born in Russia); and in Ward 5, Samuel and Tillie Cohen (both born in Russia), Abraham and Lena Garbatsky (both born in Russia), Joseph and Leah Herman (both born in Russia), and Isaac and Eva Meyer (both born in Russia). Cattle dealers in the 1940 census for New Bedford included: in Ward 2, Hyman and Florence Goodman (both born in Russia); in Ward 5, Phillip and Ruth Alberts (both born in Russia), Nathan and Ethel Kaplan (both born in Russia); in Ward 6, Isaac and Rose Lepman (both born in Russia). The 1940 census for Acushnet included William and Yvonne Fredette.

95 In 1930, William and Anna Helfand appear in the Federal Census as farmers, as do Harry and Gertrude, all in Dartmouth. According to Rabbi Barry Hartman, two sisters married two brothers, one had eleven children one had seven. On Jews in New England's dairy industry, see Hoberman, 62-63; and Herman Levine, *The American Jewish Farmer in Changing Times* (New York: Jewish Agricultural Society, 1966), 18.

96 Barnet, "Life of the Jews In New Bedford."

97 This is likely a response to the cholera and typhus epidemics sweeping across New York in that year. See Howard Markel, *Quarantine! : East European Jewish Immigrants and the New York City Epidemics of 1892* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997). Records of the United Hebrew Charities are housed with the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York, NY, RG 1251.

and for promoting temperance and morality in said Commonwealth."[98] Barnet notes, "the Congregation called its first Cantor and the contract made with the Revered Israel Isaac Yochilovitz was duly recorded. The Cantor was guaranteed a weekly salary of nine dollars, although he was permitted to slaughter cattle and fowl according to the Mosaic code and to charge for such services."[99] The intention to form a more permanent community was evident: they now had a *shochet*, or slaughterer of animals, which meant that New Bedford's "Jews were now assured . . . Kosher meat, hitherto enjoyed only by importation from Providence and Boston."[100]

Construction of the Ahavath Achim Synagogue on Howland Street began in 1898. In February of that year, the *Evening Standard* described the plans for the new place of worship; the details suggest how dramatically the congregation was growing: "The floor will have a seating capacity of 300 and the galleries will furnish seats for 100 more."[101] The *Morning Mercury* newspaper covered the ceremony for the laying of the corner stone (with the subtitle "Impressive Rites of the Hebrews"), and noted that "The stone was bathed in wine, indicating joy, corn was thrown on it, signifying plenty, and lastly oil was poured on, which represented refreshment."[102] The synagogue was completed and dedicated in 1899, and primarily served the Jewish residents in the southern and western parts of New Bedford.

The group brought over Rabbi Zev Genensky, a native of Bialystok and a *talmid* of Rav Shmuel Mohliver and the Mir Yeshivah, to serve the community, but after Genensky arrived in New Bedford, he decided to leave the rabbinate. The first Rabbi was Rabbi Aaron Harris Silverblatt, who served the community for a few years in the late 1890s. Silverblatt was ordained in Vilna and with his wife had migrated first to Manchester,

98 Ahavath Achim certificate of incorporation, charter issued 12 May 1892. In the Ahavath Achim Congregation Collection, 1898-(ongoing), Bulk, 1954-present, Box 1, Folder 1, "History," MC37/CJC, CJC.

99 Barnet, "Life of the Jews In New Bedford."

100 Barnet, "Life of the Jews In New Bedford."

101 *Evening Standard*, "New Jewish Synagogue," 14 February 1898, transcript of article in Notebook compiled by Shirley Cohen, MC 107/CJC, CJC.

102 "Covered with Wine, Corn, Oil, Laying of Corner Stone of the Synagogue of Ahavath Achim," *Morning Mercury*, 29 August 1898, copy of article in Ahavath Achim Congregation Collection, Box 1, Folder 1, MC 37/CJC, CJC.

England, and then to the United States.[103] His grandson, Myron Herman (born in 1901), would later recall that Silverblatt was "a very capable orator" who "could hold his audiences spellbound."

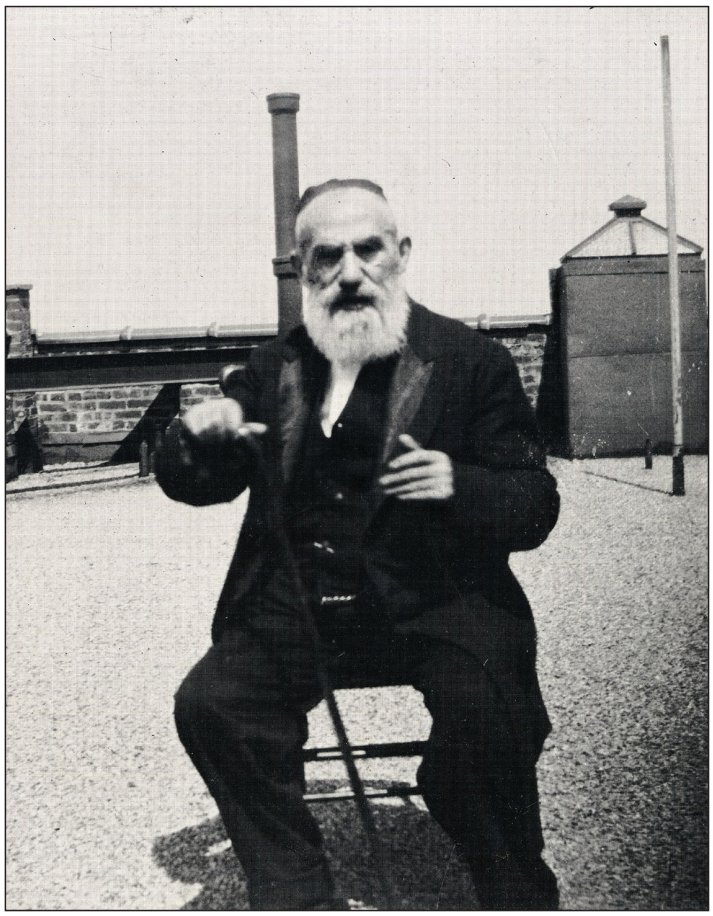


Figure 3.4: Rabbi Aaron Silverblatt, the first Rabbi of Ahavath Achim Synagogue, ca. 1898. Courtesy of the Archives of the Center for Jewish Culture, Claire T. Carney Library Archives and Special Collections, UMass Dartmouth.

This gift, Herman said, made Silverblatt restless: rabbis "usually want to get a synagogue where they can be there and stay there. He on the other hand, because he was such a remarkable orator felt that he ought to go to work and travel around and lecture on different matters pertaining to religion and the holy books . . .."[104] In 1900, Rabbi Genensky helped bring Silverblatt's successor, Rabbi Hyman Papkin, to New Bedford.[105]

The city's second synagogue, Congregation Chesed Shel Emes ("true kindness" in Hebrew) was formed in the North End with 23 members in 1898, and services were held at the home of one of the congregation members. It, too, was served by Rabbi Papkin. Then, in 1903, a synagogue was built at 86 Kenyon Street, which opened in 1904.

103 Rabbi Hartman noted that Silverblatt was not in England for any substantial period of time, but just passed through England, as many did. He was a *maggid*, or Jewish itinerant preacher who traveled around.

104 See Myron Herman interview by Judy Barry and Barbara Kaplan, 11 April 1982, New Bedford/Fall River Jewish Community Oral History Collection, MC 23/CJC, CJC. Silverblatt moved on to Springfield, Massachusetts. See also Jane Kaufman, ed. *Our Stories: The Jews of Western Massachusetts* (Pediment Publishing, 2013).

105 Klein and Schwartz, "Laying the Foundation," 14.



Figure 3.5: Ahavath Achim Synagogue at its location on Howland Street in New Bedford, 1899. Photo: George Heinz. Courtesy of the Archives of the Center for Jewish Culture, Claire T. Carney Library Archives and Special Collections, UMass Dartmouth.



Figure 3.6: Chesed Shel Emes Synagogue on Kenyon St. in New Bedford's North End, 1904. Photo: George Heinz. Courtesy of the Archives of the Center for Jewish Culture, Claire T. Carney Library Archives and Special Collections, UMass Dartmouth.

Rabbi Hyman Papkin (1876-1960) came from Lida, Poland; he "studied in Volozhin and in the Vilna *kloiz* under Harav Chaim Ozer Grodzinsky."[106] He served both Chesed Shel Emes and Ahavath Achim, the latter from 1900 to his death in 1960, almost without interruption (Papkin also served the House of Jacob Synagogue in Utica, New York, from 1908 to 1912, and spent 1914 to 1917 in Burlington, Vermont).

According to Rabbi Barry Hartman, Papkin was a "great scholar," and was the "town rabbi;" as in Europe, "where there were 3 synagogues or 23 synagogues," there was just one rabbi. And so, in New Bedford, Papkin served the whole Jewish community.[107] He would "walk, from the south to the north, every so often, and conduct services there. And there are people who can remember, as kids, Papkin walking on the holidays."[108]

106 Klein and Schwartz, "Laying the Foundation," 14.

107 Quotes here and below from Rabbi Barry Hartman interview.

108 Rabbi Barry Hartman interview.

Hartman noted that there was also "a very small synagogue in the south end . . . a little building where some Jews got together. No rabbi. That was a short walk: Papkin would go over there."

According to Rabbi Hartman, in New Bedford, unlike in nearby Fall River, there were not ethnic distinctions among the town's synagogues. Fall River had a Russian synagogue and a Lithuanian Synagogue, that "prayed slightly differently and they ate different foods. And for that reason they liked to marry somebody who came from that part of the world." He suggests that this was because in New Bedford, so many Jewish immigrants to the city came from the same Lithuanian towns, near Vilna – most of New Bedford's Jews were "Litvaks," or Lithuanian Jews.



Figure 3.7: Rabbi Hyman Papkin, the second Rabbi of Ahavath Achim Synagogue, ca. 1900-1910. Courtesy of the Archives of the Center for Jewish Culture, Claire T. Carney Library Archives and Special Collections, UMass Dartmouth.



Figure 3.8: Map of Vilna (Vilnius) in present-day Lithuania. Map from The World Factbook, Washington, DC: Central Intelligence Agency, 2015. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/lh.html.

By the early twentieth century, then, the city of New Bedford and the surrounding area had developed what Rabbi Barry Hartman described as a "Jewish infrastructure," allowing for the establishment of a more permanent Jewish community: "they had kosher food here . . .

ritual slaughtering here." They had a *shochet* and a facility for the ritual killing of cows and chickens, at a farm owned by Dr. William B. Davis on Slocum Road in Dartmouth.[109] In 1904, the New Bedford *Standard Times* newspaper reported on the practice, in an article entitled "Killing Kosher Beef." The article noted:

> There is only one slaughter house now in operation in this vicinity where the kosher meat is prepared. This belongs to Simon Margolis, who has a butcher shop on South Water street, and who supplies meat to the other Hebrew butchers in the city. The slaughter house is at Dr. William B. Davis's farm on the Slocum road in Dartmouth. Just south of Allen street. Three killers are connected with this house, all duly authorized by Rabbi Heiman Popkin [sic] of the Howland street synagogue. . . . Cattle are killed here nearly every day, for a Jew is not allowed according to the law, to eat any meat over three days old.[110]

Because most Jews kept kosher, this was an essential part of the Jewish community infrastructure. According to Rabbi Hartman, in 1917, Rabbi Jacobson, who served New Bedford while Rabbi Papkin was in Vermont, thought he found a nick in the knife used to slaughter meat. He worried that it might invalidate the meat and make it not kosher. He sent the question to Rabbi Abraham Yudelevitz, in Boston, who responded with a "very lengthy response," assuring him that the meat was indeed kosher.[111] Although New Bedford had a growing Jewish infrastructure, Boston was still seen as the regional authority and hub of Jewish life in New England.

New Bedford also had a ritual bath, or "mikveh," in both the North End and the South End. The mikveh was a tub in basement of the synagogue.[112] According to Rabbi Hartman, "laws of family purity" hold that husbands and wives cannot have sex during a woman's menstrual cycle; in his words, "two weeks out of the month they're friends; two weeks out of the month they're lovers." Seven days after her cycle concludes, she bathes at the mikveh—like the womb, every month the woman is born again in a pool of rainwater. Given the relation to ovulation, the best time to conceive is also when a woman

109 William B. Davis household, 1900 United States Federal Census, Dartmouth, Bristol County, Massachusetts.

110 *Standard Times*, 6 November 1904.

111 Rabbi Barry Hartman interview.

112 After a fire in 1930s, they did not rebuild the mikveh. Rabbi Hartman reports that in the 1950s Rabbi Papkin tried to get a mikveh established in the growing Jewish neighborhoods of the West End, but didn't succeed. Today [in 2014], he suggests, the mikveh is once again becoming more popular.

leaves the mikveh. Hassidic men "go over day before prayer, to prepare themselves spiritually;" other Jews go before the high holidays, Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. The South End had kosher provisions, *vaad hakashrus* (a committee that oversees the production and sale of kosher provisions), a *mohel* (ritual circumciser), cantor, and sacred society.

Ninety percent of New Bedford's immigrant population lived in the first and sixth wards—the North and South Ends of New Bedford, respectively, where the city's mills were located.[113] A 1911 manuscript, "Immigrants in New Bedford," described the South End as being populated by "Portuguese, Bravas, French Canadians, Jews, and Poles" (the North End, it noted, included "the same races with Greeks, Bohemians, and a few Slovaks." Collectively, the author noted, "those enumerated are the most important factors in the 'Immigrant problem' of the city."[114] The report continued: "There are two colonies of Poles and two of Jews, each having a colony in the North End and another in the South End. The two races are found in the same region:--the South End Colony being chiefly along South Water Street, north and south of Grinnell (where most of the Jews are congregated) and the North End Colony lying chiefly along North Front Street and vicinity."[115] New Bedford's Jewish community was quite small in comparison to the French Canadian and Portuguese immigrant communities, in particular—the manuscript's author placed their populations at 25,000 to 30,000, and 10,000 to 12,000, respectively. The Jewish population, by contrast, was estimated to be between 1,500 and 2,000 people. Federal census records from 1910 and 1920 indicate that many of these Jewish New Bedford residents spoke Yiddish; their American-born children, however, quickly learned to speak English.

The South End of New Bedford was bustling with immigrants in the early twentieth century. A thriving Jewish business district formed around South Water Street. In addition to the meat markets, businesses in the South End included: "Kroudvird's Bakery at 2 locations in the South End, at Grinnell and Howland Streets, Zeman's Delicatessen at 481 South Water Street, . . . Pildis' chicken place, Sokol's shoe store, Miller's Public Market at 876 South Water Street, Genensky & Levine shoe store, Kaplan

113 Kingston Wm. Heath, *The Patina of Place: The Cultural Weathering of a New England Industrial Landscape* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2002), 53.

114 "Immigrants in New Bedford," 1911, New Bedford Free Public Library, New Bedford, MA, 1.

115 "Immigrants in New Bedford," 2.

Brothers Furniture Store at 1020 South Water Street, Philip Shwartz's University Hat and Cap Manufacturing at 1077 South Water Street, and later, Danis Jewelry Company, and Lesco's near the Orpheum Theater . . ."[116] Paul Horowitz, who grew up in New Bedford, described Water Street "between Howland and Grinnell Streets" as "a city unto itself. It had stores galore of every description, and housing for its owners and more." He noted, "The block provided the basic needs for development and the pioneers, who commenced this aura, set their progeny on the right track to industry and success."[117]



Figure 3.9: M. Shuster Meat Market, located in the North End of New Bedford at 968 Achushnet Avenue, April 2, 1922. Murray Shuster is believed to be the man standing in the middle. Courtesy of the Archives of the Center for Jewish Culture, Claire T. Carney Library Archives and Special Collections, UMass Dartmouth.

Jews increasingly moved into the North End, too, and a Jewish North End community began to take shape. Samuel Barnet observed that around "1895, the

116 Farrar and Yoken, "Historical Tour of Jewish New Bedford," 6.

117 Paul Horowitz notes on Horowitz family history, 2 April 1982, "Roots/Family Trees collection," Box 1, Folder B3, CJC. Horowitz's father owned a meat and poultry market on Water Street, which Horowitz described as "the first introduction of prime quality beef in the kosher sector of New Bedford."

Jewish settlers began to spread over the city and a few families found their way as far north as Coggeshall Street, then the chief business thoroughfare of the north end of the city because it led to the mills at the foot of the street."[118] The textile mills provided employment for many different immigrant groups in New Bedford, including some of New Bedford's Jewish residents, but New Bedford's Jewish community also established businesses to support the mill community.

The rough snapshot offered by the 1910 census shows members of the Jewish community working across New Bedford. In the 1910s, they were primarily "mom and pop shop owners."[119] There are just over 100 (108) sources of livelihood listed among nearly 500 members of the Jewish community who listed an occupation in that year. The most commonly named work, far and away, was peddler (77); most of these (33) traded in fruits and vegetables, while another 11 dealt in dry goods, clothing, or rags (16 did not specify the nature of their wares). Some 16 peddlers dealt in "junk," and another 17 listed their work as somehow in or around a "junk shop."[120] Many others indicated that they were somehow involved in commerce: 26 listed their occupation as "merchant" and another 36 noted more specifically that they were a merchant in dry goods, clothing, groceries, or other areas. A large proportion – 17 clerks and merchants, 9 peddlers, 13 salespersons, and 4 proprietors – noted specifically that they traded in dry goods. One of the dry goods proprietors, Abram Herman, would go on to play a role in the whaling industry's final years in New Bedford (his story is told in detail later in this chapter). Many also worked in the clothing trades (which includes 23 tailors, 9 clothing salesmen or clerks, 4 clothing traders or dealers, 1 proprietor of a clothing store and 2 clothing peddlers, as well as milliner Dora Bearcovitch and dressmakers Bessie and Sarah Chief), and a significant proportion (30) occupied in the making and selling of shoes. More than four dozen Jewish residents worked in the city's cotton mills. Joseph Rosenthal was the proprietor of an umbrella store, and Isaac Rothkap an umbrella maker. Jacob Black, Jr. was a violinist. Jacob Simansky was the proprietor of a poolroom where Philip Shaer worked. David and Samuel Silva were portrait artists, and Joseph Raywood a studio photographer. A handful reported work that reflected the distinct needs of the

118 Barnet, "Life of the Jews In New Bedford."

119 Rabbi Barry Hartman interview.

120 For more on the junk trade, see Abbott Schuster, interview by Cindy Yoken, 3 September 2006, New Bedford/Fall River Jewish Community Oral History Collection, MC 23/CJC, CJC.

Jewish community: Joseph Jacobsen, Max Freifeld, Max Burstein were rabbis, and Luiz Rosen, Harry Rogin, Joseph Schiersohn, and Nathan Levine were Hebrew teachers. The occupation listed by Joseph Shapiro—"chicken killer" in a "Jewish shop"—tells us that Shapiro worked as a kosher butcher—as did kosher butcher Morris Cohen.[121]

By 1918, Jewish community leader Samuel Barnet placed the New Bedford Jewish population at approximately 500 families, for a total of about 2,500 people, or about two percent of the city's population.[122] As the Jewish community grew, so did the number of Jewish organizations established to meet the community's growing needs. These organizations include the Hebrew Ladies Helping Hand Society (1906), the Young Men's Hebrew Association (1911), the Young Women's Hebrew Association (ca. 1913), New Bedford Section of the Council of Jewish Women (1915), and B'nai Brith (1921). There was also a Hebrew Free Loan Association (*gemilat hesed*), which offered interest-free loans to Jews beginning in 1911 and 1912.[123] Both a strong sense of communal responsibility, and the need for Jewish organizations to serve Jewish people—at a time when charitable assistance often came from Protestant Christian organizations—guided the formation of these organizations.[124]



Figure 3.10: Judge Samuel Barnet, ca. 1920. Courtesy of the Archives of the Center for Jewish Culture, Claire T. Carney Library Archives and Special Collections, UMass Dartmouth.

121 There are 11 mentions of butchers or related work in the list of Jewish entries in 1910 census. On Hebrew teacher Schiersohn, who opened a Hebrew school on the corner of Water and Grinnell Streets, see the Myron Hermon interview and Fisher Abramson, interviews with Robert Waxler, 4 August 1981 and 11 August 1981, New Bedford/Fall River Jewish Community Oral History Collection, MC 23/CJC, CJC.

122 Samuel Barnet, "New Bedford Jewry in the War," *Sunday Standard Times*, 2 June 1918, transcribed article in "Jews of New Bedford (1898-1967)", Notebook compiled by Shirley Cohen, MC 107/CJC, CJC.

123 *The American Jewish Year Book 5673* included the loan association in its list of "New Jewish Local Organizations in the United States" that were begun between 1 July 1911 and 30 June 1912. See Herbert Friedenwald, ed., *The American Jewish Year Book 5673, September 12, 1912, to October 1, 1913* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1912), 247 and 252, HathiTrust Digital Library, http://hdl.handle.net.silk.library.umass.edu/2027/mdp.39015040777214.

124 Diner, *Jews of the United States*, 135-136.

By the early 1920s, the Jewish community was eager to build a synagogue worthy of their growing population and indicative of their upward mobility in New Bedford society. Samuel Barnet described the impulse as one of men "who felt the need of a modern building and a modern orthodox service," delivered in English.[125] Tiferes Israel ("The Glory of Israel") Synagogue was dedicated on 14 September 1924.[126] Fisher Abramson, Chairman of the Synagogue's Committee on Dedication, wrote a brief history of the origins of the new congregation:

> The spiritual and religious needs of the Jewish Community of the south and west parts of the city of New Bedford were for many years cared for in the Howland Street Synagogue, built by the early settlers, but as the community grew in numbers and wealth, Ahavath Achim became too small and unattractive, unsuitable for the needs of a people who had more time on their hands for intellectual and spiritual matters, and the surroundings very unwholesome. These conditions let to agitation for a new Synagogue which would be more suitable for the community.[127]

In 1921, eighteen leaders of the Jewish community organized a meeting to make plans for the new Synagogue, and together contributed $1800 toward the project. Abram Herman played a key role, being elected temporary chairman to spearhead the campaign. A committee composed of five men, Abram Herman, Samuel Horvitz, Max Levy, Ike Abramson, and Abraham Levy, were placed in charge of finding and purchasing a site for the new Synagogue. Soon after, they placed a deposit on a parcel of land at Sixth and Madison Streets, and decided to build a synagogue modeled on "the Byzantine style of Temple Israel on Commonwealth Avenue, Boston." They sought out an English-speaking Rabbi, selecting Rabbi Nachman S. Arnoff from Cleveland, Ohio. The synagogue was also an announcement that the Jewish community had "made it" in American society, and had the means to build a place of worship that reflected their upward mobility. In his dedication address, Rabbi Arnoff declared that by providing New

125 Barnet, "Life of the Jews In New Bedford."

126 The name "Tiferes Israel" reflects the Ashkenazik pronunciation of the Eastern European Jews who founded the synagogue. When the synagogue moved to the corner of Brownell and Hawthorn Streets in 1966, the name became "Tifereth Israel" to reflect the Sephardi and Israeli pronunciation. We thank Cindy Yoken for this explanation in an email to Laura Miller, 10 February 2014. An article about the new synagogue appeared in the *Standard Times* on 13 September 1924, entitled "Byzantine Style Predominates in New Tiferes Israel Synagogue"; a transcribed version is available in the notebook compiled by Shirley Cohen, MC 107/CJC, CJC.

127 Fisher Abramson, Esq., "History of the Congregation Tifereth Israel," in Tifereth Israel Synagogue Dedication booklet, Folder "Dedication/Anniversary Books, 1924," Box 1, Tifereth Israel Congregation Records, 1923-2003, MC 26/CJC, CJC.

Bedford's Jewish community with a "suitable," "inviting" place for worship, the new synagogue "made New Bedford safe for Judaism."[128]

The ceremony dedicating Tiferes Israel synagogue also revealed the community's growing pains, and reflected broader debates and divisions within American Judaism in the early twentieth century. One area of debate focused on the American-born children of Jewish immigrants, who—more Americanized than their parents—had little Jewish education, distanced themselves from their immigrant parents' culture, and embraced the English language.[129] Many older Jewish residents felt tremendous anxiety about this younger generation of New Bedford Jews. Arnoff's dedication address also acknowledged these anxieties, and offered the new synagogue as a solution:

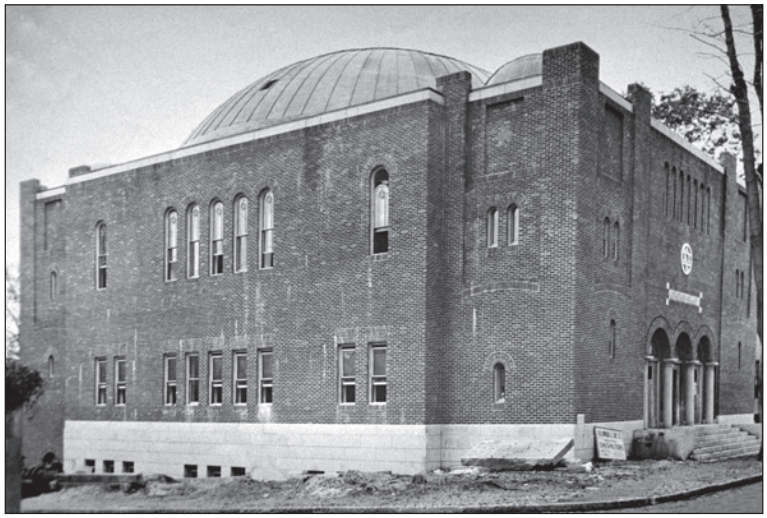


Figure 3.11: Tifereth Israel Synagogue in New Bedford, July 1924. Photo by George Heinz. Courtesy of the Archives of the Center for Jewish Culture, Claire T. Carney Library Archives and Special Collections, UMass Dartmouth.

> We rejoice today because we know that the opening of this Synagogue will put an end to the ignorance and the indifference on the part of our men and women, especially of the younger generation, to the prophetic mission of our people. Ignorance leads to indifference and indifference to assimilation. Our youth have a mistaken notion what it means to be a Jew and to lead a good Jewish life. To them Judaism is a vague term, a theologic conception, a dried religious belief.[130]

128 Rabbi Nachman S. Arnoff, "New Bedford Made Safe for Judaism," in Tifereth Israel Synagogue Dedication booklet, Folder "Dedication/Anniversary Books, 1924," Box 1, Tifereth Israel Congregation Records, 1923-2003, MC 26/CJC, CJC.

129 Sarna, *American Judaism*, 174.

130 Arnoff, "New Bedford Made Safe for Judaism."

The joyous fanfare surrounding the synagogue's opening thus revealed a deep rift that exposed the older generation's fears of assimilation and loss of Jewish religiosity.

The tension went way beyond just generational differences, however. Rabbi Arnoff's whole address hinted at some profound disagreements within New Bedford's Jewish community about the form that modern Judaism should take. (So profound, apparently, that he felt compelled to include this chastisement: "I trust that this Synagogue will bring about this co-operation and unity which our people in this city seem to lack."[131]) He pushed hard to enact modern reforms in the congregation, and not everyone was ready to go along with the changes—some of which came at the expense of Rabbi Papkin.[132] Fisher Abramson described the schism within the Jewish community at this time. Rabbi Papkin was, he said,

> probably one of the best Yiddish orators in America and he asked Rabbi Arnoff to announce that anybody in the congregation who wanted to come back in the afternoon to listen to Rabbi Papkin, they were welcome to come back. Arnoff says, "I will not make that announcement." I said, "Look, Rabbi, you know that we have a problem here. We still have a congregation made up of people who think they are Conservative, some think they are Orthodox, and some think they are Reform. Now, we got to do a little bit of catering here and so long as there's no obligation on the people that come back, they're just invited to come back, they don't have to. It's not part of the service, and I don't see how it does you any harm to make the announcement." He said, "I'm not going to make the announcement." I said, "Rabbi, you have to. I have enough trouble now keeping this congregation together." I said, "I'll tell you what." This used to take place on the second afternoon of Rosh Hashanah. I mean Rabbi Papkin's talk. So I said to him just before services the first day were concluded. "I'll tell you what you do. You think about it tonight, think about my problems in connection with the congregation, the congregation's problems and think about your own position. Now, I know that the Rabbi is supposed to control the pulpit and I want you to do this because you want to do it." He says, "I won't do it." I say, "I think by tomorrow morning you'll change your mind."
>
> The next morning during the course of the service I said, "Rabbi, I'm sure you thought it over and have come to a logical conclusion." He says, "I have decided definitely that I will not make the announcement." I said, "Then

131 Ibid.

132 Fisher Abramson, interview #3 by Robert Waxler and Carol Marlin, 17 August 1981, New Bedford/Fall River Jewish Community Oral History Collection, MC 23/CJC, CJC.

> you leave me no alternative. I know that I have no right to control the pulpit, but I think I have an obligation to the congregation to keep the congregation together, so if you do not make the announcement, I'm going to."
>
> So, at the end of the service, he sat down. I got up and I made the announcement that Rabbi Papkin would deliver a "droshe" as we call it that afternoon at four o'clock and those who wanted to come were perfectly welcome to come. And Rabbi Arnoff went to the front of the pulpit and swung open his arms and said, "I resign!" And he resigned.[133]

Even though Rabbi Arnoff was Tiferes Israel's (English-speaking) rabbi, much of the Jewish community still thought of Rabbi Papkin as the town Rabbi. Fisher Abramson's father, Ike Abramson, insisted that Papkin come every year on the holidays and give a talk in Yiddish; they also hired him every Friday night to give a class on the bible. So, despite there being another rabbi at Tiferes Israel, "they didn't want to break the



Figure 3.12: Fisher Abramson, ca. 1960. Courtesy of the Archives of the Center for Jewish Culture, Claire T. Carney Library Archives and Special Collections, UMass Dartmouth.

133 Fisher Abramson, interview #1 by Robert Waxler, 4 August 1981, New Bedford/Fall River Jewish Community Oral History Collection, MC 23/CJC, CJC.

concept of [Papkin] being the town rabbi. . .that was the way the Jewish community had existed for thousands of years in Europe, with one rabbi for the whole town."[134] The debate mirrored debates taking place in Jewish communities throughout the United States, about "Jewish practice and the meaning of Judaism in the modern world."[135]

Rabbi Nachman Arnoff's successor, Rabbi Alexander J. Burnstein, also proved controversial. Fisher Abramson recalled an early effort to oust Burstein:

> They [the congregation's leadership] cooked up a scheme not to re-elect him for the following year. I was President at the time and they kept it away from me carefully so it should come as a complete surprise and they apparently had talked with enough people to guarantee that their vote would carry. And somebody got up and made a speech. Of course, I expected nothing except the routine matters, the election of the Directors, the election of the Rabbi and that's the end of the meeting. Then all of a sudden, somebody gets up and makes a motion that we don't re-elect the Rabbi. I was floundered. The excuse was that we couldn't really afford a Rabbi. We'd have to get along without until things improved financially. I took off my coat and put it on the back of the chair and I got up.
>
> I don't remember much of what I said but I bet I spoke for 20 minutes. My theme was, it wasn't a question of whether we can afford a Rabbi, can we afford <u>not</u> to have the Rabbi. They tried not to make it as a pitch against Burnstein, but no Rabbi. And when I got through speaking, he was elected almost unanimously.[136]

Despite Abramson's efforts to advocate on his behalf, Burstein served as Tiferes Israel's Rabbi for only two years (1926 to 1928). In a 1967 letter, Burnstein offered his own take on the split in New Bedford's Jewish community in the 1920s:

> Perhaps the reason why our ministry . . . was of such brief duration was largely due to the fact that the congregation was a loosely connected group, split and divided within by ideological differences: some who clung tenaciously to the old, antiquated modes of worship and treated with scorn those who sought to introduce liturgical reforms. Above all, the congregation . . . was plagued by outside interference that was determined to weaken the structural

134 Rabbi Barry Hartman interview.

135 Diner, *Jews of the United States*, 117.

136 Fisher Abramson, interview #3. On 4 September 1927, Burnstein published an article in the *New Bedford Sunday Standard* entitled, "Are Jews Becoming Irreligious?" See Notebook compiled by Shirley Cohen, MC 107/CJC, CJC.

> organization of the new Synagogue. All this made heavy going, and since neither Rabbi Arnoff nor I could provide answers to the many problems that beset the community, we decided, with deep regret, to bid farewell to New Bedford . . ..[137]

New Bedford was by no means alone in these travails; such divisions played out in urban Jewish communities throughout the United States. In Boston, historian Jonathan Sarna notes, "The issues that Boston Jews faced . . . were those that would eventually come to the fore in most urban areas where Jews lived: tensions between immigrants and their children, between wealthier Jews and poorer ones, between Jews of different religious persuasions, Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform, and—most important of all as far as local residents were concerned—tensions between Jews and their neighbors."[138] These tensions and disagreements were undoubtedly fraught; however, as historian Hasia Diner has argued, "The heated discourse among Jews over what it meant to be Jewish in America catalyzed a highly engaged community life."[139] In New Bedford, this community engagement would persist throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first.

The tensions with native-born Americans and other new immigrant groups could be as distressing, if not more so, than the intragroup tensions. Nationally, nativists resented the flood of Eastern and Southern European immigrants into the United States, the so-called new immigrants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. New Bedford's Jewish community was attentive to the growing nativism and anti-Semitism in the 1910s and 1920s, and they were eager to show their patriotism. This is evident in throughout the ceremonies that led to the opening of Tiferes Israel Synagogue. The 16 September 1923 ceremony laying the cornerstone for Tiferes Israel began with introductions, a prayer from Rabbi Papkin, and the singing of Hatikvoh, a "Jewish National Song," and ended with the assembled group singing the Star Spangled Banner—the lyrics of which were printed in the ceremony's program. Photos of the event that were published in the local newspapers showed that the ceremony was surrounded with large banners of stars and stripes.[140]

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137 Tifereth Israel Congregation Records, 1923-2003, Box 1, Folder 3, "Burnstein, Dr. (Rabbi) Alexander J., 1967," MC 26/CJC, CJC.

138 Sarna et al., *The Jews of Boston*, 7.

139 Diner, *Jews of the United States*, 114.

140 Program of the "Ceremony of the Laying of the Corner Stone at the Tiferes Israel Association, Sunday, September 16, 1923," Tifereth Israel Congregation Records, 1923-2003, Box 1, Folder "Dedication/ Anniversary Books, 1924," MC 26/CJC, CJC.

National legislation restricting immigration was passed in May 1924. At the September 1924 dedication and opening of the synagogue, the ceremonies continued to stress the Jewish community's patriotism. In his essay, "Life of the Jews In New Bedford," printed in the program distributed at the Synagogue's dedication, Samuel Barnet looked back on the Jewish community's participation in World War I and observed that the war

> gave all people an opportunity to show their patriotism and loyalty to the country of their adoption. No part of this community came out of the test with greater glory than the Jews. More than sixty-five immigrants or sons of immigrants joined the colors and fought for that liberty of conscience dearer to no living person than to the Jew. And no less than eleven gave up their lives, made the supreme sacrifice, that the hoped for world democracy might come true.[141]

He noted that Jewish New Bedford residents participated in War Chest, Red Cross, and Liberty Loan drives, and "In both War Chest and Liberty Loan parades the



Figure 3.13: A float from a local Jewish organization in a Liberty Bond parade in New Bedford, July 4, 1915. Photo: Everett L. Weeden. Courtesy of the Archives of the Center for Jewish Culture, Claire T. Carney Library Archives and Special Collections, UMass Dartmouth.

Jewish organizations entered floats and on both occasions took first prize."[142] Later in the program, Mrs. William Shapiro, President of the New Bedford Section of the Council of Jewish Women noted with pride their participation in Americanization campaigns to help

141 Barnet, "Life of the Jews In New Bedford."

142 Tifereth Israel dedication booklet, Tifereth Israel Congregation Records, 1923-2003, MC 26/CJC, CJC.

assimilate newly arrived Jewish immigrants: "We feel that one of our greatest achievements has been our Americanization work, helping the Jewish immigrant to citizenship and also teaching them to read and write the English language," she said.[143] Barnet and Shapiro's sentiments were undoubtedly an expression of pride, but they were also a response to nativist assertions that Jewish immigrants refused to assimilate into American society.[144] Highlighting Jewish contributions to the war effort likely seemed like the best possible demonstration of Jewish Americanization, patriotism, and loyalty to their adopted country.

Despite the early twentieth century tensions between different ethnic groups in New Bedford, many of these immigrants lived in the same buildings, worked in the same mills, and frequented the same businesses. As a result, Jewish immigrants in New Bedford—like the Portuguese, French Canadians, Italians, and other immigrants—learned to associate and do business with these neighbors. Abbot Shuster, whose father owned a meat market in the North End, recalled that not only did he hear French, but he learned to speak it: "you had to learn French if you had to do business"—"like how much does it weigh, how much a pound is it, stuff like that."[145] This was the nature of urban living in an age of mass migration to the United States. And it was through these kinds of interactions that Jewish businessmen came to be involved in New Bedford's whaling industry.

Jewish Families in New Bedford's Whaling Industry

As New Bedford's Jewish community was beginning to establish itself in the early decades of the twentieth century, the city's whaling industry continued its precipitous decline, which had begun in full force in the 1870s.[146] New Bedford's Quaker elite had fled the industry for more lucrative investments in textiles, guiding and controlling the shift in the city's industry: as Kingston Wm. Heath has noted, "the changeover was from *within* the community. . . . the same families who had controlled the whaling interests

143 Ibid.

144 Diner, *Jews of the United States*, 183-184.

145 Abbott Shuster, interview by Cindy Yoken, 3 September 2006, New Bedford/Fall River Jewish Community Oral History Collection, MC 23/CJC, CJC.

146 Dolin, *Leviathan*, 353.

now controlled textiles."[147] In 1873, the New Bedford-based *Whalemen's Shipping List* observed that "those who have long and successfully been engaged in the business" now found whaling "too hazardous, and its results too uncertain to continue it, when capital is promised as safer employment, and surer rewards in enterprises on the land, in our own city where the products of two large cotton mills equal very nearly the aggregate value of the imports of the [whale] fishery yearly."[148] By the late 1800s, New Bedford was third in American cotton manufacturing operations, behind Fall River and Lowell.[149] With the old New Bedford elite abandoning the whaling industry in droves, a few Jewish residents saw a business opportunity. Their connections to the whaling industry came primarily through shore-side businesses and investment in whaling vessels in the late 1910s and 1920s.

Two Jewish men, Abram Herman and Samuel Horvitz, form the primary connection between New Bedford's Jewish community and the city's whaling industry. Herman invested in whaleships and the Cape Verde packet trade. Horvitz was part owner of several whaleships and ran a shoe store and whaling outfitters that outlasted all other outfitters businesses in the city, and became a hub for old whaling captains "who congregate [at the store] to spin their sea yarns."[150] Although New Bedford's Jewish population was very small compared to other immigrant groups in New Bedford, these men and their families played an outsized role in the industry's final years.

Case Study: "Local Whaling Prince a Jew": Abram Herman and Investing in Whalers

A February 1919 *New Bedford Sunday Standard* article entitled "Newcomers are Re-Fitting the Old Whaleships," hailed the central role of Jewish immigrants in New Bedford's whaling industry. Subtitled "Local Whaling Prince a Jew," and "Azoreans Superseded the Yankees and Abram Herman Now Controls the Industry," the article began by chronicling the changing ethnicities of the men who controlled the city's whaling industry:

> While the Yankees have retired more or less from the whaling business it has more and more been taken over by other people. Whaling for many years,

147 Heath, *The Patina of Place,* 41.

148 *Whalemen's Shipping List,* cited in Dolin, *Leviathan*, 355.

149 Arato and Eleey, *Safely Moored*, 39.

150 *New Bedford Sunday Standard*, 23 February 1919.

> even until recent years, was practically controlled by the people native to this land. Then came the seafaring Portuguese people, and even now it is the Portuguese people who came originally from the Azores Islands who dominate whaling to some extent. Many Azoreans, however, have since become adopted Yankees . . .. Then came the interest of the Cape Verdeans in the whaling business, first as ordinary sailors, until they have come to be owners and agents of vessels. Now there are newcomers in the whaling business, the Jewish people.[151]

The article noted that a Jewish Lithuanian immigrant named Abram Herman was a key figure in the city's whaling industry: he was an owner of vessels and part-owner of others, and engaged in business related to both the whaling and the Cape Verde packet trade out of New Bedford.[152] Yet despite his central role in the industry's final years—significant enough to be hailed a "whaling prince" by the New Bedford press—his story is frustratingly difficult to piece together. Only a limited, fragmented archival record of his life and business remains.

Abram Herman was born in approximately 1869 and immigrated to the United States in the 1880s, becoming naturalized citizen in November 1898.[153] Although census data only indicates that Herman was from Russia, he likely came from Vilna, Lithuania, then under Russian control. In a 1982 oral history interview with Herman's nephew, Myron Herman (his brother Samuel Louis Herman's son), Myron Herman said that his father's family came from Vilna: "they just thought there were opportunities over here which they couldn't have in Vilna . . . they didn't like that kind of a life and they just wanted something better . . .."[154] The Hermans were part of the much larger migration of Jewish people from Vilna to come to New Bedford.

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151 *New Bedford Sunday Standard*, 23 February 1919.

152 *Ibid.*

153 Census data varies on Herman's birth date and arrival in the United States; the 1910 United States Federal Census for New Bedford Ward 5 indicates that he immigrated 1880, and is 41 years old, which would mean he was born in roughly 1869. The 1920 census (New Bedford Ward 5) indicates that he and his wife Fannie both arrived in the United States in 1888, and places his age at 57 and his birth year 1863. The 1930 census (New Bedford Ward 5) says he is 61—and so born in 1869—and that his arrival year was 1879. Finally, a naturalization record for Abram Herman says he was born 14 May 1870, and naturalized 15 November 1898. All census data and U.S. Naturalization Record for Herman accessed on Ancestry.com.

154 Myron Hermon interview.

Herman married Fannie Shuster, also born in Russia, sometime around 1891.[155] They settled in the bustling Jewish community in New Bedford's South End in 1892, selling dry goods at 319 South Water Street, where they also resided, before moving to a house at 13 Howland Street the following year.[156] In 1893 Fannie Herman gave birth to their first son, Samuel.[157] They went on to have seven children, Samuel being followed by Julius, Louis, Haskell, Esther, Bella, and Charles. Fannie ran a dry goods store at 457 South Water Street, and Abram worked there as a clerk; they lived at the same address through 1896.[158] If the New Bedford city directory is accurate, their home, place of business, and even business focus changed multiple times over the next several years: in 1897 they moved their dry goods business to 493 South Water Street, living at 346 South First Street; they continued this arrangement through 1899, when they moved into the building at 493 South Water Street. In 1900, Fannie's name no longer appeared in the city directory as part of the dry goods business. In 1901, Abram incorporated clothing into his business, so he was listed as working in "dry goods and clothing" at 493 South Water Street, where the family also lived (by this time, Herman's brother, Samuel Louis Herman, had taken over the store at 457 South Water Street). By 1905, he was selling dry goods at 248 Coggeshall and clothing at 493 South Water Street, and by 1906 he was just selling clothing at 493 South Water Street. From 1909 to 1910, he was selling clothing at 493 South Water Street, but living at 353 First Street.

The next decade was a similarly dizzying, but productive one for the Herman family. By 1912, Abram Herman had saved up enough money to go into the real estate business. And in 1913, as a marker of his family's upward mobility and indicative of his growing financial success, they moved to a house at 324 Pleasant Street. After years of moving from place to place, this would become the Herman homestead for years to come. Herman moved between the clothing business and real estate. In 1916 the city directory

155 Year of marriage for Abram and Fannie Herman as listed in 1900 United States Federal Census, New Bedford Ward 5, Bristol County, Massachusetts.

156 Spellings of Herman's first name in census records and city directories vary between "Abraham" and "Abram." We have chosen to use "Abram" because it is the most consistent usage, especially by the early 1900s. In the 1892 directory, he was listed as "Abraham." See *New Bedford and Fairhaven Directory* (1892), 252.

157 There is a birth registered in New Bedford on 13 March 1894 for a male child. The parents are Abram Herman (merchant) and Fannie, maiden name Shuster, both born in Russia. This was the Herman's first child, Samuel. See Massachusetts, Birth Records, 1840-1915, Ancestry.com.

158 In 1895, Herman's first name is also listed as Abraham. See *New Bedford and Fairhaven Directory* (1895), 326.

indicated that he was working with his son Samuel in clothing at 127 Union Street, under the business name "Herman & Son." In 1918 both occupations show up in the city directory, as Herman's real estate office is found at 127 Union, but he is also noted as working with his son in the clothing business. Another son, Louis, was now working as a lawyer, with his office at 127 Union Street. The 1919 City Directory listed Herman's son Samuel as working in "provisions" at 127 Union Street, his son Louis working as a lawyer at 129 Union Street, and Herman in "real estate" at 129 Union.[159] By the 1920s, Herman's business savvy seems to have paid off. In 1921, he purchased the three-story commercial building at 125 Union Street (originally constructed in 1916), and in 1921 and 1922 he had three Art Deco-style buildings constructed for commercial purposes by architectural firm Leary and Walker at 113, 117, and 123 Union Street.[160] The building at 125 Union Street, still extant, features a stone crest with an "H" on it, which is believed to be a reference to Herman.[161]



Figure 3.14: The commercial building at 125 Union Street in New Bedford, once owned by Samuel Herman, features a stone crest with an "H" on it. The "H" is believed to be a reference to Herman. Photo by Emily Esten.

As Abram Herman's business ventures turned to real estate, he also began investing in whaling. World War I temporarily buoyed New Bedford's whaling industry, which had been declining rapidly since the late 1870s.[162] The war likely gave Herman

159 *New Bedford and Fairhaven Directory* (1919), 678.

160 Information about these buildings on Union Street can be found in Massachusetts Historical Commission Form Bs, available on the City of New Bedford, Massachusetts website: Please see the Massachusetts Historical Commission (MHC) Forms B at http://bit.ly/21tSUCx and http://bit.ly/21jvinN.

161 Please see MHC Form B at http://bit.ly/20X1nMz.

162 Dolin, *Leviathan*, 353-354.

some optimism for the industry's future. As Eric Jay Dolin has described:

> War-induced shortages of raw materials along with the fact that spermaceti was the highest-quality lubricant for battleship engines because of its ability to withstand intense heat and pressure, caused the price of sperm whale oil suddenly to climb. The small American whaling fleet took advantage of this shift in demand, and posted a few highly profitable cruises. The *Viola* of New Bedford, for example, returned from the South Atlantic with 1,300 barrels of sperm oil worth about 85 cents per gallon, for a total of $35,000. The *Viola* had been doubly lucky because in addition to the oil, it also brought back one-hundred-twenty-one pounds of ambergris, worth $37,000. Success such as this led some to talk of a turnaround in the whaling industry.[163]

Although the surviving archival record tells us little about how Herman transitioned into investing in whaling, he appears to have gotten involved in the business sometime around 1917.

