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Sentimental Seamen and Pirates of Sympathy: Antebellum Narratives of Terraqueous Domesticity

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

Literature

by

Mark B. Kelley

Committee in charge:

Professor Sara Johnson, Co-Chair
Professor Nicole Tonkovich, Co-Chair
Professor Michael Davidson
Professor Mark Hanna
Professor Rachel Klein
Professor Daniel Vitkus

2018

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The Dissertation of Mark B. Kelley is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

Co-Chair

Co-Chair

University of California San Diego

2018

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VITA

EDUCATION

2018	PhD in Literature, University of California San Diego
2012	MA in American and British Literatures, Marquette University
2010	BA in English, History, *summa cum laude*, *phi beta kappa*, Marquette University

PEER REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS

"Reconstructing the Racial Politics of Disability and Literary History in *Bricks Without Straw*." *American Literary Realism*. 48.1(2016): 21-36. muse.jhu.edu/article/638958

"Learning to Play the Game of Unhappy Families: Sympathetic Reading and Sentimental Ownership in 'Uncle Tom and Little Eva,' a Card Game Adaptation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*." *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association* 46.2 (2012): 127-52.

"'Every India Mail': *The Lamplighter* & the Prospect of U.S. (Postal) Empire." *India in the American Imaginary, 1780s- 1880s.* Ed. Rajender Kaur. Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

MAJOR FELLOWSHIPS

Spring 2018	Lillian Gary Taylor Visiting Fellow in American Literature Harrison Institute, University of Virginia
Winter 2018	Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Fellow, the Library Company of Philadelphia & the Historical Society of Pennsylvania
Summer 2017	PhD Fellow, Institute of Arts and Humanities at UCSD Diego
2017-2018	Dissertation-Year Fellow, UCSD Literature Department
Fall 2016	Hartland Memorial Fellow in Eighteenth-Century Maritime Social History, John Carter Brown Library
Spring 2015	Phillips Library Fellow, Peabody Essex Museum
Fall 2015	Paul Cuffe Memorial Fellow for the Study of Minorities in American Maritime History, Munson Institute at Mystic Seaport
2015-2016	Graduate Fellow, UCSD Center for the Humanities

NATIONAL CONFERENCES (PANEL ORGANIZER & PARTICIPANT)

"Affective Assent and Dissent in Age of Sail Shipboard Manuscripts." Panel: Oceanic Practices of Assent and Dissent in Early American Maritime Manuscripts. American Studies Association

Annual Conference. Chicago, IL, 9-12 November 2017.

"'A Sort of Affection': The Animating Sympathy of Hen Frigates." Panel: Home/Not Home on the Water: Early American Currents of Animacy, Disability, and Ecology. American Studies Association Annual Conference. Denver, CO, 17-20 November 2016.

"Is Liberal Sympathy Fun?: Textualizing 'Uncle Tom & Little Eva.'" Panel: Artifacts of Labor & Leisure: The "Serious Fun" of 19th-Century Transnational Material Culture. American Studies Association Annual Conference. Los Angles, CA, 6-9 November 2014.

NATIONAL & INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES (PARTICIPANT)

"'Creatures of feeling': Pirates of Sympathy in Jacksonian-Era Trials and Fictions." Modern Language Association Annual Conference. New York, NY, 4-7 January 2018.

"'A pall hangs o'er the ship': Weathering Feeling in American Sailors' Logs & Journals." Association for the Study of Literature and Environment Biennial Conference. Detroit, MI, 20-24 June 2017

"Letters of Marque and Letters that Mark: Civil War Piracy Debates in Postal Envelopes." Pop Culture/American Culture Association Annual Conference. San Diego, CA, 12-15 April 2017.

"Laboring with Sentimental Seamen: Or, Feeling Through an Age of Sail Archive." Conference on Maritime Masculinities, 1815-1940. Oxford Brookes. Oxford, UK, 19-20 December 2016

"Catharine Maria Sedgwick's New England: Or, On Haitian Inheritances." American Literature Association Annual Conference. San Francisco, CA, 26-29 May 2016.

"Confederate Pirates of Sympathy & Maria Cummins's *Haunted Hearts* (1864)." Society for the Study of American Women Writers Triennial Conference. Philadelphia, PA, 4-8 November 2015.

"'A sort of affection': Fauna, Feeling, and Food in Travel Writing by Shipboard Nineteenth-Century Women." American Literature Association Annual Conference. Boston, MA, 21-24 May 2015.

"Mobile Sympathy and Postal Empire in *The Lamplighter* (1852)." Interdisciplinary Nineteenth-Century Studies Association Annual Conference. Atlanta, GA, 16-19 April 2015.

"Reception in Fuller's *Summer on the Lakes* as Embeaded Anthological Narrative." Reception Studies Society Biannual Conference. Milwaukee,WI, 26-29 September 2013.

"'What a tragicomedy is life:' Historical Tragicomedy in Hope Leslie." Catharine Maria Sedgwick Society Symposium. Salem, MA, 17-20 June 2010.

REGIONAL CONFERENCES

"'You miss his form:' Nineteenth-Century Sailors' Forms of Feeling and Labor." 26th Annual Friends of English Southland Conference. Los Angeles, CA, 5 June 2015.

"Nancy Prince's 1850 Narrative: Nineteenth-Century Women of Color Critique at Sea." FAQ: A Salon Series in Feminist and Queer of Color Critique. San Diego, CA, 2-3 May 2014.

"The American Yarns in Milton: Transnational Landmarks in Gaskell's National Bildungsroman." Pacific Modern Language Association Annual Conference. San Diego, CA, 1-3 November 2013.

"You know I am a realist': Albion Tourgée, William Dean Howells, and the Rejection of Reconstruction Realism." Midwest Modern Language Association Annual Conference. St. Louis, MO, 3-6 November 2011.

"Not a Book of 'Happy Families': Card Game Adaptations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*." Midwest Popular Culture Association Annual Conference. Milwaukee, WI, 14-16 October 2011.

INVITED PUBLIC TALKS

"Feelings I Know: Laboring Alongside Sentimental Seamen in an American Age of Sail." UC-San Diego Arts and Humanities Institute. San Diego, CA, 26 Nov. 2017.

"Sentimental Seamen: Structures of Labor Feeling, and Bondage in an Age of Sail Archive." Deutsch-Amerikanisches Institut Nürnberg. Nürnberg, Germany, 22 May 2017.

"Weathering Feeling in the Early American Maritime Archive." Scripps Institute of Oceanography. La Jolla, CA, 31 May 2016.

"On Sentimental Seamen: Or, Feeling Through a Maritime Archive." John Carter Brown Library. Providence, RI, 28 September 2016.

PUBLIC SCHOLARSHIP

"Nero Waterman Leaves His Mark." *John Carter Brown Library: I Found It at the JCB*. March 2017. https://goo.gl/RbcVOE

"A Stamped Whale or a Stove Boat: On Whalers' Stamped Logs and Journals." *Notes For Bibliophiles: Blog of the Providence Public Library Special Collections*. November 2016. https://goo.gl/wp7Pqx

"'Feelings I know': Laboring and Feeling Through Sailors' Journals at the Phillips Library." *Conversant: The Phillips Library Blog*. June 2015. http://www.pem.org/library/blog/?p=7159

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Sentimental Seamen and Pirates of Sympathy:
Antebellum Narratives of Terraqueous Domesticity

by

Mark B. Kelley

Doctor of Philosophy in Literature
University of California San Diego, 2018

Professor Sara Johnson, Co-Chair
Professor Nicole Tonkovich, Co-Chair

Early American notions of sympathy, largely shaped by Adam Smith's theory of rational self-interest and fellow feeling, undergird the period's dominant narrative tropes, socio-political philosophies, and economic ideologies. In this dissertation, I argue that investments in sympathy structure two "domestic" cultural ideals on a watery globe. The first ideal is of a seamlessly productive shipboard society. The second ideal is of an essentially familial national order. To advance these ideals, common sailors, women writers, and political policymakers uphold sympathy as a corrective to sea-based geological or cultural unruliness. In other words, each asserts that domestic stability in a transoceanic system may be gained via a perfection of moral

feeling. As I show in two sections, these discrete sentimental narratives on land and at sea confirm antebellum domesticity's oceanic entanglements.

My first section highlights a shipboard domestic ideal that results from oceanic labors that power a U.S.-backed oceanic economy. Specifically, isolated vessels' socio-material structures direct sailors' bodies towards affectively cohesive labor. In short, proper feeling at sea is a technical skill as well as a social one. In this system, ideal "sentimental seamen" know exactly how to feel, how to labor, and how to describe those feeling labors. Sailors use novel materialist, labor-based sentimental forms to stake their relative claims to this economic and social ideal. Ultimately, sentimental seamen embody the forms of regulated and monetized feeling that structure age-of-sail vessels as historical and literary spaces.

My second section tracks an antebellum domestic ideal that results from the nation's reliance on oceanic cultures and economies. Namely, landed writers debate the domestic nation's place in a "family of nations" via competing definitions of the "villain of all nations." Within these debates, "pirates of sympathy" are maritime subjects whose incompatibility with state power is due to their supposed incapacity for moral feeling. For some, such figures' removal protects an ideal national family; for others, the pirate embodies the effects of state violence. As I conclude, this figure's pervasive literary-historical presence reflects the antebellum era's shifting and conflicting moral compasses, particularly in relation to maritime slavery and its inheritances.

In tracking sentimental seamen and pirates of sympathy, I place two "domestic" ideals on a watery globe. One is a model for ideal domestic laborers at sea. The other is a foil for ideal domestic citizens on land. Both of these figures are defined by their relation to interior, domestic attachments that ripple across and within transoceanic space. In turn, the study of sentimental seamen and pirates of sympathy provide a glimpse of a field I am tentatively calling "terraqueous

domestic studies." Overall, this field treats early American domestic interiority and attachment as fashioned by earth and water together.

Prologue:
A New Home, Who'll Follow?: Or, Glimpses of Terraqueous Domestic Studies

"*Terraqueous*, (lat.) composed of earth and water together."
Edward Phillips, *The new world of English words*... (1658)

"The maritime world…introduces oceans and continents, islands, archipelagoes, and coasts, as well as the ship. These spatial scales connect different kinds of landmasses and have histories of their own."
Margaret Cohen, "Literary Studies on the Terraqueous Globe" (2010)[1]

The globe had been terraqueous long before the term landed in Edward Phillips's *The New World Of English Words* (1658). Indeed, Phillips's dictionary is published in the wake of the first recorded global circumnavigation (1522), the East India Company's founding (1600), and colonial Jamestown's settlement (1607). European powers had also enslaved approximately one million Africans on ships by 1658. These powers would steal over eleven million Africans at sea in the next two centuries, in addition to binding millions more on land.[2] In short, the European maritime world had continued coalescing and competing on land and water together. The extent of this record will not be repeated here.[3] I begin with Phillips to establish this work's prehistory and its true north, its guiding keyword. As an heir to a terraqueous globe and an agent in it, Phillips gives language to a "new world" shaped by oceanic labor and bondage. He makes a shared home of watery and landed space. Literary scholars have likewise begun to track the terraqueous globe's material terms and imaginative extensions. A rising tide lifts all boats. As Margaret Cohen confirms in "Literary Studies on a Terraqueous Globe" (2010), a maritime world of "oceans and continents, islands, archipelagoes, and coasts, as well as the ship" shares a history with landed attachments and exchanges. Oceanic awareness shapes persons' local and

[1] n.p., 658
[2] According to *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, European powers bound 1,066,440 Africans at sea between 1501 and 1658. Among these persons, approximately 241,128 (22.61%) died prior to disembarkation.
[3] For a commendable attempt to contain all of maritime history, see Paine.

global relations. In response, Cohen notes, "These spatial scales valued from a maritime focus need to be included among the imaginary geographies found in literature" (658). If historical persons' experiences with land and water together structure their imaginative worlds, scholarly visions must be equally expansive. In making this claim, Cohen heralds a burgeoning field of transoceanic studies that has shared investments with Atlantic, Pacific, and other oceanic studies.[4] This swelling scholarly wave crashes onto previously land-based fields. To explore a watery globe, each confirm, one must get wet.

This dissertation, entitled "Sentimental Seamen and Pirates of Sympathy: Antebellum Narratives of Terraqueous Domesticity," takes a seemingly dry concept—"antebellum sentimental domesticity"— and gets it wet. In its broadest sense, "domesticity" refers to a set of interior relations that are spatially and socially organized by familial attachment. As myriad scholars have shown, domesticity's diverse narrative and cultural forms challenge a host of binaries, including: public/private, natural/wild, domestic/foreign, masculine/feminine, white/black, and liberal/conservative. Domesticity, sometimes framed as a private, natural, domestic, feminine, white, conservative category, has become a complex keyword in American cultural studies. [5] My approach to antebellum domesticity further troubles its place in an

[4] Cohen's article is part of a *PMLA* "theories and methodologies" special section on "Oceanic Studies." This appeal, made by literary scholars, is a new take on the plea long echoed by scholars in Atlantic and Pacific studies: oceanic history is at its best when treated as part of a dynamic global system. For a field overview of oceanic studies, see Burnham ("Oceanic"). The field owes a debt to Atlantic history. As Bernard Bailyn argues in *Atlantic History*, "Atlantic History is not additive; it is more than the sum of its [national] parts" (60). It should be a study of "a world in motion" (61). One must also, as recent transpacific histories have challenged, "[r]ecover the historical connections *between* the Atlantic and Pacific worlds" (Yokota 205). The flow of commerce and bodies exist across staid field boundaries. For other recent collections in Atlantic history, see Vickers's *A Companion to Colonial America* (2003); Greene and Morgan's *Atlantic History* (2009); and Armitage and Braddock's *The British Atlantic World* (2009). For recent collections in transpacific studies, see Brada-Williams; Hoskins; Shu. I will consider my particular intersections with these fields in my section introductions and epilogue.

[5] Indeed, Rosemary Marangoly George's keyword essay on "Domestic" in *Keywords for American Cultural Studies* (2014) provides perhaps the most comprehensive lineage of this term's deconstruction. Scholars continue to perform this necessary work. For a study of domesticity's necessarily vexed relation to nineteenth-century political spectrum, see Romero. For a history of domestic photography as a form of "tender" racial violence, see Wexler. For an alternative history of nineteenth-century domesticity as shaped by black girlhood, see Wright. For studies of

earth/water binary. Specifically, I show how varying notions of a married antebellum term, "sympathy," structure two linked-yet-distinct domestic cultural realms: oceanic, shipboard spaces and landed, home-centered nations. As I argue in two sections, American sailors in an age of sail and antebellum landed writers invoke sympathetic "fellow feeling" to secure their respective claims to domestic interiority in a watery expanse. In short, each group installs domestic stability on ship or on shore by performing or narrating forms of sentimental attachment. This prologue briefly outlines my two cases studies— one dedicated to the ship and the other the shore—in advance of independent section introductions.[6] An epilogue will marry these spaces to describe the prospect of a field I am tentatively calling "terraqueous domestic studies." This field takes topics often associated with domesticity—including theories of interior home-life, the production of gendered literary forms, and systems of intimate, sentimental violence— and casts them transoceanically. This dissertation's inductive structure allows me to first stage, then connect, two seemingly disparate homes on a watery (scholarly) globe.

At heart, this project tracks attempts to enact domestic bodies' imagined correspondence of feeling within or across oceanic space. These bodies are individual and collective, the stuff of ships and of states. I will describe these bodies' specific constitution in each section, but must first name their shared sentimental current. Translated from the Greek, "sympathy" (συμπάθεια), or "the state of feeling together," derives from the words for "fellow" (συν) and "feeling" (πάθος) (Schliesser 3). At heart, philosophers of sympathy since Plato have considered how individuals understand or enact a social unity despite their embodied separation. In other words, these thinkers consider how distinct subjects are morally and materially attuned with one another. During the late eighteenth and nineteenth-century period I highlight, Caleb Crain notes,

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domesticity's connection to nineteenth-century imperialism, see Kaplan ("Manifest"); Sanchez-Eppler; Stoler. I will highlight this and other work in both of my section introductions.

[6] My intention is to develop each of these dissertation sections into independent monographs.

"sympathy had the force of a biological fact, as if it were as essential to human nature as sight, hearing, taste, touch, and smell" (4).[7] In particular, antebellum figures rely on Adam Smith's *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1756). Smith presents sympathy as the product of natural self-interest extended to others via the imagination. In the process, he promotes an alternative to contemporary David Hume's model of disinterested feeling.[8] According to Smith,

> As we have no immediate experience of what other men feel, we can form no idea of the manner in which they are affected, but by conceiving what we ourselves should feel in the like situation . . . we place ourselves in his situation, we conceive ourselves enduring all the same torments, we enter as it were into his body, and become in some measure the same person with him, and thence form some idea of his sensations, and even feel something which, though weaker in degree, is not altogether unlike them. (13-14)

According to these terms, one imagines oneself as the object of sympathy, or "enter[s] as it were into his body," and reanimates a true approximation of that subject/object's current feeling. One's self-interested response to this feeling dictates proper action towards the object of sympathy. Namely, one works to prevent adverse feelings and to foster beneficial ones. During this time, individuals maintain their claim to self-interest and independent embodiment: one may become "some measure the same person" as an object of sympathy, but that measure is determined by the sympathetic subject. In this system, individuals build moral and material attachment via the recognition of their shared embodied capacities and moral compasses.

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[7] By the eighteenth-century, philosopher Eric Schliesser notes in *Sympathy: A History*, "sympathy had moved from an occult quality hidden to the senses to a crucial concept in capturing the manner in which human understanding involves a certain sort of sympathetic recognition" (5). This development is most closely associated with Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746), his mentee David Hume (1711-1776), and Adam Smith (1723-1790) For more comprehensive histories of sympathy, see Lamb; Schmitter; Taylor.

[8] Both Hume and Smith treat sympathy as the product of social connection and moral sense, but differ on its mechanisms. First, moral sentiments for Hume are the product of disinterested desires for social interaction rather than self-interest. This "propensity to company and society" powers a like disposition for moral sentiments (202). Secondly, Hume's treatment of sympathy as an embodied exchange of experience that leads to a "contagion of manners" is more reliant on material spread of feeling rather than projections of them (204). For a more extensive comparison, see Sayre-McCord. For an extensive reading of Hume's moral philosophy, see Finlay.

For Smith, familial attachments may guide and sustain individuals' moral sense by providing a natural ideal. Ideal familial structures, Smith supposes, allow one to both practice and value social cohesions produced by fellow feeling. The viewer of an ideal family feels a "peace, cheerfulness, harmony, and contentment" that is modeled by relations in which children's "respectful affection" and parents "kind indulgence" produce a "reign [of] mutual love and esteem" (49). Within this system, then, subjects may subordinate themselves to both a larger family unit and a dominant filial subject while maintaining their claim to individual self-interest or identity. Even granting the existence of external threats to this family, which Smith recounts and I will discuss, moral subjects are inclined to create familial union. In other words, a personal familial feeling may ripple across social relations.

This model's embedded hierarchies, as well as persons' uneven access to familial attachment, belies its supposed universality. Indeed, antebellum sympathy's status as a politically progressive or conservative form— particularly in relation to racial and economic ideology—has shaped scholarship for the past thirty-five years.[9] My primary addition to this field will be to analyze how investments in sentimental attachment shape two complex domestic arrangements that are suspended in transoceanic space— the deep-sea ship and the antebellum ship of state.

To understand sympathy's power aboard age-of-sail vessels, one must recover its ideal domestic subjects. In response, my first section, "The Domesticity of the Sea: On Sentimental Seamen" concerns shipboard environments' interior, affective labors. As I argue in my first two

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`[9] One may track three major currents of scholarship, though the borders are porous. Many works, including but not limited to Jane Tompkins's *Sensational Designs* (1985), Philip Fisher's *Hard Facts* (1985), Julia A. Sterne's *The Plight of Feeling* (1997), and Caleb Crain's *American Sympathy* (2008), rightly note sympathy's use in reform movements seeking more expansive definitions of citizenship. On the other hand, works including Saidiya Hartmen's *Scenes of Subjection* (1997), Shirley Samuels's *Romances of the Republic* (1996), and Elizabeth Barnes's *Love's Whipping Boy* (2011) persuasively demonstrate sympathy's mobilization to enact violence and state control, particularly over black and bound subjects. Yet, as Shirly Samuels's collection *The Culture of Sentiment* (1992), Dana Nelson's *The Word in Black and White* (1994) and P. Gabrielle Foreman's *Activist Sentiments* (2009) show, sympathy's ideological power is also tied to the social and political subjectivity from which one narrates. I will engage these specific debates in my section introductions.

chapters, age of sail laborers' regulated and monetized fellow feeling powers their homes on the water. Sailors' hierarchical and coordinated daily labors require a deep awareness of one's relationship with and reliance on other feeling bodies. In this system, "sentimental seamen" represent a social and economic ideal: namely, they uphold an interior, domestic shipboard space in which every subject is bound by mutual interest and fellow feeling. Shipboard labor's affective power and bondage shapes sailors' emotional imaginations as well as their textual productions. Active sailors chart their affective states alongside their labors in logs and journals. Others, particularly nonwhite sailors, use the language of sentiment to name their relative share of domestic or oceanic bondage. Published authors like Dana, Melville, Cooper, and Douglass place sentimental seamen in their narratives to similarly advance or challenge an ideal of shipboard order. As these narratives confirm, sailors subsidize landed culture via the economic and affective products of their bound voices, bodies, and feelings.

To track sympathy's currents within an antebellum landed ideal, one must track this ideal's oceanic antagonist. My second section, "The Sea in Domesticity: On Pirates of Sympathy," analyzes the trope of the unsentimental pirate in antebellum fiction and policy. As introduced by Thomas Jefferson in 1776, "pirates of sympathy" are literary-historical figures whose maritime movement and national (non)allegiance prove their supposed moral incapacity. In short, they are supposedly unmoved by an ideal of nationalist sympathy. As my final three chapters show, the removal of such pirates confirms privileged domestic subjects' rights to oceanic inheritances, particularly the spoils of the maritime slave trade. In response, various bound persons, abolitionists, and secessionists claim alternative shares of this inheritance. They do so by rejecting their status as pirates or by recovering sympathy for piratical figures. To track these debates, I compare the sentimental form at the heart of pirate fictions, trial transcripts, and

material objects. Overall, the antebellum pirate of sympathy reveals the antebellum era's defining sentimental fiction: namely, that a domestic nation built on slaveholding inheritances and white hegemony could be the definitive arbiter of moral feeling.

Ultimately, this dissertation is an heir to the terraqueous globe Edward Phillips names in 1658 and Margaret Cohen calls for in 2010. In the process, it advances a field Melissa Gniadek hints at in her 2015 analysis of Caroline Kirkland's *A New Home, Who'll Follow? Or, Glimpses of Western Life* (1839). As Gniadek confirms, "the oceanic turn in American literary studies illuminates previously unexplored aspects of domestic realms and their relationship to global spaces, stories, and movements" (210). The domestic ideals I address are part of "global spaces, stories, and movements," though they do not always share literary or historical waters. Pirates of sympathy will not board the historical vessels I address; my first section concerns an isolated shipboard culture. Likewise, my second section highlights landed narrations *about* piracy rather than chart oceanic piratical action; sentimental seamen's shipboard feelings are not a national ideal. Nonetheless, analyzing both ideals necessitates a new approach to domesticity and the sea. Gniadek herself joins land and sea by analyzing the "maritime tales" embedded in Kirkland's story of western settlement; the sea, she concludes, "reinforces the speculative nature of that terrestrial [western] hearthstone" (210). As I show, the transoceanic nation and the age-of-sail ship are *both* speculative exercises in home making that domestic subjects or collectivities fail to uphold. No individual sailor perfectly directs their feelings towards laboring unity. Pirates of sympathy are foils for a national family defined by its internal conflicts. Nonetheless, these literary-historical figures shape hoped-for domestic unions that are composed of earth and water together. To launch this terraqueous approach, one must first board the ship and make it home.

A new home: who'll follow?

Section One:
The Domesticity of the Sea: On Sentimental Seamen

Introduction
"Feelings I know": Feeling Labor

"Feelings I know very well how to experience, but not how to discribe." So writes Horace B. Putnam, first mate aboard the trading bark *Emily Wilder*. His journal's even lines and well-formed letters belie their construction amidst a rolling sea. It is June 1850. Putnam has entered the second month of a yearlong trading voyage from Salem to Africa's eastern coast. The sailor's feelings on this day include a "sort of dread mixed with feelings of pleasure" at the prospect of a letter from home (12).[10] Putnam, like many others in his Massachusetts homestead, has exchanged landed attachment for oceanic labor. The act of narration neither expunges nor explains this embodied separation, this new oceanic feeling. Yet Putnam is moved to write. Nine months later, he further considers his powers of feeling and description. It is March 1851. Putnam has entered the five-year anniversary of his "life at sea." "That time has brought to me many scenes," he muses, "some of which have been tinged with feelings of pleasure and others, far the reverse" (65). These unnamed experiences, as well as the sailor's narration of them, are necessarily tied to embodied feelings. Oceanic scenes "tinged with feelings" variably infect him as both a laborer and a writer. Putnam continues, "As I am now penning these lines, the cheerful songs of the men on the forecastle strike upon my ear." Material sounds of labor entangle with the act of narration. They "strike" his ear and guide his pen. These sounds force Putnam to consider material shifts in his own feelings. The sound "recalls to mind the time I came here on my first voyage, and of the far different feelings that now possess one to those that then did." Five years prior, Putnam began life as a common sailor. Now he is completing his first year as an officer. Putnam does not describe the feelings that "possess" him, or have a material hold on him. Yet this hold is unmistakable. Its power occurs at the level of form: "feelings" are the

[10] Putnam doubtless hopes for a letter from his fiancée, Rachel Hurd. They would marry in 1853 and have their only child in 1859. His papers may be found at the Peabody Essex Museum.

clause's subject and Putnam their object. A life at sea has led to new feelings. It has also altered this sailor's embodied capacity to feel. Putnam no longer feels as a landsman does. His feelings, like his ears, are tuned to shipboard labor.

As a working sailor and a private author, Horace B. Putnam is among the myriad eighteenth and nineteenth-century writers who chart the emotional contours of sailors' laboring lives. And despite his claimed incapacity, Putnam reveals something largely overlooked: historical sailors' oceanic feelings, like their oceanic labors, may be treated as structural and material. Moreover, sailors' attempts to define these labors and feelings require novel literary forms. Putnam, like many others, aligns his material labors, his embodied feelings, and his narrative capacity. By attending to this fact, this section represents a revisionist literary-history of American sailors in an age of sail. My aim is two-fold: first, I retrace a history of shipboard sentimental culture; second, I recover a corpus of sailors' sentimental production. I accomplish these dual aims by adhering to Mary Chapman and Glenn Hendler's call in their formative collection, *Sentimental Men: Masculinity and the Politics of Affect in American Culture* (1999). Namely, I "revise and complicate any understanding of sentimentality that occludes the meaning of such performances of masculine affect" (2). As these scholars show, early American men have a robust claim to sympathy. The "logic of affective androgyny" that defines sentimental philosophy dictates that fellow feeling is a feature of *all* human subjectivity. This idea has shaped studies of early American masculinity, but has yet to be applied to shipboard sentimental identity (3).[11] In response, I show how sentimental men may become sentimental *sea*men.

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[11] For other works that highlight sympathy's role in forms of eighteenth and nineteenth-century masculine affect, see Julie Ellison's *Cato's Tears* (1999), Caleb Crain's *American Sympathy* (2001), Ivy Schweitzer's *Perfecting Friendship* (2006), and Richard Godbeer's *The Overflowing of Friendship* (2009). In practice, oceanic realities are secondary even in the maritime readings found in *Sentimental Men*. Tana Penry's erudite psychoanalytic reading of Melville's *Moby Dick* and *Pierre* is a prime example. Her claim that Melville is "navigat[ing] the channel between affect and isolation in the maturation of 'soul toddlers' such as Ahab, Ishmael, and Pierre" abstracts feeling from maritime labor and focuses on its existential implications (226).

Sentimental *sea*men, I argue, represent a literary-historical ideal in an American age of sail. Namely, they are an imagined class of sailors whose embodied sensitivities are utterly suited for shipboard culture and the maritime economy. These sensitivities are physical, emotional, and literary. First, sentimental seamen are physically adept at feeling through age of sail technology. A sailing vessel's physical arrangement— including its closed quarters, its coordinated labors, and its hierarchical organization— both fosters sailors' embodied unity and structures that unity for economic ends. In other words, sustaining fellow feeling is *skilled work*. Second, sentimental seamen always direct their emotional energies towards this productive and cohesive labor. In other words, sailors' control over emotions that threaten their laboring capacity is a *technical skill* like any other. Lastly, sentimental seamen can accurately log their feelings, labors, and feeling labors. Specifically, they produce official texts without extraneous feeling and public texts that align embodied feelings with technical skill. In word and in act, the sentimental seamen ideal is an impossible standard of perfect feeling that sailors variably maintain or sustain. Nonetheless, their attempts show how regulated and monetized forms of fellow feeling shape sailors' embodied capacities, their emotional sensitivities, and their literary imaginations.

My analysis of shipboard culture and maritime literature rests on American sailors' historical labors as well as on popular sailor-authors' published accounts. As each figure shows, sailors' literary-historical identities are necessarily tied to their oceanic practice. To recover shipboard sailors' sentimental investments, I analyze texts such as manuscript journals, logbooks, articles of agreement, and account books. As these texts reveal, sailors' economic requirement to log their labors— as well a human impulse to accurately log one's feelings— leads to materialist, labor-based sentimental writing. In short, sailors are expected to read their hearts as they do the waves, wind, and weather; in other words, only those emotions that may be

tied to embodied ability, or feelings that are shaped by oceanic practice, match the sentimental seamen ideal. This materialist, labor-based form reveals maritime literature's own sentimental investments. Namely, the inchoate and guarded forms often found in shipboard manuscripts reach their narrative height in early American published memoirs, biographies, and novels of varied fictionality. Popular figures like Richard Henry Dana Jr. marry the official log and the public memoir to support their emotional narratives' claims to realism. Authors of color, including published freepersons such as Nancy Prince and John Thompson, strategically invest in official log forms to assert their authorial identity as well as to convey the sentimental seamen ideal's particular dangers and promises for nonwhite subjects. Melville, Cooper, Douglass, and other canonical authors of fiction use the language of sentimental seamen to deconstruct maritime culture and its values. These literary products on ship and on shore do not merely reflect historical labors. Instead, they concretize the sentimental seamen ideal and, through their public dissemination, give sailors the tools to regulate their own literary and laboring bodies. In the process, private and public narratives sustain a maritime economy in which shipboard labors ostensibly advance moral feeling. An ideal sentimental seaman has productive feelings that he knows very well how to experience *and* describe.

Ultimately, this section confirms a central tenet of any age of sail: namely, that the variety, complexity, and repetition of shipboard relations make sailors' affective acuity a structural part of maritime culture. Tellingly, Horace B. Putnam's account of feelings that are better experienced than described corresponds with the entry on "Seamanship" first found in the 1797 edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica.*[12] As they note, the sailor "possesses a prodigious deal of knowledge; but the honest tar cannot tell what he knows, or rather what he feels, for his science is really at his finger ends" (199). If sailors' technical knowledge is the product of

[12] This entry could be found in at least seven editions of the encyclopedia between 1797 and 1842.

abstract physical feelings, this "science . . . at his finger ends" has a deeply emotional component. The line between "what he knows" and "what he feels" is permanently linked. The sailors I address may not always meet the ideal of "sentimental seamen," but most uphold the historical and ideological structures that produce this figure. The same *Britannica* entry confirms, "A seaman, in the language of the profession, is not merely a mariner or labourer on board a ship, but a man who understands the structure of this wonderful machine" (198). Sailors must not only labor well, it seems. Instead, they must "understand" shipboard structures in a "wonderful machine" ordered by technical requirements and social hierarchies. For sailors, this labor and its confirmation are best advanced via written accounts. These accounts, I will show, confirm an ideal of proper labor, feeling, and bondage.

At heart, sentimental seamen confirm a fact known to oceanic subjects across traditions: to sail is to feel bodies, most notably the sea and one's own. Navigating oceanic space produces embodied thoughts and feelings that are informed by cultural practice.[13] Of course, my claim is *not* that all sailors feel the same. This idea is inconceivable in relation to an identity that spans epochs and traditions. Instead, I analyze a culturally specific *ideal* of feeling that a particular maritime society and its institutions actively promote. The sentimental seamen ideal may be advanced or challenged in other sailing traditions, but I focus on its application to U.S.-based sailors and literatures. Nonetheless, this ideal is carried by oceanic interactions whose basic terms ripple across sailing practice. The technical requirements embedded in the act of sailing, in addition to the ship's status as a closed social and economic space, foster new forms of material

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[13] "Navigation is a complete, embodied, synaesthetic activity" (129), John Mack confirms in *The Sea: A Cultural History* (2011). "A navigator's sight, body, and gravity are . . . expanded as she floats upon a moving mass of liquid," Karen Amimoto Ingersoll notes in *Waves of Knowing: A Seascape Epistemology* (2016) (81). In this work, Ingersoll considers the culture of Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians), as well as her own surfing experience, to track an indigenous ocean-centered way of knowing and being. The "oceanic literacy" she recounts is both particular to indigenous Pacific communities and a theoretical alternative to terracentrism. Notably, Ingersoll also stoutly rejects an epistemological and emotional binary. "In oceanic literacy. . . [thought and feeling] are both necessary and work together simultaneously. Emotion and logic are both ways of knowing" (81).

labor and feeling. They are a new stage of affective exchange. American sailors who perform on this stage often understand this relation as one of sympathy. This belief may be both deeply felt and conditioned by outside forces. To associate individual feelings with structuring ideologies does not diminish those feelings' value or authenticity. As Putnam begins to make clear, the United States' standing in an age of sail required a class of persons equally bound to new homes on the waters. Antebellum scholars, like sailors, must first take to the sea if they hope to understand shipboard sympathy's experiential, imaginative, and ideological currents. One may be more attuned to oceanic feeling, or feeling itself, by entering oceanic bodies.

"As a class": Structures of Fellow Feeling

For the sailors I address, ideal shipboard feeling is structured by a capitalistic model but not wholly reducible to it. For example, Horace B. Putnam considers his shipmates "as a class, of as fine natural feelings as any persons within the pale of the Americas" (11). In accordance with an economic ideal, Putnam links "natural feeling" with "class" identity. In short, a natural feeling is a productive one. At the same time, Putnam's view also derives from the "service rendered" to him and the "favour granted" in their daily lives. Putnam does not emphasize any extraordinary events, but treats this relation as a matter of course. "I never met warmer or kinder hearts than I have in my shipmates," Putnam concludes of his ship's American and "foreign" crew. These sailors' "fine natural feelings" are, like any other kind, shaped by material experience and cultural ideology. The crew's ability to labor without conflict confirms their moral and emotional capacity. This desire for unity is a logical response to shipboard labors of deep attachment and mutual self-interest. At the same time, however, this ideal of fellow feeling is built into maritime capitalist institutions and their valued experiences. Sailors' monetized fellow feeling is regulated in shipboard society as well as in the broader maritime economy.

In linking class and feeling, this work's literary-historical aim is tied to its field argument: namely, affective relations are material to any account of shipboard labor and economy in an age of sail. Maritime scholars agree that sailors' labors and identities shape early American economic, political, and social systems.[14] Likewise, scholars of shipboard culture have long recounted the space's social codes and ideological currents. Each confirms that unified labors define any age-of-sail ship.[15] As I will show, a turn to affect addresses the questions of labor at the heart of these studies, particularly the relationship between ships' laboring structure and growing capitalist infrastructures. If early modern sailors are "among the first collective laborers," as Markus Rediker has argued, I show how shipboard cooperative practices do not necessarily reflect collectivist labor politics (*Devil* 78).[16] Instead, the forms of shipboard collectivity that produce sailors' real or imagined unity of feeling are predicated on that unity's economic outcomes. Ideal collectivist labors serve capitalistic ends.

Specifically, the variety, complexity, and repetition of shipboard labors make a certain kind of affective acuity a necessary and lauded form of economic productivity. The necessities of oceanic survival, maritime scholar Brian Rouleau affirms, "compelled the common seaman to emphasize teamwork and to categorically reject behavior that posed a threat to this solidarity" (32). What Rouleau calls the "the forging of grounds for cooperation" I name the formation of sympathetic attachment through cooperative labor (32). Sailors' emotional orientation, though

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[14] Recent works I will consider include Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker's *The Many Headed Hydra* (2000), Leon Fink's *Sweatshops at Sea* (2011), Matthew Taylor Raffety's *The Republic Afloat* (2013), and Brian Rouleau's *With Sails Whitening Every Sea* (2014).

[15] Works I will discuss include Marcus Rediker's *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea* (1989), Briton Busch's *Whaling Will Never Do for Me* (1994), Margaret Creighton's *Rites and Passages* (1995), Jeffrey Bolster's *Black Jacks* (1997), Paul Gilje's *Liberty on the Waterfront (2004)* and *To Swear Like a Sailor* (2016), Daniel Vickers's *Young Men and the Sea* (2005), Stephen Berry's *A Path in the Mighty Waters* (2015), and Nancy Shoemaker's *Native American Whalemen and the World* (2015).

[16] According to Rediker, "The collective worker, exemplified by seamen, was the proletarian of the period of 'manufacture,' and would, of course, become a dominant formal type of laborer with the advent of industrial capitalism" (*Devil* 78).

less codified than other policies, is a necessary part of maritime institutions' economic and ideological structure. In that way, sentimental seamen uphold a distinction oceanic example of "structures of feeling," defined by Raymond Williams as "social experiences *in solution*" or active forms of lived experiences that speak to a specific historical moment's espoused values and quality of life (133).[17] In short, belief in an ideal form of productive fellow feeling binds sailors and builds maritime institutions. By applying Williams's turn to the "affective elements of consciousness and relationships" in shipboard space, this work takes a materialist and historicist approach to shipboard society and its valued feelings (132).[18]

This account of shipboard economy is necessarily tied to a theory of shipboard affect. If maritime scholars often match sailors' assumed emotional guardedness, affect theorists have long recognized feeling's structural ties to material and social forms.[19] "The logic of the heart would appear not to be strictly Boolean in form," Silvan Tomkins first notes in "What Are Affects?," "but this is not to say that it has no structure" (55).[20] My discussion of sailors' emotional lives is grounded by an account of how affective relations structure shipboard environments. As I show, shipboard labor has affective dimensions that precede sailors' emotional responses. Sentimental seamen's ideal emotional orientation follows from shipboard

[17] As Williams notes, the *structure* of feelings act "as a set, with specific internal relations, at once interlocking and in tension" and are based in social relations best understood only after they have been "formalized, classified, and in many cases built into institutions and formations" (132). I am diagnosing a set of relations that were never officially formalized but that were certainly built into maritime institutions and formations.

[18] For me, discussions of individual emotion do not clash with the form or function of Williams's theory. Others disagree. According to Sianne Ngai, Williams "is not really talking about emotions or even affects" (360) but instead "mobiliz[es] an entire affective register . . . to enlarge the scope and definition of materialist analysis" (361). For a conflicting reading of both Ngai and scholarly applications of "structures of feeling," see Heuhl.

[19] As Sianne Ngai explains in *Ugly Feelings*, "[M]ost critics today accept that far from being merely private or idiosyncratic phenomena . . . feelings are as fundamentally 'social' as the institutions and collective practices that have been the more traditional object of historicist criticism . . . , and as 'material' as the linguistic signs and significations that have been the more traditional objects of literary formalism" (334-35). For formative collections for affect theory's social and materialist turn, see Clough, ed; Sedgwick (*Touching*).

[20] For Tomkins, the process by which one can "formalize the logic of feeling" comes from biological and psychological motivations (55); more recently, theorists have forwarded equally social and material models.

society's established affective structure.[21] If affect "arises in the midst of *inbetween-ness*: in the capacities to act and be acted upon" (1), and is a "potential" based on "a body's capacity to affect and be affected," then the laboring hierarchies of a ship leave common sailors' with shared affective "capacities" and "potential" (Seigworth 2). Sailors can move and be moved by one another. Specifically, sailors' actions are mediated by the interplay of bodies and voices in the shared space of a ship. Shared watches move as one body. All hands must be roused in moments of distress. The hand that pulls the rope necessarily moves and is moved by other common hands. This dynamic confirms what affect theorist Brian Massumi calls "an intrinsic connection between movement and sensation," namely a system in which a body "moves as it feels, and it feels itself moving" (1). Sailors' fellow feeling is an extension of their shared capacity to physically move together in unified labors across a watery expanse. These continued labors do not merely alter sailors' individual feelings, I conclude, but reshape their biological, embodied capacities.[22] Their ears are tuned and their finger ends are tested.

Read according to these terms, the formation of the sentimental seamen ideal is a historically and spatially specific example of the mechanisms through which humans give affective relations emotional shape and meaning. Sailors, like nearly all humans, take an affective relation and produce a guiding explanation. Specifically, shipboard culture fosters affective practices that subjects align with sentimental philosophy. This leap is logical. The spectacle that defines Adam Smith's vision of fellow feeling is embedded in shipboard labor's necessary performances. For Smith, sympathy is an embodied unity made possible by the

[21] Scholars like Patricia Clough draw a necessary distinction between "preindividual" affective forces and lived emotions; affect is "nonlinear complexity out of which the narration of conscious states such as emotion are subtracted" (2). In other words, affective forces precede human embodied reactions and meaning-making.

[22] In that way, sailors' laboring bodies are products of the "transmission of affect" described by Teresa Brennan. Brennan considers "socially induced affect that changes our biology," or how social and environmental connections structure marked physiological shifts (1-2). All affects are "material, physiological things," Brennan affirms, due to their "energetic dimension," or the fact that affective relations "enhance or deplete" bodies in one's surrounding (6). In the case of sentimental seamen, one must be energized by calls to labor and communal action.

imagined connection between multiple feeling subjects. In Smith's primary example, sentimental attachment is the product of one's imagined extension of an external subject's pain onto one's body. In this system, material and affective distance between subjects or objects is overcome by an intellectual ability to imagine, then feel, a comparable self-interest. Shipboard realities render such imaginative leaps largely unnecessary. Indeed, a ship's rope is a chord of feeling. To ignore this feeling, or to mishandle the rope, is to invite shared pain or death. To ignore the voice that calls you to labor, or to deny an embodied connection, is to welcome pain (either at the hands of the sea or of the officer). In short, the sentimental unity of sailors' bodies, voices, and movements protects them all against oceanic unruliness and social unrest.

While oceanic necessities lead to embodied attachment and shared self-interest, economic obligations color feelings' relative values. Ideal sailors' feelings must be economically productive, or at least not unproductive. The rejection of effusive or unregulated emotional expression is a major feature of the sentimental seamen ideal. So if sailors often exercise an emotional hardness, one must recall Sara Ahmed's affirmation: "*Hardness is not the absence of emotion, but a different emotional orientation towards others*" (4, emphasis hers). In this case, sailors' positive *and* negative feelings are oriented towards the needs of maritime institutions. In short, the sentimental seamen ideal is also defined against what it is not. "If good emotions are cultivated, and are worked on and towards," Ahmed affirms, "then they remain defined against uncultivated or unruly emotions, which frustrate the formation of the competent self" (3). In the case of sentimental seamen, "good emotions" are those that heighten sailors' technical ability and social cohesion. A "competent" sailor is highly aware of others' bodies and voices, but is expected to be free of "unruly or uncultivated" feelings. These feelings include an abundance of homesickness, an outward fear of death, resentment towards the captain or officers,

overpowering racial animus, and numbness to the sea's power or effects. These feelings are "unproductive" because they do not forward the ship's labor or they disrupt the ship's social hierarchies. Feelings that go against shipboard order are not truly unproductive— they have personal or political value, as I will discuss— but are instead incompatible with a dominant definition of productivity. They are a form of affective surplus inherent to a shipboard order and its capitalist economy. Sailors' longing for home, for example, is an expected outcome of shipboard life. This feeling is accepted so long as it is not does not affect one's laboring capacity. Similarly, an understandable fear of death, once expressed, makes one less inclined to perform dangerous acts. In other words, affective regulation necessarily becomes a form of economic regulation. In this system, each sailor makes the ship's volatile appear controlled by the power of harmonious labor and affective harmony. In sum, their affective labor advances the ship's economic and material advancement.[23]

Robert Weir, writing aboard the whaler *Clara Bell*, is a prime example of a sailor who diagnoses both positive and negative feelings according to their basis in productive labors. On August 14th 1856, Weir diagnoses the reciprocal relationship between sailors' feelings and the oceanic environment. "Such is fate_" he begins, "calms, currents, & winds oppose our progress_ our feelings rise & fall with the winds_ a 7 knot breeze makes us cheerful_ a dead calm sober & growly_ a gale puts us in extacy [sic]." Weir makes this proclamation after a full day of labor in the South Pacific. Tellingly, this sailor presents one's judgment of feelings as a matter of technical ability: only a skilled sailor can judge the wind's precise effect on a ship's material and emotional body. A "7 know breeze" allows sailors to practice their embodied skill, thereby making them "cheerful." A "gale put us in extacy," one presumes, because it is the ultimate test

[23] As defined by Michael Hardt, affective labor is embodied practice that "produces or manipulates affects such as a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement, or passion" (108). In the case of sailing vessels, affective labor is the practice of confirming that one's body and feeling is attuned to shipboard labor.

of such skill. Of course, an unskilled sailor may welcome a calm that lessons their likelihood of dangerous labor. Like a good sentimental seaman, however, Weir aligns positive feeling with productive labor. Moreover, skilled sailors will be "sober & growly" in response to ecological denials of labor. This alignment makes sense for one who is utterly at home at sea. After all, a calm leaves his finger ends untested, his ears untuned, and his purse empty.

