

# Ship's Boys: Child Labor and New London's Whaling Industry

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## Abstract

In the early nineteenth century, southern New England was undergoing tremendous change. Soil depletion, out-migration, industrialization, and immigration all caused considerable anxiety. The sense of community gave way to individualism; the pace of life quickened, and old relationships deteriorated. Additionally, wars, economic panics and depressions that lasted from 1836-1844 caused people to fear for their futures.

What could young boys expect from this new society and economy? They knew that they had to work or go to school. For most education was costly in both time and money. Then there were the new factory towns such as Jewett City, Willimantic, and Putnam that offered unskilled jobs in the cotton and woolen mills. Or a boy could seek work as a hired hand. For many these alternatives were unacceptable, and they began to look to the sea for work.

The "golden age" of whaling occurred during this period as well. New Bedford, Nantucket, and Provincetown Massachusetts as well as New London and the surrounding communities of Stonington and Groton, Connecticut offered employment to men and boys looking for work. For many, seafaring appeared glamorous, romantic, exciting, and even a bit dangerous. All of these qualities far overshadowed a future in a mill or working on a farm. And the whaling industry needed hands.

Whaling had a tainted reputation, and seasoned seamen avoided such work. In 1841 the Hartford Courant noted that about one half of the men who joined whaling crews were green hands and called them troublesome material. (Hartford Courant, June 1841) Agents advertised for seamen, sent runners to factory towns to recruit hands, and enticed many young men and boys to go to New London. Boys as young as eight or nine joined the labor pool looking for work in New London. Many were hired on as ship's boys; they were usually the youngest, least experienced and vulnerable members of the crew. Their lives, treatment, experience at sea and later in life deserve scholarly attention. The rich database available through Mystic Seaport provided information on about 300 such boys who shipped out of New London between 1800 and 1860. Federal and state population schedules, town vital statistics, and newspapers among other sources provided additional information on about one-half of these ship's boys. Most were between thirteen and fourteen years of age; they were local boys from New England and nearby Pennsylvania and New York. About 12 percent were from the Caribbean Islands, Hawaii, or of mixed ethnic and racial backgrounds. While some found their calling, others regretted their decision to go to sea. One boy wrote: "I am with my sailor clothes on in a dirty steerage, and if ever I get home alive, I shall know enough to stay there. . . ." (Mystic Seaport, Journal of James Benedict)....

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Legend contends that sixteen-year-old Samuel Colt went to sea on board the ship, *Corvo*, out of New London around 1830. Like many boys his age, he wanted to experience the mariner's life; while at sea, he allegedly developed his ideas regarding a revolving pistol. This tale, however, is somewhat misleading. The first listing of the vessel, *Corvo*, sailing from New London occurred in 1836, not 1830, and there were no Colts listed among the passengers or crew.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps young Colt was fortunate not to be on that ship. For many young boys and adolescents, life at sea was not glamorous. Their spirit of adventure was often crushed by the reality of sea life: cramped quarters, severe discipline, poor quality or insufficient food, little or no pay. Yet what were the alternatives for many New England boys in the nineteenth century, especially those that were part of the underclass, those near or below the poverty level, or those whose families could not guarantee them an education, land or even a home? Perhaps they could become farm hands, day laborers, move west, or go to work in one of the new textile factories.

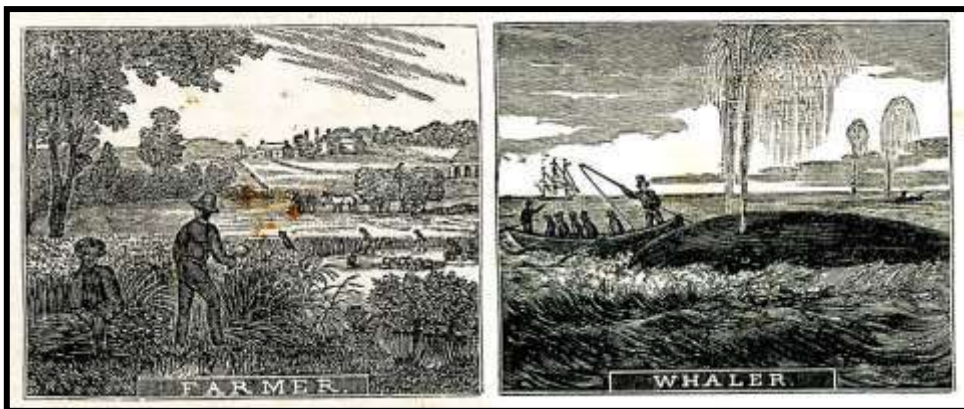


Figure 1 Images from *The Panorama of Professions and Trades*, published in Phila. in 1836.

Such work, however, did not appeal to everyone. For those who rejected both farm work and factory labor, there were other alternatives including seafaring. This proved irresistible to many youths and adolescents. Herman Melville, James F. Cooper, and Owen Chase, among other writers, detailed the experience of men and boys at sea often describing their experience as glamorous, adventurous, perilous and even heroic.<sup>2</sup> Even domestic writers such as Connecticut author, Lydia Sigourney, described the lure of a mariner's life.

My father bade me learn a trade  
Or till the fallow land,

And told how healthful toil would heap  
The silver in my hand;  
But at his death, alas! I broke  
From all allegiance free,  
And though my widowed mother wept,  
I left her for the sea.<sup>3</sup>

Farm boys, factory hands, street kids, and town laborers eagerly sought work in the Navy, the merchant marine, fisheries, and on whaling vessels. Each industry, however, had its own attractions and drawbacks. The whaling industry, especially, had a stained reputation, and recruiting efforts often centered on green hands, boys and men who as one agent noted were not “infrequently some combination of penniless, delinquent, or drunk.”<sup>4</sup> Others were described as “that walking embodiment Rag-fair - ‘patch upon patch, and a patch overall.’”<sup>5</sup> Wearing cast off clothing found at a street market, they presented a pitiful figure. They appeared as “exemplars of vice and deviance.”<sup>6</sup> The *Hartford Courant* observed that in 1841 approximately one-half of those who shipped out on whaling vessels were green hands or as frequently stated, “troublesome materials.”<sup>7</sup>

Among these “troublesome” hands were ship’s boys, the youngest and most vulnerable members of a whaling crew. Boys as young as eight or nine years of age went to sea for two, three or even four years at a time; they were constantly at the beck and call of sailors and officers, and they performed the most tedious jobs. Richard Henry Dana noted that “if decks are to be cleared up or swept, rigging to be coiled up, a man is to be helped in his job, or any duty to be done aloft or about decks which does not require the strength or skill of a seaman, a boy is always expected to start first and do it, though not called upon by name.”<sup>8</sup> One boy who shipped out on the *Romulus* in 1851 was told to keep the pantry clean, to set the table three times a day, and to scrub the steerage floor.<sup>9</sup> Those who failed to perform their tasks, or who did not respond quickly enough to the seaman’s calls, faced immediate chastisement ranging from verbal harassment to beatings. One young boy who burned the captain’s dinner, for example, was tied to a rail and beaten. Captains often insisted that such punishments were necessary to instill discipline, order, and compliance with commands.<sup>10</sup>