The 1919 *New Bedford Sunday Standard* article suggests that Herman played a central role in the industry's final years. It noted that "Abram Herman is the owner of several vessels, is a part owner of other vessels, and is interested in not only whaling but in the business of the Cape Verde packets sailing out of this port."[164] The author credited Herman for helping convert the packet ship *Cameo* to a whaler (then out under the command of Captain Jose M. Domingues) and claimed that the "*Pedro Varella* is now owned by Mr. Herman, and she is out for a whaling voyage under the command of Captain Frank Lopes."[165] Ships registers indicate that the vessel was in fact owned by Solomon Shuster, a Jewish fruit merchant who emigrated from Lithuania as a child in 1887, and who was likely a relative of Abram's wife Fannie.[166]

If the war presented whaling investors like Abram Herman with opportunity, it also had its perils. Captain John T. Gonsalves of the *A. M. Nicholson*, recounted a

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163 Dolin, *Leviathan*, 364-365.

164 *New Bedford Sunday Standard*, 23 February 1919.

165 Ibid.

166 *Ship Registers of New Bedford, Massachusetts* lists the owner of the Pedro Varella as Solomon Shuster, of New Bedford, in 1918. Survey of Federal Archives, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Work Projects Administration, *Ship Registers of New Bedford, Massachusetts: Volume III: 1866-1939* (Boston: National Archives Project, 1940), 136. Information about Solomon Shuster from the 1920 United States Federal Census, New Bedford Ward 5, Bristol County, Massachusetts.

terrifying encounter his whaleship had with a German submarine off of Cape Hatteras, in July 1918. Dolin narrates:

> a submarine surfaced near his whaleship . . . and fired a shot across his bow. Believing it to be an American submarine, Gonsalves raised the Stars and Stripes, whereupon the submarine submerged. When the submarine resurfaced a short while later, Gonsalves raised his flag again, and this time the submarine raised one, too—only it was German. . . . Gonsalves pleaded, 'For God's sake . . . don't sink this vessel. I am a poor man and it will ruin me, as I am a big owner in her.' The German [officer] laughed and reported his conversation to the captain, who soon came topside and called to Gonsalves, 'Don't you know that it is a poor time to buy vessel property when people are at war?'[167]

Gonsalves was indeed the owner of the largest share of the *A. M. Nicholson*–4/16. But Abram Herman too had a stake in the ship's fate, as a 1/16 owner.[168] Herman sold his share soon after; when the schooner was re-registered on 15 October 1918, Herman was no longer listed as an co-owner.[169]

Ship registers indicate that Herman owned ½ of the schooner *Atalanta*, registered on 7 November 1917 and co-owned with Benjamin T. Taber. More likely, this was real estate agent Benjamin *J.* Taber. Benjamin Joseph Taber was born in Brava, Cape Verde, in 1881, emigrated to the United States in 1891 (naturalized in 1893), and had been living in New Bedford since his arrival.[170] (Two years later, in 1919, a 37 year-old Benjamin J. Taber was working in real estate in Herman's office on Union Street.[171]) The *Atalanta* was a Cape Verde packet, which, according to the *Sunday Standard*, Herman bought to fit out as a whaler "at a cost of some $20,000"—though whether or not he did so is unclear.[172]

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167 Dolin, *Leviathan*, 365.

168 *Ship Registers of New Bedford, Massachusetts: Volume III*, 2 and 18.

169 *Ship Registers of New Bedford, Massachusetts: Volume III*, 2.

170 The 1917 New Bedford city directory only lists one Benjamin Taber (with middle initial J.), and indicates that he is working in real estate at 3 Walnut. Shortly thereafter, he is listed as working with Herman. The evidence points to this being the same Benjamin Taber. See *New Bedford and Fairhaven Directory* (1917), 598. These details about Taber's life can be gleaned from his United States passport application; see Benjamin Joseph Taber, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), U.S. Passport Applications, 2 January 1906 – March 31, 1925, Roll 1964, Certificates 167850-168225, 12 May 1922.

171 *New Bedford and Fairhaven Directory* (1919), 1028. See also Benjamin J. Taber, 1920 United States Federal Census, New Bedford Ward 4, Bristol County, Massachusetts.

172 *New Bedford Sunday Standard*, 23 February 1919.

Herman also invested in the Cape Verde packet trade. The Cape Verde archipelago is made up of ten islands off the coast of West Africa in the Atlantic Ocean. The Portuguese claimed the islands in 1455, and their populations are predominantly of West African and European (mostly Portuguese) descent.[173] Cape Verdeans began migrating to New England in large numbers in the late 1860s, as whalers increasingly relied on the labor that Cape Verdeans (as well as Azoreans) supplied: Brava became "a habitual stop for whaling captains seeking to replace undesirable crew members, for there the captains could find men 'without any difficulty' and make the exchange 'without any communication with the consular agent or customs house.'"[174] Whalers would pick Cape Verdeans up on their way out, and many eventually came to the United States and established permanent residence; by leaving on a whaler, they could avoid passport and transportation costs.[175] By the late 1890s, Cape Verdeans made up the majority of whalemen.[176] Deirdre Meintel notes that "once family chains were established, relatives already established in New England tended to help those who followed them."[177]

In addition to whalers, there were also a growing number of packet ships moving between the United States and the Cape Verde Islands. In the final decades of the nineteenth century, many old schooners and whalers (many purchased by Cape Verdeans) were refitted to move cargo, mail, and people between the Cape Verde Islands and Southeastern New England – especially New Bedford and Providence. Because most of these journeys came and left from the island of Brava, it was often referred to as the Brava Packet Trade, and Cape Verdeans were often referred to as "Bravas."[178] Meintel describes the process:

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173 Deirdre Meintel, "Cape Verdean Transnationalism, Old and New," *Anthropologica* Vol. 44, No. 1 (2002), 26-27.

174 Meintel, "Cape Verdean Transnationalism," 30.

175 Meintel, "Cape Verdean Transnationalism," 29.

176 Grover, "African American, West Indian, and St. Helenian Whalemen" 231.

177 Meintel, "Cape Verdean Transnationalism," 29.

178 Details about the Cape Verdean packet trade from Ray Almeida, "Cape Verde Packet Trade," excerpted from Raymond A. Almeida, ed., *Cape Verdeans in America: Our Story* (Boston: Tchuba-American Committee for Cape Verde, Inc., 1978), http://www1.umassd.edu/specialprograms/caboverde/cvpacket.html. See also Meintel, "Cape Verdean Transnationalism," 29-30.

> They usually made two round trips a year, in spring and fall, taking in one case as little as twelve days to make the crossing, . . . but usually about a month and sometimes longer. They arrived in the Cape Verdes in the spring bearing a vast array of trade goods, including foodstuffs, clothing, and every manner of household necessity—pots and pans, rocking chairs, oil lamps and on and on, much of it sent by the emigrants to their families. On the return voyage, they carried as many passengers as they could hold. Schooners built for 50 to 60 persons would carry some hundred legal passengers and 40 crew, all these further crowded by clandestine passengers and stowaways bound for Cape Cod's cranberry bogs, as well as the live animals that would be slaughtered and consumed during the voyage.[179]

By the early twentieth century, the Cape Verde packet trade was in full force. They brought American commodities to the Islands, and returned to the United States with fellow Cape Verdeans, who worked as laborers in New Bedford's mills and Cape Cod's cranberry bogs. The 1919 *Sunday Standard* article about Jewish involvement in the whaling industry noted, "Few people in New Bedford have any appreciation of the value of the Cape Verde packet trade out of this city. One can without fear of contradiction put the value of this trade yearly into figures of several hundreds of thousands of dollars and yet it goes on so quietly that little is known concerning it." The newspaper was right: immigration by Cape Verdeans to the United States reached peak during the first two decades of the twentieth century. According to Marilyn Halter's estimates, 23,168 Cape Verdean immigrants came to New Bedford between 1860 and 1935; at its peak, from 1900 to 1921, an average of 896 Cape Verdeans arrived in New Bedford every year, and there were an average of 22 packet voyages every year.[180] Abram Herman's investments therefore came at the height of Cape Verdean immigration and the packet trade.

With these figures in mind, Herman's involvement in the trade seemed a solid investment compared to waning whaling profits. Herman sometimes purchased and quickly resold vessels for the packet trade: the *Sunday Standard* claimed that he "purchased the United States pilot boat *America* and has since sold the vessel to four Bravas here, who will put her in the Cape Verde trade." Ship registers support this claim: the boat was registered on 25 February 1919, and was owned by Jose T. Correia, Isaac Azulay, Julio M. Fernandez, and Frank Jose Perry, all of New Bedford.[181] Sometimes

179 Meintel, "Cape Verdean Transnationalism," 31-32.

180 Marilyn Halter, *Between Race and Ethnicity: Cape Verdean American Immigrants, 1860-1965* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 37 and 45.

181 *Ship Registers of New Bedford, Massachusetts: Volume III*, 13.

these investments went the other way; the article also reported that the schooner *Cameo*, formerly in the packet trade and owned by Jose M. Domingues, was sold to Captain John Cook, "through the agency of Abram Herman." It remained under the command of Domingues, and "just sailed for a whaling voyage, her maiden trip after whales."[182]

The same article noted that Brava native Benjamin J. Taber, of New Bedford, "has largely to do with the conduct of the trade with the Cape Verdes from this city, and he is directly associated with the Hermans in the business."[183] Herman's business relationship with the Portuguese and Cape Verdean communities was not altogether unusual for Jewish residents of New Bedford. Herman's brother, Samuel Louis Herman (not to be confused his Herman's son, Samuel Herman), also did business with these groups. Samuel's son Myron (Abram Herman's nephew), talked about his father's business relationships in a 1982 interview. According to Myron Herman, Samuel L. Herman started business as a peddler, and soon transitioned into running a dry goods store ("You wanted a yard of ribbon, he had it. You wanted a pair of stockings, he had it. You name it, he had it.")[184] In 1908 or 1910, "my father had an opportunity to go to work and buy a very large store further south on Water Street between Rivet and Potomska Street. It was across the street from the Potomska Mills. . . . Now he became the owner of a department store, and it was the biggest thing of its kind around there. He was very successful." Herman noted that in the store, called Herman's,

> . . . there were a lot of foreigners coming in, especially Portuguese who were a nice type of immigrant that was there and he became a very very big favorite with them and learned to speak Portuguese very fluently and he was known in Portuguese as Samwell. Everybody knew him as Samwell. At the same time, how this happened I will never know, but he supplied a great deal of the merchandise that went to the Azores, because they used to buy their things that they needed over there from Germany and they were being soaked unmercifully. And he got himself acquainted with the sea captains who were bringing immigrants over here and he had developed quite a trade that was between New Bedford and the Azores Islands.[185]

182 *New Bedford Sunday Standard*, 23 February 1919.

183 Ibid.

184 The 1910 federal census also listed Samuel Louis Herman as a retail merchant in the dry goods business; he emigrated to the United States in 1892, and was living at 777 Water Street. Samuel L. Herman household, 1910 United States Federal Census, New Bedford Ward 6, Bristol County, Massachusetts.

185 Myron Herman interview.

Myron Herman went on to say that his father "had a brother Abraham who stayed down in the Jewish community low down there near Grinnell Street, and he developed also another department store down there. So, they were both in the same kind of business."[186] At the very least, the Herman brothers – Abram and Samuel – likely shared some connections in the packet trade, with Abram buying and selling ships, and Samuel supplying merchandise for the packet trade.

Jewish connections to the Cape Verde packet trade emerged in other oral history interviews, too. Louis Silverstein's maternal grandfather, Joseph Rubin, was a Ukrainian immigrant who came to the United States in 1907 with his son Louis, and worked in the sweatshops of New York City. He and his son moved to New Bedford at the urging of friends William and Elizabeth Stern, who had immigrated in 1886 and kept a small grocery store on New Bedford's Water Street. Jacob (Jake) Rubin came over after his father had, but before his mother and sister arrived; he traveled with a friend from Ukraine directly to New Bedford. He worked for the Sterns making deliveries for their Water Street grocery store. In 1909, Joseph's wife Tillie and their seven-year-old daughter Annie came to the United States, also going straight to New Bedford. The family lived on Pleasant Street in the South End, in the Jewish community. In 1910, their 22-year-old son Louis was working as a carder in the cotton mill, while 14-year-old Jake was a salesman in the Stern family's grocery store.[187] Silverstein noted—only half joking—that his uncle's first language was Yiddish, and his second language was Creole, because of working with Cape Verdeans in the grocery store.[188]

Joseph Rubin started a mattress factory, located at 421 South Water Street.[189] The 1911 city directory listed Joseph working alongside son Louis; in time, Rubin had three sons join him in the firm J. Rubin & Sons.[190] By 1916, the city directory lists the business

186 Ibid.

187 Details about Rubin family history from Louis Silverstein, interview by Laura Miller, 22 November 2013, as well as census data; see Joseph Rubin household, 1910 United States Federal Census, New Bedford Ward 6, Bristol County, Massachusetts, Ancestry.com; and Joseph Rubin household, 1920 United States Federal Census, New Bedford Ward 5, Bristol County, Massachusetts.

188 Louis Silverstein interview.

189 *New Bedford and Fairhaven Directory* (1911), 483.

190 Louis Rubin's given name is spelled "Lewis" in the 1911 city directory cited above.

at 146 South Second Street, and the family living at 138 South Second Street.[191] In time the Rubins expanded to include upholstered furniture and sold throughout New England, and remained in business until the mid-1960s. J. Rubin & Sons mattresses could be found in ships along the New Bedford waterfront. Whether the early twentieth-century firm supplied any of the whaleships still active in the industry's final decades is not known, but family memory recalls that they supplied the packet trade to the Azores. "My grandfather [Joseph Rubin]," recalls Louis Silverstein, "sold a large number of mattresses to the person he supplied, and he got a check for a thousand dollars. And he kept the check in pocket a week, maybe longer, because he had never seen that kind of money."

Despite the few productive years of collaboration between the city's Jewish residents and Cape Verdean residents in the packet trade, the entire industry (both whaling and the packet trade) collapsed almost completely in the mid-1920s. The packet trade suffered because of the passage of strict immigration laws in the United States in 1921 and 1924. According to Meintel:

> The severe restrictions placed on immigration to the United States by the Immigration Acts of 1921 and 1924 were to limit greatly the possibilities of circulation of people, goods and information between Cabe Verdeans in the U.S. and those in Cabo Verde. With the 'Quota Law' of 1921 yearly ceilings on immigration were fixed at 3% of that nationality's foreign born residents in the United States in 1910. Southern Europeans (including Cape Verdeans, who came as Portuguese citizens) were thus severely limited, and overall quota immigration would total about 350 000. . . . The Immigration Act of 1924 required immigrants to obtain visas abroad, reduced quotas further and reduced each source to a yearly immigration limit of 2% of that nationality resident in the United States in 1890.[192]

This was compounded by strict restrictions on emigration by the Portuguese: "The new context of increased state controls at both ends of the migration process accelerated the demise of the packet trade, leaving the immigrant community in the U.S. largely cut off from its roots. After the early 1920s, Brava returned to her former isolation . . ."[193]

The blow compounded the earlier devastation inflicted by the end of World War I on the whaling industry: "The end of the war also brought an end to any talk of a comeback of the American whaling industry. New Bedford was by this time America's

191 *New Bedford and Fairhaven Directory* (1916), 826.

192 Meintel, "Cape Verdean Transnationalism," 33.

193 Meintel, "Cape Verdean Transnationalism," 34.

only remaining whale port, boasting fewer than a dozen whaleships, which made occasional and relatively brief forays into the Atlantic Ocean. The profits were slim, and as the price of oil fell from wartime highs, one by one the old whaleships ceased whaling. Long called the Whaling City, New Bedford no longer lived up to its name."[194] With the end of whaling in New Bedford in 1925, and the collapse of the packet trade, Herman likely needed to seek new sources of income.

Abram Herman largely disappeared from the archival record by the late 1920s; what little we can piece together of the last decade and a half of his life comes from his yearly appearance in the New Bedford city directory. In 1926 he was still listed as working in real estate at 324 Pleasant Street; his son Haskell was working as a clerk, Julius was in sales. Sons Samuel and Louis were both doing business in the family offices at 129 Union Street; Louis working as a lawyer, and Samuel in real estate with a Cape Verdean immigrant named Antone Santos, under the business name Herman & Santos.[195] The Herman family partnerships with Cape Verdeans clearly continued after the demise of whaling and the packet trade. Abram's wife, Fannie, likely died sometime around 1927 or 1928 – her name no longer showed up in the city directories after that point. Herman continued to work; in 1937, he was listed as the manager of Union Tavern, still living at 324 Pleasant Street. Abram Herman died in New Bedford in 1940.[196] For a man who was once hailed as a "local whaling prince," there is frustratingly little evidence of his life after the industry's demise.

Case Study:
The Last Outfitter: Samuel Horvitz and Family

The other Jewish New Bedford resident to play a central role in the whaling industry's final years was Samuel Horvitz, the owner of the city's last whaling outfitters store. Horvitz was born circa 1868 in Butrimonys, Lithuania. He emigrated to the United States in 1884, and was naturalized in 1888.[197] His family followed a common pattern from Lithuania to the United States – Horvitz and his brothers, Solomon, Samuel, Isaac,

194 Dolin, *Leviathan*, 366.

195 *New Bedford and Fairhaven Directory* (1926), 465.

196 *New Bedford and Fairhaven Directory* (1937), 337. Information about Abram Herman's death date from *Massachusetts, Death Index, 1901-1980*, Vol. 63, p. 475, Index Vol. Number 96, Reference Number F63.M363 v. 96.

197 Census records offer conflicting birth dates and immigration year for Horvitz; we use the data from the 1920 United States Federal Census, New Bedford Ward 4, Bristol County, Massachusetts.

Ezra, and Jacob, all moved to the United States, first settling in Rochester, New York. In 1887, only Israel Horvitz was listed in the Rochester city directory, working as a peddler. By 1889, the directory listed Isaac, Israel, and Samuel "Horwitz" living in the city and working as peddlers.[198] Samuel, his wife Flora (Levine) Horvitz, and his brothers eventually made their way to Massachusetts. Samuel settled in New Bedford sometime around 1894, when the city directory listed him as a grocer with his brother Israel Horvitz at 425 South Water Street, living at 417 South Water Street.[199] According to Horvitz's son-in-law, Morris Sederholm, Samuel and his brother Ezra began working as bakers, becoming "the first Jewish bakers in New Bedford." In a written narrative of his family's history, Ezra's son (Samuel's nephew) David Horvitz offered a similar recollection of how his father and mother came to New Bedford: "My father [Ezra Horvitz] was a baker by trade and my mother had a sister living in New Bedford, Mass. Her sister Bella wrote to my mother saying that they needed a Jewish baker in New Bedford and that is how they eventually landed in New Bedford and opened a bake shop."[200] (David Horvitz did not mention Samuel's role in the bakery.) The bakery would later be known as Kroudvird's



Figure 3.15: Wedding portrait of Samuel Horvitz and Flora (Levine) Horvitz, taken in Rochester, New York, ca. late 1880s – early 1890s. Courtesy of the New Bedford Whaling Museum.

198 *The Rochester Directory* (Rochester, NY: Drew, Allis & Company, 1887), 253; *The Rochester Directory* (Rochester, NY: Drew, Allis & Company, 1889), 276.

199 *New Bedford and Fairhaven Directory* (1894), 301.

200 David Horvitz, written recollections to his grandson, Loren Rodwin, 1976. In "Roots, Family Trees" collection, Box 1, Folder B3, CJC. Bertha Leen, Ezra's granddaughter, recounted a similar narrative in a 1979 oral history interview; Bertha Leen, interview by Martin Butler, 3 December 1979, New Bedford/Fall River Jewish Community Oral History Collection, MC 23/CJC, CJC.

Bakery. When they decided to go their separate ways, Samuel bought the Smith Mills Granary, "where they used to grind all the meal for the farmers."[201] The 1900 United States census listed Horvitz as a grain dealer, living in an apartment at 86 Potomska Street with his wife Flora (Levine) Horvitz and five children. In 1907, Horvitz established a shoe store, S. Horvitz Boots and Shoes, at 64 Union Street, at the southwest corner of Union and Water Streets. It had previously been the Donaghy Shoe Store. The family had moved to 16 Washington Street sometime around 1908 and by 1910, Samuel and Flora had seven children: Julius, Jacob, Israel, David, Molly, Ann, and Eva. Julius was the oldest child, at 20 years old, and Eva was the youngest, at 4 years old.[202] The Horvitz's three oldest sons – Julius, Jacob, and Israel – all worked as clerks in their father's store.[203] Samuel Horvitz's business dealings required that he learn English, allowing him to gain access to the broader New Bedford social and business community; Flora Horvitz, by contrast, spoke only Yiddish and her world was therefore largely confined to New Bedford's Jewish community.



Figure 3.16: Portrait of Samuel Horvitz, taken in New Bedford, Massachusetts. Date unknown. Courtesy of the New Bedford Whaling Museum.

201 Morris and Molly Sederholm, interview by Bill Wollison and Beverly Goldstein, 18 March 1982, New Bedford/Fall River Jewish Community Oral History Collection, MC 23/CJC, CJC.

202 *New Bedford Directory* (1908), 260; Samuel Horvitz household, 1910 United States Federal Census, New Bedford Ward 5, Bristol County, Massachusetts.

203 Samuel Horvitz household, 1910 United States Federal Census, New Bedford Ward 5, Bristol County, Massachusetts.

In 1916, the closing of two stores created a business opportunity for Horvitz: Leander Brightman's whaling outfitters, located diagonally across from Horvitz's shop on Union Street, and J. & W. R. Wing & Co. store on Union Street.[204] He became friendly with Azorean whaling captain Bill Joseph, who suggested that his fellow whaling captains meet him at Horvitz's store. Horvitz's son-in-law, Morris Sederholm, began working in the store in 1918, and described how the store became the meeting point for the captains:



Figure 3.17: S. Horvitz Boots and Shoes store at its original location, 64 Union Street in New Bedford. Courtesy of the New Bedford Whaling Museum.

> . . . at that time all the Captains used to hang around Leander Brightman's which is a whaling outfitter. Well when Bill Joseph came to New Bedford they sent word to him that they'd like to see him. Well he said, 'You want to see me, come down to Sam Horvitz's place, I'll be there.' So one by one the skippers all drifted into my father-in-law's place to see Bill Joseph and that way he got acquainted with them and that's how he got in with the whaling captains and whaling owners.[205]

The store soon became both a place for the captains to do business, and a place where they could meet to reminisce:

> He [Horvitz] had a great big pot bellied stove in the middle of the floor and a box of sand. And we had a lot of chairs around a circle. . . . And all the Captains they'd come in early in the morning and they'd sit there all day long just swapping stories, tellin' lies, chewin' tobacco, spittin' in the sandbox. . . .

204 "New Bedford Outfitters," in *Old Dartmouth Historical Sketch,* Number 44 (1916).

205 Morris Sederholm interview by James Healy and Reginald Hegarty, 17 October 1962. Transcript at the New Bedford Free Public Library, New Bedford, MA.

> Or I'd go next door to Ice and Sherburn, the fruit people, and I'd buy a big ten pound bag of peanuts in the shell and they'd sit there all day long eatin' peanuts till the shells were up to their knees. And I'd get a couple gallons of cider. And they'd drink cider and eat peanuts all day long. Just six days a week. That's where we did all our business and that's where they, all the voyages were planned and everything else. And if anybody had any business to do with the Captains they knew that's where to go.[206]

The men nicknamed the outfitters "Portagee Corner," because of the many Portuguese whaling captains that congregated there. By this time, many of New Bedford's whaling captains were: for example, August Gomes, captain of the *A. M. Nicholson* was Portuguese, and Antone Corvello, captain of the *Grey Hound*, and Henry Mandley, Jr., captain of the *Valkyria*, were Azorean.

These relationships initiated Horvitz into the business of whaling, and he was soon both investing in and outfitting whaleships. Sederholm recalled that "he [Horvitz] bought into one vessel, and then he bought into another ship . . . he owned in about twelve or thirteen vessels."[207] Horvitz ultimately invested in a number of ships between 1916 and 1921, including the *A.M. Nicholson* (schooner), *Arthur V. S. Woodruff* (schooner), *Athlete* (schooner), *Charles W. Morgan* (bark), *Claudia* (schooner), *Grey Hound* (bark), *Valkyria* (schooner), and the *William A. Graber* (schooner).[208] Appropriately, the first investment he made was in the bark *Charles W. Morgan* in 1916, with a 2/64 share.[209] Indeed, most of Horvitz's investments were a direct outgrowth of this mixing of business and friendship: Sederholm's recollections of the whaling captains included mentions of John Edwards, captain of the *Arthur V. S. Woodruff*, Lester A. Mosher, captain of the *Athlete*, and Benjamin D. Cleveland, captain of the *Charles W. Morgan*, among others.[210] And these investments were a key source of the family's income: Horvitz's granddaughter Brenda Marder believes that the income from these investments was a greater source of income for the family than the outfitters store. She

206 Ibid.

207 Ibid.

208 *Ship Registers of New Bedford, Massachusetts, Vol. III*, 1, 18, 34, 37, 74, 170, and 179.

209 *Ship Registers of New Bedford, Massachusetts*, *Vol. III*, 34.

210 Morris and Molly Sederholm interview by Bill Wollison and Beverly Goldstein.

said that the "bulk of his income probably came from the whaling business," that is, the shares he owned in whaling vessels.[211]

Around this time, the Horvitz's bought a home at 71 Arnold Street that was indicative of the family's upward mobility.[212] Marder remembered fondly her grandparents' home on Arnold Street, paid for with profits from the whaling industry—a "very, very nice upscale kind of place"—and the "beautiful gardens" that Flora Horvitz attended with the help of gardeners.[213] Horvitz's grandson, Harris Sederholm, similarly remembered it as a "Beautiful house with a beautiful yard, immaculately tailored," but: "we couldn't walk on the grass. My grandmother refused to let the grandkids walk on the grass."[214]

Samuel Horvitz and his family developed not only close business relationships with the whaling captains, but also strong friendships. When Horvitz's daughter, Molly, married Morris Sederholm on September 7, 1921, he rented out the Fairhaven Town Hall for the occasion. Thirteen whaling captains attended their wedding, and they gave the newlyweds a set of 112 pieces of Nippon China.[215] When Morris and Molly had a son, Harris, he was given the middle name Pemberton in honor of his godfather, Pemberton Nye, a Quaker ship owner well- known to the Horvitz family. According to Harris Sederholm, Nye asked Molly Sederholm to name her son after him because he was a bachelor and wanted his name carried on after his death. They agreed, and named their son Harris Pemberton Sederholm. (Harris Sederholm later noted that he had never actually met Pemberton Nye.)[216]

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211 Brenda and Everett Marder, interview by Laura Miller, 4 March 2014.

212 An interview by the Horvitz descendants suggested that Horvitz bought the 71 Arnold Street home in 1907, but the New Bedford city directories indicate otherwise; they first show up in the city directory at the Arnold Street address in 1918; see *New Bedford and Fairhaven Directory* (1918), 642. Jeffrey Entin, Theresa Entin, Harris Sederholm, Eunice Sederholm, Brenda Marder, and Everett Marder, interview by Laura Orleans in South Dartmouth, MA, 19 May 2001, partial transcript OH2009.5, Box 11, Folder 1, Places of Whaling, Horvitz Whaling Outfitters, OH 2009.5.33 and 2009.5.34, NBWM. Unfortunately, the interview itself could not be located at the archives; only a summarization and index of the interview's contents was available to the authors.

213 Brenda and Everett Marder interview.

214 Harris Sederholm interview.

215 Pat Amaral, *They Ploughed the Seas: Profiles of Azorean Master Mariners* (St. Petersburg, FL: Valkyrie Press, 1978), 49-50.

216 Harris Sederholm interview.

Although Horvitz was a part owner of whaling vessels, his main business focused on outfitting the ships for whaling voyages out of New Bedford. As the business grew, it also outgrew its home at 64 Union Street. In 1921 the First National Bank moved uptown, and Horvitz bought their building at 110 Union Street (on the corner of Union and Second Streets) and converted it into a store for the outfitters. Horvitz's grandchildren, Brenda Marder and Harris Sederholm recalled the store and its surroundings. "Right across the street was the Police Station," Marder would recall, "always a source of



Figure 3.18: Samuel Horvitz's Whaling Outfitters at 110 Union Street in New Bedford. Date unknown. Courtesy of the New Bedford Whaling Museum.

fascination."[217] "There were also barrooms," Marder remembers, "saloons we called them in those days, on every corner there." As you entered the store, "on the right hand side," were "built-in benches"—"quite handsome, now that I remember it"—where "fishermen bought their boots and shoes." Just beyond, toward the middle of the store, were the clothes, piled on counters. This was the "major reason" that the whaling captains and fishermen were there. Harris Sederholm also had clear memories of the store's interior:

217 Brenda and Everett Marder interview.

"You have to remember this was an old bank building. And the walls were, if I remember, were of a walnut texture. So therefore it was a walnut color and very dark. I remember aisles with just plain tables with the merchandise just put on the tables. I remember saddles. I remember the oilskins. All sorts of rubber goods such as boots and gloves and hats and waders and that type of thing."[218] Because the store primarily did its business with shipping agents, they really did not have to display their goods to customers.



Figure 3.19: Five men on a pilot boat, with Morris Sederholm at mast. Date unknown. Courtesy of the New Bedford Whaling Museum.

The regular meetings of whaling captains that began in the store's first location at 64 Union Street continued at the new store at 110 Union. Morris Sederholm recalled that they designated a space for the captains in the new store:

218 Jeffrey Entin, Theresa Entin, Harris Sederholm, Eunice Sederholm, Brenda Marder, and Everett Marder, interview by Laura Orleans.

> When we moved in they still had the many fixtures from the bank. . . . [on one side of the store] we had a shoe department where we sold men's shoes. . . . We retained the vault in the middle of the store. On the other side of the vault . . . we set up chairs for [the whaling captains] and they used to come in and sit around and tell the stories of their lives and everything. . . . In the morning all these characters would come in and sit around and stay there all day.[219]

But while Horvitz spent much of his time with the captains, Sederholm did much of the work running the outfitters business.

According to his son Harris, Morris Sederholm was of medium height, with wavy blond hair and blue eyes. "To the people that knew him, he was the warmest man in the world." But, he noted, his father was "quite uncomfortable in society itself, he was sort of insecure, and I believe that dates back to his family experience. His father left the family when he was in his teens, and he became the man of the house and he had to leave high school to get a job to help support his mother," who ran a rooming house in the North End of New Bedford.[220] But if Morris Sederholm was insecure in society, he nevertheless threw himself into his work for the Horvitz Whaling Outfitters.

> Sederholm performed a variety of jobs for the business: I used to be the agent for the agent. I used to handle all the accounts of the ship, pay off the men, ship them out when they were going out, ship them in when they came back. . . . the first thing I did was take them ashore and take them right down to the store and fit 'em out with a suit of clothes, shoes and everything . . ..[221]

He also fitted out crew members after they signed on to a ship: "I'd give him a bag, a sea bag which contained oilskins, a suit of oilskins, a sou'wester, work shoes, work shirt, dungarees and he'd also get a monkey's breakfast, it was a straw mattress to put on his bunk. . . . just a cheap ticking mattress full of straw that he would use for his bunk." A mattress that came, perhaps, from the J. Rubin & Sons mattress factory. This "all came out of their wages," he added. "So that's why I say, before they were through they had nothing left."[222] A crewmember would be given a thirty-dollar advance, and "he was

219 Morris and Molly Sederholm interview by Bill Wollison and Beverly Goldstein.

220 Harris Sederholm interview.

221 Morris Sederholm interview by James Healy and Reginald Hegarty.

222 Morris Sederholm interview by James Healy and Reginald Hegarty.

supposed to buy everything he needed for himself on that thirty dollars."[223] Antonio Rozario Lopes, a Cape Verdean man, worked as an oarsman on two whaling voyages out of New Bedford. His recollections aligned with Sederholm's account: when he signed on to the crew of the *Claudia*, he went to Horvitz's Whaling Outfitters where the cost of his gear was recorded and later deducted from his final pay upon return. (He also remembered, correctly, that Horvitz owned shares the *Claudia*.)[224]

Labor shortages made Sederholm's work challenging, and he often resorted to creative means to pull together a complete crew. "When the ship was going to go out to sea the captain would put them in my hands," he said. "Everything was left to me." He continued:

> [In] those days it was hard to get a crew. So I used to have a man in Boston who I used to get in touch with. I used to pay him ten dollars a head for every man he sent me. He used to send them down to me by train from Boston. I would meet them at the station, bring them up to the store and have them sign the shipping articles and put them aboard. In those times there was a man named Billy West used to be the wharfinger at Pier Three. I used to take them down to Pier Three and put them aboard a Billy West boat. And we'd have the ship anchored out in the middle of the Acushnet River. . . . Once they were aboard they couldn't come ashore anymore.

This system was usually effective for Sederholm, but he occasionally met trouble:

> One time I had a bunch of these guys come down from Boston. They were all bums you know—drunks, bums . . . So I drove down to Pier Three. And all the fishermen gathered around, "You guys know where you're going? You guys know what you're in for?" . . . So when I put them aboard the Billy West
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> boat, I put them aboard the whaler—I think it was A. M. Nicholson at that time. When they got aboard they saw colored or Blacks that were on board. We had what we called a checkerboard crew—Whites and Blacks mixed. So they weren't going to go. I went ashore and I got a hold of Billy Carver who used to do the rigging for all the whalers. I brought him out to the ship. I gave him a rifle and a handgun. And I told [him], "If any of these guys ever come ask where land is, shoot them. If you have to kill them, kill them, but don't

223 Morris and Molly Sederholm interview by Bill Wollison and Beverly Goldstein.

224 Laura Orleans, "Faces of Whaling Oral History Project" report, National Park Service Ethnography Program Northeast Region, January 2000, 33-34.

> let them go ashore." Then they were going to go ashore. They didn't want to do no whaling. So Billy Carver told them, "If you guys make one move to go ashore, I'll shoot you." So he kept them aboard. So the next morning she went to sea with that crew.[225]

At this point in time, this was the reality of the whaling industry's demographics. Sederholm noted that the ship captains, officers, mates, and boatsteerers would "be American citizens, but not of American birth. They'd be black, colored. Most of them were West Indian men, some of them were Cape Verders. One or two were Gayhead Indians."[226]

Sederholm recalled other means he used to round up a crew for the voyages. Another year, he said, "I couldn't get a crew so I went up to the jail. I got a crew out of the jailhouse—all convicts. I told them, 'Do you want to stay in jail or would you rather go to sea?'"[227] He also called on the services of a "Cape Verder named Joe Gold."

> We used to call him 'the necessary evil.' He knew where all these fellows were. . . . When a ship came home it was his job to see that, he put these fellows in these rooming houses, kept them there and either got them jobs or kept them drunk or something or had a woman with them. So that next spring he knew where to find them.[228]

When Sederholm called on Gold, he delivered: "when it came time to get these men he knew where they were. And I'd go to him and I'd say 'Joe I need a third mate for this and this ship.' Or 'I need a second mate' or 'I need a boatsteerer' and he'd come up with it." [229]

When the whalers returned from their voyages, the Coast Guard Station at Cuttyhunk would notify Sederholm. He would round up a port physician, customs officials, and immigration officials, "get hold of the tug boat and we'd all go aboard and go

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225 Morris and Molly Sederholm interview by Bill Wollison and Beverly Goldstein. Also cited in Grover, "African American, West Indian, and St. Helenian Whalemen," 269-270. Her note: "Carter was probably William J. Carter, a rigger whose father was born in Guam (and listed in the census as black); he worked at the base of Union Street and lived nearby at 242 Acushnet Avenue." Billy or William West cannot be identified definitively.

226 Morris Sederholm interview by James Healy and Reginald Hegarty.

227 Morris and Molly Sederholm interview by Bill Wollison and Beverly Goldstein.

228 Morris Sederholm interview by James Healy and Reginald Hegarty.

229 Ibid.

down and meet the boat, help her clear quarantine." The ship was not allowed into New Bedford until it was cleared. He continued,

> then the Captain would turn over his account books to me for the agent. I'd be acting for the agent of the ship. . . . He'd turn all these account over to me and give me an idea of how much oil he had, how many barrels of oil. Then I would come back and I'd get ahold of William A. Robinson. He was the oil refiner at that time. . . . And he would set a price on the oil. An approximate price. And I used to figure out how much each man had coming to him, what the expenses was of unloading the oil, gauging the oil, wharfage and everything else.

Once a crewman's expenses were deducted, Sederholm noted, "Nine times out of ten he owed the ship." If that was the case, they would give the crewman $5 "to sign clear. They'd be out there for six or eight months and come back and take $5. . . . to get rid of them."[230]

Sederholm and the firm became a vehicle by which men eager to emigrate could find their way to the United States: "What we used to do, we used to sail out of New Bedford with a skeleton crew, just the mate and the officers, steward and cook. Then they'd either go to Cape Verde Islands or the West Indies and they'd sign on a crew there of raw material." He continued:

> The only way those fellows could have of getting to the United States was on a whaler. There were no steamers that went to those ports. They had no money to buy passage to go anywheres else to take a steamer. The only way they could come to the United States was on a whaler. So those were the fellows who acted as seamen. . . . They used to go out in boats and catch a whale or two during the year or something like that, so they knew quite a bit. So in that way we used to get crews cheap and on the other hand they used to come to, get here to the United States. And the immigration laws were lax then much more so than they are today so when they used to come here . . . I used to
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> take them all up to the immigration office and have them all registered and pay three dollars a head to permit them to land in the United States, with the provision that they were to ship out again on the next available ship. But of course a lot of them, once they got here, they disappeared.[231]

230 Ibid.

231 Ibid.

Like Abram Herman, Sederholm saw the industry gain a boost during World War I: "During the war," he later reported, "we were getting a dollar and a half a gallon for sperm oil." He recalled that Horvitz recouped his full $1000 investment for 1/16 of the *Grey Hound* from one voyage in 1918. But the resurgence was short-lived: "the owners made pretty good money until the oil, price of oil dropped around 1920, '21. . . around 1922 there was no more demand for sperm oil and the price went down to around 40 cents a gallon and it didn't pay to go out whaling. The supplies cost more, outfitting cost more. The price of sending a ship to sea doubled and the price of oil dropped about 200 percent."[232] (The packet trade, however, remained profitable; Harris Sederholm recalled that his Uncle Dave—Samuel Horvitz's son—rented a packet ship and took it to the Azores to trade. He bought goods cheap in New Bedford, and sold them at a high price in the Azores.[233])

The flagging whaling industry may help explain the Horvitz family's involvement in a rum running operation in 1921. That year, the schooner *Romance* was seized in the Port of Boston. The ship's captain, Wilfred Senior of Dorchester, as well as Roy F. Teixeira, the president of the Insular Trading Company which owned the *Romance*, and Samuel Horvitz's son, Israel were arrested for smuggling 3,000 bottles of liquor into the United States from Brava, in the Cape Verde Islands. Israel Horvitz was identified in a special dispatch from New Bedford to the *Boston Daily Globe* as "a representative of the Horvitz Trading Company of this city . . . [who] was coming back from the Cape Verde Islands as a passenger."[234] The *Boston Daily Globe* described the scene: After being tipped off about the *Romance*, the Port of Boston Surveyor Herman Hormel dispatched the coastguard ship *Acushnet* to be on the lookout. When the *Acushnet*'s crew spotted the *Romance*, it followed it into the port and boarded the ship:

> Examining the manifest, it was found that the Romance was supposed to have 250 cases of Scotch whisky in the regular cargo. When asked to be shown this liquor, the Boston men found an extraordinary situation. The liquor was all there, but it was not found to be 'regular' by any means. Some of it was down in the forehold of the craft, while a major portion . . . was under a part

232 Morris Sederholm interview by James Healy and Reginald Hegarty, as quoted in Grover, "African American, West Indian, and St Helenian Whalemen," 271.

233 Harris Sederholm interview.

234 "Booze Schooner Romance Seized," *Boston Daily Globe*, 21 November 1921.

> of a cargo of salt. This fact could not be explained to the satisfaction of the surveyor and he told a reporter that the entry in the manifest had no doubt been made after the Romance sighted the Acushnet.[235]

In 1922, Israel Horvitz was found guilty of "conspiracy to smuggle liquor" for his role in the smuggling operation, and was fined $500 and sentenced to three months in Plymouth Jail.[236] According to the Boston press, the ship had left Brava 38 days earlier, and made stops in Dominique and Bermuda. The crew list for the *Romance*, arriving at New Bedford on 20 November 1921, listed Israel Horvitz as a carpenter on the ship's crew.[237] His conviction suggests otherwise, and is supported by family lore: in an interview with Horvitz's descendants, Morris Sederholm's son Harris, told an interviewer a story of "his father meeting a whaleship at the dock with his car during prohibition, loading up with illegal rum (brought back from West Indies) and driving past [the] police station and to the store."[238]

The *Romance* debacle was only a prelude to the crisis that would befall the family in the mid-1920s. The *Wanderer*, the last whaling ship to be fitted out in New Bedford, departed the city on 15 August 1924; the next day, it was shipwrecked off the coast of Cuttyhunk Island.[239] The 1925 cruise of the *John R. Manta* was the last whaling voyage to depart New Bedford and return with oil—albeit very little. Kathryn Grover writes that William Henry Tripp in *There Goes Flukes* "noted that a shipping agent he did not identify shipped eight Boston men by telling them 'they were to join a vessel at New Bedford that was going to the West Indies, and had promised them that they would each make seven hundred dollars on the trip. . . . These foremast-hands soon learned that they would receive little or nothing at the end of the four months voyage. They were very angry, but resistance was useless. Dire threats were made against the shipping agent should they ever

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235 "Booze Schooner Romance Seized," *Boston Daily Globe*, 21 November 1921.

236 "New Trial Denied Three in Liquor Smuggling Case," *Boston Daily Globe*, 12 August 1922; "Lipsitt and Horvitz Get Prison Terms," *Boston Daily Globe*, 5 November 1922.

237 Israel Horvitz listed as a crewmember on the Vessel *Romance*, arriving at New Bedford, 20 November 1921, from the port of Brava, Cape Verde Islands; *Massachusetts Crew Lists, 1917-1943*, Ancestry.com.

238 Jeffrey Entin, Theresa Entin, Harris Sederholm, Eunice Sederholm, Brenda Marder, and Everett Marder, interview by Laura Orleans.

239 Arato and Eleey, *Safely Moored*, 39 and 51.

meet him again."[240] "Judging by the similarity of this account to those Sederholm told," Grover speculates that "the agent was probably Horvitz Whaling Outfitters."[241]

Indeed, reflecting back on the whaling business, Sederholm observed the "dirty business" of whaling: "The Captain robbed the crew, the agent robbed the Captain and the owners robbed the agent. That was whaling. . . . There was no romance in whaling when it came right down to it, it was a dirty business."[242] His son Harris Sederholm indicated that this lesson was passed on to him. His father thought the system was cruel, he said, and "He took all the romance out of it."[243]

After whaling ended completely in 1925, the whaling captains continued to meet regularly at Horvitz's store into the 1930s.[244] The store was still a place for the men to "tell their lies and chew the fat," in Sederholm's words.[245] Samuel Horvitz's granddaughter, Brenda Marder, also recalled the whaling captains coming to share their stories at the Whaling Outfitters when she was a young child. She recalled that eight or so aging captains would gather in the "cozy corner" in the back of the store, especially on the weekends, on Friday nights when the store was open until 8:00 or 9:00 pm and on Saturdays during the day.[246] "They would sit in the back of the store," she recalled, "away from the customers—they had their own little niche back there. My grandfather would totally ignore the business" (he was "bored by it," she believes, though "caught up in the whaling stuff") and "sit back there with them. And they told just story after story about the boats, and the happenings."[247] Horvitz relished those stories, and would take them on

240 Tripp, *The Goes Flukes: The Story of New Bedford's Last Whaler* (New Bedford: Reynolds Printing, 1938), 176, as quoted in Grover, "African American, West Indian, and St Helenian Whalemen," 272.

241 Morris Sederholm interview by James Healy and Reginald Hegarty, as quoted in Grover, "African American, West Indian, and St Helenian Whalemen," 272.

242 Morris Sederholm interview by James Healy and Reginald Hegarty.

243 Harris Sederholm interview.

244 Laura Orleans, "Places of Whaling Ethnography Project Final Report," 25 February 2002, 48.

245 Morris and Molly Sederholm interview by Bill Wollison and Beverly Goldstein.

246 Hasia Diner notes that many Jews during this time period owned or worked for small businesses, which often relied on the patronage of Americans shopping on Saturdays. Many of them therefore worked on the Sabbath; "Much of what they did reflected the circumstances in which they found themselves and not deep ideological speculation." Diner, *Jews of the United States*, 132.

247 Brenda and Everett Marder interview. Brenda was born in November 1931.

himself, sharing the best ones with new groups as they came in. She also remembered that

> some [captains] were decrepit. One was John Joseph who was always pointed out as a real gentleman. Now ethnically it was a combination of Portuguese and Yankee captains. I remember the Portuguese community was revered by my mother because she got it from my grandfather. He felt very close to the Portuguese immigrants at least the captains and for that reason there was just total ethnic harmony among that group.

Marder continued:

> And all these old guys would come in. My grandfather'd go stand next to them. And all these old captains were sitting down and couldn't stand and when a customer came to buy something, everybody was furious. It was just an interruption. And grandfather'd sent my father who reluctantly left the group to go wait on the customers. The point was the place was, and that's one of the reasons for the bankruptcy probably, the place was totally given over to these old people who loved to come. [248]

It was not a great way to do business, and Horvitz's store suffered for it.

Morris Sederholm stopped working at the store in 1929. He decided to move to Chicago to pursue a business opportunity offered by his cousin, Ken Edlin, and sold his share of the outfitters back to Samuel Horvitz for one dollar. Sederholm recalled: "At that time I was in partners with her father [Samuel Horvitz], Louie Herman the lawyer had his office across the street"—Louis Herman was the son of Abram Herman. "So I went up to Louie. I said, 'Make him out a bill of sale—my share of the whaling outfitter and give it to her father for one dollar. . . . I don't want to have anything against me because I'm leaving.'" Sederholm noted that Horvitz was extremely unhappy with his decision: ". . . her father took it very bad. He never forgave me. We're leaving. And I sold him my share of the business and I went to Chicago."[249] The Sederholms did not stay long in Chicago, returning to New Bedford in 1933. But he did not return to the store: he worked as an insurance agent, and then as a salesman, before opening a delicatessen in the West End of New Bedford—Sederholm's delicatessen, in the late 1940s, which he ran until his retirement in 1965.[250]

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248 Jeffrey Entin, Theresa Entin, Harris Sederholm, Eunice Sederholm, Brenda Marder, and Everett Marder, interview by Laura Orleans.

249 Morris and Molly Sederholm interview by Bill Wollison and Beverly Goldstein.

250 Morris and Molly Sederholm recalled that the deli opened in either 1948 or 1949. The deli shows up in the 1949 city directory. *New Bedford, Fairhaven and Acushnet Directory* (1949), 762.