In this system, an accepted form of monetized feeling powers shipboard hands that Melville calls "the *primum mobile* of all commerce" (*Redburn* 204). Put simply, sentimental seamen are the ideal agents of transoceanic capital.[24] They have largely accepted their function as cogs in shipboard and global economic orders. These sailors do not waver from shipboard labor's accepted emotional norms. Their ships do not mutiny, nor do their authors succumb to the temptation of suicide. To invoke Adam Smith, these sailors' imagined correspondence of self-interest parallels the economic self-interestedness that powers a capitalist economy. In other words, belief in the sentimental seamen ideal reinforces the capitalist ethos of Smith's moral philosophy. This connection is not incidental. According to Amartya Sen, "Smith never abandoned what he presented in the *Moral Sentiments*" when writing *Wealth of Nations* (1776). Smith relies on "self love," or a belief that self-interested positions lead to both moral and economic value, as the basis for human action (7).[25] As Lori Merish confirms in *Sentimental Materialism*, Smith "configured [sympathy] as a commodity; specifically, it was the affectional equivalent of the money form" (51). In other words, moral feeling is at heart transactional. Just as money becomes the universal basis for exchange in capitalist systems, Smith makes emotional "exchange and possession" the universal basis for human connection. Sentimental seamen embody this philosophy's oceanic enactments.

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[24] For an extended reading of this passage, see Fink (38).

[25] For readings of Smith's moral philosophy alongside his theory of economics, see Evensky; Fleischacker; Rothschilld; Teichgraeber; Winch. Also see the works in Sen's critical introduction.

Fittingly, an account book confirms the marriage of feeling and accumulation sentimental seamen forward for the benefit of maritime institutions. The book is a transactional record kept by esteemed Rhode Island merchants William Tillinghast and Benjamin Gordon.[26] The cover announces the moral philosophy that justifies their partnership. The heart, that shorthand for love, affection, and human embodiment, consecrates a book of profits. The "P&B" at the heart's center is not the mark of joined lovers. It is the name of the trading sloop *Polly and Betsy*, one of the central ships in the merchants' St. Croix trade. Bound sailors and enslaved subjects power this merchant trade and its profits, but the book does not relay these subjects' feelings. It records the products of their labor rather the state of their affections. It also confirms the owners' own sentiments: to love one's vessel (or one's plantation) is to love its profits, which are listed inside the book. This moral philosophy may be paired to the mechanisms of sympathy and accumulation that structure such vessels. Hoisting sail, hauling rope, and other technical labors are exercises of affective unity that produce economic value. In this system, the mechanisms through which emotional ties are made are inseparable from the self-interested and "free" exchanges that structure capitalist economies. The feeling subject's accumulation of attachment, like the capitalist subject's accumulation of money, proves to be a natural and moral impulse. Therefore, the ideal "sentimental seaman" is a sailor whose feeling labors are necessarily directed towards forms of accumulation.

Admittedly, sailors can practice an affective and embodied acuity without narrating these labors or resorting to sentimental ideology. Nonetheless, even sailors who do not publicly voice their feelings due to barriers of language or writing ability may be hailed as sentimental seamen. In short, all sailors power a space of fellow feeling without necessarily espousing an ideology that gives those feelings a particular social shape and value. Specifically, they enter a society that

[26] For further discussion of these account books and the Tillinghast family, see Nusco.

aligns a particular kind of technical or social skill with moral feeling. In this system, each sailor's labor power advances more than just a shipboard economic order. It also sustains, perhaps indirectly, an ideological system that marries natural fellow feeling and capitalist production. An individual sailor's acquiescence to shipboard order need not be vocalized or justified to advance the ideal of sentimental seamen. Just as maritime institutions physically rely on sailors' laboring bodies, persons who advance this ideology rely on these laboring bodies' social meaning, even in the absence of that meaning's declaration by maritime subjects.[27]

This classification of feeling, though not part of strict official policy, is forwarded both socially and in narratives that advance the sentimental seamen ideal. As I will discuss, the age of sail narrations I recount contain more than individual feelings, but speak to those feelings' structural basis. In his published *A Narrative of Four Voyages* (1832), for example, ship captain and imperial explorer Benjamin Morrell Jr. ambivalently validates sailors' outward hardiness as an extension of their social conditioning. At the same time, however, he ultimately names the alternative form of fellow feeling that is consistent with sailors' materialism and, as I will discuss in the following section, their visions of maritime masculinity. In describing an 1842 arrival in port, Morrell diagnoses his inability to cry upon hearing of his wife and two children's death during his journey. Morrell falls into a "paroxysm" in which "reason was shaken from its throne," but he does not share in the tears of those around him. "Their sympathy operated like a cordial to my feelings," Morrell admits, but he is held back from tears by "the idea of its being unmanly" (138). Morrell's "unnatural struggle against overpowering feelings" confirms his rejection of domestic sentimentality. This hardness, Morrell notes, had been "imbibed from my

[27] This understanding is informed by Althusser's theory of the "ideological state apparatus." In it, individuals are "always already subjects" and "always already interpolated" by state power (119). For Althusser, labor is also a function of this state apparatus; he writes, "the reproduction of labor power requires not only a reproduction of skills, but also, at the same time, a reproduction of its submission to the established order" (89).

earliest infancy" and is "very prevalent among . . . those who are destined to biller the billows of Neptune "(138). This "imbibed," or physically swallowed and embodied ideology, makes young men ideal sentimental seamen. Morrell may reject the idea that tears are "a weakness incompatible with daring enterprises," but he calls it "an error" that has "assisted in making many fine seamen" (138). This otherwise acceptable feeling's particular dismissal, therefore, is the product of maritime society's awareness of sailors' necessary emotional orientation. A would-be seaman could not be bound to domestic sympathies that he is destined to break.

At the same time, Morrell affirms that sailors' singular forms of fellow feeling are consistent with their prior laboring unity. As he recounts, three of Morrell's crewmembers hear of the deaths and go to their former captain. The captain notes, "the unaffected sympathy of my noble-hearted tars also afforded me much consolation" (139). By calling this sympathy "unaffected" and from "noble-hearted tars," Morrell signals that prior hardness does not preclude true feeling. Morrell continues, "As soon as they heard of my affliction, they came to administer consolation, and bind up the wounds of my heart. They were not Job's comforters" (139). This appeal to materialist, labor-based feeling is nonetheless contrasted with other expressions Morrell deems incompatible with sailors' labors. Sailors' may "administer consolation" as they would direct common labors. They may "bind wounds" as they would repair torn sails. Nonetheless, this comfort supports past and future labors. If Job's friends debated him regarding God's injustice after the death of Job's wife, these sailors leave Morrell to accept his fate. Each knows that a life at sea requires separation from both family and from homely feelings. Even so, Morrell's ability to exercise attachment with his fellow sailing men confirms the power of their homosocial attachment. Sailors' must join their body to the ship's laboring whole and, in the process, cement structures of capitalist accumulation and homosocial desire.

Homosocial Structures of Accumulation and Desire

My account of sentimental seamen requires a more expansive interpretation of homosocial shipboard spaces and the "masculine" subjects they produce. Sailors themselves claim a singular form of masculine identity that is predicated on labor. For example, guidebook author Frederick Sawyer's description in *Merchants and Shipmasters Guide* (1840) is also an affirmation of embodied homosocial unity. According to Sawyer, the "natural effect of their home on the deep" is for sailors to "assimilate their characters." In other words, they move toward an embodied unity. As Sawyer affirms, the "peculiar dangers, privations, and sufferings" of life at sea lead sailors to "their own peculiar habits, and manners, and distinctive modes of thought, of feeling, expression and of action" (145). For Sawyer, feeling is an orientation to be cultivated through action rather than one to be banished. Historian Matthew Taylor Raffety briefly invokes Sawyer to describe sailors' "performed behavior and masculine identity" as shaped by their shared labors (103). One may also highlight the modes of thought *and* feeling that make these labors possible, as shipboard writers themselves do.[28] "Peculiar" feelings of attachment advance the ship's social cohesion and material operation. These feelings, I will show, relate to the singular forms of homosocial desire that structure sailors' daily labors.

This study of masculine affect alters a pervading view of emotional expression as a deviation from sailors' ideal gender identity. As Margaret Creighton affirms, scholars must "approach the maleness of the sailing ship . . . not as a given or a timeless happenstance, but as a variable social construction. It is time we took a look at the various ways that the sailing voyage made men, and how men *as men* shaped the sailing voyage" ("American Mariners" 145). In

[28] According to one whaler at sea, for example, "a man is but a mere tool on board of a ship, let him occupy what position he will." While one may expect an appeal to "tool[s]" to lead to an account of men's shared technical work or skill, this writer places sailors' work in an affective register. Each crewmember is "obliged to . . . accommodate himself to the different tempers of everyone on board" (DeForrest, 3/30/52).

response, I show how both material necessities and social pressures shape sailors as "masculine" laborers and writers. In the process, I reclaim sentimentality's status as a form of labor. [29] For example, Creighton states, "Being a 'man' in America around 1850, at sea and ashore, with a few exceptions, meant the ability to sublimate sentimentality and emotions" (*Rites* 168). In turn, Creighton considers feeling in moments of exception.[30] Likewise, Lisa Norling obscures a full account of sailors' feelings at sea in her vital New England social history, *Captain Ahab Had a Wife* (2000). Norling places sailors on an unfeeling side of the "conceptual division between female and male spheres," leading her to treat feeling only as it relates to "sentimental phrases" in moments of homesickness (216).[31] And if, as Jennifer Schell argues in her study of early American whaling narratives and culture, "being creative, reflective thinkers had the potential to endanger the status that whalemen enjoyed as heroic manly Americans," then feeling is always already anathema to the ideal working class identity Schell tracks (79).[32] Lastly, if sailors' autobiographies are "quest[s] to achieve manhood and to resist what they saw as threats to their manliness" (3), as Myra Glenn argues, then what does one make of feeling?[33]

As I show, sailors' judgment of feeling is primarily based on a scale of oceanic productivity rather than on a landed masculine ideal. In these terms, seamen's "sentimental"

[29] Stephen Berry provides a notable but limited exception; he names sailors' "emotionally intimate same-sex relationships," but does not move beyond a brief account of "comradery" (164).

[30] Creighton admits that sailors' private moments "gave way to feelings that were still there" (169), recovers examples of same-sex desire (184-96), and names sailors "emotional community" as brought on by death (136).

[31] My account of "sentimental seamen" is not synonymous with Norling's notion of the "sentimentalization of seafaring" in New England whaling communities. Norling considers the "reconceptualization of seafaring that shifted attention away from the sea to the land, from maritime work to maritime home" (165). Specifically, sailors' moral and social failures relate to their inability to maintain a proper relation to family life, both while at sea as well as after they returned home. As such, Nantucket women became figures for sailors' relation to domestic space as opposed to economic and social agents in maritime communities.

[32] Schell does discuss "feelings of oppression" and "thoughts and feelings" in which a view from the masthead produces a view of the world akin to "Emerson's Man Thinking" (92); nonetheless, feeling remains defined by the intellect and frames an argument about competing masculinities.

[33] Glenn does not dismiss feelings of anger and anguish related to flogging; yet, her premise that "most antebellum Americans agreed that a 'manly' man was one who was brave in battle and defended his rights and freedoms against whoever or whatever threatened them" renders certain feelings as always already emasculating (3).

status does not refer to emasculation or nonaggression. It refers to sailors' membership in a class whose masculine identity is predicated on both deep feeling and regulated violence. As Elizabeth Barnes has shown, "masculine aggression itself, rather than undermining the work of sympathy, contributes to and perpetuates a sentimental ethos" (*Whipping* 3). Specifically, sentimental attachment is produced through violence against an object of sympathy whose pain validates the claim of its *viewer*, a subject who is often themselves a perpetrator of violence.[34] In a shipboard society, the captain's own capacity for sentimental violence structures shipboard life and unites the common crew. "I have no fancies about equality on board ship," Richard Henry Dana affirms, since "It is absolutely necessary that there should be one head and one voice to control everything, and be responsible for everything" (463).[35] The captain's "one head and one voice" guides a single shipboard body whose function is to maximize productive labors. In short, shipboard "hands" freely bind themselves to a shipboard order that, when threatened by unruly feelings, can only be reinstated by a captain's power. As Nancy Shoemaker confirms, "The greatest privilege captains and officers held was their power over each crew member's most prized possession, his own body" (66). Ideal sentimental seamen not only accept the captain and officers' binding power, but also align this bondage with a system that generates positive feeling.

The binding, unmistakably violent form of attachment is made positive via shipboard exercises of homosocial desire. Homosocial relations must be understood alongside their "shifting relation to class," Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick confirms in *Between Men*. After all, homosocial relations exist inside gendered labor systems that they both trouble and confirm (1).

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[34] Barnes writes, "Rarely does this paradigm concern itself with the effects of violence on the true objects of it, however; rather, these objects, or others, become vehicles through which the narratives' protagonists are made, in a fictional sense, new men. They are recast, that is, as the sufferers of the violence they deploy, thereby potentially redeeming violence itself from its scandalous ends" (*Whipping* 7)

[35] For a reading of Dana's refusal of absolute shipboard equality as indicative of his belief that "life at sea is impervious to juridicial norms" (125), see LeMenager.

The singular tie between shipboard homosociality and economic production is best introduced by a question from Sedgwick's *Epistemology of the Closet*: "What are the operations necessary to deploy male-male desire as the glue rather than as the solvent of a hierarchical male disciplinary order?" (94). In other words, when, how, and why is homosocial desire positively framed as a means to create stratified social relations? Shipboard space is one such example, as Sedgwick's reading of Melville's *Billy Budd* confirms. The desire for hierarchy, or at least the recognition that such order is key to maintaining a disciplinary order, is a defining feature of the ideal sentimental seaman.[36] Similarly, the ship's homosocial character (and with it the sentimental seamen ideal) is a product of socio-economic requirements. [37] Namely, shipboard space is an example of the nineteenth-century "compulsory homosociality" David Greven probes. In such systems, homosocial bonds create economic value and social stability alongside forms of compulsory heterosexuality (2). The unity of action and thought grounds a shipboard system that requires men to desire one another's bodies as a matter of laboring necessity. One needs to feel another hand on the rope, or join another body on the watch. This "desire" easily spills over to the sexual realm, and may enhance sailors' individual or communal attachments. Nonetheless, adherence to the sentimental seamen ideal does not require a sexual attraction to se(a)men. Homosocial union, rather than sexual action, structures the ship's economic and social order.[38]

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[36] Sedgwick addresses the "crisis of sexual definition" and "potentially paralytic demand for [homosexual] essence" (92) as it structures Melville's novella. In her own analysis, Elizabeth Barnes shows how Melville "employs the conventions of sentimental sympathy— epitomized in the trope of vicarious substitution," to undermine both sentimental reading as well as underscore the "irreconcilable ideals of individualism and patriarchal democracy" (120). As I intend to show in a later analysis, Melville accomplishes this aim by giving making Billy Bud a failed sentimental seaman. Specifically, Billy applies a more universal form of fellow feeling that is untenable in a space dedicated to feelings that advance labor and maintain a ship's hierarchy.

[37] Tellingly, Greven applies to this reading to *Billy Budd*, concluding that "its chief business [is] the indictment of fraternity and compulsory homosociality" (194). I agree, and will advance a reading in a future project that speaks the singular form of compulsory homosociality at work in age-of-sail vessels.

[38] I draw this distinction not to diminish sexual practice's role or power in shipboard life. For studies of sailors' same-sex desire or practice, see Baker and Stanley; Berg; Berry (150-64); Knip; Wallace; Zeeland.

Sailors who name this desire cement their homosocial labor's ideological terms. In a journal entry dedicated to "My dear Mother + Sisters," for example, twenty-three-year-old J. Harvey Weed explains why his "big book" is an accurate representation of his life among fellow sailing men. This sailor writes aboard *Cashmere* on December 5th 1839, during the fourteenth month of his sixteen-month trading voyage from Boston to East Asia. Weed intends to share his text upon his arrival home, but "won't be blamed, or sermonized over for any part of it which you may not think orthodox." Weed does not name what makes his text "unorthodox"— it is perhaps the suicidal thoughts to be discussed in the next chapter— but he hints that it is due to his text's ties to his affective states and desires. "If in any place it is too savage, I was just as savage when I wrote. If it is dull_ I was dull_," Weed writes, "for these scrawls are what I felt or thought_ not what I saw or heard_ + therein different from my other journals which you have seen." Weed parallels the state of his text and the state of his feelings— "If it is dull_I was dull"— to reinforce the connection between his feeling text and his embodied experience. Prior works of reportage on "what I saw or heard" had contained an emotional distance not to be found in his shipboard journal. Weed's words go beyond representing of feelings, he implies, but are material manifestations of those feelings. His words are "*what* I felt or thought." The materialist language Weed uses to describe this sentimental relation, or his alliance of shipboard experience and shipboard feeling, is representative of sentimental seamen's unique literary identity.

Logs of Labor, Logs of Feeling

Sailors' narrations not only reflect their historical labors, but also concretize the sentimental seamen ideal. In short, to name productive feelings using materialist, labor-based language is to advance one's technical skill as well as one's commitment to productivity. That is not to say, however, that sailors universally laud all writing. Whaler Henry DeForrest pens on

December 2nd, 1852, for example, "The Captain often asks me what I am writing in this book_ I have never answered him, for I hardly know myself_[.]" Writing aboard *William Rotch* eleven months after its departure from Fairhaven, Massachusetts, this second mate considers journaling's place among the labors that consume him. "I have the ships log to write up_ my own journal and this precious mess of stuff to carry out then lay plans for the morrow with the captain_." Though the first mate typically keeps the log, DeForrest (who eventually becomes first mate) is tasked with producing the ship's official record. Each log entry covers a twenty-four hour period beginning at noon after a calculation of the ship's position. For some, like DeForrest's captain, adding to such labor by writing a personal account seems foolish. For sailors like DeForrest, journals log elements of a shipboard life that would otherwise be lost. His journal contains both technical accounts of labor and literary musings on that labor. Like other sentimental writers, sailors attempt to make (real or imagined) affective states external to themselves as well as legible to (real or imagined) external readers. In other words, they must translate sympathetic labor into sentimental language. Within this system, logs of fact often incompletely and unevenly log feeling. This tension befits a system where labor is more often felt than described. In manuscripts and in published account I will discuss later, however, a logbook's systematic account serves a a model for a purportedly realistic and useful view of one's emotional life.

Just as shipboard realities lead many sailors to imagine and feel new kinds of sympathetic attachments, my work requires a similar scholarly shift in literary-historical imagination. Specifically, one must treat "sympathy" as an operative term in literary theories of sailors' lives and narrations. The study of historical sailors as literary figures has swelled with Hester Blum's *The View from the Masthead* (2008), Myra Glenn's *Jack Tar's Story* (2010), Jennifer Schell's *A*

Bold and Hardy Race of Men (2013), and Paul Gilje's *To Swear Like a Sailor* (2016).[39] Each also agrees that sailors' literary identity is bound to their shipboard one. As Blum confirms, sailors' "literary identity" is steeped in "labor- in its mechanics, its dangers, its products" (*View* 15). In response, I analyze the *work* at the heart of materialist, labor-based sentimental narrations as well as confirm these narrations' claim to *cultural work*. Specifically, I highlight sailors' who apply a materialist, labor-based view of feeling to their narrative accounts.

While I will not analyze sailors' more visibly "sentimental" narrations, particularly those centered on home, my aim is to *distinguish* between sentimental forms rather than dismiss one or both. At present, a narrow view of sympathy as always already directed homeward pairs with assumptions that sentimental narration is disconnected from oceanic labor. For example, Paul Gilje briefly highlights sailors who "wax eloquent about sentimental values of hearth and home" in shipboard narrations that are "truly saccharine" (94). This claim, though true, colors his analysis of the form as a whole. For example, he briefly connects sailors' journals that narrate "the romantic draw of the oceanic" to an "intensification of sentimentality that grew out of the Romantic era" (92). Gilje then contrasts the "romantic image" produced by sentimental narrations and the "harsh reality of a life at sea" (92). In this reading, sentimentality is always already "romantic" as we all as incompatible with materiality or harshness. Thought another way, however, to name an embodied attachment to the sea or its labors often requires an appeal to sentimental forms. After all, the mechanisms of fellow feeling addressed in the previous section may find their natural outline in new forms of sentimental writing.

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[39] Scholars have focused on these lives and narrations at least since the publication of Thomas Philbrick's *James Fenimore Cooper and the Development of American Sea Fiction* (1961). Formative monographs I do not discuss include Bert Bender's *Sea-Brothers* (1990), Haskell Springer's *America and the Sea* (1995), John Peck's *Maritime Fiction (2001),* Cesare Casarino's *Modernity at Sea* (2002), Kim Evans's *Whale!* (2003), Robin Miskolcze's *Women & Children First* (2007), Margaret Cohen's *The Novel and the Sea* (2010), Jason Berger's *Antebellum at Sea* (2012) and Shin Yamashiro's *American Sea Literature* (2014).

More than any other text, logbooks confirm the incompatibility between prior forms of sentimental writing and shipboard life. The logbook's formal development is the product of sailing's practical requirements rather than its emotional products. The term "logbook" derives from the age of sail practice of measuring an active ship's speed via the use of the "log-chip" and "log-line."[40] William Bourne's *A Regiment for the Sea* (1584) first described this system for tracking speed-readings in a book. Navigational manuals such as London-based Captain John Davis's *The Seaman's Secrets* (1595) later presented calculation tables, log samples, and notes on proper textual organization. The log is equal parts tool and record in three related realms. A logbook from an 1858 to 1859 voyage on the trading bark *Guide* is a fitting example. First, it is a scientific document. A log's cache of data on wind, weather, and other geological data prove vital in navigations both present and future. As shown in the *Guide* log's top line, the ship moves along a southerly wind. "Commences with strong breeze," is a common opening among such documents. Second, a log is a legal document. It represents proof to a ship's owner or other interested parties that contracted labors had been performed; this source may be invoked after a contract dispute or following a sailor's complaint regarding ill treatment, for example. The brief *Guide* entry of "At 11am tacked ship to Southerly and Westward" names a changing a course enacted by the ship's many hands, notwithstanding the entry's lack of named subjects. Lastly, a log is an economic document. Daily entries list the quotidian labors that generate economic value, name events with an economic impact (e.g. torn sails, sailors' sickness or death, changes in crew), and document the ship's economic products (e.g. whale oil, spices, bound persons). The

[40] To begin, sailors cast overboard a weighted piece of wood (a "log-chip") that is attached to a regularly knotted rope (a "log-line"). As the vessel sails away from the log-line, sailors count the run of the log-line over a span of twenty-eight seconds. The passing number of knots, which occurred each forty-seven feet and three inch interval, could be used to calculate the nautical miles (6,080 feet) traveled that hour. Hourly readings could then be recorded on a piece of slate (a "log board") prior to being transferred to the official account. These strung-along measurements enabled an ongoing track of the ship's location over time; such navigation by "dead reckoning" occurred by pairing speed with compass directions as well as ongoing measurements of latitude and longitude as established by prior landfalls or in comparisons with other ships (Gijle *Swear* 67).

death of "Andrew Pinson, Seaman" aboard *Guide* is declared because it changes the ship's laboring order. In each case, the log accounts for labor while only hinting at feelings such labor produces. As I will discuss in my next chapter, the *Guide* log is one example where the log-form does not preclude a circumscribed avowal of shipboard feeling.

Even as the archive abounds with "terse, repetitive logs" (Creighton *Rites* 14) that serve as a "dry record of a ship's journey" (Gilje *Swear* 65), scholars have begun to consider them as literary objects. As they have shown, logbooks and related materials are deeply connected to sailors' imaginations as well as to sailor-authors' claims to truth. Paul Gilje shows how logs and related manuscripts "speak to us across time, became the metaphor for the sailor's life, and ultimately contributed to mainstream culture in the development of American literature" (*Swear* 65). Gilje analyzes the logbook as an "instrument of memory" that allows common sailors and maritime writers to arrange their daily actions within a temporally and spatially defined journey (66). They may plot their lives much as they plot their voyages. Moreover, memoir-writers like Richard Henry Dana align their texts with log-forms to affirm their published text's validity and power. Indeed, as Hester Blum notes, "the logbook is often invoked figuratively in sea-narratives as a stand-in for truth, or an objective register of experience" (*View* 102). Authors like James Fenimore Cooper and Herman Melville introduce logbooks as a "standard of historical fact" that is matched in their fiction (*View* 102). As I will discuss, landed sailors profit from literary labors whose value is predicated on their faithful expressions of similar shipboard sentiments.

Maritime logs are the sentimental seaman's defining text precisely because this form textualizes a ship's ideal emotional orientation. A log's limited textual field echoes a ship's affective constraints: a well-kept log, like a well-kept body, is free of extraneous labor or feelings. Stability on an age-of-sail ship, much like in a colonial state, is in part secured by

textual affirmations of its ordered operation. For Ann Laura Stoler, nineteenth-century colonial anxieties result in official "assessments of the intensity of 'feelings,' 'attachments,' and 'states of belonging,'" (*Along* 63). Like the Dutch officials Stoler describes, maritime officials, ship owners, and captains monitor this "*distribution* of sentiment," which could be cause for concern based on "its excessive expression and the absence of it" (*Along* 64).[41] In other words, adherence to a sentimental seaman's materialist, labor-based narrative form is also an assertion of embodied emotional control. A sailor who crafts an ideal textual body confirms their ideal laboring body. To write inside a log's spatial lines is to bind a body of text to agreed-upon parameters. Daily entries prove one's capacity for repetitive work. One's ostensibly personal text is rendered generic, at least at first look, by the absence of stray lines or extraneous accounts. This textual removal of self reflects one's capacity to become part of a laboring whole. Indeed, sailors could prove their laboring capacity to captains or agents by displaying their personal recreation of accepted textual forms.[42] This performance of textual restraint and skill echoes an equally expected affective performance. In short, one's body will stay in line. In that way, logs and related documents are an instrument in the particular "'dense transfer points' of power" that turns a landsmen into a sentimental seaman (*Along* 63).

The log's fluid generic terms reflect sailors' complex navigation of an expected emotional orientation. Thought another way, these figures' ambivalent adherence to a narrative form confirms their imperfect adherence to a laboring ideal. In rare cases, sailors wholly break from the log form to name a feeling or event seemingly outside the document's purview. In such

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[41] Dangerous deviations include: "European fathers too attached to their mixed-blood offspring; of Indies-born European children devoid of attachment to their (Dutch) cultural origins; of European-educated children who, upon return to the Indies, held sympathies and sensibilities out of order and out of place" (*Along* 58).

[42] As Paul Gilje confirms, "A journal that looked like the official logbook would have been proof of one's whaling ability and could have been brought along to display to whaling agents when negotiating rank and rate of pay on subsequent voyages" (*Swear* 205).

cases, the illusion of the unfeeling log or the perfectly regulated seaman is broken. More often, however, textual constraints lead sailors and other shipboard subjects to test the limits of sanctioned forms or feelings. The narrative gaps and elisions found in manuscript logbooks, though not to be indiscriminately filled in as expression of emotion, are useful sites for considering how sailors materially mark their affective states even as they adhere to formal and social constraints. Textual elements typically associated with generic log-forms may be seen anew when read alongside more expansive accounts. The shades of such textual and affective restraint reveal themselves during close analysis. Namely, various black markings, blank lines, and repeated phrases sailors use in moments of feeling adhere to generic conventions while creating physical, textual marks of feelings unexpressed in typical forms. These descriptions of weather, of lost labor, or of economic loss are tinged with feeling. More expansive accounts name the unspoken codes that guide this official, objective form of writing. Many documents also straddle the line between log and journal, containing both the log's systematic documentation and journal's narrative form. Journal writers blur and blend the conditions of the material world and their affective states. In the process, sailors produce a materialist, oceanic-centered form of sentimental writing in keeping with their embodied experience. By extension, to recover this new genre is to retrace the affective contours of sailors' laboring lives.

"Sometimes I wish that I was a talented man," Henry DeForrest laments aboard *William Rotch* after a long day of labor on December 2nd 1852, "I think I would write my adventures at sea[.]" In fact, DeForrest's journal is an expansive account of his two-year voyage. A complete account of these adventures, DeForrest confirms, "would be very far from uninteresting even to a seafaring man (for few have seen as much or passed through more than I have during the last ten years)_." DeForrest's talents as a sailor aside, his literary talents had not fully developed. This

failure, DeForrest concludes, is one of personal motivation and of circumstance. He responds to the prospect of his illustrious writing career with a chilling charge: "and then Memory Whispers_ you might have been talented, what have you done with the time?" DeForrest's regret, it seems, is that he has failed to find a public outlet for his private experiences. If this journal testifies to DeForrest's skill, this sailor does not number himself among those whose published works had captured readers' imaginations on ship and on shore. His words, now housed at the Providence Public Library, have yet to be recognized within a canon of sentimental seamen. That is, until now.

A Canon of Sentimental Seamen

As I have discussed, oceanic sailors profit from their embodied labor and, in the process, produce new sentimental forms that are faithful to oceanic experience. Landed sailors profit from literary labors whose value is often predicated on their faithful expressions of similar shipboard sentiments. If sailors' shipboard accounts chart sentimental relations soon after their occurrence, published accounts perform the secondary task of making those internal relations legible to an external, paying audience. For some, however, shipboard feeling's singularity makes its true extension in narrative unlikely. Amasa Delano writes in his 1817 published memoir, for example, "It is not easy for landsmen, who have never had personal experience of the sufferings of sailors at sea, and on savage coasts or desolate islands, to enter into their feelings with any thing like an adequate sympathy" (99). For Delano "adequate sympathy" is the product of particular oceanic pains; one may attempt to "enter into their feelings," or establish a sentimental connection, but nothing can replace the affective power of "personal experience." In other words, Delano asserts sympathy's material power at sea to name its narrative limits on land. Thought another way, Delano confirms the tension at the heart of sentimental seamen's published accounts: how can one *feel* oceanic space and its labors without

taking to the sea? In other words, can one create a true correspondence between landed reading and oceanic labors? In that way, sailors memoirs are emblematic sentimental narratives: put simply, they grapple with the task of making an act of reading as powerful as lived, social experience. A turn to public narrations, like an account of shipboard writing, thereby reveals the sentimental seamen ideal's basis in materialist, labor-based sentimental form. This form's modulations in fiction and nonfiction accounts are tied to debates regarding sympathy's meaning, value, and application in shipboard or maritime society.

Historical shipboard writing's sentimental terms inform landed authors' attempts to recapture shipboard feeling in popular forms. By extension, my analysis of the log and shipboard account primes my recasting of published maritime literature's formal claim to sympathy. Primary among these forms is the sailor's memoir, as popularized by Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840). As I will show, the Harvard-educated Dana positions himself as the emblematic sentimental seaman. Dana's reflection on his 1834 to 1836 sea voyage from Boston to California has long been accepted as unmatched in the genre of sailors' memoir. In the push to validate the literary quality of sailors' writing, however, scholars have internalized a binary distinction that began in the nineteenth-century. Namely, they uphold literary "work" defined by its masculine realism in opposition to feminine sentimental "art." This distinction, as Michael Davitt Bell argues in *The Problem of American Realism* (1993), creates both a justification for "realist" form and made the writers of that form more "literary" than their (more commercially successful) sentimental counterparts.[43] For example, Hester Blum writes, "The standard of literary value set by *Two Years Before the Mast*—that is, the degree to which a sea

[43] Bell states in relation to late nineteenth-century men like Norris, Crain, and Dreiser, "a prominent function of claiming to be a realist or a naturalist in this period was to provide assurances to one's society and oneself that one was a 'real' man rather than an effeminate 'artist'"(6). Of course, Bell shows how this distinction fails to hold in these men's writing as well as in its application to women writers like Sara Orne Jewett. For related studies of realism's ties to conservative social ideology, see Kaplan (*Social*) and Warren.

narrative could represent the experience of maritime 'work'— was in part a logical response to an increasingly urbanized population that appreciated increasingly realist literature" (*View* 87). The popularity that resulted from the verisimilitude of Dana's account is unmistakable. And yet, sentimental fiction dominated the period that follows Dana's memoir. As I show, one may appreciate Dana and other writers' dedication to new sentimental forms whose "literary value" is based on their realism. For such writers, an accurate account of "'maritime 'work'" includes a nod to the materialist, labor-based sentimental form than could be found in shipboard writing.

Dana is foremost among published authors who invoke a sentimental seaman's share of feeling labor and sentimental form. Indeed, Dana's popularity may be traced to the view of his skillful and "realistic" depiction of shipboard feeling. For example, *The North American Review*, which published an important early review of *Two Years Before the Mast*, highlights the necessary connection between realism and emotion. The reviewer notes, "All sorts of facts may be so represented as to be dull and unaffecting, for the reasons that they are not understood by the storyteller." In other words, "a dull and unaffective" realism means nothing if not paired with embodied understanding. Only sentimental seamen, or one who can both experience and describe feeling, can establish an affective relationship with readers. For this reviewer, therefore, Dana's authorial power is based on his material power of sympathy (58). They write,

> The presence of the writer, his interest in affairs, his hopes, anxieties, and vexations, his natural reflections, his temper of mind, his character, are perceived and felt throughout; not, however, because the voyage is made an occasion for exhibiting the author, but because his purpose is to describe it as it came under his own eye, and specially affected himself. (60-61)

Framed in this way, Dana's "purpose" is that of a sympathetic writer whose embodied thoughts and feelings are available to the reader. This textual "presence" creates a sympathetic tie to readers who can access a multitude of "perceived and felt" emotions or experiences. Like an

ideal sentimental seaman, Dana has eschewed an "exhibiting" of himself on this material and textual "voyage." Instead, he presents a materialist, labor-based account of how the voyage "specially affected himself" as part of a laboring whole. Ultimately, then, this reviewer not only aligns Dana's realism with his sympathy, but also makes this balance a model for all writing.

Dana's own account of his particular sentimental powers may be found in his memoir's conclusion. In it, he appeals to readers' sympathies for sailors' causes even as he maintains a sentimental seaman's materialist, labor-based attachment to his fellow sailors. Dana describes for readers the need to decrease corporeal punishment at sea, to increase sailors' access to education on land, and, first and foremost, to expose sailors to civic groups that allow them to secure "a right heart which shall guide him in judgment" (406). In other words, his readers must be moved to advance sailors' distinct claims to feeling on ship and on shore. Tellingly, however, Dana makes no such formal declaration to sailors. As he implies, feelings described on land are no match for feelings lived at sea. Specifically, Dana hopes his account "shall render any professions of sympathy and good wishes unnecessary" towards his fellow sailors (409). Dana's denial of "professions of sympathy" notwithstanding, he assumes that his account of shipboard experience will reignite sailors' embodied capacity for fellow feeling. Dana does not need to name a form of attachment that he presumes has already been activated by his materialist, labor-based narration. In other words, Dana asserts his status as a sentimental seaman via his strategic emotional and textual restraint. As I will show, Dana claims a sentimental seaman's laboring and literary identity throughout his narrative.

Fictional writers use materialist, labor-based language of feeling to prime their judgment of the sentimental seamen ideal and the maritime culture that produces it. Fittingly, Herman Melville provides the most intricate fictional accounts of sailors' embodied feelings. As I will

discuss, Melville often does so to confirm the economic, affective, and racial violence at the heart of both shipboard sympathy and sentimental reading practice. Most notably, Melville dramatizes a grotesque fellow feeling to define sailors' attachment to the vengeful captain Ahab in *Moby Dick*. Ishmael states of their shared hunt for the white whale,

> I, Ishmael, was one of that crew; my shouts had gone up with the rest; my oath had been welded with theirs; and stronger I shouted, and more did I hammer and clinch my oath, because of the dread in my soul. A wild, mystical, sympathetical feeling was in me; Ahab's quenchless feud seemed mine. With greedy ears I learned the history of that murderous monster against whom I and all the others had taken our oaths of violence and revenge. (152)

Here, Melville deftly crafts a darkly sentimental account of shipboard unity. [44] Ishmael stages a sentimental seaman's defining trait: namely, his socio-material incorporation into a ship's sympathetic whole. Ishmael is first "I," then "one of that crew." Ishmael's form echoes this materialist, labor-based fellow feeling. As he confirms, shared voices have a material affect—they "hammer and clinch" a social state—much like they had for Horace B. Putnam. Voices are "welded" and physical labor is coordinated by the captain. Yet, the qualifications given to this "wild mystical sympathetical feeling" show that the union is uncanny, at least in the case of the *Pequod*: it is "wild" rather than contained, "mystical" rather than material, and "sympathetical" rather than truly sympathetic. The feeling results from "Ahab's quenchless feud" and his dark power over the men. After becoming convinced of their shared quest of "violence and revenge," a new kind of labor had overcome the *Pequod*. Melville frames the hunt that follows as deeply unified: they are "one man, not thirty" just as the ship's composite parts "ran into each other in the one concrete hull." This material attachment necessarily extends emotionally; ultimately, "all the individualities of the crew, this man's valor, that man's fear; guilt and guiltiness, all varieties were welded into oneness." Rather than describe productive labor, however, this fellow feeling

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[44] For similar readings of this scene as a grotesque model of affective consent, see Duquette (17-20); Samet (74-76). Both readings are apt, but I highlight the specifically oceanic forms of consent at work.

serves Ahab's "fatal goal" (152).[45] As I will show, Melville uses a sentimental seaman's formal terms to further stage shipboard culture's fundamental violence.

As both of my chapters present, writers familiar with shipboard life promote the ties between shipboard labor, sentimental attachment, and new narrative forms; in the process, these authors stage the forms of racial, economic, and affective bondage that produce sentimental seamen. They also highlight the sailor's centrality in antebellum American terraqueous order.

In chapter one, "'As Seamen Always Feel': Feeling Death," I analyze moments of shipboard death to outline the economic and social conditions that produce sentimental seamen. Though varied in age, race, and ethnic or national origins, the sailors I address power a maritime economy that relies on their lives and accepts their deaths. As I discuss, death fundamentally tests sailors' adherence to the ideal of the sentimental seaman. A sailor's sudden removal from shipboard labor produces forms of embodied vacancy and loss that threaten shipboard order. Death appears to reveal the limits of a promise that proper feeling will prove economically and socially fulfilling. As I show, however, moments of shipboard death lead many sailors to name prior affective union produced by coordinated labors. In logs, journals, and published memoirs, sailors create a shared language in which death's material, labor-based effects justifies their feelings of loss. As each confirm, loss must not diminish sailors' laboring capacity. Instead, post-death rituals begin a process through which a ship's economic and affective order is reconstituted. As I conclude, popular authors such as Herman Melville and James Fenimore Cooper stage these terms in their respective accounts of shipboard life's sentimental power.

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[45] Stephanie LeMenager provides the most compatible reading to my own. Melville, she notes, sees the ocean as a space where "capitalism... appears at its most natural, as a *feeling* 'hunt'"(112). In this reading, "feeling" refers to the fact that shipboard subjects are never separated from the source of economic value. In response, "Melville suggests that sailors constantly feel and live their labor" (111).

In chapter two, "'Bound…to Take a Voyage': Feeling (Racial) Bondage," I explore shipboard sympathy and bondage's racial contours. Specifically, I highlight the often-failed shipboard promise of multiracial fellow feeling and recover nonwhite sailors' investments in sentimental form. Rather than essentialize racialized shipboard experience, I consider how sailors' status as sentimental seamen may be informed by other kinds of racialized bondage or feeling. For example, formerly enslaved free black whaler John Thompson retains the slave narrative's sentimental tropes in his 1856 biography, but affirms shipboard feeling *and* violence as sources of unity. In other words, Thompson is a sentimental seaman *because of* his prior bondage. Other sailors name their uneven share of violence and bondage. Moreover, sailors' materialist, labor-based form take on new meaning when staged by a sentimental sea(wo)man such as Nancy Prince.[46] A freewoman of color, Prince aligns her social position with her powers of oceanic labor and description in her 1850 narrative. In the process, she rejects white liberal sympathy in reading and in practice. I conclude by considering how the slave ship, which haunts this work and the sentimental seamen ideal, troubles the theory of labor and feeling I present.

Taken together, these chapters consider shipboard homes that ultimately subsidize landed ones. Antebellum America could not exist without its sentimental seamen. As Leon Fink notes in *Sweatshops at Sea* (2011), "An intrinsic part of the nation-building and empire-building process of the nineteenth-century, recruitment and regulation of a seafaring labor force emerged as a high priority and a vexing problem for both the British and the Americans" (2).[47] The sentimental seamen ideal is produced by these political currents, and represents the *affective* regulation of a

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[46] As I discuss in an external chapter, captains' wives forge interspecies attachments in a quest for shipboard domesticity. For scholarly accounts of captains' wives, see Duneer; Daubar; Druett; Springer ("Captain's Wife").
[47] Fink describes contests over sailors' labor in public debates, particularly in terms of systems of impressment. 6,000 to 10,000 U.S. sailors were impressed prior to the War of 1812 (Fink 12) and as many as 14,000 were impressed some time during the war itself (Dye 293). The impressed sailor has a more vexed connection to a sentimental ideal since their labor was more coerced. Nonetheless, I forego an extended discussion of impressment. For accounts that give some indication, see Blum (*View*); Brunsman; Gilje (*Free Trade*); Glen; Fink. For a statistical analysis of prisoners, detention locations, and bureaucratic structures, see Dye.

seafaring labor force. This regulation is embedded in the sailing technologies that power the period's vessels.[48] Sentimental seamen may be found on deep-sea whaling, merchant, and naval ships with a full array of sails, including those with less active steam components.[49] Entirely steam-powered vessels certainly contained feeling and labor, but steam elicits little feeling from sentimental seamen. Indeed, as an old tar remarks in private journal in 1881, "I left the sea twenty seven years ago, and since then there have been great changes, the steamers largely monopolizing the trade, and requiring a clan of men that the sailor par excellence would look upon as land lubbers. I know very little of the sailor of today" (Barrell 127). Focusing on the thoughts, labors, and feelings of those "sailors par excellence" helps one map the oceanic infrastructures they travel and foster. As this section will confirm, sentimental seamen reveals feelings that sailors like Horace B. Putnam know very well how to experience *and* describe.

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[48] Of course, scholars rightly caution against treating all age of sail writers as synonymous. As Jennifer Schell notes, "sailors working in the American merchant marine, navy, and whale fishery performed very different tasks" (75). Though the size, occupation, and location of individual ships may alter their specific configuration, one can map a shared historical and literary tradition of regulated feeling structured by the act of sailing.

[49] Technologies associated with late-eighteenth century ships are not identical to those found in ships built decades later, but they share material and affective basis in coordinated labors in insular shipboard spaces. Sail power was still the dominant mode of transportation on steam frigates until the final decades of the nineteenth-century due to a shortage of coal and the limited amount of storage.

Chapter One:
"As Seamen Always Feel": Feeling Death

In 1806, a common sailor named Day drowned in the Java Sea. As he worked on *Clyde* from Salem, the ship's sudden pitch caused his fall from cables connected to a sea-extended spar. After Day entered the water, his messmate Ned Myers and the second mate took to a boat. They "succeeded in finding the poor fellow, who was swimming with great apparent strength." Though Myers "threw the blade of my oar towards him, calling out to him to be of good cheer," Day "seemed to spring nearly his length out of the water, and immediately sunk" (137). Myers was unsure of how Day was "hopelessly lost" with salvation so close at hand. Nonetheless, he returned to the ship "feeling as seamen always feel on such occasions" (138). Myers does not explain these feelings. Instead, he recounts two deaths that soon followed. One man died of fever and another "died, mad" days after jumping from the rigging (138). The resulting labor shortage led to difficulties manning the helm, but *Clyde* safely reached its South African destination.

"The stories that begin with death and burial," Ann Fabian affirms, "give us some new ways of investigating the disparities and inequalities that dogged individuals in their lives and followed them into graves or onto collectors' shelves" (3). Sailors' names, rather than their skulls, are found on collectors' shelves. Their bodies are most often resigned to a watery grave. Nonetheless, as Daniel Vickers notes, these deaths "stare out at us from the historical records designed to keep track of mortality" (*Young Men* 109). Logs, journals, and other records confirm that shipboard death is chiefly an economic event, at least from the perspective of maritime institutions. Almost nine-percent of all merchant sailors died in a given year, according to mid nineteenth-century estimates by the insurer Lloyd's of London (Raffety 16). Day is among the thirty-nine percent of Salem sailors' whose deaths between 1786 and 1817 were the result of shipboard accidents (Vickers *Young Men* 110, 111). Similarly, he numbers among the twenty-

five percent of Salem sailors who died by their early thirties between 1800 and 1850 (Vickers *Young Men* 270).[50] Amidst this history, Day's death aboard *Clyde* is unremarkable in character. It is most notable due to its inclusion in James Fenimore Cooper's 1843 semi-biographical account of Ned Myers.[51] Despite this popular narrative's current visibility as "an unsentimental portrayal" of sailing life known for its "unsentimental voice" (Blum *Mast* 94, 95), Day's drowning receives its own paragraph and the only account of feeling, albeit a muted one. A powerful sentimental current lies deep in what is left unsaid. If the nod to "feeling as seamen always feel on such occasions" marks death's routineness and ostensibly eschews emotion, it also implies a structure of sailors' feelings known only through experience. Readers are expected to either implicitly understand these feelings or go without such knowledge. Even so, one may rightly ask: how do seamen *always* feel? Is such unity possible?