Little research has been done on ship’s boys, their experience at sea or their lives thereafter. Except for the shipmaster’s family and friends, seafaring usually did not provide an avenue for upward mobility nor a lifetime occupation. Using the rich digital database available through Mystic Seaport, the federal and state population census materials, Civil War military and service records, vital statistics, newspapers, and local town documents among other sources, the lives of almost three hundred boys who

shipped out of the New London area between 1800 and 1860 were examined. Of these children, 123 left evidence about their lives during and after their seafaring days. A quick summary of their characteristics suggests that most were fourteen years of age, but there were some lads as young as eight years old. About 12 percent were African Americans, South Sea Islanders or boys from the Caribbean. While hands from Europe, Scotland and England joined the crews, most were Americans from the Groton, Norwich, and the New London area. They were the sons and nephews of local farmers, laborers, clerks, merchants, and seamen.<sup>11</sup>

While economic conditions often forced boys to go to sea, their fate was also tied to the emerging disciplinary society in nineteenth-century America that demanded hard work of everyone no matter their age. Society labeled the poor and vagrant as troublesome and dangerous to social order; communities and states developed institutions from the asylum to the prison to the almshouse to confine these marginal people. Ships too proved to be a means for social separation, sequestration, and a source of discipline for many New England poor and working-class boys. They were removed from public spaces and placed in an environment that stressed industry, deference, and obedience.

### **Economic Anxiety**

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, New England was in transition. The chaos and dislocation caused by the Revolutionary War and its aftermath plus increased population growth, a scarcity of arable land, and out-migration all impacted local communities. A new age dominated by industrialization, individualism, immigration, geographic mobility, and materialism appeared. While many embraced the new commercial and industrial age, others saw their futures filled with uncertainty and anxiety. If a son did not inherit land or marry into it, perhaps it was time to look elsewhere for work. Many believed factory work or casual labor offered few opportunities. Those who wanted to learn a craft such as hat making, cabinet making, or shoemaking had to serve an apprenticeship. Even then, many of these trades were succumbing to the machine age as well. The professions required education, and few people could afford the time or the money to attend college. To compound matters, an economic downturn which lasted from 1836 to 1844 occurred; many mills shut down, shops closed, and as Calvin Colton remarked “Everybody knows that, in 1840, labor went begging for bread, and could not always get it.”<sup>12</sup> Where were the jobs?

Perhaps Peter Parley, the protagonist in a series of children’s books published in antebellum America, could answer that question. In *Tales of the Islands in the Pacific Ocean* published in 1841, Peter Parley “became weary of the land. Besides as he said, I had failed to lay up any property, and being unable to get any suitable employment

ashore, I found it necessary again to enter a ship, and try my fortune upon the waves.”<sup>13</sup> Parley needed work and the sea provided it.

While New England might be experiencing an industrial revolution with the ups and downs associated with an unpredictable economy, it was also entering the “golden age” of whaling. Whale oil was used as a lubricant for lamps, and other whale products were used for “perfumes and canes, for corset stays and buggy whips.”<sup>14</sup> Yet like the whaling industry of the past, this business proved unpredictable. Over time, the number and size of ships increased. The length of time vessels remained at sea often lasted from two to four years, and additional whaling grounds, some of them quite hazardous, opened in the Pacific, Indian, and Arctic oceans. Nantucket, New Bedford, and New London led the way. By 1850 about 700 New England whaling ships, carrying over 200,000 men, could be found at sea during a single year.<sup>15</sup> Many were bound for the rich whaling grounds of the North Pacific, including about seventy-seven New London ships. These grounds attracted about 72 percent of New London’s captains and investors.<sup>16</sup>

Among those who benefited most from the rebirth of the whaling business were New London’s merchant and military families who were among the first to begin outfitting whaling vessels. The Williams family and more specifically, Major Thomas W. Williams, known for his temperance views, sent out his first vessel in 1819. By 1827, his firm operated six of the seven whaling ships sailing out of New London. Between 1819 to 1874 about thirty-six vessels sailed under the Williams flag. From time to time the firm partnered with others including Henry Havens and Parker Smith to fulfill their obligations.<sup>17</sup>

These men or their agents were responsible for securing capital, outfitting ships, finding a captain, recruiting a crew, providing insurance, and collecting fees for various services. Because whaling was a perilous business, some owners tried to minimize risk. In conjunction with their whaling business, they owned banks, insurance agencies, grocery shops, and general stores that catered to seamen and investors; additionally they supported a wage system, known as the lay, that spread risk among the captain, crew, investors, and ship’s owners.<sup>18</sup>

Investors included prominent New London business and professional men. In 1839 the New London firm of N. and W.W. Billings outfitted a ship, the *Flora*. Investors included Edward Hallam, a merchant, Daniel Fitch, the ship’s captain, Coddington Billings and Lyman Allyn both well known merchants and bankers. Coddington Billings and the Billings firm each provided \$2,742.58. of the capital needed for this venture. The next largest backer was the captain, Daniel Fitch.<sup>19</sup>

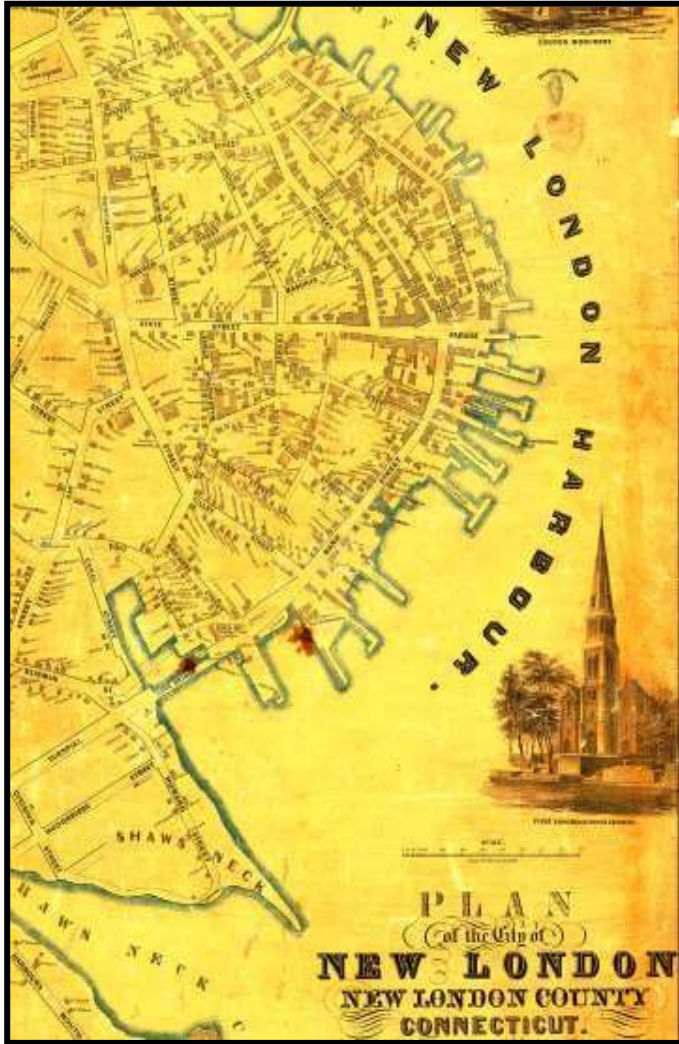


Figure 2 The importance of New London's harbor can be seen in this detail from an 1850 map of the city. G.W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum

As the whaling business grew, so did New London. Its population more than tripled between 1810 and 1860 increasing from 3,238 to 10,115. This Connecticut town and its surrounding communities of Stonington and Groton flourished making the area second only to New Bedford as a whaling center. As the *Hartford Daily Courant* reported in 1845, the area was ideal: “her harbor is one of the finest on the globe, three miles long, and so extended and sheltered . . . .” It is commonly ice free. “These things, with her nearness to the great markets, and the methods now discovered for purifying the common oil, have given her great advantages for whaling.”<sup>20</sup>

Now hundreds of seamen and boys made New London their home, albeit temporarily. Many

were recruited by so called “runners,” who roamed the factory towns and farmsteads of southern New England looking for green hands. Once recruited, they were turned over to shipping agents and outfitters who often made a sweet profit from the mark-ups on the goods they sold to prospective seamen and boys. Bank Street, which bordered the wharf area, was a focal point. Two hotels, several ready-made clothing stores, saloons, grocers, restaurants, barbershops, and three banks all catered to this industry and its large shifting population of seamen.<sup>21</sup> Boardinghouses proliferated. There was J. McDermott’s boardinghouse on Tilley Street between Bank and Washington Street. McDermott took in nine borders between the ages of 17 and 28. All were mariners. Likewise, the Seamen’s Boardinghouse which had sixteen rooms, housed mariners between the ages of 22 and 30, and the Portuguese Seaman’s House had twenty-six rooms and accommodated “Foreign Isles” mariners who ranged in age from 14 to 40 years. Other boardinghouses

took in a broader clientele including clerks, carpenters, or coopers. It appeared that New London's boardinghouse patrons did not mingle with one another; they lived in separate houses that catered to their occupation and ethnic group.<sup>22</sup>

While on shore they avoided rooming together, at sea the situation was different. Many of them served on the same vessel where they could not avoid one another. In 1843, for example, the *New England* sailed for the whaling grounds in the Pacific Ocean and along the North West Coast of America. The crew consisted of twenty-nine men: eleven men from Connecticut including one black man from New Haven, six New Yorkers, four from the British Isles, two from Portugal, one from St. Helena, and the rest from other parts of the United States.<sup>23</sup>

By the 1830s and 1840s the whaling industry emerged as a significant economic force, increasing the wealth of merchants, professional men, and skilled craftsmen among other New London residents. It also provided opportunities for those men and boys unwilling or unable to engage in farm or factory labor, or those who were destitute. Moreover, life at sea appeared to be a good alternative for many of these boys, especially when employment prospects were dim. Such boys were an early example of the contemporary "precariat," a group of workers bereft of any economic stability and whose employment could be used and discarded at any time.<sup>24</sup> Yet the employment of the ship's boys was due to more than market fluctuations.

### **Ship's Boys**

Ship's boys came from various backgrounds, some more fortunate than others. A minority were the sons, nephews, or neighbors of sea captains or mates; they were there to learn navigation and command skills, business procedures, seafaring traditions and customs- all in preparation for a shipmaster's life. In southern New England seafaring was often a family affair. Captains and first mates brought their young sons along to learn about life at sea. For example, Samuel Stroud, the patriarch of one family, was born and lived his life in New London. There he married and had two sons, Oscar and Samuel Jr. The elder Stroud began his career in 1810 as a seaman on the *Cordelia* bound for Martinique. He remained a mariner for the next thirty years, and constantly climbed in the ranks from seaman to mate and eventually to master. It was on his latter voyages that he brought his sons along as "boys." In 1840 his eleven-year-old son, Oscar, accompanied him on the *Shaw Perkins*, a sloop bound for the Indian Ocean, a trip he repeated again in June 1842. Oscar remained a seaman, married, and started a family. But his career was interrupted by the Civil War when he enlisted and served in both the Union Army's First Regiment, Connecticut Heavy Artillery and the Union Navy on board the ships *Princeton*, *Alleghany* and *Sagamore*. After his service, he returned to

New London and became a fisherman. Because of injuries sustained during the Civil War, he was granted an invalid pension in 1875.<sup>25</sup>

Then there were the Buddingtons. Captain James Monroe Buddington earned acclaim when in 1855 he rescued the British ship *Resolute* from the Arctic and brought it back to New London. His son, James W. Buddington, began his career in the coastwise trade, worked on the ship *Challenge*, before serving on a fishing vessel. At the age of sixteen, he shipped out with his father on his first whaling voyage. His career continued and it took him around the world: Greenland, Cumberland Sound (Arctic), Iceland, Cape Horn among other places. On two of his whaling voyages aboard the *Sarah W. Hunt*, his father served as his mate. The last whaling voyage out of New London was commanded by James W. Buddington.<sup>26</sup>

Such boys were eager to work under the supervision of family members and saw their futures tied to seafaring. But they were the exception. Many of the ship's boys were from farm or factory families. In antebellum New England, farm hands were an obvious source of available labor. "It has been a source of complaint with farmers that they cannot keep their boys at home- that they must leave the farm," noted the *Hartford Daily Courant* in 1845. In agriculture, jobs were seasonal from April to November; it was hard work with little apparent remuneration or promise for the future. And by the mid-century, the traditional obligations that once defined the role and relationships of the hired farm hand had changed. No longer were they treated as members of the family who worked under family government, ate with the family and slept in the family home; now they were treated like hired help, someone temporarily there to do work and then move on to another location. Commercial or financial relations replaced traditional ones. Just what could such labor offer boys? For some the answer was nothing.<sup>27</sup>

Factory hands could echo this sentiment. The newly emerging textile industry employed hundreds of children under the family system of labor. Many of these young boys, however, hated factory work, chafed under the discipline of their parents and their overseers, and sought work elsewhere. One such boy was Hiram Munger who left a devastating account of his experience in one of these early mills. He called the treatment of children "slavery in the second degree. The treatment of the help in those days was cruel, especially to poor children, of whom I was one."<sup>28</sup> These factory towns became the apparent target of "runners" sent out by agents to find and recruit boys for the whaling industry. From 1800 to 1860 hundreds of boys, many associated with agriculture, casual labor or the factories, left home bound for the whaling towns.