Another one of Horvitz's son-in-laws, Harry Leviss, took over, managing the outfitters store in the 1930s. Leviss was from Fall River, and was born in July 1899; his father, fish dealer Charles Leviss, had migrated from Kiev in 1893. In August 1930, Horvitz's daughter, Rebecca Eva Horvitz (born in New Bedford in September 1905) eloped with Leviss to New York City. They came back for a more formal ceremony, at the behest of Samuel and Flora, in Fairhaven. Leviss' daughter Brenda Marder recalled that her father did "all of the ordering of supplies," and managed all of the correspondence for the outfitters. By these years, Marder recalled that Samuel Horvitz "kind of just withdrew and sat in the back with all the whaling captains," while Leviss—like Sederholm before him—became the main engine behind the business itself.[251] Although the business continued chugging along for another decade, it failed to adapt to the end of whaling in New Bedford. Marder noted that the store served the fishermen of New Bedford's working waterfront, selling clothing and gear for fisherman.[252] She also recalled that members of the Yacht Club bought their sailing clothes there ("weekend people," in her words).[253] But Horvitz was not interested in taking peoples' advice to turn the business into a sporting goods store. By that point, Marder said, "Grandpa was too tired."[254] This also came in the midst of the Great Depression, when reviving the business would have been difficult under any circumstances.

Brenda Marder had vivid memories of the store's final decline: "So everybody said to my grandfather, so now you'll declare bankruptcy. And we all, I remember the scene, sat down at the dining room table and all of the laid back, quiet brothers were sitting around with my grandfather, my mother and Aunt Molly [Sederholm] must have been there kind of cowering in the corner with my mother. And they discussed this and all of the brothers said, 'You mustn't pay these bills, you must simply declare bankruptcy.' And my grandfather said 'I never will, I'll never go down for that.' And he sat. And these were bad days for the whole Horvitz family because we were all caught in the depression and the beginning of the War was too for us, the aftermath of the depression as it was for most of New Bedford. He died a pauper, I don't think he left two cents because of

251 Brenda and Everett Marder interview.

252 Ibid.

253 Jeffrey Entin, Theresa Entin, Harris Sederholm, Eunice Sederholm, Brenda Marder, and Everett Marder, interview by Laura Orleans.

254 Ibid.

his pride." The store went bankrupt in sometime around 1943, and Horvitz died a year later, in 1944.[255]

Conclusion

Abram Herman and Samuel Horvitz grew in stature within the New Bedford community at large, but they also held prominent roles within the city's Jewish community. This was evident as early as 1899, when both men played prominent roles in

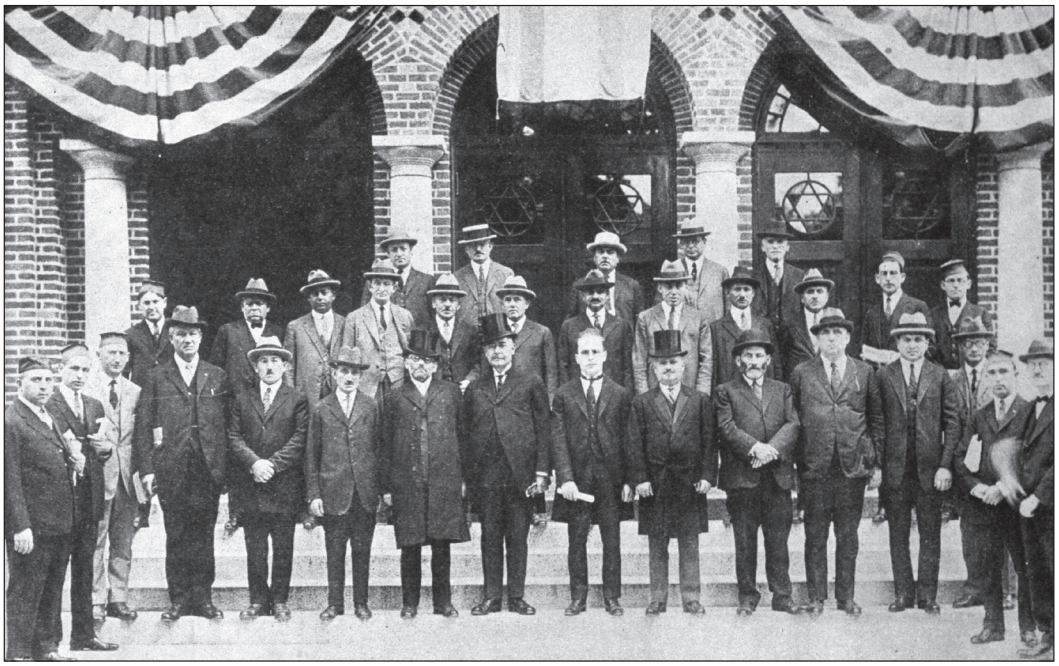


Figure 3.20: Dedication of the Tifereth Israel Synagogue in New Bedford, 14 September 1924. Abram Herman is in the bottom row, sixth man from the left. Courtesy of the Archives of the Center for Jewish Culture, Claire T. Carney Library Archives and Special Collections, UMass Dartmouth.

the establishment of the Howland Street synagogue, Ahavath Achim. Abram Herman was one of the synagogue's original officers, and Samuel Horvitz was on the Building Committee.[256] They also helped establish the Tiferes Israel Synagogue in 1924; Herman played a key role, being elected temporary chairman to spearhead the campaign for the

255 Samuel Horvitz in *Massachusetts, Death Index, 1901-1980*, Vol. 66, P. 109, Index Vol. Number 102, Reference Number F63.M363 v.102, Ancestry.com. Samuel Horvitz obituary in Horvitz Whaling Outfitters documents, Places of Whaling Collection, NBWM.

256 Ahavath Achim Congregation Collection, 1898-(ongoing), Box 1, Folder 1, MC 37/CJC, CJC.

new congregation, and later Vice President of Tiferes Israel. A committee composed of five men—Herman, Horvitz, Max Levy, Ike Abramson, and Abraham Levy—was placed in charge of finding and purchasing a site for the new Synagogue.[257] Both Herman and Horvitz were key figures in the religious and business life of New Bedford's Jewish community.

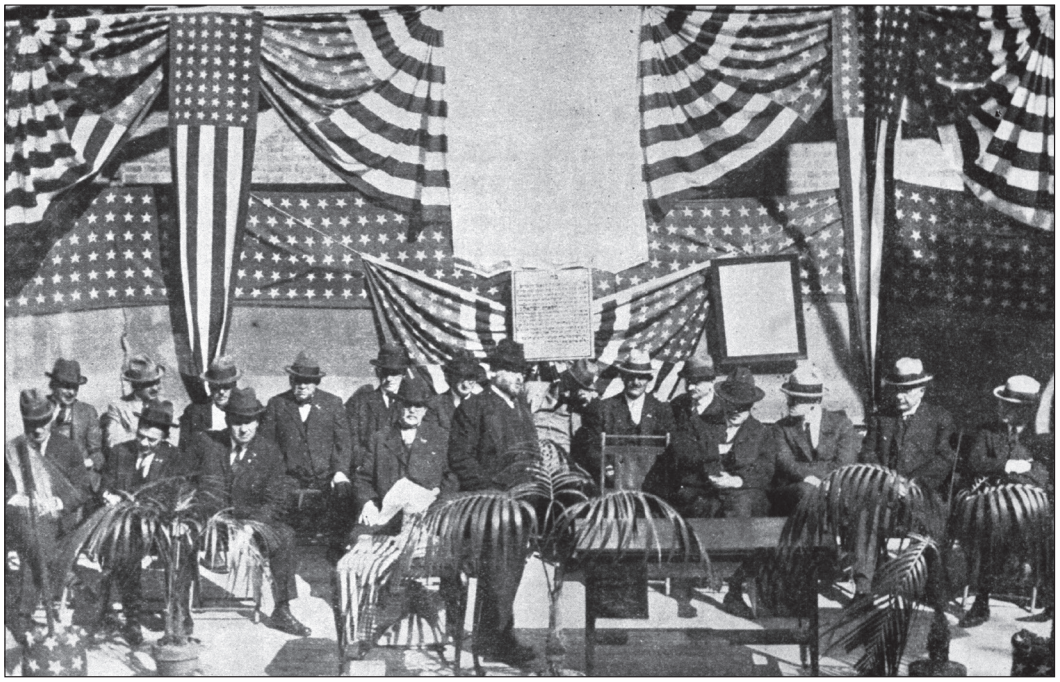


Figure 3.21: Dedication of the Tifereth Israel Synagogue in New Bedford, 14 September 1924. Samuel Horvitz is in the top row, first man on the left. Courtesy of the Archives of the Center for Jewish Culture, Claire T. Carney Library Archives and Special Collections, UMass Dartmouth.

It was business of whaling, however, that distinguished Herman and Horvitz from other members of New Bedford's Jewish community. Horvitz's granddaughter, Brenda Marder, reflected on the immigration experience of Portuguese whaling captains and Jewish merchants in the early twentieth century: "They came over as poor anonymous human beings thrown into this enormous frightening mix. But each one of these guys that sat in the Gam had become a personality through the whaling. The whaling was the path for them into America."[258] For Abram Herman the "whaling prince," and

257 Fisher Abramson, Esq., "History of the Congregation Tifereth Israel."

258 Jeffrey Entin, Theresa Entin, Harris Sederholm, Eunice Sederholm, Brenda Marder, and Everett Marder, interview by Laura Orleans.

Samuel Horvitz the last outfitter, whaling was indeed a means of upward mobility and assimilation for them and their families. Yet despite their prominence in New Bedford in the early decades of the twentieth century, both men would slip into obscurity—a casualty of the rise of memory work that focused on New Bedford's whaling industry at its nineteenth-century peak, rather than its twentieth-century decline. ■

Chapter Four: Remembering and Forgetting the Kanaka Whalemen

Erected, by the Capt Officers & Crew of
the Ship Cowper
to the Memory of

NATHANIEL E. COLE
Boatsteerer of Fall River
Aged 24 y'rs

EDWARD LAFFRAY
of Burlington Vt
Aged 22 y'rs

FRANK KANACKA
Aged 19 y'rs

ALL LOST BY THE UPSETTING OF THEIR/BOAT JULY 15, 1854/IN THE OCHOTSK SEA.

So reads a cenotaph in the New Bedford Seamen's Bethel. This memorial to three lives lost in the mid-nineteenth-century hunt for whales joins other markers that honor whalers who died or were lost and buried at sea. Nearby is another marker, to another man from the Hawaiian islands, an 1837 tablet "in memory" of "Charles Willson/ of Attoi Sandwich Isles aged twenty seven yrs./who died on board the Ship/HOUQUA." Beneath these lines begins a poem, "In death distinctions are unknown/By mortals vainly given."

If distinctions are unknown in death, they were known in life by the Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders who found themselves in New Bedford. In both history and memory, these men found themselves set apart from other New Bedford populations. Though dozens died and were buried in New Bedford and elsewhere in Bristol County, none of those graves are marked, or their locations even known. The marble monuments to Frank Kanacka and Charles Willson—neither of these men's names at birth—are the only tangible reference to the role of these seamen in the city's maritime heritage.

Despite the significant presence of Pacific Islanders in the city's nineteenth-century whaling history, they are largely forgotten in the city's memorial and heritage

landscapes today. With no descendant community to champion their cause, whalers from the Pacific World did not gain much purchase as formal memory of whaling took shape in the nineteenth and early twentieth-century city. The men and women who first channeled their energies into the preservation of the city's whaling heritage were (understandably) interested most in the stories of their own ancestors—the Yankee captains and crew whom they credited with the New Bedford's incredible success and prosperity. A robust nationalism infused with what anthropologist Renato Rosaldo has termed "imperial nostalgia" proved a prime shaper of both whaling history and whaling heritage, as both historians and the heritage community promoted narratives of American whaling superiority that downplayed, and even actively or erased, the labor of foreign- and native-born people of color.[1]

This chapter tracks the birth of maritime memory in New Bedford, and offers something of its genealogy as well. In particular, we contemplate seven episodes in which it took its particular form. We begin with the cenotaphs in the Seamen's Bethel, and look in turn at New Bedford's participation in the 1883 International Fisheries Exhibition as well as better-known stories, including the founding of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society, the creation of the 1912 Whaleman Statue, and the building of the Bourne Whaling Museum. We then consider other pivotal moments, like the 1926 publications of Clifford Ashley's *Yankee Whaler*, and Rockwell Kent's Random House edition of *Moby-Dick* (begun the same year as Ashley's volume appeared, and completed in 1930) and conclude again at the Seamen's Bethel, with the placing of the 1930 Massachusetts Bay Tercentenary memorial boulder and tablet. Our aim here, then, is not a comprehensive narrative of the public history of whaling, but rather a selective look at these formative moments in the city's pastkeeping in an effort to better understand the foundations of the city's maritime heritage work, and so to better address its challenges today.

Our focus is on the period historian Glenn M. Grasso has termed the "Maritime Revival" (1870-1940), decades during which maritime heritage, as part of a larger landscape of revival, was romanticized in particular ways.[2] Public memory of New Bedford whaling took shape as the industry itself was in steep decline; the

1 See Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," in *Representations* No. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring 1989), 107-122; and Thomas Engelhart, "A Whaler's Toil, At Sea, In Port and In Memory," unpublished research paper (March 2014), Academia.edu. https://www.academia.edu/6719796/

2 Grasso, "The Maritime Revival."

rapid industrialization and significant demographic change that came in its wake gave urgency to the work of the city's heritage community, anxious—in every sense of the word—to establish the parameters of maritime memory in ways that ensured their particular legacies. As public historian Patricia West writes, analyzing expressions of pastkeeping impulses in terms of the political agendas that they hoped to serve reveals them to be agents of American cultural politics rather than neutral expressions of public understanding. This series of snapshots, then, seeks to probe how the diverse whaling communities of New Bedford's mid-nineteenth century became flattened, whitened, and collapsed as public memory converged around the iconic "Yankee Whaleman."[3] The first "chapter" in this story, then, unfolds in the period 1830-1880, decades during which Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders begin to slip slowly to the margins of formal collective memory in New Bedford, caught up in the generally elegiac tone surrounding both whaling as an industry and indigenous peoples more generally in the ever-expanding United States. The gathering of artifacts and images for the 1883 fisheries exhibition, the founding of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society, the creation of The Whaleman statue and the founding of the Bourne Museum all reflect moments in the process by which Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders were relegated to ethnographic/anthropological spheres, rather than securing a place in the city's history. By the 1920s, Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders—no longer viewed as integral to whaling's history—would be largely collapsed together in the literary form of Herman Melville's Queequeg.

In part, these phenomena relied on (artificial) distinctions between the romantic world of the whaleship and the gritty realities of life in New Bedford. "One of the first thing Maritime Revivalists did," Glenn Grasso proposes, "was to create a dichotomy between 'the sea' and 'the shore.' By establishing a bifurcated experience . . . Maritime Revivalists created an exotic construction of mariners and their world."[4] Celebrations of the entrepreneurship, courage and vision of whalers at sea effectively marginalized all shoreside activity; the city boardinghouses and the men who lived in them became side-notes as whaling's throughline traced through riggings, not ropewalks. Moreover, "only the most heroic, white, archly masculine players" were featured in those narratives; maritime pastkeepers "distorted the real maritime world—the experience-as-lived—by softening the abuse, smoothing the rough edges, and homogenizing what was a very

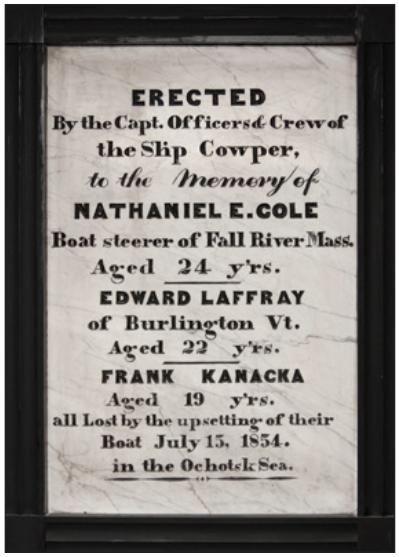
3 Patricia West, *Domesticating History: The Political Origins of American House Museums* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999).

4 Grasso, "Maritime Revival," 7.

diverse set of scenes and players." Rapid economic and demographic change propelled the Maritime Revival, as "Old Stock Americans saw their culture assaulted on every side—from immigrants, industry and the rise of cities;" in response elite white men, their power under siege, "carved out a masculine haven" in maritime memory, one also embraced by Progressive-era women with a stake in the same "whitewashed portrait" embraced by their husbands and fathers, one that "excised" the role of diverse populations in favor of a Yankee past.[5]

And so, in this chapter we look at these formative moments, as well as the Maritime Revivalists who shaped the whaling heritage of New Bedford, "pastkeepers" like Ellis Loring Howland, William W. Crapo, Annie Seabury and Frank Wood, Emily Howland Bourne, Zephaniah Pease, Isaiah West Taber, and Clifford Ashley. We close with a discussion of some more contemporary figures who, at a new cultural moment, have sought to recover and revive memory of Pacific Islanders and Native Hawaiians.

Today, despite the numbers of Kanaka men buried in city cemeteries by Gamamiel Taber, or interred at the Bridgewater State almshouse, the only enduring monuments to Pacific Islanders in New Bedford whaling are the two cenotaphs in the Seamen's Bethel, celebrating the lives of Charles Willson and the man remembered only as "Frank Kanacka." Two among 42 such panels in the Bethel honoring more than 200 lives (the earliest being the 1822 death of nineteen-year-old Gilbert Jay, "lost from a boat while in pursuit of a whale," the latest the 1983 memorial to twenty-five-



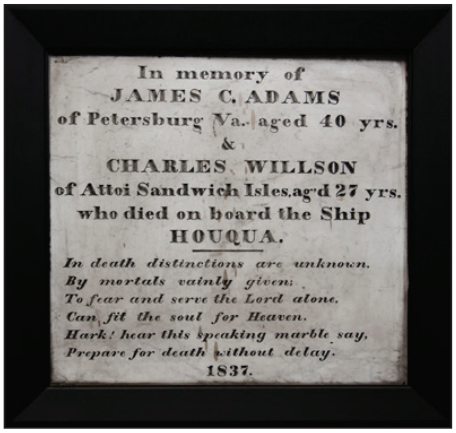


Figure 4.1a and b: The Cenotaphs for Charles Willson and Frank Kanaka, Seamen's Bethel, New Bedford. Courtesy, The New Bedford Port Society.

5 Grasso, "Maritime Revival," 9; and James M. Lindgren, "'Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood': The New Bedford Whaling Museum, 1903-1941," *New England Quarterly* Vol. 72 No. 2 (June 1999), 163-206.

year-old William Mulberry, who died in the sinking of the S.S. *Marine Electric*), the markers offer an illusion of permanence in what has been a story of ephemerality.

1837 and 1855: The Cenotaphs for Charles Willson and Frank Kanaka

The Bethel was just seven years old when the cenotaph in memory of Charles Willson of "Attoi Sandwich Islands" was purchased and placed on the building's wall. The island charted as Atooi by James Cook in the 1780s is today known as Kaua'i, a landmass of 620 square miles in the northwestern reaches of the Hawaiian chain. Though sandalwood traders may well have touched here as they searched for profit, New England's ongoing presence on the island began in 1820, when missionary Samuel Ruggles and his wife Nancy Wells Ruggles together with Samuel and Mercy Partridge Whitney established a station at Waimea (allegedly the first place Europeans had made landfall in the Hawaiian Islands, in 1778).

The man who in 1837 was called Charles Willson would have been born about 1805. His story points up how the complex world of Kanaka whalemen becomes flattened when reduced to a wall-mounted marble slab. Narrating what we can of his story expands the power of the memorial, and recovers the history that his memorialists aimed to preserve and honor in the installation of the cenotaph.

According to Asa Tobey, keeper of the ship *Houqua*'s log, Charles (whom Tobey confirms was "a native of the Sandwich Islands") had been "brought up with a mishenary from a child and educated and was taught to lead a religious life."[6] Charles would have been about fifteen in 1820 when New England missionaries arrived in his homeland. Hiram Bingham, Samuel Whitney, and Samuel Ruggles, returning a Hawaiian named George Kaumualii to his home, traveled to Kaua'i in May 1820.[7] Kaumualii's family, overjoyed at their son's safe return, offered to host the missionaries, and by midsummer the men had brought their wives (Nancy Ruggles and Mercy Whitney) from Honolulu and established a mission station at Waimea. In September 1820, George's father, King Kaumualii, assigned the Whitney and Ruggles families each parcels of land for cultivation, and provided Hawaiian families to work it; coconuts, bananas, yams and sugarcane sustained not only the Yankee households but "between sixty and seventy children cared

6 Asa Tobey, ship's log, *Houqua*, 16 June 1836, Providence Public Library, #2348; online at http://pplspc.org/nicholson/rj5_nicholson_330/pdf/rj5_nicholson_330r.pdf.

7 Edward Joesting, *Kauai: The Separate Kingdom* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 122.

for by the mission"—a group perhaps already including the young Charles Willson.[8] By 1832, the "great thatched church" attracted between 1,500 and 2,000 Hawaiians on any given Sunday.[9]

Tobey recorded that Charles "came to America in this ship the last voyage from Wahoo" (Oahu), suggesting (if Tobey is correct on this point) that Willson, now in his mid-twenties, had by that time left the mission. The *Houqua* had been engaged in the Sandwich Islands sandalwood trade, which, a newspaper reported in July 1831, had lately been "considerable."[10] But in 1831, the ship's focus shifted to whaling, and it was during a stopover in the Hawaiian Islands that Charles joined the vessel's crew. That voyage would have its share of drama. Melville scholar Wilson Lumpkin Heflin writes that "even in the unusual annals of whaling, the 1831-35 voyage of the *Houqua* is extraordinary, for of the original crew of twenty-five only three men returned with Captain [Valentine] Pease to home port."[11] First mate Edward C. Starbuck was "discharged in Tahiti under conditions curious and not fully explained" and seven men died when a man fell overboard and six others (including the second and third mates) drowned in the effort to save him. Two more men were lost when a whale stove their boat, and another man was discharged at Oahu; by the end of the ship's travels, no fewer than eleven mariners had deserted.[12]

When the *Houqua* departed New Bedford on New Year's Eve, 1831, it was owned by five men, one of them being the master, Valentine Pease, Jr., whose Chappaquiddick family was deeply engaged in whaling.[13] The ship rounded Cape Horn, made Valparaiso in March, and then headed to Maui, where Pease probably signed on young Charles. After spending spring and summer in and around the Sandwich Islands, the crew made port at Otaheite (Tahiti).[14] The *Houqua* patrolled the whaling grounds between

8 Joesting, *Kauai,* 124. Samuel Ruggles and Nancy did not remain long in the Pacific; they returned to the U.S. in 1834. Samuel and Mercy Whitney spent the rest of their lives in the islands, until their deaths in 1845 and 1872, respectively.

9 Joesting, *Kauai,* 125.

10 Baltimore *Patriot*, 19 July 1831. The article concludes "we understand that good wood on those islands in now nearly exhausted, and scarcely any but the small and inferior sort is to be procured."

11 Wilson Heflin, et al, *Herman Melville's Whaling Years* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2004), 19.

12 Ibid.

13 On the *Houqua*, see American Offshore Whaling Voyages: A Database, http://nmdl.org/aowv/whvoyage.cfm?VesselNumber=275; on the Pease family, see Wilson Lumpkin Heflin, *Herman Melville's Whaling Years*, 19.

14 Newburyport *Herald,* 24 September 1833.

the Society and Sandwich Islands.[15] It was here that six men deserted, and Starbuck was discharged. Records associated with these events suggest something of the voyage young Charles Willson had found himself on. The ship was apparently wildly under-provisioned; what little meat the men did have was "not fit for a dog."[16]

Despite being "so badly manned" (according to deserter Thomas Goodwrich), by September 1834 the ship was on the coast of Japan, with 1,650 barrels of whale oil in the hold.[17] The *Houqua* returned to New Bedford in late April 1835 with only three members of the original crew still aboard ship.[18] Tobey's note, that Charles "came to America," suggests that the Hawaiian was among those present when the ship returned to New Bedford—perhaps convinced to remain given the ship's shortage of crew. He would have then spent the summer in New Bedford, though just where we do not know.[19]

By early August, Charles was ready to ship out again, though he knew that this voyage, to the whaling grounds of the South Atlantic, would not carry him home.[20] He signed on once more to the *Houqua*, though now under new management. The new master would be twenty-four-year-old Edward P. Mosher, whose New Bedford home stood at 23 School Street.[21]

It was not a pleasant voyage for the Hawaiian native, though this time for different reasons. The ship's log contains several references to the illness of its lone "Canacker."[22] Ailing already by January, in late February Tobey worried that the "Canacker. . .wont

15 Heflin, *Herman Melville's Whaling Years*, 20.

16 Helflin discusses these events in *Herman Melville's Whaling Years*, 20-23.

17 See Heflin, *Herman Melville's Whaling Years* , 21; New-Bedford *Mercury*, 24 April 1835.

18 New-Bedford *Mercury*, 1 May 1835.

19 The ship changed hands in June, when three owners sold their shares, enabling Captain Pease to become the vessel's co-owner, with Alexander Gibbs (see Heflin, *Herman Melville's Whaling Years,* 22). David R. Greene and Co. posted a notice in the 5 June 1835 *Mercury* that "one half of the ship HOUQUA, 338 tons burthen, built in the city of Boston, by Wheelwright and Coplen, fastened in a most *thorough manner*; has two chain cables, a full inventory, and a large quantity of Casks, Shooks and whaling materials of every description, which will render her outfit for the next voyage small. The present owner wishing to withdraw from the Fishery, the ship will be sold a bargain."

20 The ship departed 9 August 1835 for the South Atlantic whaling grounds; see the *Mercury,* 14 August 1835.

21 Crapo, New Bedford city directory (1836). On 10 December 1831, Mosher married Julia Ann Price (or Pierce; both versions appear); see *Massachusetts, Town and Vital Records, 1620-1988,* Ancestry.com.

22 Tobey, ship's log, *Houqua*, 14 January 1836.

ever git any better."[23] Charles seemed to rally in March and April, after the *Houqua* left Madagascar, but by June things had again taken a turn for the worse.[24] Finally, on 16 June 1836, Tobey wrote that "Charles died after a long and lingering sickness of 7 months on Board this ship. I suppose that he had the consumption in the liver." "Without doubt I believe that he died a Christian," Tobey mused, "for his conduct has been such since he has been on board this ship I never heard him use any bad language allways quiet peasable & willing when he was able to doe duty bore his sickness without murmuring & died like a lamb & his spirit has gone to rest without doubt a solum thing to think on & a warning to all the ships company."[25]

> Charles was buried at sea, his body
>
> > sowed up in a blanket and a small bag of bricks lashed to his feet. He layd on the ganway board with one end on the gunnell and the other on a block at 8 a.m. All of the ships company were called to witness the solom scene. Our ship was moving but slow. The word was given by our commander; we lifted the end of the board and slid the corps into the Deep. We looked and saw it descending quickly down the deep and blew water. In a moment it was out of sight and god only knows who shall follow him.[26]

The *Houqua* returned to New Bedford ten months later, in April 1837, with 176 barrels of sperm oil, 1,728 barrels baleen whale oil and 15,400 pounds of whalebone, or baleen, tucked away in the hold.[27] Sometime thereafter—no records appear to document when—someone made the necessary visit to the Bethel to secure this memorial. Was it Mosher? Tobey? Did the man merit a cenotaph for some reason related to his summer in New Bedford, months during which he may have become known to people associated with

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23 Tobey, ship's log, *Houqua*, 27 January 1836.

24 Tobey, ship's log, *Houqua*, 19 April and 10 June 1836.

25 Asa Tobey, ship's log, *Houqua*, 16 June 1836. This was not the first time the *Houqua* lost a Kanaka mariner: the 31 August 1831 Salem, Massachusetts, *Gazette* reported the loss of six Yankee mariners (Adam B. Gray, George W. Courtney, Alfred Kindrick, John Man, John S. Phipps, and Reuban Hall) and "one of the natives of the Sandwich islands, [seaman], about 23 years of age."

26 Asa Tobey, ship's log, *Houqua*, 16 June 1836, Providence Public Library, #2348; online at http://pplspc.org/nicholson/rj5_nicholson_330/pdf/rj5_nicholson_330r.pdf. Nancy Shoemaker also describes the deaths of Hawaiian mariners at sea in *Native American Whalemen and the World*, 50, 56.

27 American Offshore Whaling Voyages: A Database.

the Bethel? We do not know. But there was enough concern to justify the expense of the marble tablet for Willson and his shipmate on the walls of the Bethel.[28]

Fourteen years later, in the fall of 1851, Nantucket ship captain Nehemiah C. Fisher (1810-1868) together with Susan Folger Fisher (1811-1888), his wife of twenty years, left port aboard the *Cowper*.[29] Fisher was not only the master of his vessel; he was also part owner. Aboard ship were boatsteerer Nathaniel Cole (with a lay of 1/95) and 3rd mate Edward Laffrey (lay of 1/50). Frank Kanacka was not yet part of the crew, but ordinary seaman Joseph Kanacker had shipped out with a lay of 1/150—a cut better than the sixteen "greenhands" who signed on for 1/200, and better even than several other seamen working for lays of 1/160 to 1/195, so he seems to have brought some experience to the work.[30] Frank Kanacka must have signed on after March 1853, when the ship reached Lahaina, their base from which to head to the northern whaling grounds in the Okhotsk Sea, the Gulf of Anadir, and the Bering Strait.

In the summer of 1854, the ship ran into some trouble. On 17 July, Susan wrote:

> I am sick and sad at heart today. The day before yesterday [July 15] we met with an accident that has cast a gloom over all on board ship, we lost three men by the upsetting of a boat, the remaining three [there were six in the whaleboat crew] were taken off the bottom of the boat, nearly dead, those that were lost were the boatsteerer, a Kanaka and a Frenchman. The boatsteerer was a very fine young man from Fall River, he was with Nehemiah his last voyage. Oh! What dreadful news for his father and sisters; he had no mother living. . ...

Cole, Laffray and Frank Kanacka apparently were just unlucky. Three boats had lowered that morning, and "chased them out of sight of the ship;" "soon after there came up quite a strong breeze and thick fog." The second mate's boat was by then alone, and though he was a "man of good judgment and an experienced seaman," "by some little thing about the sail" the boat "capsized instantly." The other two boats returned about seven in the evening without their companions, and not long after a French ship appeared

28 The history and fate of James Adams, also remembered on this cenotaph, though beyond the scope of this study, merits further investigation.

29 The *Boston Daily Atlas* reported the *Cowper* among the whalers "cleared from New Bedford" en route to the North Pacific on 11 September 1851. Joan Druett discusses the voyage in *Petticoat Whalers: Whaling Wives at Sea, 1820-1920* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2001), 57; see also Emma Mayhew Whiting and Henry Beetle Hough, *Whaling Wives of Martha's Vineyard* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1953 [1952]), 25-32.

30 See the Whaling Collection Archives (NBFPL) on the 1851 voyage of the Cowper.

that had picked up the survivors. "To us to have three taken out of our ship's company without a moment's warning is dreadful to think of it," mused the survivors; "it truly may be said, 'In the midst of life we are in Death.'"[31]

The ship returned to New Bedford in May 1855, just weeks after letters from Susan to her cousins—containing an account of the incident that cost the three mariners their lives—had been published in *New Bedford Whalemen's Shipping List and Merchants Transcript*.[32] The voyage had yielded 3,438 barrels of whale oil and 52,200 pounds of bone.[33] But the three lives lost weighed heavily on the survivors' minds, who determined to add this tribute to the walls of the Bethel. They probably purchased the cenotaph that summer, since by October Nehemiah Fisher was once again headed to the Arctic.[34]

Such markers were not intended to commemorate Pacific Islanders as a group—these are memorials to two individuals by coworkers who remembered them with respect, and even perhaps affection—but they nonetheless constitute permanent gestures of appreciation. Though no one would have connected these events at the time, the cenotaph for Frank Kanacka came as other efforts were beginning to define how the history of whaling would be understood and remembered. The tablet was not yet installed when the first of a series of panoramas marked a moment of transition in the history of whaling and set a course for the way the industry would be understood and remembered. In 1849, a "moving panorama"—a large painting eight and a half by 1275 feet—depicting an 1841 voyage from New Bedford was a sensation across the Northeast.[35] The long painting, created by Benjamin Russell (a businessman and banker who also took a turn on the whaler *Kutusoff*) and Caleb Purrington (a New Bedford painter),

31 *New Bedford Whalemen's Shipping List and Merchants Transcript*, 27 March 1855.

32 Ibid.

33 American Offshore Whaling Voyages: A Database, http://nmdl.org/nmdl2/aowv/whvoyage.cfm?VesselNumber=117.

34 Nehemiah Fisher set out again for the Arctic on the *Barnstable,* departing October 1855. A decade later, he and Susan had resettled in North Bridgewater, Plymouth County (Massachusetts State Census, 1865), where Nehemiah had opened a general merchandise store, which he ran with his son George William—who had served as a cabin boy on the voyage of the *Cowper*; sometime after Nehemiah's death the following year, Susan Folger Fisher moved to Oakland, California, where George Fisher, had relocated, and lived there until her own death in 1888. See *The Bay of San Francisco*, Vol. 2 (Chicago: Lewish Publishing Co., 1892), 289. See American Offshore Whaling Voyages: A Database. The logbook of Fisher's earlier voyage, 1848-51, as master of the ship *Parachute*, survives in the collections of the NBWM library.

35 This and below from Kevin J. Avery "Whaling Voyage Round the World: Russell and Purrington's Moving Panorama and Herman Melville's 'Mighty' Book" *American Art Journal* Vol. 22, No. 1 (Spring 1990), 50-78.

wound from one scroll to another, created the sense of movement; viewers traveled down the Acushnet, passing along the New Bedford waterfront before heading to sea and eventually reaching the Society Islands, where natives welcome Yankee whalemen. Several scenes tutored viewers on various tasks involved in whaling, though many present scarcely needed those lessons. The audience at the work's December 1848 Fairhaven premier presumably understood the work illustrated, the glimpse of Pacific must have been welcome in the Massachusetts winter.

In the wake of the panorama's success came imitators.[36] E.C. Williams, himself a whaling ship captain, between May 1858 and March 1866 toured New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Maine with a panorama variously titled "Life in the South Seas," "Grand South Sea Whaling Voyage," and "A Celebrated Representation of a South Sea Whaling Voyage." The artwork—created by an artist named Culvert and allegedly covering some 8,000 feet of canvas—was accompanied by a stage performance in which a crew stationed on a fully rigged whaleboat acted out the course of a whale hunt. The whole performance was based on a whaling voyage Williams made on the Nantucket ship *Elizabeth Starbuck* between 1834 and 37—the very years that Willson was at work on the *Houqua*.

By this time, the decline of the whaling industry was already becoming visible, though audiences may not have yet grasped that. As Grover explains, in that decade, "the number of annual voyages from New Bedford fell by more than half, from ninety to forty-one. The value of the sperm oil and whale oil also declined by more than half. Even the value of whalebone—the product that largely made whaling's survival into the 1920s possible—dropped by nearly 62 percent."[37] Historian Jamie Lynn Jones argues that these 1860 panoramas, then, "participated in the manufacture of nostalgia for the dying industry through romanticized depictions of whaling labor and even more profoundly through the technology of the moving panorama itself." Noting Henry David Thoreau's comment that viewing panoramas of trips down the Rhine and the Mississippi gave him a sense of time travel in which the past, present and future became conflated, Jones proposes that the spectacle—by suggesting the shape of the future, and so affirming the "heroic age" in which the viewer lived—created a "nostalgia for the present," though

36 Avery, "Whaling Voyage Round the World," 71-72.

37 Grover, "African American, West Indian, and St Helenian Whalemen," 209.

the panorama came before whaling's collapse, it may "have already engendered in its audiences a nostalgic view toward the industry—simulating a glance backward in time as well as outward in space."[38]

The heroic age of whaling in the Pacific was retreating into the distance. Pacific Islanders remained present in New Bedford (as we have seen) through the nineteenth century, though in ever-decreasing numbers. At the same time, other forces began narrowing the ways in which those men would be remembered in New Bedford. Interestingly, the prospects for their enduring memory in the city were strongest in the mid-nineteenth century, weakening over time as interest accumulated around the preservation of the Yankee past. The genuine grieving that actively informed the creation of these two cenotaphs seems also entangled in what historian Amy Kaplan, writing about Mark Twain's real and literary "encounters with Hawaii," has termed "imperialist melancholia," which she defines as a "form of blocked mourning for both the victims of imperial violence and the lost privileges of imperial power."[39] Anthropologist Renato Rosaldo has offered the useful phrase "imperialist nostalgia" to mean "the longing to salvage an imagined pristine pre-colonial culture by the same agents of empire—missionaries, anthropologists, travel writers—who have had a hand in destroying it." Imperialist nostalgia, in Kaplan's usage, "disavows the history of violence that yokes the past to the present."[40] In her hands, the impulse is tinged with ambivalence, laced with understanding of the active role U.S. imperialism played in colonial loss. Nostalgia and melancholy would both come to color public memory of Pacific Islanders and Native Hawaiians, impulses inextricably linked to others that came to define these men as subjects of ethnographic inquiry, rather than local or broader histories.

1882-83: The "Kanaka Whaleman" and the International Fisheries Exhibition

Another milestone in the formation of public memory of whaling in New Bedford was the city's participation in the 1883 International Fisheries Exhibition, hosted in London by Prince Albert Edward of Wales.[41] The overall aim of the event was to showcase

38 Jones, "American Whaling in Culture and Memory," 99.

39 Kaplan, "The Imperial Routes of Mark Twain" in *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 57.

40 Ibid.

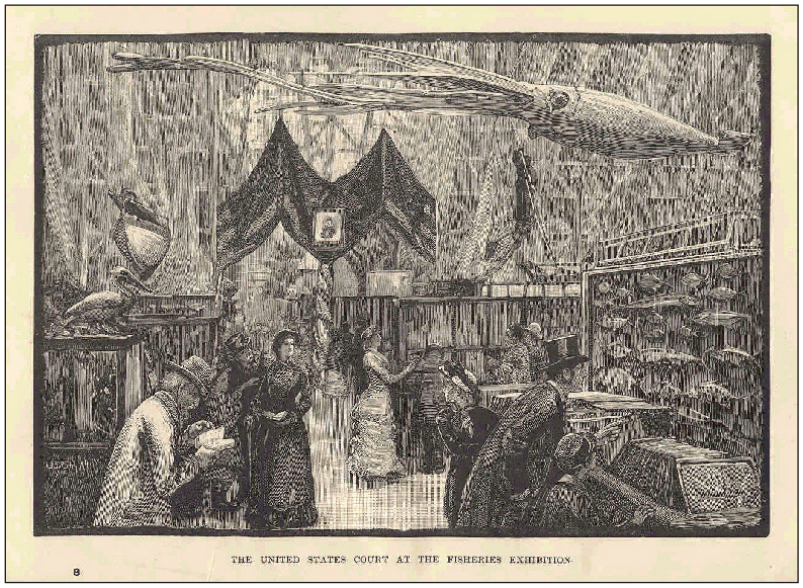


Figure 4.2: The U.S. Court at the International Fisheries Exhibition. F. Whymper, Fisheries of the World : an Illustrated and Descriptive Record of the International Fisheries Exhibition (London: Cassell Co.: Limited, 1883).

new technologies transforming the global fishery.[42] But, as representatives from the Smithsonian Institution canvassed New Bedford in the year leading up to the landmark global event, gathering up materials for the U.S. contribution, New Bedford residents actively engaged, and helped construct, the city's whaling heritage, as it would be represented to international audiences through the exhibition, and how it would be remembered and documented both at the Smithsonian Institution and in the New Bedford.

The event would be held at the Gardens of the Royal Horticultural Society, South Kensington, London—the same 21 acres that had hosted the Great Exposition of 1851—from 12 May to 30 October 1883.[43] The entire English court, including the royal family and ambassadors, attended the exhibition's opening, standing beside the Queen's watermen and fishermen, making the scene "very brilliant and impressive."[44] At least 200,000 people visited the exhibition in its first week alone, and in time, some two million

41 "Cosmopolitan trout: The 1883 Fisheries Exhibition and the global expansion of fish culture." Environment & Society Portal. http://www.environmentandsociety.org/arcadia/cosmopolitan-trout-1883-fisheries-exhibition-and-global-expansion-fish-culture.

42 Mary Carmel Finley, "The Tragedy of Enclosure: Fish, Fisheries Science, and United States Foreign Policy, 1920--1960." (PhD dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 2007). http://search.proquest.com/docview/304883577?accountid=14572.

43 Australian Museum, "Edward Ramsay and the Great International Fisheries Exhibition of 1883," http://australianmuseum.net.au/Ramsay-and-the-Great-Internation-Fisheries-Exhibition-of-1883/.

44 G. Browne Goode, "The International Fisheries Exhibition--Second Paper." *Science* 1, no. 20 (1883): 564-565. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1759709.

are estimated to have participated.[45]

One building was devoted to North America, and the United States exhibit was said to be one of the best at the exhibition; according to one source, "in variety and completeness of illustration, the collection from the United States is not surpassed by that of any of the foreign contributors."[46] The American effort was headed by thirty-one-year-old George Brown Goode. A Harvard-trained ichthyologist, Goode (often considered the father of the modern American museum) had also been charged with developing for the Smithsonian Institution the nascent United States National Museum. The first report for the new museum had only been issued the year before.[47]

The work of interpreting the subject, specifically, of "whaling and sealing"—which comprised just one part of the massive discussion of the global fishery—was overseen by thirty-seven-year-old James Templeman Brown (1846-1886), an Assistant in the Department of Arts & Industries. Brown had been born in Georgia; how he came to the Smithsonian Institution is not presently known.[48] Brown did his fieldwork for the fisheries exhibition in the "principal whaling ports of the eastern coast:" Nantucket, Edgartown, New London, Provincetown, and New Bedford.[49] Brown together with Goode arrived in New Bedford on 13 September 1882, accompanied by artist Henry W. Elliot, photographer Thomas W. Smillie, and A. Howard Clark, the first historian of the new National Museum.[50] The group visited the wharf and photographed the bark *Ocean*, just returned from a voyage. Brown, who spent the rest of the month in New Bedford,

45 Ibid., and Goode, "The International Fisheries Exhibition—Fourth Paper," *Science* Vol. II, No. 40 (9 Nov. 1883), 612. See also Mary Carmel Finley, "The Tragedy of Enclosure."

46 Charles Hallock, William A. Bruette, *Forest and Stream* 5 July 1883 (Vol 20), 450.

47 In 1887, he would become the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Good places to begin to understand Goode's career and influence are Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, "History in a Natural History Museum: George Brown Goode and the Smithsonian Institution," *The Public Historian* Vol. 10, No. 2 (Spring 1988), 7-26; and Edward P. Alexander, "George Brown Goode and the Smithsonian Museums: A National Museum of Cultural History," in *Museum Masters: Their Museums and Their Influence* (Walnut Creek, CA.: AltaMira Press, 1995).

48 Very little is known about Brown. According to the staff of the Smithsonian Institution Archives, the employees database gives only Brown's death date: 19 March 1886. The document appearing in their archives, RU 7193, James Templeman Brown Papers, circa 1883-1884, is a manuscript and not biographical in nature. The District of Columbia, Select Deaths and Burials, 1840-1964, records on Ancestry.com, confirms (Ref ID# cn51077) that Brown died on 19 March 1886, adding that he died at 1623 15th St SW and was buried 22 March 1886 in Rock Creek cemetery. This record also indicates that Brown, born in Georgia in 1846, was married at the time. No further information on Brown could be recovered, though this could be a subject worth further inquiry.

49 James Templeman Brown, *The Whale Fishery and Its Appliances* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883).

50 New Bedford *Republican Standard,* 21 September 1882.

later wrote about his experiences accompanying custom-house official James V. Cox to the docks to meet incoming ships, as he went about his search for "news and 'curios.'"[51]

History was an implicit element of the exhibition's success:

> Models showing the development of the art of ship-building have been arranged in sequence; the various contrivances for catching fish have been shown in association with the rude appliances of savages, from which they sprang; and the improvements and varieties of recent times have been placed as far as possible in chronological order. This gives to the exhibition a value which is apart from commerce, and an interest which is beyond the mere requirements of fish culture; and it may be regarded as one of the many indications of the way in which the enlightened government of the United States marks its appreciation of the demands of science.[52]

The event's aims encompassed both past and recent innovations. The "exhibit embraces, for the most part, the apparatus used at present," Brown would observe, "but some rare and interesting implements that were hastily constructed on vessels in times of necessity, as well as some that were developed as experiments both at sea and ashore, have been included."[53]

The exposition came at an inauspicious moment for New Bedford whaling: the city's whaling fleet had shrunk by more than 56 percent over the past twenty years, from 220 vessels in 1861 to 96 in 1881.[54] Yet over 30 New Bedford individuals and firms participated in the effort. H.W. Mason received a gold medal for their "explosive harpoon," as did Captain Eben Pierce for an "improved gun lance & harpoon;" the New Bedford Cordage Company received a silver medal for their "manila rope."

The exhibition's catalog documents New Bedford's contribution to the international event.[55] More than three-dozen individuals and New Bedford firms contributed over 180 objects—from bone scrapers, toggle irons, and darting guns, to

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51 James Templeman Brown, "Whalemen, Vessels, Apparatus, and Methods of the Fishery," in George Brown Goode, editor, *The Fisheries and Fishery Industries of the United States* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1887), II, 290.

52 George Brown Goode, "The International Fisheries Exhibition. -- Second Paper." *Science* 1, no. 20 (1883): 564-565. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1759709.

53 Brown, *The Whale Fishery and Its Appliances,* 3.

54 Grover, "African American, West Indian, and St Helenian Whalemen," 210.

55 This and below from *Bulletin of the United States National Museum* No. 27 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1884).

boarding and mincing knives, to harpoons and myriad other items—for display. From the scrap of guano preserved by W.A. Abbe to the full-sized whale-boat (28 feet long, 5 feet 10 inches at the beam) "with apparatus of capture" sent by I.H. Bartlett & Sons (a contribution that landed them a gold medal and a prize of £20), the artifacts gathered documented both the practice and the history of whaling.[56] Among the nearly twenty articles Jonathan Bourne donated were four toggle irons, minute glass, two open-work bug-lights, a blubber toggle, and the American ensign that for twelve years graced the schooner *Abbie Bradford*.[57] The New Bedford Cordage Company shipped a sample of bone yarn (used in tying up bundles of baleen), whale line and fluke rope, pieces of lance warp and short warp, and other items illustrating the wide range of cordage whaling required. James Beetle fabricated a replica whale boat "one-sixth the length of a thirty-foot boat, from which it was drafted, illustrative of all the parts of a boat used in Arctic whaling, with mast, oars, and rowlocks."



Figure 4.3: Whaler's Harpoon with Toggle Head. Gift of Jonathan Bourne through J. T. Brown, 1882, Smithsonian Institution, 012284.