In this chapter, I analyze descriptions of shipboard death in sailors' logs, journals, and popular accounts to reveal materialist, labor-based forms of mourning and narration that shape the sentimental seamen ideal. If, as Raymond Williams first notes, to theorize structures of feeling is to be "concerned with meanings and values as they are actively lived and felt" (132), then an account of "feeling as seamen always feel on such occasions" as shipboard death has literary and historical value. My aim is *not* to argue that all sailors feel the same about death. Rather, Cooper is appealing to an ideal structure of sailors' feelings about death that supposedly

[50] These calculations are based on Daniel Vickers's quantitative study of thousands of voyages. For sailors who reached their thirties, ten percent "retired to shore," twenty percent "left the region," twenty-five percent were promoted, and twenty percent were still common seamen (111). While some sailors are able to use their income to establish themselves on land, many more die in the attempt. According to Vickers's calculation, only ten percent of Salem sailors "retired to shore" during their early twenties and early thirties. Twenty percent "left the region." Forty-five percent were still sailing in some capacity. Twenty-five percent had died. Even assuming that other communities were more successful, it appears more likely that a sailor would die at sea than find retirement on land (*Young Men* 270).

[51] Cooper claims to be a fit "editor" for Myers's true story since, "as a matter of course, the intimacy of a ship existed between them" during their travels in 1806 and 1807 (iv). In other words, Cooper frames his text as one of sympathetic unity between Cooper and Myers' body, voice, and feeling. Scholars rightly question the fictionality of *Ned Myers*. See Blum (*Mas*t 92-106) and Berger (48-54).

results from their shared laboring practices. In other words, a sailor's disappearance disrupts an ostensibly perfect order defined by the crew's laboring unity. Resulting feelings of mourning or loss following shipboard death are not only consistent with the sentimental seamen ideal, but are a natural product of technical skill. An ideal sailor's embodiment— his tuned ears and tested finger ends— makes death's material and emotional effects more acute. Within these terms, the loss of an individual may be tragic, but the loss of labor power is what must be eulogized and overcome. After all, sentimental seamen's emotional orientation is directed towards productive labor rather than individual attachments. By extension, positive feelings ostensibly return with the reconstitution of a laboring order rather than with the return of a deceased laboring subject. Ultimately, sailors' distinction from landed sentimental mourning practices— namely, sailors' focus on recounting a laboring order rather than highlighting an individual attachment to the deceased— is evident in their materialist, labor-based narratives of death.

Thought another way, the recovery of dead sailors' names confirms the undeniably gratifying yet undoubtedly binding feelings that structure sailors' shipboard lives and deaths. Sailors' hierarchical and coordinated labor, or their commitment to a laboring ideal, is their primary safeguard against death. Even so, perfect fellow feeling will not prevent death in an unfeeling ocean. Therefore, sailors' distinct culture of mourning reflects the labor required to maintain the sentimental seamen ideal. As Max Cavitch recounts in *American Elegy*, "elegies are poems about being left behind . . . that are themselves left behind, as literary and material legacies" (1). Sailors' journals are not always explicitly elegiac. The conventions of logs appear to expressly disallow both poetry and elegy. If personal and private journals more often contain expressions of feeling, a ship's log also has the distinction of being a public document recorded in private moments. In their own way, these texts give language, meaning, and structure to death

and its effects. [52] Specifically, such texts force sailors to confront their dedication to a cultural ideal of emotional restraint, regulated labor, and productive narration. In other words, they must continue their labors even after they have been faced with proof of those labor's affective limits. In turn, sailors eulogize the relations that both sustain them and render them vulnerable.

At present, scholars of shipboard death and burial define mourning predominantly as a temporary respite from productive labor. Scholars of antebellum naval battles discuss sailors' feelings about burial, perhaps because loss in a military setting are more in keeping with a culture of masculinity.[53] In other cases, however, feeling and productivity remain at odds. For example, according to Marcus Rediker, sailors are buried "apparently with little display of emotion" since an "endless rite of mourning" is incompatible with the need for continual labor (*Devil* 198). As I will discuss, ongoing labor is itself a rite of mourning that reconditions sailors' bodies in a new affective order. Margaret Creighton comes closest to naming this order. "Just as true solidarity had emerged out of physical hardships," she writes, "sailors built an emotional community in the face of human loss" (*Rites* 136). Yet, Creighton considers this "emotional community" in death as a temporary and aberrant deviation from sailors' "ability to sublimate sentimentality and emotions" as well as their desire to "eradicate traces of delicacy, sentimentality and tenderness" (*Rites* 168). Sailors understand any form of emotional mourning, these scholars imply, as everything a real tar is not: landed, feminine, and economically

[52] For other recent studies of antebellum and nineteenth-century attitudes toward death, see Mary Kete's *Sentimental Collaborations* (2000); Andrew Burstein's *Mortal Remains* (2003); Nancy Isenburg and Andrew Burstein's *Mortal Remains* (2003); Karen Sanchez-Eppler's *Dependent States* (2005); Lucy Frank's *Representations of Death* (2007); Dana Luciano's *Arranging Grief* (2007); Mark Schhantz's *Awaiting the Heavenly Country* (2008); Elizabeth Dill and Sheri Weinstein's *Death Becomes Her* (2008); Adam Bradford's *Communities of Death* (2014); and Harold Bush's *Continuing Bodies with the Dead* (2016);

[53]For example, Michael Benntt notes of Civil War sailors, "The intensity of feeling during and after [shipboard] funerals reflected the sadness and disillusionment many sailors experienced in light of the grim realities of naval combat in the Civil War" (207). Bennett also tracks the affective deadening that resulted from seeing so much ghastly death; in contrast, I highlight events on ships whose deaths occur outset of wartime battles. For an account of Civil War sailors' response to death, see Bennett (202-208).

unproductive.[54] Ultimately, implicit in each study is the idea that after burial occurs, sailors' expression of emotion ceases to register *as labor*. As I show, sailors reconstitute their ship's affective structure and their own embodied orientation though sentimental writing and practice.

Given these terms, Cooper's cryptic note to "feeling as seamen always do on such occasions" does not indicate an absence of feeling. Instead, represents a decision not to invite landlubbers' inevitable misunderstanding. Indeed, this dynamic defines Walter Colton's description of shipboard death in *Deck and Port* (1850). The memoir recounts his time as a U.S. navy chaplain in the Pacific. For Colton, a graveside epitaph that refers to a seaman's body as "rigging, spars, and hull" is a proper emotional response to death. If "landsmen" may view this epitaph as "trifling with our mortality," Colton notes that sailors' "technicalities have with him a meaning and a force which, in his judgment, more than sanction their use on the most grave and melancholy occasions" (214). These "technicalities" refer to forms of labor and knowledge that structure shipboard work. They also refer to the bodies of the ship and the sailor. Technicalities' "meaning and force" derives from their material power. Technical skills condition sailors' responses to death. To lose part of a ship's rigging, spar, and hull presents both material and affective problems. If, as Cohen notes, "He would pray in this dialect even were life's taper flickering in the socket," then one is less surprised to find discussions of labor where one would expect appeals to feeling (214). Sailors' materialist and technical language, though distinct from other sentimental forms, better reflects the affective labor that precedes and follows shipboard death. For sentimental seamen, Colton confirms, labor is laden with affective power.[55]

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[54] In another example, maritime scholar David Stewart considers burial's "function as a rite of passage" that prevents the deceased sailor from haunting the crew ("Burial" 278). He reserves a brief account of feeling for the "stir of emotion" that occurs when the body is dropped in the sea. ("Burial" 281). For a similar study of maritime architecture as a way of commemorating deceased sailors, see Stewart (*Graves*).

[55] Hester Blum mentions this passage, but does not read the affective dimensions of Colton's account (163).

To structure this argument, I interweave sailors' published accounts of shipboard death with a host of sailors' journals and logs. Most notably, Richard Henry Dana provides the most comprehensive example of "feeling as seamen always feel on such occasions" as shipboard death. My first section invokes Dana to probe sailors' accounts of death's embodied effects. If sailors log shipboard death using technical language, this language also allows feelings about death to be framed as part of an objective, log-like recording of experience. In my second section, I consider shipboard suicide's particular threat to this social and narrative order. A sailor who commits suicide repudiates the sentimental seamen ideal by removing themselves from a union of productive labor and positive feeling. In my third section, I consider how the protocols of sailors' burial practice and shipboard auctions reinforce a new laboring union. In these moments, sailors must replace embodied loss with a new kind of embodied fellow feeling. The deceased becomes an object of labor rather than a co-subject of sympathy. The codified rituals of shipboard burial and auction show that affective relations must be regimented just like any other form of labor on ship. I conclude with readings of James Fenimore Cooper's *The Red Rover* (1827) and Herman Melville's *Redburn* (1849). These fictional moments of shipboard death retain the materialist, labor-based language of feeling found in sailors' private accounts. In the process, Cooper and Melville dramatically confirm the connection between sailors' material labors, their technical writing, and their emotional responses to shipboard death.

'A chord in my own bosom': Feeling Death

Recounting the June 1828 departure of his trading vessel *Antarctic*, Captain Benjamin Morrell Jr. considers death's centrality in shipboard life. This fact weighs heavily on his crew. "In all human probability there are some individuals in every outward-bound ship's company who have gazed upon their native land for the last time," Morrell writes in his published *A*

Narrative of Four Voyages (1832), "and the heart of each instinctively asks, 'Lord is it I?'" Despite the crew's outwardly "animated and cheerful" expression, Morrell speculates that a "look into the secret recesses of their bosoms" would reveal "some acute feelings of the more touching character" (254). Sailors' emotional and material "secret recesses" belie their assumed hardness. If labor will soon recall these sailors to more productive feelings, something like sentimentality holds power while the ship is still in sight of land. As Morrell affirms, "a feeling of desolation steals over their heart, which even the most active duty will not dissipate." The threat of death overrides labor's power. As if recognizing that this claim runs contrary to sailors' imagined character, Morrell invokes the line of a well-known shanty: "For sailors, though they have their jokes, Still feel and think like other folks" (254). As Hester Blum notes, Morrell replaces the original song's line of "love and feel" was with "feel and think." If, as Blum affirms, the quote shows how Morrell "remembers his fellow seamen as thinkers," he primarily recalls these sailors' share of feeling (*Mast* 197). They feel *and* think. And while Morrell knows he must banish homely feelings from his crew, he "respected the sentiments too much to throw any unnecessary check across its current" (254). Befitting sailors' investment in materialist, labor-based justifications for their emotional states, the fear of death is a natural "current" upon which all sailors' are moved. Morrell justifies his temporary shirking of command with a strong appeal to sympathy. He states, "I felt there was a chord in my own bosom that vibrated in unison with theirs" (255). This vibrating chord between bosoms, this material and embodied proof of sympathy, may aid the fellow feeling that structure his ship's labors. If the fear of death leads sailors to temporarily value effusive feeling over material labor, the fact of death compels sailors to describe feeling's material and productive basis.

Sailors' published accounts of shipboard death are part of their ongoing attempts to name and navigate the singular feelings that define shipboard culture. In the process, these authors both advance the sentimental seamen ideal and reproduce its materialist, labor-based sentimental form. Befitting death's centrality in sailing life, Richard Henry Dana dedicates an entire chapter of *Two Years Before the Mast* to the drowning death of fellow sailor George Ballmer. According to Dana, losing a man overboard has a particular emotional effect due to material differences between one's affective ties on land and at sea. Dana's refrain, "Death is at all times solemn, but never so much as at sea" can be found in narratives both preceding and following his work.[56] Solemnity is heightened due to the sea's particular effect on bodies of the deceased and of the mourner. On land, "you follow his body to the grave, and a stone marks the spot," whereas a drowning at sea is marked by "suddenness," "a difficulty in realizing it," and "an air of awful mystery" (77). In landed death, markers of physical presence are a source of attachment. Though one mourns, a material connection remains. According to Hester Blum, Dana's response is the result of a "lack of physical evidence pos[ing] a crisis of understanding," or the inability to process death without a physical signifier (*Mast* 178). While I agree that Dana is concerned with "how death is made *real*," that "making real" is also a process of affective labor (*Mast* 178).[57] Dana defends these feelings by rendering maritime masculinity compatible with feeling. He writes, "A man is shot down by your side in battle, and the mangled body remains an *object*, and a real *evidence*; but at sea, the man is near you- at your side- you hear his voice, and in an instant he is gone, and nothing but a *vacancy* shows his loss" (77). The physical proximity of shipboard

[56] For example, Charles Samuel Stewart writes in his 1831 account of his service on the *U.S.S. Vincennes*, "A funeral is a melancholy and impressive service any where, but particularly so at sea" (37). Stewart's popular text had three British editions, one German-language edition, and one U.S. edition prior to Dana's publication in 1840. James Payne's 1859 journal, to be discussed shortly, stands as a later example.

[57] To support this claim, Blum names the lack of standard elements of memorial, namely a "physical trace in the form of a preserved corpse or monument," as proof of sailors' utter distinction from "sentimental representations of death in material culture" (*Mast* 161-62, 179) The terms Blum uses to describe sailors' response to death, including "bafflement" and "a sense of dislocation," exist on an intellectual rather than strictly emotional register (*Mast* 177).

life, in addition to the voicing that guides labor, gives way to a material absence with deep emotional implications. And if it is assumed that the death of a fellow soldier causes feelings of loss, than the loss at sea is even more justifiable and acute. In that way, Dana shows that material conditions produce feelings that may otherwise be deemed feminine.

Dana recognizes sailors' expected emotional hardiness, but he moves towards an unapologetic affirmation of sailors' material investments in sympathy. If he begins his account of death with the language of "*object*" and "*evidence,*" the "*vacancy*" Dana highlights is distinctly emotional. He continues, "Then, too, at sea—to use a homely but expressive phrase—you *miss* a man so much" (77). Dana begins, as all maritime studies begin, "at sea." He affirms that his experience is particular to shipboard life and in keeping with material reality. Even so, he finds reason to pause. The dash announces the assumed break between the sea and the account of feeling about to be presented. This shipboard statement is "homely," or seems more aligned with landedness and femininity. Perhaps that's why Cooper left genuine feeling unexpressed. A feeling that would potentially be emasculating on land, however, is a necessary expression of shipboard reality. You *miss*. The addition of "so much" reinforces this declaration's emotional power as well as Dana's dedication to expressing true feeling.

This vacancy is a direct result of shipboard labor's social and material organization. According to Dana, "A dozen men are shut up together in a little bark, upon the wide, wide sea, and for months and months see no forms and hear no voices but their own and one is taken suddenly from among them, and they miss him at every turn. It is like losing a limb" (77). The "little bark" is a material refuge from a "wide, wide sea" that requires embodied connection. Sailors are "shut up together" and "see no forms and hear no voices but their own." Dana represents these material "forms" and "voices" as unified: the crew owns these senses as "their

own." The crew must feel in certain ways to work. Their shared voicing, movement, and feeling are necessary parts of daily labor. To remove a part from the collective whole, or lose one "from among them," necessarily has an effect. For a sailor "miss him at every turn" is to miss both his labor and that labor's affective products. Dana names this sense of lost unity in the material terms of "losing a limb." This embodied language shows that the distinction between self and other has been eroded. The common sailors' collective body has lost an invaluable individual part: indeed, the lost man is one of the ships "hands." And while any death on ship would break this wholeness, the "suddenness" of drowning death made it particularly affecting.

Like an ideal sentimental seaman, Dana aligns feelings of loss with sailors' embodied skill. In keeping with these terms, Dana explains a lost sailor's emotional effects by confirming that past, present, and future labor are embedded with feeling. After a sailor suddenly dies at sea,

> There are no new faces or new scenes to fill up the gap. There is always an empty birth in the forecastle, and one man wanting when the small night watch is mustered. There is one less to take the wheel, and one less to lay out with you on the yard. You miss his form, and the sound of his voice, for habit had made them almost necessary to you, and each of your senses feels the loss. (70)

For Dana, "the gap" refers to a loss in a spatial and material order that is charged with fellow feeling. Not having a full night watch or navigation rotation makes labor both more difficult and less fulfilling. The loss goes beyond productivity, as an appeal to "laying out on the yard" confirms. To lament the "empty birth in the forecastle" is not as intimate as lamenting the loss of a lover from your bed. Yet both refer to intimate and private shared spaces. Primarily, Dana presents "loss" as a natural product of sailors' tuned ears and tested finger ends. While Dana had previously highlighted a crew's feelings towards a deceased sailor—"they miss him"— he now aligns feelings of loss with labor's embodied products. Before a man dies, "his form" and "his voice" cement themselves in the necessary "habit" of labor. Syntactically, the "them" one misses

refers to a “form” and “voice” rather than the sailor himself. In other words, a skilled sailor feels this loss no matter their individual attachments. The man’s embodied form and voice are not just necessary to labor: they are “necessary *to you”* as a laboring subject. As Dana affirms, skilled sailors *feel* this loss with all of their senses. These same senses will lead to a shipboard laboring order’s reconstitution, as I will discuss.

The journal of James Payne on the *Monticello* indicates that Dana’s language may have directly influenced active sailors’ expressions of loss.[58] In an entry outlined in black and squeezed between accounts of July 11th and 12th 1856, Payne notes that a mate named Dyson, “a Native of [indecipherable] Island,” died at 11:20pm after an “illness of a few days.” As I will discuss, such delimiting marks give the deceased a legible (burial) plot on the material page. In the next day’s entry, Payne recounts how the crew had prepared Dyson’s body and performed the burial service. He then describes shipboard death’s emotional power. He writes,

> Death is a solemn occurrence at anytime [but] especially on board of a ship because [on] shore where one is gone there[’s] others to fill there places but on board of a ship you miss him. There is one less out the yard when you are on the yard you miss his voice about deck you see him condemed to the deep without any friends to morne his departure.

Payne seemingly channels Dana’s narrative of materialist, labor-based feeling.[59] As Payne confirms, “you miss” both a fellow sailor and a fellow voice. These men’s shared narrative and emotional register confirms that the sentimental seamen ideal may be both publicly disseminated and privately confirmed. On the one hand, Dana’s account allows him to publicly prove his skill as a sailor and an author. On the other hand, Payne’s description leads him to privately confirm

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[58] For example, Charles Nordhoff connects feelings of vacancy to the ship’s material arrangement: “when he is gone,” Nordhoff writes in his popular account *Man-of-War Life* (1855), “there is a vacant place at the mess, on the yard, at the gun, and we feel that we have lost a companion, rough perhaps, but kind, one who has shared our hardships and pleasures” (177).

[59] Margaret Creighton makes a similar connection to Dana in her brief reading of Payne (*Rites* 136-37). Creighton’s text led me to Payne’s journal, but my transcription of the original text differs slightly from hers.

both Dana's skill and his own feelings. Both stake a claim to a laboring ideal. Payne follows this emotional passage with a concluding account of the labors that necessarily follow such loss. The ship "shortened sail and start[ed] along," or continued to labor despite an unmistakable vacancy.

Dana's use of the log-form also confirms the affective dimensions of non-narrative markings and narrative elisions found in seemingly unfeeling logs. Notably, his chapter on Ballmer's death begins, "Monday, Nov. 19. This was a black day in our calendar" (76). Here and elsewhere, Dana opens with a log of the date. As Paul Gilje has noted, "the logbook provided the basic narrative framework" for Dana's narrative as well as related authors seeking to assert their narratives' truthfulness (*Swear* 99). In addition to using the log-form to assert his authority, Dana gestures to the connection between sailors' emotional states and their marking of ship's logs: both may be considered a "black day." And while Dana describes his emotional state, most log writers do not. They are unwilling or unable to deviate from the log's focus on technical information. At the same time, however, sailors before and after Dana may present stark black marks to outline a death. Examples include entries for the Pacific whaling vessels *Dawn*, *Acasta*, and *Romulus* as well as the trading bark *Guide*. In keeping with the myriad potential causes of death, one man "had been sick several months of the consumption" (*Romulus* 10/14/53), one was "while standing to his labours was taken with a fit," (*Dawn* 12/16/21), another "Died with the Consumption" (*Dawn* 1/8/24) another "broke his neck" after a fall from aloft (*Acasta* 11/6/32), while the last, "Committed suicide by cutting his throat with a razor while partially deranged" (*Guide* 3/12/58). This last entry, which like the rest is preceded and followed by descriptions of wind and weather, is particularly jarring. The author projects the man's "partially deranged" state, but makes no attempt to diagnose his own feeling.

While each of these sailors maintains the log's spatial and generic constraints, they use its boundaries to go beyond strict recording. True, there is no effusive narration. Yet these sailors' act of blacking out that day, spending the time to darken its lines, is charged with feeling. These writers, like Dana, seem to say, "This was a black day in our calendar." In each case, the new lines prove starker in relation to the faint, preset lines of the log. The act of relining is a sort of memorial. It is an act of giving the deceased a material, textual claim that is lost after the sailor's body is in the deep. Indeed, the variety of marks present an opportunity for interpretation. In the case of *Guide,* the specific moment of death is delicately lined in black. The sailor has shrouded the deceased man in this official declaration of death. For the *Dawn,* an entry on the death of sailor William Thompson exists on an independent vertical plane. The ornate marking becomes a sort of burial plot. The earlier account of a *Dawn* crewmember's death leads to more all incorporating marks; thick black lines brackets the day's account of labor. The even broader lines found in *Romulus* and *Acasta* render the quotidian facts of wind, water, and weather part of the shared plot. Logs of fact become charged with feeling. In each case, the authors spatially represent how death colors the day's events.

Dana, too, parallels the language of manuscript accounts when he recounts the physiological effects of an unwelcome call to lifesaving labor. Ballmer's fall from high rigging leads to a sound whose emotional effects are equally material. Dana relates how, during a sound sleep, the "unwonted cry" of "'All hands ahoy! a man overboard'. . . sent a thrill through the heart of every one" (70). The "unwonted cry," or a sound that breaks a usual material order, also pierces the sailors' hearts. This "thrill," which denotes an energized rather than a dejected response, is necessary to perform the sensitive labor of saving a man. But it also indicates sailors' unified emotional response. Journaling sailors also describe the "cry" of a man overboard

as both a sound and an echo of their embodiment. The act is an “appalling cry” (*Hannibal* 9/6/49), and, in an echo of Dana, a “startling cry” that “thrilled all to their very hearts core_” (*Clara Bell* 11/23/55). In each case, the officer’s voice necessarily pairs with an affective, emotional response. As Horace B. Putnam has shown, those sounds’ power not only informs their narrations but also alters their embodied capacities.

The labor of saving a sailor is as materially difficult as it is emotionally fraught; a ship has to be well positioned to reach the drowning sailor’s destination and, if conditions are rough, no attempt can be made. After all, the individual’s life could not outstrip the safety of the whole. According to Captain Reuben Russell of the whaling ship *Susan*, “there is nothing more dismal or that causes more confusion than the envoy of a man overboard.” This lament introduces the final paragraph of his exceptionally long entry for March 8th 1842, the day of his ship’s first death. Prior to this day, Russell’s entries maintain the brevity expected of an official account. In adherence to custom, Russell begins with a report of the weather prior to noting, “At 5 PM Robert Phillips a coloured man fell off the Martingal in the act of striking a porpiose and was drown.” Russell’s focus on Phillips’s status as “a coloured man,” as opposed to his birthplace or rank, shows how race informs a shipboard society in which all “hands” are ostensibly judged via their capacity for labor alone. Though each sailor is expected to uphold the ideal of sentimental seamen, a fact to which the period’s multiracial crews attest, maritime writers name and set apart non-whiteness. As my next chapter will show, these narrations confirm nonwhite sailors’ ambivalent place in a shipboard affective order.

Russell presents the attempt to save Phillips in one paragraph, enough to satisfy the official record. Yet he repeats the day’s events on a subsequent page. This extended narration may be read as an emotional coming-to-terms. Captain Russell’s header for the page, “A Man

Over Board," confirms the event's power over his narration. The day's "dismal" and "confusing" scene results from the crew's attempt to halt the ship, which requires a laboring unity despite great distress. As in the case of Ned Myers's narrative, crewmembers on *Susan* witness the moment of drowning. Russell writes, "we saw him struggling astern of the ship and trying to swim but he was soon exausted & the scene closed." Rather than close this "scene," as Cooper had, Russell makes a final note. He writes, "the boat returned with a slow & disconsulate motion. sail was made and we proceeded on our course with of milincholy reflections all seeming like a dream." As if unwilling to quit labors they knew are useless, the rescue crew returns slowly. Disconsolate, they are weighed down by the result of their failed labor. The following moments are "like a dream," or disconnected from material reality.

Russell concludes his entry with a reintroduction of reality that does not fully leave the scene of death. He states, "in about one hour after this scene we saw the Falkland Islands." The captain's watercolor painting of the shoreline provides a material reference for a new scene. Tellingly, however, dark waves, set against a pale blue sea, appear more prominently than the gray landmass ahead. Given the page's heading one may presume that both the wave's threat and the land's promise informs the captain's spirit of composition. As Dana confirms, the failure to find a drowned crewmember leaves the search party in a laboring and feeling limbo. He writes: "we rowed about for nearly an hour, without the hope of doing anything, but unwilling to acknowledge to ourselves that we must give him up "(77). Fruitless labor is preferable to accepting loss. The material fact of death means little until it is acknowledged and felt. Dana's reference to "we must give him up" refers to giving up the search, but also indicates that they must give Ballmer's body up to the deep.

A sailor may use equally materialist terms to describe a search's success. In a journal written aboard the *Clara Bell* on its whale hunt from 1855 to 1858, Robert Weir recounts the crew's search for a lost boat. He writes,

> All hands were sent aloft to look for it_ and many were the disheartening conjecture that were made, soon we passed a broken oar_ there is scarcely a breath heard from our mouths_ anon_ a mans hat is passed [_] we are sick at heart_ it is well past 1 oclock and no sign of the boat. Our feelings by this time may well be imagined. (11/23/23)

Weir skillfully frames and condenses the hours-long search, though he does not forgo an account of feeling. To do so, he alternates between descriptions of labor and of emotion. He often makes this distinction with a short line. The gap creates dramatic tension while signaling a depth of feeling that is impossible to express. As if reliving the event, Weir switches to the present tense the moment a broken oar passes. These passing materials give shape to the crew's increased dismay; the "broken oar" and "mans hat" appear to be extensions of the lost sailors' bodies, which are assumed drowned. Similarly, Weir expresses these feelings in material terms: lost breadth represents their bated fears, sick hearts the onset of mourning. Eventually, Weir assumes that any reader's sympathetic imagination makes further narration unnecessary. Miraculously, the captain spies the crew alongside a dead whale and "immediately turned about and cried out." The cry is an act of labor but also an act of undeniable relief. Taking their captain's lead, "a shout of joy rang up from that ships company. We all felt an awful weight lifted from our hearts." Again, Weir figures the potential loss as material "awful weight" that presses upon their hearts and bodies. The rescue restores the ship's labor power and prevents the less defined labor of mourning drowned crewmembers.

If Dana expresses deep feeling for a death that had occurred years prior, shipboard sailors are faced with the immediate task of narrating loss. An entry from Captain Thomas Hendee's

journal from his 1859 to 1860 trading journey from Boston to India stands as a particularly evocative example of a sailor's materialist, labor-based appeal. "A pall hangs o'er the ship today," Hendee writes eight months into his voyage on *Sabine*, "one of those solemn events that clouds the spirits. & calms the Joyous heart, has taken place in our little world- one from our member is missed" (6/22/60). In this account of "our little world," Hendee presents the ship as a closed circuit of shared labor and feeling. He blends the material and the affective. In keeping with convention, Hendee begins with a report of the weather. The "pall" that hangs over the ship may be a material cloud, but it is also a funeral cloth. This cover echoes the crew's affective state. Death brings emotional "clouds" and "calms," just as the sea offers varying weather. Like Dana, Hendee presents the sailing body as changed. The appeal to "one from our member" implies a singular homosocial unity between men, as well as the loss of a productive laboring (and latently sexual) power. Like Dana and others, Hendee names the material and emotional effects of a "missed" body.

Hendee eulogizes the deceased, common sailor Patrick Welch, using equally material language. The captain continues, "no more shall the whistling gale, dash the salt spray over his life inspired form." Again, the power material labor and bodily action aligns with feelings of loss. Prior to his death, the sailor is a "life inspired form" whose interaction with "the whistling gale" and "the salt spray" defines his value to a shipboard laboring order. As if to justify his expression of felling, Hendee repeats a version of Dana's account. He affirms, "Death at Sea where the ship constitutes the world of a few inhabitants, strongly linked together, in consequence of the solitude which reigns around them in the ocean desert— is always a solmn thing." Like Dana, Hendee makes feelings of solemnity a consequence of material reality: the "world" they share is that of sympathetic subjects who are "strongly linked together" in response

to the material and affective threat of "solitude" in the "oceanic desert." In this closed structure, one labors with a mate, feels with him, and must labor again after his death.

Yet these feelings of loss may linger in times when the lost crewmember is more than a common mate. Most notably, Horace B. Putnam mourns George, a friend who had died of yellow fever on their previous voyage as common sailors. Putnam had previously recounted his feelings as better "experienced than described," but he proves his power of description in this case. Putnam begins his entry aboard *Emily Wilder* by recounting his work with George on vessels over the previous five years. He concludes, "Our fortunes were nearly similar, our professions the same and our sympathies for each other the alike. There is none (save ****) that I could miss so much or felt the loss of more. But he has now gone and his place is left void" (35). Putnam names the bound life and labors that had tied him to George. Putnam clearly feels closer to George than with other sailors, but his account maintains the sentimental seaman's narrative terms. Like Dana, Putnam ties his emotional state—he "miss[es[so much"—to his embodied senses—he "felt the loss." Dana says of death, "nothing but a *vacancy* shows his loss." Putnam confirms George's absence by naming this vacancy on the ship: "his place is left void." George's apparent pairing with an unnamed love interest introduces the possibility of Putnam's sexual relationship with George. At any rate, the strength of these men's undeniable attachment leads to an enduring expression of loss.

And while such extended and explicit declarations of feeling are not to be expected in logs, William Irving's log aboard the U.S. naval vessel *Vincennes* is a striking example of affect's peripheral yet powerful presence in official records. While Irving strictly adheres to the log's form, he frames the document as deeply personal. "Ye critics all respect this book,/Review with circumspection,/As you may find tis hard to brook,/ A personal reflection." Written on Sept

18th, 1827, Irving penned this passage a full year after his voyage began. It serves as his manuscript's epilogue. Read with this call to "respect" in mind, Irving's entry on shipboard death almost one year earlier is necessarily a "personal reflection." Yet the page for September 15th 1826, neatly lined and devoid of heavy black marks, is easily overlooked. Nonetheless, Irving formally and spatially evokes a "feeling seamen always feel on such occasions" as shipboard death *due to* his adherence to a log's conventions. The entry begins, "At 8:30 PM Jno Warner (Sea) fell overboard Tasked the main topsail and sent a boat for him." At first, the log's information, including the man's name, rank, and the time of labor enacted, seems both technical and emotionless. The final three lines focus entirely on the labor performed in searching for the body, and are not followed by any discussions of feeling.

Given the limited information presented, one is unable to presume what had occurred in the half hour that followed. The log gives no such justification. And yet, Irving also names and marks a form of vacancy in the narration of labor that follows. Irving concludes, "At 9PM the boat returned on board without him ___ _ __/run up the boat and fitted away_" Tellingly, Irving does not name Warner's death; instead, they are "without him. " Death's effect may be understood via the new vacancy in the laboring whole. A series of lines separate the moment of return, or the tacit declaration of death, and the departure from the space of Warner's drowning. These lines create a narrative and formal space whose opaqueness somewhat forecloses analysis. And yet, they also force one to consider the moment, to dwell on its vacancy. Likewise, his reference to "run up the boat" echoes the officer's declaration to depart and goes beyond their implicit meaning of "we ran up the boat." Irving's use of the present tense and directive form further hints that prior labor still informs present narration and, perhaps, ongoing feeling. Writing only hours after the ship "fitted away," William Irving lingers on that line for a moment longer

than is necessary. The officer's call is still in his ears. Like Cooper, Irving leaves a small gap where one may expect feeling. Given the material and formal restrictions of a log, however, the unfilled lines in his log are perhaps the most effective and affecting means of expression. Of course, next day's entries continue without notice of Warner. The man is lost, as is any account of Irving's feeling. How seamen always feel sometimes measures as faint ripples.

And yet, William Irving is keen to remind any readers of his emotional capacity. The back of his log, separated from accounts of wind and weather, contains a header with a clear message: "I have a heart." The blank pages between the final technical entry and this section of poetry broker a material and symbolic separation. If effusive feeling does not have a textual place in a log's lined entries of economic production, this independent section may log a form of affective surplus. The page contains a sentimental poem of romantic love— "I have a heart a little heart/ that throbs for I know who"— rather than materialist, labor-based feeling. This other form of sentimental feeling need not threaten a sailor's laboring capacity, so long as they remain committed to their new home. Irving frames this delicate balance using the tools of log keeping. The entry occurs on Sunday, November 26th 1826, a day of relatively light labor according to the primary log account. One can imagine Irving making both entries simultaneously. In each case, Irving positions himself in oceanic space. Irving does not only have a heart. He has at heart *at sea.* Indeed, "at sea" is found directly above his declaration as well as above his coordinates. Befitting his status as a navigator, Irving confirms this heart's exact geographic position– "Lat 41°. 39' S Long 54°. 27' W"— off of the Argentine coast. In this case, Irving names domestic attachments' power while also confirming his technical skill. In other words, Irving maintains his status as a sentimental seaman as well as a many capable of more homely feelings. For some

sailors, however, the charge to advance of a laboring ideal appears less powerful than the charge to annihilate one's laboring body.

"Smashing Through": Suicidal Feelings

Akin to William Irving, J. Harvey Weed introduces blank lines in his journal to mark unexpressed feelings about death aboard the trading vessel *Cashmere*. The difference between these two men, however, is that Weed marks the prospect of his own death. It is September 29th, 1839. Weed debates whether he prefers to continue "smashing through this world of trouble anxiety and pain," or would rather "sleep comfortably on old oceans bottom amidst all the wealth Beauty and youth which lies there _ _ _ ___ __ __ ___ ___ ____" Clearly, these suicidal feelings do not align with expectations of sailors' "productive" emotional orientations. If Weed deviates from a sentimental seaman's outlook, he maintains a materialist, labor-based form. Weed presents his choice as one of labor versus nonlabor— to "smash" in life versus to "sleep" in death— that will lead to embodied results—"pain" or "comfort." Weed's romanticized view of oceanic death as a kind of emotional peace is predicated on the sea's material comforts. According to Weed, neither his attachments to the crew nor the needs of an oceanic institution are what prevent his suicide. In other words, he claims no allegiance to the sentimental seamen ideal. Instead, Weed recalls his landed sympathies. Namely, he writes, "not that a few of my friends (some of them) would be fools enough to mourn for me, I ~~had about~~ would be almost willing to go." In other words, Weed's sentimental capacity to imagine his friends' pain of mourning alters his own emotional state. Interestingly, he strikes a claim of suicidal action—"had about [gone]"—to a more circumspect assertion of suicidal thoughts—"would be almost willing to go." Though Weed does not maintain a sentimental seaman's ideal share of productive feeling, he does not fully refuse his share by removing himself from the ship's laboring order.

J. Harvey Weed confirms the fact that among forms of death, a sailor's suicide is the biggest threat to shipboard society and laboring order. According to Richard Bell, suicide is "one of the most evocative and incendiary words in [post revolutionary] Americans' political vocabularies." The word not only evoked the physical act of suicide, but also "telegraphed a variety of existential fears about the state of the union" (9). Suicide reveals citizens' fractured relationship with and responsibility to a republican form of government. In a similar manner, suicide reveals sailors' fractured relationship with and responsibility to a shipboard laboring order. A sailor's decision (if it may always be called a decision) that the annihilation of the self, the removal from any form of attachment, is preferable to ongoing labor threatens a culture predicated on embodied affective unity. Sailors who log or recount this death's material fact, if not its emotional effects, are challenged to reassert their dedication to productive labor in keeping with the sentimental seamen ideal.

If logs of death are a necessary feature of a ship's economic accounting, this form may occlude the emotional distinctions between accidental death and suicide. For Weed, this textual gap is a continued source of emotional distress. On November 23rd 1839, Weed notes that he "came pretty near leaving off what I now do." He then debates whether to consider his hypothetical suicide an example of "stopped payment" or "stopped receiving." This appeal to economic exchange befits Weed's status as the ship's supercargo, or the accountant of the owner's cargo and ship's stores. If he dies, the ship's system of payment and receipt will be undeniably altered. Notably, what distresses Weed most is not this threat to laboring order or the prospect of his body's annihilation. Instead, he notes "it makes me shudder to think of it, only think how it would [have] looked in newspapers." Weed envisions the log-like entry that would result: "—Thurs- "Died on board ship 'Cashmere' Lat 9° N Long 26 W. J. H. Weed Esq

Supercargo_ of a Calm." Weed imagines that a log's practical information will be transcribed to the newspaper, thereby embedding the public record with another dose of authority. Each will note that Weed dies, "of a Calm." This note ostensibly speaks to a ship's weather, but also names Weed's affective state. Sailor-readers like Captain Hendee of *Sabine* could note both the strangeness of a death during calm weather as well as the connection between a "calm" and a low emotional state. Even so, Weed does not consider such an entry fitting. As I discussed in my introduction, Weed plans to give this journal to his mother and sisters. He justifies its contents by presenting them as the textual extension of what he truly felt: "If it is dull_ I was dull_" Judged according to these terms, the log of fact could not capture his feelings.

When a sailor does commit suicide, those who remain are left to consider the state of that person's feelings. Writing aboard the *Ceylon* on the Pacific whaling grounds, for example, Captain Frank Tilton recounts a journey that strains the ship's laboring power and the captain's own feelings. The captain's unusually rough and unlucky voyage begins on May of 1868. By July 2nd, it is "the worst passage so far that I ever seen since I have been going to sea." The physical and emotional toil of the journey only increases. By October 4th, Tilton finds himself "allmost discouraged" by the lack of whaling success. Yet he remains hopeful since "these is men that can make a good passage tho chanced I have had." If the crew's capacity for labor calms the captain, a shipboard death occurring two days later breaks his resolve. His entry reads,

> Comes in with light baffling breeze + passing rain squalls. at 3:30 Pm had a hard squall with rain during which the dog Linde had a fit or went mad I don't know which but he started up cleared the decks and made a jump on top of the taggallent forecastle and from then overboard. I hove aback but couldn't save him poor fellow, as I had no boat that I could get into the water without a good deal of trouble so I had to fill away again. I let him go- how I miss him. It seems as though half the ships company were gone __ (10/6/68).

Tilton's initial weather report confirms his dedication to a log-like account of labor. Yet such minutia starkly contrasts with the drama that follows. One cannot know why Linde chose that moment to jump or why he apparently committed suicide. Even so, the moment of Linde's death represents his break from shipboard labor's material and affective unity. During a "hard squall," a time when all hands are called on deck, each sailor's body and voice work together to maintain life and order. In the face of a raging sea and sky, that labor is all the separates a crew from shared destruction. To see a man break that internal continuity by dashing out to sea is no doubt a very affecting sight. Ever mindful of details, the captain notes the specific place on ship from which Linde made his path to certain death. He ran the length of the main decks to the forward part of the ship, where his jump would be clearly seen by all hands. Given the state of the sea, one is not surprised the captain was unable to save the man.

Even as Tilton notes the practical impossibility of any laboring success, he still internalizes the result: he laments, "I let him go." Since, as captain, the success and failure of any shipboard outcome rests most heavily on him, Tilton carries the emotional weight of the decision not to make an attempt. Moreover, Tilton appears to view Linde as more than just another hand. The narration that "it seems as though half the ships company were gone___" is an attempt to name and value feelings of vacancy and loss via materialist, labor-based language. The loss of this one man has the same material effect as the loss of twenty. The long line that follows this connection forwards a sense of loss beyond labor and of feelings that are left unnoted. Tilton must come to terms with his own feeling as well as the impossible question of what Linde had been feeling during that hard squall.

Though one cannot know what Linde had been feeling, sailors note the hard squall's particular threat to a sailor's emotional stability. If ideal sentimental seamen feel "extacy" in

such a moment, as Robert Weir had claimed, others may align the squall with the sea's unfeeling power. In his 1859 journal, Joseph Vantine describes the specific forms of labor required to prepare a ship for an oncoming storm, including "the shrill whistle of the Boatswain and his mates calling all hands." After this initial preparation, the true storm begins. At this moment, "Life lines are scattered along the Decks to facilitate your progress fore and aft," creating a material tie between sailors and the ship as a practical defense against drowning. This tie also materializes the expected unity of labor and feeling. Vantine describes the various material effects of the storm, but concludes his paragraph with a conflation of the material and affective: "the Bell is heard to toll Solemnly from the Rocking of the Ship as if it were Chanting our Requiem such a sound as this serves to make one feel most melancholy"(35). The bell, which calls the men to labor and stands as a source of shared hearing, is restructured by the sea's material power. The sailors recall the landed church bell that tolls their death.

For Captain Tilton aboard *Ceylon*, ongoing economic failures and suicide test this captain's capacity for productive feeling. George Friel, the ship's boy and perhaps no older than thirteen, falls or jumps from aloft on January 15th 1869. Linde had committed suicide three months prior. According to Tilton, "a life buoy was thrown to him but by some means or other he took no notice of it." Friel refuses to accept his mates' labor, though Tilton does not bring himself to admit why. He states, "it is a mistery (sic) to me how he could get over unless some overruling power had a hand in it." Titlon does not say whether that "overruling power" was the wind, the devil, or Friel himself. After Friel's death, the log notes both a lack of oil and a steady stream of sick and off-duty sailors. Alongside the entry for February 1st 1869, one finds the parenthetical note "(68 days and my god what a passage)." As if to guarantee that this exasperation's shared material and affective source becomes part of the official record, the day's

short entry reads: "Commences with calm & ends with a calm. Thick & foggy. Capt. sick at heart" The entry's relative brevity and lack of technical detail informs the captain's materialist expression of feeling: the "calm" that commences and ends mostly clearly names an oceanographic state, but the sea's calm, and the lack of labor it portends, connects to another form of vacancy. The "Capt. sick at heart" is not merely exasperated with his ship's status. He has internalized it supposed failures. As his strategic underlining makes clear, the captain reads the waves and his own feelings. The captain names his own "sickness" in the third person, thereby making the entry correspond to typical log form: he diagnoses a state that has a material effect on the ship's labor.

And despite logs' assumed distinction from fiction, their dry form may hide a willful expulsion of both truth and feeling amidst an unexplainable suicide. Consider, for example, the events of September 23rd, 1842 aboard the trading vessel *Unicorn* on its journey from Manila to Boston. "Edward MacGurk a native of Ireland, Seaman departed this life after an illness of 16 Days & of Fever," writes the ship's captain Charles F. Williams, "committed his remains to the Deep with the usuall ceremonies" (*Abstract*). A straightforward account of name, rank, and cause of death, the log entry contains neither identifying marks nor deviations from the "usuall ceremonies." And yet, a much more troubling scene may be found in two other manuscript accounts. Another sailor's description of the day begins, "At 2AM Edward Mac Gurk a native of Ireland ages 20 years threw himself Overboard he was sean on the rail but not in time to save him he had been ill for 17 days with the disentary & was on the mending" (*Unicorn* 500). The same formal opening leads to a précis of a tragedy its author cannot help but recount in detail. After the boy attending MacGurk had left his side, the sailor

> got ought of his birth & got into one of the seamans birth & took his knife & attempted to Comit suicide but failing he sphraing [sprang] on deck & threw him

> self overboard on discovering a trace of blood on deck we went to his berth & found his bed + being covered with blood also a sheth [sheath] knife covered with it handle & all + a streem of it from his birth to & up the forecastle steps to the rail all the knight and day before he appeared much better and was on the mending hand. (*Unicorn* 500)

The entry's graphic elements, as well as its hurried style, stands in contrast to its lack of emotional description. The author's emotional restraint, his focus on the physical, is in keeping with the pressures of the sailor's materialist imagination. Yet the straightforward account of MacGurk's shipboard movement, or his dedicated labor, is deeply affecting. Lacking punctuation, the transition from his "sphraing" overboard to the crew's discovery is immediate. More than half of the entry is dedicated to an account of the blood, both in its location and its quantity throughout the ship. The blood from MacGurk's berth, his semi-personal space within the shared sleeping quarters, draws a clear path to the sea. The final appeal to MacGurk being "on the mending hand," a repetition of the sailor's earlier account, demonstrates the attempt to connect an affective state to its physical source. If MacGurk's laboring body was becoming sound, the sailor intimates, why did he do it? A third shipboard account, possibly also written by the captain, neither asks nor answers this question. Instead, its author recalls one to the difficult labor ahead: he provides an equally bloody description, and concludes with the note that "all hands" scoured the forecastle. The material scrubbing of MacGurk's blood is required to restore the ship's material order, though one wonders if any traces remained. Indeed, the narrative scrubbing of that blood does not prevent an archival trace.[60]As my next section confirms, however, rituals of burial or auction remove deceased sailors' traces in the ship's affective order.

'The most solemn and affecting of scenes': Burying and Auctioning Feeling

[60] The third account, a journal, is even more reserved, yet equally detailed. The cover is signed by a "Charles F. Williams," but the signature and text are of markedly different styles than the other purported Williams text. It is possible that the untrue journal is the official record and the third account the captain's personal manuscript. Nonetheless, I have cited both under Williams's name.