Another category of recruits who were labeled "troublesome lads" were forced to go to sea. They were boys who rejected authority, were stubborn, rebellious, and often considered a public nuisance. They avoided work thus breaking one of the essential rules



of society. As Michel Foucault stated: “a moral perception sustains and animates” the economic imperative to work.<sup>29</sup> The *Hartford Daily Courant* cautioned that “when a boy is old enough to begin to play in the street, then he is old enough to be taught how to work.”<sup>30</sup> Town residents were told to report youthful, rowdy behavior, and parents were warned to control the disruptive conduct of their sons. In 1813, for example, five New London boys were charged with nightwalking and breach of peace. According to the charge, the boys visited the home of Samuel Peters, “a house of great disorder, ill repute, and bad fame, there to be entertained in a most dissipated manner.” After they left the house, they gathered in the streets “hallowing, swearing, cursing and other disorderly and unbecoming conduct, contrary to all good breeding and moral public decency.” The boys were arrested, found guilty and fined.<sup>31</sup> Other penalties could be more severe. Those parents who did not control their sons were warned that they would see them “get into mischief, and finally find their way to the prison or the alms-house,” noted the *Hartford Daily Courant* as late as 1852.<sup>32</sup> Certainly this was harsh, but what could parents of unruly children do to correct bad behavior? John Ross of New London found his answer: seafaring. He wrote to a local New London captain: “I am sorry to inform you that my son is giving me a good deal of unnecessary trouble by his bad habits, so much so that I am determined to send him on a long voyage to sea in a whaling vessel or something of the kind. . . .” If one long voyage does not cure the boy, then another one might just do the job.<sup>33</sup>

Then there were boys discarded by society. The Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents in New York, for example, sent fully one-third of its male inmates to Nantucket, New Bedford, and New London. The New York facility became a model for local officials who had problems with aberrant children. They were admitted to the Reformatory because of the “negligence, the bad examples, and very often the precepts of their parents, or of those from whom their immature minds would receive character and impulse.”<sup>34</sup> In 1834 William Strickland, one of the New York reform school inmates, was bound out to Noyse Billings of New London for the term of 2 years, 6 months to learn the trade of seamanship. Such indentures were made with the approval of Managers of Society of Juvenile Delinquents of New York. Strickland shipped out on one of Billings’ ships, the *Phoenix*.<sup>35</sup> Like Strickland many boys thought better to be employed as a seaman than to be left languishing in a reform school or almshouse.

John Sweeney also fell into this category. Only twelve years of age, he was forced to live in the New London almshouse with his mother and four young siblings. At the time, New London’s almshouse was defined as a “Bettering House” where “rogues, vagabonds, sturdy beggars, idle, desolate and disorderly persons, runaways, stubborn children, servants” and others who neglected “their callings” were incarcerated. Rather than remain in the almshouse, young Sweeney shipped out on the *Perry*, a whaling

vessel.<sup>36</sup> In reality, however, he merely exchanged one form of incarceration and discipline for another. Ships functioned as an instrument of discipline, a means of sequestering the emerging “dangerous classes” from the rest of society and transforming their identities into something more manageable and malleable.<sup>37</sup>

In the nineteenth century, the control of local populations through labor was a reemerging theme. The hierarchical and closed organizations of ships partook of the logic of this disciplinary society as demonstrated in the rise of the asylum and the prison. These were not only places of labor, but also spaces of confinement and sequestration, especially for those who were considered marginal in society. They served as laboratories for the transformation of identities, the creation of a new, peaceable, controllable body of people. As Rebecca Yamin wrote of New York City working class boys during this era: “Neither constrained by regular work nor school...they were free to wander the streets, to work at odd jobs, to challenge the law with minor (and probably some major) illegal acts”<sup>38</sup> These boys set a bad example for other children, and they had to be rounded up and separated from virtuous boys and girls.

Whether they willingly went to sea or were forced to go, the initial reaction to their new environment varied. Robert Weir chose to leave home, but he later wrote: “I console myself that it will be some relief to dear father for me to be off his hands.”<sup>41</sup> Seafaring held little sense of romance for many boys like Thomas Benedict who regretted his decision to enlist. “Little did I think when I left home that I was to be dealt with as I am . . . I never should have been found here that is certain. But why should I find fault with my own choice. I wanted to come to sea . . . and here I am and here is no getting away. I have only to dread the future rather [than] anticipate any pleasures.” Later he admitted that he thought of deserting but rejected that in favor of trying to pay his fare as a passenger: if it “should take the last cent I had in the world I would pay it rather than live as I do now.” And “if ever I get home alive I shall know enough to stay there.”<sup>42</sup>

Yet desertion was real. Many boys absconded as soon as they reached a favorable port. In March 1858 the Captain of the *Marion* reported that one of his boys ran away; but when the boy stopped for food and rest, he was caught and brought back to the ship. Three days later, he ran away again, and this time he was successful. Other boys just used their stint on a ship to get to a particular destination, and then they deserted. Both the Hawaiian Island and San Francisco represented such destinations. Mary Brewster wrote in her journal that her cabin boy ran away in Oahu, apparently a favorite destination for seafaring boys.<sup>43</sup>

## Life at Sea

For many ships' boys, seafaring proved less glamorous than they thought. Illness struck early first with sea sickness and later perhaps with dysentery, scurvy or typhus. The risk of injury was always present; falls from the masts and rigging were commonplace. Then there was the grime, filth, and horrible smells from the cabin and the ship's deck. Carcasses were left to rot; rodents had the run of the ship. After a few days at sea, one boy wrote: "I am with my sailor clothes on in a dirty steerage." And "if ever I get home alive I shall know enough to stay there, why the meanest day laborer lives better than the best of sailors." Another called himself a "poor foolish boy" who wanted to be a sailor.<sup>44</sup>

Ships were centers of exclusion that enforced an all-encompassing control that went beyond the work imperative. Vessels were like Erving Goffman's total institutions, akin to asylums or prisons, where individuals were placed in completely confined, self-enclosed spaces and new identities were created for them.<sup>45</sup> Such institutions involved degradation rituals, where individuals were stripped of identities and given new ones. These rituals were often reinforced by cruelty to buttress the ship's status hierarchy.



**Figure 3** "Crossing the Line" from *A Picturesque Voyage to India* by Thomas Daniell, London, 1810.

"Crossing the Line" represented one such ritual. Out on their first major voyages, green hands and boys were introduced to a variety of customs, rituals, and shenanigans; some of them proved quite frightening. One of the ceremonies called "crossing the line" was almost always played on green hands and even on passengers who crossed the equator for the first time. This ancient ritual

represented a rite of passage and was considered essential for those who wanted to enter the "dominions of Neptune." Usually a seaman was selected to play Neptune, and he sometimes wore elaborate regalia including a horsehair wig, gray beard, tin crown, loose pants and a frilly shirt. He met ships at sea, asked for permission to come on board and requested that all those boys and green hands who had not previously crossed the

Equinoctial line be brought before him. Here the ritual diverges. Green hands and boys on board the New London ship, *Hannibal*, met King Neptune in October 1849 when they were called one by one to appear before him. Separately each boy was blindfolded, lathered with a compound of tar and slush, shaved and tossed into a large tub of water. Now appropriately initiated, they rejoined their shipmates.<sup>46</sup> For them the ritual was tolerable. Some boys, however, could not endure the ritual or even the thought of it.