Some of the artifacts contributed came with stories attached. Bourne's gift, for instance, included the "bursted barrel of a whaleman's darting gun" (apparently a barrel fractured when the lance exploded prematurely) brought home by a whaleman as an interesting "curio." He also contributed a toggle-iron, its "shank twisted by actions of a dying whale," while commission merchants Aiken & Swift sent a "toggle-iron with loop twisted in the shank by the actions of a wounded whale."

56 William A. Abbe—the husband of Helen Church Bourne and later her sister Hannah Tobey Bourne, and so son-in-law twice over of Jonathan Bourne—was an attorney, and a board member in the textile industry; Ivory Hovey Bartlett, Jr and George Fearing Bartlett had joined their father in the "whaling and commission business" by 1854.

57 Jonathan Bourne, Jr (1811-1889) was among city's the most successful whaling agents. See Mss 18, Jonathan Bourne Jr. Business Records in the New Bedford Whaling Museum Research Library.

Many items illustrated common practices, but others—objects once common but no longer used—told stories of evolution in whaling technologies. A blubber toggle from Jonathan Bourne illustrated both tradition and innovation—used for many years among whalers, new techniques had since rendered it obsolete. Bourne's "blubber toggle, or fid, made of hard wood," that (as a note explained) "was formerly in general use on all American whaling-vessels, and is used to a certain extent, on many of them at present. This may be included among the earliest implements that have been steadily employed in this fishery. Recently, however, the improved method of strapping the lower block of the blubber-tackle had rendered the fid useless on the vessels, which have adopted the new style. Notwithstanding this, the majority of vessels usually carry the fid, to be used if necessary, and more especially the Provincetown schooners, which use this implement altogether."[58] Also displayed was a piece of "minute-glass" "formerly used in connection with the log," and an open-work receptacle made of hoop-iron—or "bug-light"—"formerly suspended between the try-works pipes, filled with scrap, and used as a lantern, when boiling out at night. Superseded by a glass lantern."[59] Likewise, Brown's team acquired a "kind of platform, technically called the 'forward cutting-stage,' upon which the second mate stands when cutting-in a whale. The position for the stage, when in use, is on the outside of the vessel, resting against and braced from the side, by the cross-pieces, and made fast to the rail by the ropes." Such platforms, the note continued, were "not much used at present, having been supplanted by an improved form known as the 'outrigger stage.'"[60] James Barton contributed a "kind of lance formerly relied upon altogether for killing whales."[61]

A sense of the past also hovered around the 11-inch wooden "whaleman's bell" that Captain Henry Clay donated, "obtained from the whaling schooner *Golden Eagle*." "Known as the 'cracker,' 'rattler,' and 'Nantucket bell,'" the bell was "one of the oldest implements employed on whaling vessels, and used at present on some of the Provincetown and New Bedford schooners, whose crews retain the customs and habits of the early whalemen. The full-rigged barks and ships, however, have discarded the clapper,

58 *Bulletin of the United States National Museum*, 338.

59 *Bulletin of the United States National Museum*, 353, 342.

60 *Bulletin of the United States National Museum*, 73.

61 *Bulletin of the United States National Museum*, 326.

and in its place use the bell common to all first-class vessels. When the time arrives for relieving the man at the wheel, he calls another member of the watch by rattling the bell."[62]

Also included were examples of idiosyncrasy: Bourne sent a nine foot toggle-iron made of hoop-iron and held by a rope grommet, described as a "peculiar harpoon made on board ship, probably by the blacksmith, evidently intended for striking blackfish or porpoise." James Driggs—whose ironworks on Merrill Wharf "cut and crafted harpoons, irons and ship's fittings for 30 years;" his shop has been called the 'last outpost of Yankee whaling'"—sent a "lance intended to take the place of the thick boat-spade" that had been "manufactured to gratify a whim of a whaleman. None in use."

James Templeman Brown also showed an interest in ethnographic collecting and display associated with the event. He was especially interested in the "Eskimo tribes of the Hudson Bay region," noting that "New Bedford has been in the habit of sending two vessels" annually to this region, but the danger and limited profitability of such voyages, Brown ventured, made it "more than probable that this ground will be abandoned."[63] Two whalers headed to these waters in 1881-82—the brig *George and Mary* and the schooner *Helen Rodman*—but the latter was wrecked; the *George and Mary* returned on 3 October 1882, and "from this vessel" Brown "obtained quite a number of articles" including an eskimo snow knife, eye-protectors, shoes, pipe, spoon, and other goods that eventually made their way to London.[64]

Exhibition planners had shown some interest in conveying the human landscape of whaling; the U.S. exhibit included, for instance, "a Carolina negro clad as a whaleman, besides numerous lay-figures of its fisherman in their customary dress, so lifelike in appearance that they were constantly mistaken by visitors for living men."[65] Exhibition preparation in New Bedford, then, included photographing men who worked in whaling. Thomas William Smillie, photographer of the Smithsonian Institution from 1870 to 1917, photographed the whaling fleet. H.W. Elliot and J.W. Collins later used these images to

62 *Bulletin of the United States National Museum*, 352.

63 Brown, *The Whale Fishery and Its Appliances,* 3-4.

64 Brown, *The Whale Fishery and Its Appliances,* 4.

65 "The International Fisheries Exhibition. -- Second Paper." *Science* 1, No. 20 (1883): 564-565. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1759709.



Figure 4.4: "KANAKA WHALEMAN. A Kanaka whaleman, native of the Sandwich Islands. New Bedford, Mass., 1882." Thomas Smilie. (Photo. No. 2134.) US Fish Commission Records, Box 8, folder 1. [71]

develop sketches for publication.[66] Having photographed a "group of whaling skippers,"[67] Smillie also snapped a "group of Azore Portuguese whalemen.[68] Another image included "two of the crew of bark *Swallow*, of New Bedford. John Barlles, height 6 feet 3 inches, born in Essex County, Virginia; John Bay, from Anabon, Africa." "The American whaleman," Brown explained, "is represented by a group composed of both active and retired whaling masters" in New Bedford.[69] "Other groups illustrative of the foreign element employed in this fishery," the text continued, "consist of Kanakas, Portuguese of Cape Verde, negroes from an island on the coast of Africa, and from Virginia (the latter an immense man over six feet three inches tall), Chilmark Indians from Gay Head, Massachusetts, West Indiamen, and a group of Hudson Bay whalemen attired in their fur clothing."[70]

66 *Bulletin of the United States National Museum,* 787. The drawings appeared in George Brown Goode, *The Fisheries and Fishery Industries of the United States* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1887).

67 Leah Bendavid-Val. "Foreword." In *National Geographic Image Collection,* (Unknown: National Geographic Society, 2012), 25-26. See also Jana H. "Smillie and the Smithsonian." Amon Carter Museum of American Art. http://www.cartermuseum.org/interact/notes-from-underground/smillie-and-the-smithsonian.

68 The men are identified as Serge de Rosa, Fayal, 1850; John José Alexander, Pacheco; and Esteban José, Rico, 1870, all of the whaleship *Catalpa.*

69 Ibid. Other New Bedford images associated with Yankee involvement in whaling captured the homes of retired whaling captain Humphrey Seabury, the Mariner's Home ("a charitable institution where unfortunate whalemen are entertained temporarily"), and the Seamen's Bethel.

Though the 13 September newspaper account of the Smithsonian party visit mentioned photographing "natives of Guam," the only overt reference to Pacific Islanders in the industry collected for the U.S. exhibition is the image of a "Kanaka whaleman, native of the Sandwich islands."[71] Somehow, the team appears not to have learned the identity of the man they photographed—though the names of the Portuguese, African, Hudson Bay and other men were recorded, here the team appears to have been more interested in him as a type than as an individual. The man is dressed well for the photograph, his suit coat, trimmed with bound edges, open to reveal a double-breasted vest beneath and a tie around the collar of his white shirt. His trousers, unmatched to the coat, are uncreased. Oversized sack coats with wide lapels like these were falling out of fashion by the early 1880s, but for a man his age, he probably did not seem out of place in working New Bedford. His fairly polished appearance suggests that the photo was planned, that its subject had time to plan his apparel. He is posed outside what may be the front door of his residence.

As "to the nationality" of the crews employed in the whale fishery, James Templeman Brown wrote,

> I should say that the captains are almost always of American birth, usually residents of the New England States, and rarely a native of the Western Islands. The mates are usually New Englanders, but occasionally Portuguese,

70 Brown, *The Whale Fishery and Its Appliances,* 23. The Virginian is identified elsewhere as John Barlles, and the African as John Bay; see Photo 2140, described in *Bulletin of the United States National Museum,* 787. The Hudson Bay whalemen, dressed in furs, are James Grady, Alex Grace, and Joseph A. Francis; also listed in *Bulletin of the United States National Museum,* 787.

71 U.S. Fish Commission records, Archives Center at the National Museum of American History. Box 8, folder 1, Photo 2134; the photo taken just prior to this one, numbered 2133, was a "group of three whalemen, names as follows: Tom. Peter; Grafton Dermie; William M James." The photo taken just after was of the Mariner's House. The Kingdom of Hawaii of course also mounted its own display for the 1883 International Fisheries Exhibition, which Stacy L. Kamehiro has called "a form of anticolonial nationalism;" international events which gave the Hawaiian Kingdom opportunities to define itself on the world stage include "the 1867 and 1889 Expositions Universelles held in Paris, Weltausstellung 1873 Wien, Centennial Exhibition hosted by Philadelphia in 1876, Boston's American Exhibition of the Products, Arts and Manufactures of Foreign Nations in 1883, the 1883 International Fisheries Exhibitions in London, World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition of New Orleans in 1884-1885, Louisville's 1885 Southern Exposition, two Australian fairs undertaken in 1888 – the Melbourne Centennial International Exhibition and the Exhibition of Women's Industries and Centenary Fair in Sydney, Nord-West-Deutsche Gewerbe und Industrie-Austellung in Bremen, 1890, and, though no longer as a sovereign kingdom, in Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition." In the 1880s, King David Kalākaua was particularly motived to use such events to "strengthen national pride among Native Hawaiians and bolster international recognition of Hawaiian sovereignty." See Kamehiro's "Hawai'i at the World Fairs, 1867–1893," *World History Connected* Vol 8 No 3 (October 2011); http://worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/8.3/index.html. See also Peter H. Hoffenberg and Richard D. Fulton, *Oceania and the Victorian Imagination: Where All Things Are Possible* (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013).

> or perhaps a half-breed Indian from Gay Head, Mass, or Montank Point, Long Island, may fill the office. As a rule the boatsteerers are foreigners, principally Portuguese, Indians, or Kanakas. Formerly the crews were composed almost entirely of Americans, and were made up, for the most part, of residents of New Bedford or the New England States, with an occasional delegate from almost every State in the Union. Subsequently there seemed to be a gigantic funnel, with its nozzle inserted in New Bedford, through which all classes and conditions of men from all parts of the United States found an outlet to the broad ocean. Still later, the intelligent American born citizen withdrew from the forecastle of the whaler, and his place was supplied by a foreign element from the various islands and coasts visited by the vessels during their voyages. Though the foremost hands are representatives of almost all nations, they are mainly natives of the Azores, or Western Islands, Cape Verde, Annobon, St. Thomas, or some of the numerous other-little islands on the west coast of Africa, with a sprinkling of Kanakas, Guamies, Lascars, New Zealanders or Maories, West lndiamen, half-breeds—a mixture of Spaniard and Indian—from the coasts of Peru, Colombia, and other parts of the South American coast, English, Dutch, Scotch, Irish, Italian, French, and occasionally an American.[72]

Brown famously concluded, in an oft-quoted line, "A more heterogeneous group of men has never assembled in so small a space than is always found in the forecastle of a New Bedford sperm whaler."[73] "Few Americans below the rank of mates and captains are to be found on whaling-vessels now sailing from our ports," he continued: "In former days, New England's best sons were trained in this nursery; commencing as they did as cabin boys or foremast hands, they worked their way through the various gradations of promotion." "Crews for the New Bedford vessels were made up from neighboring towns. Capt. Isaiah West, now eighty-six years of age," told Brown "that he remembers when he picked his crew within a radius of 60 miles of New Bedford; that oftentimes he was acquainted, either personally or through report, with the social standing or business qualifications of every man on his vessel; and also that he remembers the first foreigner, an Irishman, that shipped with him, the circumstance being commented upon at that time as a remarkable one." Clifford Ashley would reiterate that latter point in his own book, titled (unsurprisingly) *The Yankee Whaler*.[74]

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72 Here Brown inserted "Of the three thousand eight hundred and ninety-six men composing the crews of the New Bedford whaling fleet in 1850, it is estimated that one-third were American born, one-third Azorean and Cape Verde Islands Portuguese, and the remainder negroes, Kanakas, and other nationalities."

73 Brown, "The Whalemen," in Goode, *Fisheries and Fishery Industries*, 218.

74 *The Yankee Whaler*, by Clifford W. Ashley; with an introduction by Robert Cushman Murphy and a preface to the pictures by Zephaniah W. Pease (London: G. Routledge & Sons Ltd., 1938).

1903: The Old Dartmouth Historical Society

The turn of the twentieth century came at a moment of acute tension in New Bedford. The strike of 1898, sparked when the city's cotton mill owners cut wages, had deeply divided the community.[75] Whaling was already clearly a thing of the past, but the future being ushered in by the textile industry was bringing challenges of its own. Economic strife coupled with social unrest prompted city leaders to look for cultural solutions. If the bottom had dropped out of the market for whaling, "in the first decades of the twentieth century," as Jamie Lyn Jones posits, "the market for whaling history was stronger than ever;" whaling, she adds, "had not been an important economic force for fifty years, but observers seeing these last antiquated ships were highly conscious of witnessing the tail end of something."[76]

The turn of the twentieth century would see New Bedford launch its first major pastkeeping enterprise, the Old Dartmouth Historical Society. The first historical society in the U.S. had been founded as early as 1791 in Boston, when the Massachusetts Historical Society formed. Most of the Massachusetts organizations that followed were grounded in content more than place (e.g. the 1820 Pilgrim Society, or genealogical efforts such as the 1845 New England Historic Genealogical Society), but some community historical societies began to emerge, beginning with the Essex Historical Society in 1821, the Worcester County Historical Society in 1825 and the Dorchester Antiquarian & Historical Society in 1843.[77] By 1893, a compendium of *Historical Work in Massachusetts* could list more than 110 history groups, including some 44 place-based (town, city or county) historical societies.[78]

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75 See Thomas A. McMullin, "The Immigrant Response to Industrialism in New Bedford, 1865-1900," in Jack Tager and John W. Ifkovic, eds., *Massachusetts in the Guilded Age* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1985), 101-118.

76 Jamie Lynn Jones, "American Whaling in Culture and Memory," 154. The Nantucket Historical Association, which began collecting in 1903, opened a Whaling Museum in 1930, and the Marine Historical Association at Connecticut's Mystic Seaport opened a museum in 1931. Jones locates these among a boom in museums more generally in this era, the colonial revival, and so forth. See also Steven Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876-1926* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

77 Alea Henle, "Preserving the Past, Making History: Historical Societies in the Early United States," (PhD Dissertation, University of Connecticut, 2012), 290.

78 Andrew McFarland Davis, *Historical Work in Massachusetts* (Cambridge: John Wilson & Son, 1893). Over the course of the nineteenth century, interest had also grown along more thematic lines, with preservation groups forming around topics of shared interest, like the history of "colonial wars," the history of New England Methodism, and so forth. See Davis, *Historical Work,* 3-5.

Maritime subjects found their own adherents. As Glenn Grasso has noted, the "marine collecting" that became popular beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century "took many forms," including "ship-model building, portraiture, relics and ship parts, even preserving entire vessels," constellations that could be enjoyed privately or displayed in public.[79] In another whaling community—New London, Connecticut—members of the Jibboom Club began gathering a maritime material culture in their meeting space.[80] Most notably, the effort to preserve the USS Constitution, launched in 1896 (and still in progress when New Bedford residents began to gather their own historical resources) represented a massive effort to rescue an artifact of the nation's maritime history and interpret it for future generations.[81]

At a 16 January 1903 meeting of New Bedford's Unity Club—a gathering associated with the city's Unitarian Church—a paper proposed the creation of an historical society and a museum. The following day, Ellis Loring Howland, a journalist with the *Evening Standard*, published an article urging the project forward. Howland descended from one of the city's preeminent whaling families. A ninth-generation descendent of Arthur Howland, his father's family had helped settle Plymouth; a biographical sketch noted that "even an incomplete trace back along the line of antecedents shows that more than a score were passengers on the Mayflower."[82] Howland was well aware of his family's maritime heritage, though his more immediate relatives were engaged in more terrestrial pursuits. Ellis Howland was born in 1868, in Providence, Rhode Island, where his father was a foundry foreman in the locomotive works. The family came to New Bedford when Howland was about thirteen, and his father "took charge" of a "large foundry" there. Howland tried his hand at work in one of the city's cotton mills, but found it "destructive of his health," switching to journalism. He joined the *Evening Standard* staff in 1890, where he remained (excepting a short stint with the Fall River *Herald*) until about 1907, when he accepted a position with the *Journal of Commerce*, a New York industry publication. Howland was also an avocational historian and genealogist.

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79 Grasso, "Maritime Revival," 271.

80 William N. Peterson, "The New London Jibboom Club and Jibboom Club Collection at Mystic Seaport," *Mystic Seaport Magazine* (Winter 2007).

81 Grasso, "Maritime Revival," 272-305. See also David Fitz-Enz, *Old Ironsides: Eagle of the Sea* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Pub. Group, 2009).

82 This and below from Albert W. Dennis, "Ellis Loring Howland," *Massachusetts Magazine* Vol. X, No. 4 (January 1917), 163-65.

Thirty-six-year-old Howland warned residents that the town was losing its patrimony as the archival record of the city's past—its logbooks and ledgers—were being recycled or tossed out, and the artifacts discarded as well. "Today we are suffering from the omission and if it is in the least deplorable it will be doubly a breach of our duty toward posterity to allow the lack to exist any longer...True, there are a few old log books stored away in the public library or here and there in the closet of some private collector, but when one contemplates the tons and tons of them that have been ground up into wrapping paper of prosaic fiber wash tubs, the absence of a historical society becomes in our minds almost a crime."[83] Ten days later Howland's proposal gained traction, as likeminded attorney William W. Crapo affirmed that the gathering of "relics" would help cultivate a "greater spirit of loyalty and a greater affection for our homes."[84]

By the turn of the 20th century, as Glenn Grasso and Robert Lovinger have observed, "old stock Yankees were becoming increasingly uncomfortable as they saw New Bedford becoming a haven for 'immigrant Irish, Jews, Azoreans and more'."[85] The census of 1900 had revealed that almost three quarters of New Bedford's population were foreign born or the children of the foreign born; the city had long been accustomed to its international flavor, but the Yankee population was feeling the balance tip precipitously: with their heritage feeling vulnerable, it was time to guarantee their future.

After Howland's editorial appeared, the Unity Club formed a committee that would reach out to the "historically inclined gentlemen" who had promoted the building of a memorial shaft to Bartholomew Gosnold (and "perpetuating the site of the first English settlement in North America") on Cuttyhunk Island: the "joint committee" researched other organizations, and by May were ready to propose something for New Bedford.[86] One hundred founding members of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society

83 Howland, quoted in "Historical Society Advised," unidentified newspaper clipping 17 January 1903, ODHS Scrapbook #1, as quoted in Lindgren, "'Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood'," 170.

84 Crapo, quoted in "Historical Society Advised," unidentified newspaper clipping 17 January 1903, ODHS Scrapbook #1, as quoted in James M. Lindgren, "'Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood', 170.

85 Grasso, "Maritime Revival," 41, quoting Robert Lovinger, "An Absence of Color," *SouthCoastToday*, 11 June 2000.

86 The memorial was dedicated 2 September 1903. See *Being the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society, 1904*, 4, 5; the men involved in the creation of the memorial (which emerged from the "Cuttyhunk Club," a fishing club formed in 1864) included Francis Ellingwood Abbot, LL.D., of Cambridge, Mass.; Edwin D. Mead Esq., of Boston, editor of the *New England Magazine*; George Gregerson Wolkins Esq., president of the Old South Historical Society of Boston; Ellis Loring Howland; and the local committee: Hon. Charles S. Randall, George Fox Tucker Esq., and Walton Ricketson.

(ODHS) assembled "to create and foster an interest in the history of Old Dartmouth (now the City of New Bedford, Acushnet, Dartmouth, Fairhaven and Westport, MA)" and elected Crapo their first president. Howland would serve as a member of the Society's board, and led the "publication section." Other early leadership would include treasurer Lloyd S. Swain (a teller at Merchants National Bank), Henry B. Worth (an attorney, and supervisor of "historical research"), William E. Sargent (a math teacher, and leader of "educational" work). Within a year, membership would climb to nearly 700 people and collections encompass some 560 artifacts. The Society's first annual meeting was held "amid the whaling paraphernalia, South Sea Island curios, and other interesting objects which constitute part of the Museum exhibition, which has been the Society's most noteworthy achievement."[87]

Born in 1830, William Wallace Crapo (steeped in history and romance from the outset, he was named for the Scottish hero whose exploits thrilled Crapo's schoolteacher father) graduated from Yale University in 1852 followed by a year at Harvard Law School and went on to a long career in law and politics.[88] A member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives in the 1870s and 80s, Crapo was now a man in his 70s, but his youth coincided with New Bedford whaling's heroic age. As a boy he was mesmerized by the tales of neighbor Everlasting Bill Howland, an old sea captain, and as a young man employed in the counting room of the Commercial Mutual Marine Insurance Company (where his father was Secretary) he had absorbed a steady diet of stories of and from the sea. He like other boys spent long days "watching the work of outfitting the whale ships; their departure to distant seas; the exciting arrival of incoming ships with their reports of the catch, a matter of public concern; the strange foreign looking men wandering about looking for jobs;" young William especially enjoyed watching the city's coopers make barrels of hoops and staves.[89]

In April 1856 George Howland Jr (an adherent of the Know-Nothing party, who held that "Americans must rule America") was elected Mayor, and appointed newly-minted lawyer William Crapo City Solicitor. Crapo's law practice, especially

87 *Being the proceedings of the annual meeting of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society*, 31 March 1904.

88 Henry Howland Crapo, *The Story of William Wallace Crapo, 1830-1926* (Boston: Thomas Todd, 1942). The Crapo, Clifford & Clifford Records, Mss 118 in the New Bedford Whaling Museum Research Library, documents the admiralty law work of Crapo and his partners; one series is devoted to the Old Dartmouth Historical Society.

89 Ibid., 10-11.

early on, concerned whaling merchants, "especially in disputes connected with the sale of oil, the vicissitudes of their ships, the 'lays' of their crews, and their not infrequent bankruptcies. . . ."[90] Crapo in 1861 became a Director of the Mechanics National Bank, and in time assumed the presidency of that bank, serving until 1904. In 1896 he was also made President of the New Bedford Institution for Savings, a position he held until 1921. Deeply involved in railroads and street railways (Crapo would decline a spot on Interstate Commerce Commission), with a lumber business in Michigan, and then as a member of Congress (1875-1883), Crapo was engaged in national politics.

Crapo, like many of the founders of the ODHS, had witnessed the decline of the city's whaling enterprises. In time, Crapo had succeeded his father as Secretary and Manager of the Commercial Mutual Marine Insurance Company.[91] Its fifty directors (like its competitor, the Mutual Marine Insurance Company) were drawn from New Bedford's "leading whaling merchants and bankers whose enterprise made their town 'known in every seaport in the globe.'"[92] In the 1860s, when Edward Mott Robinson contacted Crapo to sell his interest in the *Charles W. Morgan*, no buyer could be found at any price—a measure of the collapsing state of whaling even at that date. Crapo offered to purchase the share himself, and was a part owner of the *Morgan* for several years. But he also embraced rising opportunity in the city's textile industry. He was made a director of the Wamsutta Cotton Mills in 1868, and in time became president, serving until 1918. He also became director of Potomska Mills in 1873, and in time its president, resigning in 1923; he was also director of the Acushnet Mills (1881) and later its president too. In time, Crapo would come to be called the "Dean of the Cotton Industry," and the "Dean of New Bedford cotton mill executives."[93] Crapo had presided over the reconfiguration of New Bedford's economy.

He, like Ellis Howland, was also an avocational historian. In 1864, thirty-four-year-old Crapo was asked to speak at the 200th anniversary of the Town of Dartmouth; he dedicated the Civil War Soldiers' Monument, and in 1876 reviewed the city's history at its centennial celebration, where his closing words were "We have seen the forest fall before the strong arms of the pioneer; we have seen the shores lined with masts, and the waters

90 Ibid., 77.

91 The "Commercial" was liquidated in 1889.

92 Ibid., 67.

93 Crapo, *The Story of William Wallace Crapo,* 138; and *American Wool and Cotton Reporter,* 4 September 1919, 52.

white with sails; we have seen the triumphs of restless, cunning labor; but not in physical power nor in populous cities, not in factories nor palaces, nor richly laden fleets, are the elements of national greatness, nor its safety, but in the courage, integrity, self-denial and temperance of the people, and the spirit of mental enterprise and moral freedom which inspires them."[94] Crapo became a resident member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1875; he was also a member of Plymouth's Pilgrim Society and the Plymouth Colony Historical Society at Taunton.

The founding of the ODHS was surely at least partly inspired by the 1894 founding of the Nantucket Historical Association; however, the first published report of the ODHS would claim that "the subject of forming a local historical society has been debated periodically for over half a century." If true, then town leaders were contemplating the need for such an organization as early as the 1850s, perhaps in association with the 1858 publication of Daniel Ricketson's *History of New Bedford*.[95] The memory of whaling had evolved differently in Nantucket than New Bedford. Eclipsed by the latter's deepwater port, whaling in Nantucket began its decline earlier in the nineteenth century. While New Bedford's wealth shifted from whaling to cotton, Nantucket struggled to find a successor economy. Like other places across New England—perhaps most notably Deerfield, Massachusetts, which in the last decades of the nineteenth century came to understand the colonial and craft revivals as a new economic engine for the onetime farming community—it began to see heritage tourism as a possible solution.[96] Ambitious, in the late 1890s Nantucket's pastkeepers considered preserving a full ship in the harbor. The Nantucket Historical Association (NHA) began collecting documents, ledgers and logbooks, and artifacts. Meanwhile, at the turn of the century, a summer arts colony began to form.[97] The overall cast of the community by this time, in contrast to New Bedford, would be tony rather than gritty. Historian

94 Crapo, *Centennial in New Bedford*, 56.

95 On the origins of the NHA, see Seth C. Bruggeman, "'A Most Complete Whaling Museum:' Profiting from the Past on Nantucket Island," *Journal of Museum History* 8:2 (July 2015), 188-208.

96 On Deerfield, see Michael Batinski, *Pastkeepers in a Small Place* and Anne Lanning and Marla Miller, "Common Parlors: Women and the Recreation of Community Identity in Deerfield, Massachusetts, 1870–1920" *Gender and History* Vol. 6, No. 3 (1994), 435 – 455.

97 See Thomas Denenberg et al, *Call of the Coast: Art Colonies of New England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); and William H. Treuttner et al, *Picturing Old New England: Image and Memory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

Seth Bruggeman notes that the collection on which Nantucket's Whaling Museum rests, gathered by Edward Sanderson, actually documented the lives of working mariners: "certainly his collection of whaling tools," Bruggeman observes, "did not celebrate ship captains so much as it commemorated the common seamen who labored anonymously around the work during the age of sail." Yet the NHA always meant to serve what Macy called the "'right kind of people,' those whom he believed to be the proper stewards of Nantucket's past, [including] old families and wealthy summer people, but not the growing numbers of working Irish and Portuguese, for instance, who earned livings in the island's booming construction sector."[98]

Crapo was well aware that he had a different situation on his hands. Importantly, the city's demographics were changing rapidly. By 1900, fully seventy-two percent of New Bedford's population was "foreign born or the children of foreign-born parents."[99] New Bedford had long been a global crossroads, but this population felt different. The city would continue to "[welcome] these aliens from every quarter of the world," but these transplants, who (unlike, for instance, the Pacific Islanders and Native Hawaiians who passed through the city) intended to stay, "know and care little about our early history;" it would be up to the "old stock" to secure its legacy.[100]

To the minds of the city's pastkeepers, the history of whaling and the history of New Bedford were almost synonymous. Though the organization was dedicated to the whole history of "Old Dartmouth," it was deeply engaged in the city's whaling heritage. "It's [Old Dartmouth's] men have ventured into remote seas, visited strange lands, and from far-off seas have brought rare curios. Besides this there have been tales of adventure and daring, appalling dangers and marvelous escapes . . . Let us leave to those who are to follow us pleasant memories of the generations who have preceded us."[101] Librarian

98 In the 1920s, Nantucket would attract the attention of William Sumner Appleton, T.T. H. Halsey, and Fiske Kimball. See Bruggeman, "A Most Complete Whaling Museum," 200. During this decade, the NHA also acquired the large collection of maritime antiques assembled by clergyman and summer resident Edward Sanderson (a co-founder of Goodwill Industries); the Whaling Museum opened to the public in 1930.

99 Lindgren, "'Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood,'" 170.

100 Ibid.

101 "Proceedings of the First General Meeting of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society," *Old Dartmouth Historical Sketch* No. 1 (1903).

George Tripp proposed a loan exhibition of "antiquities, particularly those pertaining to the whaling industry." Crapo's gavel was made from a whale's tooth.[102]

From the outset, the Society preserved artifacts associated with the history of whaling as well as artifacts collected from places across the Pacific, and like other museums of this era, assigned objects associated with Yankee men to History, and objects associated with Pacific Islanders to ethnography.[103] In this they were in step with other regional and national museums, from Salem's Peabody Museum to the Smithsonian Institution.

On 15 February 1904, their first exhibit opened in the city's Masonic Building. Of the three rooms installed, one was devoted to what promoters not so humbly called "the greatest collection of whaling relics in the world" (an editorial would later complain that New Bedford had lost some important "trophies of the whaling chase" "due to an earlier raid by an agent of the Smithsonian Institution"—surely a reference to the work of James Templeman Brown twenty years earlier).[104]

Early reports on the Society's curatorial work all come over the signature of New Bedford native Annie Seabury (1858-1923), the daughter of Rhode Island sea captain Charles Pickney Seabury and his wife Sarah Wilcox Seabury. Seabury grew up on Fifth Street.[105] There were several ship captains named Seabury, making it difficult to piece together which voyages were captained by Annie's father, so it is difficult to say with confidence how much of her childhood may have elapsed while her father was away, or the length of time he was home between voyages. Only three voyages contain records of men named Charles P. Seabury (all before Annie's birth): one served as second mate on the bark *Pioneer*, which left in October 1842 and returned in May 1844, another served as captain of the ship *American* in an 1849 voyage to the North Pacific, and another served as captain of the ship *America 2nd*, which departed in September 1850 and returned the

102 Ibid.

103 See Annie Seabury Wood, "Report of the Museum Section," *Old Dartmouth Historical Sketch* No. 13 (1906).

104 "Reminders of Old Whaling Days," *Providence Sunday Journal*, n.d. as quoted in Lindgren, "'Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood,'" 171; Editorial, unidentified clipping, 27 July 1915, Tripp Scrapbook, OD#3, quoted in Lindgren, "'Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood,'" 174.

105 Both the 1865 city directory and 1880 federal census place the family on Fifth Street.

following year.[106] The 1880 federal census indicates that Annie's father had by that year retired; in 1882, when Thomas Smillie was documenting the city's whaling heritage, the "Residence of Capt. Humphrey Seabury. New Bedford, Mass"—Annie's uncle—was among the photos gathered in preparation for the global fisheries exhibition.[107]

On New Year's Eve 1900, at the comparatively late age of forty two, Annie Seabury married Frank Wood (1851-1933), a cotton broker in what had become the third largest textile city in the United States who (as we shall see) had descended from the Howland family, and so brought his own whaling credentials to the union.[108] The pair would become important figures in New Bedford's pastkeeping. Annie Seabury Wood, Secretary of the Museum Section, contributed the inaugural "Report of the Museum Section" to the 1904 "proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society," and continued to do so annually for a decade, until her husband Frank assumed that duty in 1914. The following year, Frank Wood submitted his report under his new title, curator of the museum collections.

In 1906, the Society received the gift of a building to serve as its permanent headquarters in the onetime Bank of Commerce headquarters on Water Street. The artifacts gathered together reflected the city's maritime orientation. Its "South Sea collection" included "a fine exhibit of war clubs, battle axes and ceremonial clubs." "Like Salem's Peabody Museum and other ethnographic collections," historian James Lindgren has observed, "the ODHS typecast such alien creatures as dangerous and bizarre," while by contrast, rooms devoted to the city's Anglo American past emphasized refinement, domesticity. By 1910, the exhibit drew 2,000 visitors annually.[109]

By the time New Bedford commenced preserving its maritime heritage, other Massachusetts cities were well under way on that enterprise. In Salem, Massachusetts,

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106 http://www.newbedford-ma.gov/library/special-collections/whaling-archives/ and American Offshore Whaling Voyages: A Database. See also "Captain Charles P. Seabury," See the Whaling Collection Archives (NBFPL) on the 1851 voyage of the Cowper.

107 See Photo. No. 2138. U.S. Fish Commission; and *Representative Men and Old Families of Southeastern Massachusetts*, 571-72. See also *The Seabury Family: Genealogical, Biographical* (States Historical Company, 1944).

108 As measured by the number of spindles in the factories; see www.WhalingCity.net. On Wood, see William M. Emery, *The Howland Heirs: being the story of a family and a fortune: and the inheritance of a trust established for Mrs. Hetty H.R.* (1919), 623.

109 Lindgren, "'Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood,'" 174, quoting Pease, "A Visit to the Old Dartmouth Historical Society" *Old Dartmouth Historical Sketch* 60, see also Lindgren's article "That Every Mariner May Possess the History of the World. A Cabinet for the East India Marine Society of Salem," *New England Quarterly* 68 (June 1995), 179-205.

the East India Marine Society (founded in 1799, the organization had 115 members by the following year) had long been assembling collections related to maritime activities, documenting along the way the peoples of the Pacific, especially Hawai'i, Fiji, the Marquesas and New Zealand. Formed "to assist the widows and children of deceased members...to collect such facts and observations as tend to the improvement and security of navigation and to form a Museum of natural and artificial curiosities, particularly such as are to be found beyond the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn...chiefly by the voluntary donations or the members as well as of others friendly to the institution," the Society encouraged members to note "whatever is singular in the manners, customs, dress, ornaments, &c. of any people" they encountered in the course of their travels.[110] The museum created from these artifacts published its first catalog in 1821, listing some 2,269 objects. In 1824, the society built a permanent home, an elegant Greek Revival hall filled with glass-fronted mahogany cases in which the collections were displayed. When Salem experienced the same mid-century softening of maritime industries that New Bedford witnessed, reducing the Society's membership roll and financial resources, stewardship of the collections, now merged with the Essex Institute, shifted to the Peabody Academy of Science. In 1876, some 37,000 visitors toured the reinstalled collections.[111]

James Lindgren has observed that, in the exhibit created by Salem's East India Marine Society, the "Sandwich Islands were pictured as dangerous and grotesque" while "China, Japan, and India were presented as wealthy and exciting."[112] "To the mariner," historian James Lindgren has argued, such artifacts were a "curious souvenir; to the museum-goer it became a model, a synecdoche." "Individual patrons" he continues, "had donated discrete items, often for reasons unique to them, but the museum synergized these artifacts, and from that synergism emerged an image that could have been quite different from the intent of the patron-mariner or the reality of the faraway land."[113]

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110 As quoted in Christina Hellmich Scarangello, "The Pacific Collection in the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts," *Pacific Arts*, No. 13/14 (July 1996), 69-84.

111 Lindgren, "That Every Mariner May Possess the History of the World," 204.

112 Lindgren, ""That Every Mariner May Possess,"" 185.

113 Lindgren, ""That Every Mariner May Possess,"" 200.

Such caricatures of Pacific places helped celebrate and legitimize imperialism.[114] Likewise, as the population of Pacific Islanders and Native Hawaiians in New Bedford became principally the dwindling number housed in the Bridgewater almshouse, the men of the Pacific islands who once lived and worked in New Bedford became present in the city mainly through the material culture of Oceania brought back by whaling ships. The first-ever report of the "Museum Section" of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society, drafted by Annie Seabury Wood, boasted that the "South Sea Island and Eskimo collections have assumed very creditable proportions"—evidence that the material culture of the Pacific islands and of New Bedford were entwined in the town's sense of its own history from the institution's inception.[115] Looking to the model offered by Salem's "East India" society, Wood noted that there, "it was the duty and privilege of the ship masters and the merchants who were its members to bring home from every voyage something of interest and of value to their museum;" "that same loyalty," she claimed, has made the Peabody Institute "one of the most interesting of its kind in the country."[116] The 1909 report from the Museum Section added: "The largest collection which has been added is one brought from the Philippines and loaned by Dr. Frederick A. Washburn."[117]

In summary, the ODHS can be seen in the context of other "vehicle[s] to reassert the importance of the coastal Northeast to the country while emphasizing its contribution to American prosperity."[118] The founding is also associated with imperial aims/success in Hawai'i: as Thomas Engelhart observes, the "orator at the first museum event reminded his audience that the Pacific Ocean was fast becoming the focus of world attention and went on to proclaim that Yankee whalers had been some of the first to penetrate the

114 See Lindgren, "That Every Mariner May Possess," 204. A classic in the literature of museums, collecting, and imperialism is Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993).

115 Wood, "Report of the Museum Section," *Old Dartmouth Historical Sketch* No. 5 (1904), 7.

116 Wood, "Report of the Museum Section," *Old Dartmouth Historical Sketch,* No. 13 (1906). Wood added "I wish every one of our members might make a visit to Salem and see the portraits of the old Salem ships, the admirably arranged and classified ethnological exhibit, and come home inspired with a like zeal and enthusiasm and a resolution to make our New Bedford museum one, too, of which this generation and succeeding generations would be proud."

117 Wood, "Report of the Museum Section*," Old Dartmouth Historical Sketch,* No. 5 (1904). Washburn (1869-1949) was a New Bedford native. Wood adds, "We are promised for the coming year the loan of a very good Alaskan collection, which, in addition to the one we have already, should make our Alaskan room one of the best equipped in the museum."

118 Engelhart, "A Whaler's Toil," 23.

region," declaring that 'New Bedford whaling captains knew the Pacific intimately before the rest of the world woke up to its importance as a great commercial agency.'"[119]

1912: The Whaleman Statue

The burst of activity and interest that surrounded the founding of the ODHS proved short-lived: only a decade later, William Crapo needed once again to spur civic interest in whaling history. A solution suggested itself in the form of a statue that celebrated the city's whaling heritage, a site where "hundreds of people passing every day could be reminded of the rugged sailors who made New Bedford possible."[120] The initiative was not only about continuing to spur interest in the city's whaling heritage: it was also an effort to secure interest of a certain kind. The historian James Lindgren argues that part of the reason the work needed reinvigoration was that the ODHS, like many if not most local historical societies (as opposed to more professional organizations like the Massachusetts Historical Society and the New York Historical Society), was mainly run by women volunteers, whose interests gravitated more to the town's colonial origins than its history at sea. Men were less eager to volunteer; for the still-new enterprise to thrive, whaling's pastkeepers need to get them interested again.[121]

And so it is unsurprising that the monument Crapo envisioned is drenched in masculinity, and Yankee masculinity at that. The bronze monument commissioned in 1912 by William W. Crapo and produced by American sculptor Bela Lyon Pratt (dedicated in June 1913) is a celebration of white manhood. The inscription reads "A Dead Whale Or A Stove Boat/In Honor Of The Whalemen Whose/Skill Hardihood And Daring Brought/Fame And Fortune To New Bedford/And Made Its Name Known In Every/Seaport The Globe/Gift Of W.W. Crapo." But it is also a watershed moment in the ongoing process by which memory of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, together with other men of color in the city's whaling history, found themselves pushed to memory's margins.

Of course Melville's novel influenced whaling in the city's historical imagination, and plans for its commemoration. "How planted upon this once scraggy scoria of a

119 Engelhart, "A Whaler's Toil," 23.

120 Lindgren, "'Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood,'" 177.

121 Ibid.

country?" the novelist asked: "Go and gaze upon the iron emblematical harpoons round yonder lofty mansion, and your question will be answered. Yes; all these brave houses and flowery gardens came from the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans. One and all, they were harpooned and dragged up hither from the bottom of the sea. . . .The harpooner is at the forefront of the whole desperate business."[122]

But the memorial gesture has its origins in the work of another New Bedford man, the "poet of the mills" John Spollen. The son of Irish immigrants to New Jersey, Spollen eventually found work as a mariner, and spent almost twenty years at sea.[123] He eventually married and settled in New Bedford, where he became a mill operative. He also wrote and published poetry, and about the same time as the ODHS was taking shape, published a poem, "The Whaleman," which proposed the notion of a statue honoring this class of men.[124]

Spollen himself seems to have inspired by the Augustus St. Gaudens Springfield, Massachusetts, memorial to Samuel Chapin, known colloquially as "The Puritan." In 1903 he published the poem 'The Whaleman' in *Fiber and Fabric*, a Boston trade publication, that contained the first suggestion of a Whaleman statue: "Yet I heartily wish his old shape could be seen, In marble or bronze, mounted here on the green. . . Let his monument stand, with his harpoon in hand, sturdy son of the sea who dragged wealth to land, in defiance of hardship and danger; For in this town he'll soon be a stranger." This is "the idea of *Fiber and Fabric's* poet carried out as applied to the conditions of that city," though "as the Puritan was typical of Springfield, so the whaleman would be typical of this city."[125] "What a noble thing it would be," the newspaper editorialized, "if a St. Gaudens statue of The Whaleman could be placed on City Hall square, where hundreds of people passing every day could be reminded of the rugged sailors who made New Bedford possible!"

Apparently Crapo recalled the poem nine years later when he was in need of a new memorial gesture. While Melville's novel provided the work's inscription and helped frame its content, Spollen's poem was another important literary source. As the newspaper would report, "Once it was decided to erect such a memorial, there could be

122 Melville, *Moby-Dick*, Norton Critical Edition (NY, 1967), 38.

123 New Bedford *Evening Standard*, 18 February 1912.

124 New Bedford *Standard*, 16 May 1903.

125 Ibid.

no doubt in any mind regarding the subject of the design. 'It is the harpooner that makes the voyage.' It is the harpooner who performs the task with the responsibility and the task with the thrill."[126] Crapo turned to Connecticut sculptor Bela Lyon Pratt (1867-1917), head of the sculpture department at the School of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston from 1898 to 1917.

Pratt was not Saint-Gaudens, but he had studied with the famous sculptor and would surely have known the Chapin memorial that had inspired the New Bedford commission. The Chapin memorial was funded by descendant Chester Chapin, who also served as the sculptor's model. Pratt now needed a model for his own work, though the figure would be a type, and not a reference to a historic figure. Nevertheless, "I must have a real boatsteerer," the sculptor declared; "a man who has himself been long familiar with the harpoon." Accordingly a search was launched to find model. Augustus G. Moulton of J. & W. R. Wing Company was asked if he could suggest someone, and he responded by proposing a man from the Cape de Verde Islands. "The whaleman of the statue, however, was to typify the early Yankee courage that sent New Bedford's sailors across all the oceans of the world, spearing cetaceans for oil,—so the outfitters were asked to find a boatsteerer of the old type,—the type made famous in *Moby Dick* and other stories of the sea."[127]

Newspaperman Zephaniah Walter Pease (1861-1933) advised the sculptor specifically to ignore inspiration offered by Melville's novel—Queequeg, Daggoo and Tashtego—because they were "not typical of the glorious host of whalemen who made the fame of New Bedford . . . The whalers of yesteryear, whom the sculpture honors and perpetuates, is the Native born." A New Bedford native, Pease—named for both grandfathers, Zephaniah Pease and Walter Thomas—was the son of Grinnell Street variety store owner Peleg Pease and his wife Joanna Thomas. The family lived on South First Street, and later Edgartown. He had begun his career in journalism in 1880, when he joined the staff of the *Mercury,* where his father had been an assistant editor. He rose to the position of editor in 1895 (the same year he was appointed Collector of Customs for the Port of New Bedford). The publication of his magisterial *History of New Bedford*

126 As quoted in Pease, *History of New Bedford* (Vol 3), 99.

127 Appendix II of "The Presentation of the Whalemen Stature to the City of New Bedford**,"** by William W. Crapo (E. Anthony & Sons, Inc., Printers, 1913).

lay six years ahead; that book would appear in 1918.[128] Pease was interested and invested in history. He proudly claimed lineage tracing back to the Mayflower, sought membership in the Sons of the American Revolution, and took pride in being an 8th-generation descendant of John Howland. His maternal grandfather was the "captain of a merchant ship," giving him some direct connection, too, to maritime commerce, if not whaling.

As we have seen, attitudes about Pacific Islanders had begun to shift in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, in part due to the influence of scientific racism. In 1851, Melville's discussion of Queequeg's phrenologically excellent forehead, with the same "long regularly graded retreating slope from above the brows as George Washington" (Queequeg, Melville says, was "George Washington cannibalistically developed").[129] Thirty years later, James Templeman Brown's 1880 survey of American whaling declared that "the harpooners of the fleet have degenerated with the fishery." "In the palmy days of whaling the flower of New England's sons won the right to dart the harpoon by that spirit of fearlessness and gallantry which characterized the early American patriot; but now almost every harpooner that sails from New Bedford is representative of an inferior race."[130]

As he weighed in on the creation of The Whaleman, Pease appears to have concurred: "Having decided that it is the harpooner who fills the picture, the artist must next pick his type. If he is a lover of the whaling classic there is recalled to his mind the dreadful Queequeg, who 'eats nothing but steaks and likes 'em rare,' or Daggoo, or Tashtego, the three salt-sea warriors with the portentous appetites which barons of salt junk could not satisfy. But these are not typical of the glorious host of whalemen who made the fame of New Bedford, valorous, hardy, God-fearing men."[131] He continued: "The whalers of yesteryear, whom the sculptor honors and perpetuates, is the Native born—'A health to the Native born, Stand up!'—young men athirst for gain and glory in the fishery, 'stalwart fellows who have felled forests and now seek to drop the axe and snatch the whale lance.' The time was when the boys of New Bedford were fired by the

128 On Pease, see his biography in *History of New Bedford*, Vol III (1918), 414-16. "The eagerness to get away from Water Street assumed the proportion of a panic," reported local historian Zephaniah Pease." Quoted in *Not Just Anywhere*.

129 *Moby-Dick* (New York: Random House, 1930), 71.

130 Brown, "Whalemen, Vessels and Boats," 223, as quoted in Grover, "African American, West Indian, and St Helenian Whalemen," 211.