Sailing in the Indian Ocean in the mid 1820s, the whaling vessel *Milwood* hailed a ship from New York's Sag Harbor with the bodies of two deceased sailors on board. On the following Sunday, the New York ship's captain requests that the captain of *Milwood* and "such of the crew as chose to accompany him" join in these sailors' funeral. The steward aboard *Milwood*, John Thompson, recounts the ceremony that follows in his 1856 narrative. He writes,

> I went and witnessed what is, probably, one of the most solemn and affecting of scenes—burial at sea. All who witnessed it were affected with sadness. When all was ready for the final ceremony, the bodies were taken to the waist gangway, where they were lashed upon boards, lying upon their backs, with heavy bags of sand attached to their feet, aster which they were committed to the waves, and instantly sank into the vast deep. Captain Luce performed the religious service with great solemnity. (129)

Notwithstanding Thompson's singular status as a black and formerly enslaved seaman, to be discussed in my next chapter, he universalizes sailors' share of feeling in the burial ceremony. Burial's status as "one of the most solemn and affecting of scenes" confirms its emotional power. Indeed, Thompson's twice-naming of "affect" alongside the labor required for burial provides a précis of how and why burial at sea required alternative labors. As I have discussed, the forms of "vacancy" Dana describes applies to all forms of shipboard death, but take on a distinct shape in the case of sudden drowning. As I will examine, the ritualized labors that Thompson briefly describes— the movement of bodies in space, their lashing on boards, the weighing down and commitment to the sea— render the deceased an object outside of the ship's sympathetic order.[61] Shipboard burial practices are not the same as on land, but the forms of ritualized affective labor allow sailors to understand or, more importantly for my purpose, *feel* death's material and metaphysical results. A sailor who was once a shared laboring subject is now an object upon which the rest of the crew labors. This affective shift echoes an economic and social necessity: since a ship's valued bodies and feelings are those that aid economic production, a dead sailor is

[61] For an extended outline of burial at sea's ritual elements, see Stewart (*Sea* 105-66)

a material burden and an existential threat. His ongoing existence as a subject, even a dead one, could foster attachments outside of a laboring order.

In a journal written aboard the U.S. naval vessel *Minnesota*, Joseph Vantine provides an extensive account of shipboard burial whose overall outline corresponds to a longstanding practice. He also introduces a jarring juxtaposition between how a deceased shipmate may be prepared, watched, memorialized, and cast to sea. After the death of a food-poisoned shipmate named Nielson, Vantine states, "I suppose it would be as good here to give a description of a Burial at Sea." By narrating this first death of the journey as part of a general practice, Vantine normalizes the death and makes its part of an overall account of shipboard feeling. Alongside this objective description of labor, one can track Vantine's own ambivalent response to a death that had occurred less than twenty-four hours earlier. He begins, "After the Person is dead he is washed and layed out and dressed." Vantine still refers to "the Person" being prepared as "he" rather than "the body," signaling that the crewmember is not wholly removed from a system of sympathetic attachment. In an extended ritual that applies to most ships, the day's labor continues with the body remaining on board. In Vantine's case, the body is "lain in a Cot which is generally swung on the after past of the Main Deck" (12); the fallen shipmate is no longer part of the day's movement, but is not wholly absent either. Instead, the crew's labor with and around the dead sailor reestablishes the ship's new unity. In this moment, "his messmates take their turns watching the corpse"; this "final watch" includes both the typical work as well as the affective labor of coming to terms with death. "The corpse" is another piece of material that requires careful attention; losing a body to the deep before its appropriate time would undercut the necessary affective labor of burial. In preparation for the final burial, "he is placed in his two hammocks, which off times before has been his resting place after coming off his watch wet and

weary but it now forms his coffin." "The corpse" is again "he," perhaps because the description corresponds to an account of the deceased mate's prior labor.

If those messmates who labor closest with deceased sailor perform the most personal rites, the reestablishment of a shipboard order necessarily includes the ship's entire laboring body. The voicing and movement performed in burial affirm a sailors' sympathetic capacity and reassert a unity that supposedly does not change due to one man's death. As Vantine states, "there is heard the Shrill notes of the Boatswains Call Preparing all Hands to bury the Dead, The Main Top Sail is generally thrown aback the Ship's Bell is Tolled while the Body is being carried to the Gangway the Crew have all assembled to take their last look of a comrade" (13). As with all labors on ship, voicing calls the men to attention and dictates their relationship to one another in space. In Vantine's description of the scene, he focuses on sailors' union as laborers as well as their capacity for true fellow feeling. He writes,

> there they stand with their Caps off and Sun Burnt Faces which plainly tells that they earn their Bread by the Sweat of their Brow[.] one recounts over his kindness another remembers to have seen him share his last Dollar with some distressed Comrade another remembers to have seen him in the dead of night when all Hands were called to Reef Topsails to be the first one aloft, but he hears the Boatswains call no more (13-14).

The sailors' unity as laborers is proven by their common embodiment, or their "sun Burnt Faces." In the eulogizing that follows, sailors assert the fallen mate's rightful place in this laboring unity one last time. Feelings of regard are coded in labor: as "first aloft," the remembered man becomes the embodiment of sailing merit. Vantine also describes death in terms of laboring capacity. According to Vantine, the deceased is not only a good laborer, but also a moral one. To "share his last dollar" is to demonstrate that one's capacity for fellow feeling goes beyond the cold economy that rules a ship. This expression of feeling serves to honor the dead as well as to name the sailors' economic power. Nonetheless, the deceased "hears

the Boatswains call no more." The deceased is no longer moved by the ship's unified voice. As with all labors on ship, the captain dictates when the ceremony ends; "as he pronounces the words, we commit the Body to the Deep." Every sailor labors together to ritualize this loss. Each commits themselves to the ship's new material and affective order.

Charles Nordhoff, who became a journalist after sailing as a navy crewmember, whaler, and merchant, adheres to these embodied terms in his popular 1855 account *Man-of-War Life* (1855). According to Nordhoff, "Many a bronzed an furrowed cheek have I seen wet by tears when committing to the deep the remains of some loved shipmate, whose cheerful 'aye, aye' would never more be heard by us— whose strong arm and sure hand had stood by us in many a gale and a tempest" (177). Just as Joseph Vantine highlights sailors' "Sun Burnt Faces" with their response to death, Nordhoff presents the "bronzed and furrowed cheek" as embodied justification for mourning. Specifically, labor's embodied, material effects create the conditions for a "loved shipmate" to be mourned. The sailor is valued due to their "strong arm and sure hand." Tears of loss must be traced to the voicing and exertion that make feeling a result of the "daily intercourse [that] has endeared the departed" and "necessarily existing between the various individuals" (177, 178). This sailor explicitly repeats the justification that "daily, nay hourly intercourse composing a vessel's crew" produces these emotions (178).

Here, too, one may trace a gap between sailors' affective labors and the feelings that are unexpressed in official logs or are unrecognizable to an outsider. For example, Abby Jane Morrell, wife of Captain Benjamin Morrell, provides an outsider's imperfect yet powerful reading of sailors' affective labors in her published account of life aboard the Pacific vessel *Antarctic*. Most notably, she notes that the events of September 29th, 1829 end as follows: "The mate took his log-book, and wrote this sentimental epitaph: 'Buried Francis Patterson this day, in

latitude 16° 35' north, and longitude 26° 2' west from Greenwich. He died yesterday. The weather now fair, winds light'" (21). This entry parallels innumerable others. As per the log's generic conventions, the mate only details events germane to the ship's operation: these include the ship's location and laboring conditions. The process of burial goes unnoted and feeling is absent, at least in this text. Morrell's joking reference to the log's "sentimental epitaph" names the incongruity between the log and other narrations of death. She, like J. Harvey Weed, appears to lament the log-form's failure to capture death's power or meaning.

A captain's wife, or privileged voyeur, may narrate if not wholly understand the affective gaps between sailors' logs and their daily labors. Morrell's account of burial, which directly precedes her account of the mate's log, confirms the emotional stakes left unnoted in the official record. This captain's wife may observe sailors' fellow feeling, but she does not wholly engage or understand it. After learning of the death of "a fine old sailor" due to a life of hard drinking, Morrell expects "the body [to be] thrown overboard without much ceremony." She is instead greeted by "the most solemn I ever witnessed." Morrell views the body "laid out with great decency," and finds that the "hardy crew were deeply affected at the scene." In a scene that confounds her expectations, she claims that the "furrows in their sunburnt faces were wet with tears." Morrell may have added the tears for narrative effect, but the show of emotion on the sailors' "sunburnt faces" is in keeping with accounts by Vantine and Nordhoff. Morrell concludes that the sailors' display the "kindest hearts of any set of men that ever lived" (21). In other words, Morrell uses standard sentimental tropes and a sailor's materialist, labor-based sentimental form to confirm these men's extraordinary claim to fellow feeling.

Morrell's relative share of this feeling, as well as her ability to narrate it, is limited by her separation from the ship's labor. She notes that the moment of burial, or "the plunge," is "a

dreadful shock to my feelings." Her justification corresponds with Dana's account of such death seven years later. But while Morrell distinguishes between the "[landed] graveyard a friend might repair" and a "[watery] grave no mortal could tell," she does not feel the vacancy and loss Dana describes. This understanding would require labor that Mrs. Morrell does not perform. Instead, she is soon met with "the shrill pipe of the boatswain, calling all hands to duty" and the preservation of shipboard order "in an instant." From this instant, the process of affective labor is less legible to this captain's wife. She notes, "sails were set, and we were gliding onward." Morrell sees "no longer any melancholy in the countenances of the brave seamen" (21). Each sailor must focus on his productive feelings and labors.

One must turn to her husband's published narrative to fully track sympathy's role in Francis Patterson's death, burial, and removal from a shipboard order. In Benjamin Morrell's published account of the death, he calls Patterson "as taut and as honourable a seaman as ever put two ends of a rope together; a fine specimen of British tars" (342-43). Befitting a materialist, labor-based account of feeling, Patterson's technical skill becomes the source of Morrell's eulogy. Patterson is valuable due to the skill of rope-work and his status relative to his class. Yet, the captain does not forego the narration of feeling. Morrell concludes, "his loss was sincerely felt and lamented by every soul on board" (343). The multiple meanings of "his loss" affirm the union of labor and feeling. If "his loss [of body]" marks the negation of Patterson's laboring potential, "his loss [to us]" reveals that loss's affective result. Both losses are "sincerely felt" by "every soul on board" because they are part of a shared laboring and feeling body. Such feelings of vacancy may remain after labor continues, and perhaps make feelings of loss more acute. Nonetheless, new labors begin the process of reconstructing the ship's affective order.

Shipboard feeling and labor take new shape after a sailor is dead and buried; the material and affective threat of death must be replaced with a new laboring unity. After his death, a deceased sailor's clothes and articles are sold in a shipboard auction. Marcus Rediker considers the auction "one of the most touching rituals of death" because the higher price for goods often provide the deceased sailor's family with income. Yet, the forms of class-consciousness Rediker attributes to this "redistribution" potentially obscures its role in forwarding an infrastructure of capitalist exchange; if sailors "sought to give value to a life" whose labors had resulted in a watery death, the auction allows those values to be controlled in the ship's closed economy (197).[62] Sailors are free to pay more for items, but doing so would require an excess exchange in labor. After all, bids are deducted from sailors' wages. One may miss a voice or form, but to connect that form to an individual is to act against a laboring ideal. Likewise, this exchange officially removes the deceased sailor from the ship's laboring order. Some may have bought items as "a physical reminder of the drowned man, something that might mitigate the loss of his tangible self," as Mary Creighton argues, but the sale's official protocols serve to obliterate the lost mate (*Rites* 137). As Dana affirms, the captain's auction of a deceased sailor's articles avoids "the trouble and risk of keeping his things through the voyage" (79). The "trouble and risk" relates to the inefficiency of not using materials. Dana also implies that those materials could undermine captains' attempts to replace "vacancy" with laboring order.

Dana recognizes the need for this obliteration, but he also laments how an auction values economic reordering over emotional recognition. He begins, "The jackets and trousers in which we had seen him dressed but a few days before, were exposed and bid off before while the life was hardly out of his body" (79). Dana does not yet detach these articles from the deceased, as

[62] Mary Creighton makes a similar argument, stating that in the act of purchase sailors "made a contribution to the sailor's shore family" and "reinforced their own fraternity" (137).

the auctioneer does. Instead, he narrates the clothing's ongoing affective power: recently worn jackets and trousers are "exposed" like one would expose a limb. The glib nature of the "bidding off," or the stripping these clothes from the sailor, stands in stark contrast with Dana's own view. As he confirms, a fellow sailor's voice does not so quickly leave one's ear. Dana concludes with a short description of the sale; he notes, "his chest was taken aft and used as a store chest, so that there was nothing left which could be called *his*" (79). The chest, the keeper of all things personal, becomes public. This act completes an orderly removal of material presence in which "nothing could be called *his.*" The italicized "his" both names that erasure and highlights the man: after all, a sailor's body and feelings are an extension of his laboring materials.

A passage in Francis Gibbons's 1846 whaling journal demonstrates that even captains may be unable to perform such cold economy when the deceased shares a prior familial connection. If only feelings that serve labor are to be practiced on ship, extended mourning has no place on board. Yet Gibbons recounts a sale that occurs twelve months after the death of the captain's nephew. This account provides an incomplete but telling example of delayed affective labor. Gibbons writes,

> This afternoon the Skipper sent forward some clothing of his deceased nephew, who was killed twelve months Since in this Ship, and upon this ground, by a fall from the Mizzen Topmast Crosstrees. He gave the Steward the price for which to dispose of Each Article, all of which in my Judgment was Exhorbitant and accordingly I made no purchases, some of my associates thought differently and among them each article found a purchaser. (55)

Gibbons does not probe his or the captain's feelings, but his knowledge of the death's specific time and location charges the passage. The repetitive phrase "in this ship, and upon this ground" evokes fleeting but powerful proof of the ship's ongoing material connection to death. If an auction's immediacy is a practical attempt to reestablish shipboard order, this delayed sale reflects a more powerful, perhaps unproductive impulse. This captain's delay is possible due to

his power to dictate the ship's labors. The captain's motives are unknown, but one can surmise that he considers the material "trouble and risk" of keeping the artifacts worthwhile by other measures. Indeed, the fact that the captain sends an officer to sell "some clothing" indicates that he did not (or could not) do the work of reincorporating what was called *his* nephew's into the ship's laboring structure. Perhaps the captain had kept some artifacts for other purposes.

Moreover, the captain's decision to set "the price for which to dispose of Each Article" rather than hold an auction means that he had considered and set their value for every article. Allowing the sailors to determine the correspondence between their labor and these artifacts would grant them a level of material and affective power over those items, the person who wore them, and even the captain himself. To guarantee a price lets the captain set these items' material and affective value. One doe not know if the supposed "exhorbitant" price had anything to do with an added sentimental value. In either case, the ship's status as a closed economy all but assured that these goods would be reincorporated. This reincorporation ostensibly concludes the ritual process that reconstitutes a shipboard laboring order. This cycle of labor and death, death and labor continues until a ship reaches port. This cycle's narrative terms and affective power appears to have inspired sail-authors who infuse their fictional tales with feeling.

Melville and Cooper's Sentimental Seamen

For maritime fiction writers like Herman Melville and James Fenimore Cooper, incorporating sentimental seamen's narrative terms about death has stylistic and ideological power. These authors introduce elements of official shipboard forms as well as adhere to sentimental seamen's alignment of affective states with material labors. In the process, such writers give their works verisimilitude. The language of sentimental seamen may also power judgments against the bondage at the heart of shipboard life, the maritime economy, or human

society as a whole. As this section's brief readings show, the materialist, labor-based writing that defines the sentimental seamen ideal may also structure a new sentimental literary canon.

Armed with experience, skilled maritime writers could dramatize drowning death's affective power to highlight the deeply violent nature of shipboard fellow feeling. Melville's *Redburn* (1849), which he privately called "a plain, straightforward, amusing narrative of personal experience," shares narrative features with Dana's memoir (*Correspondence* 132).[63] As a sensitive young man on his first sailing voyage, Redburn strains to perform shipboard labor and to understand sailors' feelings. Most puzzling is Jackson, a sailor whose attitude towards drowning proves both his technical skill and his emotional depravity. In other words, Jackson is the depraved twin of the sentimental seamen ideal: his embodied power and feeling are solely directed towards productive labor. Jackson tells Redburn during their first meeting, "if I ever stumbled about in the rigging near him, he would make nothing out of pitching me overboard" (101). While drowning death is the greatest threat to the ship's affective order, Jackson would "make nothing," or fashion neither a material of emotional response, to such loss. In short, Jackson labors without moral feeling. Jackson's abandonment of personal regard defines his power on ship. Redburn notes, "in tempest-time [Jackson] always climbed the van, and would yield it to none; and this, perhaps, was one cause of his unbounded dominion over the men" (386). The crew relies on Jackson's peerless labors amidst squalls, or the moments that recall sailors' to the potential for death and force a total laboring bond. This technical prowess easily transfers into an affective "unbounded dominion."

[63] Melville later disparaged *Redburn* as "trash" that he wrote "to buy some tobacco with" (qtd in Parker 650). Scholarly assessments of affect's material and social character in the novel consider: Melville's promotion of men's homosexual desire in *Redburn* and other stories (Martin); Redburn as indicative of Jacksonian America's failed adolescence in physical and emotional growth (Edelstein); Redburn as displaying Melville's vexed relationship with grief as he lived and narrated it (Tolchin).

As if to confirm that an unfeeling sea is even less sentimental than a maniacal sailor, Jackson drowns after he coughs a "torrent of blood" while laboring during a storm (386). Redburn's confusion regarding the crew's response affirms both his incomplete understanding of shipboard sympathy and Jackson's distinction from other deceased sailors. Redburn states, "In a way that I never could fully account for, the sailors, in my hearing at least, and Harry's, never made the slightest allusion to the departed Jackson." The crew's ability to "unite in bushing up his memory" goes against an assumed an unstated practice of eulogizing the dead and laboring to foster a new order. Redburn attributes the lack of emotion to "the bondage under which this man held every one of them, [which] did really corrode in their secret hearts" (387). Jackson's power over the crew's thoughts and feelings, understood as material "bondage," led to materially and emotionally corrosion rather than unity. Therefore, Jackson's drowning leads to material vacancy but not emotional loss. Given these conditions, Melville forgoes a burial ritual whose basis in affective labor would hardly align with Jackson's disavowal of felling feeling.

As codified by standard practice and narrated in popular works such as James Fenimore Cooper's *The Red Rover* (1827), the mechanisms of shipboard burial are acts of labor and of mourning. Cooper provides a fitting dramatization of this phenomenon's supposed power across racial lines. Cooper's novel of pre-Revolutionary piracy in New England has long been read as an account of early American nationalism.[64] Most notably, Brian Sinche aligns Cooper's theory of nineteenth-century political liberalism with his "positioning of voice as the foundation of power on board ship" ("Sounds" 136). Cooper also relies on the memory of shared voicing to establish the novel's emotional climax. During the novel's final battle, which leaves free black sailor Scipio Africanus dead, his friend and old tar Dick Fid attempts to prevent the crew from hoisting the man overboard. His appeal is that of a sentimental seaman. "Who dare to cast a

[64] For readings of Cooper's political theory and symbolism, see Berger (91-93); Peck; Mackenthun (65-84).

seaman into the brine," Fid pleads, "with the dying look standing in his lights, and his last words still in his messmate's ears?" The material power of a "dying look" and the "words still in his messmates ears" show that to prematurely cast a sailor overboard would enhance the sort of "vacancy" Dana discusses. In the attempt to prevent a premature burial of his best mate, Fid hopes that Africanus's laboring power will recall his fellow sailors to proper feeling. Fid notes, "Where was the man in your lubberly crew that could lay upon a yard with this here black, or haul upon a lee-earing, while he held the weather-line?" (854). Befitting a sentimental seaman, Fid begins with an appeal to embodied skill: 'Scip should be worthy of feeling because of his singular ability compared to "landlubbers." As was the case for Vantine's fallen mate, 'Scip's technical skill is joined by his capacity for care and sympathy. Even if every sailor did not share the same capacity for labor or feeling, saying so allowed his mates to consider his life valuable and eulogize it in a seemingly unemotional form. Fid continues, "Could any one of ye all give up his rations, in order that a sick messmate might fare the better? or work a double tide, to spare the weak arm of a friend? (854). This extended labor proves that 'Scip had been willing to sacrifice his body for the sake of the laboring whole. Rather than narrate feeling for feeling's sake, thereby betraying his own care towards this mate and diminishing his ability to convince the crew, Dick Fid appeals to their shared language as sentimental seamen.

Ultimately, Cooper validates this call to feeling since it directly leads to the novel's happy ending. 'Scip dies, but he uses his final words to reunite the novel's estranged family members. The novel ends by describing a now-happy home that includes Dick Fid as its chief steward. Of course, the "necessary" death of the novel's sole major black character, in addition to many others besides, shows that shipboard and domestic attachments are unevenly distributed. In that way, Cooper's affirms sentimental seamen's literary and historical power while also

naming and reinscribing racialized figures' relative share of feeling. Because while the ideal of the sentimental seaman cuts across racial lines, the following chapter will make shipboard sympathy's promise and peril for nonwhite subjects more keenly felt.

Chapter Two:
"Bound…to Take a Voyage": Feeling (Racial) Bondage

The four days following the launch of whaling ship *William Rotch* were marked by unruly weather and low feelings. "The captain and mate both said that they never felt so bad before," second mate Henry DeForrest writes on January 4th, 1852. On this second day at sea, "here we are, blowing a heavy gale of wind, all the foremost hands and boatsteerers sick- what are we going to do I don't know." If a voyage's launch requires a crew to join in labor and in feeling, unruly weather threatens both forms of unity. In short, sickness enhances the disorientation of a new oceanic environment and strengthens the pain of departure. DeForrest confirms these terms in the following day's alliterative entry, "I am home sick, heart sick, and heartily sick of the sea." DeForrest has yet to fully accept his lot on a new home on the water. Fittingly, then, the first day of steady winds marks DeForrest's shift towards a sentimental seaman's productive feelings. "What a great change in a person's feelings a little change in the weather will make_," he writes on the ship's fifth day out. The crew may begin its work in earnest. In watching this work, DeForrest takes stock of past trials and future prospects. "I believe the reason of our having such a hard time since we sailed," he muses, "is because there is neither a Darkey or a Portuguese on board of the ship, a thing unprecedented in the annals of New Bedford whaling." The racist epithet "Darkey" could refer to any number of non-white sailors while "a Portuguese" could refer to those from the Iberian Peninsula as well as those from the western Pacific or mid-Atlantic islands. Is this assertion, seemingly made in jest, a lament about the number of nonwhite sailors in New Bedford whaling? It appears so. Yet this racism also reflects DeForrest's judgment of a regular shipboard environment and the feelings it will produce. Obviously, the crew's racial, national, or ethnic makeup would not change the weather. Nonetheless, DeForrest aligns environmental imbalance with an atypically homogenous

shipboard society. If DeForrest previously attributes low feeling with bad weather, he connects both weather and feeling to an assumption that a ship naturally has a diverse racial or ethnic character. In other words, he invokes a materialist, ocean-centered view of a ship's affective order and his own feelings. In the process, he provides a sentimental seaman's particular form of racism and racial commentary.

As DeForrest's entry makes clear, the racial politics at work in the ideal of the sentimental seaman must be interrogated. If sentimental seamen are an ideal *class* of sailor, are they also an ideal *race* of sailor? In other words, is their specific emotional acuity predicated on an assumed racial identity or allegiance? Do sailors' expected capacity for fellow feeling cross racial or ethnic lines? Is their literary identity similarly mediated? Namely, do sailors' materialist, labor-based narratives take on new meanings or forms when considered within a multiethnic literary tradition?

As my answers to these questions will show, a turn to nonwhite sailors' relative status as sentimental seamen confirms the racial fault-lines at the heart of shipboard sympathetic culture in particular and sentimental philosophy as a whole. In this chapter, I consider how race informs or complicates the ideal of the sentimental seaman rather than provide an extensive history of a specific ethnic or racial group's shipboard experiences. At heart, the sentimental seamen ideal promises a social identity based on laboring capacity rather than racial or national status. In that way, the promise of the sentimental seamen ideal echoes the promise made to all antebellum sentimental citizen-subjects: for both, access to social life and official protection ostensibly follow from one's demonstrated capacity for moral virtue. Antebellum citizen-subjects' proof of moral capacity is predicated on their allegiance to state power, as I will discuss in my section on piracy. Sailors' proof is produced via their laboring allegiance to shipboard hierarchies and its

attendant bondage. As the promise goes, a sailor's technical skill and affective acuity will not only protect them from undue oceanic violence, but will also be economically and emotionally fulfilling. In this system, a captain who denies or prevents a sailor's adherence to a sentimental ideal unduly limits the ship's laboring power. After all, unduly binding a sailor whose hands join the rest threatens the ship's legal and social contract. In these conditions, an ideal sailor's desire for productive labor must be more powerful than racial animus. In turn, to deny nonwhite sailors' potential status as sentimental seamen is to unduly dismiss their place in a society defined by sailors' bound and regulated bodies. As I show, nonwhite sailors may invoke the materialist, labor-based language of feeling to affirm their own laboring and literary identities. In the process, they may uphold the hierarchical system of bondage at the center of shipboard life.

At the same time, a social and textual order built to highlight a crew's productive labor may obscure forms of racial violence endemic to both the age of sail and sentimental philosophy. As Nancy Shoemaker confirms, neither race nor racial violence are categories in ships' official accounting of labor (notwithstanding the example of the slave ship I will soon discuss).[65] "A systematic comparison of violent incidents by race is impossible," Shoemakers concludes in response to her database of over 2,000 American whaling voyages, "because crews had such high turnover and information on new recruits, even their names, often went unrecorded" (66). This textual exclusion of racial violence in official documents is akin to the removal of other forms of affective excess. As I discussed in my previous chapter, accounts of suicide, homesickness, or related feelings are obscured in logs or related documents built on the recording of perfectly regulated shipboard labors. This regulation not only affirms a captain's

[65] Official crew lists have no set column for race, though they did for height, complexion, and hair. One may be inclined to assume racial backgrounds in the service of archival and historical recovery, as other scholars have done. As Shoemaker rightly cautions, however, to "treat complexion and hair as a proxy for race," is to overlook the contingency of racial categories as well as their mutability as applied to even a single sailor (41).

fulfillment of contracted labors, but also confirms sailors' expected orientation as laborers and writers. To track racial violence or feeling within this archive, then, is to address another kind of seemingly inevitably affective excess. After all, racial politics do not stop at the water's edge.

If the sentimental seaman is ostensibly a universal category, nonwhite sailors' relative access to shipboard labor and feeling is a particularly stark example of this laboring ideal's ties to white hegemony. If all sailors may be sentimental seamen, this ideal's power dynamics are themselves tied to sympathy's racial politics. As Saidiya Hartman and others have made clear, sympathy's ostensible universality as both a nineteenth-century cultural form and a theoretical tool belies its indebtedness to racial politics that align moral feeling with white liberal subjectivity. Specifically, sentimental narrations or relations most often requires the positioning of privileged (white) subjects *as subjects* who extend feeling to marginalized (nonwhite) subjects *as objects.*[66] For all sailors, but particularly nonwhite ones, their adherence to sentimental seamen ideal is less operative than their *perceived* value as sympathetic subjects by a disproportionally white officer class.[67] Notwithstanding an individual sailors' laboring skill, the captain and officers' uneven power to control sailors' bodies means that racial animus, while unproductive, may dictate nonwhite sailors' share of shipboard labor or feeling. Therefore, to feel sentimental seamen's (racial) bondage is to confirm that shipboard subjects' sentimental capacity, and with it their claims to social life, are reliant on the advancement of systems that align proper feeling with subjugation. Of course, this subjugation is not inherently objectionable

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[66] As Hartman persuasively argues, sentimental scenes of violence against black and bound subjects become a "benumbing spectacle" and a "narcissistic identification that obliterates the other" (4). Such scenes "too often . . . immure us to pain by virtue of their familiarity," or become a literary trope for signaling virtue (4). In other words, extensions of feeling predicated on white familiarity of black suffering prevent more radical forms of social possibility. For a similar reading of sympathy's racial politics that focuses on British history and literature, see Rai.
[67] According to Margaret Creighton, "officers of whaling vessels. . . were predominantly white men of middle class interests"(31). Nancy Shoemaker does note, however, that "a niche opened for native men to fill the need for capable officers" due to New England whaling's mid nineteenth-century peak" (21). As I will soon discuss, legal restrictions on black sailors on merchant and naval vessels made their rise in rank less likely.

in an era of relative unfreedom. As I will discuss, nonwhite sailors' who narrate their acceptance of shipboard bondage, or confirm their status as sentimental seamen, may do so to highlight more pernicious and pervasive forms racial violence.

In drawing this conclusion, I join ongoing scholarly attempts to judge race's relative cultural meaning, social power, and textual trace in an American age of sail. In *Native American Whalemen and the World: Indigenous Encounters and the Contingency of Race* (2015), for example, Nancy Shoemaker treats Native American whalers' experience as emblematic of race's contingent meaning or power in New England in general and in New England whaling ships in particular.[68] She concludes that race "loitered beneath the surface" of a whaling ship's daily operation and "shadowed shipboard relations" (40). Ultimately, however, "rank trumped race in the day-to-day relations aboard [whaling] ship" in large part due to the expectation that maritime skill determined one's social or economic value (41). An attempt to both validate shipboard life's revolutionary possibilities and name its limits similarly shapes Jeffrey Bolster's scholarship on black sailors. He concludes in *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (1998), for example, that black sailors "navigated their own destiny" (28) and considered themselves "citizens of the world" (37).[69] By extension, shipboard culture is "by no means either colorblind or without internal frictions," he writes elsewhere, but it nonetheless "created its own institutions and stratifications, which could work to the relative advantage of black men" ("To Feel Like a Man" 1179). Nonetheless, black sailors' shifting status in antebellum landed policy informs their relative access to labor and, I will discuss, their particular investments in the sentimental seamen ideal. As David Kazanjian confirms, early national policies that restrict black sailors' movements

[68] Shoemaker concludes, "Although the whaling industry was implicated in the processes of capitalism and colonization that brought hardship to New England's native population, it simultaneously offered coastal native communities the best means to survive these changes" (9).
[69] For prior studies of African American sailors, see Farr; Putney. For studies of "lascars," or a diverse population of sailors hailing from the Indian Ocean region typically associated with European vessels, see Ghosh and Jaffer.

leads to the “institutionalization of race within U.S. seafaring industries” (42). Most notably, the wave of southern “Negro Seaman Acts” call for black sailors to be jailed when they dock in its ports; such acts began in South Carolina in 1822 and extended throughout the south in part due to Denmark Vesey’s failed revolt.[70] In this increasingly hostile labor market, Kazanjian notes, black sailors have access to “feminized, service-oriented position” of cooks and stewards more readily than the position of able seaman (43). As I will discuss, deviations from fellow feeling are more acceptable against subjects whose bodies are necessarily joined to officers. Thought another way, black sailors’ restricted access to skilled shipboard labor may prevent them from receiving a full social or economic share of sympathy.

In sum, this chapter considers the intertwined forms of regulated attachment and racialized bondage at the heart of age-of-sail ships, particularly slave ships whose characters I will only begin to address in my conclusion. In my first section, I will highlight sailors whose places in the literary-historical record confirm that the sentimental seamen ideal may be depend on subjects’ relative shares of both landed bondage and shipboard sympathy. As documents related to the whaler *Rising Sun* show, nonwhite sailors are part of a broader textual and social order predicted on an agreed upon form of bound labor. This labor’s material and affective effect on Bob, a sailor who runs away from his North Carolina plantation, is known only through his escape notices. If one were to imagine his fate, however, it could be akin to one of two sailors: an unnamed steward and John Thompson. As I show, these sailors’ relative share of an officer’s feeling determines their divergent fates. I will dedicate a bulk of this section to Thompson, a man who narratively upholds the ideal of a sentimental seaman to distinguish between the unjust

[70] For a legal history of these acts, see Schoeppner. Kazanjian also highlights the U.S. Navy’s ostensible ban on enlisting black sailors in 1799, the “institutionalized ‘white first’ hiring in the U.S. maritime industry” advanced by port agents, and “legal restriction on black ownership of and command over maritime vessels” (43). Kazanjian aligns these policies with late eighteenth-century forms of “racial capitalism” in which race increasingly shapes access to and definitions of nation-backed mercantile capitalism (43).

bondage of the plantation and the just bondage of the whaling vessel. Specifically, Thompson names shipboard hierarchy as a moral and spiritual alternative to plantation hegemony. My second section highlights a freewoman of color whose distinction from common sailors does not preclude her from claiming the status of a sentimental sea(wo)man. Nancy Prince's move away from sympathy as a narrative strategy and political philosophy her 1850 narrative, I argue, may be paired with her move towards a materialist, labor-based form of narration. Nancy Prince stakes her social and authorial identity by proving laboring productivity at sea rather appealing to white sympathy on land. My concluding turn to the slave ship log and to maritime fictions–particularly Herman Melville's *Benito Cereno* and Frederick Douglass's "The Heroic Slave"—shows how a sentimental seaman's materialist, labor-based narration may be invoked to stage antislavery revolution's promise on ship and on shore. To begin tracing sentimental seamen ideal's ties to (racial) bondage, one must once again board a ship and make it home.

"Bound. . . to take a voyage": Bob, George, and John

A set of documents for the whaling brig *Rising Sun* confirm the bondage that meets all contracted sailors as well as the difficulties in tracking nonwhite sailors' relative stake in this order. The first document is the August 1789 "Articles of Agreement" in advance of the ship's voyage from Providence to the South Atlantic whaling grounds. The document is a standard contract between the ship's distinguished owners, the partners Nicholas Brown and George Benson, and its largely anonymous crew. The agreement narratively and legally binds the owners, captain, and crew by dictating their relative power in a shipboard order. In short, the captain organizes the ship's hands for the benefit of the vessel's owners. Befitting the sentimental seamen ideal, a materialist, labor-based form defines this contract of mutual self-interest and fellow feeling. It beckons readers to "witness our hands." All must recognize that

each "hand" freely signs on land those terms that will move sailors' hands at sea. The agreement's lined table textualizes the social process through which the crew binds their bodies to a hierarchical order. Sailors place their name in the designated column, befitting their shipboard ongoing promise to stay in line. Found immediately next to their name, each crewmember's "Quality" denotes their skill and place on board. The *quality* of their tuned ears and tested finger ends, or their embodied acuity, defines their relative economic and social value. These sailors are to receive a relative stake of a shared economic whole, a "Share," under the guidance of a captain and for the benefit of the ship's owners. The crew's signature or mark seals their fate. This signature, or "hand," is a narrative assertion of selfhood: each crewmember has exchanged a share of their bodies for a share of the ship's profit. In other words, they have agreed to be sentimental seamen.

Among these signatures, the name "Nero Waterman" hints at a racialized hand who appears unable to fully narrate his status as a sentimental seaman. Nero's last name, "Waterman," potentially connects him to one of Rhode Islands founding families, one whose wealth remained tied to plantation slavery. "Nero," derived from the Old Latin word for "man" (*nara*), is also understood as a designation of blackness. I have yet to determine whether Nero Waterman truly was a "black man of the water." His status as a "Raw hand/cook," or a sailor whose body is not yet conditioned for shipboard labor, lends further evidence of his racial identity.[71] His relatively meager one-eightieth share of the venture's profits reflects his distance from the venture's primary labors, the capture of whale oil.[72] Nero asserts himself only through

[71] "By no means were most black mariners cooks," Jeffrey Bolster notes, "but almost all seacooks were black" (*Black* 168)

[72] Jeffrey Bolster tracks the "relative rise in seacooks' pay" throughout the nineteenth-century due to increased skill demands. He writes, "Until about 1820, cooks and stewards had the worst-paying jobs aboard ship. . . Cook' pay averaged about five dollars per month (33 percent) less than sailors' before 1820, but it improved with time, equaling sailors' from approximately 1820 to 1850...During the 1850s and 1860s, the cook's pay often equaled that of the second mate" (*Black* 168).

"his mark," or an "x" ostensibly derived from his own hand. Set between his first and last name, the "x" both bifurcates his identity and links its two parts. The "x" is an assertion of personal presence, but that assertion is recognizably his due to another literate hand's direction. Nero's marked "x," therefore, appears to echo his precarious position on ship and in the archive.

If the *Rising Sun* articles of agreement document a ship's "hands" in a moment of shared economic and social binding, each page of the ship's final account book reveals which hands had successfully grasped their share. Made in July 1790, or eleven months after the ship's launch, the account book contains seemingly little feeling. Looking at these pages closely, however, one can retrace Nero's hand. His signature is unsteady. Nero's letters are halting and disconnected. The distinct first and second "A" of "Waterman" indicates a hand only recently and incompletely schooled. The signature's cascading line, which risks running off of the page, stands in contrast with the neat and steady scrawl found above it. Nero Washington has signed the ship's final account book, which confirms his completion of contracted labors. It is only fitting that Nero's narrative declaration of self takes place at the moment of economic reward. Clearly, Nero would have been paid his $17.11 even if he did not sign his name. His "mark" would again have sufficed. Even so, Nero's seemingly minor literary presence holds meaning.

Nero Waterman's recoverable literary output may be nothing more than two parts of a business transaction, an undistinguished "x" and an unsteady signature. What occurred in the eleven months between these two documents remains to be witnessed. Nor do I know the length of Nero's whaling career. Nonetheless, his signature indicates that Nero labored beyond his capacity as a raw hand or cook. He calls upon all present to witness his hand. This relative narrative absence, this lack of a full account of self, befits an era in which business records incompletely (and sometimes unintentionally) mark laboring or bound subjects' full humanity.

The slave ship log, the bill of sale, the plantation record, and the escaped slave notice are notably examples I will only begin to discuss. Nero Waterman, a relatively unknown (and perhaps unknowable) figure, gives one reason to continue feeling through this maritime archive.

Indeed, a materialist, labor-based account of distinctly *black* seamen may be found in escape notices that evince a tension between slavemasters' attempt to bind enslaved subjects to the planation and those same subjects' prior or future sailing lives. For example, an advertisement ran regularly in the *Raleigh Register* newspaper from August to October 1824 under the title "Ranaway." In it, an applicant named Clinton offers twenty dollars for the return of "Bob." This escape notice, like the logbook, was not produced to capture a sailor's emotional life. Instead, it is a political and economic document in the service of a plantation order. In a way, however, one may read the ad's restraint in conjunction with that of the maritime log. Shipboard log-keepers use measures of labor to mark their legal, economic, and geographic status on unruly seas. This containment maintains the fiction of a perfectly ordered vessel. Runaway ad-writers use similarly generic terms to narratively capture unruly escaped figures and maintain the fiction of a perfectly ordered plantation order. Like the log, however, the notice names shipboard forms of embodied action and expression beyond its intended purview. As Elizabeth Maddock Dillon affirms, "many runaway individuals . . . display forms of identity [in advertisements] that tether them less closely to the scene of enslavement" (168).[73] Advertisements that ostensibly abet the commodifications of the enslaved are in fact markers of "black sociality and cultural production," as demonstrated by the description of clothing, personality, and occupations recounted in these privileged accounts (168).

The advertisement for Bob, I believe, reinforces assumptions about sailors' embodied

[73] For related studies of early American runaway advertisements as literary objects, see Cobb (28-65); Hodges; Johnson (*Fear* 12-15); Newman (82-103); and Waldstreicher.

difference as a laboring class. The ad tethers Bob less to landed identity, as intended, and more to a sentimental seaman's embodied acuity. Clinton establishes Bob's age ("21 or 22 years"), character ("pleasant countenance"), skills ("reads and writes") and physical features ("yellowish color, of low stature"). The master then names Bob's share of a sailor's singular embodiment. He notes, "Bob has been often at sea and has contracted something of a sailor's air when walking" (3). Clinton presents Bob's body as a site of expansive physical and social connections to the sea. Bob does not merely wear sailors' garb. Instead, he has "contracted something of a sailor's air." In other words, he has *supposedly* been infected by a physical and affective condition that defines his movement. He may have previously "contracted" himself as a sentimental seaman. This performance of a sailor's ideal identity relies on a distinction from an expected air, or the walk of a landsman and a bondsman. Bob's power of performance, and the skills that make it possible, would prove to be materially useful in escaping capture. Raleigh may be over one hundred miles away from Wilmington, the nearest port city, but the newspaper page closes this geographical gap. A notice of "Packets for Philadelphia" announcing that a ship "will leave Wilmington . . . every ten days" can be found alongside multiple printings of the notice (2). The announcements of escape and passage run together, even if Bob and the ship do not.

Notices across the region and throughout the period confirm the prospect that a sentimental seaman and a bondsman may be one in the same. Jack Lord "has a sailor like appearance" (*Wilmington Advertiser* 1838). Charles "has the appearance and walk of a sailor" (*Carolina Federal Republican*, 1817). Jack "walks heavy as a sailor, he being used to the sea" (*North Carolina Gazette,* 1778). Moses "walks and speaks like a sailor" (*New-Orleans Argus*, 1828). In each case, an affirmation of these men's technical ability and embodied practice presumes a shared social understanding of oceanic labor's embodied effects. Though invoked to

bind these men to land rather than cast them to sea, these notices affirm runaway sailors' power beyond the plantation. In short, they use a materialist, labor-based form to imagine these men's embodied claims to the sentimental seamen ideal.

One does not know if Bob was in fact a sailor, or if he successfully boarded a vessel. Nor can one trace Bob's potential feelings towards shipboard hierarchies in relation to plantation ones. This historical gap, this failure to grasp a host of formerly enslaved sailors' lives or feelings, is product of both these figures' bondage and freedom. This gap persists in the maritime record. "Establishing anything more than suggestive about the presence of fugitives in whaling vessels may never be possible" Kathryn Grover affirms, since "logs kept on whaling voyages were official documents and thus were unlikely to record the presence of fugitives, both white and black mariners frequently used aliases, and most men escaping masters were surely not inclined to be candid about their backgrounds" (58). Former legal status may be obscured in a relatively closed social and textual system. This historical gap notwithstanding, to consider the lives of sailors like Bob is to complicate the category "sentimental seamen." A socially marginalized or vulnerable crewmember would be less able challenge a captain or officer's violent unmaking of a ship's social contract. Likewise, an embodied experience of bondage in slavery would alter one's understanding of shipboard bondage's relative meaning and value. This section will highlight two black sailors whose relative share of shipboard violence confirms their expected status as sentimental seamen as well as their uneven access to this identity.

If fickle weather threatens an entire ship, it casts a deeper shadow over those whose rank and race leaves them vulnerable to unproductive violence. J. Harvey Weed, the suicidal supercargo aboard the trading ship *Cashmere*, presents a stark parallel of Henry DeForrest's theory of weather and race-based danger. Weed first confirms on December 5th, 1838, "One who

has never been at sea can have no idea of the joy, the delight, one feels in a good breeze after a few days of light weather." In such moments, also recounted by Robert Weir, ideal sentimental seamen exercise feeling labors that advance the vessel. The ship's steward, unnamed in Weed's account, appears to have a stake in this ideal. "Even darky, the steward looks in better humor," Weed writes, "and shows more of his ivory- and is more attentive." In this particular materialist, labor-based narration of feeling, Weed aligns the unnamed man's identity and his body with his blackness; moreover, Weed presents the steward's affective state in animalizing and racializing terms. During this fine weather, Weed is himself "calm as a philosopher." A gathering storm, however, confirms these sailors' unequal share of weathered feeling.

If DeForrest jokingly attributes bad weather and feeling with a lack of diversity, Weed pairs his own racist violence with fickle weather. Weed asks the steward to report on the weather and notes "when I get as an answer, 'Wind dead ahead, sir,' Nearly calm sir' rainy morning sir' I grow savage_ everything is wrong_ and it is_ Steward!" If weather that prohibits labor produces ill feeling, it also leaves the steward more vulnerable. Ships' stewards do not take part in most of the coordinated labors that material and affectively bind the crew. In other words, pain directed towards their body does not threaten embodied unity as much as the pain of a skilled "hand." Instead, unskilled hands are more clearly subservient to the officer class. Indeed, Weed recounts the various ways he harasses and punishes his steward, culminating in the threat: "I'll break every bone in that black carcass of yours" (12/5/38). The steward's laboring body is key to Weed's domestic comfort. Nonetheless, Weed appears prepared to break this union in order to satiate ill feeling. Rather than admit his deviation from the sentimental seamen ideal, however, Weed appeals to it. In the process, Weed invokes a materialist, labor-based sentimental form to justify subordinate sailors' undue share of bondage.

The steward's obscured place in the maritime archive confirms official documents' power to install fictional unity amidst economically and socially threatening forms of violence. Thought another way, the fact that all "hands" must be narrated using a shared form is predicated on the assumption that all hands labor under shared conditions. The color of the "hand" performing a ship's labor is often not part of a log's expected economic, legal, or scientific data. Indeed, Nancy Shoemaker notes the "rarity of references to race in whaling logbooks and journals" (58). Tellingly, however, a sailor's race or ethnicity is often most visible within shipboard journals or logs in moments of death or violence. In such moments, the ideal of the sentimental seaman gives way to the reality of vulnerable nonwhite sailors. According to one sailor, for example, the captain of *Hannibal* "pounded John Bull (A Kanacker) at the wheel," on October 20th 1849. John later complains about such ill treatment to the mate, this writer notes, "but got no sympathy- all the reply was good enough for you, you d-n nigger_." This account of "John Bull" reflects an ideological and racial tangle: Bull is a Native Hawaiian with the name of Britain's national personification who has been hailed as essentially Pacific and African. Common sailors often used the term "Kanaka" to refer to all Pacific Islanders, a general designation that is perhaps more fitting than the growing taxonomy of scientifically racist terms for Pacific peoples (Shoemaker 87). At the same time, the second mate confirms the power of a black and white binary.[74] In such moments, the breakdown of a ship's affective order is named, or perhaps justified, by a focus on a sailor's racialized body. The promise that a sailor's regulated and monetized feeling will protect them from oceanic violence has given way to the reality of racist violence. Not surprisingly, then, "John Bull" deserts the vessel at the next port and forfeits

[74] This positioning was common, as David Change notes in his account of "Hawaiian Indians and Black Kanakas." He writes, "On the Atlantic Coast. . . Kanaka Maoli in the mid-nineteenth century lived among black people, made families with black people, and came to be seen as black people" (158).

his wages. It appears that his recognition that productive labor will not guarantee his protection makes this removal from the ship's economic and social order preferable.