Rumors often passed from one ship's crew to another. On the *Charles W. Morgan*, out of New Bedford, one incident began with the familiar shave. After Neptune was welcomed on board ship, he shouted: "Bring on the youngsters. I am in a hurry, have lots of ships to visit tonight." Reluctantly the "youngsters" assembled and were told to step forward; if they procrastinated, they were told that the consequences would be dire. One boy, William P. Smith, was blindfolded, and seated before Neptune. The shaving ritual began, and the lather was scraped off with a piece of iron hoop. The boy yelled throughout the ceremony. Then Neptune told him he would have to endure an ordeal that might cost him his life or "he could not be a sailor." The boy yelled, "I don't want to be a sailor." When he opened his mouth, a brush was forced down his throat; subsequently he was asked if he could swim, and when he said no, Neptune replied: "do you know that you are sitting on the ships rail and tumbling backwards would send you overboard." Subsequently, he fell and landed in a large tank. He screamed for help, and even when his feet touched the bottom, he remained terrified.<sup>47</sup>

Some boys were forewarned about complications associated with the ritual. James Minor wrote: "One of the sailors told me he had known instances where they have been killed," during this ceremony. Another said that it was not as dangerous as a previous ceremony, keel-hauling. Yet not all of the boys recalled the ceremony with dread; after the ordeal, a party was usually held. In one case, a boy described his experience with obvious delight. Everyone had a "first rate dinner," a bottle of the Captain's best wine was given to the boys, and music and dancing were enjoyed "all the afternoon."<sup>48</sup>

While hazing oftentimes proved harmless, other practices held more fear for the young boys. Beatings, intimidation, and shaming were common. One ship's boy wrote: "I am made a regular slave here, and what is worse, I get nothing for it but curses." Afraid he had not responded quickly enough to a seaman's order, he lamented: "I shall soon be food for sharks." He felt that he was living like an "inmate of a prison."<sup>49</sup> Dysentery was prevalent; food often consisted of salt beef or pork, and the disgusting weevil infested biscuits. Discipline was swift and severe. Until 1850 flogging was one form of punishment, but there were other reprimands that were less severe but nevertheless disconcerting. The boys could be tied up in the rigging by their hands and feet, confined below deck, given extra duty or put into irons.<sup>50</sup> A boy remembered his father's warning

that if he went to sea he would be treated like a dog. Now he opined that if he had “as good fare as my dog does at home. I should think I did first rate.”<sup>51</sup>

Malice and indifference were evident. In 1851 Captain Tucker, master of the ship, *New England*, made “a man steer sixteen hours because he disliked him . . . he was not allowed grub or water.” The same captain tried to cheat the ship’s boy in a game of pitching pennies. Then there was the case of three sailors: the cabin boy, the captain’s son, and a seaman. They threw a ship’s dog overboard and were unable to retrieve it. For this act, the captain sentenced the cabin boy to twenty-four lashes while his son received no punishment.<sup>52</sup> And Dr. Nathaniel Taylor on board a whaling voyage out of New London bound for the Antarctic related the story of young Richard Landsland, who was caught sleeping while on night watch. It was acceptable to douse anyone caught sleeping while on watch, and that calamity befell Richard. Additionally he was sent to do a “work-up-job.” He had to scour “try pots,” the tubs used to render oil from whale blubber. When finished, he had to stand watch, dozed, was caught again, and then sent to the masthead to “get some air” for about an hour. Later he returned to scour more “try pots.”<sup>53</sup>

Some captains and sailors were known for their brutality. In December 1857 the *Hartford Daily Courant* reported that Captain Elisha Hull of Norwich and William Chappell of Lebanon, a mate, on the whaler *Catherine* out of New London, were brought before a commissioner and charged with cruelty toward their crew. They refused to provide them with proper food, used inhumane punishments and even abandoned one of the men on an island. The crew testified about their “fiendish barbarism.” The captain and mate were bound over for trial. This was not the first incident involving Chappell. When aboard the *Halcyon* in 1844 he had a dispute with one of the crew. As a result the sailor was placed in the rigging and “was hit with a tow line until he said he would obey orders, respect officers and would behave himself.”<sup>54</sup> No repercussions. The following year Samuel Norrie of the whaler *Isaac Hicks* was arrested and charged with “having abused and cruelly treated seamen on a late voyage.”<sup>55</sup> The incident did not hurt his career; after that he commanded another ten voyages.<sup>56</sup>

A number of boys even witnessed murder. One notorious case involved the Pendleton family of southern New England. A well-known seafaring family, the senior Pendleton began his career at the age of twenty on a voyage bound for Matanzas in 1828. He rose through the ranks and soon commanded his own vessels. But as a captain, he gained a harsh reputation. While on a voyage to the North Pacific Ocean, he was murdered by a member of his crew. The story was especially horrific.

Under Captain Gilbert Pendleton, the *New England* departed New London for the North Pacific in August 1851. On board were his eleven year old son, Gilbert Jr., and an additional thirty-three crew members, mostly from Connecticut.<sup>57</sup> On this voyage, Pendleton repeatedly lost his temper and lashed out at his crew. According to one sailor, the Captain “struck me at the wheel this morning - in the face-.” At another time, the Captain punched a sailor ten to twelve times while at the wheel and kicked him. Another incident occurred when members of the crew were hungry and several men went to see the Captain. He struck one of the men and called the rest of them “sons of Bitches.”

The only seaman to escape his temper was Gilbert, his son and the ship’s boy. The Captain easily forgave him for his misdeeds. On one occasion, several items of clothing were reported stolen from a sailor; after a search of the ship, the pantaloons were found among young Gilbert’s gear. The Captain “gave him a talking to and let him go saying he would whip the next man caught stealing.”<sup>58</sup>

This voyage did not end well. In December 1853, the Captain was shot dead. A sailor told the story: “James Fish was loading his pistol for the purpose of shooting birds. In the ship’s cabin it was discharged accidentally killing Capt. Pendleton, the ball taking effect in the lower part of the breast.” Another version of the incident was reported in the *New York Daily Times*. Mr. Fish was amusing himself by shooting at some albatrosses that were following the ship. When he went below deck, he saw the captain sitting at a table reading. Fish had the gun, and it went off accidentally. “The ball struck the book, went into the captain’s breast and killed him almost instantly. He only said, ‘you have killed me.’”<sup>59</sup> Gilbert Jr. bore witness to the death of his father who was only 37 years of age.