131 Pease, *History of New Bedford* (Vol. 3), 100.

deeds of the fathers and aspired to be captains and heroes. This is the figure of youth who stands at the prow of the boat—looking forward."[132]

The man ultimately selected to serve as the model was New Bedford native Richard Lewis McLachlan (1864-1919), a veteran boatsteerer who traveled to Pratt's Boston studio to pose.[133] Newspapers reported that McLachlan's career as a mariner began in 1873, when he served as a cabin boy in the merchant service. His first work on a whaleship came about 1885, when he joined the crew of the bark *Rainbow* commanded by Captain Barney Cogan. The vessel was crushed by ice, and McLachlan moved to the bark *Hunter*, another whaler. After a stint as a longshoreman in southern California, he joined the Pacific Steam Whaling Company, a firm launched in 1883 with multiple New Bedford connections. After a decade as a boatsteerer, he became fourth mate on a ship belonging to J. & W.R. Wing, and then second mate on the *Alice Knowles*. In time he settled in New Bedford, married and eventually retired. "The bottom is out of whaling," McLachlan declared in a 1913 interview: "It does not pay to go a'whaling anymore."[134]

Interestingly, the New Bedford press omitted some details from McLachlan's biography; the boatsteerer might have been "of New Bedford" at the time he posed for Pratt's statue, but he was very much a citizen of the world, and only tangentially able to represent the Yankee past Crapo and others were seeking. McLachlan was of Scottish descent, but he had been born in New Zealand in the wake of the Waikato War of 1863-64, which drove the Kingitanga Māori into the interior of North Island and facilitated the seizure of vast stretches of Māori land.[135] He was the son of Alexander Cleghorn McLachlan of Inverness, who had migrated to Stapleton, New Zealand, in 1840 as a child with his family. In 1861 McLachlan married Mary Ann A. Naysmith—who had herself been born aboard the ship *Duchess of Argyle* when her own parents emigrated from Lanark, outside Glasgow.[136] Alexander worked as a sawyer in a mill in Thames, a town at

132 Ibid.

133 "Presentation of 'The Whaleman' marks Epoch," New Bedford *Evening Standard*, 20 June 1913; see also "Posed for Statue of 'The Whaleman,'" unidentified clipping at http://www.belalyonpratt.com/articles.php.

134 "Posed for Statue of 'The Whaleman,' unidentified clipping at http://www.belalyonpratt.com/articles.php.

135 McLachlan lists New Zealand as his place of birth in "Marriages Registered in the City of New Bedford," 1910, on Ancestry.com. His parents are listed as Alexander McLachlan and Mary Smith. On New Zealand at this time see Vincent O'Malley, *Beyond the Imperial Frontier: The Contest for Colonial New Zealand* (Wellington, N.Z. : Bridget Williams Books, 2014).

136 For McLachlan's genealogy, see http://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Mclachlan-37.

the southwestern end of the Coromandel Peninsula of New Zealand's North Island. The Bay of Islands, a popular port for whaleships in need of water, wood, and manpower, lay just to the north. Richard attended Waio-karaka school in Thames before heading to sea; each of his seven siblings would remain in New Zealand.

McLachlan's global biography notwithstanding, his sound Scottish features proved serviceable to the needs of the hour. But there is some irony present in the degree to which his life (in childhood and surely at sea) was deeply entwined with the Māori, who were very much present, like Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders, in New Bedford whaling. Crapo's monument was, among other things, a conscious effort to revise the memory of whaling to marginalize, even exclude, the Pacific Islanders and other whalemen of color who served on the city's whaleships and lived in its boardinghouses.[137] It was also a testament to Yankee virility. As Lindgren asserts, "Like many who feared that men were weakened by industrialism, [Crapo] suggested that the manliness of whalers had been forged by 'braving the perils of the ocean, in meeting the frenzied attacks of wounded and angry whales, in dealing with the barbourous natives of South Sea Islands [and] in thrilling adventures and hair-breadth escapes."[138] Pacific Islanders, in this telling, are shoreside enemies, not members of the crews who helped make the city's prosperity possible. Given McLachlan's life in New Zealand and around the Pacific Basin, it would be interesting to know what he made of Crapo's remarks.

Crapo's gift to the city was unveiled on 20 June 1913. Thousands turned out for the unveiling (a souvenir edition of John Spollen's *The Whaleman and other Sea Songs* was re-published by George A. Hough). Crapo's obituary in the *Evening Standard* would remark that "A distinction which Mr Crapo alone possessed was that of having played a leading part in the two great eras of New Bedford's development. He linked the city of over three million spindles with the city of a thousand ships. . . .More than any other man now living he saw New Bedford through the transition stage from whaling to cotton manufacturing, embodying, in a sense, that exceptional spirit of determination, that resourcefulness, that self-confidence and optimism, which enabled the city to survive the

137 Glenn Grasso considers the role of the sculpture in marginalizing the diversity of the city's whaling heritage in "The Maritime Revival," chapter one. In addition, he argues, "the social class of these men, and why they were erecting as memorial to a defunct industry on the eve of the technologically-advanced warfare of the Great War is even more important to understanding how manufactured cultural memories chartered Americans' understanding of maritime history for most of the twentieth century." See "Maritime Revival," 27-28.

138 Lindgren, "'Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood,'" 180.



Figure 4.5a: Dedication of the "New Bedford Memorial; or, The Whaleman Statue" (Bela Lyman Pratt, sculptor, 1912). Courtesy of the Trustees of the New Bedford Public Library.



Figure 4.5b: detail of statue. The model for the figure was Richard Lewis McLachlan (1864-1919). Photo: Emily Esten.

destruction of an industry in which it was preeminent, and on its ruins to climb to equal preeminence in another and widely different field of enterprise."[139] His enduring contribution, The Whaleman, as it bodied forth one very particular vision of the city's maritime history, defined the city's sense of its whaling heritage for decades to come.

1916: Jonathan Bourne Whaling Museum

In 1914, cotton broker Frank Wood (1851-1933) became curator of ODHS.[140] Wood descended from the Howlands: his grandmother was Sarah Howland (daughter of Gideon Howland). Frank had spent time in New York, but traveled to Japan before taking charge of a Nevada trading post, where he served as an agent for Wells Fargo Express Co. Once back on the east coast, he worked as a metal broker in New York and a wool broker

139 Crapo, *The Story of William Wallace Crapo*, 152. In *The Patina of Place* (56), Heath discusses the 1914 statue erected in Buttonwood Park, celebrating the city's manufacturing heritage alongside, and stemming from, the "sturdy whalemen who early won fame for New Bedford." Further study of the funders and design process behind this memorial would be valuable in understanding the city's memorial landscape.

140 Though beyond the scope of our study here, the roles of Annie Seabury Wood and Frank Wood open a glimpse into shifting gender conventions in the museum world. For the first decade-plus, Annie Seabury Wood led the "museum section" of the ODHS, a largely female enterprise; in 1908-09, for instance, the museum committee included "Miss Mary E. Bradford, Miss Elizabeth H. Swift, Mrs Clement N Swift, Mrs Herbert E. Cushman, Miss Mary K. Taber, and Mrs Edmund Wood." But when the museum created a formal position of "curator," it was Frank Wood, and not Annie Seabury Wood, who filled the role. On the marginalization of women as public history practice formalized in the early twentieth century, good places to begin include Patricia West, *Domesticating History*; Anne Digan Lanning and Marla R. Miller, "'Common Parlors': Women and the Recreation of Community Identity in Deerfield, Massachusetts, 1870-1920," *Gender and History* (November 1994), 435-455; and Keith A. Erekson, *Everybody's History: Indiana's Lincoln Inquiry and the Quest to Reclaim a President's Past* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012).

in Philadelphia before returning to New Bedford, where he worked as a cotton broker. Wood was also a collector of maritime antiques; Frank and Annie in time gifted Frank's collection, including an important scrimshaw collection, to the museum. The 1919 Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution's American Museum of Natural History would also credit Wood as the donor of "3 ethnological specimens from the South Sea Islands" to the museum's anthropology department.[141]

Wood, like his predecessors, framed the story of New Bedford whaling in masculine and nationalistic terms. Historian James Lindgren has examined the origins of the whaling museum, and argues convincingly that the effort was grounded in an effort to preserve and protect "old types of manhood."[142] Wood's statements confirm Lindgren's argument. "Do you quite realize all that Miss Bourne's gift to the society will mean?" he asked as he assumed his new role: "It is more than local. It will be a memorial to strong men who built up a great industry, to brave men and vessels who carried our flag not only into the known but the unknown and uncharted seas of the world." In an interesting shift that underscored imperial aims beyond those of the U.S. he added, "They were the first to anchor off the shores of lands which today are the most valued colonial assets of the older nations."[143]

The museum has its origins in another gesture in honor of masculine virtue, as well as filial and feminine appreciation. In 1915, Emily Howland Bourne (1835-1922), now eighty, donated the Bourne Building to the ODHS in memory of her father, Jonathan Bourne Jr. (who had been one of the most significant donors to the 1883 international fisheries exhibition). Most often remembered in contemporary New Bedford for having made this bequest in honor of her father, Emily Bourne used her wealth to support a number of reform causes, especially in New York, where she spent her latter years. Named for her mother, Emily Howland Bourne was the eldest of the Bourne children. The 1880 New Bedford census describes the forty-five-year-old Bourne as an "invalid," possibly a reference to the cataracts from which she suffered, which eventually led to her philanthropic interest in the vision-impaired. She later moved to New York, where she was "known particularly for her benefactions for the blind," including the Bourne Workshop for the Blind. Sizeable bequests in her will supported the New York School

141 *Annual Report of the American Museum of Natural History* Vol 51-52 (1919), 227.

142 Lindgren, "'Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood.'"

143 *Proceedings of the Meeting of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society New Bedford, Massachusetts*, 22 June 1915.

for Social Research, the Legal Aid Society, the Seaman's Church Institute, and the Henry Street Settlement. Another gift left $300,000 to the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, to "maintain a convalescent and rest home in the country for New York nurses."[144]

The gift of the museum building was a monument to Emily's father Jonathan—"the most successful of all the glorious host of New Bedford whaling merchants" —a gesture that followed her 1897 gift of a library (also designed by Henry Vaughn) to the town of Bourne, Massachusetts.[145] As newspaperman and historian Zephaniah Pease would observe, "it has devolved upon the last of the generation...to rear monuments to the men who brought fame and opulence to the city through their hazardous enterprise."[146]

Many of the men deeply involved in the conversion of the city's economy--from one based on whaling to one based on textile manufacture—had, like Wood, made the preservation and even celebration of whaling heritage their personal mission. As Heath explains, "between 1880 and 1910," the city had been "transformed--seemingly overnight--from a whaling economy to a cotton textile city producing fine cotton yarn, cloth, and specialty goods. While in other urban settings such a shift in economic focus may have been resisted overtly by parties with vested interests in the older industry, the changeover was from within the community. As a result, the same families who had controlled the whaling interests now controlled textiles."[147] In the introduction to George Francis Dow's 1925 book *Whale Ships and Whaling: A Pictorial History* cotton broker Frank Wood wrote "There was a time, within memory of a great many citizens of New Bedford, when the wharves of the city were swarmed with ships and barks, whose hundreds of masts fringed the sky-line like the bayonets of a great army marshaled in

144 "Emily H. Bourne Dead: Founder of Workshop for the Blind Dies at Her Home," *New York Times,* 26 March 1922; see also 30 January 1925: 8; 22 May 1923: 20; 24 May 1922: 18; 20 April 1922: 26. See also "Matter of Emily Howland Bourne," Surrogate's Court of the City of New York, New York County, 121 Misc. 12 (N.Y. Misc. 1923). On the convalescent home—a house and ten acres in Babylon, Long Island—see *The Public Health Nurse*, Vol. 17 (1925), 145; and *The Red Cross Courier* Vol. 18 (1938), 18.

145 Z. W. Pease, "The Story of the Building of the Bourne Whaling Museum with Reminiscences of Old Counting Rooms," *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society*, New Bedford, Massachusetts, 3 April 1916.

146 Morning *Mercury*, 16 May 1916, ODHS Scrapbook #4, as quoted in Lindgren, "'Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood.'"

147 Heath, *The Patina of Place*, 41.

battle array. Today we look in vain for one of those grimy, storm-stained square-riggers. Cotton mills, with hovering clouds of smoke, now greet the eye as it looks along the waterfront."[148]



Figure 4.6: Bird's Eye View of Commercial Rooftops, New Bedford, [ca. 1860–1955], Courtesy of the Trustees of the New Bedford Free Public Library.

Lastly, Wood distinguished between the boys from "up-country" who went to sea only once, and the "boys of the ports themselves, born and bred to the sea, if they answered the call once, generally made whaling their career and rose through the ranks." Wood's Yankee "boys were born with the fever of the sea in their veins," and made "distant journeys to quasi-legendary lands, where strange folk lived"; "As youngsters, they listened to the tales of their elders, [and] gazed with wonder at the queer men—the 'Queequegs' that the ships often brought home." Here Wood offers evidence that Melville's character (as we shall see) came to stand in for all Kanaka men.[149]

The Jonathan Bourne Whaling Museum was dedicated in November 1916. It was built exclusively to hold whaling relics and displays, including the half-sized model of the bark *Lagoda*, one of Bourne's whaling vessels.[150] The museum's dedication ceremony committed the new institution to "preserving the memory of those strong, able, enterprising men, the New Bedford merchants who directed the whaling industry from

148 George Francis Dow, *Whale Ships and Whaling: A Pictorial History* (Salem, Mass., Marine Research Society, 1925), ix.

149 Dow, *Whale Ships and Whaling*, ix-x.

150 On the popularity of maritime models, see Grasso, "Maritime Revival," 306-08.

their counting rooms along the wharves, and of those other brave and skillful men—the masters and seamen who manned the ships and sailed them on every sea in search of their cargoes."[151] The event emphasized whaling's contribution to Massachusetts' economy, and the political influence associated with that wealth: "The wealth which the whalers brought to New Bedford did not enrich New Bedford alone," the founders noted, "but it added also to the prosperity and resources of the commonwealth. The whaling merchants and masters were not only the prominent citizens of this locality, they were also among the leading men in the state, and did their share in directing its destinies. And so today the interest in this whaling museum and what it commemorates is not confined to New Bedford, but is shared by the whole commonwealth."

Calvin Coolidge, then lieutenant governor of Massachusetts, also spoke. "Though those ships which made New Bedford great no longer sail the seas," he observed, "and the men who commanded them, the men who manned them, and the men who financed them are all now a part of the past,—the character of those masters, the courage of those men, and the business sagacity and ability of those merchants who carried on this industry have left their influence upon the present." Coolidge praised Bourne's "character and his business sagacity, industry and thrift," and continued: "It is as the result of these strong characteristics that we are able to come here today to witness these unusual exercises."

In his own remarks, William W. Crapo shifted focus to the working mariners, layering a celebration of manliness and masculinity onto the day's overall message. "The picturesque figure in the capture of the whale," Crapo asserted, "is the man standing in the bow of the boat, who, with a brave heart, steady nerve and strong right arm thrusts the harpoon into the body of the monster of the sea. The whale in its efforts to escape plunges deep in the ocean, and, as the line attached to the harpoon leaves the boat, rapidly passing around the loggerhead, the harpooner is proudly conscious that the boat is fast to the whale. The oarsmen are exultant for they have out rowed their companions in the chase, and when the whale arises to the surface they will have the advantage of position in the conflict which must end in the death of the whale or the destruction of the boat. Their skill, daring and endurance deserve our hearty praise." But given Bourne's own distinct

151 This and below from the "Dedication of the Jonathan Bourne Whaling Museum," *Old Dartmouth Historical Sketch*, No. 45, (1916).

role in the whaling industry, Crapo was compelled to expand his scope and heal the breach that had come to separate sea and shore: "we should not forget," he continued, "the men in the counting room. The men who planned the voyages and who risked their fortunes in the ventures. The men who procured the ships, adapted them for their special service and provided the equipment, munitions and outfits for the long voyages. The men who designated in what oceans, seas and bays the ships must make their cruising grounds, and who, after careful deliberation, selected the officers and men who were to execute the undertaking. The motive power of the enterprise in its inception from start to finish was the man to be found on the wharf or in the counting room."[152]

Also speaking in celebration of a distinct Yankee masculinity was Haverford College Professor Francis Barton Gummere. As the former headmaster of New Bedford's Swain Free School, Gummere also bodied forth the city's entwined heritage in both textiles and whaling, as the school--which trained students in textile design (work especially relevant to the industrializing city)—was founded with William W. Swain's fortune from the whaling industry, and the profits of his whale oil manufactory. To the day's celebration, Gummere—a folklorist—added that "time and circumstance have swept away one of the great types of our American manhood, along with [a] handicraft in which courage, resourcefulness, agility, clear eye, and steady nerve, were the very common-places of the calling." "Let us be done, then, forever," he advised his audience, with "the deplorable fad of blackwashing our past and deprecating old types of manhood. Let us rather idealize them."[153]

1926: Memorials in Maritime Literature: Rockwell Kent and Melville's Queequeg, and Clifford Ashley's *The Yankee Whaler*

Without question, the most famous Pacific Islander associated with New Bedford is fictional—Herman Melville's Queequeg. Introduced to New Bedford readers with the 1851 publication of *Moby-Dick*, the harpooner of the Pequod is today an enduring, even iconic symbol of Pacific Islanders in New England, and in American whaling. In creating the character, Melville drew on his own maritime experiences. In 1839, twenty-year-old Melville signed onto the merchant ship the *St. Lawrence* as a cabin boy. After this voyage

152 Ibid.

153 "Bourne Museum Dedication," 17, 19, as quoted and discussed in Lindgren, "'Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood,'" 165, and Grasso, "Maritime Revival," 107.

and a year spent exploring the West, Melville famously joined the crew of the whaling ship *Acushnet* in January 1841; his several publications included the novel *Moby-Dick*, which introduced readers to Queequeg as well as the African harpooner Daggoo and his Native American counterpart, Gay Head mariner Tashtego.[154]

As early as the 1840 appearance of Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast*—and one could argue as early as the eighteenth-century reports of James Cook's pacific voyages—maritime literature had helped shape perceptions of whaling's culture and heritage.[155] Melville's work did not find the commercial success upon publication that other titles enjoyed, but his imagined Pacific Islander, Queequeg, gained purchase on the American cultural landscape alongside the whaling novel itself decades later. The book's success is in part an artifact of the industry's demise.

In 1926, New Bedford historian Zephaniah Pease noted the fear, in "the last hours of the expiring whaling industry," that memory of New Bedford whaling would be lost; quoting an imaginary visitor to the city that year, he wrote "Queequeg and Dago [sic] and Tastego I missed."[156] The year 1926 is important in the construction of the memory of Pacific Islanders. The effort of artist Rockwell Kent to publish a special edition of Melville's masterpiece (only recently recognized as such) commenced in 1926, the same year that the first film treatment of the novel—a silent picture starring John Barrymore, titled "The Sea Beast"—appeared. At the same time, in 1926, New Bedford native Clifford Ashley published his own tour de force volume, *The Yankee Whaler*. Taken together, these works helped establish a fictional character to stand in for the actual Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders who labored in the city's whaling industry, and facilitated their absence from books like Ashley's.

Herman Melville had chosen not to associate his character Queequeg with an actual place, but instead described him as a native of a fictional island called Rokovoko (or Kokovoko, depending on which edition one had in hand), an "island far away to the

154 The novelist returned to New Bedford 23 February 1858, seven years after the book's publication, to speak at the New Bedford Lyceum (not on whaling, but rather "The Statues of Rome"); see Arthur Motta, "Herman Melville's Return to New Bedford," whalingmuseumblog.org, 24 February 2015.

155 Glen Grasso offers a useful overview of this literature and phenomenon in "Armchair Sailors: Publishing and the Maritime Revival;" see "The Maritime Revival," chapter three.

156 Introduction, Ashley's *Yankee Whaler,* 2.

West and South" ("it is not down in any map;" Melville adds: "true places never are.").[157] It was a place given to cannibalism. Queequeg came from the island's royalty, but longed to see the world, so he joined the crew of a Sag Harbor whaler, eventually making his way to Nantucket and then New Bedford. By the time he is described by Melville's Ishmael, he is a strapping whaler, covered in tattoos, with filed, pointed teeth; the tomahawk he carries at all times would help readers associate him with natives of North America. An iconic element of Queequeg's image is also his top hat, described in Melville's Chapter Two as a "new beaver hat," and "a very tall one, by the by" in Chapter Three—Melville being perhaps attuned to this particular sartorial detail because of the family's fur and cap business in Albany, New York.

Though the book would become an American classic, it was not embraced as such upon publication. Readers of the New Bedford *Daily Mercury* who read the 18 November 1851 review of the "bulky, queer looking volume," available at C. & A. Taber's (not only booksellers, Charles and Augustus Taber were "importers and dealers in charts, nautical instruments, and works on navigation;" they also invested in whaleships)[158] learned that the author's "adventures in New Bedford are extended through several pages," and in general, the books "characters and subjects….are set off with artistic effect, and with irresistible attraction to the reader." The book sold only 3,000 copies during Melville's lifetime, interest in maritime subjects being on the wane alongside whaling itself as American attention turned toward new industries on the rise, and western landscapes. But Melville's 1891 death prompted some review of his career, and by the 1920s—in a development prompted by the advent of modernism, the relocation of cultural authority and editorial leadership from New England and New York, and the interests of the Maritime Revival—literary critics had rediscovered the novel and began to identify *Moby-Dick* as a quintessential look at nineteenth-century American life.[159]

Queequeg in these decades enjoyed particular attention. An illustration in the 1902 edition of the novel published by Charles Scribner's Sons—one of only four images

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157 *Moby-Dick*; *or, The Whale,* (Random House, 1930), 79.

158 Crapo, *City Directory*, 1849, p. 194; on investing, see *Ships Registers of New Bedford: Compiled by The Survey of Federal Archives Division of Professional and Service Projects*, Work Projects Administration Vol II (1851-1905), http://www.archive.org/details/shipregistersofn02nati.

159 See Grasso, "Maritime Revival," 147-48. Grasso also notes the appearance of Raymond M. Weaver's 1921 biography *Herman Melville, Mariner and Mystic* (NY: George H. Doran, 1921).

in the volume—imagines Queequeg in Yankee clothes and top hat. The illustration was produced by New Bedford daguerrotypist and photographer Isaiah West Taber (1830-1912), who knew the work firsthand.[160] The son of Freeman and Louise Taber, in October 1845, Taber sailed with the crew of the *Adeline Gibbs*, captained by his uncle and namesake Isaiah West; the ship returned from the Pacific whaling grounds in July 1848 with 400 barrels of sperm oil, 2,100 of whale and over 27,000 pounds of whalebone.[161] But he didn't opt for a second voyage. Drawn, like many New England men, to the west by the Gold Rush, Taber moved to California, where he tried his hand at trading and mining. By 1854 he was ready to return home, where he learned dentistry before finally settling on a career in photography. In April 1857, Taber married Mary F.R. Howland, the daughter of New Bedford ship captain Parson Howland, Jr. and sister of photographer Benjamin E. Howland. Taber would return to the west and become an influential San Francisco photographer. In 1880 he made a visit to Hawaii, where he made three full-length portraits of King Kalakaua.



Figure 4.7: Queequeg, as imagined by New Bedford Artist Isaiah West Taber (1830-1912), in Charles Scribner's Sons 1902 edition of *Moby-Dick*.

Taber's work illustrating the 1902 Scribner's volume was a minor episode in a career focused elsewhere. But the image of Queequeg laid important groundwork for Pacific Islanders in popular imagination. As the "boy" on the *Adeline Gibbs*. Taber worked alongside Pacific Islanders, including "Joe Kanaka," who came aboard ship at Lahaina on 2 April 1846 together with a man named P.C. Allen.[162] A week later, two men—one called

160 On Taber's career in photography, see Lisa Bonnett, et al, *Taber, A Photographic Legacy, 1870-1900* (Sausalito, CA.: Windgate Press, 2004); and Peter E. Palmquist, Thomas R. Kailbourn, compilers, *Pioneer Photographers of the Far West: A Biographical Dictionary, 1840-1865* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 538-41.

161 Taber's occupation as listed in the 1850 federal census was still listed as "sailor." On the return of the voyage, see American Offshore Whaling Voyages: A Database.

162 Joe Kanaka was discharged at Lahaina that October; Allen deserted at Manua (Navigator Island) in summer 1847. See NBWM database. The ship's boatsteerers were James D. Carlisle, Charles F. Kinney,

"Spunyarn" and the other merely "John"—joined the crew at Oahu.[163] Three men called Reuban Enis, P.B. Hough, and Leonard Kitchen joined at Lahaina on 14 October 1846 (replacing Joe Kanaka, who left on the same date), and two others, called Peter Brown and Leonard Densmen, came later that month, also on "the Hawaiian Islands."[164] Nearly forty years later, in 1880, Taber returned to Hawai'i. This time he was not a boy on a whaler, but a photographer with a commission to photograph the king.



Figure 4.8: Isaiah West Taber (photographer), American, 1830–1912 King David Kalakaua (1836-1891), late 19th century 26 x 13.5 cm (10 1/4 x 5 5/16 in.). The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, gift of Mrs. Yemans, 36469.1.

When Taber sat down to produce the artwork for this edition of Melville's novel, he drew on his own knowledge of Pacific Islanders in New Bedford whaling. The image of Queequeg, which accompanied Melville's chapter XVIII, "His Mark," captures the moment just before Queequeg—proving his

Cornelius Marchant and Charles B. Norton; Carlisle had been only a greenhand in the ship's previous voyage. Kinney would rise through the ranks to become a first mate, and Marchant eventually a master. The logbook of this voyage survives in the collection of the NBWM.

163 Both were discharged at Lahaina in October. According to the ship's log, two men (John D. Davis and Jacob Rahle) had deserted, so these two hands may have been necessary to replace that lost labor.

164 NBWM database.

merit to skeptics—hurled a harpoon at a drop of tar on the water; the captain immediately signed him on as the ship's harpooner. Taber's illustration emphasizes the harpoon, the top hat—as well as the man's strong and heavily tattooed forearms and face.

Twenty years later, in 1926, artist Rockwell Kent launched a spectacular three-volume edition (completed in 1930) for R. R. Donnelley and Sons, Lakeside Press that included a series of stunning woodblock prints imagining Queequeg for modern readers. Kent had been approached to produce an illustrated edition of Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast*, but pitched the Melville work instead. To prepare for the project, Kent visited New Bedford's whaling museum (as well as the American Museum of Natural History).[165] The deluxe edition sold out immediately, and a cheaper version was quickly issued by Random House. The book became a "Book-of-the-Month-Club" selection. Kent's volume has been credited with sparking the revival of interest in Melville. "Melville's death in 1891 had passed almost unnoticed," observes Constance Martin; "It might be said, without too much exaggeration, that Rockwell Kent brought him back to life."[166] Sanford E. Marovitz adds, "An abundance of other illustrations of Moby-Dick appeared over the decades that followed, but none has achieved the classic status of Kent's drawings, which have accompanied translations of the novel around the world."[167]

Kent's images were simultaneously striking--stylized and yet grounded in fact and direct observation. New Bedford Whaling Museum Senior Maritime Historian Michael P. Dyer has observed what is likely evidence of Kent's engagement with visual predecessors even as he created bold new images.[168] The cut-away drawing for the contents page of the 1930 Random House edition, for instance, draws on an illustration published in G. Browne Goode's *Fish and Fishery Industries of the United States*. In another image (page 434) the whale is copied from Charles Melville Scammon, *Marine Mammals of the Northwestern Coast of North America* (San Francisco: J.H. Carmany 1874), while the

165 Constance Martin*, Distant Shores: The Odyssey of Rockwell Kent* (Chesterfield, Mass. Chameleon Books; Berkeley: University of California Press; Stockbridge, Mass.: Norman Rockwell Museum, 2000), 32.

166 Martin, *Distant Shores*, 35. When the book was reinterpreted in film in the silent film "The Sea Beast," appearing in 1926, Queequeg was played by nineteen-year-old Indiana actor Sam Baker. Remade just four years later to take advantage of the revolution in sound, "Moby Dick" (in a treatment that departed freely from Melville's plot) cast John Barrymore as Ahab and the African American actor Noble Johnson as Queequeg.

167 Marovitz, "Melville Revival," in Wyn Kelley, *A Companion to Herman Melville* (Malden, MA; Oxford : Blackwell Pub., 2006), 521.

168 This and the below discussion of Kent's artwork relies on, and quotes from, Michael P. Dyer, Senior Maritime Historian at the New Bedford Whaling Museum, to Marla Miller, 1 April 2015.

whale on page 399 is drawn from J. Henry Blake's right whale drawings in Glover Allen, *The Whalebone Whales of New England* (Boston: Boston Society of Natural History 1916), again, a book likely seen at the New Bedford Museum. The "stove boat" scene (opposite p. 388) "has derivative elements," Dyer observes, "from the lithograph published in New Bedford by Albert van Beest, 1862, *Sperm Whaling No. 2 – The Conflict*." Kent's images, Dyer adds, reference "details of whaling vessels that were absolutely not present on the *Pequod;"* Kent "undoubtedly gained those perspectives from looking at the *Lagoda* model in the Bourne Building, or one of the many photographs taken by Clifford Warren Ashley onboard the bark *Sunbeam* of New Bedford in 1903," photos "and others like them by other photographers of the period" that "were hanging all over the museum." The "Cutting-in tackle and blocks" on page 503, Dyer proposes, Kent "either copied from Clark and Brown" or were sketches based on examples exhibit in the museum, "as they are almost exactly alike."[169]

There are thirteen illustrations of Queequeg in Kent's Random House edition.[170] Melville's Queequeg was notable for both his "unearthly tatooings" and his "lofty bearing" and Kent's images alternate between those emphasizing Queequeg's exoticism and those emphasizing his nobility, and acculturation.[171] For instance, an illustration introducing Chapter X, "A Bosom Friend" (70), shows Queequeg sitting with a book by the fire, with no visual references to his ethnicity; the next, introducing Chapter XII, "Biographical," emphasizes the unclothed man's powerful form, and "fierceness" (79). The next, introducing Chapter XIII ("Wheelbarrow") shows him head-to-toe in English clothes, again with no reference at all to his indigeneity (84); while the next, closing that chapter (and illustrating Queequeg after he dove overboard in a dramatic scene of rescue), once again features Queequeg's naked torso, earring and top-knot (90). Among the images most often reproduced—one that sits at the intersection of those themes—is the one illustrating Chapter XXI, "Going Aboard" (141) which shows Queequeg in his Yankee clothing, but with earring prominently visible.

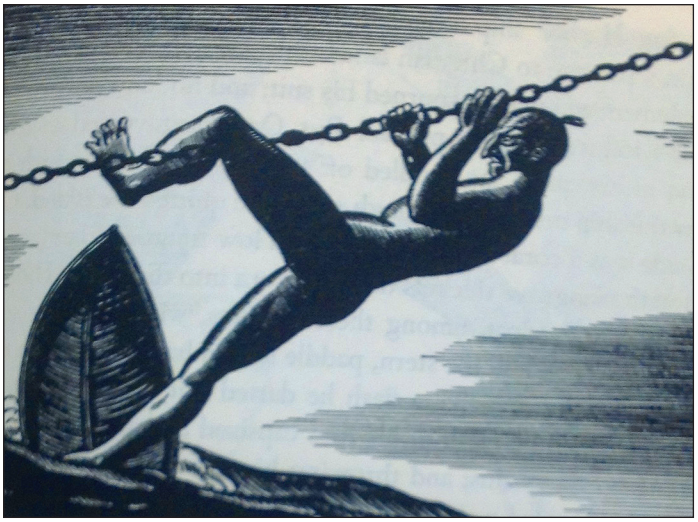
Kent's illustrations were so well received that not only was the book a huge commercial success, but his illustrations took on a life of their own, being reinterpreted

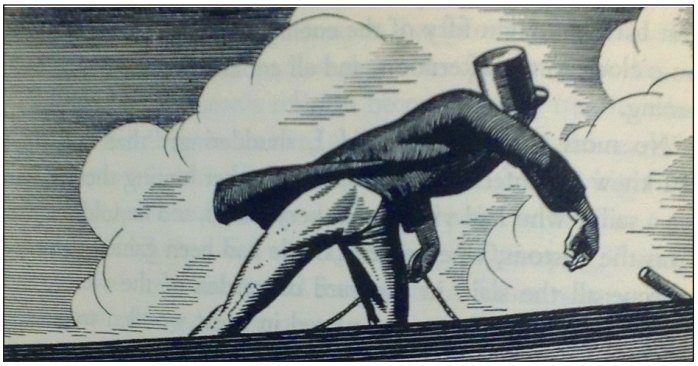
169 Dyer also believes that the "breaching sperm whale opposite page 264 is inspired, but not copied from, a book illustration on the cover of Charles Newell's *Leaves from an old log* (Boston, 1877) a rare book of American fiction."

170 *Moby-Dick*, pp. 32, 36, 41, 70, 76, 79, 84, 90, 126, 141, 531, 684, and 691.

171 Cf. Kent's image of Daggoo, the African harpooner, 168.

on wallpaper patterns and ladies neck scarfs. Kent himself in the 1940s translated the designs into a line of dinnerware for the Los Angeles-based firm Vernon Kilns.[172]





Figures 4.9a, 4.9b: Queequeg, as imagined by Rockwell Kent (1882-1971) for his 1930 Random House edition of *Moby-Dick*.

Kent's vision of Melville's Pacific Islander may seem far afield from the living men who actually walked the streets of New Bedford—but these images (as we shall see) helped create the iconic Queequeg that survives in the city's (and the nation's) public memory of whaling. The figure came to stand in for all Pacific Islanders, in the very years the "Yankee Whaleman" reached an iconic status of his own.

The historian James Lindgren has observed that living, local memory wrestled with the place these men should play in the city's sense of its history and heritage. Lindgren points to "whaling's unsavory reputation," and tenacious beliefs—deeply rooted by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century—that whaleship crews were "'made up to a great degree...of the very refuse of humanity, gathered from every quarter, escaped from poor houses and prisons, or gleaned from the receptacle of vagrancy and lazar-house corruption."[173] Whaling, it seemed, needed some rehabilitation. And help soon arrived from Clifford Warren Ashley,

172 Jay Satterfield, *The World's Best Books: Taste, Culture, and the Modern Library* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 100; Megan Benton, *Beauty and the Book: Fine Editions and Cultural Distinction in America* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2000), 132.

173 As cited in Lindgren, "'Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood'," 175.

a student of artist Howard Pyle who had helped design installation of whaling exhibits at the ODHS. More importantly for our purposes, Clifford authored *The Yankee Whaleman* (1926), a watershed moment in the city's twentieth-century pastkeeping.[174]

Ashley (1881-1947) was the son of Abiel Davis Ashley and Caroline Morse; his father had been born in Middleboro, Massachusetts, and his mother in Fairhaven. In his introduction to *The Yankee Whaler*, Robert Cushman Murphy asserts Ashley's claim to a "blubber-hunting ancestry."[175] But Ashley's legacy was at least somewhat indirect: his father, New Bedford grocer and patent medicine manufacturer Abiel Davis Ashley, was the son of farmer Silas Ashley. Ashley's maternal grandfather Edward Morse was a ship carpenter in Fairhaven and New Bedford (and later at the U.S. Navy yard in Brooklyn, N.Y.).[176]

As a young man, Clifford Ashley became interested in art. At twenty, he together with N.C. Wyeth and Henry J. Peck spent a summer studying with landscape artist George Noyes before heading to Delaware to work with illustrator and author Howard Pyle. In 1904, *Harper's Monthly Magazine* commissioned an article about whaling ("The Blubber-Hunters"[177]), and so Ashley shipped aboard the *Sunbeam* for a six-week sail to the Crozet Island grounds off the west coast of Africa (photos taken during this voyage, as we have seen, may also have informed Rockwell Kent's artwork).[178] Jones notes, "Ashley's dedication for the book explicitly takes the form of a memorial, decorated with the engraving of a memorial wreath: 'Inscribed to the Memory of THE YANKEE WHALEMEN.'" Ashley's book, in turn, was heralded by the press as an obituary: "'With the publication of "The Yankee Whaler" the sign and seal has been set on that great fishery which ended with the wreck of the *Wanderer,*" wrote one reviewer."[179] In his introduction, Robert Cushman Murphy called it "the swan song for which we hardly dared to hope."[180]

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174 See also Clifford's *Whaleships of New Bedford* (Boston; New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929).

175 Murphy, *Yankee Whaler*, 1.

176 See the U.S. Census for 1880, 1900, and 1910; see also the 1855 Massachusetts State Census.

177 *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (May 1906), 832-844.

178 Dyer to Miller, 1 April 2015.

179 Jones, "American Whaling in Culture and Memory," 161.

180 Murphy, *Yankee Whaler*, 1.

To be sure, the book was an obituary for New Bedford whaling. But it was also another salvo in efforts already under way to whiten collective memory of the whaling industry. Ashley's narrative made almost no reference to the Pacific Islanders or Native Hawaiians who crewed American whalers, though the single reference that does appear is positive, as Ashley calls the "Sandwich Islanders" "excellent whalemen," adding that "when the fishery in the middle of the nineteenth century had reached such proportions that it was difficult to get a full Yankee crew, these islanders were eagerly sought by the Pacific fleet."[181]

Interestingly, when Melville's protagonist visits the Seamen's Bethel, and becomes mesmerized by the cenotaphs places there, he is startled to find Queequeg there as well, though he notes that, because he "could not read" he "therefore, was not reading those frigid inscriptions on the wall."[182] Unfortunately, no illustrator has (yet) imagined that scene for viewers, placing Queequeg in front of the memorials to Charles Willson or Frank Kanacka.

1930: The Tercentennial/Centennial Boulder



Figures 4.10a and 10b (detail): The Tercentennial/Centennial Boulder on the grounds of the Seamen's Bethel. Photos: Emily Esten

The memory of Pacific Islanders was further marginalized when, on 1 August 1930, the citizens of New Bedford celebrated the tercentenary of the Massachusetts

181 See Murphy, *Yankee Whaler,* 100. Ashley also observed the long history of Native Americans in New England whaling, noting that "right up to the end of whaling it was not unusual to find one or two Indian boat-steerers on a New Bedford ship."

182 *Moby-Dick* (Random House, 1930), 51.

Bay Colony and the centennial of the Seamen's Bethel. Through penny subscriptions, the school children of New Bedford paid for a memorial tablet to be presented to the Seamen's Bethel.[183]

It was an important moment. The year 1930 marked the centennial of the opening of the Seamen's Bethel, while the Commonwealth of Massachusetts also marked the 300th anniversary of the Massachusetts Bay charter, secured from King Charles I by Plimoth colonist John Endicott, creating a new settlement north of the river which also carried Charles' name. A commission had been appointed in 1928 to begin planning a large, statewide celebration. Well over a half-million people would visit exhibitions held in Boston and Springfield, and 35 events between July and October 1930 drew some 750,000 people to the Boston Common.[184] In more than 2000 events across 253 Massachusetts communities, some 11 million residents together celebrated the tercentenary.[185]

The boulder placed on the Bethel's lawn and dedicated in August 1930 must be seen in both its local and statewide contexts. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts's Tercentenary Marine Committee published a volume, *Massachusetts on the Sea, 1630-1930*, authored by sociologist (and avocational maritime historian) George Caspar Homans and Harvard University historian Samuel Eliot Morison and "in commemoration of the enterprise of the seamen of the Massachusetts Bay colony," but the celebrations did not attend in any particular way to the state's whaling heritage and New Bedford's role in it.[186] For instance, among other things, the commission launched a "historic markers" program, with Morrison again leading the effort to draft content for some 275 cast iron 45"x36" markers.

In June 1930, New Bedford undertook a month-long celebration, including special exhibits at the whaling museum, and exhibits on the cotton industry as well. The Morgan

183 The boulder was more closely associated, in the newspaper, with the celebration of the statewide tercentenary than the Bethel's centennial. See the *Evening Standard*, 31 July 1930.

184 Everett B. Mero, compiler, *Celebrating a 300th Anniversary: A Report of the Massachusetts Bay Tercentenary of 1930* (Boston: Tercentenary Conference, 1931).

185 Mero, *Celebrating a 300th Anniversary,* 17, 23.

186 *Massachusetts on the Sea, 1630-1930* (Boston: Commonwealth of Massachusetts Tercentenary Marine Committee, 1930). In his autobiography, Homans wrote that the book in part "condensed" Morison's "classic and much longer book, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts*," but that Homans also conducted his own research to bring Boston's maritime history forward in time. See Homans, *Coming to My Senses: The Autobiography of a Sociologist* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 2013, 1984.), 107-08.

became a site of particular celebration once more.[187] During a week of festivity in late July and early August, "warships" were "opened for inspection," while a program of parades and fireworks unfolded through the week. In addition to the dedication of a memorial to legislator Andrew P. Doyle, the New Bedford Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution held a series of teas, perhaps associated with their own memorial gesture of that year, the marker celebrating George Claghorn's shipyard.[188]

New Bedford did not receive a highway marker, which may help explain the city's desire to create this particular monument in 1930. A large boulder was placed on the lawn in front of the Bethel, with a bronze plaque that reads:

AS A TRIBUTE OF RESPECT
TO ENTERPRISING WHALEMEN
SONS OF NEW BEDFORD
WHO IMPERILED THEIR LIVES,
OR PERISHED, IN ENCOUNTERS
WITH MONSTERS OF THE DEEP
THIS TABLET IS PLACED HERE BY
THE CHILDREN OF NEW BEDFORD
AUGUST 1, 1930

Late on an August afternoon, a large gathering assembled for the dedication program. All those taking part in the program, the Morning *Mercury* would later report, were "interested in preserving whaling traditions," and many were "descendants of many who helped to make this city the most famous whaling port in the world."[189] However, these descendants featured were not representative of the various ethnic communities involved in the whaling industry. It instead primarily featured New Bedford Port Society members and their family.

187 Mero, *Celebrating a 300th Anniversary,* 77.

188 Mero, *Celebrating a 300th Anniversary,* 81. The "best possible advertising to many summer visitors," the local celebration was "so enthusiastically supported and generally successful that a similar demonstration is being arranged for the summer of 1931." Mero, *Celebrating a 300th Anniversary,* 128. The DAR placed a marker at Bridge Park to commemorate Claghorn's shipyard, where *USS Constitution* was built, as well as the ship *Rebecca,* the "first whaler to double Cape Horn"—again emphasizing whaling's role in exploring, if not claiming, the Pacific.

189 This and quotations below from "Memorial Tablet To Whalemen Presented To Seamen's Bethel," New Bedford *Morning Mercury,* 2 August 1930.

The program began with a selection by the band of Wesley Methodist Episcopal church, followed by a hymn and prayer. In recognizing the tercentenary celebration of the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Rev. William B. Geoghegan's speech recalled much of the early history of Dartmouth. Geoghegan celebrated the community's origins, and the greatness of the early English settlers of New Bedford—strong-willed mechanics with "intelligent and industrious character." In their evolution toward the whaling economy, these Yankee entrepreneurs expressed great qualities unlike other of the world's peoples: "Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this perilous mode of hardy enterprise to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people." Through their hardships and the horizons, they showed the qualities of manhood "that must ever be held in esteem if the high destiny of humanity is eventually to be realized."[190]

Unlike the generally masculine effort of The Whaleman statue—a figure of a man conceived and created by men—the memorial boulder and tablet ("placed here by the children of New Bedford") have a more feminine, familial context, though this gesture, too, emphasized male valor and enterprise. Emma Louise Gartland (1873-1944), an elementary school teacher and principal, presented the memorial tablet. A decade earlier, Gartland had authored the 1920 booklet *New Bedford's Story for New Bedford's children,* an artifact of another anniversary, the so-called "Pilgrim Tercentenary," marking 300 years since the arrival of the Mayflower.[191] The descendant of a family of whaling captains (Gartland's father Peter was a mariner, and master in the 1860s, 70s and 80s of the *Osprey*, *Martha*, *Janet* and *Attleboro*), Gartland too mentioned the influence of the Yankee whalemen on the development of the community.[192] "Their remarkable and successful experiment in co-operative business," she exclaimed, "their varied and extensive experiences, their knowledge of places, peoples, government, civic procedures, trades, brought to their home town strength and vision of incalculable material benefit."

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190 Ibid.

191 See New Bedford, Mass. School Committee, *Annual report of the School Committee* (New Bedford: New Bedford Printing Co, 1921), 62; and "Reports From the Educational Field," *The Journal of Education* Vol. 94, No. 7 (1 September 1921), 178-179.

192 On Peter Gartland, see Federal Writer's Project, *Whaling Masters* (New Bedford, MA: Published by the Old Dartmouth Historical Society, 1938). Gartland's logbook from the 1880 voyage of the *Attleboro* survives at the Providence Public Library; the logbook of the bark *Janet's* 1877-79 voyage is housed at Mystic Seaport, and viewable online at http://library.mysticseaport.org/initiative/PageImage.cfm?BibID=36043.

The tablet was then unveiled by Elizabeth Bancroft Smith (great-granddaughter of Captain Henry Smith and granddaughter of Abbott Smith, the president of the New Bedford Port Society) and Priscilla Alden Wing (great-granddaughter of Captain Benjamin Franklin Wing and granddaughter of Herbert Wing, vice president of the Society). As Smith accepted the tablet, she too spoke of honoring the "memory of the intrepid whalemen from New Bedford." Reviewing New Bedford's whaling history from the onset of the flourishing export business during the Revolution, to the prosperous times of the nineteenth century, to the participation in the Stone Fleet of Charleston, the New Bedford whalemen, in Smith's telling, charted the seas first. It was they who established United States interests in foreign lands, visiting "every port in the world, carrying the name and fame of New Bedford." Smith complimented the whaleman's strength and their fearlessness, calling them "worthy of the respect" they were receiving that day.

Zephaniah Pease's talk, by contrast, reviewed the squalor of the early waterfront to which the Bethel itself was intended to respond—"The Marsh," "Hard Dig," "Dog Corners" and other places where sailors boardinghouses and the disorder that surrounded them had so unsettled antebellum New Bedford. Lastly, Rev. Mr. Thurber, celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the Seamen's Bethel, presented an original poem fitting for the occasion: *They came from every shore and land/From Greenland's icy mountains/From India's coral strand/Where Afric's sunny fountains/Roll down their golden sand*. Perhaps no one noticed the omission of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders from Thurber's verse, the memorials inside notwithstanding.

Pacific Islanders in Contemporary New Bedford

As Jamie Lynn Jones observes, the "whaling industry had all but disappeared, and in the last half of the nineteenth century, it seemed that the shadow industry of books, performances, and visual objects devoted to whaling would be fully eclipsed by the narratives of the western frontier. But between 1900 and 1930, the shadow parted ways with the industry it represented and took on its own life. At the moment of the American whaling industry's final demise, a new efflorescence of stories about American whaling entered the cultural marketplace: new maritime museums, histories, paintings, book illustrations, films, and photography projects that enshrined the dying whaling industry.