Yet, to recount nonwhite sailors through scenes of subjection alone would dismiss their literary-historical power to both undermine racial bondage and promote shipboard labor. If racist violence represents a deviation from the ship's ideal affective and economic exchange, John Thompson's life confirms this ideal's appeal for one who was formerly enslaved. *The Life of John Thompson, A Fugitive Slave* (1856) is a striking combination of the escaped slave narrative and the maritime memoir. In the narrative's first section, Thompson describes his 1812 birth into slavery in Maryland and the cruelty he faces on various southern plantations. The second section recounts the events following his escape to Philadelphia. Thompson spends several years on whaling grounds in the Indian Ocean and the north Atlantic.[75] While Jeffrey Bolster and Kathryn Grover present Thompson's maritime labor in its historical context, his place in maritime literature has largely gone overlooked.[76] Thompson's narrative shows how a sentimental seaman's narrative terms may be invoked in an antislavery narrative. He also complicates histories of black sailors' limited autobiographical output. [77]

As I argue, Thompson proves his capacity for free labor and fellow feeling— a key tenet of the abolitionist sentimental form and abolitionist ideology— using a sentimental seaman's narrative terms. Specifically, Thompson recounts how he is needlessly whipped on the plantation and, he believes, saved from both justified and unjustified whipping on the whaling ship. In other words, Thompson characterizes life as an enslaved man by its lack of sympathy and defines his

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[75] Thompson presents his whaling career in a single narrative, but it is possible he collapses multiple voyages. He publishes his biography in Worchester, where he died in 1860. For a brief biography, see McCarthy and Doughton.
[76] See Grover (194-96) and Bolster (*Black* 167-68).
[77] For example, though Myra Glenn states, "black mariners produced relatively few autobiographical works during the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries" and cites Olaudah Equiano, Paul Cuffe, and Joseph Deane as exceptions. Yet, she makes no mention of Thompson's life or narrative (14).

life as a sailor by an abundance of it. In the process, Thompson heightens the cruelty of plantation slavery by comparing it with a form of bondage that he considers a laudable means of organizing society. Shipbound life is not only highly preferable to the wanton cruelty of slavery, Thompson confirms. It is also a model for fellow feeling on a societal and spiritual level. Life at sea is not free from bondage, but neither is a person's personal or spiritual life. All are "bound to take a voyage," he will conclude, and must therefore give themselves to higher and nobler powers: their captain and their god.

In presenting this abolitionist stake in the sentimental seamen ideal, Thompson writes *against* an existing reform movement against flogging on ships; as Hester Blum notes, "sailors routinely compared flogging victims to chattel slaves and captains to slavemasters" (*Before* 111).[78] This sentimental tie assumes enslaved subjects' capacity for feeling, but this appeal is primarily in the service of the sailor. The bondage of enslaved subjects is not that of sailors, a group whose relative unfreedom was an accepted feature of the maritime world. After all, to equate the sailor and the enslaved is to potentially diminish the singular violence against the latter and elevate the claims of the former. Thompson indicates his primary allegiance with the bound slave rather than the bound sailor via his narrative's complete title, *The Life of John Thompson, a Fugitive Slave; Containing His History of 25 Years in Bondage, and His Providential Escape. Written by Himself* (v). In his preface, Thompson asserts his status as one "has worn the galling yoke of bondage," and states his intention to "say something of its pains, and something of that freedom, if he should not succeed in accurately defining, he can truly say he will ever admire and love" (vi). For Thompson, the pains of bondage and the love of freedom may be felt in full if not defined in total. In other words, Thompson faces the challenge of both the sentimental seaman and the sentimental abolitionist: there are feelings he knows very well

[78] For another account of flogging as an affront to sailors' rights to freedom, see Glenn (112-143).

how to experience, if not how to describe. If an account of whipped bodies primes his plantation narrative, Johnson's more positive feelings are the result of his shipboard labors. Fittingly, then, Thompson shares in the materialist, labor-based account of feeling that guides Putnam and the other sailors I have discussed.

The plantation section of Thompson's narrative, an episodic account of his life from 1812 until approximately 1837, is structured by accounts of whipping whose frequency and graphicness place Thompson securely in the sentimental tradition. Specifically, Thompson uses violence to present enslaved subjects' degraded position as well as to stage their principled rejection of such degradations. Thompson includes some variant of the verbs "whip," "flog," "lash" in relation to violence against bound subjects *ninety-five* times in the account of his early life on successive plantations. In each location, Thompson aligns his new master's character with their relative use of the whip. Mr. Wager, on whose plantation Johnson was born, was "a very cruel slave driver. He would whip unreasonably and without cause" (19). Another master "was as inhuman as he was rich, and would whip when no particle of fault existed on the part of the slave" (34). Another, "was a very kind master . . . [he] would neither whip them himself, nor suffer another person to do so" (64). Another "was a tolerably good man, so far as whipping was concerned" (75). These men's level of cruelty varies, but each uses the whip to bind subjects to an unnatural slaveholding order. The enslaved's' abiding character may also be proven by their physical and psychic rejection of this order. Aaron is "often whipped" but this action "did not conquer his will, nor lessen his bravery" (26). Ben "was a brave fellow, nor did this flogging lessen his bravery" (37). Whipping degrades the master and the enslaved, Thompson implies, though the latter retain their share of dignity.

In this system, the extraordinary violence performed by Mr. Wager, Thompson's first master, stands in stark contrast to the shipboard paternalism he later recounts. Specifically, Mr. Wager, "forced one slave to flog another, the husband his wife; the mother her daughter; or the father his son" (20). This scene confirms the enslaved family's claim to familial attachment and feeling as well as the master's utter lack of sympathy. Mr. Wager not only separates families. He also binds them in pain. If a capacity to imagine the pain of one's "brother on the rack" is proof of sympathy, to force a father to torture his son is an especially perverse act of unfeeling. Moreover, the Wager family's present and future incapacity for feeling is proven by the fact that the "practice seemed very amusing to himself and his children" (20). The white enslaving family's perversion of sympathy, or their shared revelry in the pain of another, confirms the plantation order's unnatural cruelty.

For Thompson, his escape from this cruelty is an act of providence. A sickness falls upon him during a walk home, which he attributes to "God, warning me to avoid danger by not going home"(79). When Thompson returns the next morning, he discovers that he is wanted for aiding runaways. Thompson then escapes to Philadelphia, but "concluded best for me to go to sea" after he sees many men recaptured into slavery (103). He boards *Milwood* after traveling from New York to New Bedford, where "green hands were more wanted" (107). The booming whaling industry makes Thompson's untuned ears and untested finger ends fit for labor. This escaped slave's oceanic removal from the plantation leads to a comparable formal shift in his descriptions of bondage and violence. As with the plantation section, Thompson's relatively brief account of his two-plus years at sea aboard the whaling-ship *Milwood* is marked by his relationship with the whip. Thompson's deeply pained account of plantation bondage sets his highly technical account of shipboard sympathy in stark relief. He only uses the term "flogging" in this section, however,

as if give the plantation whip its own particular violence. Indeed, Thompson marks his social movement from bound man to free sailor by narrating his growing maritime skill as well as his acceptance of shipboard flogging as distinct from plantation whipping.

In staging this move, Thompson presents his owner and his captain as opposite models of hierarchical order. Specifically, he upholds the paternalism of the "master" of the ship as necessary; though the captain "looked upon the sailors as his children," this power does not lead to the slavemaster's perversion of familial order. Instead, the crew "in turn regarded him with affectionate esteem" (118). For Thompson, a captain's paternalism and violence are both necessary for shipboard order and compatible with more familial fellow feelings. After he boards *Milwood*, for example, Thompson recognizes that his inability to adequately perform his labor may lead to his flogging by his captain, Aaron C. Luce. Thompson knows that "a great responsibility rested upon the cook, or steward, of a whaling vessel, bound upon a long voyage" (107). Thompson elevates his role as steward in a shipboard laboring hierarchy and confirms his recognition that his social value derives entirely from his capacity to labor. Thompson had lied about his skills to receive this position, and therefore "expected to incur the captain's just displeasure. . . since at sea every man is expected to know his own duty, and fill his own station, without begging aid from others." In other words, those who do labor productively must be recalled to their responsibility. Nonetheless, Thompson escapes the lash. Seasickness prevents him from assisting the ship's cook, and proves that he has never been to sea. In other words, his untuned and untested body confirms his false claim to a laboring ideal. After telling the captain the truth, however, this escaped steward's story "seemed to touch his heart" (110). The justness of Thompson's escape from slavery leads the captain to temporally forgive his indiscretion, or to demonstrate a more expansive fellow feeling. This capacity does not alter the captain's

responsibility to bind sailors to their labor. Thompson affirms, “He told me that had circumstances been different, he should have flogged me for my imposition; but now bade me to go on deck” (100). Thompson does not descry this violent possibility, but invokes it to present shipboard order as bound by rational feeling not found on the plantation.

The whaling ship is not free from racial prejudice, Thompson confirms, but such ill feeling is contrary to the ship’s laboring structure. In the best-case scenario, one’s capacity to labor under the captain protects one from unmerited violence. For example, the first mate calls for him to be flogged when the black sailor fights back from unwarranted abuse. However, the master, “told [the mate] not to lay a finger upon me again, for I was his steward, and the mate had no control over me, which he wished him, the mate, plainly to understand” (112). In this case, the master reaffirms the ideal that productive labor protects one from unwarranted violence. Moreover, this animosity is removed after a successful whale hunt. “The mate, who had before been my enemy,” Thompson writes, “now became my friend, and during the remainder of the voyage treated me like a man” (117). Economic success and shared labors recall the mate to proper feeling. In other words, the recognition of both men’s correspondence in self-interest orders their relationship rather than race. Thompson may be treated “like a man” in a unified shipboard order. This optimistic assertion speaks to Thompson’s investment in the ideological promise embodied by sentimental seamen: namely, he upholds that a dedication to shipboard labor will advance both moral feeling and economic productivity. This promise is, of course, the polar opposite of the one found on the plantation.

Notwithstanding Thompson’s thankfulness at his own escape from slavery, he describes the whippings that result from other sailors’ attempted desertion with little feeling. In the process, he further establishes his credentials as a sentimental seaman whose ability to

distinguish between just and unjust bondage. This ability confirms, perhaps indirectly, the truth of his plantation section. If a slavemaster's whipping of an escaped slave proves slavery's unnatural cruelty, a captain's whipping of deserters confirms shipboard hierarchy's justness. Late in his narrative, Thompson recounts four of the crew who had deserted and then attacked the men sent to recover them. Since an under-serviced ship poses a hazard to all persons on board, desertion may be cause for flogging. Indeed, Thompson states that the three men are "placed in irons" and are set to "receive their deserved punishment" (124). A reader may recall Thompson's prior account of three men in irons, in that case bound men set to be loaded aboard a slaving vessel. "But O! reader, could you have seen those men, loaded down with irons, as they passed weeping from the warehouse," he proclaims, "you must have exclaimed, "Great God, how long wilt thou suffer this sin to remain upon the earth?" (41). Thompson's prior sentimental appeal, his call for the readers to identify with the enslaved, does not occur here. Instead, Thompson narrates the final act without feeling and with some impatience; after noting the captain's ambivalence, Thompson writes that the captain "finally flogged three of them" (124).[79] Thompson had graphically recounted the effects of flogging on the plantation, including his own. Watching the three men be flogged, Thompson does not recall the period when "Every stroke buried the lash in my flesh," at least not in his narrative (72). Nor does he explicitly call his readers to consider the pain of enslaved subjects who continued to be bound and lashed. Instead, this account of bound bodies and feelings prime his narrative's ultimate goal: to narrate a path to social and spiritual unity based on all persons' acquiescence to a higher moral power.

[79] According to Thompson, Captain Luce "did not wish to flog them, as he thought he could inflict some other punishment which would prove more salutary and efficacious." He wants to inflict "salutary and efficacious" punishments that recall sailors to their subservient place without debasing them. This hesitation may be read as an indictment of flogging, but Thompson affirms the captain's claim to both natural fellow feeling and just punishment.

Combing a materialist, labor-based form and a spiritualist message in keeping with the abolitionist tradition, Thompson concludes by presenting shipboard order as a model for all social life. His focus on bound and regulated feeling is in keeping with sentimental seamen ideal. If sympathy on ship is not boundless, this fact makes them a model for an equally bound spiritual and social life. After Thompson joins various whale hunts, he ascribes his success to God. This spiritual vision is inextricable from his labor as a sailor. Thompson notes that while "learning the uses of the various nautical instruments, I also studied their spiritual application" (132). The imagined correspondence between shipboard labor and a spiritual state is not merely symbolic. Celestial navigation is both a practical skill and a means of tracking the mysteries of creation.

The narrative ends at the moment of his ship's return, and concludes with a long sermon in which Thompsons describes the connection between ships and souls, ocean voyages and a life lived in faith. If the Rising Sun *Articles of Agreement* promised a shipboard system in which owners, captain, and crew work in union relative to their station, Thompson promises a spiritual system defined by these same terms. Namely, he argues that all persons must be spiritual sentimental seamen. He states,

> Bound, as she is, to take a voyage on this restless, troubled ocean, the spiritual ship must not only be furnished with rigging suited to such a bottom as I have described, but she must also be provided with all the necessary nautical instruments before she can safely put to sea; and oh, how carefully has her gracious owner been, that all her wants should be supplied. (136-37)

For Thompson, shipboard labor is a material good, a path to moral feeling, and the formal model for an account of spiritual life. Perfectly regulation of labor and piety, rather than total freedom, will lead to social unity. In other words, Thompson's final sermon elevates the sentimental seaman as a model of Christian piety. Humans, like sailors, must labor with the knowledge that a higher power controls their fate. Moreover, Thompson presents shipboard and oceanic culture as

the proper model for social relations. Thompson argues, “On the ocean of life, where we are constantly meeting vessels, steering in every possible direction, would that Christians would show the same courtesy and kindness to each other, that seaman of every nation and under all colors, do” (138). In this rather romantic vision of ocean life, the racial and national differences between persons are subsumed by the shared recognition that the sea’s material power necessitates cooperation. Ultimately, John Thompson’s ability to engage in labor previously unavailable to him makes him a sentimental seaman. The social model that results is one of regulated bondage rather than total freedom. Faced with a similar set of perils, a freewoman of color invokes a sentimental seaman’s identity to navigate the gender imbalance at the heart of maritime society and its viable labors.

“Perils on land, and perils at sea”: Nancy Prince as Sentimental Sea(wo)man

Like John Thompson, freewoman Nancy Prince often narrates technical labors where one may expect feeling. This fact is perhaps more striking due to Prince’s gender and background. Prince’s *A Narrative of the Life and Travels of Mrs. Nancy Prince* (1850) recounts her birth and early life in the Boston area, her time in the Russian Royal Court, and her two missionary voyages to Jamaica. Writing from Boston, Prince admits in her preface that age and travel have weakened her capacity for labor. “Infirmities are coming upon me,” she writes, but she refuses to seek charity while she can still “support myself by my own endeavors” (xxvii). A story of her individual suffering would provide this support, but Prince refuses to narrate her body as an object of sympathy. As Ronald Walters confirms in his vital critical edition, the narrative is “almost as intriguing for what it does not say, or says elliptically” (xx).[80] Specifically, Mary Eyring notes, the narrative is “comprehensive when it describes social and economic conditions in her adoptive homes but cryptic when it touches on her personal life” (108). For Eyring, this

[80] For a more complete account of the narrative's publication history, see Eyring (107-08)

cryptic tone reflects Prince's desire to be seen as a missionary and literary laborer rather than as an object of charity. She writes, "For Prince, publishing an account of her travels was a way to supplement the meager profits of her difficult charitable labor without submitting to the managers of New England's benevolent organizations" (108). These organizations are economically and socially based in maritime centers, as Eyring outlines.[81] If Prince subsequently positions herself as an "independent entrepreneur," one may also highlight Prince's strategic identification with another independent laborer: the sailor (117). Akin to John Thompson, Prince positions herself as worthy of a reader's attachments— both political and moral— due to her ability to perform necessary social work *on ship* and on shore. In the process, Prince refuses a form of sentimental writing that could validate her rights to social and political life, namely an account of her violated body that appeals to reader's sympathy. Instead, she stakes her literary claim as a sentimental sea(wo)man.

This investment in a sentimental seaman's materialist, labor-based form is linked to oceanic labors that are perhaps more speculative than real. In practice, oceanic travel is a necessary and precarious path to Prince's productive missionary labors. Moreover, Prince does not able to labor as a common sailor. [82] Nonetheless, she positions her oceanic labors, proven by her log-like account of travel and her growing navigational skill, to assert an authorial identity. In other words, she maintains a sentimental seaman's narrative terms. To do so, she alters an acceptable and visible genre of women's travel writing. Though scholars align the text with the travel-writing genre, Prince's specifically *oceanic* existence has been treated as a form of

[81] Eyring's monograph, *Captains of Charity: The Writing and Wages of Postrevolutionary Atlantic Benevolence* (2017), highlights benevolent societies' role in transatlantic systems of economic and moral exchange. As she confirms, fictional and nonfictional works confirm the "intertwined development of charitable and capitalistic labor" as well as the "frequent— even systemic— convergence of economics, literary production, geography, and American benevolence" (8).
[82] As Mary Eyring notes, "For a woman saddled with economic responsibility, Prince's travels. . . read most coherently as a means of—not a reprieve from— providing for herself and her dependents" (108). As I show, however, Prince attempts to frame her oceanic travel as part of a positive capacity for labor.

transit.[83] According to Sandra Gunning, for example, Prince's account of "gendered mobility" is a reference to the "political ebb and flow of a black female authority often unevenly and precariously constructed in a variety of geographic locations" (33, 34).[84] For Gunning and others, oceanic travel allows Prince some measure of authority between these "geographic locations." The space of the ship itself is, I argue, one such location. The ship is a particularly vital location because she enters this space immediately following failures to sustain economic or social autonomy. This section will highlight moments where Prince takes to the sea and, in the process, strategically invokes shipboard labor to affirm her social and literary identity.

Prince places her early life in a lineage of maritime labor, including by those sailors who advanced the transatlantic slave trade. Her material grandfather, Tobias Wornton, survived the middle passage and was enslaved by "Captain Winthrop Sargeant" (1). Her mother's second husband escaped slavery after the middle passage "while the vessel was at anchor in one of our Eastern ports" (2). His mother's third husband was impressed by the British navy and died "oppressed, in the English dominions" (3). If maritime slavery is the more visible lineage, Prince's association with impressment positions her narrative in a broader maritime tradition of bound laborers. Of her early life, Prince describes the sea's connection to the violence facing her family of classed, racialized, and gendered subjects. Devoid of economic opportunity, her brother "made up his mind to go to sea" but failed to get a full-time position. Her sister "deluded

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[83] Indeed, a selection of Prince's narrative on Russian may be found in the collection *Stranger in the Village: Two Centuries of African-American Travel Writing.* During this section, its editors note, "Prince turns to observation in the tradition of Western travel writing" (210). According to Sandra Gunning, Prince's account represents the "coalescence of three subgenres. . . an autobiographical account. . . a missionary narrative,... and a travel narrative" (37). For Cheryl Fish, "Prince claims the typical foundation for most travel writing— proclaiming a 'truth' based on empirical observation— but her narrative authority is enhanced by a struggle that comes in part from the tensions between marginality and defiance" ("Warnings" 230). See also, Fish ("Voices"); Carby.

[84] Gunning focuses on the discontinuity between Prince's life and Paul Gilroy's formulation of a secure diasporic black culture in *The Black Atlantic*. As Gunning concludes, Prince's work is not one of "diasporic transcendence," or an ability to maintain a black identity across space or time, but because it is "one of the nineteenth-century narratives that display moments of rupture, moments rife with troubling discontinuities" (61).

away," or turns to prostitution in the port-city of Boston. Her mother's health deteriorates due to a life of hard labor (7). In other words, each fails to find a productive or sustaining form of labor in the maritime economy.

Prince's description of her departure from Boston signals that her successful navigation of this economy may be produced via marriage-abetted access to the sea. She notes, "after seven years of anxiety and toil, I made up my mind to leave my country. September 1st, 1823, Mr. Prince arrived from Russia. February 15th, 1824, we were married" (15). Readers learn little about Mr. Nero Prince, whose first name Nancy does not relay. Nero Prince is an attendant in the Russian court and more than fifteen years older than Nancy. The clear ordering of Prince decision, whereby she first names her intention— "I made up my mind to leave"— and then names its enactment, signals that marriage allows her to leave a space defined by "toil and anxiety." Upon leaving for Russia, Prince notes that there is "no woman but myself, in company with my husband [on the ship]" (16). Though Prince is not a laboring sailor, she affirms her singular place in the shipboard order. She is a paying passenger on a transatlantic ship, destined for the Russian royal court.

Prince lives in the Russia for nine years, and recounts her activity in the czarist court and the charitable community. In the process, multiple scholars note, Prince uses an international frame to compare American racism with a Russian society she claims has "no prejudice against color" (47).[85] I focus on Prince's departure from Russia, however, to highlight her strategic investment in a sailor's log-making. Soon after Prince decides she wishes to leave Russia, her husband dies. Prince's subsequent move back to the United States marks another moment of

[85] According to Kristin Fitzpatrick, for example, Prince "insinuates that American racism is effectively condoned by its government, for if czarist Russia is enlightened enough to accept all colors, casts, and nations, surely the republican, democratic United States can do the same" (269). For Sandra Gunning, "Prince's engagement with black Atlantic cultures in the U.S. and Jamaica was enabled in part by her experiences in Russia" because her Russian experiences provide her with a language of global black diaspora defined by rupture (39).

crisis. She must once again voyage towards an unknown fate. In this moment, Prince could lament her husband's death and breathlessly recount dangerous sea voyages. To do so would validate her oceanic movement by reenacting her embodied vulnerability to her readers. This approach, however, is predicated on readers' extension of fellow feeling to Prince as an object of sympathy. In other words, it would position her as a brave yet precarious woman at sea.

Instead of appealing to readers' sympathies, Prince highlights her command of material and literary labors in a watery globe. Prince's description of her husband's death and her subsequent departure from Russia is a dry and truncated report of voyages made over the course of almost three months. In the process, Prince models a sentimental seaman's language and imagination. She writes,

> . . . death took him away. I left St. Petersburg, August 14th, 1833, having been absent about nine years and six months. On the 17th, I sailed from Cronstadt, for New York. Arrived at Elsinore the 25th. Tuesday, 29th, left. September the 2d, laid to in a gale. September 18th, made Plymouth, Old England. 19th sailed. Arrived in New York, Oct. 10th. Left there Tuesday 18th, arrived in Boston the 23d. Sabbath, Nov. 9th, I had the privilege of attending service in the old place of worship. (45)

Like the log makers of the previous chapter, Prince follows a moment of deep yet constrained feeling with an account of technical labor. As a sentimental sea(wo)man, Prince does relay her particular attachment to the deceased. One may assume she means "death took him away *from me,*" but Prince does not explicitly name this personal connection. Where one may expect an account of mourning, Prince provides a materialist, labor-based account of oceanic travel. This passage's formal and narrative elisions, I argue, power Prince's claim to maritime authority and literary authorship. Prince did not labor as a sailor on these voyages, but she aligns herself with such labors. Akin to an old tar, Prince names these three voyages as utterly routine. She recounts departures and arrivals, wind and weather via a series of incomplete clauses. Effusive feeling is

nowhere to be found. Dates and place-names abound. The only verbs to be found between the first and last sentences are "sailed," "arrived," "left," "laid to," "made," "sailed," "arrived," "left," and "arrived." Each marks movement in or from the sea, while "laid to" places Prince at the center of shipboard labors on the open ocean. One could easily imagine Prince transcribing these passages from a shipboard journal into her printed text.

Notwithstanding whether Prince had performed such a transfer, she transforms what could easily be a land-centered account into an oceanic one. In the process, she disavows an expected relation to sympathy— that of an object of white feeling— and highlights her active labors. The shift is made possible by Prince's bookending of incomplete entries with complete and articulate sentences. The shift begins the moment she "sailed from Cronstadt, for New York." Prince's assertion that she sailed "*for* New York" rather than "*to* New York" is the first hint that she will be relaying an extensive voyage. Indeed, she names each point of departure and arrival: Cronstadt (Russia), Elsinore (Denmark), Plymouth (England), New York (US), and Boston (US). Prince does not recount the days she spends on land, including eight days in New York from October 10th to 18th. In other words, she treats landed experience as secondary to oceanic movement. In the process, she enhances her perceived status as a sailor. To recount time spent ashore would distract from this movement's temporal and spatial expansiveness. The voyage would appear fragmented, as it indeed was, if punctuated by narrations of land. Alternately, to methodically list this time and space according to oceanic movements is to present a collapsed timeline in which each stop is part of one long voyage.

As if to break the spell, proper grammar returns after Prince's final entry for Nov. 9. That day, she "had the pleasure of attending service" in Boston. The shift's effect is two-fold. First, this passage formally marks her physical transition from sea to land. The landed diary may

replace the ship's log because she has ceased her oceanic labors. Secondly, this form primes Prince's contrasting account of her sympathy for Boston's orphans. Upon her arrival in Boston, Prince's "heart was moved" at the sufferings of orphaned black children and her attempts to form a "home" to protect them from vice (46). If a husband's death does not move her to elicit sympathy from readers, the sufferings of children must. In the process, Prince positions herself as an agent of fellow feeling rather than an object of it. This mission would continue during her missionary work in Jamaica.

Prince's period in Jamaica is marked by an inability to counteract what she sees as the entrenched bureaucracy in the mission system, as scholars have discussed.[86] It appears that her labors have failed. Again, Prince's turn to materialist, labor-based language counteracts this threat to her identity. In discussing her passage from Jamaica back to the United States, Prince asserts her sailing knowledge to demonstrate an ongoing capacity as a sailor as well as her adeptness at navigating white hegemony. Prince presents herself as a more active and informed sailor than the other passengers, particularly the white men on board. On the ship, Prince notes the existence of "two English men that were born on the island, that had never been on the water" (76). According to Prince, this limited maritime knowledge prevents them from recognizing the captain's attempts to deceive the passengers. Prince states,

> After leaving Jamaica, the vessel was tacked to a south-west course. I asked the captain what this meant? He said he must take the current, as there was no wind. Without any ceremony, I told him it was not the case, and told the passengers that he had deceived us.…Before the third day passed, they asked the captain why they had not seen Hayti? He told them they passed it when they were asleep. I told them it was not true, he was steering south south-west. (77)

[86] As Eyring concludes, "Prince's complaints, along with accounts of others laboring in Jamaica's mission field, describe missions deliberately organized to attract financial support from Jamaicans and missionary societies, and whose attention to these revenues could world against the interests of laborers at the bottom of the hierarchy" (109).

Prince sets her claim to navigational awareness against the dishonest captain as well as the ignorant passengers. She may correct the captain "without any ceremony" because she has plainly read both him and the sea. Prince is not the captain, but she claims a captain-like moral authority to guide fellow passengers. Prince fails to stop the captain and the ship enters Key West to unload its cargo, which she recognizes was the captain's goal all along. Prince once again notes that she is the only person to vote against landing in Key West, stating twice, "They all agreed but myself" (77). Prince is more diligent because she knows that her relative freedom is bound to her place on ship. She notes that upon their landing, "In an hour there were twenty slaves at work to unload her; every inducement was made to persuade me to go ashore, or set my feet on the wharf." For someone whose maritime subjectivity relies on the sea's legal protection, the distinction between ship and wharf matters. If Prince did not have knowledge that "A law had just been passed there that every free colored person coming there, should be put in custody on their going ashore," she would have been likely to enter Key West and submit herself to the state (77). Rather than yield, Prince and five persons of color remain on the ship for five days. Prince tells the passengers they must stay "however uncomfortable we might be in the vessel, or however we might desire to refresh ourselves by a change of scene" (78). Thought another way, she captains these passengers by dictating their shipboard movement. Of course, to be trapped on a ship is a rather limited form of power. Nonetheless, it reflects Prince's recognition that freedom's limits are often found at the water's edge. One of Prince's final voyages, in which she is towed to sea alongside a "vessel loaded with slaves," places that fact in the starkest relief (81).

Prince concludes her narrative in Boston, where she lived at the time of publication. Like John Thompson, her final section recounts religious salvation informed by a sailor's materialist imagination. She notes that God has protected her from "perils on land, and perils at sea" (84).

Prince distinguishes between these perils, I argue, to confirm her skill at sea. God's power is equally powerful across this globe, but Prince has needed to adapt her laboring power as a sailor. In this and all labor, she confirms that Christ is "the Captain of our Salvation" (87). Like Thompson, Prince presents herself as a member of this maritime and metaphysical crew. Of course, Prince laments in her preface that neither land nor sea provides her with a sustained source of income as she writes her narrative (84). Her labors as a sailor have gone largely unpaid. Like other sentimental seaman, however, Prince monetizes her maritime identity by publishing her materialist, labor-based account of a watery globe.

Slavery and its Sentimental Seamen

The age-of-sail ship, as part of the maritime world at large, is a space of circumscribed freedom and bondage. If a ship's operation is the product of sailors' "complex and synchronized tasks, under slavish, hierarchical discipline, " as Rediker and Peter Linebaugh claim, sentimental seamen's share of "slavish" discipline must not be aligned with slavery (*Hydra* 150).[87] After all, John Thompson confirms this sentimental connection's moral and narrative limits. In short, the positive feelings of sentimental seamen "bound to take a voyage" place slavery's violent restriction of fellow feeling in stark relief. Nonetheless, this connection introduces a question that has haunted this work's margins: can slave-ship sailors be sentimental seamen? Thought another way, *must* slave ship sailors be sentimental seamen?

My affirmative answers speak to the shifting definition of "sentiment" at work in shipboard space. Sentimental (slaving) seamen are the perverse extreme of an ideal predicated on monetized rather than moral feeling. Slave ship sailors' exercises of embodied unity are

[87] "When a sailor stood over an African captive with a whip in his hand," Emma Christopher confirms, "his stance displayed only too well the gap between his situation and that of an actual chattel slave, no matter how callous his own treatment at the hands of the ship's officer" (14). Thought another way, "productive" labor on board a slave ship is that which, to invoke Marcus Rediker, "'produced' slaves within the ship as factory" (*Slave* 9).

instrumental in what Stephanie Smallwood has called the "commodifying Atlantic apparatus— the material, economic, and social mechanisms by which the market molded subjects into beings that more closely resembled objects" (63). This labor includes forcing enslaved subjects to "dance" to crew's voices or instruments, supplying meager rations, disposing of the dead or dying, and systematically brutalizing the captive human cargo. While sailors as a class do not revel in this this work— Emma Christopher notes that "even for penniless seaman, though, slavetrading was regarding as an uncommonly abhorrent occupation"— their labor on such vessels proves their deep capacity for regulated and monetized feelings (28). After all, slave ship sailors' individual feelings about the trade do not prevent them from sustaining its affective order. These sailors both accept their own bondage, albeit due to varying levels of force, and bind the ship's captive cargo. In other words, they direct their energies towards their maritime institution's values. If the sentimental seamen ideal rests on the belief that proper feeling sustains a moral laboring order, this ideal takes on a particularly cruel character aboard a slave vessel. Nonetheless, slave ship sailors may be considered sentimental seamen *par excellence*.

My account of the slave-ship sailor as sentimental seaman is, at present, speculative and incomplete. Likewise, I do not fully address enslaved sailors who are not sentimental seamen but are forced to sail as cargo.[88] Nonetheless, I conclude this section with initial readings of three texts— Captain Samuel Gamble's 1794 slave ship log, Herman Melville's *Benito Cereno* (1855), and Frederick Douglass's "The Heroic Slave" (1852)— that reveal the unsettling connections between this ideal of regulated and monetized feeling and systems of racial bondage. Each rely on materialist, labor-based forms of sentimental narration. As in the cases I have discussed, this

[88] Despite clear gaps in the available archive, works such as the collection *Black Imagination and the Middle Passage* (1999), Saidiya Hartman's *Lose Your Mother* (2008), Stephanie Smallwood's *Saltwater Slavery* (2007), the collection *Many Middle Passages* (2007), Marcus Rediker's *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (2007), and Sowande Mustakeem's *Slavery at Sea: Terror, Sex, and Sickness in the Middle Passage* (2017) have mapped forms of affective labor, loss, and vacancy lived and felt by those persons made captive on the slave ship.

language secures each author's claim to the sentimental seamen ideal and sustains their (historical or fictional) ships' laboring structures. In response, I show how these authors' relative formal challenge to sentimental seamen ideal reflects their competing investments in transoceanic bondage or racial revolution. In sum, the slaveholding Gamble wholly sustains the ideal, an ambivalent Melville mocks it, and a dedicated Douglass transforms it.

As I have discussed, the sentimental seamen ideal is predicated on an alignment of productive feeling with economic productivity. Sanctioned murder is at the heart of this moral and economic calculus, as evident by the legal and actuarial system surrounding shipboard death and insurance.[89] Slave ship logbook entries on death typify the gulf between lived experience and the productive feelings at the heart of the sentimental seamen ideal. Consider, for example, Captain Samuel Gamble's log of death during his sail across the South Atlantic in 1794. Not surprisingly, this log of forced travel from Africa to Jamaica does not narrate feeling towards enslaved persons. Instead, their deaths are part of the cold accounting of his journey and the necessary labor it entails. His entry for Sunday April 20th reads, "At 10AM counted the Slaves Viz 86 Men, 29 Mboys [,] 30 Boys, 40 Women [,] 13 W Girls [,] and 28 Girls total on board 226 [.] 10 lost in insurrection & 14 dead makes 250 the whole compliment Rec^{d}. Witness John Apsey" (105). If the log form frustrates attempts to consider death's emotional effect on a shipboard order, this frustration is more acute in the case of these 226 enslaved subjects. One can only presume the feelings of those "10 lost in insurrection," one of at least four hundred in the

[89] According to Tim Armstrong, the history of eighteenth and nineteenth-century maritime insurance reflects the philosophical and material problem of treating humans with agency as goods to be insured. Particularly, the violence and death at work in oceanic transit has to be coded as either a "peril of the sea"- an unforeseen event for which one can be repaid- or as "natural death" that both admits the humanity of enslaved persons and frames that frailty as the potential "product" defect under which an insurance warranty is not covered. Therefore, the forms of violence against enslaved persons is not treated equally but is categorized according to its relation to accepted forms of death and the economic values of those lives as commodities.

eighteenth-century Atlantic trade.[90] Nor does Gamble mention how many of the deceased had committed suicide. Both cases— death by insurrection and suicide— challenge the ship's affective order as lived and narrated. Gamble both names and dismisses this challenge via a dry accounting of its effects on materialist labors.

Gamble's constrained log-making is emblematic of a broader social system in which threats to a slave ship's affective structure are either physically mitigated or explained as the product of unproductive individual feelings. Laboring sailors' deaths and enslaved sailors' suicides are two prime examples. If post-death expressions of attachment threaten a recently diminished shipboard affective order on any vessel, such expressions on slave ships could invite this order's forceful overthrow. Therefore, slave ship sailors' burials must be done in secret to make the loss of labor power less conspicuous (Taylor 48).[91] Of course, the human death that occurs on such vessels is overwhelmingly the result of violence against the humans bound as cargo. If deadly revolution is a wholesale challenge to the ship's affective order, suicide also represents enslaved subjects' powerful repudiation of this order's meaning and application. Enslaved persons' suicides, Terry Snyder recounts, represent "an anguished assertion of personhood, undermined the human commodification— the chattel principle— that was fundamental to enslavement" (4). Despite bound persons' practical and symbolic resistance to their status as commodity, sailors typically do not treat suicide as proof of a ship's debased affective order. Instead, she confirms, they "disarticulated suicide from the processes of

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[90] Eric Robert Taylor provides concrete evidence of "more than four hundred cases" in *If We Must Die: Shipboard Insurrections in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (2009) (3). As he concludes, shipboard insurrections were "part and parcel of the trade, rising and falling with its overall volume over time, and threatening every slave ship that crossed the Atlantic with the potential for disaster" (6).

[91] As Eric Robert Taylor notes, "A fully healthy crew was by far the exception on slave ships, and Africans were well aware of the crew's relative strength. The number of sick sailors and the seriousness of their ailments were all carefully noted by the slaves, and this information became a key component of their intelligence gathering as they determined the most opportune moment for insurrection" (48).

enslavement" by locating suicide in the enslaved's personal fears or dispositions (44).[92] Suicide's structural threat becomes an instance of individual's failures of emotional orientation, much like in the cases discussed in chapter one. Thought another way, these sailors do not challenge the notion that a ship's affective order may be perfected by economically productive and socially cohesive labor. In other words, they maintain their status as sentimental seamen.

In *Benito Cereno* (1855), Herman Melville implies that the sentimental seamen's assumption of an ordered state, though productive, is rendered foolish when faced with a fundamental breakdown in racial hegemony.[93] In the tale, a sailor's materialist, labor-based sentimental form is parodied to affirm the prospect of racial revolution. In the process, Melville dismisses sentimental philosophy's unifying power on ship and on shore. The novella, scholars such as Eric Sundquist have shown, is in part a rumination on the prospects of black citizenship, Haitian-style revolution, and slave-powers' attempted Caribbean expansions. For Sundquist, Delano's misreading of the ship in revolt is the product of his limited imagination regarding the prospect of revolution as well as his "profound indulgence in racialist interpretations of the black character" (152). The staging of Delano disorientation on a ship at sea is fitting, Gretchen Woertendyke confirms, because it "allows for shifting conceptions of collective identification with nation and individual identification with race" (70). Melville stages this ignorance in part, I add, by aligning Delano's status as a sentimental seaman with his inability to recognize a

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[92] Snyder deftly recovers the myriad rationales enslaved persons had for such self-annihilation using sailors' shipboard and published accounts. She asserts, "Observers cited rape, brutality, epidemics, and insurrection as reasons for self- destruction by enslaved people, and reported that Africans killed themselves because they feared cannibalism, rejected enslavement, and sought spiritual rebirth" (32) She also recounts the various ways slave ship crews combated the phenomenon, techniques that range from forms of physical prevention such as adding nets, force-feeding, or removing sharp object to ideological attempts to "manipulate spiritual beliefs" (39).

[93] The novella recounts Amasa Delano's disorientating experience in 1799 aboard the distressed Spanish slave ship *San Dominick*, captained by one Benito Cereno. Delano does not recognize that the ship's enslaved crew, led by the captain's attendant Babo, had overtaken the ship.

fundamental breakdown in a ship's affective order. In the process, Melville warns that a belief in mutual self-interest will not prevent domestic fracture or global revolution on ship or on shore,

In lieu of a complete analysis of the novel in these terms, I highlight the scene most embedded with a sentimental seaman's view of death. While on board, Delano assumes that Benito Cereno's strange actions are due to the death of Alexandro Aranda, the ship's former slavemaster. Not knowing Aranda died as the result of mutiny, Delano states,

> I think that, by a sympathetic experience, I conjecture, Don Benito, what it is that gives the keener edge to your grief. It was once my hard fortune to lose, at sea, a dear friend, my own brother, then supercargo. Assured of the welfare of his spirit, its departure I could have borne like a man; but that honest eye, that honest hand—both of which had so often met mine—and that warm heart; all, all—like scraps to the dogs—to throw all to the sharks! (51)

Here, Delano names his sympathetic capacity– or his extension of feeling based on an imaged correspondence of interest — and bases that extension on he and Cereno's shared status as laboring sailors. This "sympathetic experience" is a parody of sentimental reading more generally, as scholars have shown.[94] Yet, particular narrative terms as those of a sentimental seaman. In keeping with a materialist, labor-based view, feelings of vacancy are the result of attachments to an "honest eye" and "honest hand" that "so often met mine" in the act of shipboard labor. The union of hands, eyes, and "warm heart[s]" had strengthened their ties. Delano, like Dana, names the particular loss to be felt as the result of oceanic burial that annihilates all traces of that body. Yet, Delano's misreading confirms the fundamental violence and perverse forms of sympathy that produces both sentimental seamen and the slaveholding regime. As readers later learn, Babo had attached Aranda's skeleton to the ship's figurehead. In response to Delano, Cereno "fell into the ready arms of his attendant," or is pushed into intimate

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[94] Faye Halpern, for example, compares Harriet Beecher Stowe's "racial essentialism" and her appeal to positive fellow feeling with Melville's narrative rejection of sentimental identification (128).

contact with his attendant/master (51). As a more expansive reading the text may show, the intimacy found in the ship's "comfortable family of a crew" creates a domestic union that confirms the slave ship's deeply violent forms of fellow feeling (128). After all, the domestic arrangement aboard *San Dominick* is an uncanny mixture of the intimate violence and fellow feeling that structures any ship, but particularly slave ships.[95]

If Herman Melville parodies a sentimental seaman's misapplied language of feeling to stage, though not welcome, the prospect of black revolution on ship and on shore, Frederick Douglass earnestly applies such language in "The Heroic Slave" to justify black revolutionary violence. While Douglass never labored as a sailor, he confirms his command of a sailor's social and narrative power. Indeed, he had leveraged an embodied performance akin to "Bob" and other runaway sailors during his own escape from bondage. In 1836, Douglass was hired out by his master to work in a Baltimore shipyard as a caulker. He was "rigged out in a sailor style" during his subsequent escape and traveled using "sailor's protection papers." During this period, Douglass "relied upon my skill and address in playing the sailor," particularly his "knowledge of ships and sailor's talk" (246). [96] In other words, Douglass bases his narrative style in technical knowledge and, so doing, proves his embodied skill. Douglass's reward for this adherence to the sentimental seamen ideal is not a place of labor at sea. It is access to freedom on land.

Douglass's ability to "talk sailor like an 'old salt'" not only aids his escape, but also informs his justification for an abolitionist future (247). Specifically, his novella "The Heroic

[95] This mixture is most visible when Delano mistakes Babo's shaving of Cereno as an act of servile attention rather than overpowering aggression. As Benito Cereno tells Captain Delano his story while his "attendant" shaves him, Babo's violent power is coded as affective care. Finding the sharpest razor, Babo "stood suspended for an instant, one hand elevating the razor, the other professionally dabbling among the bubbling suds on the Spaniard's lank neck." The domestic and the violent are displayed on each hand. Touching the Spaniards neck, Babo shows his "care" that also brings him close to vital arteries. The other hand and its suspended razor show care's conflation with violence aboard the slave ship.

[96] As Douglass notes, these papers "answered somewhat the purpose of free papers— describing his person, and certifying to the fact that he was a free American sailor" (246). In other words, the confirmation of his maritime skill transforms his social body in to one fit for labor and freedom.

Slave" (1853) includes a fictionalized account of shipboard revolution using a sentimental seaman's materialist, labor-based narration. The novella's final section is inspired by the events aboard the slave ship *Creole* in November 1841, during which 135 enslaved persons successfully retook the ship and sailed it safely to Bahamas.[97] In the novella's final section, the ship's first mate attempts to explain the events on *Creole* to a white audience of "*ocean birds*" in Virginia (226). He relays how the novella's titular hero, Madison Washington, had led the revolt to overtake the crew. As Gesa Mackenthun confirms, Washington's "heroic masculinity and charismatic leadership" allow Douglass to counter the "sentimental racism" found in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and related in which black subjects are primarily objects of sympathy (97). This alternative claim to abolitionist feeling, to which I will return in my next section on piracy, is made possible by Douglass's use white sentimental seamen's narrative authority.

As I have discussed, John Thompson marks a material, affective, and moral distinction between whips held on land and at sea. In the process, he highlights the unfeeling violence at the heart of the plantation order. Douglass invokes a comparable set of whips, those of the plantation master and the slave-ship master, to justify abolition. He makes his case using the language of a white sentimental seaman. One Jack Williams, "a regular old salt," believes that the mutiny's success can be blamed on the crew's failure to use "a good stout whip, or a stiff rope's end." (226 227). In other words, the sailors had failed to produce the kind of violent fellow feeling that may keep subjects bound on land and at sea. In this system, the captain's whip is an extension of the overseer's lash. For Williams oceanic ship may be ordered as an extension of the plantation state. Tellingly, this man is proven incorrect because he fails to recognize how an oceanic environment leads to new labors, powers and feelings. In short, Williams's failure to recognize black power may be paired with his failures as a sailor. The first mate proves Williams incorrect (and

[97] For a more complete history of the revolt and its aftermath, see Downey.

Douglass correct) via an appeal to sentimental seamen's materialist, labor-based feelings. He concedes that a whip's binding violence is possible in southern lands backed by "the sympathy of the community, and the whole physical force of the government." If this violence requires a government-backed structure of slaveholding feeling, it will not "stand the test of *salt* water" (228). Salt water not only removes the enslaver and enslaved from a landed power structure, but also physically produces new kinds of feeling.