In other cases, even the captain’s son fell victim to his wrath. On a voyage with his father, young William Skiddy was flogged for a minor offense against the first mate. He wrote in his diary, my father “came into the cabin with a rope, flogged me until I fell on the floor. I then told him to go on and kill me if he chose.”<sup>60</sup>

At sea, captains frequently maintained that flogging was necessary to instill discipline and compliance. In September 1850, however, the United States Congress abolished this act; it was argued that this form of punishment represented a “bloody record of legalized brutality from the past; only uncivilized societies used whippings to punish women, children, slaves and animals.”<sup>61</sup> By then parents, friends, and guardians had taken some abusive captains and mates to court. In 1832 the Connecticut Superior Court heard the case of John Moore vs. the captain of the whaling ship, *Electra*. He claimed that the captain had knocked him down, beat him, and hit him with a rope. Then the boy was tied to the mast for three hours. In court the captain claimed that he had a right, by law, to

“punish his hands as he saw fit.” The court disagreed and awarded the boy \$140.00 in damages. The captain appealed the verdict, and he pressed his right to punish his sailors. He claimed the boy had disobeyed his orders, neglected to perform required tasks, lied, and had been insolent. He acknowledged that he had used a “small whip” to chastise and correct him, but that it was his right to do so. Again the verdict went against the captain.

<sup>62</sup>

For all that they experienced, most of these boys learned few skills that could be transferred to other occupations. What did seafaring have to offer? What education did they receive? What values did they develop: hard work, industry, discipline or fear, aggressiveness, emotional isolation? Did their life at sea achieve the goals sought by society? Was this now their world and their family?: Some boys managed to make a life at sea work for them, while others returned to find employment on shore, often in occupations they once ignored. Of 123 ships boys who sailed out of New London between 1800 to 1860, more than 36 percent continued on as sailors or even became captains; another 19 percent left the sea and became farmers or laborers; about 15 percent died at sea and the rest entered various occupations from janitor to cooper and even to pastor.<sup>63</sup>

Those who returned to Connecticut often resumed a life similar to the one they left behind years earlier. Indeed, some rejoined the working poor moving back and forth between farm work, casual labor, and seafaring while others entered manufacturing working in factories making cotton and woolen cloth, gins, nails, soap, and candles among other goods.<sup>64</sup> Others left the state. John Ambush, an African American, shipped out on the *Isaac Hicks* in 1844. Later he got a job as a waiter in a New York City hotel before moving back to New England. Another boy, Abram Anderson was born and raised in New London. His father Jacob was born in Virginia, removed to New London, became a teamster, married, and had six children.. His sons took up various trades and one of them, Abram, went to sea. At the age of fourteen in 1855, Abram Anderson sailed to the North Atlantic aboard the ship *Zoe*. He continued to work as a seaman, registered for the Civil War from New London, and subsequently married Emma Weeks in June 1864. He left seafaring, became a laborer, inherited a small sum of money from his father and eventually left the area. In 1880 he was living in New Jersey with his wife and five children. Once again, he had changed occupations and was listed as a Minister of the Gospel.<sup>65</sup>

At the age of fourteen, William Rogers, for example, joined the ship *Armata* destined for the Pacific Ocean. Upon his return home, he continued his seafaring career until the Civil War. After that he moved to nearby Montville and earned his living as a house carpenter. There he married and had several children. He died in 1904. Another ship's

boy, Dudley Park of Groton, joined the crew of the *Morning Star* in 1837 at the age of thirteen. His later career remained tied to the sea, first as a mariner and then as a fisherman. Daniel Latham of Mystic first went to sea at the age of fourteen aboard the *Charles Henry*. He continued at sea for another twenty-five years and then returned to New London, bought a hardware store and continued to be associated with the business until his death in 1906.<sup>66</sup>

Other ship's boys had a different story to tell. James Skinner of New London went to sea in 1851. Within a decade, he drowned while chasing a whale. Then there was John L. Adams of New London who at the age of ten joined the crew of the *Indian Chief*. He remained a mariner throughout his life, married, had two children, but died in the Connecticut Hospital for the Insane where he was admitted c. 1880. And James Green of New London who started his seafaring career at age fourteen aboard the ship *Bingham* experienced a similar fate. He rose to ship's captain, married, spent some time in the Civil War and returned to the sea. In June 1868 he was admitted to the California State Hospital in Stockton, California. Now with five children, his wife feared for her life. He was considered insane, had epileptic fits accompanied by homicidal impulses. His wife Mary said that not only was she afraid of him, but also he squandered his property, and had extravagant ideas about getting rich in the California gold fields. He died within six months of entering the facility.<sup>67</sup>

George Sand, an African American, also met a dreadful end. Born c. 1827 he lived in south central Massachusetts before shipping out of New London aboard the ship *Cervantes*. He was fourteen at the time. He remained a sailor, married and moved to a nearby Connecticut town. In September 1853, while in Springfield, Massachusetts visiting his mother and family, he was shot to death in an incident labeled by the *New York Daily Times* as fratricide. The story unfolded: George, his brother Horace and their mother were having a night on the town. They had been drinking when George got into a fight with his mother, and he pulled out a gun and shot her in the head. As the reporter noted, "whereupon HORACE fired at GEORGE, wounding him, but not fatally, in the stomach. He fired again, hitting GEORGE in the head." George died.<sup>68</sup>

Many of Connecticut's sailors did not return home; while some died at sea, others died in the Civil War. At the age of fourteen Nathan Malloy, for example, shipped out on the *Merrimac*, a ship bound for the Indian Ocean. He traveled to California in 1850, lived in San Joaquin before returning to the east coast. During the Civil War, he joined the Union Navy as a coxswain. He died June 1863 while on duty in Pensacola Bay, Florida. Then there was James Brockway of New London who served on the *Palladium* in 1843 when he was fourteen. He enlisted in the Civil War in 1862, served as an ensign aboard the USS *Saginaw*, and died while patrolling Panama Bay in December 1864.<sup>69</sup>



With the Civil War, the “golden age” of whaling began to decline. While some New London vessels were leased to the Federal Government to transport troops, and other whaling vessels were part of the “Stone Fleet” to block Charleston harbor, over one hundred vessels remained in port. By then kerosene began to replace whale oil, the California Gold Rush drew off many seamen, and the Civil War reduced the amount of capital and the number of men available to support the industry. Whaling vessels sailing out of New London dropped from eighty-one in 1845 to twenty-five at the close of the Civil War.<sup>70</sup> Many ships’ boys had to look for another line of work.

## Endnotes

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<sup>1</sup> New London Crew Lists, 1803-1878. Digital Database. G.W. Blunt White Library, Collections Research Center, Mystic Seaport, Mystic Connecticut. The Library and digital collections are vast and include Individual Manuscripts, Crew Lists, Diaries, Ship's Journals and Logbooks among other resources. (Hereafter items from this collection will be referred to as Mystic Seaport Mss.)

<sup>2</sup> Jennifer Schell, *"A Bold and Hardy Race of Men": The Lives and Literature of the American Whalemens* (Boston, 2013).

<sup>3</sup> Lydia H. Sigourney, *Poems for the Sea* (Hartford, 1850), 110. Reformer, Dorothea Dix, even wrote a tale, "John Williams or The Sailor Boy," that detailed the early life of a poor boy who escaped an almshouse, found shelter with a kind family, read the Bible and eventually went to sea. His character, by then, was so virtuous that he served as a model for the ship's crew. Dorothea L. Dix, *John Williams or The Sailor Boy* (Boston, 1827).