By the 1920s, rosy nostalgia was the dominant mode in which the history of American whaling was registered by historians and casual observers alike.[193]

Maritime museums today, historian Phyllis Lefler writes, have—in response to shifting priorities in history agencies and in the discipline—expanded their missions to "explore the geophysical, political, social, economic, and cultural facets or maritime history." Noting that "maritime spaces" increasingly reflect sensitivity to issues of class and race," Lefler notes that they "seek to convey a transnational cultural awareness. By exploring new topics, maritime museums attempt to satisfy the goals of diversity and social inclusion. . ..At maritime sites, issues of diversity and social inclusion are articulated through exhibits that focus on the daily lives of seamen, the experiences of ordinary people traveling by sea, and the global implications of maritime trade."[194]

Even now, however, the memory of Pacific Islanders remains largely on the margins. In a review of the installations at the New Bedford Whaling Museum, Leffler quotes from the exhibit: "Throughout its maritime history, New Bedford and Old Dartmouth became home to many different ethnic groups from around the world. The early cultural influence of the. . . Quakers helped establish the area as a destination for escaped slaves during the 19th century, while the labor demands of the whaling and later textile industries attracted Azorean, Cape Verdean, European, African, West Indian, Hispanic, and Asian settlers. It was their common participation in the maritime industries that brought these diverse people together and helped create the cosmopolitan *community* we enjoy today." [195]

Historian James Lindgren has posited that "the ODHS was a partner" in a "redemptive process" that sought to extricate the "glorious" history of the Yankee whaleman from the less savory aspects of the industry, particular in its twilight decades. The Society, he writes "helped construct a mythology of whaling's exemplary virtues." "Captivated by the lore of a reputed golden age, from the 1820s through the 1850s," Clifford Ashley vowed to make New Bedford's "heroes live;" meanwhile the mid-

193 Just as Col. Green promised in his dedication of the *Charles W. Morgan,* the public custodians of American whaling "'made history': they made the history of whaling to shape their dreams of the past." See Jones, "American Whaling in Culture and Memory," 152-153.

194 Phyllis Leffler, "Peopling the Portholes: National Identity and Maritime Museums in the U.S. and U.K.," *The Public Historian*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2004), 23-48; quotes on pages 31 and 32. Lefler cites the New Bedford Whaling Museum as an example of the first and last of these three categories, pointing to the discussion of African American sailors and the exhibition "Portraits of a Port."

195 Leffler, "Peopling the Portholes," 40.

nineteenth-century New Bedford of Zephaniah Pease's historical imagination—a place of wealth, taste, and order—would "establish a cultural control of sorts on the region's identity."[196]

Together, agents of the maritime revival induced some "landscape amnesia"—as activity, vitality, drained away from waterfront, "historical amnesia" set in, and historical perspective became "impaired."[197] Despite the many Pacific Islanders whose lives ended in New Bedford, none of their graves sites are known today, though some, records show, are certainly buried in Oak Grove Cemetery, while men who died in the city and state almshouses are also interred nearby. Ironically, the New Bedford Whaling Museum itself occupies ground once marked by some of these very sailors' boardinghouses.

No residents of contemporary New Bedford are known to descend from the Pacific Islanders who once worked on the city's whaleships. Today's community of Islanders is very small: the 2000 census counted just 34 Pacific Islanders in New Bedford (the first year that group was disaggregated from the Asian population), and in 2010, the category Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone accounted for just .1% of New Bedford's population.

Despite the small size of New Bedford's community of Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders, the city has begun to recognize and celebrate its relationship with its Pacific "cousins." Today, public memory of diversity in general, and Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in particular, is on the rise. Events celebrate May as Asian-Pacific American Heritage Month, designated in 1978.[198] In November 1993, in U.S. Public Law 103-150, Congress passed a Joint Resolution "To acknowledge the 100th anniversary of the January 17, 1893 overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, and to offer an apology to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii."[199] *Napua O' Polynesia* (Flowers of Polynesia) is a dance troupe based in

196 Lindgren, "'Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood'," 176

197 Michael J. Chiarappa and Kristin M. Szylvian, "Heeding the Landscape's Usable Past: Public History in the Service of a Working Waterfront," *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Fall 2009), 86-113. J.K. Kauanui in "Diasporic Deracination and 'Off-Island' Hawaiians," *Contemporary Pacific*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (2007), 137-160; examines what he calls "off-island invisibility."

198 In 1978, a joint congressional resolution established Asian/Pacific American Heritage Week. The first 10 days of May were chosen to coincide with two important milestones in Asian/Pacific American history: the arrival in the United States of the first Japanese immigrants (7 May 1843) and contributions of Chinese workers to the building of the transcontinental railroad, completed 10 May 1869.

199 Importantly, the apology stopped short of providing federal recognition to Native Hawaiians like those federal laws that recognize certain American Indian tribes.

Providence, Rhode Island and founded in 1988 by Caroline Castro that performs Polynesian and Hawaiian dance.[200] Diana Cost, a high school science teacher at New Bedford's Global Learning Charter Public School, developed a relationship with a fledging charter school in Hawaii that is affiliated with the Bishop Museum.[201]



Figure 4.11: Lucy Bly and Judy Riley Roderiques, in character as Ruth Chase Bly and Abigail Almy. Courtesy New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park.

Two of New Bedford's contemporary pastkeepers—both interpreters at New Bedford Whaling NHP—have been especially important to recovering the memory of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders in New Bedford. Judy Riley Roderiques was born in New Bedford and lived in Dartmouth until Second Grade before heading to Falmouth on Cape Cod.[202] A "true old Yankee family," her family traces its roots to Quaker Rhode Island, to early Boston and Salem; but they also see themselves as being of the "Heinz 57 variety"—having accumulated Native American, Caribbean, Italian and French members along the way. After college in New York she returned to New Bedford—coincidentally to an apartment that her grandmother had once occupied years ago. She pursued a career in special education. In time, she began volunteering at New

200 See www.tropicalisland-dancers.com.

201 Nearby Nantucket shares a very similar history. On 28 October 2001, Native Hawaiian visitors to Nantucket chanted *mele kanikau* for men from Pacific islands who died and were buried on the island during whaling days, while the Hawaiian flag flew over the African Meeting House. Frances Karttunen, "Other Islanders," http://www.nha.org/pdfs/otherislanders/OceanIslanders1.pdf (texts of the chants can be found her Appendix 2a.).

202 This and below from Lucy Bly and Judy Roderiques interview with Laura Miller, 15 January 2014.

Bedford Whaling NHP, doing walking tours, and after she retired around 2007 or 2008, she began working as a seasonal interpreter.

Lucy Bly was also born in New Bedford, and still lives in the home her maternal grandfather—who had been born in Madeira—had bought. His wife had been born in the Azores, and the two migrated separately; they met in Taunton and eventually came to New Bedford. Her father's father was born in Oil City, Pennsylvania—"rather comical," she suggests, given that she would later discover that those ancestors had been New Bedford coopers before heading west toward the oil industry that would displace whaling (and would later return to Massachusetts). His mother was born in St. Lucia in the West Indies; her sister married a New Bedford whaleman, and that is how the family came to New Bedford, members migrating here "one by one." She attended Smith College and the University of Hamburg in Germany, studying and teaching French, German and Portuguese at both the high school level and at UMass Dartmouth. She began to volunteer for the city in 1990, and when the National Park Service came in, she was among seventy "rollover" volunteers who transitioned to the NPS, leading walking tours and educational programs. She retired from teaching in 2009, and like Roderiques, threw herself into work for the Park Service.

Bly knew that her "father's uncle had been a whaler. He was the last whaler out of New Bedford, his ship the Manta [being] the last one out in 1925." She knew that there had been whale teeth and ambergris "in the family background," and "being the youngest one, I thought it was all really fun, but by the time I might have rescued anything. . .it was already on its way out." But she didn't know that there was a further history. Captain Manley was related through her grandmother's sister, whom he'd married in Castries (the capital of St. Lucia in the Caribbean). She started a dressmaking business here, and one by one, her sisters had come to join her. She was interested in those stories, and then relatives suggested she begin to research the Bly line. At Mystic Seaport, she found a piece of scrimshaw associated with a man named Isaac Bly, whom she in time discovered was one of her own ancestors, born in 1793. Her family, then, was filled with "water people"—that is, deeply connected to the region's maritime history.

In time, Roderiques and Bly discovered that they were kindred spirits; they would go on to launch the Living History program together, Lucy having done a lot of theater in the past. "History could be very boring," she observes, "but if it had a human face, it was something totally different." Judy, too, had come to appreciate the importance of

human stories. She had been drawn to volunteering for the NHP during a walking tour; she had been bored with the content until the tour guide started talking about the people behind the history. As she noted, "You can tell the history in a way that is interesting and factual, but fun." The two approached NPS with a proposal to develop a living history program, but the agency was initially somewhat slow to warm to the idea. They spent a couple of years working on the research, and in time developed a formal proposal to portray two very typical women of the 1850s, figures who were representative, but not well known. Judy Roderiques based her character "Abigail Almy" on her relative Melissa Almy of Tiverton in the same time period, while Lucy Bly developed "Ruth Bly" based on the historical figure Ruth Chase Bly. The characters are members of the Ladies Branch of the New Bedford Port Society, so that they can talk about that organization, and their backstories are developed so that they can talk about a range of real people from New Bedford's history.

The "kanaka" men who cross their characters' paths live on the historical South Water Street. They have constructed their characters' biographies in ways that allow them to talk about the Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders who were present in mid-nineteenth-century New Bedford. One of "Ruth Bly's" sons is described as someone interested in both natural history and ethnography, who brings a Hawaiian man home from a voyage to Maui. The element of the interpretation was developed with real purpose. Roderiques, while volunteering at the Bethel, had become fascinated with the cenotaph for Frank Kanaka. She learned that "kanaka" was a general term, and was surprised to discover that someone had spent so much money to memorialize a man about whom they knew so little. Meanwhile, Bly noted, the "Communities of Whaling" exhibit had included Azoreans, West Indians, and others; she had visited Alaska, where she learned about Inupiat history, traditions, and values. She was struck by their omission from public memory in New Bedford and—knowing their contribution to the success of New Bedford's whaling industry—thought "that's not nice." If up to twenty per cent of whaling crews at some point were in fact—as they had learned— "South Seas Islanders," then more should be said about them in the city. As Lucy Bly noted, "I have a real thing for the underdog, and that bothered me."

The pair began doing library research. For an AHA! (Art, History & Architecture) program (a collaborative effort that aims to "invigorate" New Bedford's downtown, in part by special programming on second Thursdays of each month) on the theme of

"cultures of New Bedford," they investigated "what cultures were here." Their initial plan was to create a cookbook reflecting the city's diversity. Along the way, as they tried to track the national origins of the women whose lives they hoped to represent in their recipes, they began studying the death records. And here, in archival sources, they discovered pages of "nameless kanakas" about whom nothing was known. The researchers were struck by all these young men, "eighteen, nineteen, twenty five;" "you look at that," Lucy Bly comments, "and you say, 'these men came here in the flower of young manhood, and died, and are not even remembered for their contributions. They don't even have a name.'" They were "horrified by that"—so much so that they "actually went back in tears. Because it seemed so wrong."

What's more, says Roderiques, "on the one hand, you have Frank Kanaka being memorialized in the Seamen's Bethel, and then you have pages of these same kind of men, men from these same places, with not even a name, no acknowledgement at all." The two began looking for "something we can do" to fill that gap. So in September 2009 or 2010, by that time retired, they began researching in earnest. Encouraged to apply for funding from the NPS Albright Wirth grant program (a "prestigious developmental opportunity that annually awards funding for personal and career development projects to National Park Service employees" [203]) to travel to Hawaii to do more research, they soon found themselves preparing for the trip. They "promised themselves, and these people we don't know, to tell their story."

"Everything was coming together," Roderiques and Bly note, observing that their interest came at a cultural moment that supported new research on the Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander communities. At the same moment that they had embarked on this research, they had been struck by a resurgence of pride in being Hawaiian, as well as the accompanying resentment among Native Hawaiians about the sacred artifacts that were on display in Massachusetts museums. That, too, informed their desire to draw attention to these stories, and give them the respect they are due. (They also suggest that it "made a difference" that they "went in humbly"—neither professional researchers, nor in positions of authority, they were just "trying to make sense of" this story, and trying to do right by this history. They believe that their genuine enthusiasm and excitement won over the archivists, who seemed polite and perhaps skeptical at the outset.)

203 For information, see http://www.nps.gov/training/LD/html/albright_wirth_grant.html

In the decade-plus that they have been at work on this effort, they note, some progress has been made. The ECHO program (Education through Cultural and Historical Organizations), for instance, in about 2000, brought contingents from New Bedford to Hawaii and vice versa.[204] The latter program was aimed at educators, and meant to promote the exchange of information, to help develop connections "so stories would be told and children would be taught." People from New Bedford went to Hawaii, but little tangible came out of the exchange beyond the children's book. Madelyn Shaw, a staffmember at the New Bedford Whaling Museum from 2006 to 2009, also commented on the impulse to expand interpretation of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders at the New Bedford Whaling Museum about this time, noting the ECHO project. But such efforts were somewhat hobbled by the nature of the collections, which tended to be more ethnographic artifacts from the Pacific and "tourist stuff" brought back by whalers than artifacts documenting mariners from Oceania.[205] To tell compelling stories, you need "eye candy"—"something that makes [people] stop there." The collections and documentation that current curators have inherited—the artifacts gathered by the ODHS founders—do not always lend themselves to the kinds of exhibitions today's professionals may want to do.

Shaw recalled that the exhibition *From Pursuit to Preservation: The History of Human Interaction with Whales* (funded in part by the ECHO program), worked to be inclusive, including a "fair amount about non-white males."[206] "When we talked about whalemen," Shaw said, "we talked about *all* the whalemen…they all worked on the same ship." She urged the museum to take that approach, to "make connections" across these groups and "let them see just how intertwined they are"--but others believed that the audiences for this interpretation preferred to take an ethnographic approach that looks separately at Azoreans, Portuguese, and so forth. Shaw is not convinced that the community wanted to encounter information this way, but there was, she believes,

204 Established by Congress in 2001 as part of the *No Child Left Behind* legislation, the ECHO consortium (involving The Alaska Native Heritage Center in Anchorage, Alaska; The Bishop Museum in Honolulu, Hawai'i; The Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians in Choctaw, Mississippi; The New Bedford Whaling Museum; The Ocean Explorium at New Bedford Seaport, Massachusetts; the Inupiat Heritage Center in Barrow, Alaska; and the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts) was funded by a grant from the U.S. Department of Education.

205 Madelyn Shaw Interview with Laura Miller, 21 May 2014.

206 The exhibition "explains and explores the human fascination with whales and the history of whaling in New Bedford in a global context." See http://www.whalingmuseum.org/explore/exhibitions/current/pursuit-to-preservation.

"a perception that they did." She thinks that within particular generations there was a "strong sense of connection to the whaling history," but that "in this country we don't do a very good job of place-based education," and so school children do not tend to learn about the unique histories of their own communities.

Bly and Roderiques hope that their research will provide a springboard for others, and this study is itself one outcome of their laudable efforts: "There's a seed [planted], so that someone who has an interest [can do it]. That's the idea. Plant the seed and see where we can go from there." ■



Photo C: This brass bookend (ca. 1960s) is from the shop of antiques dealer Alan Herman, co-owner of New Bedford Antiques at the Cove and an informant to this project. Produced by the Philadelphia Manufacturing Company, the bookend is a reproduction of The Whaleman statue that stands outside the New Bedford Free Public Library, and is an example of the "nautical décor" made possible in part by the city's antiques dealers. Photo credit: Laura A. Miller.

Chapter Five: The Evolving Memory of Whaling in (Jewish) New Bedford

As whaling came to an end in New Bedford, so, too, did the memory of the racially and ethnically diverse labor force that supported the industry in the nineteenth century and into its final years in the early twentieth century. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, new immigrants had increasingly assumed roles once occupied by New England Yankees. In an era of heightened nativism and anti-immigrant sentiment, Jews, Azoreans, and Cape Verdeans increasingly gained control of the declining industry, working as ship captains, outfitters, and investors. This was no secret; in 1919, the *New Bedford Sunday Standard* documented these shifts in a lengthy article ("Newcomers are Re-Fitting the Old Whaleships") that ended with discussion of the "newcomers in the whaling business, the Jewish people."[1] At the same time that this transition was taking place, however, white, native-born residents of the city, as we have seen, were working to preserve a heroic, romanticized narrative of whaling that would largely erase the role of racial and ethnic minorities both at the height of the industry in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and at the tail end of the industry in New Bedford in the early twentieth century.

Jewish New Bedford residents Samuel Horvitz and his son-in-law Morris Sederholm played a central role in this early memory work, as hosts of and participants in the gatherings of whaling captains at Horvitz's Whaling Outfitters store. But their role in the whaling industry was soon eclipsed: a dominant narrative of whaling in New Bedford took shape that not only whitewashed the industry's racial and ethnic diversity, but also softened its sharp edges and uncomfortable truths. In the words of Morris Sederholm, "There was no romance in whaling when it came right down to it, it was a dirty business."[2]

In the decades after the last whaleship sailed from the city, Jewish New Bedford played an important role in preserving the city's whaling history. First, Jewish antiques dealers helped rescue and value the material culture of whaling as they became active in the acquisition and sale of maritime objects. Then, as the Jewish community grew more

1 *New Bedford Sunday Standard*, 23 February 1919.

2 Morris Sederholm interview by James Healy and Reginald Hegarty.

established and prosperous in the second half of the twentieth century, they exercised their sense of civic responsibility by contributing time, money, and artifacts to the New Bedford Whaling Museum and other local institutions. Over time, as the Jewish community and other ethnic groups in the city became increasingly interested and involved in the Whaling Museum's work, the Museum itself became more inclusive of their histories.

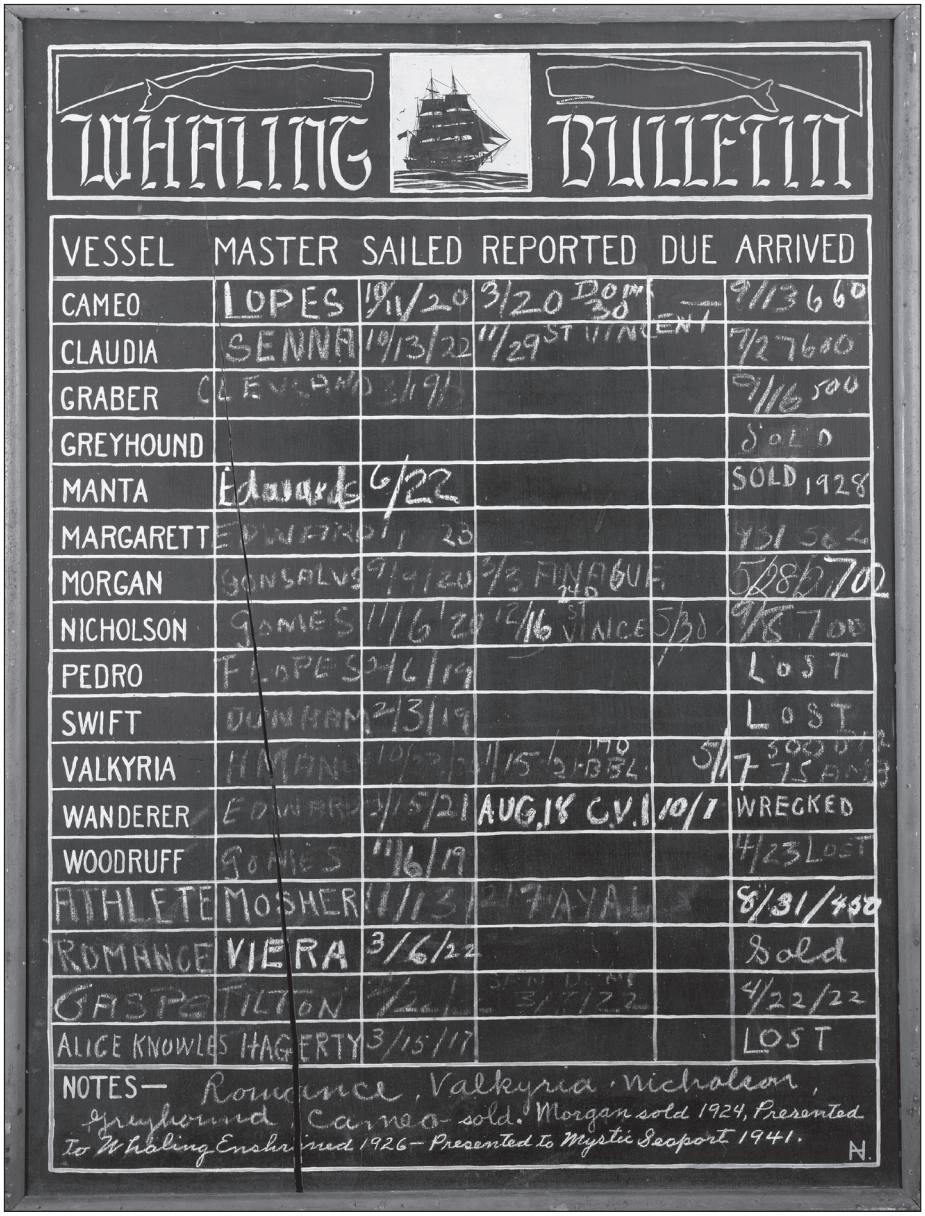


Figure 5.1: In July 1919, local marine artist Harry Neyland gave the whaling captains who congregated at Horvitz's Whaling Outfitters a "Whaling Bulletin" blackboard, listing the final voyages of New Bedford vessels, their masters, and their departure and return dates in chalk. Courtesy of the New Bedford Whaling Museum.

The Whalemen's Club (1921-1949)

As the New Bedford whaling industry came to a close in the 1920s, the group of whaling captains and others affiliated with the industry continued to meet regularly in Horvitz's Whaling Outfitters to reminisce. In 1919, local marine artist Harry Neyland gave the group a "Whaling Bulletin" blackboard, listing the final voyages of New Bedford vessels, their masters, and their departure and return dates in chalk. On the back was an inscription: "Presented to the Whalers of New Bedford by Harry Neyland, July 1, 1919." (Henry B. Stone would later donate the blackboard to the New Bedford Whaling Museum for preservation in 1978.[3]) Neyland urged the group to formalize their association, which they did; in 1921, they officially became the Whalemen's Club, Incorporated.[4]

In celebration of the tenth anniversary of the (formal) Whalemen's Club, on 8 October 1931, Club Secretary and Old Dartmouth Historical Society Curator William H. Tripp gave a speech recounting the group's origins:

> Ten years ago the Whalemen's Club, Inc., was launched and it has been cruising for these years with considerable success. True, we never struck Ambergris, but we have caught many whales, sea elephants, walrus, and clams, and had many a fine chowder supper and clambake. . . .
>
> Let's look back over our logbook and see what we've been up to on this long voyage.
>
> First, this club was the outgrowth of gatherings of whaling captains both retired and active, who had the custom of meeting in the back room of the Whaling Outfitters, a clothing store operated by Sam Horvitz and Mosie Sederholm, Sam's son-in-law. The store was in the old First National Bank Building at the corner of Second and Union Streets.
>
> These old whalemen had the habit of arranging informal clambakes from time to time for the mutual enjoyment of their friends and themselves. One of these bakes was set for the evening of October 23rd, 1920. The plan was to hold it on board Bark Wanderer which had just returned from a whaling voyage. . . .

3 From the collection of the New Bedford Whaling Museum, on display during the authors' visit on 25 September 2013. Accession number 1978.37.

4 The Whalemen's Club, Inc. records can be accessed at the New Bedford Whaling Museum Research Library and Archives: MSS 77, Local History Collection, S-g 1, Series F, S-s 39, "Mass. Towns: New Bedford—Whalemen's Club, Inc."

> It was my privilege to be invited to partake of the feast. We gathered about 35 strong on the deck of the Wanderer, and what a grand warm night it was! The old whaler was gayly lighted with ship's lanterns and try-works torches. The Bake was served on two long tables, on the deck of the bark. . . .
>
> Then we were all asked to assemble in the cabin of the Wanderer, where Harry Neyland proposed forming a regular chartered club. His plan was the buy the Morgan and make the old whaler our clubhouse. Strangely enough, Albert Church and myself had gone to the bake, each, unbeknown to the other, cherishing the idea of forming a real club, somewhat like the Pacific Club of Nantucket.
>
> Those present took to the idea of a whalemen's club and a committee of about 50, with Captain James A. Tilton, as chairman, was appointed to draw up a chart and lay out a course for a club to steer.
>
> During the following winter several meetings were held in the studio of Harry Neyland and our club was formally organized. . . . the club was granted a charter from the state of Massachusetts on the 27th day of May, 1921. Our official title is "Whalemen's Club, Incorporated," and our By-Laws are in the form of a ship's articles.[5]

With the formalization of the club came more overt nostalgia and romanticizing of the industry that reflected the broader memorialization of whaling in New Bedford during this time period. Tripp's speech was structured with whaling practices, customs, and language in mind, and the club itself was, too: the bylaws were written in the form of a ship's articles, and the club's officers received maritime designations. Captain James A. Tilton was Captain and President, Captain John T. Edwards (an Azorean; the rest were American-born) was First Mate and Secretary, Captain Andrew A. Cory was Second Mate and Treasurer, Captain John T. Coakley was Third Mate and Director, Pemberton H. Nye was Fifth Mate and Director, and so on.[6] In what seems to have been an unspoken requirement, in the (formal) club's early years at least, the highest-ranked officers were also whaling captains. Morris Sederholm remained involved, and was elected Fourth Mate and Director at the annual muster on 23 October 1924. He held the position until

5 MSS 77, Local History Collection, S-g 1, Series F, S-s 39, "Mass. Towns: New Bedford—Whalemen's Club, Inc.," Box 28, Volume 2, NBWM.

6 Coakley is the grandfather of Morgan Levine, discussed below; Nye would in time give Morris Sederholm's son Harris his middle name, "Pemberton."

1925, when J. Clifford Sherman was elected in his place (although Sederholm stepped down, he continued on as a member of the club).[7]

It is unclear just when the group of whaling captains stopped meeting at the Whaling Outfitters; the whaling captains likely continued to congregate informally at the store. But with the Club's formalization, they had to look elsewhere to accommodate its burgeoning membership. Tripp noted that the Club held meetings in Neyland's studio the following winter (1921), and by the mid-1920s, meetings were being held at the New Bedford Eastern Star Temple on Purchase Street, the Club Room at the Five Cents Savings Bank Building at 791 Purchase Street, or at Grimshaw's Clambakes in Fairhaven.[8] In 1927, they reported that there were 162 members in the Club. It was no longer solely the preserve of the old whaling captains who had once congregated at Horvitz's store.

During the meetings they would often enjoy a chowder supper served by the ladies of New Bedford Chapter of the Order of the Eastern Star (suggesting that many of the male members were in the Masonic Lodge), listen to lectures about whaling, watch moving pictures, and view lantern slides. On 29 March 1927, for example, Secretary William H. Tripp drew on his work as Curator of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society to entertain the Club members. He reported in the meeting minutes,

> Again your Secretary tried to entertain with an illustrated talk, "Scraps from Whalers' Logbooks." The pictures showed pages of logbooks, with cuts of whales etc. Several Arctic whaling scenes, pictures of Hudson's Bay, the Pacific coasts, Honolulu and its natives. Photographs of "Sea Elephants Hunting," made by the late Capt Cleveland were reproduced by slides. Whalers having a "Gam," and other scenes were shown.
>
> The speaker paused several times and George Sistare played in true "forecas'le style," on his accordion.[9]

Similarly, in December 1929, Tripp reported, "Your humble Secretary . . . tried to entertain the Club with lantern slides of old wharf scenes, whaleships, whaling scenes,

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7 Logbook entry 23 October 1924, Mss 77, Local History Collection, S-g 1, Series F, S-s 39, "Mass. Towns: New Bedford—Whalemen's Club, Inc.," Box 28, Volume 1, NBWM. Samuel Horvitz's son, Jacob A. Horvitz, was also listed as a member of the Whalemen's Club in its early years, as was Jewish attorney Solomon Rosenberg.

8 In an oral history interview, William Kranzler noted that the club met at the New Bedford Five Cents Savings Bank. William Kranzler, interview by William Wollison, 9 June 1982, New Bedford/Fall River Jewish Community Oral History Collection, CJC/MC 23, CJC.

9 Logbook entry March 29, 1927, Mss 77, Local History Collection, S-g 1, Series F, S-s 39, "Mass. Towns: New Bedford—Whalemen's Club, Inc.," Box 28, Volume 1, NBWM.

natives of the South Sea Islands, some Artic Scenes made by our late President Captain James A. Tilton, and a few slides of Bermuda."[10]

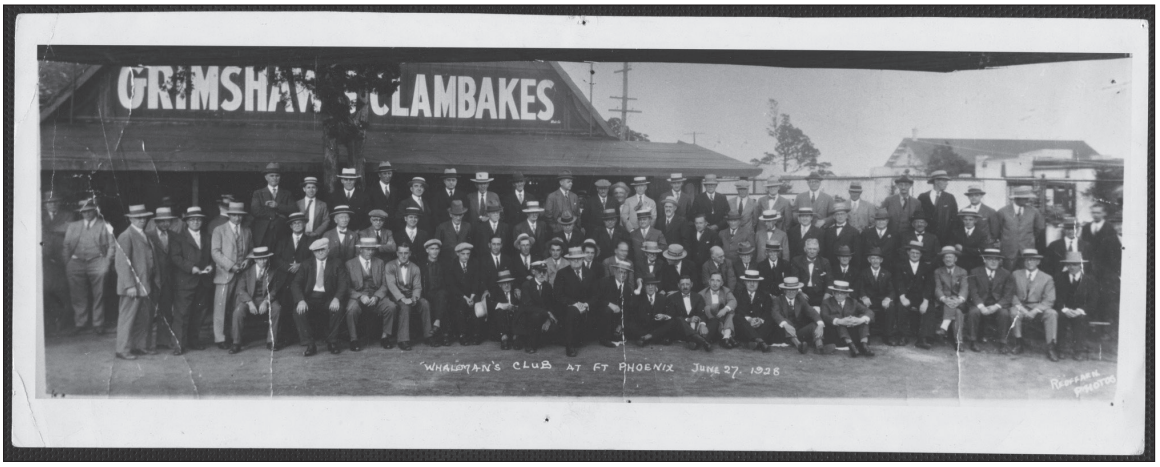


Figure 5.2: Whalemen's Club members outside of the Grimshaw Clambakes building, Fort Phoenix, Fairhaven, Massachusetts, June 27, 1928. Courtesy of the Trustees of the New Bedford Free Public Library.

With the growth in club membership, the passing of years, and the deaths of many people who had first-hand knowledge of whaling industry, the lectures and slides increasingly covered topics beyond whaling. On 1 March 1932, following a chowder supper, Tripp recorded that George T. Plummer "entertained us with several reels of sound moving pictures. The title was, 'Hunting Tigers in India.'" Nine reels of film documented, "in a very vivid way," a tiger hunting expedition by Commander G. M. Dyott.[11]

As Jamie Lynn Jones has argued, "The whaling industry as enshrined by the New Bedford Whaling Museum in the early twentieth century was imagined as a frontier space dominated by white, masculine Anglo-Saxon pioneers."[12] Not only were nineteenth century whaling crews a diverse, multi-ethnic and multi-racial group, but by the early twentieth century, the majority of New England whaling captains and crews were Cape

10 "Chowder Supper, Brief Speeches, and Lantern Slides," 4 December 1929. MSS 77, Local History Collection, S-g 1, Series F, S-s 39, "Mass. Towns: New Bedford—Whalemen's Club, Inc.," Box 28, Volume 1, NBWM.

11 "German Supper and Moving Pictures," 1 March 1932. MSS 77, Local History Collection, S-g 1, Series F, S-s 39, Mass. Towns: New Bedford—Whalemen's Club, Inc.," Box 28, Volume 1, NBWM.

12 Jones, "American Whaling in Culture and Memory," 169.

Verdean and Azorean,[13] and the only remaining outfitters was owned and operated by a Lithuanian Jewish immigrant and his family. Yet with Horvitz's store no longer serving as the central meeting point for the Whalemen's Club, its significance—and the significance of Horvitz and Sederholm in the final years of whaling in New Bedford—were relegated to the margins of a now Yankee-dominated historical narrative that focused on whaling's (and New Bedford's) "heroic" age, in the mid-19th century.

But in the gatherings of the Whalemen's Club were nurtured and planted the seeds of later maritime pastkeeping, not only in New Bedford at large, but also within the Jewish community. Brenda Marder recalled that her mother Eva Horvitz Leviss (the daughter of Samuel Horvitz and so a child hanging around the whaling captains) was "very interested in the whaling museum" and "very friendly to the whaling captains"; Eva loved the community that gathered at the Whaling Outfitters, found the conversations fascinating, and loved to listen to their stories. Marder noted that she inherited some whalebone that was her grandfather's, including a carved hand backscratcher, a long pointer, and a ruler, as well as an astral lamp (a cut glass globe with prisms) on a marble base that was fueled with whale oil, and a can that once held Samuel Horvitz's ambergris—which, she said, "smelled to high heaven." Her mother gave most of the ambergris to the Whaling Museum, but Brenda kept some of her mother's antiques, including mid-19th century artwork, including "American whaler hunting sperm whales" and "New Bedford whaler, 1842."[14] Horvitz's descendants in the Sederholm, Leviss, and Entin families would later work to revive memory of Samuel Horvitz and his role in the final years of the city's whaling industry. Brenda Marder joined Harris Sederholm (Horvitz's grandson and Morris and Molly Sederholm's son) and Jeffrey Entin (Horvitz's great grandson) in contributing to a 2002 documentary about Horvitz's store, "The Last of the Whaling Outfitters."[15] Horvitz's descendants would also donate several artifacts related to the Whaling Outfitters to the New Bedford Whaling Museum's collections, including family photographs and an invoice from the store.[16]

13 Jones, citing Donald Warrin, notes that "after 1900, almost sixty percent of all whaling voyages operated out of New England were under the command of Azorean or Cape Verdean captains—not to mention the event larger representation of Portuguese sailors as members of the crew"; see "American Whaling in Culture and Memory," 170.

14 Brenda and Everett Marder interview.

15 Documentary, "The Last of the Whaling Outfitters," by Laura Orleans; VHS video, New Bedford, MA: Robson Studios, 2002.

16 Accessions include: 2012.7 – Three cabinet cards from Horvitz family members, and a photo of the

Jewish participation in the Whalemen's Club may have helped foster a sense of investment in the city's whaling history in other ways, too. On the evening of 7 February 1949, the members of the Whalemen's Club voted to dissolve their organization. By that time, the Club had only 79 members. Among them were a few of the city's Jewish residents, including Judge Samuel Barnet, antiques dealer William Kranzler, lawyer Solomon Rosenberg, and florist Julius Rusitzky.[17] Kranzler would play a central role in the city's maritime antiques trade (described in greater detail below), and Julius's younger brother Samuel D. Rusitzky would later have an annual lecture series named after him at the New Bedford Whaling Museum, sponsored by family members Louis M. and JoAnne Rusitzky and Harris H. and Joan Rusitzky.[18]



Figure 5.3: A scene from the 1922 film, *Down to the Sea in Ships*, directed by Elmer Clifton. The photo, labeled "The arrival of a Whaling Bark at New Bedford, Mass.," features people dressed in nineteenth-century costume waving to a whaleship docking at the pier. Barrels of whale oil are in the foreground of the photo. Courtesy of the Trustees of the New Bedford Free Public Library.

Whaling Film Corporation and *Down to the Sea in Ships* (1921-1922)

As whaling's economic capital waned, its cultural capital nonetheless remained strong. It should come as no surprise that New Bedford pastkeepers would become interested in harnessing the power of a nascent motion picture industry to celebrate and commemorate the whaling industry in its decline. The

Whaling Outfitters in the First National Bank building (donations from Brenda Marder); 2012.41 – a photo of five men on a pilot boat, including Morris Sederholm; a photo of the whaling captains on board the *Charles W. Morgan*; and an invoice from the Whaling Outfitters (donations from the Sederholm Family).

17 MSS 77, Local History Collection, S-g 1, Series F, S-s 39, Mass. Towns: New Bedford—Whalemen's Club, Inc., Logbook No. 2, 1939-1949, NBWM.

18 The Samuel D. Rusitzky Lecture is held yearly at the New Bedford Whaling Museum and is sponsored by Louis M. and JoAnne Rusitzky, and Harris H. and Joan Rusitzky. See http://www.whalingmuseum.org/programs/past-programs/rusitzky-lecture-2012%20.

Whaling Film Corporation of New Bedford, created in 1921 to preserve the city's whaling history through motion pictures, produced the 1922 silent film *Down to the Sea in Ships*.[19]

When director Elmer Clifton (1890-1949), a protégé of D.W. Griffith (Elmer appeared in the 1915 film *The Birth of a Nation* before giving up acting), came to New Bedford to scout locations for a new film, the "descendants of the 'whaling aristocracy'" formed the Whaling Film Corporation in September 1921 to "[perpetuate] in motion picture form historical events in connection with the whaling industry, also the early history of the inhabitants of Dartmouth . . .."[20] They enthusiastically raised money "for the honor of Old New Bedford, and that the present generation might see the romance and glamour of the past."[21] Among the shareholders in the Whaling Film Corporation was Morris Sederholm, who owned five shares. Despite the misgivings he would voice about the whaling industry later in life—"There was no romance in whaling when it came right down to it," he would later say—in the moment he willingly contributed to the cause.[22]

The film featured William Walcott as William W. Morgan (the allusion to Charles W. Morgan is plain), introduced as a Quaker ship captain who is "proud of his American ancestry," and owner of several New Bedford whaleships at the height of the industry, circa 1850. Marguerite Courtot played his daughter Patience, and sixteen-year-old Clara Bow made her film debut as an unconventional granddaughter who (in a nod both to the social currents of the women's movement, women's suffrage having just been ratified in 1920, and the emerging flapper culture), in search of adventure and relief from social constraint, stows away on a whaler. San Francisco actor Jack Thorton Baston played villain Samuel Siggs, a vaguely Asian (described in a title as "almost white," his "sinister yellow strain hidden by sheep's clothing") who schemes to acquire Morgan's ships and his daughter Patience. Patience, however, is in love with Thomas Allen Dexter (played by Raymond McKee), a young man home from college to install machinery in a textile mill—putting the new industry in tension with the old. After Dexter is "shanghaied" by Siggs, eager to remove this obstacle to his plans, Dexter proves his mettle at sea, becoming a harpooner.

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19 As of this writing, 14 November 2015, the entire film can be watched at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bWs3zGueWDs.

20 Dolin, *Leviathan*, 368; and Whaling Film Corporation Records, MSS 39, NBWM.

21 Cited in Dolin, *Leviathan*, 368. On the film, and also Clifton's career, see William K. Everson, *American Silent Film* (Da Capo Press, 2009), 296; Peter C. Rollins, *The Columbia Companion to American History on Film: How the Movies Have Portrayed the American Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 449-450.

22 Whaling Film Corp. Records, MSS 39, Series A, S-s2, Administrative Records, Box 1, Volume 1, "List of Shareholders as of December 4, 1922," p. 275, NBWM.

The representation of whaling's diverse labor force was entirely lacking in the film.[23] As film historian Sara Ross has observed, a "thick vein of primitivism and nostalgia ran through American popular culture" in this decade.[24] Ross associates "Down to the Sea in Ships" with another popular film of this era, "Nanook of the North," which reflected American fascination with Eskimos prompted by Arctic exploration.[25] In the case of Clifton's film, however, the "documentary gaze" was directed not to the other indigenous communities associated with whaling—native Americans, native Hawaiians or other Pacific islanders. Instead, Ross suggests, Clifton's ethnographic interest was in Quaker culture, which is treated as an exotic, fading culture in the film. In Clifton's hands, whaling is an entirely Yankee enterprise. The film's only ethnic or racial diversity comes in the form of the villainous Siggs—unsurprising for a film that appeared in the years just prior to the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, which would completely exclude immigrants from Asia.[26]

Clifton strived to create an "authentic" film, as described by a reporter from *The Motion Picture Magazine*: "He has gone into the history of the time and the lives and habits of the old whalemen thoroly [sic] and exhaustively, living for some months right in New Bedford, talking to the weather-beaten survivors, imbibing their point of view, their reminiscences, their briny, quaint old legends, their vernacular . . .."[27] Two New Bedford whalers, the *Charles W. Morgan* and the *Wanderer*, were pressed into service as sets for both exterior and interior scenes. Filming involved documenting the harpooning of several whales; the Gloucester fishing schooner *Gaspe* was refitted as a whaler, and—with Captain James A. Tilton at the helm—carried the cast and crew to Haiti, where they actually killed and processed a sperm whale, creating footage that was then used in the film.[28]

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23 On the representation of Quaker culture in the film, see James Emmett Ryan, *Imaginary Friends: Representing Quakers in American Culture, 1650–1950* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 210-11.

24 Sara Ross, "Primitive Men," in Lucy Fischer, ed. *American Cinema of the 1920s: Themes and Variations* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 87.

25 See Ross, "Primitive Men," in Fischer, *American Cinema of the 1920s,* 87-88.

26 The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act had already prohibited immigration from China; this 1924 legislation extended that barrier to immigrants from Japan, Korea and the Philippines, and other parts of the Asia–Pacific Triangle.

27 Gladys Hall, "The Prince of Whales," *Motion Picture Magazine* vol. XXIII, No. 6 (July 1922), 106.

28 Morris Sederholm interview by James Healy and Reginald Hegarty.

Clifton's film presented a whitewashed version of whaling in New Bedford, but he relied on the labor of the Cape Verdean and Azorean men who dominated the industry in the early twentieth century—"dark-skinned sailors who did not fit Clifton's image of an all-white, Quaker whaling crew," in the words of Jamie Lynn Jones.[29] Reliant on their knowledge of whaling, Clifton hired many of the men for the Caribbean expedition, but filled out his crew with white actors and white New Bedford businessmen and "attempted to keep the dark-skinned whale-fishermen off-camera."[30] He was also assisted by Jewish consultant Morris Sederholm, who recalled working on the film as "sort of a technical director for . . . the movie people."[31] In a 1962 interview, Sederholm recalled a humorous incident from his consulting work on the film:

> That ship there [referring to a photograph], that was the *Wanderer*. We were going to Somerset. They were taking her to Somerset to haul her out. So I said let's make a day of it. So I invited all these people and we went aboard and we ordered some lobsters and some fruit, seafood you know. We were gonna make a picnic of it. We left early in the morning. We were being towed by Duff's towboat. We left early in the morning, we got into Somerset late at night. Think about it. [Laughing] A whole day to get to Somerset. And we had all kinds of weather that day. It blew against us, it rained that day, the sun shined that day. And everybody aboard was sick, got seasick. Somebody asked about this cask. . . . that was full of whale blubber. And the sun beat down on it. And it started to stink. And everybody got sick, everybody [laughing]. . . . Nobody ate any of the food. Everybody was seasick that voyage.[32]

Despite the contributions (however comical) of men like Sederholm, the multi-ethnic and multi-racial labor force that provided the whaling expertise necessary to make the film was almost entirely erased from the final product. Although the film was set in the mid-nineteenth century, before Cape Verdean and Azorean whalemen were engaged in the industry, people of color were common on the whaling crews of that time period. While Clifton found it impossible to excise sailors of color from the film altogether, they appear only briefly in some of the documentary-style footage. The film's message remained one of Yankee masculinity.

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29 Jones, "American Whaling in Culture and Memory," 186.

30 Jones, "American Whaling in Culture and Memory," 186, and Ronald J. Zboray, "The Real and the Realistic in Down to the Sea in Ships," *Film & History* 10, No. 3 (September 1980), 35.

31 Morris Sederholm interview by James Healy and Reginald Hegarty.

32 Ibid.

"Whalers continue to go out from New Bedford on similar voyages to the one portrayed in this picture," an onscreen title card at the beginning of the film assured viewers; "The brawny boatsteerer still throws the hand harpoon." If those words might have landed with audiences beyond New England, the men and women in New Bedford knew, as Eric Jay Dolin has noted, "that the movie they were about to see was more of an epitaph for a virtually extinct industry, enlivened by artistic license, than it was a reflection of present-day realities."[33] When the world premiere of *Down to the Sea in Ships* was held at New Bedford's Olympia Theater on 25 September 1922, the printed program opened with a foreword that proclaimed, "'Down to the sea in ships' is the tangible result of the pride of a city in the glory of its traditions. It was personally directed by Elmer Clifton in Massachusetts and on the high seas and was made with the co-operation of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society . . . ." [34] The filmmakers' collaborations with various New Bedford individuals and institutions gave the film an air of authenticity. But most New Bedford residents knew otherwise.

Whaling Enshrined, Inc. (1925)

In August 1924, just before the bark *Wanderer* departed on its trip to the South Atlantic, Morris Sederholm suggested a clambake aboard the vessel "with all the whalemen and some of their friends."[35] They all got together to celebrate the ship's sendoff. There was excitement about the voyage, but also a sense that they were witnessing the end of an era. As the local press observed, "From all appearances it seems that it may be the last voyage of the staunch old craft, and with her disappearance all of the once glorious fleet of New Bedford whalers will have faded into ghost ships or been reduced to sad, silent hulks, neglected except for the casual visitor."[36] The ship set sail on August 25th, only to crash in a storm the next night, at Cuttyhunk—just beyond New Bedford harbor. "The eulogies," Jamie Lynn Jones writes, "for the bark, and for the American whaling industry at large—poured in during the days after." One newspaper noted:

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33 Dolin, *Leviathan*, 369.

34 Program from the world premiere of *Down to the Sea in Ships* at New Bedford's Olympia Theater, 25 September 1922, Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/worldpremiereelm00whal.

35 Morris Sederholm interview by James Healy and Reginald Hegarty.

36 As quoted in Jones, "American Whaling in Culture and Memory," 147.

> It was, indeed, the last voyage of the famous old whaling bark *Wanderer*, out of New Bedford on Monday. But not with such an ending as the stout hearts that were to sail her pictured, or such as the owners of the craft who so hopefully bade her good-by as she cast off from her berth three days ago had wished.
>
> There is something pathetic in the fate of the whalers as they have rotted away at the New Bedford wharves. The wreck of the *Wanderer* is a grief to many. She was forbidden to show what she could still do in the chase of 'sparm, at that.' Yet her end is nobler, torn to fragments on the rocks of Cuttyhunk by that angry ocean she had often braved, than that of dying by inches in the slack waters of a harbor. Fate fittingly chose to 'Give her to the god of storms The lightning and the gale.'[37]

The sad (and disappointing) fate of the *Wanderer* had a silver lining: it would spur New Bedford residents to preserve the last surviving wooden whaleship, the *Charles W. Morgan*. Charles Waln Morgan had built and launched the ship from the Hillman Brothers' New Bedford shipyard in 1841; between 1841 and 1921, the ship made thirty-seven voyages. The more than 1,800 sailors who served on the *Charles W. Morgan* over its eighty-year career together harvested "more than 2,500 whales, brought to port over 50,000 barrels of oil, 15,000 pounds of whalebone, and, it is estimated, earned about $2,000,000 for her various owners."[38] After retiring in 1921, the *Morgan* had a brief movie career, serving as the set for the films *Down to the Sea in Ships* (1922) and *Java Head* (1923), before being abandoned in Fairhaven harbor.[39]

In 1921, marine artist (and Whalemen's Club founding member) Harry Neyland encouraged the Whalemen's Club to purchase the *Morgan* to use as a clubhouse; "Although the suggestion was enthusiastically received, a definite decision was long coming, the ancient mariners being reluctant to leave their comfortable quarters in a modern office building."[40] When this idea fell through, Neyland took a different

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37 Unknown newspaper quoted in Jones, "American Whaling in Culture and Memory," 148.