As I have discussed, Henry DeForrest and J. Harvey Weed's alignments of weather, race, and feeling confirm ships' multiracial character and, in Weed's case, rationalize racial violence. Douglass's own alignment leads a white sailor to unknowingly justify the slave system's coming collapse. Specifically, the mate justifies his own failed labors using materialist, labor-based affirmations of black power. A bound subject may be less likely to submit, the mate claims, since "every breeze speaks of courage and liberty" (228). As a result, one's reaction to the revolution should be akin to that of divinely-produced weather. He states,

> There are a great many discreditable things in the world… For a ship to go down under a calm sky is, upon the first flush of it, disgraceful either to sailors or caulkers. But when we learn, that by some mysterious disturbance in nature, the waters parted beneath, and swallowed the ship up, we lose our indignation and disgust in lamentation of the disaster, and in awe of the Power which controls the elements. (231)

In Douglass's extended metaphor, enslaved subjects' dismissal of oceanic bondage is as natural as the sea's overawing power. The ship is the slave state. The weather is the social powers that exert pressure on such a state. The slave ship, like the antebellum state, is the product of those "sailors or caulkers" who uphold its structure. In the case of *Creole*, the revolution occurred under a "calm sky" of ongoing support for slavery. Speaking as one who seeks to uphold slavery, the sailor must consider the revolt a "mysterious disturbance in nature"; this claim shields the crew from blame but undercuts the definition of a "natural" order. Enslaved persons' power to

overwhelm such a ship (of state) is akin to the sea's ability to "swallow the ship." The proper feeling in response is "awe of the Power that controls the elements," which in this case refers to both God and the heroic Madison Washington. Washington's power is validated by historical precedent, as his name shows, but is also proven by his navigational skill. Washington tells the crew, "Do not flatter yourselves that I am ignorant of chart or compass. I know both" (235) He then faces a "dreadful hurricane" with the "equanimity of an old sailor" (237).

While Douglass presents a materialist, labor-based account of feeling, his primary aim is not to advance the sentimental seamen ideal. Instead, he uses the ideal's terms to diagnose an antebellum ship of state's moral imbalance. Specifically, Douglass refutes policies that deem oceanic slavery piratical but refuse black subjects' freedom on land or at sea. After all, maritime slavery is the source of all domestic plantation orders. In response, Douglass highlights Madison Washington's status as a potential citizen-subject who could usher in the nation's true moral and social union. As my next section will show, Douglass engages a broader debate on the nation's proper relation to domestic feelings and oceanic inheritances. These debates center on the imagined alternative to ideal state-backed domestic arrangements in transoceanic space: namely, the production of an unfeeling and anti-domestic order captained by pirates of sympathy.

Section Two:
The Sea in Domesticity: On Pirates of Sympathy

Introduction:
Declaring Pirates of Sympathy with Thomas Jefferson

In a section of the *Declaration of Independence* subsequently removed by the Second Continental Congress, Thomas Jefferson claims that King George III "has waged cruel war against human nature itself."[98] In other words, the king is akin to *hostis humani generis*, or enemies of the human race.[99] In keeping with these terms, Jefferson names George III's "piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers" as the final grievance that justifies a domestic break from Britain. Even before discussing Jefferson's specific objection—namely the king's alleged role in the slave trade—one can appreciate the passage's rhetorical effectiveness. To call the British monarch piratical is to deny his moral claim as a sovereign, in this case his natural right to head the American colonies. After all, pirates have ostensibly rejected the social codes that define state-backed systems. Jefferson further aligns George III with "infidel powers," perhaps recalling North African commerce raiders who had threatened the Roman republic Jefferson seeks to emulate. According to Jefferson, then, George rejects a Roman legacy to align himself with past and present piratical scourges. This historical genealogy, though troubled in ways I will soon discuss, allows Jefferson to chastise "the CHRSTIAN king of Great Britain."[100] The king's turn to Islamic piracy, Jefferson implies, justifies America's Rome-like turn. In other words, a natural rejection of oceanic unruliness embodied by a former king sanctifies a new state-backed domestic order. Monarchical piracy begets American sovereignty.

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[98] The Continental Congress had selected Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert Livingston to draft the document. Jefferson completes his draft in seventeen days, though no minutes are kept regarding the committee's changes. It appears that the Congress makes most of the changes, altering around one-quarter of Jefferson's original text. John Adams would write in 1822 that he had found Jefferson's charge of piracy "too personal" and "too passionate." Nonetheless, Adams claims he did not suggest the passage's removal ("Pickering"). For a history of the text's composition, see Boyd; Maier.

[99] Cicero is often credited with the phrase, but Mark Hanna notes that Cicero admits pirates' ties to nations; instead, the phrase is best attributed to British Admiralty judge Sir Leoline Jenkins in 1668. See Hanna (16).

[100] For an account of "Barbary" piracy's relation to colonial violence and imperial competition, see Baepler; Brenner (151-92); Vitkus. I will also discuss this trope in chapter five.

Waves of oceanic culture crash on domestic shores. Domestic policies ripple across oceanic space. This dynamic produces both the pirate and the nation. Fittingly, then, Thomas Jefferson's *Declaration* births both a new nation and a new kind of pirate: the United States and the pirate of sympathy. As this section shows, the period's sentimental writers and policymakers test the domestic nation's status in the "family of nations" by variably defining the "villain of all nations." To do so, they debate whether ocean-centered policies are extensions of national sympathy, piratical deviations from state sovereignty, or moral alternatives to standing policy. The figures I call "pirates of sympathy" are this literary-historical debate's products: namely, they are extranational maritime agents whose incompatibility with state power stems from their supposed incapacity for fellow feeling. As I show, myriad writers and policymakers following Jefferson invoke piracy using this shared sentimental trope. For each, racially, sexually, or economically unruly pirates are the sole obstacle to the marriage of moral feeling at the familial, national, and global level. By subsequently removing unfeeling pirates from global waters, these writers assert the nation's proper domestic organization. They also confirm the nation's sovereign place in an international order. To recover this figure, I turn to political writings such as state papers, trial transcripts, congressional debates, and speeches as well popular sentimental narratives, domestic fictions, and material culture.

Specific claims against piracy, particularly in relation to global systems of racial bondage, shift as the nation's imperial and martial reach expands leading up to and including the U.S. Civil War. Befitting the period's fluctuating political currents, alleged pirates of sympathy include British monarchs, North African nationals, black Caribbean revolutionaries, hemispheric southern slaveholders, potential free-people, radical abolitionists, and Confederate secessionists. This group's shared legacy reveals the figure's tenuous continuity: namely, the dominant

antebellum legal and political category of “pirate” rests on the assumption that adherence to established power defines one’s moral capacity and political rights. Thought another way, oceanic antagonism with the state guarantees “piratical status” no matter one’s political project. For example, the legal and narrative precedents that once apply to Haitians later bind Confederates. Each threatens national or imperial power in oceanic space. Specifically, both claim (competing) shares of plantation inheritances against a nation that only incompletely and begrudgingly increases nonwhite subjects’ political and social rights throughout the period. Advocates for such unsanctioned or “piratical” groups reveal such ruptures by affirming “piratical” figures’ alternative virtues or by connecting the pirate’s action to prior state violence. They return sympathy to the alleged pirate and, so doing, revise the meaning of domestic or global harmony. In each case, the pirate embodies competing antebellum impulses toward the ocean and its inheritances.

Attending to the pirate of sympathy thereby reveals the antebellum era’s defining sentimental fiction: namely, that a domestic nation built on slaveholding inheritances and white hegemony could position itself as the final arbiter of moral feeling. In a manner, these slaveholding inheritances are piratical from the outset. As historian Kevin McDonald confirms, Anglo-Dutch marauders first stole enslaved Africans onto the English colonies in the Atlantic (19); the American colonies benefited from this “pirate-slave trade nexus” in which pirates abetted and protected the trade (17). Fittingly, then, the pirate of sympathy is a response to oceanic inheritances that privileged antebellum figures alternately desire and disavow. Wealthy families in both the north and the south maintain their socio-economic status via a maritime slave trade (made illegal in 1807 and deemed piratical in 1820) and its profits. The enslaved and their

decedents seek to reclaim their stolen share of such oceanic inheritances.[101] This debate over inheritances exists alongside colonial or federal attempts to deny indigenous persons' access to their ancestral waterways and lands, a project whose oceanic contours scholars have begun to chart but I am unable to adequately address.[102] Ultimately, appeals to piracy are legal and narrative vehicles for claiming parts of an oceanic inheritance and, so doing, asserting one's individual sovereignty or national (non)-affiliation.

Thought another way, to recover the pirate of sympathy is to highlight antebellum writers' relative beliefs in the idea that state power's perfection is the key to a just social and political order. In popular and political narrations I call "state-backed," citizen-subjects' moral victory over piratical unruliness affirms the national family's domestic stability as well as its claim to oceanic space. In this system, only the state has the power and ability to perfect fellow feeling. For some, that perfection may be produced via slavery and genocide. For others, perfection means abolition if not full black citizenship. For others still, such perfection is impossible in national systems. In each case, the pirate of sympathy's relation to the state and to slavery depends on antebellum writers' relative stake in global bondage: slaveholding or secessionist writers, for example, treat northern claims against black bondage as piratical breaks from slaveholding fellow feeling. In the process, figures like Jefferson Davis name the protection of white property-owners, the bedrock of Jefferson's narration, as the basis for secessionist sympathy. Northern abolitionists— most notably Catharine Sedgwick and Harriet Beecher Stowe— contend that the removal of slaveholding piracy could lead to economic and social

[101] For a study of colonial slavery as the basis for New England's economic and social power, see Warren.

[102] Andrew Lipman's *The Saltwater Frontier* (2015), for example, combats a pervasive scholarly impulse to "view Natives as spectators rather than actors in maritime and global history" (8); Lipman's study of Dutch and English coastal settlement from 1600 to 1750 relies on "viewing saltwater as the primary state of cultural encounters" between two ocean-going groups (7). For other recent in indigenous maritime or global studies, see Byrd; McDonnell; Richter; Shoemaker; Weaver.

harmony. These competing "state-backed" figures do not undermine the basic premise of sentimental politics—that state power is the sole guarantor of communal feeling against immortal piracy— but debate its supposed inconsistencies in terms of slavery. In the process, many of these figures maintain a share of prior slaveholding inheritances. More aggressive abolitionists— including Caribbean author Michel Maxwell Philip and orator Wendell Phillips—invoke piracy to fundamentally undermine the state's monopoly on sympathy. If their pirates lack feeling, though not all do, it is due to state violence (particularly the familial separation at the heart of slavery). Moreover, these pirates' extranational violence is the only moral response to injustice. Such violence does not lead to uniform alternatives to national or imperial sovereignty. Nonetheless, these writers present the possible redistribution of oceanic inheritances and the remaking of domestic orders. For each of these writers I discuss, the pirate of sympathy embodies the nation's oceanic inheritances and entanglements on a watery globe.

In tracing these entanglements, I confirm that the antebellum nation and its pirates of sympathy are vestiges of prior imperial and colonial orders tied to piracy's "golden age." Lasting from roughly 1650 to 1726, this period saw a yearly average of one to two thousand active pirates in the Atlantic alone. [103] While piracy never again reached this material height, pirates are central to antebellum oceanic inheritances and national formations. Likewise, my own account of piracy extends existing golden age histories that treat piracy and colonial-formation in tandem. For some, golden age pirates have a wholly antagonistic relationship to state power.[104] As recent scholars of this era have shown, however, pirates have long been a feature of American

[103] 1,500 to 2,000 pirates sailed the sea between 1716 and 1718, 1,800 to2,400 between 1719 and 1722, and 1000 in 1723, declining rapidly to 500 in 1724, to fewer than 200 by 1725 and 1726" (Rediker *Villains* 29-30).
[104] According to Markus Rediker, pirates "organized a social world apart from the dictates of. . . imperial authority" and populated ships that were "egalitarian in a hierarchical age" (*Hydra* 156, 163). For related studies of piracy's anti-capitalist potential, see Anderson; Hill; Rediker (*Villains*); and Ford.

economic, political, and social fabrics.[105] Colonial-era pirates had competing and conflicting interests, as did the landed agents that alternately relied on and rebuked them. Indeed, as Mark Hanna confirms in *Pirate Nests and the Rise of the British Empire, 1570-1740* (2015), debates on maritime adventure's legitimacy most often reflected competing visions of colonial life. [106] "The deep, multifaceted political rifts [colonial] piracy exposed were, not between radical, anarchistic pirates at sea against a rigid hierarchical society on land," Hanna concludes, "but among competing land-based factions" (12). For Hanna, a major part of the early modern national-imperial project is "transforming pirates nests into productive and self-sustaining communities" (16).[107] This transformation includes the social incorporation of select pirates as well as the systematic exclusion of others. The antebellum project I discuss entails transforming oceanic, potentially piratical, inheritances into the basis for domestic community. As in the golden age, positions on piracy are inseparable from debates on domestic constitutions.

To track these debates, I treat a sentimental genre typically aligned with landed, domestic space and cast it transoceanically. I do so because this genre has a particular hold on antebellum thought and, I argue, shapes declarations of sovereignty in transoceanic space. If the nineteenth-century American novel was typically "a public instrument designed to play in a sentimental key," as Glenn Hendler shows in *Public Sentiments* (2001), these sentimental reverberations also ripple across antebellum policy (1). My recovery of the pirate of sympathy is reliant on a more expansive study of sentimental form. I read women's popular narrations alongside legal accounts. This pairing is only possible due to over forty years of diligent scholarship; scholars have little recourse to present women's writing as the space of solely private or nonpolitical

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[105] For studies of this relation I do not address, see Chet; Kuhn; Leeson.
[106] In his book, Hanna "integrate[s] the vibrant story of deep-sea piracy with the political and social development of the colonial maritime communities that depended upon their goods and services" (v).
[107] For another history of competing colonial American investments in piracy, see Burgess.

work.[108] As Elizabeth Barnes confirms, for example, antebellum popular and political figures' attempts to "make familial feeling the precondition for inclusion in the public community," leads them to "[cast] sociopolitical issues . . . as family dramas" in both policy and fiction (2). The sentimental form at the heart of antebellum political and popular works on piracy— namely the assumption that piracy's socio-legal character may be proven by appeals to fellow feeling— is likewise key to their shared legal and political powers. Policymakers' legal narrations rely on competing accounts of an alleged pirates' familial status or sympathetic capacity. At the same time, popular writers juxtapose piratical deviations from fellow feeling with sentimental depictions of familial relations. In other words, they judge political figures' attribution of piracy to select groups by modeling the incorporation or rejection of oceanic spoils in domestic space. Most often, domestic heroines' moral victories over piratical unruliness give way to state-backed economic, political, and social order. The pirates of sympathy that result, like the nation Jefferson declares, are the products of sentimental politics in terraqueous space.

Declaring the Pirate of Sympathy

Narratively as well as historically, the pirate of sympathy and the United States share a defining *Declaration*. Both are constituted through Jefferson's speech act.[109] Jefferson's appeal to piracy, scholars confirm, is the "emotional climax of his case against the king" (Maier 120) as well as the "logical climax to the train of abuses" (Armitage *Declaratio*n 58). As I have begun to show, Jefferson's invective against the king is the first attempt to float a pirate of sympathy in

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[108] Trailblazing early works in the field include Nina Baym's *Women's Fiction* (1978). Mary Kelley's *Private Women, Public Stage* (1984); Jane Tompkin's *Sensational Designs* (1985); Nancy Armstrong's *Desire and Domestic Fiction* (1987); Susan Harris's *19th-Century American Women's Novels* (1990); Joyce Warren's *The (Other) American Traditions* (1993); and Lora Romero's *Home Fronts: Domesticity and Its Critics in the Antebellum United States* (1997). I cite numerous recent examples throughout.

[109] Here I am invoke Jay Fliegelman's use of speech act theory in *Declaring Independence* (1993). American domestic independence is best defined "as a rhetorical problem as much as a political one," Fliegelman affirms, because it requires a linguistic performance of "natural spoken language that would be a corollary to natural law" (3, 2). If Jefferson's declarative speech act must be understood as an extension of a moral and natural order, I show how that order is based on sympathy. For other analyses of Jefferson's rhetoric, see Armitage; Gustafson; Ziff; Maier.

the name of American sovereignty. As this section reveals, Jefferson's aborted sentimental declaration confirms the ideological tangle that occurs when one invokes the pirate to constitute the domestic state. In short, to name the pirate of sympathy is to affirm the antebellum state's basis in familial feeling while also confirming that state's reliance on oceanic bondage. A charge of piracy obfuscates reasoned (if not reasonable) alternatives to Jefferson's model of domestic union. These alternatives include both slavery's expansion and its total abolition.

At heart, the pirate of sympathy birthed by Jefferson reveals the terraqueous contours of what Elizabeth Barnes terms "American sentimental politics" in *States of Sympathy* (1997). If antebellum popular and political writers follow Jefferson in treating citizenship as a familial and moral attachment to the American body politic— what Barnes calls the "conflation of the personal and the political body" at the heart of sentimental politics— maritime subjects who operate beyond these spatial and ideological bounds necessarily lack moral compasses (1).[110] After all, oceanic pirates have supposedly abandoned their landed (national) families. They do not serve the family state, or collection of families who constitute the national body. Thought another way, their alliances exist outside the lines of citizenship imagined as a form of natural kinship. Therefore, rejections of piracy ground sentimental performances of state sovereignty. Jefferson, as a representative of all citizen-subjects, defines himself against the extranational and piratical other. The nation that results is a framed as the natural alternative to piratical alternities, or a guarantor of "natural" political, social, and economic attachments.

As Jefferson recognizes, however, the positive narration of national familial feeling on a watery globe must attend to slavery's' disruptive place in the American nation to-be. As scholars

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[110] Barnes calls Jefferson's *Declaration* the "definitive example of American sentimental politics" She concludes, "Jefferson's declaration exemplifies the ways in which representations of American democracy rely on models of [sentimental] identification to promote political union. The idea of the American people as a single unified body is made possible by imagining diverse individuals connected in a sympathetic chain" (2). I extend this reading by showing how this "sympathetic chain" is cast in oceanic waters to validate domestic sovereignty in a global context.

note, Jefferson's invective against piratical slavery "seems doubly anomalous." It claims political rights for enslaved persons whom Jefferson and the nation continue to bind (Armitage, 58). Here too, Jefferson confirms the pirate of sympathy's connection to state-backed agents' ambivalent investments in slavery. Historians continue to debate what Paul Finkelman calls the "giant chasm between [Jefferson's] words and his deeds."[111] Namely, Jefferson himself held over 175 enslaved persons at Monticello as he drafted the *Declaration* (192). Jefferson invokes piracy in an attempt to sail through this chasm. Namely, Jefferson asserts that the king's "piratical warfare" results from his "violating [human nature's] most sacred rights of life & liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating & carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither." Here, Jefferson proves King George's piratical character and, in the process, reaffirms the new nation's moral and legal basis. The king's piracy is married to his role in a slave system Jefferson places in an oceanic context. As he hints, it is a piratical inheritance that threatens a national balance of feeling.

In Jefferson's narration, the piratical ills of slavery result from oceanic disharmony as well as from the annihilation of individual and domestic bodies. The middle passage, the oceanic bond that links Africa to "another hemisphere," embodies both the colonies' oceanic inheritance and the king's profanity. Notably, Jefferson describes King George as if the king actually labors in the trade: he is "captivating and carrying" enslaved persons. In presenting this disharmony as a feature of "piratical warfare," Jefferson appears to reject the trade's place in future domestic orders. After all, those with "sacred rights of life & liberty" are ostensibly part of the union Jefferson christens. Yet, the slave system's economic, social, and political hierarchies are embedded in the political body Jefferson projects. This contingent claim to universal harmony befits a thinker who scholars recognize is "more concerned with avoiding 'irritation' than

[111] For accounts of Jefferson's personal and intellectual ties to slavery, see Onuf; Stanton; Willis.

promoting emancipation" (Finkelman 195). For the slaveholding Jefferson, slavery is an oceanic inheritance whose clear immorality must be explained if not overcome.

For Jefferson and future state-backed writers I discuss, the pirate of sympathy threatens families who represent a national ideal. Yet, as Jefferson's narration begins to show, those families' assumed whiteness proves state-backed sentimental politics' ideological limits. In both fictional and political narrations, the pirate's unruliness is set against the perfect sympathy of the model, citizen-subject. This subject is most often white. Their pirate adversary is most often nonwhite or racially ambiguous. This dynamic confirms Christopher Castiglia's account of sentimental politics' inherent racism. "To Barnes's assertion that 'to read sympathetically is to read like an American,'" Castiglia notes, "I would add that it is to read like a *white* American" (327). As Castiglia confirms, white liberal authors' sympathy more often grounds a state of white, middle class privilege. In short, they align sentimentality with state protection of white hegemony. Ultimately, these pirate narratives confirm what Castiglia calls the "reification of white citizenship through the manufacture of racial character" (327). In many of the texts I discuss, white subjects' triumph over the nonwhite pirate confirms these white subjects' perfect sympathy and, with it, their rightful centrality in American political and social life. For readers, to feel for the heroine (or against the pirate) is to enact a proper relation to the state. Though white American writers and policymakers disagree about slavery's place in a present or future domestic order, nearly all fear the disruption of white hegemony. Many invoke the racialized pirate as the foil to their hoped-for arrangement. In the process, sentimental reading both parallels and produces a model of citizenship based on whiteness.

Befitting these terms, Jefferson's vision of the pirate shifts at the moment he introduces the prospect of racial violence or radical abolition. While King George's relation to piracy is first

due to his advancement of slavery, it morphs into his threat to a plantation order. According to Jefferson, the king is "exciting those very [enslaved] people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived of them." Here, Jefferson references the prospective British offer to manumit enslaved persons who remain loyal to the crown by fighting colonial insurgents. Yet, Jefferson imagines that insurgency as fighting against an already constitution a nation made up of an "among us" united by familial feeling. To treat black bondage and black freedom as equally piratical is to maintain this fiction of harmonious domestic bodies at all costs. In this narrative, prospective violence is the result of the king's piratical deprivation of black liberty (a liberty Jefferson himself actively denies). Likewise, threats to domestic union derive from the seductive power of a piratical source rather than from internal discord or racialized subjects' political potency. In other words, Jefferson's pirate threatens an apparently perfect domesticity even as this figure reveals this union's basis in racial hegemony. King George's new piratical powers, or his shifted role from plantation progenitor to slave agitator, are therefore brought into focus. Piracy represents competing threats to Jefferson's vision of harmony: ongoing slavery and revolutionary abolition.

Jefferson's fear of retaliatory black violence, and that fear's localization in the pirate, speaks to the pirate of sympathy's material and ideological threat to state order. While state-backed writers construct the nation against unruly piratical others, those same writers also recognize the pirate's ties to viable alternatives to the antebellum state. The pirate's imagined antagonistic relation to the state indicates the potential for subversive, alternative work across an ideological spectrum. This spectrum's defining nodes are the prospect of transoceanic black citizenship and transoceanic slavery. The so-called pirate has the potential to undermine state-backed sentimental politics by claiming a share of sympathy. To claim sympathy for the

abolitionist or slaveholding pirate is to dismiss the state's role as arbiter and guarantor of proper feeling. This claim to domesticity disrupts the assumption that the nation is unified in familial feeling. Moreover, it confirms that the state does not protect all feeling subjects. Instead, a feeling pirate may show how the state is built on refusing worthy subjects' share of feeling, most often through systems of racial bondage. Others treat those who challenge their property rights as piratical threats. These "rights" may include power over enslaved persons. Such figures narrate an alternative sphere of familial feeling based on slaveholding interests. The effect is to take state-backed white hegemony and draw it to its logical extreme.

Thought another way, pirates of sympathy speak to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century fear of "transcolonial collaboration" in which varied colonial subjects use the tumult of Haitian and related revolutionary moments to undermine imperial orders (2). As Sara Johnson discusses in *The Fear of French Negroes* (2012), multiracial figures' descriptions of revolutionary Haiti, as well as their emigration to places like New Orleans and Philadelphia, appear to portend a rupture in white colonial rule in the U.S. and throughout the region. In short, prospective "transcolonial endeavors" appear possible given former colonial subjects' skills at navigating multiple linguistic and colonial traditions in the British, French, and Spanish Americas (93). Amidst this system, pirates or other maritime rovers who defy total state control over commerce and movement are a particular threat. They may rally agents within and throughout colonial waters. In practice, Johnson concludes, the programs such figures support are "often no more emancipatory than the imperial and national powers that gave birth to and succeeded them" (93).[112] For some members of the Haitian diaspora, "fostering alliances with slave-trading pirates seemed a more expedient choice than becoming antislavery activists" (8). In

[112] Johnson highlights Joseph Savery, a free man of color from San Domingue whose prosperity after the War of 1812 was tied to the smuggling and slave trade.

other words, pirates' claim to oceanic inheritances is neither inherently contrary to a slaveholding order nor part of a broader antiracist politics. Nonetheless, the pirate's persistence in the antebellum imaginary speaks to an imagined threat to state-backed fellow feeling.

In state-backed narratives, citizens' moral sense inevitably leads to the pirate's destruction. The effect is to neutralize the pirate's radical or egalitarian potential, which has varying ties to reality, or its connection to alternative social orders. Such narratives also confirm that only the state has the right or power to protect families. And yet, for Jefferson as well as for later writers, such declarations often fail to hold. Instead, the pirate of sympathy confirms the ongoing violence at the heart of state-backed fellow feeling. Tellingly, Jefferson calls alterations to his text "mutilations," or violent cuts to a supposedly perfect political and rhetorical body (qtd in Fliegelman 5). For Jefferson, naming the pirate and containing the enslaved is a vital step to constituting this body. Ultimately, however, the pirate's removal from Jefferson's *Declaration* hints at a failure of containment. A charge of piratical slavetrading may be easily applied to ongoing maritime trade. The king's oceanic incursions remain in the final *Declaration*— he has "plundered our sea" as well as "constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas"— but the king is no longer explicitly an enslaving pirate. Notwithstanding the political challenges inherent to Jefferson's piratical charge, its power is proven evident by its ongoing reiterations. As I will discuss in my next section, both state-backed and alternative assertions of domestic sovereignty rely on claimed access to oceanic space.

Terraqueous Sympathy and Sovereignty

Fittingly, Jefferson's appeal to piracy in his *Declaration* is in part a response to British maritime policy. England's Prohibitory Act of 1775 had installed a naval blockade on the rebellious colonies and affirmed that any trading vessels "shall be forfeited to his Majesty, as if

the same were the ships and effects of open enemies" (1460).[113] In a letter from March 23rd, 1776, John Adams refers to this action as "the prohibitory Act, or piratical Act, or plundering Act, or Act of Independency," thereby sharing Jefferson's eventual alignment of British "piracy" and American Independence. For Adams and others, this blockade and the removal of royal protection is a de-facto declaration of war that also gives the thirteen colonies a new shared status. According to Adams, the act "throws thirteen Colonies out of the Royal Protection, levels all Distinctions and makes us independent in Spite of all our supplications and Entreaties." In other words, the blockade forcible cuts the oceanic connection between Britain and the colonies; this cut is economic, political, social, and symbolic. "It may be fortunate that the Act of Independency should come from the British Parliament, rather than the American Congress," Adams continues (289). In other words, the British Parliament had created the conditions for shared domestic attachments in and across oceanic space, notwithstanding southern colonies clear reservations regarding republican government and the prospect of abolition.[114] This discord belies Jefferson's eventual declaration of American fellow feeling on land and at sea. Though unaware of this particular fate, John Adams recognizes of the sea's centrality in successful claims to national sovereignty. "The success of this War," he concludes, "depends upon a Skillful Steerage of the political Vessel" (290). As this section will show, the pirate's imagined antagonism to transoceanic sympathy and sovereignty makes this "skillful steerage" possible.

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[113] For an extensive analysis of the act's relation to the *Declaration*, see Maier.

[114] Adams names the clear ruptures in national fellow feeling. He writes, "all our Misfortunes arise from a Single Source, the Reluctance of the Southern Colonies to Republican Government. . .The Difficulty lies in forming Constitutions for particular Colonies, and a Continental Constitution for the whole, each Colony should establish its own Government, and then a League should be formed, between them all. This can be done only on popular Principles and Maxims which are so abhorrent to the Inclinations of the Barons of the south, and the Proprietary Interests in the Middle Colonies, as well as to that Avarice of Land, which has made upon this Continent so many Votaries to Mammon that I Sometimes dread the Consequences. However Patience, Fortitude and Perseverance, with the Help of Time will get us over these obstructions" (290). As I show, the pirate of sympathy makes this claim to unity possible while also revealing its fissures.

Theories of sympathy lend themselves to representations of sovereignty; after all, both are at heart description of bodies' internal character and external relatedness. How and why, theorists of sympathy and sovereignty ask, do individual bodies exist independently yet recognize a self-same constitution in like subjects? How does that recognition lead to social unity and the formation of political entities? What does one do with subjects who reject the ideologies upon which accepted unions are based? In each case, individual and national constitutions are produced through their relations. As I have discussed, sentimental relations serve as models for and guarantors of national sovereignty. Within sentimental politics, appeals to families in domestic fictions and policies reflect the "relational model of selfhood." In this model, individual citizen-subjects familial attachments are akin to their status as national citizen-subjects in a national family (Barnes *States* 85). As political theorists have shown, this relational model also applies to the nation itself. For example, Hegel notes that, "Just as the individual person is not real unless related to others, so the state is not really individual unless related to other states" (197).[115] Figures like the pirate, figures that allow sovereigns to exercise sovereign power and affirm their place among sovereigns, help constitute nations as narrative and political entities.

Jefferson's turn to piracy confirms that claims to domestic sovereignty must ripple across oceanic scape to be valid in an international order. As I will discuss, state-backed narratives align a maritime subject's claim to feeling with their relation to a constantly shifting political order. This connection is most evident in the government's constitutionally-granted power, "To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations" (1.8.10). In other words, the government's power is both narrative and martial: the state

[115] Modern theorists push this idea further, showing that the sovereign state constitutes itself in the very moment of its international relations. "International relations' are not connections set up between pre-established states, which could maintain their sovereign power without them," Anthony Giddens affirms, "they are the basis upon which the nation-state exists at all" (263-264).

must "define and punish" piracy in equal measure. The narrative power to "define" ostensibly precedes oceanic power to "punish," but punishments could also be retroactively defined. After all, no definition for piracy may exist outside of state control. The appeal to a "Law of Nations" is the key to making domestic definition's applicable in transoceanic space. Tellingly, this clause assumes a shared international definition of "piracies" that did not exist.[116] Nonetheless, laws like *An Act for the Punishment of Certain Crimes Against the United States* (1790) codify the government's power to treat maritime actions in a domestic framework; this act grants the government power to judge "offence[s] which if committed within the body of a country, would by the laws of the United States be punishable with death" (sec 8). In other words, these acts make a national body and its guiding narratives the basis for oceanic policy.

These early national invocations of piracy represent the domestic state's strategic investment in existing European socio-legal models. As Lauren Benton argues in *A Search for Sovereignty* (2010), the pirate is the product of early modern legal regimes that ordered the sea as the home of sovereign nations alone. In this system, a nation's access to the ocean (rather ownership of it) determines both that nation's legal jurisdiction at sea and its claim to sovereignty on land. Put simply, sovereign nations recognize their shared investment in a neutral free sea. Entrance into a family of nations, then, requires one's stated protection of the free sea against piracy.[117] This framework abetted the militarization of sea space and, by extension, the

[116] "Attempts to order oceans in the early to mid-nineteenth century" Lauren Benton and Lisa Ford confirm, "developed in the absence of broad-based legal principles" (119). Jurisdiction over piracy was "a crude assemblage," or a "regionally specific jigsaw puzzles of law" (120, 121). In this framework, piracy's status as "a universal crime justiciable in any municipal court" proved far from proven (134). For further analysis of this constitutional clause and its limits, see Mason; Rubin. For a further account of this "myth of universal jurisdiction" as it relates to piracy, see Benton ("Toward a New Legal History").

[117] This modern law of the sea, and with it modern piracy, had it beginning in Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius's *Mare Librum* (1609), or *Free Sea*; in it, he argues that all sovereign nations have equal access to the sea for economic or political purposes. According to Benton, Grotius and others thereby "represented the sea as both a privileged zone governed by natural law and as a sphere of conflicting thrusts of sovereign law" (121). For a related reading, see Tai.

exclusion of figures deemed extranational or piratical.[118] The language of international law, Benton concludes, thereby "expanded the repertoire of rationales from which colliding maritime powers could draw to support self-interested positions" (121). In other words, all heads of state could agree about piracy's incompatibility with state agendas, in principal if not in practice.

A major feature of an antebellum legal and popular repertoire, I argue, is the claim that moral feeling justifies American policy towards pirates. If the seventeenth and eighteen-century British crown "employed the laws of God, nature and nations when claiming sovereignty" in the Atlantic, antebellum writers employ the moral law of sympathy (MacMillan 70). Specifically, popular representations of unfeeling piracy against a feeling state overcome gaps in legal justification or jurisdiction. Subsequent appeals to a "law of nations," though tenuous, can be justified using the sentimental terms that ostensibly guide that law. As I have shown, antebellum subjects' claim to sympathetic familial feeling shape their claim to citizenship. For both Adam Smith and the authors I discuss, theories of individual sentimental relations necessarily lead to questions of transnational bodies' proper alignment. If the family serves as the basis for individual moral sense, the family of nations is the only judge of international morality. According to Smith, "Of the conduct of one independent nation towards another, neutral nations are the only indifferent and impartial spectators" (178). Smith assumes that international bodies must shape national morality. In that way, Smith appears to support a vision of the free sea. In this vision, nations' removal of piratical threats is an extension of impartial moral sense.[119]

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[118] For an account of this exclusionary policy's use by European nations, see Benton (*Search*104-61).

[119] At the same time, Smith admits that a perfect or universal legal system have yet to develop on land or at sea. He calls for the scientific study of "natural jurisprudence," which is the "far the most important, but, hitherto, perhaps, the least cultivated [science]" (257). Tellingly, Smith's invocation of "natural jurisprudence" derives from Hugo Grotius's *Law of War and Peace* (1625). As I have discussed, thinkers following Grotius argue for such a universal and natural legal philosophy in the case of piracy. For a study of this connection between Smith and Grotius, see Forman-Barzilai ('connexion').

Therefore, the figure of the pirate of sympathy rests on the belief that extranational subjects are always already incapable of fellow feeling. In other words, state-backed writers like Jefferson must name an exception to universal sympathy to justify violence against select populations. They must name moral feeling as an extension of state power. Like other writers, however, Smith is skeptical of such state-backed moral codes. According to Smith, "The greatest ruffian, the most hardened violator of the laws of society, is not altogether without [sympathetic capacity]" (14). This appeal to a universal sympathy may be found in defenses of charged pirates, as I will show. Moreover, a dissatisfaction with state-backed sentimental politics as a whole ground representations in which pirates are victims of misapplied morality. Smith's own skepticism is due to the contingencies of both oceanic space and transnational competition. He admits that the "wisdom which contrived human affections" dictate that one is most influenced by persons "within the sphere both of his abilities and of his understanding." In other words, the mechanisms of familial feeling breed a preference for like agents. The potential for prejudice is therefore built into sympathy itself. In such cases, a minority subject—one outside a majority social or political sphere—may receive an undue charge of piracy. Smith hints at this potential when he dismisses the law of nations as a product of sympathy. "The laws of nations, or for those rules which independent states profess or pretend to think themselves bound to observe" Smith writes, "is often very little more than mere pretence and profession" (270). Smith separates natural law from political policy and in the process strips the latter of its self-evident truth, thereby foreshadowing current political theorists.[120] Claims of piracy, even once legally supported, may reflect a corrupted virtue rather than a natural one. Authors hoping to reclaim

[120] Indeed, Smith appears to presage Stephen Krasner's *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (1999). Krasner argues that international rules are less instrumental than domestic contingencies during assertions of sovereignty. "The logics of consequences dominate the logics of appropriateness," Krasner argues, since state claims serve to benefit the declarer (6). In other words, appeals to moral sense necessarily occur *after* state action.

sympathy for the pirate may therefore apply their own reading of Smith. As I will discuss, state-backed writers often ignore Smith's caution. Instead, they remarry moral feeling and state policy.

Of course, there is nothing natural about the sea's status as the shared territory of nations. Prior extra or non-national oceanic collectivities maintain claims to the sea before and after Grotius. Moreover, those collectivities' national affiliation may itself be the source of debate. Jefferson's own turn to Rome both grounds his characterization of King George as a pirate of sympathy and confirms the trope's legal and narrative limits. Like Jefferson, some seventeenth-century British thinkers attempted to rid the British empire of various marauders and competing agents by appealing to Roman virtue. Yet, others affirmed that Rome had itself been a bastion of marauders who became virtuous under proper governance.[121] Moreover, North African corsairs historically had the backing of states or other centralized bodies. In other words, the pirate's moral failing is necessarily tied to its political affiliation in relation to a state power.

Moreover, pirates' apparent incapacity for sympathy is the result of their alleged incompatibility with state-backed economic policies or exchanges. The pirate of sympathy's vexed relation to state-backed morality is, at heart, a product of imagined economic antagonisms. "Piracy was, first and foremost, a crime against property," historian Markus Rediker notes (*Villains* 118).[122] The pirate of sympathy's imagined incompatibility with state-backed sentimental politics is tied its imagine economic antagonism. Persons who reject or prevent state-backed economic connections have supposedly rejected moral sense. This ideology has its basis

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[121] Mark Hanna traces this latter view to Charles Davenant, a lawyer and economist whose *Discourses on the Publick Revenues, and on the Trade of England* (1698) aligns Roman nation-formation with the process of turning pirates into virtuous subjects; after all, Davenant confirms "The *Roman* Nation was first compos'd of Thieves, Vagabonds, Fugitive Slaves, Indebted Persons and Out-laws" (qtd in Hanna,16). Davenant applies this history to English colonization in the Americas, Hanna notes, by affirming that far-flung colonies would rely on marginal subjects whose actions could be viewed as piratical.

[122] On the one hand, scholars like Marcus Rediker (*Villains*) and Christopher Hill ("Radical Pirates?") highlight the pirate ship's alternative class structure. On the other hand, scholars like Mark Hanna and Kevin McDonald highlight the pirate's fundamental role in early capitalism. As I show, the antebellum pirate reflects this dual imagination.

in Smith's theory of sentiments, as political theorist Robert Mitchell has shown. In short, Smith's theories of moral sympathy and global capitalism both rest on a projective imagination in which all subjects have a shared self-interest. In the process, Mitchell confirms, Smith's moral philosophy appears to "resolve the conflicts and factions purportedly engendered by state finance" (29).[123] Specifically, it shows how and why an impersonal state can work in its subjects' best interest. The question of economic interest is particularly vexed amidst debates on the slave trade's economic and moral validity. As I show, the pirates shifting relation to slavery, reflect an ongoing rupture in federal economic models. In short, a desire for plantation inheritances, or the spoils of prior and ongoing trade, mean that both a slaveholder and an abolitionist may be treated as piratical.

As I will discuss in my next section, domestic sentimental narration is uniquely positioned to confirm the pirate's transoceanic threat to proper (economic) feeling. The state-backed alternative they model, I argue, most often reaffirm white, middle class hegemony across oceanic space. If state policy legally constitutes this transoceanic domestic order, sentimental fictions are its most visible and powerful iterations.

Terraqueous Domestic (Pirate) Fictions

As my reading of Jefferson's *Declaration* has begun to show, a turn to the sea reveals the pirates lurking at the margins of domestic communities or sentimental narrations. If Daniel Defoe's fictional pirates grounded "thought experiments" in the power and limits of mercantilism and on the allure of collective organization, the pirates of domestic fiction power

[123] For Mitchell, Smith's theory of sentiments may be traced to the "discourse on state finance" that shaped eighteenth-century "[speculative] investing cultures" in Europe (28). At the moment state agents were "attributing the rise and fall of public credit and the vagaries of commercial exchange to the imagination," Mitchell confirms, Smith and others were treating speculation as an embedded feature of natural moral systems (28-29). Specifically, Smith's idea of the "collective imagination"— or a group's moral capacity to extend their interest beyond their bodies' borders—advances a global financial system predicated on state-backed speculation (28). Within this moral economy, expansive fellow feeling made find its outlet in state-backed economic exchange across great distances.

experiments in white, middle class domesticity's economic and social future (Aravamudan, 93).[124] At heart, these pirates are the product of domestic ambivalence towards oceanic inheritances. Many white authors' desire to insulate their narrative worlds from forms of oceanic unruliness, or from their cultural circles' reliance on plantation inheritances, leads them to marginalize the pirate. Unlike the romantic figures found in Cooper or Scott, the pirates of domestic sentimental fiction typically do not describe or justify their path to piracy. Instead, these narratives rely on the absence of coherent philosophy for piratical action, beyond a hatred for domestic order. Domestic fictions that make the pirate's violence secondary to accounts of women's moral virtue prevent the difficult task of giving voice to piratical unruliness. To do so would allow for alternative claims to sovereignty or explicit rejections or state-backed order. Yet, the prospect of narrative worlds without pirates, or of domesticity without the sea and its inheritances, is at odds with many writers' impulse to intricately and accurately explore their contemporary setting. After all, as I have shown, the pirate helps secure domestic sovereignty at the individual and national level. Therefore, the transoceanic domestic fictions I address seek to name, contain, and repel piratical threats to domestic sympathy and virtue. In the process, they reinforce a state-backed model of domestic sovereignty and transoceanic power.

Domesticity's physical and ideological boundaries are cemented by those characters who appear capable of establishing stable sentimental connections within or across transoceanic space. The pirate's presence in domestic fiction echoes middle class domesticity's ambivalent reliance on these oceanic spaces of influence. In that way, pirates of sympathy are an unstudied feature of what Amy Kaplan calls the "hybrid liminal space" of American empire (12). As Kaplan notes and I affirm, "cultural phenomenon we think of as domestic or particularly national

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[124] Aravamudan analyzes the "role played by piratical narratives for the elaboration of colonialist ideology" for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British writers (77).

are forged in a crucible of foreign relations (1)." Or, domestic politics are always steeped in the foreign. As I show, however, the pirate's relation to domestic space complicates the paradigm of "domestic" and "foreign" relations Kaplan presents. The pirate is neither wholly domestic, nor totally foreign. They float between and among domestic and foreign space. They exist as markers of oceanic politics even when on occupying domestic shores. Moreover, these pirates embody oceanic inheritances that domestic writers outwardly disavow but necessarily accept. This treatment of inheritances defines my departure from Kaplan. For Kaplan, "movement outward into the world threatens to incorporate the foreign and dismantle the domestic" (12). As I confirm, oceanic movement and incorporation is a constituting feature of antebellum domestic culture. The pirate of sympathy is both a partner in this socio-economic process and a threat to it.

Thought another way, pirates of sympathy embody antebellum sympathy's ideological and formal modulations when cast in oceanic space. In other words, narrations of landed familial attachment must imagine which oceanic bodies are compatible with domestic order. Antebellum narrations of sympathy, Shirley Samuels confirms in *The Culture of Sentiment*, inform a "national project . . . a project about imagining the nation's bodies and the national body" (3). Narrating a person's capacity for sympathy is to admit their viability as a citizen-subject in a body politic. Since access to sympathy correlates with new rights to life and protection, to validate a marginalized community's sentimental attachments is to refashion antebellum domestic bodies. As I have discussed, the pirate cannot be added to this body while remaining a pirate. On one level, this fact is due to the sea's imagined incompatibility with landed sympathies or narrations. As Bryan Sinche notes, nineteenth-century landed writers interested in oceanic culture are "forced to imagine a United States that was more larger and more diverse than the bounded terrestrial realm most of them called home" (63-64). Sympathy's landed forms would

not float across the water. As my previous section discussed, this separation fosters sailors' own sentimental attachments and narrations. In the narrations I recount, a turn to piracy allows domestic fiction writers to grapple with oceanic culture without leaving home.

Yet if the writers I discuss cannot imagine that domestic fellow feeling will work on oceanic pirates, it is because this narrative refusal is necessary to constitute domesticity itself. As I have shown, domestic sovereignty is substantiated via a real or imagined forms of control over oceanic space. If a theory of universal sympathy would lead one to incorporate the pirate into domestic space— thereby proving sympathy's absolute power— the narratives I discuss would rather remove such figures. This trope, I believe, indicates their resignation that not all subjects can or want to be part of a national family. In other words, these writers contend that not all political bodies can be incorporated. To narrate the pirate's redemption, or their reincorporation into domestic space, would undermine their domestic visions. Specifically, a redeemed pirate threatens state-backed sentimental narration's primary function: to confirm which subjects have the moral and economic right to domestic space ands it oceanic inheritances. For many writers, those rights are reserved for white, middle class figures.

In most domestic fictions, the pirate's supposed incapacity for feeling is defined by their economic threat to middle or upper class homes. Domestic fictions, like the theory of moral sentiments they uphold, advance a moral economy in which exercises in proper feeling are synonymous with state-backed capitalism. This ideology, which also shaped the sentimental seamen ideal, makes the ideal domestic subject a productive one. As Lori Merish confirms in *Sentimental Materialism* (2000) domestic fiction writers "[reinvent] capitalist economic and commodity structures as forms of interiority proper to 'private,' domestic life" (2-3). In other words, these authors make domestic social formation synonymous with the mechanisms of

capitalist accumulation. Domestic space and identity is produced through fetishized consumption, or one's relation things both owned and loved. As I show, this consumption and the interiority it produces are necessarily vested in transoceanic inheritances. One loves and incorporates their transoceanic inheritances, even those with ties to slavery, since they are the basis for domestic wealth. In this way, the pirate of sympathy's agenda mirrors the violent consumption at the heart of antebellum domestic ideology. They appear to feed off of a global capitalist system that relies on and produces forms of unsanctioned wealth. Like the domestic subject, the pirate of sympathy claims their share of an oceanic inheritance. The figures such pirates often represent have reasoned, if not moral, claims to wealth that is tied to racialized forms of labor and bondage. Pirates' defining economic ethos in domestic sentimental fictions, however, is the unmitigated theft of a woman's inheritance. Pirates of sympathy perform this theft because it allows them to disrupt a state order or control a woman's body.