<sup>4</sup> Eric Jay Dolin, *Leviathan: The History of Whaling in America* (New York, 2007), 221.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Nordhoff, *Whaling and Fishing*, (1856. Reprint New York, 1895), 15.

<sup>6</sup> Margaret Creighton, "Fraternity in the American Forecastle, 1830-1870," *New England Quarterly* 63 (December 1990), 531.

<sup>7</sup> *Hartford Courant*, 11 May 1842, *ibid*, 26 June 1841.

<sup>8</sup> Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *The Seaman's Friend: A Treatise on Practical Seamanship* (Mineola, 1997), 131-166; Margaret Creighton, *Rites and Passages: The Experience of American Whaling, 1830-1870* (New York, 1995), 16, 28-31. Experience and seafaring knowledge not age or size, however, determined a person's standing on board ship.

<sup>9</sup> Mystic Seaport Mss., "Unknown Sailor," Typed Reminiscence of an Unknown Sailor, 1837-1864.

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<sup>10</sup> Matthew Taylor Raffety, *The Republic Afloat: Law, Honor, and Citizenship in Maritime America* (Chicago, 2013), 57-59. See also Daniel Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea: Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail* (New Haven, 2005), 98.

<sup>11</sup> Mystic Seaport Mss., New London Crew Lists, 1803-1878.

<sup>12</sup> Calvin Colton, *Public Economy for the United States* (1848. Reprint. New York, 1969), 411. For the New England economy see Barbara M. Tucker, *Samuel Slater and the Origins of the American Textile Industry, 1790-1860* (Ithaca, 1984), Gary B. Kulik, "The Beginnings of the Industrial Revolution in America: Pawtucket, Rhode Island, 1672-1829," Ph.D. diss, Brown University, 1980, Jonathan Prude, *The Coming of Industrial Order, Town and Factory Life in Rural Massachusetts, 1810-1860* (New York, 1983), Tamara K. Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time* (New York, 1982); see also, Christopher Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism in Western Massachusetts, 1780-1860* (Ithaca, 1990), Ruth Wallis Herndon and John E. Murray, eds., *Children Bound to Labor: The Pauper Apprentice System in Early New England* (Ithaca, 2009), and Herndon's, *Unwelcome Americans: Living on the Margin in Early New England* (Philadelphia, 2001); for seafaring, see Daniel Vickers, *Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County2 Massachusetts, 1630-1850* (Chapel Hill, 1994).

<sup>13</sup> Samuel Goodrich, *Peter Parley's Tales About the Islands in the Pacific Ocean* (Philadelphia, 1841), 12.

<sup>14</sup> Barnard L. Colby, *For Oil and Buggy Whips: Whaling Captains of New London County Connecticut* (Mystic, 1990), unpagged phrase. Howard Kushner, "Hell Ships': Yankee Whaling Along the Coasts of Russian-America, 1835-1852," *New England Quarterly* 45 (March 1972), 83.

<sup>15</sup>E.P. Hohman, *The American Whaleman* (New York, 1928), 305; Dana, *The Seaman's Friend*, 131-166; S. Creighton, *Rites and Passages*, 16. 28. 31.

<sup>16</sup> Kushner, "Hell Ships,'" 85.

<sup>17</sup> Robert Owen Decker, "The New London Merchants: 1645-1909:The Rise and Decline of a Connecticut Port " (Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 1970), 145-147; and Robert Owen Decker, *The Whaling City: A History of New London* (New London, 1976), 78-79; Appendix, XX. See also, Hohman, *American Whaleman*, 136.

<sup>18</sup> Decker, "The New London Merchants," 137.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 138, 92-283.

<sup>20</sup> *Hartford Courant*, 11 November 1845.

<sup>21</sup> Decker, *Whaling City*, 74-76, 110, 142; Marcus Rediker, "The Anglo-American Seaman as Collective Worker, 1700-1750," in Stephen Innis. ed., *Work and Labor in Early America* (Chapel Hill, 1988), 264-267. See also City Directories of the United States, Segment 1, through 1860. New London, Connecticut (Woodbridge) and *ibid.*, Research Publications (Woodbridge), vols. 2 & 3.

<sup>22</sup> United States Federal Population Census, Manuscript Schedules, Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, New London, Connecticut. (Hereafter referred to as Federal Population Mss); Sanborn Maps and Publishing Company (New London, 1884).

<sup>23</sup> Mystic Seaport Mss., Crew List, ship *New England*, 1843.

<sup>24</sup> Guy Standing, *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class* (New York, 2011). See also

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<sup>25</sup> Connecticut. Adjutant General, *Record of Service of Connecticut Men in the Army and Navy of the United States During the War of the Rebellion* (Hartford, 1880), 120-125; United States. Civil War and Later Pension Index, 1861-1917, database. Mystic Seaport Mss., New London Crew Lists; Federal Population Mss., Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, New London, Connecticut. See also *ibid.*, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, New London, Connecticut.

<sup>26</sup> Colby, *For Oil and Buggy Whips*, 165-167.

<sup>27</sup> *Hartford Daily Courant*, 16 April 16 1845; Richard D. Brown, "Farm Labor in Southern New England During the Agricultural-Industrial Transition," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 99 (April 1989), 116-118.

<sup>28</sup> Hiram Munger, *Life and Religious Experience of Hiram Munger* (Chicopee Falls, 1856), 403 quoted in Gary Kulik, Roger Parks, and Theodore Z Penn, *The New England Mill Village, 1790-1860* (Cambridge, 1982).

<sup>29</sup> Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader* (New York, 1977), 136. In the nineteenth century, work was considered a duty and virtue, a way for boys to learn discipline and self-control. Ministers and other public figures made arguments about the importance of work for boys; labor would teach them important virtues and character traits, especially discipline.

<sup>30</sup> *Hartford Daily Courant*, 4 November 1852.

<sup>31</sup> Nancy Steenburg, "Not of Full Age: Children and the Criminal Law in Connecticut, 1635-1855" (Ph.D., diss., University of Connecticut, 2002), 152-155.

<sup>32</sup> *Hartford Daily Courant*, November 4, 1852.

<sup>33</sup> Decker, *Whaling City*, 86. Mystic Seaport Mss., Logbook, 1849-1850, *Reindeer*. Attitudes toward children and work were evident among other parents. Joseph Tuckerman cautioned: "Have you a child between the ages of 14 and 21, who is without a regular employment? Look at the child, and say, what is his condition? With his present dispositions, and the habits which he is every day and hour forming and confirming, what may be your hopes concerning him? Let me ask you . . . why is he not in some regular employment? See Joseph Tuckerman, "A Word to Fathers and Mothers," *Reports, etc., of the Minister of the Poor* (Boston 1832), quoted in, Robert H. Bremner, ed., *Children and Youth in America: A Documentary History* (Cambridge, 1970), I:561.

<sup>34</sup> Board of Managers, *Documents Relative to the House of Refuge Instituted by the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents in the City of New York* (New York, 18232). *Second Annual Report*, 1827, 101; see also *Third Annual Report*, 1828, 115. For the indenture, see Kathy A. Ritter, *Apprentices of Connecticut, 1637-1900* (Salt Lake City, 1986), 129.