38 Blanche Higgins Schroer and S. Sydney Bradford, "The Charles W. Morgan," *National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination*. National Park Service, 11 December 1974. See also http://www.mysticseaport.org/visit/explore/morgan/whaling-resources/.

39 It also appeared in the film *Miss Petticoats* (1916), while still in use as a whaler. See "The History of the Charles W. Morgan," (n.d.). *Mystic Seaport - The Museum of America and the Sea*, http://www.mysticseaport.org/visit/explore/morgan/history/.

40 Quote from G. Warren Hirshson, *The Whaleship 'Charles W. Morgan*,' quoted in George Fred Tilton, "*Cap'n George Fred" Himself* (Edgartown, MA: Dukes County Historical Society, 1969), 288.

approach. Following the *Wanderer*'s demise, Neyland sought to preserve the ship by purchasing a controlling interest in the *Morgan* in 1924.[41] He then tried to give the ship to New Bedford, but the city officers were slow to respond. Neyland, worried that the offer would be rejected, instead offered it to Colonel Edward Howland Robinson Green. Green's grandfather, Edward Mott Robinson, had once been a part owner of the ship, and Green, the son of heiress Hetty Green and a wealthy businessman in his own right, could well afford it. In a letter to Neyland, Green proposed,

> If nothing is done by the city of New Bedford and its citizens, and the ship can be turned over to me by October 15th, 1924, at 12 o'clock noon, I am willing to take her over. A reliable contractor of New Bedford has informed me that October 15th is the latest date he would be willing to take charge of the ship and guarantee to place her on the south beach of Round Hills Farm . . . and complete the work necessary to insure a permanent resting place for her, and make it possible for us to celebrate and lay a memorial tablet on July 4th, 1925. . . . I shall undertake to preserve and maintain her to the best of my ability, and make her a credit to the whaling industry.[42]

Green, too, was inspired to save the *Morgan* in the wake of the *Wanderer*'s disheartening demise. He recalled:

> When on the day following the recent storm I looked over the bay with a pair of powerful glasses which I had frequently tested by focusing on the bark *Wanderer* after she went ashore at Cuttyhunk, I could not pick her up. She was gone. Then and there at that moment it came over me that the *Charles W. Morgan*, rusting at her moorings in Fairhaven, was the very last relic of a glorious past.
>
> When she is gone there will be nothing to mark the industry. I immediately left the shore and came up to the house and dictated a letter to Mr. Neyland, informing him that if the city of New Bedford did not see fit to take over the *Morgan* I would do so. Then I started in operation a research which I hope will bring me historic facts which may be used in connection with the restoration of the vessel.[43]

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41 Tilton, "*Cap'n George Fred" Himself*; Judith A. Boss and Joseph D. Thomas, *New Bedford: A Pictorial History* (Virginia Beach, VA: Donning Company/Publishers, 1990), 180. George Francis Dow also gave the Morgan a chapter in his volume *Whale Ships and Whaling; A Pictorial History of Whaling During Three Centuries, with an Account of the Whale Fishery in Colonial New England* (Salem, MA: Marine Research Society, 1925).

42 Letter from Green to Neyland reprinted in Tilton, "*Cap'n George Fred" Himself*, 290.

43 "Col. Green to Spend $100,000" as quoted in Jones, "American Whaling in Culture and Memory," 150.

Given an ultimatum, the city politely thanked Neyland for his offer and declined, on the grounds that they could not afford the expense.[44] The decision freed Neyland to pursue negotiations with Green to ensure the *Morgan*'s preservation.

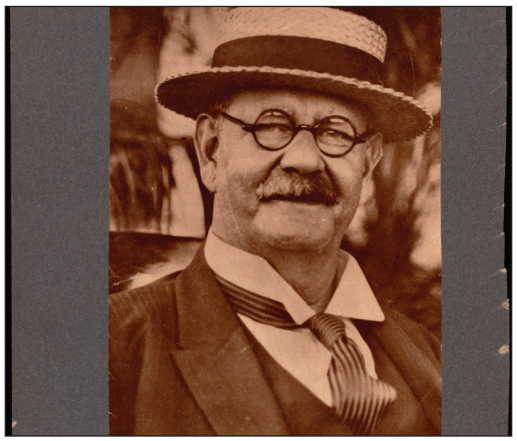


Figure 5.4: Colonel Edward Howland Robinson Green. Photo published in the New Bedford *Sunday Standard*, October 11, 1925. Courtesy of the Trustees of the New Bedford Free Public Library.

Together Neyland, Green, and other *Morgan* shareholders created a non-profit organization, Whaling Enshrined, Incorporated, funded and endowed by Green. The corporation's members were many of the same men who were integral to the formation of the Whalemen's Club –William Tripp, Harry Neyland, and Pemberton Nye, among others. Whaling Enshrined was formed with the mission to:

> . . . enshrine and preserve the Whaleship, Charles W. Morgan, and other relics of the whaling industry; to create and foster an interest in the history of whaling and the trades which are subsidiary thereto; to promote historical research; to collect documents and relics and to provide for their proper custody; to acquire and preserve other vessels of historical interest; to take and hold historic sites and to care for them; and generally to discover, procure and preserve whatever may relate to general history and antiquity.[45]

Green provided the bulk of the funds necessary to restore the *Morgan*, a process that took two years to complete.[46] Whaling Enshrined, Inc. held its first meeting on 6 August 1925, on board the *Charles W. Morgan*.

"Cappy" George Fred Tilton, hero of 1897 Arctic whaling disaster, was hired as the ship's Captain. As the *Morgan*'s caretaker, he was responsible for supervising the repair and maintenance of the ship so that it could be displayed for and enjoyed by visitors. Tilton kept an official log for the ship from the very beginning, starting with an entry on

44 Tilton, "*Cap'n George Fred" Himself*, 291.

45 Whaling Enshrined, Incorporated, Records, MSS 45, Series A, Administrative records, Box 1, Volume 1, Minutes of meetings, 1925-1947, NBWM.

46 Jones, "American Whaling in Culture and Memory," 151.

6 May 1925, the day the ship was towed to Green's estate at Round Hill in South Dartmouth, Massachusetts: "Cleard frome the Custom House May 6, 1925 at 2 P.M. Cleard by Cap'n George Fred Tilton Master. Towed to Round Hill by Tug Boat John Duff



Figure 5.5: A gathering of whaling captains aboard the *Charles W. Morgan*. Date unknown. Courtesy of the New Bedford Whaling Museum.

& arrived at Round Hills . . . On This Day May 6/25 The Ship Charles W. Morgan was brough[t] to Round Hills. Men went to work securing her in her Bed of sand. This was on a Wensday."[47]

The ship was moored at Round Hill as a "memorial to the whaling industry," open to the public at no charge. The ship was formally presented to Whaling Enshrined, Inc. and opened to the public in a dedication ceremony on 21 July 1926.[48] The ceremony featured an unveiling of a memorial bronze tablet on a boulder, which was designed by Neyland.

47 Journal of the *Charles W. Morgan*, 1925 May 6-1931 July 21, Mystic Seaport *Charles W. Morgan* Digital Library, http://library.mysticseaport.org/initiative/PageImage.cfm?BibID=36683.

48 *Morning Mercury*, 22 July 1926.

Tilton was no doubt part of the attraction to the *Morgan*; he was both the ship's caretaker and a whaling-era artifact in his own right. He acknowledged this in his 1929 autobiography, *Cap'n George Fred Himself*:

> Perhaps we two, the ship and myself, compare pretty favorable. She is considerably older than I am, being eighty-seven years off the stocks, but we both of us have been tumbled around by the waters of every ocean, and now that we are not wanted to hunt whales anymore, we are laid up here so that people can get some idea of how the business used to be done. The ship is on exhibition, and I sometimes think I am too.[49]

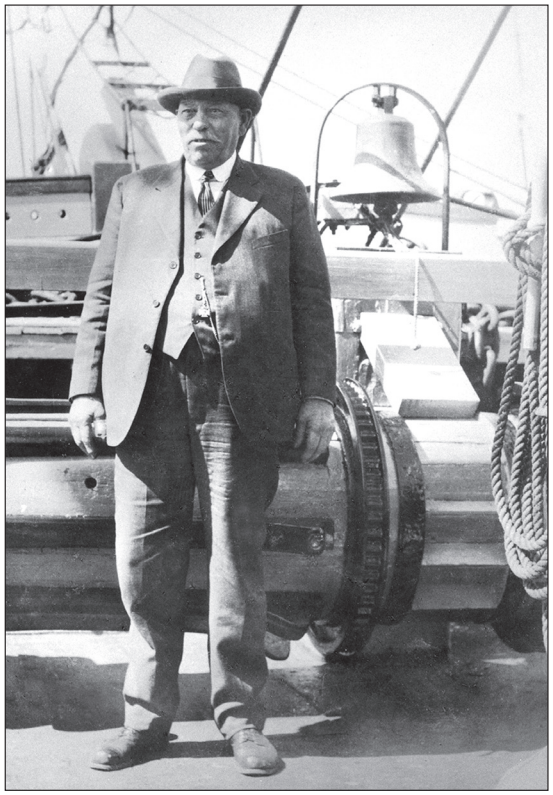


Figure 5.7: Captain George Fred Tilton on board the *Charles W. Morgan*, South Dartmouth, Massachusetts. (c) Mystic Seaport.

Tilton continued to maintain the ship's log fairly regularly through June 1928, noting weather and wind conditions and repairs and maintenance done on the ship. The officers of Whaling Enshrined, Inc., also kept detailed records of how many visitors came to see the ship. On 8 August 1927, Tilton reported to the members that between June 1st and August 8th,

> 54,003 people, not counting infants in their mother's arms, had inspected the ship. Colonel Green said that during the first year he noticed that almost all of the persons visiting the ship came in cars with Massachusetts numbers allocated to the New Bedford Registry, that the next year New Bedford cars carried about half the attendance, that this year the number of New Bedford people coming to visit the ship had greatly dwindled and that over 70% of the attendance came from foreign states and that he had seen number plates from practically all the states of the Union.[50]

49 Tilton, *Cap'n George Fred Himself*, 293-294.

50 Whaling Enshrined, Incorporated, Records, MSS 45, Series A, Administrative records, Box 1, Volume 1, Minutes of meetings, 1925-1947, p. 83-85, NBWM.

Three years later, in July 1930, Tilton reported that between 21 July 1927 and 20 July 1930, 160,508 people had visited the ship.[51] The numbers make it clear that the ship was enormously popular, both among people from New Bedford and Massachusetts, and from other parts of the country.

Oral history interviewees emphasized the popularity of the *Morgan* among New Bedford families; for some it was an artifact of an industry they recalled, and for others it would be their only palpable link with the city's whaling heritage. Several members of the Jewish community nurtured affection for the city's whaling industry that was planted during visits to the ship as children. For those with direct familial connections to whaling, the visits held particular significance. Morgan Levine, whose grandfather was a whaling captain and who was named after the ship (discussed in greater detail below), recalled,

> She was brought up and put in sand, I think, and it was a beautiful sight and I remember even as a kid thinking it was gorgeous. And weekends or holidays they put all the signal flags up, up and down on the rigging, and it was a beautiful sight. There are beautiful photographs of it. So I went down there with grandpa [Captain John T. Coakley], several times, and I think with my parents, too. And there was a fellow, a retired whaling captain, I think it was [Fred] Tilton. And he told stories. And so my grandfather was standing there listening to the stories, and I recall my grandfather saying, "What a liar." [Laughs][52]

Brenda Marder, Samuel Horvitz's granddaughter, also remembered visiting the *Morgan* at Colonel Green's as a child. The children would "touch the sides of it" and just "stare at it," she said. Although she felt a "special connection" to it due to family, "everyone in New Bedford did" too.[53] Marder later inherited a share in the *Morgan*; according to Tilton, Neyland sold shares in the ship "to people who were selected because of their interest in the old ship and who wished to be identified with the plan of preserving her."[54] Marder's cousin, Harris Sederholm, recalled that his father Morris would take his family out for clambakes on Cuttyhunk, and to see the *Charles W. Morgan* at Round Hill. Sederholm felt a connection to it: "A real live whaling ship."[55] For Levine,

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51 Whaling Enshrined, Incorporated, Records, MSS 45, Series A, Administrative records, Box 1, Volume 1, Minutes of meetings, 1925-1947, p. 119, NBWM.

52 Morgan Levine interview.

53 Brenda and Everett Marder interview.

54 Tilton, *Cap'n George Fred Himself*, 294.

55 Harris Sederholm interview.

Marder, and Sederholm, the visits were an integral part of the process of intergenerational memory making at the intersection of family history and civic pride.

Several interviewees recalled playing on the *Charles W. Morgan* as kids when it was parked at Colonel Green's property. Their families would make a day trip of it, picnicking and letting the children run around on the grounds and on the ship. Calvin Siegal, who grew up in New Bedford, also recalled his childhood visits to the *Morgan*: "In the summer. . .we used to very frequently go swimming to the beach at Colonel Green's. And at Colonel Green's was the *Charles W. Morgan*. So I can claim to have spent a great deal of time on the deck of the *Charles W. Morgan*." ("I don't think that makes me a whaler, though," he joked). Playing on the ship was a popular activity for all kids at the time, he said: "You could look out and imagine you were a pirate -- or a whaler, though I don't ever remember thinking I was a whaler." [56]

Colonel Green died on 8 June 1936, in Lake Placid, New York, at age 67.[57] He was brought back to Round Hill, where the flags aboard the Morgan flew at half-staff in his honor. The ship, a local paper noted the day after his passing, was "the idealization of Colonel Green's generosity and hospitable public spirit . . .."[58] But only a day after Green's passing, it was clear that there was already unease about the *Morgan*'s fate without his leadership and financial support: "There was much discussion today as to what would become of Round Hill, with its airport and the enshrined whaleship. . . . Colonel Green had taken care that the whaleship be kept—in perpetuity, he hoped—under the guidance of Whaling Enshrined, Inc., operated by a board of trustees who hold their annual meetings in July."[59]

At Whaling Enshrined's 21 July 1936 meeting, held on the dock next to the *Morgan* at Round Hill, a resolution was adopted in Green's honor, stating:

> Colonel Green's generosity has made the preservation of the whaleship Charles W. Morgan possible. Since her enshrinement on his beautiful estate at Round Hill, more than one million, eight hundred thousand interested visitors have trod her decks. Colonel Green showed his forethought by

56 Calvin Siegal interview by Laura Miller, 19 November 2013.

57 Captain George Fred Tilton died in 1932.

58 Newspaper article clipping, newspaper unknown, in Whaling Enshrined, Incorporated, Records, MSS 45, Series A, Administrative records, Box 1, Volume 1, Minutes of meetings, 1925-1947, p. 198, NBWM.

59 Ibid.

> providing that organizations interested in history and in whaling, and the municipalities themselves, should always be represented in the management of the ship. He not only maintained the Morgan in the finest condition during his life, but generously deeded to the Corporation which owns her the dock and an ample portion of his valuable land so that she and other whaling relics might have a safe resting place after he should no longer be here."[60]

The meeting minutes ended on a somber note: "After the meeting, the members assembled in the Morgan's cabin and drank a silent toast to the memory of Colonel Green and quietly departed."[61] The ship's uncertain future was left unspoken.

There had been an "understanding" that eventually ship would go to the Old Dartmouth Historical Society—but then Green died with no provision for the ship's future.[62] In the midst of the Great Depression, and now in the absence of a wealthy benefactor, it was difficult to raise money for its care. The members of Whaling Enshrined looked to the federal government as a possible custodian. "Dr. Ronalds [presumably Dr. Francis Ronalds] and Mr. Small" of the National Park Service visited the site in 1937 to investigate "the possibility of making a public park out of the property of the corporation. They were both impressed with the possibilities and were recommending to the Government that it be taken over but said that the difficulty at present was that the Government had very little money to spend on parks."[63] At the February 1938 meeting, "Mr. Wing read a letter from James Roosevelt stating that the National Park Service cannot take over the 'Charles W. Morgan' this year."[64]

According to an article in the *New York Times*, "The Massachusetts Legislature failed to pass a law which would have put her into state custody."[65] An effort to raise

60 Whaling Enshrined, Incorporated, Records, MSS 45, Series A, Administrative records, Box 1, Volume 1, Minutes of meetings, 1925-1947, p. 203-205, NBWM.

61 Whaling Enshrined, Incorporated, Records, MSS 45, Series A, Administrative records, Box 1, Volume 1, Minutes of meetings, 1925-1947, p. 217, NBWM.

62 Richard A. Shafter, "Old Whaler Finds a Home: New Bedford Sends Her Bark C.W. Morgan To Marine Museum at Mystic, Conn.," *New York Times*, 23 November 1941.

63 Whaling Enshrined, Incorporated, Records, MSS 45, Series A, Administrative records, Box 1, Volume 1, Minutes of meetings, 1925-1947, p. 261-263, NBWM.

64 Whaling Enshrined, Incorporated, Records, MSS 45, Series A, Administrative records, Box 1, Volume 1, Minutes of meetings, 1925-1947, p. 265, NBWM.

65 Richard A. Shafter, "Old Whaler Finds a Home: New Bedford Sends Her Bark C.W. Morgan To Marine Museum at Mystic, Conn.," *New York Times*, 23 November 1941.

$40,000 by the Old Dartmouth Historical Society, the Bourne Museum, and members of Whaling Enshrined, Inc., was unsuccessful. The ship was damaged in the September 1938 hurricane that battered much of New England, and continued to deteriorate without the necessary funds to rehabilitate it. In late June 1941, the *Mercury* warned readers that "New Bedford May Lose the Morgan."[66] The *New York Times* reported that the *Morgan*'s June 1941 centennial "went almost unnoticed. Only a few nostalgic old timers went on board, set the Stars and Stripes and the old Morgan house flag, and emptied a glass to the memory of the days of tall ships."[67]

In 1941, the ship was acquired by the Marine Historical Association at Mystic Seaport and brought to Connecticut. The loss of the ship was undoubtedly a blow to city's psyche. Lindgren notes, "For those in New Bedford who remembered whaling, 'feelings of bitterness' over her loss were harbored for years to come."[68]



Figure 5.8: The Charles W. Morgan leaving Round Hill for Mystic, Connecticut in 1941. (c) Mystic Seaport.

66 New Bedford *Mercury*, 27 June 1941.

67 Richard A. Shafter, "Old Whaler Finds a Home: New Bedford Sends Her Bark C.W. Morgan To Marine Museum at Mystic, Conn.," *New York Times*, November 23, 1941.

68 Lindgren, "Let Us Idealize Old Types of Manhood," 204.

The Birth of the Whaling Artifacts Trade in New Bedford

By the mid-twentieth century, Jewish people in New Bedford were becoming intimately involved in the preservation of the city's (and the region's) maritime and whaling history. Historian Briann Greenfield has examined the history of the region's Jewish antique dealers, and has observed the pivotal role that these immigrants played in creating the antiques trade as we know it today.[69] Israel Sack, who arrived on Ellis Island in 1903 as an emigrant from Lithuania, was one of many in Boston, New York, and other places who saw an opportunity in the nascent antiques trade. Greenfield proposes that trade in Americana enabled new arrivals to become immediately associated with the artifacts of early American history that increasingly helped construct middle class status. The antiques trade—an easy extension of the experience in retail that many Jewish families brought with them, which combined neatly with the traditional work of peddlers—offered not only income, but a means toward assimilation. "As antiques dealers," Greenfield asserts, "Jewish immigrants became authorities on the American past."[70]

To be sure, maritime antiques in the early twentieth century did not carry the same cachet as the fine furniture in which Israel Sack traded. But in locating goods and then finding buyers for them, Jewish antique dealers became enmeshed in Yankee circles interested in the area's whaling history. Along the way, they helped construct a local maritime heritage grounded in the material culture of whaling, building appreciation for tools that had not long before been scrap salvaged from dismantled vessels. As Greenfield writes, "Jewish dealers did more than simply supply collectors—they helped shape the meaning of antiques and their value to the public."[71] New Bedford son and Jewish pastkeeper Aaron Lansky points out another possible reason for the association with antiques and other objects that document the past. In an interview for this study, he described connections between the Jewish community and its "excessive attention to memory;" "If you're a landless people," notes Lansky, "artifacts become critical."[72]

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69 See Greenfield's chapter "The Jewish Dealer" in *Out of the Attic: Inventing Antiques in Twentieth-Century New England"* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009), 57-89.

70 Greenfield, *Out of the Attic*, 63.

71 Greenfield, *Out of the Attic*, 81.

72 Aaron Lansky interview. Lansky recounts his New Bedford origins and relationship with Jewish history and language in his memoir *Outwitting History: The Amazing Adventures of a Man Who Rescued a Million Yiddish Books*, (Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books, 2004).

Israel and Morgan Levine

One of these antiques dealers in coastal Massachusetts was Morgan Levine, born in 1927 on Butler Street, in New Bedford's South End, to Israel Levine and Grace Levine (née Coakley). His maternal grandfather, John T. Coakley, was orphaned at a young age and ran away to New Bedford to go whaling when he was only 16 years old. According to Levine, Coakley

> arrived [in New Bedford] with the clothes on his back, was taken down to an outfitter . . . and they gave him some clothes, a slicker, . . . probably gave him a dollar, and he signed the chit and off he went. And the fellow who was signing him up said he was very happy to have a nice Yankee boy, because in those days they were mostly from the Azores, Africa, all over the world, so this nice Yankee boy was given a lay of the voyage. . . . So when he came back after several years, working very hard, and dangerous, he went in triumphant to the office to collect his money, and they figured it all out, and said "John"—I'm using my grandfather's words—"you didn't make quite enough to pay for what your advance was." So he signed up again. I assume he was a little smarter this time, I hope he was. And off he went, he stayed whaling until he became—had a ship of his own, as captain.

Coakley's first voyage, in 1887, was on the Bark *Canton*. Other voyages included the *R. S. Graham*, and his final voyage as a captain was on the Schooner *Margaret*. When he finished whaling, he went on to become an optometrist.

Morgan Levine's father, Israel, came from a very different background. Israel Levine was born in Massachusetts in 1904 to Nathan and Nellie Cohen Levine, Jewish immigrants from Poland who married and emigrated to the United States in 1882. Nathan began as a peddler in New York, before moving to Pennsylvania, and then New Bedford, where he worked as a real estate agent.[73] Many in Israel's family responded angrily to his decision to marry his high school sweetheart Grace Coakley, who was Christian: "When my father married my mother, who has not Jewish, in those days that was a terrible thing . . . they threw him out. They sat shiva . . . you're sitting shiva when someone dies. And my father was written off as dead. Out of the family."[74]

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73 Frances Karttunen, *The Other Islanders, Part III: Nantucket and the World's People* (Nantucket, Massachusetts: Nantucket Historical Association, 2004), 23. Available online, http://www.nha.org/pdfs/otherislanders/colorpix.pdf; Nathan Levine household, 1920 United States Federal Census, New Bedford Ward 5, Bristol County, Massachusetts.

74 Morgan Levine interview.

Israel Levine came from a large family, and a few of his siblings continued to stay in touch with him. But his son Morgan never knew most of his father's family. He was not raised Jewish, and his father was not practicing, but he did note, "he liked to speak Yiddish which he was good at, and I had a brother-in-law, my late wife's brother, who liked to talk Yiddish with him. And I know my father enjoyed that, very much. So I think somewhere in his heart, there was a longing."[75]

Morgan Levine has a familial connection to the family of Samuel Horvitz. Flora (Levine) Horvitz, the wife of Samuel Horvitz, was his grandfather's sister – meaning that Samuel and Flora Horvitz were Israel Levine's uncle and aunt (and Morgan Levine's great uncle and great aunt). In a whaling history book, Israel Levine added a handwritten annotation for his son's reference: "Mrs. Horvitz, was your grandfather's sister. And I visited [Samuel Horvitz's] whaling outfitters store with your grandfather Coakley." ("Dad made little notes like that," Levine added.)[76]

After he married and was disowned from his family, Israel Levine changed his name to "I. Morgan Levine":

> He was not born Morgan. He used to play as a child on the *Charles W. Morgan* when she was tied up in New Bedford probably at the end of—what was the end of the whaling industry and the last of her voyages, and he for some reason or another liked that name. I don't know why because he didn't tell me the story 'til he was ready to die. But he took the name . . . [and] he did become known as "I. Morgan Levine."[77]

He then named his son Morgan, too. Israel Levine moved his family to Springfield, Massachusetts, when Morgan Levine was a child. Israel became an optometrist like his father-in-law, John Coakley.

Every summer, Morgan was "shipped to New Bedford" with his sister, Jane (Levine) List, to stay with his maternal grandparents. Morgan Levine recalled visiting the *Charles W. Morgan*, after which he was named, on Colonel Green's property – "it was a Sunday afternoon excursion. You drove down there," he said. He grew up listening to his grandfather Coakley's whaling stories, which were a performance in their own right. Levine recalled:

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75 Ibid.

76 Ibid.

77 Ibid.

> We usually sat down, because I remember most of the stories when my parents were visiting. I think my father was probably able to draw him out to start talking, and he loved it. He was very dramatic about it. He got excited talking about the whale and everything. He really used to put himself into the situation. Yeah. Like "dancing on the whale's back"—that was a very dramatic recitation. [Laughs].

"Dancing on a whale's back" was a story his grandfather liked to tell about his first time on a whaleship. Levine recited the tale:

> Grandpa's 16, put in the boat, never been to sea before. And they row toward the whale and my grandfather looked around to see what was going on, and he got a [smack] on the side of his head telling him, "You look aft, not forward! Attend to business!" So that was his first experience rowing up to one of these monsters of the deep. And then on another occasion in the whaleboat they were stove, that means the whaleboat was smashed up. Usually smashed. Or damaged so badly. But one time my grandfather was approaching the whale, and they got stove, and he was tossed in the water. They usually were. And he was caught in what he called the vortex of the whale sounding. Sucking the water down with him. And my grandfather was caught in this vortex as the whale went down, and he didn't know which way was up. So of course, one naturally comes up, and he eventually came out, but as he was down in the water, the whale passed underneath him, and he called this story "dancing on a whale's back." Because as the whale moved under him, his legs were there, and he moved across the back of the whale. "Dancing on a whale's back."[78]

Coakley's stories captivated the children—and as a member of the Whalemen's Club, Coakley likely had ample experience spinning whaling yarns for the entertainment of others. He had undoubtedly told the story several times before, honing and perfecting it for dramatic effect.

Coakley's whaling background made an impression on his son-in-law Israel Levine, too, who started collecting whaling-related objects and artifacts. He had a summer home in Russells Mills, in Dartmouth, just outside of New Bedford. The house had a small barn, and he began creating what Morgan Levine described as a "museum" in that building. Levine noted, "Well, his main interest was useful things. He bought all kinds of gear. If there was a harpoon for sale, he bought it." He even made a sign and hung it on the wall: "This collection was inspired by the memory of Captain John T. Coakley, a fine man who spent his youth and early manhood aboard these New Bedford whaleships."[79]

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid.

After Israel Levine passed away, much of the collection was sold off; his son Morgan bought much of it. At the time, Morgan had a store on Nantucket, as did his father's brother Hyman ("Hymie") Levine. Morgan first went to work in Nantucket when he was 17 or 18 years old, working for his uncle's store, the Nobby Shop, in the summertime. Morgan opened his own store in 1951—the Four Winds Gift Shop.[80] He started to transition into antiques:

> In the back of that store, I had a little counter where I sold whaling stuff. I had great sources because of my father and New Bedford. So I had great sources and I had a little counter back there. And then I decided I wanted to have a nice little shop to sell marine antiques, so I owned a building next door to it, and I refitted it, and I opened up the Four Winds Craft Guild.

Levine eventually connected with the New Bedford Whaling Museum. When asked how he came to be involved with them, he said, "Well I've given them two very nice paintings. Big ones. . . . And because of my general interest, I got interested in the Museum. Simple."[81] In 2003, he curated an exhibit for the Museum, "New Visions: The Art of Harry Neyland." The *Standard-Times* newspaper noted that "Prompting the exhibition Mr. Levine recalled boyhood visits to Neyland's studio in the company of his grandfather, former whaling Captain John T. Coakley who shared a kindred love of the old whaling days with the artist." Just as his father before him had dedicated his personal collection to the memory of Coakley, Levine "dedicated the exhibit to the memory of his grandfather."[82] In 2012, he donated a crew disbursement book (1906-1908) from the whaling bark *Sunbeam* to the Museum.[83] He also curated an exhibit of paintings, books, and artifacts, "Nineteenth-Century Art Treasures from the New Bedford Whaling Museum," at the St. Botolph Club (of which Levine is a member) in 2012.[84]

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80 Karttunen, *The Other Islanders, Part III*, 23 and 26.

81 Morgan Levine interview.

82 "Neyland: Small, but delectable, show," *Standard-Times*, 6 July 2003. http://nbweb.ot.atl.publicus.com/article/20030706/LIFE/307069947/0/wap&template=wapart.

83 2012 Accession List, New Bedford Whaling Museum, *The Bulletin from Johnny Cake Hill*, Summer 2013, http://www.whalingmuseum.org/sites/default/files/pdf/NBWMBulletinSummer13.pdf.

84 New Bedford Whaling Museum, *The Bulletin from Johnny Cake Hill*, Summer 2013, 19, http://www.whalingmuseum.org/sites/default/files/pdf/NBWMBulletinSummer13.pdf. The exhibit program is available at http://stbotolphclub.org/catalogues/Art%20Treasures%20Program_proof.pdf.

Through his antiquing business and his interest in maritime paintings (which became his primary focus), as well as his support for the New Bedford Whaling Museum, Levine has played an important role in preserving and promoting New England's whaling and maritime history. And he has helped New Bedford residents explore their own connections to whaling, too. In a 2010 oral history interview of Cape Verdean American William Do Carmo, Do Carmo recalled an encounter with Levine while he was researching his family's history in Nantucket:

> . . . over the years, out of curiosity, I kept digging into the family past and finding out about them. And I came across a fellow in Nantucket—I was doing some research in Nantucket, and this fellow owned a place, a business, named the Four Winds. A Jewish fellow. We got to talking, and he says, "You know," he says, "I may be able to help you." And so I says, "Yeah," thanked him and all that. Because I met him at the museum on Nantucket, the whaling museum at Nantucket. I had given him my name, and so he decided to do some research. A few weeks later I get a package, and it's all about my uncles. The ships that they were masters on, the ships that they sailed."[85]

Although Do Carmo did not mention Levine by name, it is clear that he was the Jewish owner of the Four Winds.

Morgan Levine has played a central role in the preservation of whaling and other maritime art and artifacts in New England. His career was profoundly shaped by his own family's past, which spurred his deep interest in and appreciation for the region's whaling history; in turn, his work has inspired and bolstered other historically minded individuals and institutions in New Bedford, Nantucket, and beyond.

William Kranzler

If Morgan Levine's family came to the antiques trade through an appreciation, even nostalgia for whaling, the Kranzler family entered via the work of peddling. William Kranzler was born on 16 June 1902, in New Bedford, Massachusetts, to Mates and Gussie (Goldfast) Kranzler, both Jewish Austrian immigrants.[86] Kranzler was one of eleven children, and enumerators of the 1920 census recorded that both parents spoke

85 William do Carmo, interview by Ann Marie Lopes, 19 August 2010. Transcript available online through the New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park website, http://www.nps.gov/nebe/learn/historyculture/upload/2015_ADA_Transcript_NPS_NEBE_Having_Our_Say_William_do_Carmo_2010.pdf.

86 William Kranzler, *Massachusetts, Birth Records, 1840-1915*, Ancestry.com.

Yiddish.[87] At the time of his birth, Kranzler's father was working as a mill operator. Mates Kranzler began in the linen business in New York City, but "when the Democrats were elected, they lowered the tariffs and my father couldn't make a 'go' of it in New York, and he had a friend in New Bedford by the name of Mr. Lider who told him to come to New Bedford and open up a store and he could sell his linens in New Bedford." When his linen business in New Bedford ultimately failed, he "went into a number of different businesses"—"The fruit business, first, I think, then the junk business, then the second hand business. . . . Then that led to the antique business."[88] Kranzler noted that his mother, Gussie, helped with the antiques business, and "was a very good business woman." The 1920 census listed his father as a junk dealer, and the family (parents and six children – 4 sons and 2 daughters) living at 535 Acushnet Avenue.[89]

Kranzler later went into the antiques business himself, and also had a broader interest in whaling:

> Well, when I was a young fellow, I joined the Whaleman's Club, 'though I never went whaling; it was just a club that used to meet every Saturday night in the Five Cent Savings Bank Building up on the second floor; they'd have a roast beef supper one night and then the following month they'd have a bean supper and all the whaling captains used to come up there and reminisce and I knew a number of the whaling captains."

Despite his great interest in whaling, the whaling antiques trade was quite slow—and largely unprofitable—in the early years of his business:

> I bought many a log book in those days and I remember, one day, driving by Meyer Fox's junk yard and I noticed on the sidewalk there were a pile of books that looked like old ledgers. So I stopped and I went over and I examined them and they were all whaling log books that he had cleaned out of somebody's home and I asked him how much he wanted for them and he put them on the scale, weighed them up, and said 75 cents. There must have been 20 whaling logbooks and at that time, whaling logbooks were not in much, if any demand; very few people were interested, and it probably took me 5 years to sell them for practically nothing.

87 Mates Kranzler household, 1920 United States Federal Census, New Bedford Ward 3, Bristol County, Massachusetts.

88 William Kranzler interview.

89 Mates Kranzler household, 1920 United States Federal Census, New Bedford Ward 3, Bristol County, Massachusetts.

> . . . That's a true story. 75 cents. Most every home I went to in New Bedford had someone who went whaling; they were either a whaling captain or a seaman on some of the whale ships and I bought many a log book and I buy, go up in the attic and find an old sea chest full of scrimshaw and logbooks and sextants and the old maps that the captains used to chart their voyages and for years and years, there was very little demand for whaling in those days. I had two large cabinets filled with scrimshaw and they just didn't sell very fast. I remember selling logbooks for $10, $15, $25 apiece.[90]



Figure 5.9: New Bedford antique dealer William Kranzler. Photo courtesy Spinner Publications.

The turnaround, Kranzler said, came in the early 1960s when John F. Kennedy was elected President. "He became interested in scrimshaw," Kranzler recalled, "and of course, that gave a lot of publicity to the whaling industry. People became interested in scrimshaw; that was really the start of the big demand for whaling." Kranzler became a central figure in New Bedford's antiques trade, known for his maritime antiques. Morgan Levine recalled that when he was in the antiquing business, his father would keep an eye out for him: he "would tell me who might have something, he would say, 'gee, I was in Bill Kranzler's the other day and I saw such and such.' . . . And I would race over to it." "I bought a lot of stuff from Bill Kranzler," he said.[91]

90 William Kranzler interview.

91 Morgan Levine interview.

Kranzler purchased a building (built in 1871) at 22 William Street, in 1938, to use as an antique shop.[92] In 1953, presumably because his business was growing, Kranzler acquired another property to store antiques in – objects of not only historical significance, but historical significance to the whaling industry. The building itself was something of a maritime antique, as the structure at 72 North Water Street had once housed the Rodman Candleworks.[93]

Kranzler passed away on 11 February 1988. His acquisitions live on in the collections of the New Bedford Whaling Museum, including the Logbooks of the ship *Roman*, and the ship *Eliza Adams*.[94] He left behind a legacy as an early and central figure in the development of New Bedford's antiques trade—maritime and otherwise—in the twentieth century.

The Evolution of New Bedford's Jewish Economy

New Bedford's Jewish economy continued to evolve from late 1920s to the 1940s, buoyed by a new round of Jewish migrants. Many were Sephardic Jews from Syria, Turkey, and Greece, who came to New Bedford by way of New York City. Some of these migrants, drawn by cheaper land and labor, set up clothing factories that made men's, women's, and children's clothing, suits, and lingerie.[95] This was the case for Syrian

92 Please see the MHC Form B for 22 William Street at http://bit.ly/1RqtwJk.

93 Please see the MHC Form B for 72 North Water Street at http://bit.ly/21jWxOS.

94 Both logbooks are available for research at the New Bedford Whaling Museum Research Library and Archives; see http://www.whalingmuseum.org/explore/library/logbooks/roman-kwm_319B and http://www.whalingmuseum.org/explore/library/logbooks/eliza_adams-kwm_319A.

95 Several of these businesses persisted into 1980s, when many American clothing manufactories moved overseas. There is an interesting side note to the flourishing community of Jewish-owned clothing manufactories present in 1940s New Bedford that intersects with the city's whaling heritage. In 1942, Lee Max Friedman's *Jewish Pioneers and Patriots* drew a connection between the Jewish community and the birth of the ready-to-wear industry, which Friedman places in New Bedford. According to Friedman, New Bedford custom tailors, noting the need for sailors "slops" (ready-made clothing available to supply whalers upon departure) began preparing jackets, trousers, shirts and other garments that could be purchased *en masse*. Outfitters supplied cloth to fabricators (women throughout the town) through a "putting out" system. By 1841, Friedman says, "ready-made clothing was being advertised in New Bedford," the practice spreading to Boston and beyond. The history of slop shops is certainly more complex and its origins cannot be attached to any one city, but the interest demonstrated by this author in locating its birth in New Bedford shortly after the rapid growth of Jewish-owned clothing factories there (which itself built, as we have seen, on a longer tradition of Jews in New Bedford's clothing trades), bears notice. See Lee Max Friedman, *Jewish Pioneers and Patriots* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1942), 328, citing Elmo P. Hohman, *The American Whaleman* (New york, 1928). On the history of slop shops, see Egal Feldman, *Fit for Men: A Study of New York's Clothing Trade* (Washington, DC: Public Affairs, 1960).

immigrant Samuel Ades, of States Nitewear, and Greek immigrant Sam Elias, of the Colonial Textile Manufacturing Corporation.[96] Others came to work in these and other factories in the city. The economic landscape also began shifting as the children of the immigrant generation began going to college, many attending medical school, becoming CPAs, or heading to law school.[97] The growing prosperity of the Jewish community reflected broader trends among American Jews in these decades, who "experienced a steady move out of industrial employment into proprietorship, white-collar occupations, and the professions."[98] Several members of prosperous Jewish families became involved in stewarding the city's whaling heritage, as volunteers and donors to institutions preserving that history.

Calvin "Cal" Siegal's father Charles Siegal came to New Bedford in about 1928 from Brooklyn, New York to open a clothing factory. Cal and his mother followed in 1930, when he was six years old.[99] Charles Siegal started the firm shortly after World War I, when the former serviceman returned to New York. In time, low wages and inexpensive space attracted the firm to New Bedford. His son Calvin ("Cal") recalled that in the wake of the New Bedford Textile Strike of 1928, prompted by the textile manufacturers' implementation of a ten percent wage cut for workers, there were tremendous numbers of people—Polish, French-Canadian and Portuguese, but as time went on, mainly Portuguese—looking for work. In New Bedford, wages were 10 cents an hour, and space cost just 10 cents per square foot. Siegal started the Calvin Clothing Company (named for his young son), which in time became one of the nation's largest producers of better apparel—a trajectory that Cal describes as the "great American story."[100]

Frances "Fran" Levin's family followed a similar trajectory to New Bedford. Levin recalled how her family, engaged in what was then known as "linens and domestics" in New York, was drawn to New Bedford in the 1930s during the Great Depression. It was hard to earn a living in New York, but her parents, Sidney (who emigrated to the United

96 "The Rusitzkys: peddler, lawyer," *Standard-Times*, 1 July 1985, in Scrapbook of Jewish New Bedford, CJC.

97 Through the 1950s, these children tended to return to New Bedford. By the next generation, the children did not necessarily come back to New Bedford, preferring to remain in Boston, New York, and elsewhere.

98 Diner, *Jews of the United States*, 230.

99 Calvin Siegal interview.

100 Alvin's name changed to Calvin after death of Calvin Coolidge's son.

States from Poland after World War I) and Jean Frauwirth, learned that New Bedford was offering generous tax breaks to attract new business and generate employment. They decided to relocate his business, Normandy Bedspreads, to Cove Road, moving to New Bedford in 1938. New Bedford was an attractive place to establish their business, Fran said, because there was a "huge population of Portuguese women who knew how to use a sewing machine." She continued,

> There was a substantial number of New York Jewish people who moved here because of the ability to hire women who could sew, which meant that they didn't have to go through a lengthy training program teaching women how to use the Singer Sewing Machine.[101]

Long lines formed outside these new factories of women looking for jobs, and the town "was delighted to see people move off the welfare lists." By the 1940s and 1950s, the growth of these new businesses "brought a more prosperous Jewish community to New Bedford." By the 1940s, there were about 3,500 Jews in the city.[102]

American Jews had solidified themselves as largely middle class by the post-World War II period. Hasia Diner notes, "They possessed the right combination of skills and ethnic networks, particularly in commerce, to allow them to take advantage of the good times and to cushion them against the bad. Their concentration in the garment industry, an enterprise needing relatively little start-up capital, gave some of them a chance to become employers."[103] This was certainly the case for the Siegal and Levin families.

In the postwar decades, Jewish residents of New Bedford increasingly moved out of the North and South Ends of the city to the West End. A few pioneering Jewish families made the move as early as the 1910s. Myron Herman told an interviewer that his family was the first Jewish family to move to the West End:

> [M]y mother didn't like living on Water Street. And Saturday was the day when she refused to work. She used to take walks. And one day she walked away from Water Street and got over to what was Bedford Street, and she only knew vaguely that there was a hospital at the end of Bedford Street and she had never seen it before; so she walked up there and she saw a house for sale. This house was at 129 Bedford Street and it was built by a man who he built it for his wife and she had passed on, and it was up for sale. . . . She dragged [her husband, Samuel Louis Herman] up there and without mentioning that

101 Frances Levin interview by Laura Miller, 27 February 2014.

102 *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, 164, in notebook compiled by Shirley Cohen, MC 107/CJC, CJC.

103 Diner, *Jews of the United States*, 230.

> he liked it or he didn't like it, he said he'd find out if he could buy it. So I don't know what he paid for it. He bought it for a song anyways.
>
> And we were the first Jewish settlers from down on Water Street to move up in what we now know as the West end.[104]

New Bedford City directories indicate that they made the move to Bedford Street sometime around 1911.[105] Herman said that his family moved to the neighborhood because "We're ambitious. And they [his parents] felt they were just as good or entitled to just as much as anybody was getting, and that explains why they wanted to get out of the bottom of the city down there and get out to the west end there."[106] Dora Rusitzky also claimed that her family was the first to the neighborhood: "I was the first Jewish family in the West End when I was married [to florist Julius Rusitzky, in 1914]. I lived on the corner, 72 Brigham and Taber. The house is still there. It was starting to build a little west of it."[107] It would be a few decades before the Jewish community moved en masse to the West End.

In the decades following World War II, the West End became, in the words of Aaron Lansky, a "world unto itself."[108] Lansky, born in New Bedford in 1955 to Sidney and Edith Lansky, grew up on Maple Street.[109] He recalled that the West End neighborhood was full of kids playing in the streets, enjoying games of "step" and "scatter."[110] As more and more Jewish people moved into the neighborhood, the ethnic businesses followed: Lansky recalled "Katz the Butcher" bringing meat in a panel truck

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104 Myron Herman interview.

105 *New Bedford and Fairhaven Directory 1911* (Boston: W. A. Greenough & Co., 1911), 483, Internet Archive, http://www.archive.org/stream/newbedforddirect1911wagr#page/300/mode/2up.

106 Myron Herman interview.

107 Dora Rusitzky, interview by Robert Waxler, 3 August 1981, New Bedford/Fall River Jewish Community Oral History Collection, CJC/MC 23, CJC. The Rusitzkys married in 1914, and Julius is listed in the 1915 New Bedford city directory at that address; see *New Bedford and Fairhaven Directory* (1915), 838, Ancestry.com.

108 Aaron Lansky interview.

109 "Rescuing Yiddish literature New Bedford native Aaron Lansky leads mission to save old books from oblivion," 16 June 1997, http://www.southcoasttoday.com/article/19970616/News/306169936; "New Bedford native Aaron Lansky saving Yiddish one book at a time," 3 May 2014, http://www.southcoasttoday.com/article/20140503/News/405030323.

110 Aaron Lansky interview.

once a week, and "Nat's store," a Jewish deli run by Henry Raktanski, that had "sawdust on the floor, barrels of pickles."[111]

Interviewee Louis Silverstein also described the movement of Jewish people to the West End:

> Most of the Jewish people moved toward the West End. They moved from the South End…There is Purchase Street and Pleasant Street, and then there's Grinnell Street and South Street and Fair Street – that's in Center South, and that was the center of the Jewish community. And then people started moving to the West End. One of the main streets that goes all the way from the south end out to Route 95 is a street called Rockdale Avenue and as the Jewish community became more affluent it was moving to the West End. They started moving beyond Rockdale Avenue to the West End. Then of course they started moving to Dartmouth and the synagogue moved. It had been on 6th St in the South End and then moved to where it is now on Hawthorne and Brownell Avenue.[112]

Fran Levin also described this as a community that was "inward looking." "This was not a community of members that were terribly invested in more civic activities—they were more invested in Hebrew School, in that kind of more insular Jewish community activities."[113]

Ahavath Achim synagogue outgrew its Howland Street location. The space was too small for the growing congregation, to the point that they were renting the Monte Pio Hall, a Portuguese social club, for overflow on Jewish holidays.[114] In 1938, they purchased the estate of whaling captain Cornelius Grinnell, Jr. at 385 County Street and converted it into a synagogue. Rabbi Barry Hartman related a story about the purchase in 1938, told to him by Abe Golden, who was on the committee to buy the land and building for the new synagogue. The price was $2,500. "The depression was coming to an end, but $2,500 was a lot of money." They noticed that there was a twin mansion next door, and for another $2,000 they could buy this other piece of land and building. They wondered if they should do it, knowing that it would be an "investment, for down the road." They

111 Aaron Lansky interview.

112 Louis Silverstein interview.

113 Frances Levin interview.

114 Abram and Samuel Rusitzky interview by Jack Levine, February 24, 1982, New Bedford/Fall River Jewish Community Oral History Collection, CJC/MC 23, CJC. Rabbi Barry Hartman interview.

argued all night, before deciding to not buy the second property. The Grinnell estate was remodeled into a synagogue and opened on Rosh Hashanah in September 1941. In 1955 the Krivoff Social Hall was built, then in 1963 a Hebrew School in the Eli Nochimow building.[115] In 1952, following Rabbi Hyman Papkin's retirement, Ahavath Achim synagogue brought in its first English-speaking Rabbi, Zalman M. Schachter-Shalomi (1924-2014).[116] According to Rabbi Barry Hartman, "that was very late. Most synagogues by the 1930s were bringing in English-speaking Rabbis."[117] Rabbi Hartman speculates that this was in deference to Rabbi Papkin, who had been rabbi for more than fifty years and who had expressed reluctance to welcome an English-speaking Rabbi.