In that way, pirates of domestic fiction embody the possibility that plantation inheritances will be violent redistributed. Thought another way, the pirate's removal at the hands of domestic agents signals that adherence to state policy will protect markets and homes from such upheavals. As Joseph Fichtelberg affirms, domestic writers and political figures between 1780 and 1870 use sentimental language to justify capitalist ideology amidst the fear and reality of economic busts. The language of feeling stands for capitalist markets' variability as well as their controllability. As a result, sentiment is the "currency of [economic] crisis" that can "render more intimate and domestic the abstract forces of economy and polity" (7). Women, both as writers and figures, serve as the locus of these narrations due to their claim to moral virtue. Fichtelberg confirms, "With their allegedly unlimited capacity for feeling, women— or their fictional simulacra— secured the American market, not only reassuring in times of crisis but also

figuring the mechanisms of exchange (1).” Proper middle class feeling would not only guarantee one’s economic success, but would also prove that macroeconomic systems are guided by a similarly ordered and moral base. I will show how these domestic figures, like the markets they engage, are necessarily transoceanic.

In the fictions I discuss, the pirate represents alternative economic stakeholders, including both slaveholders and the enslaved. In response to these competing claims, women writers sympathetic to abolition may treat the pirate as both a ghostly reminder of prior sins and as a conduit for plantation inheritances’ moral and economic recovery. For state-backed writers, stabilizing domestic claims to transoceanic space dominates all other considerations. While many descry slavery’s ongoing role in securing this future, albeit to varying levels, sentimental narrations most often foreground the needs of white, middle class citizens. Their emblematic figures of white, middle class, New England domesticity claim a moral and economic distinction from southern slaveholders, but are, to a large degree, complicit in a state-backed system that traded racialized bodies for a tenuous political harmony. These writers’ treatment of the pirate reflects their attempt to recognize and reconcile this fact. Moreover, as I show, those seeking to either expand plantation violence or to produce a retributive reordering of racial hierarchies have equal recourse to the pirate. Their narrations place so-called “pirates” at the head of new familial and political orders. Though these orders are not necessarily egalitarian, they do undermine the idea that current state power is the sole guarantor of domestic virtue across oceanic space. The competitions I address in the following chapters show how pirates of sympathy revel antebellum culture’s shifting ideological and transoceanic boundaries.

In this section’s first chapter, “New England Pirates of Sympathy: Laundering Caribbean Inheritances with Catharine Maria Sedgwick,” I show how domestic fiction author Catharine

Sedgwick recasts undeniable plantation inheritances as affirmations of a morally pure, economically mobile, and racially white New England domesticity. In that way, she is the quintessential figure for the literary-historical "laundering" of Caribbean inheritances in the Jacksonian era. Sedgwick dramatizes ongoing ruptures in U.S. domestic culture, I argue, by introducing Caribbean pirates whose villainy derives from their investments in slavery *and* from their threat to sympathetic heroines whose plantation investment Sedgwick renders negligible by comparison.

In chapter four, "Caribbean Pirates of Sympathy: Resenting Plantation Inheritances with Maxwell Philip," I present a pirate of sympathy who deviates from state-backed narrations yet adheres to the figure's defining tropes. Specifically, I argue that Trinidadian author Michel Maxwell Philip names piracy as an inevitable and moral response to the laundered plantation inheritances. *Emmanuel Appadocca* (1854) revolves around the life and career of an abandoned mixed-race boy turned pirate. In the process, Philip counters Harriet Beecher Stowe's pacifistic sympathy in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) with his own application of Smith's *Moral Sentiments*. Armed with Smith's definition of moral "resentment" and retributive "justice," Philip constructs a moral system that values the forceful restoration of economic and social balances. In other words, Philip invokes the pirate of sympathy for anti-colonial ends.

In chapter five, "Confederate Pirates of Sympathy: Trying National Inheritances with Maria Cummins," I show how Civil War writers debated secessionist sovereignty via sentimental discourses of piracy. To stage this debate, I analyze *Haunted Hearts* (1864), a domestic pirate fiction by bestselling author Maria Cummins, alongside contemporary sources. As I show, Cummins dramatizes Caribbean piracy during the War of 1812 to show its disastrous effects on sympathy. In the process, she makes a literary *and* legal claim akin to Senator Charles Sumner

and his allies. Namely, all align Confederate sailors with unfeeling and seductive pirates. In the process, state-backed writers refute the sentimental terms that powered Confederate maritime policy and diplomacy. They also confirm an ongoing fear of black citizenship and the breakdown of white hegemony. This account confirms the shifting and contested logic of state-backed sympathy that defines a civil war's transoceanic crisis.

Tellingly, the pirates I discuss neither titillate readers nor violate heroines. Their ravages occur wholly off-screen, and are most often the unspoken alternative to a white heroine's moral virtue. In short, the pirate fiction fosters sympathy rather than foments sensation. A focus on a pirate's absence of sympathy— rather than a full accounting of a pirate's power of sensation— allows the focus to remain on a privileged sentimental subject's threatened but ultimately intact domestic order. In that way, a pirate of sensation would be a more acute threat. Sensational literature, Shelley Streeby and Jesse Alemán note, "emphasizes thrills, shock, and horror more than virtuous and socially redemptive feelings" and appeals to working class, multi-racial, and multi-ethnic audiences (xvii). In *American Sensations*, Streeby aligns this literature with a "double-vision" regarding issues of race, class, gender, and imperialism; namely, scenes of domestic discord in Northeastern cities may be twinned with the imperial battles of global southern fronts (5). The distinction between a pirate of sympathy and one of sensation is not geographic reach. It is one of narrative form and ideology.[125] The pirates I recount are the twins of those titular figures in mass-published popular works.[126] These sentimental and sensational twins embody the threat of racial, economic, and sexual reorderings throughout the Americas.

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[125] In staking a claim for sensation, Streeby and Alemán make a binary between the "exotic and foreign spaces" that concern sensational literature and the "domestic sphere" they align with sentimental literature (xviii).

[126] Examples include J.H. Ingraham's *Lafitte: The Pirate of the Gulf* (1836) and *The Pirate Chief, or, The Cutter of the Ocean* (1845), Harry Hazel's *Harry Tempest, or, The Pirate's Protege* (1853), or the anonymously-penned *Alexander Tardy: The Poisoner, and Pirate Chief of St. Domingo* (1852).

Yet the authors I discuss mostly choose to contain and conceal the pirate's explicitly violent potential. The pirate of sensation, deserving of their own study, haunts this order's margins.

Ultimately, this section presents a new sentimental model for understanding antebellum piracy in particular and literary-historical pirates in particular. Real or imagined pirates' relationship with domestic nations remains a central question in both history and scholarship. Is piracy anathema to the state? Is piracy a feature of the state? Can piracy produce new states? These questions pervade antebellum culture as well as this work. Thousands of smugglers, revolutionaries, and secessionists populate the antebellum waters I discuss. Many are called pirates, an appellation some uphold but most try to shed. Others exist only in fiction and print. Later images of the freewheeling, swashbuckling pirate remain highly visible in popular culture and have proven tempting for academics seeking to describe or imagine alternatives to dominant systems. As various scholars show, the pirate ship's multiracial crews, deviant sexual practices, and less hierarchical order may be imagined as powerful antipodes to various forms of hegemony.[127] My view of the pirate, as historical figure and narrative trope, is decidedly more fraught. The antebellum pirate of sympathy is a product of complex oceanic inheritances. Their violence is often aimed against state formations, but more often impacts figures left unprotected by the state. Primary among these figures are the enslaved persons for whom both the pirate and the state historically have terrorized. The pirate may signal alternative futures, but is more often invoked to affirm state power. Ultimately, the pirate of sympathy plies the narrative, ideological, and material waters that surround antebellum American domesticity and its discontents.

[127] For discussions of piracy and queerness, see Turley; Burg. For considerations of piracy and gender performance, see Rediker (*Villains* 103-26).

Chapter Three
New England Pirates of Sympathy:
Laundering Caribbean Inheritances with Catharine Sedgwick

In February 1821, the U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary debated an amendment to the piracy acts of 1819 and 1820. Specifically, this amendment would authorize presidents to commute pirates' executions. Such an action would protect pirates of sympathy, at least according to committee chair and South Carolina senator William Smith. After all, Smith notes, pirates who are incapable of fellow feeling may nonetheless claim a false share of domestic sympathy. Piracy is an offense "supremely distinguished for its enormity over others," Smith affirms, since it may "only be committed by those whose hearts have become base by habitual depravity" (654). Since the pirate has "voluntarily renounced" domestic attachment, a universal death sentence would ensure that "no due influence" gives them a claim. Particularly, the pirate's seductive quality, paired with the public's natural fellow feeling, heightens the possibility of a false pardon. "Whatever may be the public feeling against a pirate previous to his trial and conviction," Smith notes, "as soon as that takes place that feeling subsides and becomes enlisted on the part of the criminal." The pirate's potential annihilation leads fellow feeling to overcome prior hatred, thereby granting the pirate a perverse power of sympathy. He continues, "There is not a favorable trait in his case but what is brought up and mingled with as many circumstances of pity and compassion as his counsel can condense in a petition, which everybody subscribes to without any knowledge of the facts." In other words, sentimental fictions on land falsely secure pirates' legal status. In reality, pirates board a "defenceless ship" and either butchered, marooned, or drowned its "both male and female" inhabitants, all to "indulge an insatiable thirst for cruelty" (655). Since pirates foster nothing but unchecked unruliness, Smith concludes, they must be removed from domestic and oceanic formations.

The oceanic removal of pirates, though undoubtedly a positive step against a slaveholding regime, nonetheless maintained the legal and symbolic separations that incubated the slave trade and protected its domestic inheritances. Tellingly, the West African Squadron only caught one slaver in African waters between 1822 and 1844 (Fehrenbacher 155).[128] The West Indies Squadron and related forces proved more successful. Most notably, the removal of Jean Lafitte, who historian Ernest Obadele-Starks calls “the most ruthless of all Gulf Coast slave smugglers” (34), marked the illegal importation trade’s decline.[129] Of course, American and European traders imported nearly two million enslaved persons throughout the Americas between 1820 and 1850.[130] During this same period, the domestic population of enslaved persons more than doubled to 3.2 million.[131] In other words, a turn to domestic interiority and oceanic security cemented the slavetrading pirate’s incompatibility with national union; nonetheless, this union continued to serve those citizen-subjects who retain their stake in past or present bondage.

If, as a modern biographer affirms, “[William Smith’s] speeches wedding proslavery thought to a states rights political agenda were enormously influential,” the senator’s refusal to address the amendment’s potential connection to slavery seems uncharacteristic (Young 208).[132] After all, the amendment would also allow a president to commute maritime slave traders’ death

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[128]As Don Fehrenbacher affirms, "One visit per year of several weeks' duration was the average for two decades after 1822, and some of those visits were little more than perfunctory calls on the naval agency in Liberia." (155).
[129] That power’s extent remains debated by historians. Ernest Obadele-Starks argues that smugglers brought as many as 786,500 enslaved persons into the U.S. from foreign ports between 1808 and 1863 (10). Historian James Crisp claims that 60,000 enslaved persons were illegally imported after 1810 ("Closing" 117). On the other hand, Don E. Fehrenbacher claims that "the amount of illegal importation thereafter has often been greatly exaggerated” (148) Like Fehrenbacher, Paul Finkelman suggests that 2,500 Africans or fewer were illegally imported after 1820 (157). For an extensive study of this policy's martial and political outcomes, see Fehrenbacher (135-204) and Martinez (38-66). For an account of smuggling operations, see Obadele-Starks.
[130] According to *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, roughly four-hundred thousand enslaved Africans disembark in Cuba and Jamaica between 1820 and 1850. Seventy-five thousand land in other Caribbean islands, and a staggering 1.3 million arrived in Brazil. In addition to these two million survivors, over three-hundred thousand persons perish during the passage.
[131] According to *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, the enslaved population in the U.S. grows from seven-hundred thousand to 1.5 million between 1790 and 1820, of whom over three-hundred thousand are the result of forced importation. Between 1820 and 1850, the domestic population grows to 3.2 million.
[132] For a biography of Smith and a collection of his pro-slavery speeches, see Young (208-224)

sentences. As Smith tells it, however, the pirate is not a variably sanctioned extension of a slaveholding society's economic and social logic; instead, they are an aberrant and unknowable deviation domestic ideals. In this way, Smith's speech exemplifies the pirate of sympathy's shifting role in legal and sentimental narratives regarding maritime slavery at the early national period's conclusion. In the name of combatting all forms of robbery at sea, the 1819 piracy act had granted the president power to commission vessels that could patrol key waterways. The act of 1820 had supported these efforts by expressly applying the prior act to maritime subjects who "seize any negro or mulatto, not held to service or labour by the laws of either of the states or territories of the United States" (sec 4).[133] In other words, an enslaved subject's claim to oceanic protection would follow from their relative (non)attachment to the domestic state. The specious division between land and sea bondage relies on the shared belief that maritime agents have a distinct relation to domestic moral virtue. To implicitly accept that the maritime slave-trader as piratical, or at least to reject the maritime slave trader's place in domestic life, therefore does not preclude Smith or others from affirming southerners' moral right to the trade.

In this chapter, I analyze these piratical threats and plantation inheritances from a decidedly novel position, namely that of New England writer Catharine Maria Sedgwick. Sedgwick's domestic ideal was not a southern plantation society, as senator Smith's was, but that of a white, upper class New England ostensibly set apart from slaveholding regimes. And yet, Sedgwick's definition and defense of that ideal leads her, as it had for Smith, to obliquely justify her stake in a slaveholding order. Specifically, I argue that Sedgwick invokes the pirate to

[133] Section four of the 1820 act reads, "[I]f any citizen of the United States, being of the crew or ship's company of any foreign ship or vessel engaged in the slave trade, or any person whatever, being of the crew or ship's company of any ship or vessel, owned in the whole or part, or navigated for, or in behalf of, any citizen or citizens of the United States, shall land, from any such ship or vessel, and, on any foreign shore, seize any negro or mulatto, not held to service or labour by the laws of either of the states or territories of the United States, with intent to make such negro or mulatto a slave, or shall decoy, or forcibly bring or carry, or shall receive, such negro or mulatto on board any such ship or vessel, with intent as aforesaid, such citizen or person shall be adjudged a pirate; and, on conviction thereof ... shall suffer death."

“launder” Caribbean inheritances, or to render New Englanders’ Caribbean lineages and undeniable economic share of plantation bondage as the source of a morally pure, racially white, and naturally domestic future. As was the case for senator Smith, the pirate allows Sedgwick to categorize and contain varied threats to her domestic model without defining them. In one moment, the pirate is the progenitor of revolutionary Haiti. In another, the pirate embodies white financiers’ economic and sexual rapaciousness in the Caribbean. These pirates represent not only the remaining unruliness created by past and present investments in plantation economies, namely the threat of both southern expansionism and racial revolution, but also provide the mechanism through which Sedgwick may remove these stains. Specifically, Sedgwick names white and morally irreproachable New Englanders as the natural defendants against unreasoned piratical threats; in the process, these agents’ protection of their plantation inheritances becomes an extension of present and future domestic virtue. Caribbean inheritances are not quite “purged,” to use Amy Kaplan’s term, but are instead rendered clean by the agitation of piratical forces that portend political, social, and economic rupture.[134] This careful elision echoes ongoing national policies: both are predicated on the removal of piratical unruliness, variably applied, as the key to a domestic and oceanic harmony. Sedgwick’s further recovery as both a regionalist and hemispheric writer thereby gives one new language to probe the ongoing tension between New England domesticity and slaveholding economies.[135]

Catharine Maria Sedgwick’s relative cosmopolitanism, as well as her ambivalent acceptance of racial hegemony and plantation inheritances, befits her place among New

[134] For Kaplan, sentimental heroines construct their domesticity by “purging both themselves and their homes of foreignness” (Kaplan *Anarchy* 43). For me, laundering is a process of incorporation via narrative elision.
[135] Historians have also begun the process of recovering New England’s ties to slavery and troubling pervasive northern claims to economic, moral, or political exceptionism. As Margot Minardi demonstrates in *Making Slavery History*, antebellum Massachusetts was the center of conflicted debates regarding slavery's material and narrative place in New England history amidst ongoing southern bondage and its northern investments. For a study of colonial slavery as the basis for New England society and its study, see Warren.

England's elite. Befitting what Melissa Homestead calls "Sedgwick's hemispheric reality," her earliest Puritan ancestor was a Cromwell-era commissioner in Jamaica ("Introduction" 27). She was born in 1789 to a prominent Massachusetts family led by Theodore Sedgwick, a six-term congressman and House Speaker under George Washington.[136] Her father argued on behalf of Elizabeth Freeman during her 1781 "freedom suit," which made Freeman the first enslaved person in Massachusetts to successfully achieve freedom through trial. Freeman, or Mum Bet, subsequently became a servant in the Sedgwick household and "stood at the center of Catharine's childhood" (Kelley *Power* 124).[137] Sedgwick lived alternately between New York and Massachusetts, and did not travel to Europe until 1839.[138] Still, she corresponded with a wide breadth of literary and intellectual figures with ties to Europe and the Caribbean.[139] Most notably, Sedgwick expressed dismay over prominent Boston merchant and U.S. consular agent Stephen Cabot's 1828 charge of St. Thomas-based piracy, which led to his flight to Haiti, the discovery of his secret mixed-race Haitian family, and his Haitian children's emigration to Massachusetts. Sedgwick wrote to Cabot's sister, her friend, that the ongoing investigation is indicative of Caribbean depravity rather than domestic rapacity. [140] Her later fictional

[136] For expansive biographies, see Damon-Bach and Clements "Introduction" (xxi-xxx) and Kelley (*Power*)
[137] For an account of Freeman's life and trail, see Piper and Levinson. Sedgwick writes about Freeman, or "Mumbet," in "Slavery in New England" (1853) and in her journal. Sedgwick begins an entry in November 1829, one month prior to Freeman's death, "Mumbet— 'Mother' — my nurse— my faithful friend — she who first received me into her arms — is finishing her career— a life marked by as perfect a performance of duty— perhaps I should say more perfect than I have every known" (*Power* 125).
[138] For a study of Sedgwick's account of London, see Lueck.
[139] For example, Sedgwick read William Cullen Bryant's translation of Jose Maria Heredia's "A Story of the Islands of Cuba" and writes about the West Indians she saw during 1820 visit to Saratoga. For an outline of these biographical connections, complete with Sedgwick's journal and letters, see Homestead ("Introduction" 23-29).
[140] In private letters, Sedgwick expresses dismay over prominent Boston merchant and U.S. consular agent Stephen Cabot's 1828 charge of St. Thomas-based piracy, which led to his flight to Haiti and the discovery of his secret Haitian family. Cabot had not married Zamie Féche, a mixed race Haitian Creole woman, but later adopted his biological son and Féche's daughter. After the children's U.S. emigration, Sedgwick wrote a letter to her brother Charles advising him whether to allow "the Cabot child" into his wife Elizabeth's New Lennox school. Though Sedgwick appeared sympathetic to "a human being so young and so unfortunate" and affirms the girl "should have such an opportunity of securing her virtue," she rejects the idea that the girl's "Creole French" is "worth any thing" (CMS to CS). Sedgwick's lingering distrust of Caribbean incursion extends to Cabot's accused piracy. She writes to

introduction of the white, upper class pirate in her fiction hints at a deeper ambivalence. The prospect of accepting mixed-race Haitians into her social circle perhaps led her to consider other upheavals may reach domestic shores.

Sedgwick's literary production was equally transnational. She published nine successful novels (as well as varied sketches and short stories) between 1822 and 1837, thereby securing equal status with now-canonical contemporaries such as James Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving.[141] Her novel *Redwood* (1824), itself a tale of northern plantation inheritances made possible by the West Indies, had been translated into French, German, Swedish, and Italian by 1830 (Damon-Bach 71).[142] Aware of her work's economic value, Sedgwick publishes *Clarence* (1830) almost concurrently in the United States and Britain. In the process, Sedgwick judiciously fends off bands of literary pirates and affirms her "domestic" property's transoceanic power. As Melissa Homestead notes, "Sedgwick was the only American woman author to sign a petition to Congress on the subject of international copyright before the Civil War" (*Property* 64).[143] Sedgwick published didactic fiction, children's stories, and two more novels in the 1840s and 50s. She remained a champion of prison reform and of women's political and social rights, but rejects Lydia Maria Child's abolitionism in favor of gradual emancipation, eternal union, and

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Cabot's sister, "Such is the character of the government of St. Thomas they cannot destroy your brother's reputation"(CMS to ECF). For more information on the Cabots, see Homestead "Introduction" (27).

[141] As Lucinda Damon-Bach notes, Sedgwick was one of two women included in the 1834 volume *National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans*, alongside Martha Washington. Likewise, she was among Irving and Cooper as one of the three fiction writers in the collection (xxiii). As reception-studies scholar James Machor states, "Ironically, the relative rankings of Sedgwick and Melville over the last- eighty years- and still today- is nearly the exact inverse of the positions the two authors occupied in the antebellum decades" (202). For an analysis of Sedgwick's robust popular reception relative to her liminal place in contemporary literary studies, see Machor (201-55); Homestead ("Veil"); Karcher ("History"); Nelson ("Rediscovery").

[142] In *Redwood* (1824), a heroine raised in the north refuses the inheritance from her father's Virginia plantation, only to receive it once her vain but repentant sister "went off to them West Indies, which have proved her death" (288). Placement in the Indies is valuable shorthand for the dangers of life outside privileged domesticity. As Melissa Homestead notes, this "death from the West Indies climate . . . is a punishment for her earlier [slave-holding] transgressions," ("Shape" 192). Tellingly, Sedgwick does not punish northern women who come to support these transgressions indirectly and after-the-fact through their inheritances.

[143] For an account of Sedgwick's role in the 1838 petition, see Homestead (*Property* 64-104).

a conciliatory stance toward southern planters.[144]

Sedgwick's laundering power, or her ability to transform a multiracial, hemispheric, and contested New England and make it appear white, domestic, and untroubled, is perhaps responsible for her virtually anonymity in hemispheric or Caribbeanist studies. In practice, Sedgwick attempts to reconcile white, middle class domestic life with a hemispheric reality too potent to repress yet too threatening to praise. Her insight is thereby limited by that fact that, for her, Caribbean history can only be the inevitable subsidy of New England domesticity. And yet, this literary imagination corresponds to what Anna Brickhouse calls the "triumph of 'domestic' over hemispheric thought" that marks the Jacksonian period. According to Brickhouse, post-revolutionary Haiti and potential South and Latin American collectivities portend "potential *inter*-american system of political relations," or one based on America's place among fellow sovereigns; in practice, however, domestic agents respond with a "*trans*american literary imaginary" that incorporates this geographically and ideologically ambiguous landscape under a domestic rubric (*Transamerican* 6). Or, to invoke Kirsten Silva Gruesz's compatible formulation, the spatial, temporal, and ideological containment of hemispheric entanglements aid the "imperial conflation of America with the United States" (*Ambassadors* 10). As Sedgwick's work helps make clear, this imperial conflation also relies on an imagined control over oceanic space, or the material and narrative containment of extra or transnational maritime movement.

While structured by readings of one domestic author's literary history, the sections that follow are also an attempt to retrace the historical narrative terms that inform maritime abolition

[144] Sedgwick saw slavery firsthand during trips to Washington D.C. (1831) and Virginia (1833), but she still rejected abolitionism. As Sedgwick wrote Child in 1834, "It does not appear to me that immediate abolition is the best for the slaves. God only knows what is best. It is a dark and fearful subject." Sedgwick tells Child that she would provide an entry in Child's abolitionist gift book, "If I may be one of your contributors without being considered an advocate of the principles of the abolitionists (which I cannot honestly be)" (qtd in Wireman 133). Tellingly, Sedgwick began and abandoned her only piece of fiction wholly dedicated to the question of slavery. For an account of that manuscript and its connection to Sedgwick's vexed ties to abolitionism, see Wireman.

and domestic compromise. In my first section, I present Sedgwick's "Dogs" (1828), a children's story, as her most explicit rumination on unmistakable and indefensible racial violence's effect on the prospect of universal sympathy; in it, a New England family's debate on dogs' potential education suddenly leads to a denunciation of French-led bloodhounds in revolutionary Haiti. This disavowal, though clearly anti-French, also allows Sedgwick to remain the arbiter of moral virtue and Haiti's historical meaning. As I then show, the forgotten pirate of *Hope Leslie* reveals how Sedgwick's formation of New England domesticity rests on its protection from a piratical proto-Haitian other. In my next two sections on *Clarence* (1830), I show how Sedgwick models the transformation of early national Caribbean inheritances. Setting the novel in a 1820s New York shaped by the social and political events of the late eighteenth-century Caribbean, Sedgwick skillfully turns Haitian reparations and Jamaican plantation wealth into the source of a model New England that is ostensibly free of either black bondage or black voices. In each case, Sedgwick introduces a (white) Cuban pirate whose villainy derives from his investment in slavery *and* his threat to heroine whose plantation inheritances Sedgwick renders negligible by comparison. Consequently, what one scholar calls Sedgwick's "cosmopolitan embrace of the foreign," I name her laundering of Caribbean inheritances (Homestead "Introduction" 11).

Haitian Inheritances: Or, Bloodhounds and Pirates

Sedgwick appeared to know, as scholars now do, that any accounting of New England domesticity must take stock of Haiti. In *Silencing the Past*, Michel-Rolph Trouillot famously argued that the Haitian Revolution "entered history with the peculiar characteristic of being unthinkable even as it happened" (73). Contemporaries and later historians failed to adequately grasp the revolution's terms, Trouillot states, because a reasoned, strategic, and enslaved-led fight for freedom was incompatible with a "ready-made," western, colonial ontology predicated

on racial hegemony (73). As this section will confirm, Catharine Sedgwick's own "ready-made category," that of northern white, upper class domesticity as a social and moral ideal, makes Haiti the marker of competing futures. Haiti marks the prospect of racial violence (perpetrated by either enslaver or enslaved) as well as the dangers of abolition (enacted either through policy or by force). In response, Sedgwick engages what Marlene Daut calls the "*transatlantic print culture of the Haitian revolution*," or the vast production, reproduction, or reiteration of Haiti-related materials throughout the Americas (3). The pirates and bloodhounds that Sedgwick reproduces, unnoted in Daut's voluminous *Tropics of Haiti* (2015), are a response to *and* a retreat from Haiti's ties to New England domesticity.

"Dogs," a children's tale, epitomizes Sedgwick's vision of white, middle class New England domesticity as necessarily distinct from both racial revolution and plantation violence. In time, she will present both as piratical. At this story's open, however, no unruliness is to be found. William Russel regales his Massachusetts family with an account of a "learned dog, Apollo" who has been taught to spell and count by his New York trainer (30). William's younger siblings mirror the March 1828 story's readers in *The Juvenile Miscellany,* a bimonthly children's magazine founded by the abolitionist Lydia Maria Child. The focus on dogs, the animal embodiment of domestication, leads naturally to questions of proper education and moral sympathy. Quoting British poet William Cowper, a sibling notes that only those "void/of sympathy" lack the capacity to feel for animals (35). Yet, William's mother argues, this fact does not prove that dogs share human capacities. The lack of schools for such "inferior animals" is based on the their inability to follow the dictum, "one race of boys educated, teaches the rest" (34). Dogs do not pass on moral or physical inheritances, and therefore do not merit full inclusion in domestic social life. The introduction of "race" indicates that questions of chattel

slavery's biological or social basis, as well as the enslaved's claim to sympathy, haunts this narration. The mother's intervening history of dog fighting and bull-baiting as proof of a spectacle "only fit for Hottentots" further raises the specter of raced-animals and animalized-races (35). Nonetheless, the children are more interested in the universal sympathy of Cowper's poetry, and he domestic story appears to retain its safe course.

Befitting the impossibility of separating New England and Caribbean space, however, this children's story of a New York dog quickly builds to a limited précis of the Haitian revolution. To celebrate the domesticated Apollo and his ilk is not enough, the mother affirms, since sympathy may be induced for violent ends. Specifically, the bloodhound proves that a slavemaster's feeling may be sympathetically transferred to a dog. As William's mother states,

> But we were speaking of cruelties taught to dogs. Do you know, William, that formerly blood-hounds were trained to pursue malefactors. This might be excused, on the ground that murderers and robbers deserved no mercy; no apology can be made for the French of St. Domingo, one of the West Indian islands. Their slaves rebelled, and, determined to be free, carried on a war against their masters, by which they finally obtained their liberty. During this contest, the French trained blood-hounds to pursue and devour the negroes. I will read you the description of this mode of training the dogs, as given in the Encyclopedia. (36)

Sedgwick embeds the "encyclopedia" in the matron's narrative, thereby making the domestic narration an extension of an official history.[145] She begins by naming who is fit for annihilation: "murderers and robbers," and by extension pirates, deserve "no mercy," revolutionary Haitians are of a distinct class. This account portends an exceedingly radical and potentially even abolitionist stance; Sedgwick draws a distinction between "slaves determined to be free" and colonial French for whom she grants "no apology." The matron's description of "training the hounds to this inhuman pursuit" (36) neatly parallels British Captain Marcus Rainsford's *An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti* (1805). Sedgwick's apparent agreement with

[145] Many thanks to Melissa Homestead, who alerted me to "Dogs" and who briefly discusses the story in her account of Sedgwick's literary development ("Shape" 192). Cindy Weinstein also provided me with important context.

Rainsford's account, which Sara Johnson calls "one of the [period's] only sympathetic analyses," reaffirms the broad spatial and ideological terms of Sedgwick's New England writing ("Eat" 66).[146] Like Rainsford, Sedgwick recounts how confined dogs are "sparingly supplied with the blood of other animals" and, after a process of slow starvation, a "figure of a negro, in wicker-work, stuffed with blood and entrails," is brought near them (36). Paired with the "caresses of their keepers," the dog's consuming violence cements a constructed racial hierarchy. "Thus their hatred to black, and their love to white men, were, at the same time, excited" (36). Clearly, Sedgwick promotes sympathy for the enslaved. Yet the subsequent account of a "miserable negro. . . torn to pieces" and "his wife and children, perhaps, sharing his misfortune" (36) may be rightly called a scene of subjection. Namely, it is spectacle of black suffering that primarily serves its white sympathetic subjects; black subject-as-objects are known only through their bodily violation. There is no domestic future for the runaway family in this scene.

For Sedgwick, it appears that the bloodhound's true threat derives from the prospect of broader domestic violence; the bloodhounds may be contained in Haiti, but the tale also indicates a threat of aftershocks in unforeseen domestic spaces. The "full extent of the calamity" occurs as the unruly dogs "frequently broke loose" to wreak havoc on all nearby domestic subjects. As Sedgwick writes, "infants were devoured" in the public square, and soon a "harmless family of laborers, at their simple meal" may find their "babe [torn] from the breast of its mother" or perhaps all are "devoured" (37). This scene evokes *Blood Hounds Attacking a Black Family in*

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[146] The entry also parallels a section of *The Edinburgh Encyclopaedia.* The American edition of the *Encyclopaedia* was not release until 1832, and the earliest entry on "Dog" I found was in the 1830 edition. Sedgwick may have had access to the European editions beginning in 1808, especially since the language corresponds almost exactly. For example, the encyclopedia reads, "The training the hounds to this inhuman pursuit, we are told that they were confined in a kennel sparred like a cage, and sparingly supplied with the blood of other animals" ("Dog" 31). Sedgwick writes, "In training the hounds in this inhuman pursuit, they are confined in a kennel, sparred like a cage, and sparingly supplied with the blood of other animals" (36). The beginning of Raisford's earlier and more expansive entry reads, "From the time of their being taken from the dam, they were confined in a sort of kennel, or cage, where they were but sparingly fed upon small quantities of the blood of different animals" (426). For biographical accounts of Rainsford's life and work, see Daut (49-61) and Youngquist and Pierrot.

the Woods, an engraving from Rainsford's history that displays this very event.[147] Yet Sedgwick does not state whether the families in question are black or white, as if to reinforce the universality of this threat. The entry concludes with the dog returning to his home, "jaws drenched in gore" (37).[148] Temporarily satiated, the dog has returned to his master. Through Sedgwick, the bloodhound has also entered the children's home and her own domestic fiction.

Tellingly, however, the dogs do not touch American soil. They do not threaten the moral purity of this or any other New England family. Rather than consider the bloodhound an extension of colonial and domestic rule, Sedgwick names them as an exception. The practice of training bloodhounds has since past, or is "formerly." She also falsely dates the dogs' use to *after* the revolution's outset. As a result, the bloodhound is a solitary and ill-advised response to an extraordinary event. Of course, as Sara Johnson has discussed, U.S. slaveholders as well as state agents in the Seminole Wars relied on bloodhounds as part of "networks of inter-American trade and terror" endemic to imperial rule from the nineteenth-century to the present day ("Eat" 67).[149] Sedgwick's distinction proves necessary to render New England virtue utterly distinct from plantation violence. The Massachusetts family, rather than the Haitian, remains the story's moral messenger and recipient. The children may be "loud in their expressions of indignation at these base cruelties," but they succeed in "turning from them to the more agreeable subject of Apollo" (38). The rest of the tale centers on dogs who protect destitute families and disabled young women. No mention is made of cruelties to dogs, Haitians, or any other racialized figures. Caribbean unruliness, though not wholly accounted for, has been narratively foreclosed.

[147] For an analysis of the engraving, see Johnson (*Fear* 23-25).
[148] As Johnson notes, "Ironically, despite their training to the contrary, the dogs sometimes proved 'ignorant of color prejudice'" (*Fear* 37).
[149] As Sara Johnson notes, "These dogs were raised in Cuba by professional trainers, the chasseurs, and they acquired a reputation for cruelty and efficacy that sent neighboring colonists and their imperial representatives on expeditions to the island to procure their services" (*Fear* 22)

A brief turn to *Hope Leslie*, Sedgwick's celebrated 1827 novel published the year prior to "Dogs," demonstrates the pirate's developing role in securing white, middle class domesticity. Sedgwick presents the pirate as the embodiment of economic and racial threats to New England domesticity, thereby providing narrative closure in her most popular novel-length work, The novel is not recognized as a pirate or Caribbean novel: scholars most often discuss Sedgwick's strategic rewriting of Puritan history, her affirmation of women's political power, and her ambivalent representation of Native American figures.[150] Indeed, the historical novel is set in the aftermath of the seventeenth-century Pequot War and concerns the romantic and political futures of Puritan communities. Yet Caribbean inheritances, like the Puritan ones, undeniably shaped New England's economic and social character.

In keeping with these terms, a piratical source with ties to Haiti threatens the New England society that models Sedgwick's vision of white, middle class domesticity. *Hope Leslie* culminates with the rakish Sir Philip's attempt to kidnap the titular heroine. He solicits Chaddock, a man who "had once been in confederacy with the bucaniers of Tortuga- the self-styled 'brotherhood of the coast'" (334). Since the orphaned heroine's "personal connexions were on the royal side- her fortune was still in their hands," only the piratical Chaddock may transfer this inheritance to the Americas. Hope, referred to as "the prize," shall become captured cargo whose fortune supplies a pirate haven (335). Sir Phillip, though not identified as a pirate, promises that all who join him will "with the remnant of their fortunes, embark with him, and enrol themselves among the adventurers of Tortuga" (335). [151] Competing French, British, and

[150] Scholars of *Hope Leslie* most often discuss Sedgwick's strategic rewriting of Puritan history, her affirmation of women's political power, and her ambivalent representation of Native American figures. The scholarship on *Hope Leslie* is vast, but for the most cited voices, see Fetterly ('My Sister'), Gould (*Covenant* 61-90), and Nelson ("Sympathy"). Melissa Homestead mentions that Philip "has a history of West Indian piracy" in her account of Sedgwick's literary development, but does not elaborate ("Shape" 192).
[151] The narrator states that "external habits of a gentleman" or " some little remnant of human kindness" prevent Phillip from taking part (335). Philip, though villainous, is not wholly piratical.

Spanish sovereigns tenuously held Tortuga during the story's historical period, but the island is part of Haiti during Sedgwick's contemporary moment. An unspoken evil thereby adds drama to the novel's domestic plot: Hope's stolen domesticity, and its procreative potential, could beget West Indian buccaneers and their mixed race heirs. Whether Hope will remain his "wife" during the enterprise remains unstated, but one is left to imagine the new "domestic" lineages that would result. Of course, Sedgwick rejects this piratical lineage. Hope marries the white-male hero and their New England ancestors populate Sedgwick's contemporary moment. Nonetheless, an attempt to define and defend New England domesticity will lead Sedgwick back to the pirate.

Clarence: Or, a Tale of Plantation Inheritances

In *Hope Leslie* (1827), Sedgwick invokes the pirate to contrast New England domesticity with an unconscionable Caribbean lineage; in *Clarence* (1830), she summons the pirate to combine New England domesticity with its inevitable Caribbean inheritance. Tellingly, however, the text's overall structure is that of a landed novel of manners. *Clarence* centers on the intersecting social lives of the Clarence, Roscoe, and Layton families living in mid 1820s New York. Fitting the genre, these families' shifting fortunes may be plotted on an axis of economic security and moral rectitude: in the novel's' first section, unassuming heroine Gertrude Clarence receives a surprise West Indian inheritance and avoids the dissipation that surrounds her. Her fortune and morals both rise. The heroic Gerald Roscoe remains morally secure but financially precarious following his deceased father's newly discovered debts. His fortunes fall, yet his morals remain. Furtive Mr. Layton, and by extension his daughter and Gertrude's best friend Emilie, stands wholly unsecure due to his gambling debts. His fortunes and morals fall. The novel's primary agitating force is Henrique Pedrillo, a "Spanish" pirate who proves to be the white son of a New York scion. Pedrillo attempts to seduce a French-Haitian planter's daughter,

but Roscoe rebuffs him; the pirate then tries to ensnare Emilie Layton, but Gertrude uses her fortune to delay him. Finally, Gertrude and Roscoe join forces to banish the pirate. Gertrude's inheritance, once joined to her newly betrothed's American estate and shared with her newly affianced best friend, places all families in the proper moral and economic plane. At the novel's close, each family's morals and fortunes are made secure by marriages of love and advantage.

The novel's full title, *Clarence: or, A Tale of Our Own Times*, indicates that the titular family's lineage is a model for contemporary life; indeed, as Susan K. Harris affirms, "Sedgwick uses family and social relationships [in her fiction] as models for political relationships" (274). The political relationship Sedgwick models is deeply vexed: by championing a northern heroine indebted to the Jamaican plantation, Sedgwick explodes ideas of northern moral or economic purity in the face of chattel slavery only to reconstruct that purity and reify the white hegemony it assumes. In the act of protecting herself and her friends from Pedrillo, Gertrude comes to be judged against the prospect of a piratical future as opposed to the reality of a plantation past. So while Gertrude may embody "disinterested action" as both an economic and ideological counter to modern urban greed, as Patricia Kalayjian affirms, one must interrogate the *principle* for this action (104).[152] By "principle" I refer to both the monetary basis for Sedgwick's social model as well as ideology on which it relies. Both principles, as I will show, rely on the simultaneous declaration and elision of nonwhite, enslaved, or Caribbean subjects' lives and labors.[153]

[152]According to Kalayjian, the novel is a "critique of contemporary urban America" in which "material goods and profitmaking" have replaced "religious and social responsibilities" (104). Kalayjian skillfully plots Gertrude's power in countering this greed, but does not consider the Caribbean. In a similar mode, Nina Baym asserts that Gertrude is "a strong heroine who has much to teach her readers but nothing to learn herself" (*Fiction* 61). A secondary lesson is that the irreproachable Gertrude is untroubled by her Caribbean inheritance.

[153] This work has begun in other contexts. For example, according to Sondra Smith Gates, the fate of lower class Anglo and Irish Americans' in Sedgwick's three didactic novels, "reveal how poverty had become inextricably intertwined with ideas of race" (174) and leads her to "obliquely [address] the specter of racial division that haunted white Americans' construction of national identity" (181). This specter of slavery and the national identity it haunts, I will show, is necessarily hemispheric. For additional studies of Sedgwick's treatment of race and economy, though not the Caribbean economy, see Avallone ("Art"); Harris ("Limits"); Robbins ("Managing" 74-115).

In the novel's opening scene, Sedgwick presents a New England that is necessarily hemispheric yet suspiciously free of Caribbean goods or black bodies. "Soft breezes from the Indian's paradise, the sweet Southwest" descend on 1820s Broadway, or the "thronged thoroughfare through which the full tide of human existence pours." New York is both port and deluge of "full tides" that "pours" into an arterial vein (51). Broadway, "as bustling, as varied, and as brilliant, as an oriental fair" (52), serves as locus for east and west, north and south.[154] The fair's inhabitants include its European markers, including: "graceful belles, arrayed in the light costume of Paris"; "a bare-headed Greek boy"; "a family groupe of Alsace peasants,"; and "the company of Irish Orangemen" (52). "Blanketed Indian chiefs from the Winnebagoes, Choktaw's and Cherokees" evince a spectacle of indigineity even as they recall the sovereignty being pressed for by native delegates. These sovereign figures' sole feature is their "walking straight forward, as if they were following an enemy's train in their own forests," thereby highlighting a vague threat of violence. The scene's "jocund sailors from the 'farthest Ind'" serve to connect its commodities to the transoceanic labor that delivers them. To the careful eye, however, markers of the hemispheric south are conspicuously absent. Southern cotton, Caribbean sugar, free people, and the enslaved surely inhabited an early 1820s New York that had yet to fully abolish slavery.[155] Such figures are present on the scene, but they are abstracted and begin in hiding. Among this throng, "one lonely being was threading his way" (52). Frank Clarence, Gertrude's brother, had befriended this destitute man: "He has told me of some ship-wrecks," Frank tells his family, "and of the Obi men in the West Indies" (67). Obi men, or practitioners of African

[154] The China and India trades have a marginal presence in the novel. They are invoked according to orientalizing language that aligns easternness with cupidity and excess. A turncoat-friend of the story's hero, Morley was "as obsequious to them as an oriental slave to his master," but abandoned his friend after that friend's economic downfall. Morley's action was fitting, the narrator claims, since the man "resembled the feline race in their antipathy to storms, as well as in some other respects" (126).

[155] The New York state legislature passed a gradual abolition law in 1799, but left a system of "apprenticeship" that bound children born of enslaved mothers. Its 1827 abolition law nonetheless protected the slaveholders who traveled in the region, as did the subsequent fugitive slave law. For extensive histories, see Foote; Berlin.

spiritual practices in Caribbean slave-holding regions, are not discussed further. Likewise, the pairing of “Obi men” with “some ship-wrecks” marks both as the source of violent haunting. On his deathbed, the old man reveals his secret truth: he is Edmund Clarence, Frank’s grandfather.

In novel’s prehistory, Sedgwick frames Edmund Clarence’s plantation past as the product of Britain’s imperfect domestic structure and France’s economic excess. Young Edmund Clarence, the second son of a British gentleman, expected to see his “calculating sensualist” older brother, Francis (which sounds like “France is”), inherit the family estate. Therefore, Edmund accepted an offer of “favor and patronage” to operate a “lucrative business in the West Indies” (83). The racial bondage and broken domesticity of the plantation that paved this “road to certain wealth” is only tacitly acknowledged. Instead, Sedgwick codes the enterprise’s potential iniquity via white discord. Edmund left his wife and son in his brother’s protection. His family could not be “exposed to a tropical climate” (83); this “climate” could also suggest the black revolutionary uprisings marked by Tacky’s Rebellion in 1760.[156] Yet, the instability Edmund highlights is decidedly domestic. When residing in Jamaica, Edmund discovered his wife and brother had been “living in luxury” in France. Arriving in their lover’s den, Edmund states he “aimed a loaded pistol at my wife” (83) and “left [my brother] dying” during an ensuing fight (84). Edmund then took his son, Frank’s father, and returned to Jamaica. After the boy proved unfit for the climate, Edmund entrusted his son to a clerk. While the man secretly took the boy to America, Edmund thought his son dead after the Britain-bound boat was lost in a hurricane.

Edmund’s perverse response to domestic disruption is to expand his plantation: he “returned with a desperate vigor to my business” after his wife’s infidelity and maintained a singular “passion for an acquisition of property” after his son’s death (84). The “desperate vigor”

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[156] Tacky’s Rebellion in Jamaica began in April 1760 and lasted as late as October 1761. Tacky, enslaved from West Africa’s gold coast, led 150 slaves in the capture of arms. Thousands continued the rebellion after Tacky was taken. For histories of rebellion in the British Indies, see Burnard (137-174); Craton.

and “passion” for acquiring “property” was, of course, the desire for more human property. A single broken white family leads to the destruction of many more black ones. If Edmund states he “seemed endued with a magic that turned all I touched to gold,” he does not consider the lash and chains that turns a person into a commodity (84). While Edmund’s story if part of a broad critique on materialism— Midas is a cautionary tale after all—Sedgwick continually distances this moral from the slave-economy on which the Clarence inheritance is based.