<sup>35</sup> The nephew of a well-known agent, Noyes Billings was a native of Stonington and Yale graduate who was in the initial stages of building his career. Later he joined his brother William in outfitting their own ships, *Superior* and *Phoenix* among others. See Colby, *For Oil and Buggy Whips*, 6-7.

<sup>36</sup> For Sweeney see Mystic Seaport Mss., New London Crew Lists, Federal Population Mss., Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, New London, Connecticut. See also Vincent DiGirolamo, "Though the Means Were Scanty:" Excerpts From Joseph T. Buckingham's Personal Memoirs and Recollections of Editorial Life (1852), " quoted in Marten, ed., *Children and Youth in a New Nation*, 231-239. While people might object to helping indigent adults, what about their children? Certainly children had to be removed from such surroundings and influences. They had to be brought under "proper" family government or institutional care, to learn discipline, obedience, and the value of work. Many children were bound out to farmers, merchants, workshop owners and homemakers: boys until the age of twenty-one and girls until the

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age of thirteen. See, Ruth Wallis Herndon and John E. Murray, eds., *Children Bound to Labor: The Pauper Apprentice System in Early America* (Ithaca, 2009), 39-51. See also Frances Manwaring Caulkins, *History of New London, Connecticut. From the First Survey of the Coast in 1612 to 1852* (New London, 1860), 632.

<sup>37</sup> Charles Loring, *The Dangerous Classes of New York and Twenty Years Work Among Them* (1872, reprint Teddington, UK, 2012).

<sup>38</sup> Rebecca Yamin, "Working Class Childhood in Nineteenth-Century New York City," in Sally Crawford, Dawn Haidler, and Gillian Shepherd, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Childhood* (Oxford, xxxx), 19.

<sup>41</sup> Mystic Seaport Mss., Journal of Robert Weir, 26 August 1855.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., Thomas Benedict, Journal, 12, 17, 22 April 1846; Hohman, *American Whaleman*, 200-202.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., Marion, Ship's Log, 26 March 1858; Mary Brewster, *She Was a Sister Sailor: The Whaling Journal of Mary Brewster, 1845-1851* (Mystic, 1992), 221, 28

<sup>44</sup> Mystic Seaport Mss., Thomas Benedict, Journal, 12, 17, 22 April 1846; Hohman, *American Whaleman*, 200-202.

<sup>45</sup> Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Condition of the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (New York, 1961).

<sup>46</sup> John Berchervaise, *Thirty-six Years of a Seafaring Life* (London, 1839), 146-147; Creighton, *Rites and Passages*, 117-118

<sup>47</sup> Mystic Seaport Mss., *Charles W. Morgan*, Journal, 1849-1853, 37-40; . This ceremony was chronicled in Harry M. Lydenberg, *Crossing the Line: Tales of the Ceremony During Four Centuries* (New York, 1957), 66-178.

<sup>48</sup> Mystic Seaport Mss., Diary, James Minor, 1849; see also *ibid.*, Journal, *Charles W. Morgan*, 44 and *ibid.*, Logbook, *Houqua*, 1 May 1846.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, Journal, Thomas Benedict, April-December 1846; *ibid.*, ship, *Houqua*, Logbook, 951.

<sup>50</sup> Myra C. Glenn, "Troubled Manhood in the Early Republic: The Life and Autobiography of Sailor Horace Lane," *Journal of the Early Republic* 26 (Spring, 2006), 67-68; *ibid.*, "The Naval Reform Campaign Against Flogging: A Case Study in Changing Attitudes Toward Corporal Punishment, 1830-1850," *American Quarterly* 35 (Autumn, 1983), 408-419. See also Henry F. Graff, ed., *Bluejackets with Perry in Japan* (New York, 1952), 62.

<sup>51</sup> Mystic Seaport Mss., Journal, Thomas Benedict, April-December 1846; *ibid.*, *Houqua* Logbook, 951.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, *New England*, Logbook, 1851; *ibid.*, Diary of George Kennedy, "A Whaleman's Story," 1851-1853, 21 June 1853; *ibid.*, Diary, James Minor, 11 May 1849.

<sup>53</sup> Nathaniel W. Taylor, *Life on a Whaler: Artic Adventures in the Isle of Desolation, 1851-1853* (New London, 1929), 15-17.

<sup>54</sup> *Hartford Daily Courant*, December 24, 1857; Mystic Seaport Mss, *Halcyon*, Logbook, 1843-1844, 15 June 1844.

<sup>55</sup> *Hartford Daily Courant*, 14 June 1858.

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<sup>56</sup> Colby, *For Oil and Buggy Whips*, 189.

<sup>57</sup> Mystic Seaport Mss., New London Crew List, *New England* (1851). In addition to the Connecticut seamen, there was one from Rhode Island another two from New York, and nine from foreign ports.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., *New England*, Logbook 887. See also, Kennedy, "A Whaleman's Story," 1851-1853..

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., and *New York Daily Times*, 18 March 1854.

<sup>60</sup> Mystic Seaport Mss., Diary, William Skiddy (1806), 16.

<sup>61</sup> Glenn, "The Naval Reform Campaign," 409, 419.

<sup>62</sup> Steenberg, "Not of Full Age," 225-234.

<sup>63</sup> Mystic Seaport Mss: New London Crew Lists; Federal Population Mss., Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth Census, 1840, 1850, 1860 and 1870 respectively: Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

<sup>64</sup> Decker, *Whaling City*, 115-130.

<sup>65</sup> Mystic Seaport Mss: New London Crew Lists; Federal Population Mss./, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth Census, 1850, 1860, 1870 respectively. New London, Connecticut. See also Connecticut. New London Vital Records, June 1864 and *Ancestry.com*.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., Federal Population Mss., For Rogers see, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth and Twelfth Census, 1860, 1870, 1880 and 1900 respectively, Montville, Connecticut. For Park see *ibid.*, Groton, Connecticut. For Latham, see *ibid.*, New London, Connecticut.

<sup>67</sup> Federal Population Mss., See Seventh, Eighth Census, 1850, 1860 respectively , New London, Connecticut, and *ibid.*, Tenth Census, 1880, Middletown, Connecticut. See also *Ancestry.com*.

<sup>68</sup> Massachusetts, Springfield. Vital Records, 1827; Mystic Seaport Mss., New London Crew Lists; *New York Daily Times*, October 12, 1853.

<sup>69</sup> Mystic Seaport Mss., New London Crew Lists; Connecticut, *Adjutant General, Record of Service of Connecticut Men in the Army and Navy of the United States During the War of the Rebellion* (Hartford, 1889). See also *Ancestry.com*.

<sup>70</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, VI (January 11, 1862), 31 and Greg Bailey, "The One-Way Voyage of the Stone Fleet," *America's Civil War* 24 (March, 2011), 60-64; Colby, *For Oil and buggy Whips*, 166.