Tiferes Israel Synagogue also underwent several changes and modernized under the direction of Rabbi Bernard H. Ziskind, who succeeded Rabbi Alexander Burstein in 1930 and led the congregation until 1966.[118] Rabbi Ziskind served in the armed forces' corps of Jewish chaplains during World War II, returning to New Bedford at the war's conclusion.[119] In 1947, the Synagogue purchased the William Rotch Rodman Mansion at 388 County Street to serve as the Jewish Community Center. The Center served several functions:

> The building housed classrooms for the Synagogue's Hebrew and Sunday Schools, Boy and Girl Scout troops, the Sisterhood Library, Synagogue officers, as well as various meeting rooms, lounges, and a music room. The nursery school was in the basement and the Hebrew school on the 3rd floor; and a scout annex occupied the garage behind the building. The purpose of the center was to foster Jewish culture and spiritual values as well as to organize and support programs that would enrich and guide all aspects of Jewish life.[120]

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115 Farrar and Yoken, "Historical Tour of Jewish New Bedford."

116 Barry David Hartman, "Your View: Remembering Rabbi Dr. Meshulem Zalman Hacohen Schachter-Shalomi," July 16, 2014, http://www.southcoasttoday.com/article/20140716/Opinion/407160360; http://www.colorado.edu/jewishstudies/researcharchives/post-holocaust-american-judaism-archive/rabbi-zalman-schachter-shalomi-collection. See also Paul Viello, "Zalman Schachter-Shalomi, Jewish Pioneer, Dies at 89," *New York Times*, 8 July 2014.

117 Rabbi Barry Hartman interview.

118 "Rabbi Ziskind to be Installed," *New Bedford Evening Standard*, 21 February 1930, transcribed version available in notebook compiled by Shirley Cohen, MC 107/CJC, CJC.

119 Tifereth Israel Congregation Records, 1923-2003, CJC/MC 26, CJC, http://lib.umassd.edu/sites/default/files/archives/findaids/MC26CJC.pdf.

120 Farrar and Yoken, "Historical Tour of Jewish New Bedford."

In 1966, the Tiferes Israel synagogue itself moved, in response to lack of parking, with downtown seeming increasingly unsafe, and with most of its congregants no longer living in downtown New Bedford.[121] They built a new building at the corner of Hawthorn Street and Brownell Avenue in the West End, and the synagogue was renamed Tifereth Israel. The name "Tiferes Israel" reflects the Ashkenazik pronunciation of the Eastern European founders of the synagogue; in 1966, the name became "Tifereth Israel" to reflect the Sephardi and Israeli pronunciation.[122] The Jewish Community Center was soon absorbed into this new location, and closed in 1972. Rabbi Ziskind retired in 1966 and was succeeded by Rabbi Theodore Gluck, who resigned in 1969 and was succeeded by Rabbi Bernard Glassman in 1970.

The economy for textiles changed in the postwar decades, and manufacturing moved to the U.S. South or out of the United States. Several interviewees described the impact of the flight of manufacturing from the city. Calvin Siegal and Rabbi Barry Hartman noted that beginning in the 1950s and 1960s, the Jewish community saw a "brain drain" as kids who went to college did not move back after graduating. Aaron Lansky believes that only two Jewish members of his high school class remained in New Bedford.[123] He noted, "The Jewish community rapidly moved out of the west end as they became more affluent"—"less segregated, more assimilated," he said. "Kids who went to college, especially after war, didn't move back. Companies closed. Scores of needle trades, shoe [manufactories] and small textile companies closed."[124] By the 1970s, as there was more integration and assimilation, the Jewish population spread to Fairhaven and Dartmouth. The original families stayed, but their kids did not.

Jewish Pastkeeping in New Bedford

The decline of the textile industry hit New Bedford hard. A 1959 article in the *New York Times* observed that the city again sought a lifeline in its proud whaling heritage: "When cotton began to be absorbed in a sea of synthetics, blight again hit the city and the second comeback has been slower. But even through the bright textile era, the weight

121 Aaron Lansky interview; see also Farrar and Yoken, "Historical Tour of Jewish New Bedford."

122 Cindy Yoken provided this explanation in an email to Laura Miller, 10 February 2014.

123 Aaron Lansky interview.

124 Ibid.

of tradition was with whaling."[125] In the second half of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, as the city adapted to this changing economy, New Bedford's Jewish community played a key role in the city's pastkeeping efforts.

Jewish interviewees who grew up in New Bedford in the mid-twentieth century recall being aware of the city's whaling history, even as most of them—with the exception of the descendants of Samuel Horvitz—did not have any special connection to it. Calvin Siegal recalled,

> I lived on the Round Street and at the time I must've been, I'm guessing nine years old. Up the street from me was living a man who was very reclusive, and he was rumored to be a whaling captain or at least an officer. He died, and there was a wake in his house, and he only had one leg, and the [neighborhood] kids walked through the line, to see a dead whaler, with only one leg, and then it was confirmed that he in fact had been on whaleships.[126]

He also said that he "vividly" remembered the Whaleman statue in front of library, which "impressed him" as a child. He did not recall whaling being a topic covered in school: "we just knew that whaling was very important to this community," he said. Aaron Lansky concurred: he also recalled seeing the whaleman statue as a child, observing, "It was pretty hard to escape [whaling's] presence. . . . It was how the city defined itself." But, he noted, the Jewish people "were also aware that it didn't exactly have anything to do with us." For Brenda Marder, the connection was personal in a way that it was not for most of New Bedford's Jewish residents: "in New Bedford, most of us had a sense that we were living in a very special city with a very special history. . . . we knew that we were children and grandchildren of whalers but what really kept us aware of it was the harbor, which was very active with fishing boats." The harbor itself was an artifact of whaling, which kept the memory of whaling alive in the city. "So there was a great feeling for New Bedford—an affection and a fascination for it." Marder recalled fondly the New Bedford wharf, where her father would take her on Sunday mornings, to stare at the fishing boats.[127]

Aaron Lansky observed that Jewish people's efforts to connect with the city's Yankee past could sometimes produce comical results. In his own family, he recalled

125 "Whaler's Port: New Bedford Cherishes Memory of Old Days," *New York Times*, 17 May 1959.

126 Calvin Siegal interview.

127 Brenda and Everett Marder interview.

that his father would get up at Thanksgiving every year, "and he would say—he could be a little bombastic—and he would say, 'We're here today to commemorate our pilgrim forefathers.' And we would all crack up: 'I thought your grandfather came from Bialystock!' [laughs]"[128] He also recalled the story of Velvy Finkel, a Jewish fish broker (a rarity in itself) who worked on the New Bedford docks. Finkel eventually gave up his business in the early 1970s and moved to Cape Cod, where he started a fish market called "Captain Bill's Fish Market":

> [Finkel] kind of like, made believe he had whaling roots . . . which was so ridiculous, this immigrant Jewish guy, the whole thing was so comical to us. And I remember we went down there once, and he had this—one of those fake harpoons, store-bought harpoons, hanging over the cash register. And I remember my father saying "Velvy, where'd you get the harpoon from?" He said, "I got such a thing going with these harpoons, and I hang one up here, and people walk in, the tourists say 'where did that come from?' I say, 'Oh that was from my grandfather, he used to work on one of the whaleships.' They'd say, 'Really? I'll buy it from you.'"

Finkel would say, "I'm sorry, that's a family treasure, that's not for sale." The tourists would keep offering more and more, until he'd finally "relent" and let them buy it: "I'd go down to the cellar, I'd pull another one out of the box, I'd hang it up, the goddamn thing hadn't stopped swinging and another tourist was in wanting to buy it."[129]

Comedy aside, the city's whaling history was inescapable. Many Jewish people who had grown up in New Bedford felt a strong sense of civic responsibility toward their hometown. Although very few had direct ties to the whaling industry, many nevertheless became major supporters of the Whaling Museum and other local historical and cultural institutions. Rabbi Barry Hartman noted that "The Jewish people in general historically are quite charitable people….not only to Jewish causes, but to other causes as well," and "have always tried to give back to the community."[130] People like Frances Levin and Calvin Siegal, whose families developed prosperous businesses in New Bedford in the 1920s and 1930s, sought to give back to New Bedford through civic work and public service.

Calvin Siegal became involved in the Whaling Museum in the mid-1960s, when he was asked to serve on the Museum's Board; he was likely one of the first Jewish people to

128 Aaron Lansky interview.

129 Ibid.

130 Rabbi Barry Hartman interview.

become actively involved with the Museum's administration.[131] He noted, "I don't recall any other Jewish person being on the board at that time, but I never felt any feeling of being segregated there, and I think others would be welcome."[132] He held various roles during his time on the Museum's board, serving on various committees (such as the Chair of the Museum Advisory Council), serving as treasurer, and when Executive Director Anne Brengle departed in 2008, Siegal served as interim director until James Russell came on board as President in September of that year.

Fran Levin recalled that she did not learn about the city's whaling history as a child in New Bedford public school, and she rarely went to the Museum as a child. "The Whaling Museum at that time was more of an elitist organization, and I don't think was very friendly to anybody"—"it was not inclusive, it was very exclusive." It was also focused on the Yankee community. She noticed a major change when Anne Brengle became Executive Director of the Museum in 1993. Brengle, who came to the Museum from her position as Executive Director of the Rotch-Jones-Duff House and Garden Museum, "was interested in making that institution inclusive." Under Brengle's leadership, the Museum acquired the Kendall Museum collection, opened the research library, and went through a significant renovation and expansion.[133] Levin became involved with the Museum through her friendship with historian Richard Kugler, who served as the Museum's Director, from 1967 to 1987. They became friendly because of their "mutual interest in art and art of this area," and he asked if she would join the Museum's board.[134] The first committee she became involved with (and also her main interest) was the Collections Committee; she served as the Committee's Chairperson for over 20 years. "Actually, becoming a member of the Committee and the Board was really an education for me," she said. She continued, "Certainly I did not bring too much knowledge about the history, that history, to the Board. So it was really a learning experience for me, and I really did love that." She focused on the "little things in a museum for the experience of people going to the museum"—it was important to her that

131 Siegal noted that in 1967, he and two others "negotiated an arrangement for Jewish families to become members of the Wamsutta Club." He continued, "In 1963 or 1964 I became with another man the [first] Jewish members of the Yacht Club." Calvin Siegal interview.

132 Calvin Siegal interview by Laura Miller.

133 "Whaling Museum Captain Setting Sail," 16 November 2007, http://www.southcoasttoday.com/article/20071116/News/711160334.

134 Levin could not recall exactly when she joined the Board, but it was sometime in the 1980s. Frances Levin interview.

"things were clear, labels were clear, the stories were clear, the collection was maintained and cared for. I think that was what I brought to the Museum."[135] Levin also oversaw the merging of the collections of the New Bedford Whaling Museum and the Kendall Whaling Museum. When Levin left the Museum's board in 2011, the Museum praised her decades of service to the institution, and noted that "one of Fran's most significant initiatives was to complete the Museum's art collection to include an example from each of the most nationally famous artists of the New Bedford area. She found in New York a painting by the only artist we were missing: Albert Pinkham Ryder, whose work is rarely found outside a museum."[136]

Other Jewish people with ties to New Bedford have also played key roles in supporting the Whaling Museum. Dr. Gilbert Shapiro, an orthopedic surgeon, became a Museum trustee in 1984, Chairman of the Nominating Committee from 1986-1987, Second Vice President in 1987, and in 1989, he was elected First-Vice President. He became President of the Museum in 1991.[137] Shapiro and his wife, Frima Shapiro, funded an exhibition space, the Dr. Gilbert and Frima Shapiro Gallery. Calvin Siegal described Dr. Shapiro as "very very active" in the museum.[138] Irwin M. Jacobs was born in New Bedford in 1933 and grew up on Mount Pleasant Street, graduating from New Bedford High School in 1950.[139] He completed his M.A. and Ph.D. in electrical engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and went on to co-found telecommunications company Qualcomm in 1985. In 2000, Jacobs gave the Museum a one million dollar gift; he "said he wanted to help improve the museum he fondly remembered from his childhood, with its proud whaling ship and intricately carved whale bones."[140]

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135 Frances Levin interview.

136 New Bedford Whaling Museum, *The Bulletin from Johnny Cake Hill*, Summer 2012, http://www.whalingmuseum.org/sites/default/files/pdf/NBWM%20Bulletin%20Summer%20'12%20WEB.pdf.

137 See http://www.whalingmuseum.org/press-room/new-bedford-whaling-museum-establish-dr-gilbert-and-frima-shapiro-gallery_2014-1216 and http://www.whalingmuseum.org/explore/exhibitions/dr-gilbert-and-frima-shapiro-gallery.

138 Calvin Siegal interview.

139 "A Whale of a Gift: Tech Tycoon Donates Million to Museum," *Standard-Times*, 1 April 2000, Scrapbook of Jewish New Bedford, CJC.

140 Judith Gaines, "Whaling Museum is Given $1M Gift," *Boston Globe*, 1 April 2000.

Beyond the New Bedford Whaling Museum, Jewish residents of New Bedford and its surrounding communities have worked to preserve their own history in the region. Cynthia ("Cindy") Yoken began documenting the history of the Jewish community through the Center for Jewish Culture at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth. Rabbi Bernard Glassman and Professor Robert Waxler launched the Center in 1979. Rabbi Glassman was spiritual leader of Tifereth Israel Synagogue from 1970 to 1995, and taught Jewish history in the History Department at UMass Dartmouth; Professor Waxler taught American Jewish Literature at the University. In 1981, volunteers Judy Barry and Barbara Kaplan began an oral history project for the Center that focused on the New Bedford and Fall River Jewish communities; the project was sparked by the success of Waxler's interview with Fisher Abramson that year. The interviews were integral to a 1982 celebration of and exhibit about Jewish life in Fall River and New Bedford, and the exhibit in turn helped spark the development of the Archives of the Center for Jewish Culture. In 2000, Cindy Yoken became co-director of the Center for Jewish Culture with Lew Dars. For six years, until 2006, they brought in several speakers for a lecture series, and remained closely involved in the work of the archives. Yoken took up the oral history program again in 2002.[141] In 2005, Yoken and UMass Dartmouth Archives & Special Collections Librarian Judy Farrar created a driving tour, "Historical Tour of Jewish New Bedford," to document and publicize the history of New Bedford's Jewish community. Yoken noted that in developing the tour, they knew they wanted to go "from the 18th century on," partly to acknowledge the New Bedford connection with Sephardic Jewish merchant Aaron Lopez.[142]

In May 1998, a Holocaust Memorial was erected on Rockdale Avenue in Buttonwood Park. The memorial was designed by University of Massachusetts Dartmouth art professor Peter London, and was the brainchild of Abraham Landau. Landau, born in Wilczyn, Poland in 1922, was a Holocaust survivor who was moved between fourteen concentration camps and labor camps before being liberated from Bergen Belsen in April 1945.[143] He met his future wife, Freida, at a United Nations

141 Information about the Archives of the Center for Jewish Culture and its Oral History Project can be found on the UMass Dartmouth Claire T. Carney University Library website. See http://lib.umassd.edu/archives/oral-history-projects and http://www.lib.umassd.edu/archives/center-jewish-culture-ohp.

142 Farrar and Yoken, "Historical Tour of Jewish New Bedford"; Cynthia Yoken, interview by Laura Miller and Marla Miller, 25 September 2013.

143 Landau's memoir was published in 2011. Abraham W. Landau, *Branded on My Arm and in My Soul: A Holocaust Memoir*, Joseph D. Thomas, Marsha L. McCabe, Jay Avila, eds. (New Bedford, MA: Spinner Publications, 2011).

Relief Association refugee camp; they were married in September 1946, and moved to New Bedford in 1950: "On his immigration papers Abe had identified his vocation as a 'presser'; the relocation committee, affiliated with the United Jewish Appeal, determined that he would fit well in New Bedford with its textile mills and garment factories."[144] Landau opened a tailor shop, which he operated for more than forty years.[145] The memorial was built with the donations and volunteer work of New Bedford citizens and organizations. It features a bronze hand and arm, as well as a list of concentration camps. The arm includes the serial number that was tattooed on Landau's arm during the Holocaust.[146]

Aaron Lansky, founder of the Yiddish Book Center in Amherst, Massachusetts, is another Jewish pastkeeper with roots in New Bedford. A local newspaper observed that as a young man at Tifereth Israel, he "was more attracted to the storytelling than the service — the old men in the back of the temple sharing schnapps and herring and raw onion. It was the start of Lansky's career in collecting stories, the Yiddish literature that was every day more forgotten." "As opposed to growing up in a place like Crown Heights of Long Island, Lansky knew he was a minority in New Bedford. He said it heightened his sense of identity. It was all part of being Jewish — the diasporic experience, the 'living on the outside' that the European Jews had experienced for thousands of years."[147] Lansky founded the Yiddish Book Center in 1980, when he was a 24-year-old student of Yiddish literature. "Lansky's own family history illustrates the subsequent decline of the Yiddish language. His maternal grandparents both spoke Yiddish. Only three of their eight children learned the language, and none of the grandchildren could speak it until Lansky began to study it in college."[148] His grandfather, Samuel Beiler, had "come from Austria-Hungary in his late teens. He had been an educated man who spoke six or seven languages, but in the new world he had been forced to work as a junkman to provide for

144 Marsha L. McCabe, "Epilogue: Landau the Tailor," in Landau, *Branded on My Arm and in My Soul*, 125.

145 See brief biography of Landau on the website of the Jewish Federation of Greater New Bedford, http://www.jewishnewbedford.org/Abraham%20Landau.pdf. Landau's papers are held at the UMass Dartmouth CJC. The finding aid (with additional biographical information) is available online: http://lib.umassd.edu/sites/default/files/archives/findaids/MC5CJC.pdf.

146 Farrar and Yoken, "Historical Tour of Jewish New Bedford"; http://www.newbedfordguide.com/murdered-but-never-forgotten-holocaust-memorial/2011/08/10.

147 "New Bedford native Aaron Lansky saving Yiddish one book at a time," *South Coast Today*, 3 May 2014.

148 Jean Caldwell, "Collecting a culture: He searches for gifts of Yiddish literature," *Boston Globe*, 22 March 1983.

his wife and family."[149] Lansky grew up with an appreciation for Jewish language and literature, interests that over time led to the founding of the Yiddish Book Center, his life's work and a contribution recognized with (among other things) a MacArthur Foundation "genius" fellowship. He recalled that he began studying Yiddish when he was 19 years old, and the experience was illuminating: "Suddenly an entire universe opened up to me. It was like discovering Atlantis, a lost continent, a treasure trove of Jewish tradition and culture, sensibility, wisdom, and passion, all locked up in this amazing modern literature."[150]

As Jewish residents—and former residents—of Greater New Bedford became more assimilated and established in the community, they increasingly engaged in these kinds of civic efforts. The once largely inward-looking community increasingly reached out to support the city's (and region's) historical institutions.

Conclusion

Jewish life in New Bedford and the surrounding towns has changed dramatically in recent decades. There is no longer a mikveh in New Bedford, and people can buy kosher food in the supermarket. Yet fewer Jewish families keep kosher today, "as their parents, grandparents and great-grandparents had done."[151]

The city's synagogues have seen a dramatic decline in membership. Rabbi Barry Hartman became Ahavath Achim's spiritual leader in 1979, and he held that position until the synagogue closed in December 2010. Declining membership and a lack of funds were to blame. Rabbi Hartman told the *Standard-Times* newspaper, "Money's always been a problem for many years here. We've always struggled along."[152] Hartman then reorganized the congregation as the Orthodox Chavurah Minyan of New Bedford.[153] Cindy Yoken noted that the Tifereth Israel synagogue is now about half the size it reached at its peak, from 600 families in the mid-1960s and 1970s to around 350 in 2013. In 2013

149 Ibid.

150 Quoted in the brief biography of Lansky on the Yiddish Book Center website. http://www.yiddishbookcenter.org/aaron-lansky-founder-and-president.

151 Rabbi Barry Hartman interview.

152 "New Bedford synagogue's closing to leave 'a tremendous hole,'" 20 October 2010, http://www.southcoasttoday.com/article/20101020/NEWS/10200342.

153 Klein and Schwartz, "Laying the Foundation," 14.

there were about 40 kids in the Hebrew schools, and more than half were from interfaith families.[154] This reflects broader trends in American Jewish life in the final decades of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first—many American Jews identified as Jewish but chose not to practice Judaism, some intermarried, and Jewish education for children declined dramatically. As Hasia Diner argues, "Jewish women and men sought ways to manifest Jewish culture as it made sense to them, although many of their journeys took them outside organized communities, the established congregations, the historic denominations, or even normative practice."[155] The same was true in New Bedford.

There has also been a growing tolerance and acceptance of Jewish people. Particularly stubborn barriers to Jewish acceptance and assimilation in New Bedford began falling in the early 1960s. Cal Siegal recalled that "In 1963 or 1964 I became with another man the [first] Jewish members of the Yacht Club," and in 1967, he and two others "negotiated an arrangement for Jewish families to become members of the Wamsutta Club."[156] The private social club, founded in 1866 (and at its present location, 427 County Street, since 1919), was known to exclude Jewish people from membership. In a sign of how greatly things had changed by 2013, following Ahavath Achim's closing in 2010, Rabbi Hartman held services for high holidays (Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur) in the Wamsutta Club. The location of the services at the Club that year "is interesting," Cindy Yoken observed, "because the Wamsutta Club years ago would never take Jews. The same thing with New Bedford Country Club; if you were Jewish you couldn't get in there and now probably half their membership is Jewish."[157] Fran Levin similarly observed that New Bedford is much more accepting of all minorities today than the New Bedford of her childhood.[158]

Just as the Jewish community became increasingly integrated into the fabric of the community, the memory of whaling, too, has become increasingly integrated. As Jamie Lynn Jones has written, in the 1920s "rosy nostalgia was the dominant mode in which the history of American whaling was registered by historians and casual observers

154 Cynthia Yoken interview.

155 Diner, *Jews of the United States,* 315.

156 Calvin Siegal interview.

157 Cynthia Yoken interview.

158 Frances Levin interview.

alike. Just as Col. Green promised in his dedication of the *Charles W. Morgan*, the public custodians of American whaling 'made history': they made the history of whaling to shape their dreams of the past."[159] The result was an exclusionary narrative of the city's whaling history. In more recent decades, however, this trend has reversed. The city's historical institutions have reached out to thicken ties with other ethnic groups that have had a role in the city's whaling heritage, or just want to participate in celebrating it. The shift is exemplified by Jewish participation in the eighth annual "Moby-Dick Marathon" at the New Bedford Whaling Museum, in 2004.[160] That year, the marathon reading of Melville's novel included a reading in Hebrew by Tifereth Israel Synagogue Rabbi Raphael J. Kanter, followed by the same passage read in English by Gordon H. Wolfe, a Tifereth Israel congregant and member of the Whaling Museum Leadership Council. Wolfe told the *Standard-Times* that "Catholics, Protestants, Jews and Muslims are part of the same community, and we can all participate in this wonderful experience."[161] ■

159 Jones, "American Whaling in Culture and Memory," 152-153.

160 In 2015, the list of languages includes "Portuguese, Japanese, Italian, Danish, Spanish, Hebrew, Russian and/or French, followed by that same passage in English. One passage is read from Braille." See http://www.whalingmuseum.org/programs/moby-dick-marathon.

161 "Rabbi to read 'Moby-Dick' in Hebrew," New Bedford *Standard-Times*, 3 January 2004, Scrapbook of Jewish New Bedford, CJC.



Photo D: The Whaleman statue remains an active place in the city's public life. This March 2014 image captures an instance when New Bedford Art Museum/ArtWorks! and the fiber students of UMass Dartmouth invited participants to contribute to a festive series of "yarnbombings" (also known as guerrilla knitting, urban knitting, graffiti knitting or fiber graffiti) in which public objects or buildings are covered with knitted or crocheted materials, or simply yarn itself, to transform it temporarily into a work of public art. Photo credit: Laura A. Miller.

Chapter Six:
Conclusions and Recommendations

"In American history," writes Nancy Shoemaker, "whaling has undeservedly been relegated to a quaint past beloved by antiquarians but studied by few scholars. Museums of the highest caliber—the New Bedford Whaling Museum, Mystic Seaport, Nantucket Historical Association—keep the memory alive as do the remnant New England Mansions turned bed-and-breakfast, whaling themed cafes and shops, and sperm-whale-shaped weather vanes visible along the southern New England coastline."[1] She continues: "for many Americans today, whaling evokes a folkloric portrait of the whaleman as a kind of cowboy at sea, an American innocent spinning yarns and singing sea shanties, who with daring and grit risked his life to chase down the world's largest mammals, all for little or no pecuniary reward."[2]

But "this sense of whaling as archaic and ephemeral," she correctly points out, "obscures whaling's significance to the U.S. political economy and to Americans' relationships within an increasingly interconnected world." This study joins others working to recover the historical significance of whaling, to New Bedford and the nation, and to restore to view the contributions of two very different diasporic communities to that larger story. Our objective has been to narrate the trajectories of these groups – Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, and the Jewish Community – as they came to New Bedford, and to the city's whaling industry.

We also aimed to help New Bedford's present-day pastkeepers begin to contemplate how whaling's collective memory in the city took the particular shape that it did—the history bodied forth in the city's memorial landscape and museum collections, and the narratives lost as choices about preservation and demolition altered the tangible traces of the past available to later generations. As Kingston Wm. Heath notes,

> In choosing to commemorate the early whaling development of New Bedford to which the prominent families belonged, these same individuals conspired to construct an identity that denied the very reality of an evolving industrial landscape that they also helped to create. . . . This narrative has become, in

1 Shoemaker, *Native American Whalemen*, 14. Tammy S. Gordon reminds us that commercial spaces are as influential in shaping and reflecting collective memory in *Private History in Public: Exhibition and Settings of Everyday Life* (Lanham, MD: Alta Mira Press, 2010).

2 Shoemaker, *Native American Whalemen*, 14

> large part, the 'official' history. New Bedford does have a notable whaling heritage. What generally has been ignored in both historical and architectural accounts of the city, however, is life behind the 'scrim': the veiled existence of immigrants screened either by factory smoke or the fine woven fabrics for which the city is also famous. These players in the city's cultural landscape are faceless and nameless in the official history.[3]

Chapters Four and Five have suggested a series of moments in the evolution of the city's sense of its own past, catalysts in the formation of this collective, "official" memory.

But public memory constantly evolves, and is never as static as statues and other memorial gestures suggest. In New Bedford, even as one kind of public memory of whaling – its most formal iteration – took shape in the hands of civic leaders like Howland and Crapo, another kind of public memory endured. As Glenn Grasso observes, "the Maritime Revival started with the historical memories and symbols that an elite group considered important. But Americans already familiar with ubiquitous maritime experiences ultimately made these symbols their own."[4] As Carl Herzog and others of our interviewees noted, although the *formal* memory of whaling for public consumption was relatively homogeneous and simplified (for much of the twentieth century), it was not necessarily representative of the memory of whaling among everyday New Bedford residents. On the ground, longtime New Bedford residents have consistently acknowledged and understood the industry's diversity and complexity.

In addition to the finding presented in the foregoing pages, our work suggests an array of recommendations. Our effort to understand the work of "Kanaka" whalemen and the greater Hawaiian diaspora revealed the extent to which Hawaiian workers, maritime and otherwise, populated other places in the United States, and especially the American West. New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park could develop and strengthen ties with other National Park Service sites that interpret the histories of Native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders; collaborating with sites in the region like Salem Maritime National Historic Site might prove advantageous for both sites, while working with Fort Vancouver NHS (which has developed a series of innovative mobile apps and other means to interpret the story of native Hawai'ians at the site) and other NPS sites throughout the Pacific, particularly Kaloko-Honokohau NHP and Pu`ukohola Heiau NHS, could also help NPS explore and deepen ways in which interpretive themes

3 Heath, *The Patina of Place*, 56.

4 Grasso, "Maritime Revival," 9.

link together very different sites. The discovery herein regarding the New Zealand histories contained in The Whaleman statue on the grounds of the Free Public Library could prove a useful launching point for new discussions about a range of topics, from colonial expansion in the Pacific to race and maritime memory. On a related topic, the park should consider tackling the history of indigenous Alaskans as they relate to New Bedford whaling; their story will be not unlike those of the Pacific Islanders in that it only tangentially touches on the city itself, but is another place where the history of New Bedford whaling intersects with indigenous people around the globe.

We benefited greatly from research undertaken by the UMass Dartmouth Center for Jewish Culture, and urge the NPS to continue partnering with that organization as it works to document and interpret the history of Jewish New Bedford. Many of our interviews included or made reference to aging members of the Jewish community, and of course oral history initiatives in general tend to prioritize the oldest and often most at-risk subjects. But additional interviewing with younger members of the Jewish community—particularly the generation now in its 50s and 60s—should be undertaken to further document this fascinating history, with particular attention to the wrenching changes the city experienced in the mid twentieth century, from civil unrest and civil rights to urban renewal. We also recommend that the park continue to reach out to Jewish residents of New Bedford, who have contributed greatly—in both time and resources—to the region's historic institutions, and to its civic life more broadly.

Our study has shown the ways in which the early twentieth-century foundations of the city's whaling heritage were laid by men whose fortunes depended on the health of the textile industry, and on the labor of immigrant women and men. These industrialists and their peers embraced a history of American economic success grounded in the efforts of free white entrepreneurial men. It cannot be coincidental that this preferred narrative emerged as the city battled labor unrest, much of it associated with burgeoning immigrant communities. Our account herein suggests that lines can be drawn from the textile workers strikes of 1898 and the efforts to preserve whaling heritage of a certain sort; this subject would merit further study, as does its successor strike thirty years later, when Mayor Charles Ashley called out the National Guard to restore order. Heath argues, "the elite culture of the city has assembled a public identity that seemingly speaks of shared experiences and common goals that affirm a cohesive public culture, devoid of economic inequalities and political conflicts."[5] What relationships might be identified between

5 Heath, *The Patina of Place*, 57.

elite efforts to marginalize men of color from heroic images of Yankee whalers and claims being made by the city's immigrants on their own access to the American dream?[6]

Should the museum wish to deepen its understanding of pastkeeping in the city, one subject that would merit particular attention is the degree of intermingling between the New Bedford Whaling Museum, the Nantucket Whaling Museum, and Mystic Seaport. Historian Seth Bruggeman, noting the steady professional traffic between sites documented in meeting minutes and annual reports, proposes that we can think of these places as "a constellation of museums distinguished by considerable interpretive cross-pollination."[7] To what extent were the relationships collaborative, and to what extent competitive, and even adversarial? How have these relationships changed over time? Understanding New Bedford's role in the construction of regional whaling heritage would be helpful not only to NPS staff but to pastkeepers in New Bedford more generally--another community that could be examined ethnographically, as Cathy Stanton has shown in *The Lowell Experiment*.[8]

In the initial vision for this project, the park hoped to undertake documentation of the French Canadian community and its associations with whaling. Our early research revealed that substantial research on that topic has already been undertaken by Dr. Alfred H. Saulniers, who presented his findings to the 37th Whaling Symposium (October 2013) at the New Bedford Whaling Museum in the paper "Franco-Americans in the New Bedford Whale Fishery, 1790-1914."[9] In his talk, Saulniers – who also invoked the work that Paul Cyr, the New Bedford Free Public Library's Head of Special Collections, has done on this subject – asserted that his research aimed to counter conventional wisdom that Franco Americans "did not go whaling." Tracking the history of whaling voyages from France (some on ships owned by Americans), he estimated that at least 600 Franco Americans worked on whaleships, some over extended periods and some only briefly, while others worked in ancillary trades. He also observed evidence of French influence on New Bedford culture, citing for instance Charles Cottu, who in the 1830s was a confectioner on Purchase Street who also sold marine shells and curios. Noting issues with naming not dissimilar from those we encountered with Pacific Islanders (from

6 We thank Seth Bruggeman for raising this question; Seth Bruggeman to authors, 8 July 2015.

7 Ibid.

8 Stanton, *The Lowell Experiment*.

9 The 2013 Whaling History Symposium schedule is available online; see http://www.whalingmuseum.org/programs/whaling-history-symposium-2013.

men named, for simplicity's sake, "Canada," to the Anglicization of French names, to the tendency to go by middle names), Saulniers posited that Franco Americans involved in whaling can be hidden in plain sight, requiring expertise and experience to uncover. We recommend that the park connect with Dr. Saulniers to move toward their aim of expanding engagement with New Bedford's sizeable French Canadian community.

While this ethnographic approach is of course valuable, organizing research by ethnicity can have the effect of decentering a more encompassing understanding of gender and whaling as well as whaling heritage. Given the rich scholarship that has explored topics related to Yankee women and whaling (including work by Margaret Creighton, Lisa Norling, Joan Druett and others) New Bedford Whaling NHP should consider funding a separate study on the role of women in the work of whaling--in shoreside industries, as the wives of whaling captains and other mariners, as consumers of the products of whaling, and in other roles.[10] Focusing attention on the particular ways that women in the various ethnic communities already documented contributed to whaling enterprises would surely yield fresh insight into the industry's heritage. At the same time, focused attention on the role of women in the preservation of the city's whaling heritage would join important scholarship exploring gender in nineteenth and twentieth-century pastkeeping, and in particular, feminine impulses among families of privilege to advance masculine histories of whaling.

Finally, we hope this report will enable the park to address the relative absence of Pacific Islanders in maritime memory by engaging their visitors in conversations about how memory gets both made, unmade, and remade over time. In keeping with the recommendations made in the study *Imperiled Promise: The State of History in the National Park Service*, New Bedford Whaling NHP could lead the way in some really innovative program that explores not only the history of maritime heritage in New Bedford and coastal New England, but also the role the NPS itself plays in the construction of collective memory.[11] The city's remarkably rich documentary record of the whaling industry and its distinctive maritime heritage landscape, together offer a prime opportunity to begin these conversations in earnest. ■

10 See, e.g. Margaret Creighton and Lisa Norling, eds. *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World 1700-1920* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996) and Joan Druett, *Petticoat Whalers: Whaling Wives at Sea 1820-1920* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2001).

11 Anne Whisnant, Marla R. Miller et al, *Imperiled Promise: The State of History in the National Park Service* (Bloomington, IN: Organization of American Historians, 2011).



Photo E: Abram Miller in his store in the public market at 876 South Water Street, 1910. Courtesy of the Archives of the Center for Jewish Culture, Claire T. Carney Library Archives and Special Collections, UMass Dartmouth.

Appendix A: Project Documents

Task Agreement P12AC10828
Cooperative Agreement Number H4503090700
between
United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service, Northeast Region
and the
University of Massachusetts Amherst

PROJECT TITLE:
Ethnohistory of Ethnic Whalemen and their Communities in the New Bedford Area

CFDA Number:
15.945, Cooperative Research and Training Programs – Resources of the National Park System (CESU)

THE TASK AGREEMENT IS AS FOLLOWS:

Article 1 – Background and Objectives

Cooperative Agreement Number H4503090700 dated June 19, 2009, was entered into by and between the Department of the Interior, National Park Service (NPS), Northeast Region and the University of Massachusetts Amherst. The purpose of this cooperative agreement is to support coastal national parks in the Northeast Region of the National Park Service, and Servicewide, by providing research, technical assistance, and education through the cooperative relationship with partners of the North Atlantic Coast Cooperative Ecosystem Studies Unit (CESU), including University of Massachusetts Amherst. Unless otherwise specified herein, the terms and conditions as stated in the Cooperative Agreement will apply to this Task Agreement.

This Task Agreement will provide support for a principal investigator and doctoral researchers at the University of Massachusetts Amherst (UMass) to work on a project entitled "Ethnohistory of Ethnic Whalemen and their Communities in the New Bedford Area." This research project will document the historical participation of ethnic groups in the New Bedford whaling industry and describe the continuing association and identity of these groups with New Bedford and its whaling history. Through ethnographic and oral history interviews, archival and genealogical research, examination of crew lists and other data sources, and the use of a database provided by the NPS, the study will provide comprehensive information about ethnic peoples historically involved in the whaling industry and their descendant communities in New Bedford today. Materials and data collected will potentially serve as the basis for a park website on the subject. The final phase of the project will include a community meeting.

The development of an accessible and user-friendly database based on the NPS database developed in an earlier project and used in this study will be considered within the scope of this Task Agreement.

Article II – Statement of Work

A. The University of Massachusetts Amherst agrees to implement the attached study proposal/work plan (ATTACHMENT A).

B. The NPS agrees to the tasks presented in ATTACHMENT B.

Article III – Term of Agreement

The Task Agreement will become effective on the date of final signature and extend through January 30, 2015.

Article IV – Key Officials/Key Personnel

The Key Officials specified below are considered to be essential to ensure maximum coordination and communication between the parties and the work being performed hereunder. Either party, on notice to the other party, may designate another person or persons to act in his/her place for point of contact positions that do not require specific designation.

The NPS Agreements Technical Representative (ATR) will be designated in writing by the contracting officer. Authorities and limitations of authority will be explained in the designation letter.

The recipient may change its Key Officials by notifying the NPS contracting officer in writing. The recipient will address any communication regarding this Agreement to the NPS ATR.

A. For the NPS:

Technical

Charles W. Smythe – Agreements Technical Representative (ATR)
Ethnography Program Manager, Northeast Region
National Park Service
15 State Street
Boston, MA 02109
617-223-5014
chuck_smythe@nps.gov

Jennifer Nersesian, Superintendent
New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park
33 William Street
New Bedford, MA 02740
508-996-4095 x 6104
jen_nersesian@nps.gov

Administrative/Signatory
National Park Service
Northeast Region Agreements/Contracting Official
200 Chestnut St. – 3rd Fl
Philadelphia, PA 19106
215-597- 6476

B. For the University of Massachusetts Amherst:

Technical
Dr. Marla Miller – Principal Investigator
Department of History
University of Massachusetts Amherst
616 Herter Hall
161 Presidents Drive
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, MA 01003-9312
413-545-6791
mmiller@history.umass.edu

Administrative/Signatory
Carol Sprague, Director
Office of Grants and Contract Administration
University of Massachusetts Amherst
70 Butterfield Terrace
Amherst, MA 01003
413-545-0698
sprague@research.umass.edu

Article V – Award and Payment

A. NPS approved projects will be awarded pursuant to this clause. The recipient will submit completed forms prior to any Task Agreement awards:
   1. SF-424, Request for Federal Financial Assistance
   2. SF-424A, Budget Information, Non-construction Programs
   3. SF-424B, Assurances, Non-construction Programs
   4. Budget detail, showing itemized breakdowns

   Budget Information from the SF-424A will be summarized in each Task Agreement.

B. NPS will provide funding to the University of Massachusetts Amherst an amount not to exceed $68,991.30 in FY 2012 for work described in Attachment A. This Task Agreement may be modified to provide additional funding in FY2013.

Appropriation Data: The chargeable appropriation for this Task Agreement is:

$ $68,991.30 1842 1250 CCE (FY2012 funds)

C. Payment under individual Task Agreements will be made no more frequently than monthly and will be paid by electronic funds transfer directly into the recipient's account located at the financial institution as designated in the Central Contractor Register. The preferred payment frequency is quarterly. The submission of quarterly requests should be timed to coincide with quarterly submission of SF-425 Federal Financial Reports (FFR).

D. The recipient must submit Standard Form 270 (SF-270), "Request for Advance or Reimbursement," for payment, in signed original to the Contracting Officer with a copy to the ATR.

Each SF-270 furnished will be addressed to:

Contracting Officer/Invoice Coordinator
National Park Service
Northeast Region
200 Chestnut Street, 3rd floor
Philadelphia, PA 19106

Inquiries concerning status of payment requests can be made via e-mail to:

ner_agree_pay@nps.gov.

E. Nothing contained in this Agreement will be construed as binding the NPS to expend in any one fiscal year any sum in excess of the appropriation made by Congress for purposes of this Agreement in that fiscal year.

ARTICLE VI – REPORTS, RECORDS AND DELIVERABLES:

A. **Where to Submit** – In accordance with 43 CFR Part 12, the recipient will submit reports to the NPS Contracting Officer at the address specified in Article IV. The recipient will also submit a copy of each report to the ATR at the address specified in Article IV.

B: **What and When to Submit** – The recipient will submit to the NPS the following reports at the specified times:

1. Federal Financial Report (FFR), SF425, submitted quarterly, no more than 30 days after the end of the reporting period. The following reporting period end dates will be used for quarterly reports: 3/31, 6/30, 9/30 or 12/31. Upon completion of the project a final FFR will be submitted no more than 90 days after the final project end date.

FFR reports will be submitted for each task agreement that is active for any period of time within the quarterly report period.

2. **Written Progress Reports** - Written progress reports will be submitted, beginning 6 months after the effective date of this Agreement and every 6 months thereafter. Each progress report will include:
   (a) A summary of overall progress on the work plan;
   (b) Any problems or favorable or unfavorable developments;
   (c) Other information pertinent to this Agreement.

C: **Specific Deliverables** -- Final project report, special media, etc. that may be expected as deliverables are listed here.
   (a) Interim and Technical Reports as specified in Attachment A;
   (b) Copies of historic photos generated by project;
   (c) Copies of field notes and photographs created in the course of the project;
   (d) Copies of peer-reviewed or popular articles that are written in the course of the project.

Article VII – Attachments

The following documents are attached and made a part of this Task Agreement:

A. The University of Massachusetts Amherst's proposal entitled "Ethnohistory of Ethnic Whalemen and Their Communities in the New Bedford Area"
B. Tasks that the National Park Service agrees to perform.

Article VIII – Signatures

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have executed this Task Agreement on the date(s) set forth below.

FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF Massachusetts Amherst

_____ _____
Director, Office of Grants and Contract Administration Date

FOR THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

_____ _____
Northeast Region Agreements Specialist Date

To: Janine da Silva
Frank Barrows
Jim Kendrick
Bob Page

From: Marla Miller and Laura Miller

Re: Modification to Task Agreement P12AC10828

Cooperative Agreement Number H4503090700 between United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, Northeast Region and the University of Massachusetts, Amherst

PROJECT TITLE: Ethnohistory of Ethnic Whalemen and their Communities in the New Bedford Area

CFDA Number: 15.945, Cooperative Research and Training Programs – Resources of the National Park System (CESU)

Date: 9 April 2014

This memo recaps a discussion on March 13, 2014 with Jan da Silva, Frank Barrows and Michelle Spink regarding the modification of the plan of work described in our task agreement.

The original plan of work for this project included the documentation of three communities and their connections to the city's whaling history: the Jewish, Kanaka, and French Canadian communities. Work has proceeded smoothly on the first two, and we are on or ahead of schedule on both sections of the study.

However, over the course of the work to date, we became increasingly aware of the depth and extent of research already undertaken on the French Canadian community by Al Saulniers. In particular, after attending Mr. Saulniers' presentation on the participation of New Bedford's French Canadian community in the whaling industry at the New Bedford Whaling Museum's November 2013 symposium, we realized that he has already invested considerable time and effort in researching and writing about the subject. It has therefore become clear to us that there is no viable way for us to proceed on that topic. Given the work Mr. Saulniers has already completed, which he intends to publish, it would be unethical for us to ask him to share his research with us and then write it up for our own purposes, and no less problematic to try to duplicate his research process. More importantly for the purposes of New Bedford Whaling National Historic Site, anything that has the appearance of appropriating the work of a scholar of and about the French Canadian community would be detrimental to the park's long-term relationship with that community.

We propose modifying the task agreement. In place of the planned discussion of French Canadians

and whaling, we propose drafting a discussion of the history of the collective memory of whaling in New Bedford. How did the story of Yankee whaling become the dominant story of whaling in New Bedford, despite the very diverse world that characterized nineteenth-century whaling? How did narratives of Pacific Islanders, Native-Americans, African Americans and others get lost as the focus increasingly centered around Yankee whalemen? Who were the agents of this change, and how did they do it? This section will discuss important moments in the development of the memory of whaling, including the 1913 Whaleman statue, the Whalemen's Club, and Whaling Enshrined, Inc.

Note that this proposal will involve additional oral history interviews with people who can shed light and/or comment on this additional story. In the end, we will interview approximately ten people associated with the Jewish community; since there are no interviews to be conducted associated with the Kanaka (which left no descendent community), we will complete ten interviews on the subject of the history of the collective memory of whaling, which will allow us to add some new interview subjects to the total.

The initial response at the March 13 was quite positive; we look forward to confirming that this proposal is acceptable to the NPS, and making whatever modifications are necessary to the initial task agreement to reflect this adjustment.

INTERVIEW AGREEMENT FOR
Ethnohistory of Ethnic Whalemen and their Communities in the New Bedford Area

This agreement is entered into by _____, interviewee, and the National Park Service. Both parties enter into this agreement in order to facilitate the future use of the oral history interview conducted on this date, _____, for research, historical, and educational purposes.

The National Park Service conducts oral history interviews as part of its research, education, and interpretive programs. Audio and/or video recordings and transcripts resulting from interviews conducted for the National Park Service become part of its museum and archival collections and are housed at the most appropriate repositories. They will be made available for National Park Service uses and may be made available to members of the public. Typical uses may include publications, audio/video recording in all existing and future media, interpretive talks, public exhibits, Web sites, online venues, and other media deemed appropriate.

Interviewee:

1. Consents to voluntarily participate in this interview as provided by this agreement.
2. Authorizes the National Park Service to record, transcribe, and edit the interview, and to use and re-use the interview recording and transcript in whole or in part.
3. Understands that the National Park Service shall have no obligation to use the interview and has no expectation of financial compensation for participation in this project.
4. Agrees to give and assign all rights, title, and interest, including copyright, of whatever kind from this information and interview to the National Park Service.

Date of interview: _____

_____	_____
Full Name of Interviewee (print)	Full Name of Interviewer (print)
_____	_____
Signature	Signature
_____	_____
Address	Address
_____	_____
Address	Address
_____	_____
City, State Zip	City, State Zip
_____	_____
Date	Date

Appendix B: List of Interviews

Rabbi Barry Hartman (with Laura Miller and Marla Miller), 15 January 2014

Carl Herzog (with Laura Miller), 4 June 2015

Aaron Lansky (with Marla Miller), 6 April 2015

Frances Levin (with Laura Miller), 27 February 2014

Morgan Levine (with Laura Miller), 21 November 2013

Brenda and Everett Marder (with Laura Miller), 4 March 2014

Judy Roderiques and Lucy Bly (with Laura Miller), 15 January 2014

Harris Sederholm (with Laura Miller), 20 November 2013

Madelyn Shaw (with Laura Miller), 21 May 2015

Calvin Siegal (with Laura Miller), 19 November 2013

Louis Silverstein (with Laura Miller), 22 November 2013

Cindy Yoken (with Laura Miller and Marla Miller), 25 September 2013

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

Ethnography Program
Northeast Region

New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park
33 William St, New Bedford, MA 02740
Phone: 508-996-4095
Web: www.nps.gov/nebe