To frame *Clarence* as a tale of domestic economy alone thereby ignores Sedgwick’s tacit reliance on racial bondage and laundered inheritances. The tragic resolution of West Indian creole domesticity presages the formation of white, upper class domesticity in America. As if to model a doomed inter-American imaginary, Sedgwick introduces a new potential inheritance based in the West Indies and multiracial in character. Though predicated on race and class privileges within creole society, the narrative affirms a racial hierarchy dominated by European whiteness. Edmund notes that some time after the loss of his family,

> I formed one of those liaisons common in those islands, where a man is as careless of the moral as the physical rights of his fellow-creatures. ‘Eli Clarion was the daughter of a French merchant; she had been educated in France, and added to rare beauty and the fascinations of a versatile character, the refinements of polished life. Though tinged with African blood, I would have married her, but I was still then bound by legal ties. (85)

The allusion to “liaisons common in those islands” and a man’s denial of “moral as the physical rights of his fellow-creatures” immediately invokes the rape of enslaved women. If Edmund also raped enslaved women, he does not say. Instead, Edmund frames his “liaison” as consensual, if not moral. ‘Eli’s description, though sparse, is that of a tragic heroine. Her French education, “rare beauty,” and “versatile character” mark her noble qualities, but her race reintroduces the specter of bondage. Clarence’s note that he “would have married her” despite her “tinge” of “African blood” invokes language of raced blood as a social and legal determinant. Of course,

the excuse of "legal ties" is weakened by Edmund's attempted murder of his wife and his lack of contact with her. Nonetheless, Edmund rejects the possibility of a West Indian marriage.

Even as Sedgwick highlights gendered violence stemming from Edmund's "liaison," she places the narrative's West Indian women under the white patriarch's narrative power. Edmund subtly shifts his responsibility by claiming to be the victim of Eli's rapacious mother and a doomed romance. The history of Eli's West Indian mother, who Edmund does not refer to as the "wife" of the French merchant, remains unstated. Instead, she is bound by raced and gender tropes; she is a woman "whose ruling passion was a love of expense," for which she "connived at our intimacy" (85). Edmund furthers the distinction between his supposed feeling and others' greed by describing how Eli's French father "contracted there an advantageous matrimonial alliance." In the vessel to France, Edmund's partner "had refused all sustenance and thrown herself into the sea" (85). Edmund infers that her suicide was the result of her separation from him. Of course, the entire account of Jamaica is filtered through Edmund and leaves no room for its racialized figures' internal lives. Perhaps Eli decided she would rather drown than be separated from her son, of whom Edmund was the father. At any rate, her voice is utterly subsumed. The conceit leads to the annihilation of another potential lineage.

While the story of an abandoned multiracial son grounds this history, Sedgwick privileges the perspective of the white-planter father. The elder Clarence continues his long retrospective narration to Frank. According to Edmund, "'Eli left a son; I resolved never to again to see him—never again to bind myself with cords which I had a too just presentment would be torn away, to leave bleeding, festering wounds" (85). Edmund's calculated removal begins with a failure to explicitly claim Marcelline, instead introducing "a son" that "Eli left." In a direct reversal of sympathy's standard affirmation of domesticity, Edmund uses the power of

attachment to deny parentage. Edmund frames his abandonment as a self-defensive response to an inevitable domestic break. Denying his son will prevent this planter's unavoidable pain. Of course, Edmund never extends self-interest to his son; instead, the effects of "bind[ing] myself" apply only to this planter's feelings. Yet, his language of "cords" that "bind" and leave "bleeding, festering wounds" better names his plantation's ongoing yet unnamed violence.

Edmund's minimizes his stake in this violence by affirming his economic morality; he "supplied the child's pecuniary wants" from the spoils of this planation, but Marcelline's grandmother "contrived afterwards to introduce him, without exciting my suspicion, among the slaves of my family" (85). Though Edmund recounts this enslavement as proof of the grandmother's supposed rapaciousness, this stock characterization belies an alternative justification for this action. Namely, one could imagine the grandmother's precarious social and economic status given the death of her daughter and her French husband's absence. To view the child as a source of economic stability via a paternal tie is a justifiable ideology. Of course, this perspective is unaddressed, nor are a number of unsettling premises. First, Edmund could not recognize his own son, thereby reaffirming the shallowness of his fellow feeling. Second, the son could be re-enslaved without issue, mirroring the ongoing threat towards all "tinged with African blood." Lastly, in a strange rearticulation of slaveholding apologetics, Sedgwick presents the labor of a "house slave" as a source of familial affection. This "creature of rare talent," Edmund relates, "soon insinuated himself into my affections" and would "sit on a cushion at my feet after dinner, and sing me to sleep" (85). If Marcelline, who knows the truth, believes his affection to be an appropriate form of familial feeling, Edmund's frames it as the dog-like affection in which a servile "creature" manipulates his master's emotional weakness. Edmund's privileged narration

obscures the deeply unsettling and grotesque scene of domesticity and bondage. Sedgwick's narrator refrains from intruding in this narration, but allows Edmund's voice to dominate.

The basis of his prior "too just presentment" for rejecting Marcelline, Edmund hints, is the combined violence of imperial agents and the greed of West Indians. Edmund learns the truth about Marcelline only after his son takes a blow from a knife wielded by a dastardly Spaniard and aimed for Edmund. After declaring fealty to his father in a near-death moment, Marcelline "recovered the rights of nature," or was freed from slavery and given his birthright. Edmund states his son's name only after this point in the narrative, as if to formally mirror this new human status (85). Yet, theirs was never a true domestic attachment. Edmund merely exposes the mirrored relation between so-called benevolent slavery and its counterpart in white domestic fantasy. He maintains the terms of an untrusting master and a child-like slave, though he does not name Marcelline's race as the reason for the planter's "jealous and distrustful" disposition owards his son(85). Instead, Edmund "cursed the wealth, that made me uncertain of the truth of my boy's affection" (85). This point of view is curious since Marcelline should have the rights of the oldest living heir (excepting the son thought lost). As Edmund relates, however, Marcelline does not appear fit for such a role. He proved "guileless, unsuspicious, and the easy victim of bolder minds," particularly that of Edmund's nephew Winstead Clarence (86).

The mixed race son eventually removes himself and his inheritance from the world of the novel, thereby foreclosing a West-Indian domesticity and absolving the father from blame. Winstead leads Marcelline toward gambling and vice. Since nineteenth-century gambling plots "provide[d] fertile ground for speculation on the delicate combinations of the commercial and sentimental," Sedgwick mobilizes a recognizable trope; yet, if Ann Fabian argues, these plots allowed authors to distinguish between proper middle class economic gain and overflowing or

“unseemly” economic lust, Sedgwick’s distinction relies on codes of racial difference (144-45). After Edmund spurns his son due to gambling losses and Winstead “aggravate[s] his resentment and despair,” Marceline commits suicide. He lives long enough to forgive and be forgiven by his father, while Winstead escapes unharmed (86). This resolution affirms speculation's role in Sedgwick's and other sentimental texts as “an unsurpassed form of selfishness that puts one's family's treasured possessions at risk and endangers the security of sustained proprietorship” (Merish 131). In Marcelline’s case, gambling obliquely proves his sympathetic lack and his justified removal from a familial inheritance. Gambling serves as the paradigmatic form of greed, thereby obscuring how Marceline’s precarious economic and social position is a function of racial hierarchies. In the heroine’s later triumph over gambling vice, to be discussed shortly, Sedgwick completes the moral and economic transfer of Marceline’s lost inheritance.

In addition to extracting the plantation spoils that will subsidize an American domesticity, Edmund Clarence assumes the morality of such laundering. He validates both actions by appealing to the broken attachments that shaped his time in the Indies. He places the sins of the plantation system and its profiteers, himself primary among them, onto the islands themselves. After Marcelline’s death, Edmund “adjusted his affairs,” or sold his plantation, and left the West Indies. Despite the vast wealth he accumulated, Edmund leaves the islands, “execrating them as the peculiar temple of that sordid divinity, on whose altar, from their discovery to the present day, whatever is most precious, youth health and virtue, have been sacrificed” (86). The “previous, youth health and virtue” in question is not those of its enslaved inhabitants, but of those familial attachments deemed fit for Edmund’s sympathy. The West Indies are a devilish “temple of that sordid divinity” whose legacy exists “from their discovery to the present day.” The supposed “discovery” of a forsaken place, rather than the systematic

breakdown of existing sovereign communities subjected to racial bondage, aligns with a colonial and imperial logic. Instead, Sedgwick stages the West Indies as the locus of lamentable but justified death that helps secure a northern heroine's plantation inheritance.

These deaths spur the extraction of wealth that had been gained from plantations and, so doing, provide the conditions for that wealth to become morally and racially pure. As soon and Edmund reaches New York, his slaveholding past does not morally implicate him. Instead, his rightful property is a thing to be protected against profligacy and fortune hunters. Edmund's prehistory ends with Edmund taking on the appearance of poverty in which Frank Jr. sees him. After Edmund discovers that the family that aids him is his own, he bequeaths them his fortune. Edmund soon dies and, after a trial against their uncle Winstead Clarence and his inscrutable West Indian lawyer, a man not unlike those Senator William Smith warns about, the family is granted its rightful inheritance.

Sedgwick presents the plantation of her novel's prehistory, and by extension plantations of the early national period, as the alternately tragic yet necessary sites of her forward-looking domestic model. Powerful appraisal certainly exists in the gaps of Clarence's narrative, in the bound voices he systematically ignores. But if Sedgwick's hemispheric plotting differentiates her from early national subjects who disavowed Caribbean connections, as Melissa Homestead argues, this distinction has less to do with her work's "more progressive possibilities" than her historical position.[157] Through this plot, Sedgwick argues that the transfer of colonial or early-national investments in the Caribbean into a Jacksonian-era future does not necessitate the denial

[157]"[Sedgwick] could have damned the West Indies and claimed the excellence and purity of the American republic in contrast," Homestead claims, "but her novels plotting foregrounds rather than represses inter-American cosmopolitanism" ("Introduction" 28). Homestead cites Sean Goudie's *Creole Americas* as the basis for her comparison. In it, Goudie asserts that varied U.S. early national figures feared the "unpredictable, and potentially disastrous, effects on the 'Anglo-American' national character" that resulted from "relations between the slave colonies of the West Indies and the democratic states of the New Republic" (6). Yet, Goudie's frame applies to a period prior to the War of 1812, a war fought precisely over American rights to Caribbean space; Sedgwick, writing in the Jacksonian era, is faced with an undeniable investment.

of northern domestic agents' economic rights to their inheritance or the acceptance of ongoing southern maritime trade. This prehistory may introduce the family's proverbial "dirty laundry," its plantation inheritance, but the rest of the narrative focuses on that inheritance's protection. The windfall may reveal the family's minor lapses in moral character, which Sedgwick punishes them for, but she divests any account of wealth's destructive power from the particular violence derived from Gertrude's newfound wealth.[158] Gertrude, the family's only remaining child and the heir to her grandfather's fortune, ostensibly enters New York's upper class morally unstained.

Once the story is firmly set in the Jacksonian era, Sedgwick models the mechanisms through which plantation inheritances are to be made morally compatible with white, middle class domesticity: specifically, she highlights New England heirs' distinction from new piratical threats rather than name these heirs' ties to past or present racial violence. Sedgwick first applies this model to French colonial history, thereby neutralizing Haiti's ongoing threat to her domestic vision. As Anna Brickhouse argues, ongoing Haitian sovereignty was an existential problem for white Jacksonian writers since it "suggested that contemporary racial ideologies would inevitably be understood and addressed in international rather than purely domestic contexts" (5). The scene Sedgwick presents serves as repudiation to this suggestion. Shortly after Gertrude enters New York's upper circle, her would-be lover Gerald Roscoe describes the Abeilles, a family of immigrants from Haiti; and while this family who may be classed among those who used bloodhounds against the enslaved, Sedgwick names the pirate as the true threat to a natural post-revolutionary domestic order.

As in "Dogs," a domestic New England scene quickly leads to a précis of the Haitian Revolution; in this case, Haitian sovereignty aligns with the accepted transferal of plantation

[158] Shortly after the windfall, Gertrude's brother Frank dies on the day the inheritance is secured from a wound left untreated by his distracted father. The newly vainglorious Mrs. Clarence dies soon after. Gertrude is not orphaned but is largely unprotected by her distant and grieving father, who soon moves to Europe.

wealth and Haitians' voluntary acceptance of neocolonial rule. "Abeille was a seigneur of St. Domingo," Roscoe writes, "and possessed one of the richest estates on the Hesperian island" (171). Roscoe makes no mention of the colonial violence meted out by this high-ranking "seigneur," however, but instead highlights the planter's virtuous attempts to maintain his diminished inheritance. Roscoe notes an absence of an "ungracious state" relative to the man's present "abject" condition; the planter's "abjection" results from his lost plantation. As Roscoe writes, "Abeille revels now in the retrospective glories of his seigniory, from which the poor fellow was happy to escape, during the troubles, with his life, his family, and a few jewels" (171). A revolution of black sovereignty has become "the troubles" in which pre-revolutionary life is one of "retrospective glories." That glory, and the bondage on which it relied, becomes the material basis for an idyllic domestic space with enough wealth to be virtuous. Abeille's jewels, or a particularly liquid form of plantation-gained wealth, "purchased this little property, and a scene of perfect French happiness" (171-72). Sedgwick extracts American property and French happiness from Haitian revolutionary sovereignty, thereby removing the political and social challenges to privileged domesticity introduced by Haiti.

As if to both name and obscure the presence of unruly racial others, Roscoe notes that, "Abeille's little parterre gives him far more pleasure, he confesses, than he ever received from his West Indian plantation. This parterre is the triumph of taste over expense" (172). Tellingly, Abeille must confess his deviation from an accepted premise: to be a West Indian plantation owner was a source of great "pleasure." The pleasures he "received" from such land were not only linked to his economic status, but also resulted from the racial and sexual violence embedded in the plantation economy. Abeille does not deny the "pleasure" of a West Indian plantation, but instead names the primacy of an independently worked plot. Again, Sedgwick

introduces a clear line of critique of plantation spoils based on enslaved laborers. The frame of "triumph of taste over expense," however abstracts the moral bankruptcy of gratuitous wealth made possible by racial bondage. The plantation is less pleasurable because it was just another kind of tasteless consumption whose "expenses" Sedgwick does not fully measure. Instead, plantation spoils subsidize the "French happiness" Roscoe lauds as "taste."

Most notably, Sedgwick presents the extortionate indemnity that Abeille and other French agents tore from the Haitian government as a marker of cosmopolitanism. Threatened by French warships prepared to blockade or bombard the island, Haitian President Jean Pierre Boyer agreed to pay France 150 million francs as compensation for the loss of land and property that resulted from the successful revolution. The reparation would also lead France to nominally recognize Haitian political and economic sovereignty. By comparison, the total cost of the 1803 Louisiana Purchase was 68 million francs.[159] Within this history, Sedgwick's French-American Abeille unapologetically affirms, "My claim on my country is partly allowed, and I have received fifty thousand dollars" (179). The "claim" on France, or the recognition of national attachment, is made possibly the rejection of Haiti's political and economic independence.

The fate of Abeille's two daughters furthers a laundering process to be perfected in the narrative's dominant plot: in both cases, a privileged domesticity subsidized by West Indian plantation wealth is made clean by the marriage of white subjects. The inheritance Abeille is to give his daughters will render this money American. Sedgwick names the virtue of Felicite, the eldest, by naming her marriage to a noble but poor "Yankee"; as in the case of Gertrude and Roscoe's eventual marriage, this couple's American domesticity is subsidized by the formerly enslaved. Roscoe notes, "last week, like the gifts of a fairy tale, came a rich legacy to Felicite

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[159] France reduced the indemnity to ninety million francs in 1838. Nonetheless, Haiti did not complete all payments, including loans, until 1947.

from Port-Au-Prince, the bequest of a ci-devant slave" (173). The unnamed Haitian status's as "ci-devant" creates a curious tension: literally, they are a slave "from before." At the same time, "ci-devant" disparagingly refers to those French nobles who refused to disavow their prior titles or accept a new revolutionary order (Lukowski 186).[160] In a perverse similarity, the formerly enslaved Haitian adheres to a prior status: they refuse to rebuild the Haitian economy forged in revolution and ravaged by ongoing imperial conflict. In turn, Sedgwick presents the "rich legacy" of hard-won independence as a fairy tale, and a rather grotesque one. Like Jamaica, Port-Au-Prince serves as a space from which to extract West Indian wealth and domesticate it: due to this money, the French-American family may be "prettily grouped at their chamber window, Felicite leaning on her husband's shoulder, and playing bopeep with her child" (173). These planters merit a familial inheritance due to their prior care, and are thereby exonerated from moral judgment. This domestic scene denies both Haitian sovereignty and its threat to racial hegemony. An "American" family has been born out of plantation slavery.

The incursion of the West Indian agent, Pedrillo, raises the specter of racialized unruliness that is to be overcome by white, upper class domesticity. Abeille's younger daughter, tempted by Pedrillo, models the process through which West Indian weakness threatens New England domesticity but is bound to be overcome by it. Angelique, age seventeen, is defined by "restless vanity and expense that seemed the outbreaking of her West-India nature" (173). As was the case with Marcelline's grandmother, Sedgwick diverts the particular violence of plantation structures onto the West Indies as a whole. Vanity is distinctly West Indian. Roscoe saves Angelique from eloping with Pedrillo and in the process redeems her to proper domesticity. The scene is a play of foiled sexual congress: Angelique slowly withdraws the bolts and opens her door to Pedrillo, who "sprang forward to receive his prize." At this moment,

[160] For a study of French nobility's crumbling social and legal status, see Lukowski (181-191)

Roscoe hurls the man back and grabs Angelique. He recalls her to proper filial piety and sympathy, successfully touching that "unbroken chord in every human heart, that vibrates to the voice of truth" (177). Angelique returns to her father. The pirate of sympathy has been rebuffed.

Roscoe's decision to protect but refuse a French and Haitian inheritance affirms his sympathetic capacity. It also primes his later acceptance of an inheritance built on similar violence. In thanks for Roscoe's chivalrous service, Abeille offers him ten thousand dollars, or one-fifth of the reparations he took from the Haitian state. Roscoe's gently rejects this plantation fortune, telling Abeille that his mother would not allow him to marry a Frenchwoman. In truth, Roscoe is determined to marry for love. Of course, according to the ideology of privileged domesticity, Roscoe's economic disinterestedness necessarily leads to economic benefit; he will come to love Gertrude without knowing of her fortune. As before, the pirate makes this paradigmatic marriage possible.

The White (?) Pirate of Sympathy

At the novel's halfway point, Sedgwick more directly positions *Clarence* in the pirate-fiction genre and affirms her literary and ideological investment in refusing pirates all sympathy. The scene is decidedly minor. The narrator briefly introduces the literary tastes of "a knot of ladies, bold aspirants to the reputation of fine women." The ladies discuss Byron's *The Corsair* (1814), as well as "the last novel." One responds, "Oh, I doat on it- was there ever such a sweet creature as Conrad?" The Byronic hero and the corsair class have seduced the "sapient young lady," a gently mocking appellation. Another woman affirms the belief, stating "I never read American novels, there's no high life in them" (334). What constitutes "high life" is unaddressed, but it may include the adventure of a pirate tale. Clearly, these women's placement in an American novel provides Sedgwick's response to such opinions. *Clarence* includes both

"high life" and high morals. The pirate is key to her text's value as entertainment and guide, but he is not the tragic or romantic hero. Instead, he is the marker of ongoing unruliness and of threats to privileged domesticity. By protecting herself and her loved ones from the pirate, Gertrude becomes the model of a "disinterested" sympathy that is subsidized by plantation cultures Sedgwick names but dares not probe.

The novel's primary economic and social threat proves an aberrant and unprincipled deviation from within a white, upper class domesticity. In the process, Sedgwick obscures both racial unruliness and revolutionary black figures. Pedrillo "does not look at all Spanish" and "probably descended from on the Irish Catholic families that emigrated to Spain" (214). To immediately disavow Pedrillo Spanish-ness, and by extension disallow the trope of racial passing, removes a powerful narrative possibility. As works such as "The Florida Pirate" (1821) had shown, the tragic black pirate reveals the pervading contradiction of American domestic policy on slavery.[161] Likewise, as I will discuss in the next chapter, the justified black pirate may serve as an alternative to state-backed order. Pedrillo's unruliness, though real, is nonetheless separated from a challenge to whiteness. Sedgwick does not reveal why this "Spaniard," whose real name is Isaac Flint, came to willingly degrade his rank and station as the white son of a wealthy New Yorker. Instead, it is called "one of those aberrations in the moral history of a man, that we can no more account for, than for such physical monsters as the two-headed girl of Paris, or the Siamese boys" (371). The pirate of sympathy has an "aberrant" and unknowable motivation since deviations from proper domesticity are self-evidently foreign and uncanny. His "moral history" is as foreign to the domestic body politic as the bodily development so-called "physical monsters" are to normative bodies. Neither piratical nor embodied unruliness, which

[161] For a reading of the "The Florida Pirate" according to these terms, see Woertendyke (47-74).

are both coded as foreign and racial, are traceable to the proper bodies from which they divert. The pirate and the freak are not to be analyzed. To do so could challenge their "monstrosity" as well as the social codes that construct it. Even so, Pedrillo's limited history marks a telling ambivalence regarding the stability of white and upper class social structures.

At the same time, however, Pedrillo is truly a hemispheric southern threat. His multilingualism— he "spoke English, French, and Spanish equally well"— defines his social fluidity. He spoke each language "so well as to leave his hearer in doubt which was his vernacular," thereby indicating a national if not racial ambiguity and the power to pass through distinct linguistic and cultural waters (181). Likewise, the ongoing letters between Pedrillo and "a friend in the West Indies" (246) mark the potential spread of unruly economic and racial agents northward. The narrator's categorization of Pedrillo's "fair mercantile house in Cuba" as one of "honorable commercial relations" grounds Sedgwick's critique of slave economies in the north and global south (372). For New York "first merchants" in a speculative transoceanic economy, Pedrillo's status as "the principal in a rich house in the Havana" provides legal and moral cover (181). Mr. Layton, the father of Gertrude's best friend, proves that northern agents still take part in this economy. As Pedrillo notes, "Layton is a name well known in the West Indies- a proud *unsullied* name" (374). While Pedrillo refers to Layton's West Indian standing as a way of threatening blackmail, it also recalls one to an uncomfortable fact: the Cuba-based pirate's plantation-based spoils have the same source as Gertrude's inheritance. Rather than reinforce this connection, however, Sedgwick begins to distinguish between northern inheritances based on Caribbean bondage and southern futures that promote Caribbean bondage.

Sedgwick reintroduces gambling to simultaneously highlight and displace the speculative plantation economy within privileged domesticity. The conceit reinforces privileged

domesticity's racial hierarchies even as it facilitates the shift away from a discussion of black bondage. If gambling had previously affirmed West Indian depravity, it now serves as shorthand for *white* enslavement produced by greed. Protecting the white domestic heroine, rather than the enslaved African, becomes the rationale for removing the pirate. Mr. Layton promises his daughter, Gertrude's best friend, in marriage to Pedrillo as repayment of a gambling debt. Lori Merish claims that the sentimental genre's most regrettable outcome of speculation is a "furniture sale, in which beloved objects are exposed before the unfeeling gaze of strangers, and sentimental value is reduced to cash value" (131); as Layton's pact shows, however, this transfer of property becomes much more terrifying when applied to a vulnerable white woman. To reaffirm this fact, Sedgwick frames the debt's power and its result as a kind of slavery. Mr. Layton cowers from Pedrillo "as a newly captured slave would dart from the presence of his master" (184). The compromised gambler, though acting voluntarily, may be compared to one forcibly captured; this similarity, though highlighting the terror of enslavement, also relies on Sedgwick's abstraction of black subjects whose names or pain do not merit concern.

Sedgwick doubles down on this frame by presenting Emilie Layton's forced marriage as a kind of slavery. When Emilie put on the "splendid bracelets" Pedrillo gave her, she was reminded "of the natives of Cuba, you know, who thought, poor simpletons, that the Spaniards were only decorating them with beautiful ornaments, when they were fastening manacles on their wrists" (214). In this scene, Sedgwick both names imperial violence and reinscribes the infantilizing terms on which it relied. Emilie frames protracted struggles for sovereignty as the seduction and forced marriage of "poor simpletons" and the Spanish empire. Of course, the analogy is not about indigenous sovereignty. Instead, it provides a language for a woman newly aware of patriarchal bondage. The comparison to slavery goes beyond symbolism, however,

since the heroines deem a white woman's forced marriage to be a fate worse than actual enslavement. Gertrude's subsequent letter to her father claims that "an unwilling marriage is the worst slavery" (362) and Emilie asserts she would rather have "sold myself to slavery" than marry Pedrillo (308). Of course, Emilie's costly dresses may be called the "insignia of her slavery," but only if one trivializes the bondage that made such commodities possible (367).

Moreover, gambling's reintroduction silently proves Gertrude's moral superiority over her spectral West Indian uncle and the pirate of sympathy who acts as her foil. Both connections support Sedgwick's laundering of plantation inheritances: they allow her to abstract the raced bodies that produced this money and to absolve the American figures that receive it. As I have shown, Marceline's gambling and subsequent suicide allowed for the lamentable but justifiable removal of a mixed-race heir. Marceline's child-like failures at self-control not only exonerate Edmund Clarence from wrongdoing, Sedgwick implies, but also shift blame from the plantation system as a whole. Greed, rather than racial hegemony, causes familial separation. In a darkly ironic twist, the spoils of racial hegemony will prevent another separation. Gertrude offers to repay Mr. Layton's sixty thousand dollar debt. She deems such a sum, equivalent to nearly one million dollars, as "within the compass of our fortune" (355). Gertrude's gift to Emilie may be an exercise of "authority" that makes Gertrude one of Sedgwick's "models for Republican Womanhood," as Susan Harris has argued, but the forgotten source of Gertrude's "fortune" reveals this model's racial politics (279). If this extravagant sum proves her "generosity and forbearance," as the narrator claims, it also reveals the vastness of her Caribbean inheritance and her social power in a capitalist system (356). Gertrude's "heroic" response is to prevent white enslavement via a slave inheritance. Gertrude's distinction from gamblers thereby overshadows her alignment with slave masters. Tellingly, the bribe would not deplete Gertrude's inheritance;

if so, she would not meet the necessary conditions for white, middle class domesticity: she would have moral virtue but would lack the material proof that makes this virtue legible. Gertrude can redeem her friend, and perhaps her family as well, by sacrificing part of a "just" inheritance.

To make Gertrude's protection of domesticity truly clean, Sedgwick must prove that it will not link her to the pirate or subsidize evil; to fund piracy and Cuban trade, after all, prevents white enslavement by expanding black bondage. Of course, naming this possibility would implicate Gertrude's inheritance and its racial past. Therefore, Gertrude's father carefully assuages feared impropriety by affirming the virtues of "free-market" capitalism and his family's economic status. Mr. Clarence quotes Gertrude's reference to forced marriage as slavery in his letter, but his own language is carefully coded. Mr. Clarence laments that "profligates and spendthrifts" will receive his family's generosity, but he does not name slavery. In the process, he removes race from questions of economy. Such gifts may seem tainted,

> But we must solace ourselves with the reflection that Providence has so wisely regulated human affairs, that there is not so much left to individual discretion as we, in our vainglory, are apt to imagine. The money that we often regard as wasted, is put into rapid circulation, and soon goes to compensate the industry and ingenuity of the artisan and tradesman. It is sometimes consoling to know our own impotence, as at others to feel our moral power (362).

Ultimately, the speech and its context allow Sedgwick to warn against the pitfalls of national economic growth while affirming what Lori Merish has called the "pious consumption" of 1820s and 1830s domesticity (91). This ideology, forwarded by theologians and sentimental writers, ordained that the consumption of luxury goods "civilize and spiritualize the self while animating economic and progress and which legitimated a rise in living standards, especially among the middle class" (91). Gertrude's stance against luxury may trouble Merish's inclusion of Sedgwick

among its followers,[162] but Mr. Clarence's speech affirms the alignment of economic progress with a spiritual self. Money spent honestly, he claims, can only do good. Capitalist markets' supposed capacity to self-regulate is as natural as the self-interested sympathy that defines Adam Smith's moral philosophy. If "providence" regulates "human affairs" and proves the relative weakness of "individual discretion," then their present economic state is wholly sanctified. Mr. Clarence parallels this class status with one's ability to make other "feel our moral power," thereby presenting economic power as another means of spreading fellow feeling. As her father shows, one's faith in "Providence" need not prevent consumption of secular goods. In fact, capitalism proves one's faith by leaving regulation to God.

Mr. Clarence does not mention the Caribbean inheritance that grants his family this power, but recalling it fundamentally troubles the language of an all-wise regulation of human affairs. Was slavery God's will? One need not argue that Mr. Clarence's claim is anti-abolitionist or actively proslavery; nonetheless, the abstraction of free market economy from ongoing racial bondage fundamentally troubles any validation of Gertrude's action. The "rapid circulation" Mr. Clarence affirms will support "the artisan and tradesman" will just as easily support the pirate and slave master; Pedrillo guarantees such an outcome in this case. Finally, Mr. Clarence may name individual economic power as "impotence," but the corresponding outcome is highly active and sexually powerful. The money brought into the slave economy will be spent on securing its infrastructures and expanding its reach.

Likewise, if Gertrude's largess further reveals Gertrude's moral character within a greedy system, it also highlights the capriciousness of her laundered inheritance and plantation

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[162] If, as Merish claims, "the threat of male imperviousness to a good woman's [economic and moral] care haunts [*Home*]," Clarence is haunted by the threat of economic and racial unruliness that could undo a good woman's plantation inheritance (132-33). My reading of *Clarence*, though generally compatible with Merish's account, highlights the hemispheric and racial features of the "homes" Sedgwick dramatized.

economies. Sedgwick's recycled gambling plot critiques speculative economies without naming the most lucrative one of all: the plantation economy. Shockingly, Emilie Layton is not freed by this gift. After Pedrillo promises to blackmail Mr. Layton regardless of payment, the man merely gambles away "the largest portion of that money" (366). Again, the specter of Gertrude's deceased West-Indian uncle, undone by the shame of gambling, returns. Gambling had the power to destroy a West Indian lineage and usher in an American legacy. In this recycled plot, however, gambling losses again allow Sedgwick to launder Gertrude's plantation inheritance. Mr. Clarence does not state whether his stated ideology justifies gambling, but the money's loss heightens her claim to sympathy even more than a successful purchase of Emilie's freedom. Namely, the loss places Gertrude's disinterestedness in stark relief. She does not lament the lost fortune even though it brought her nothing. Gertrude not only sacrifices part of her inheritance for her friend, but also continues to assist Emily Layton after the money is gambled away. Pedrillo plans to steal Emilie back to Cuba that night, and Gertrude develops a complex plan to stop him. In the process, any potential connection between Gertrude and the pirate vanishes. Most importantly, the money did not fund slavery. At least not in Sedgwick's telling. Yet, Sedgwick does not consider the raced bodies whose bondage and death made this gift possible. If enslaved labor created Gertrude's inheritance, Sedgwick's narrative removal of enslaved figures affirm that inheritance's moral purity. Gertrude's distinction from gamblers thereby overshadows her alignment with plantation slave masters. In reality, the plot shows how bound and black bodies are cast aside like so many poker chips.

To complete a model of social and political order that removes both the pirate and the enslaved, Sedgwick must cleanse both domestic and oceanic space. The novel's climatic battle is not at sea, perhaps to show the geographic containment of piratical threats and their replacement

with proper domesticity. This replacement furthers Sedgwick's laundering process while failing to account for its underlying racial ideology. Gertrude discovers Pedrillo's plan to capture Emilie during a masquerade and helps her friend escape undetected. The pirate gives chase on an unfamiliar element, which give landed heroes and heroines a fighting chance. As one of Pedrillo's lacky's quip, "but the carriage, captain; how are we to navigate a land vessel?" (396) Despite the challenges of land-piracy, the future promise of "exciting dangers, and merry revels of the good ship" makes this mission an extension of their piratical call (397). A domestic invasion is but a temporary extension of maritime piracy. Ultimately, however, Pedrillo shows the capacity for some semblance of morality, if not domesticity. As Pedrillo prepares to stab Roscoe with "a Spanish knife," the pirate sees his father for the first time. The old man's impending death in a nearby struggle renders Pedrillo "impotent as a sick child," and leads him to call off his henchman. Now alone, Pedrillo "plunged his knife into his own bosom" (403). Pedrillo's dying call to his father- "build hospitals and churches" with his ill-gotten wealth- demonstrates the simultaneous domestication and annihilation of piratical unruliness (404). Pedrillo's maintains his "revenge and hate" to his last breath, however, revealing that the pirate of sympathy is not to be redeemed (404).

Tellingly, Mr. Flint refuses to accept his son's money or use it for charity since the inheritance was sinful and its spread in Pedrillo's name would forward a "Romanist" act of indulgence (407). According to this logic, no amount of good works may render a sinful inheritance holy. Whether Gertrude's own inheritance may be condemned on similar lines goes unaddressed. Instead, the West Indian pirate's attempt helps launder a prior West Indian morality and economy. Of course, the novel's two model marriages are made possible by an inheritance directly based on racial bondage. Roscoe and Gertrude, who had long repressed their feelings for

one another, finally join. Gertrude's father gives Emilie Layton a check for twenty thousand dollars to start a life with her would-be lover. Sedgwick frames this charity as something apart from Pedrillo's indulgence, namely as economic disinterestedness and proof of sympathy; just as the exchange of gifts in Sedgwick's later fiction "generates a new sphere of sympathy" by joining non-related families under a shared process of consumption, the gift of a plantation inheritance solidifies the Layton and Clarence family connections (Merish *Sentimental* 134). In the process, Sedgwick seemingly absolves the Clarences of their West Indian inheritance by making plantation spoils morally and racially "pure." Sedgwick does not frame this gift as an "Romanist" indulgence," but relies on the assumed success of her laundering process.

The novel's resolution completes this laundering process; after her marriage, Gertrude transfers her wealth to her husband while maintaining her ability to balance class status and economic disinterestedness. Gertrude and Roscoe reacquire his father's "fine old family mansion," thereby restoring the Roscoe inheritance and providing Gertrude a template for a distinctly "American" domesticity. The home of her inheritance, the West Indian plantation, no longer merits mention. Fitting the novel's closed moral economy, Gertrude virtue exists as relative to other upper class New Yorkers. She has taken special care to provide amenities to her staff, or "the household worthies who preside over hospitality," rather than focus all attention on "glittering and sumptuous" drawing rooms (415). Benevolent patronage, rather than class equality, serves as the highest good. Notably, Gertrude rejects the "rebuking genius of economy" in her library. Furnished with "classics in English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish, and all of the best editions," this space signals her cosmopolitanism as well as her control over all other national [literary] traditions (413). It also provides literature, Sedgwick's included, a special dispensation among commodities due to its enhancement of moral virtue.

Gertrude's maternal care over her lower-class employees separates her from the slave master from whom she received this wealth, but Sedgwick leaves this comparison unstated. Instead, Sedgwick focuses on Gertrude's class privilege as subsidizing a more expansive sympathy. Rather than be beholden to fashionable New York society, Gertrude notes that her wealth "gives the privilege of selection" based on the "character of our guests;" these guests, who would "never meet elsewhere," include "persons of the first fashion, professional laborious toilers, and the secluded men of genius" (416). Class unity becomes the basis for an ideal and ostensibly egalitarian domestic space. Sedgwick does not state this space's racial makeup, but West Indian capital is certainly present. The presence of Angelique Abeille, the French-planter's daughter whose inheritance derives in part from Haitian reparations, reaffirms that the New York parlor is a place of laundered plantation inheritances.

As I have shown, Sedgwick does not strictly "[displace] the controversy over [U.S. domestic] slavery onto regions outside the nation," as Homestead has argued ("Shape" 192). Instead, she reveals how the "outside" regions shape a national inheritance. Rather than fully confront that inheritance's implications— that the U.S. nation remains complicit in racial hegemony— Sedgwick makes plantation inheritances compatible with sympathy and northern domesticity. Sedgwick sends a copy of *Clarence* to Lydia Maria Child, though one does not know Child's reaction to its circumspect treatment of plantation bondage.[163] When *Clarence* is reissued in 1849, its meaning shifts alongside political policies; as Melissa Homestead affirms, the novel could be read as "a kind of historical fiction" in which the Cuban pirate has the air of an imperial filibuster ("Introduction" 35). Yet, Sedgwick's editorial changes demonstrate that she still fears and laments black revolutionary violence embodied by the Haitian revolution: what

[163] For Sedgwick's accompanying letter, see "Catharine Maria Sedgwick to Lydia Maria Child, 12 June 1830, Boston Public Library." Homestead also discusses the letter in her scholarly introduction (30-31)

she called “the troubles” in 1830 becomes “the disastrous period of ‘92” in her 1849 edition (172). If the horrors of slavery and the prospect of sectarian war had become increasingly hard to deny, Sedgwick maintains an equally hopeful and conservative belief in universal sympathy.

In *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, published three years later, Harriet Beecher Stowe appears to promote a more egalitarian form of domesticity set against plantation inheritances. Therefore, a turn to *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* would appear the logical route for tracing white, middle class sympathy’s literary and historical development. Rather than cede to these terms, however, my next chapter will highlight a Caribbean author who rejects the fundamental premise of both Sedgwick and Stowe’s respective domestic visions.

Chapter Four:
Caribbean Pirates of Sympathy:
Resenting Plantation Inheritances with Michel Maxwell Philip

"always recollect this sad retribution . . . and say you know. . . that certain creatures who are branded and repudiated by society are beings who possess feelings, and who claim the same measure of justice as is meted out to all."

Michel Maxwell Philip, *Emmanuel Appadocca:or Blighted Life. A Tale of the Boucauneers* (1854)

"The violator of the laws of justice ought to be made to feel himself the evil which he has done to another; and since no regard to the sufferings of his bretheren is capable of restraining him, he ought to be over-awed by the fear of his own."

Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759)[164]

In Michel Maxwell Philip's *Emmanual Appadocca: Or, Blighted Life. A Tale of the Boucaneers* (1854), a violent pirate offers a principled response to state-backed policy and the plantation inheritances it protects. As in *Clarence*, an eighteenth-century Caribbean prehistory structures the drama Philip presents. Yet, his view of that world is inverted: Philip foregrounds the brown heirs of white fathers and West Indian mothers, a community Stowe incompletely considers and Sedgwick uses to transfer wealth and morality to her white heroines. Put simply, Phillip takes the state-backed pirate of sympathy's defining moral failure— his lack of attachment to the state and its privileged families— and frames it as a justified response to a stolen inheritance. My two epigraphs frame Philip's narrative and philosophical investments in what I call "retributive sympathy." In the first, the pirate Appadocca stands among his father's white children, his half brothers and sisters. The pirate has just ransacked their plantation and captured their father. In other words, Appadocca surveys the destruction of white familial attachment that should cement his piratical and unsympathetic status. In this moment, however, the pirate affirms his relation to those "who are branded and repudiated by society." He confirms

[164] Philip (215); Smith (99).

that piracy is incompatible with these children's' domestic attachments. In the same breath, however, Appadocca offers himself as proof that such "beings . . . possess feelings." This pirate *is* capable of fellow feeling, albeit an alternative form. In this culminating scene, Appadocca's proof of this capacity derives from his claim to the "same measure of justice as is meted out to all" (215). Feelings of justice define Appadocca's share of sympathy. Specifically, the resentful and just pirate is a response to the economic and political forces through which plantation owners and their allies uphold structures of slavery and capitalism.

While Philip fundamentally alters Adam Smith's sentimental philosophy as applied by figures like Catharine Sedgwick, the second epigraph affirms that, for Smith, *justice* is a central if unrecognized part of sympathetic virtue. As political theorist Michael Frazer concludes, Smith "developed an individualist, rights based, and recognizably liberal conception of justice" that was a manner apart from a "conservative conception" offered by Hume and others (93).[165] In other words, Smith takes individual feeling as the basis for just order. Smith defines justice as a violent retribution against grave wrongdoers, or making one "feel for himself the evil that he has done to someone else." Justice may be a corrective to sympathetic lapses. Unjust figures inure themselves to positive sympathy, or "can't be restrained by his bretheren's sufferings." They do not imaginatively extend self-interest to the sufferer on the rack. Such rogues can, however, be "over-awed by the fear" that their own body will be harmed. Such pain can recall immoral agents to proper feeling and, by extension, protect society as a whole (99). Appadocca takes no pleasure in embodying this visitation. But he considers the day's "sad retribution" an equally lamentable and inescapable act of justice. Appadocca tells the children that the "injustice of your father," or this father's abandonment of Appadocca's mother, necessarily leads Appadocca to sack the

[165] Frazer admits that "Sympathy and the moral sentiments are generally treated with suspicion in twentieth-century political theory," but reclaims the subversive power of Smith's alignment of individual action and justice (92). In short, Frazer places Smith's theory of justice within a European intellectual tradition.

plantation. As Appadocca tells his half brother, or the false heir to their father's fortune, "the sins of the fathers are visited on their children" (215). Sources of injustice must be revoked, even inherited ones. As I will discuss, readers are called to share in Appadocca's resentment. In that way, the pirate is Philip's tool for restoring retributive sympathy in an unjust world.

Michel Maxwell Philip's complex investment in such restoration is the product of his privileged place in a post-revolutionary Caribbean. Philip's generation was ushered into an era caught between colonial slavery and an abolition that would come fitfully and incompletely after Britain's Slavery Abolition Act of 1833.[166] He was born in Trinidad in 1829, less than a year prior to the publication of Sedgwick's *Clarence*. Philip's birthright speaks to his family's own share of revolutionary violence and plantation slavery. His foremost ancestor was a free black matriarch who inherited a nearly five hundred-acre Grenadian estate, which included enslaved persons, following her French husband's death sometime prior to 1775 (Cudjoe, "Preface" ix). Philip was named after a former slave who had fought in the Fédon Rebellion and now managed the Philips's large (and, for a period, slave-holding) sugar plantation in Trinidad (Cudjoe, "Preface" x).[167] Philip's father was a white "owner." His mother was either an enslaved woman on the Philip estate, a free person, or part of the Philip family.[168] Philip's father failed to support

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[166] The act ostensibly abolished African slavery throughout the imperial Britain, excepting East India Company possessions as well as the islands of Ceylon and Saint Helena (until 1843). The act included an apprenticeship clause that bound any formerly enslaved person under the age of six until 1838 or 1840. The British government abolished apprenticeship in 1838, though an illicit Africa trade as well as sanctioned bondage of southeast Asian and Chinese "coolie" laborers remained. For a study of the internal trade following abolition, see Johnson (*Chattel*).

[167] The Fédon Rebellion of 1795 is an insurrection of enslaved and free Grenadians led by Philip's uncle Julien Fédon. Given command by Victor Hugues, French governor of Guadeloupe, Fédon and his allies kill over a dozen white settlers and take the British Lieutenant Governor hostage in exchange for colonial surrender of the island. Though Britain ultimately retains control of the island, the rebellion is part of anticolonial revolutions in San Domingo and throughout the Caribbean. Many of Philip's family members migrate from Grenada to Trinidad following the rebellion. For a study of the rebellion and West Indian resistance to British slavery, see Craton (esp. 180-94). For an account of the Philip family's genealogy alongside an account of the revolution, see Candlin (1-23).

[168] C.L.R. James, writing in Trinidad in 1931, notes that "speculation is rife as to exact facts," but describes Philip as "an illegitimate child, the offspring of a white owner and a coloured woman on the estate" ("Michel Maxwell Philip" 254) Selwyn Cudjoe calls Philip a "slave child, the product of a black mother and white father" (*Beyond*

his child, but the well-established Philip family funded the young Philip's literary and legal labors in Europe. Specifically, he received a classical education in Scotland and studied law in London while working as a correspondent for the Trinidad *Free Press*. During this time, Philip also wrote and published his only novel at the age of twenty-four. Philip returned to Trinidad in 1855, and was the Port of Spain's first nonwhite mayor. He served as Trinidad's Solicitor General until his death in 1888.[169] Philip was, biographer Selwyn Cudjoe confirms, "one of the most important Caribbean intellectual-activists of the nineteenth century ("Afterward" 249).

And though *Emmanuel Appadocca* was certainly not as popular as 1854's defining domestic fiction, Maria Cummins's *The Lamplighter*, it was what Caribbeanist scholar Belinda Edmonson calls "a Trinidadian best seller of sorts" (50).[170] Philip's literary path was admittedly distinct from domestic fiction writers like Sedgwick, Stowe, and Cummins. Nonetheless, as Edmonson affirms, Philip was part of an "emergent brown [Caribbean] middle class whose members were familiar with the devices of the . . . American sentimental novel" (50-51).[171] And while it is unclear if Philip encountered Sedgwick's transatlantic fiction while in London (or if Sedgwick read Philip), their narrative connections are most interesting due to their biographical distance. Specifically, these authors' relative stakes in plantation inheritances ground their parallel and contradictory sentimental pirate novels. In short, Sedgwick launders the economic and social spoils of a slaveholding order while Philip resents these spoils without fully divesting himself of racial and economic privilege.

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124). Finally, Bridget Brereton claims that Philip was "apparently the illegitimate son of a white planter and a coloured woman of the Philip family" (87). All agree that he was recognized as a Philip.

[169] For an expanded biographies, see C.L.R. James ("Michel Maxwell Philip); "); Breteton ("Michel Maxwell Philip"); McDaniel; Cudjoe and Zykorie.

[170] C.L.R. James speculates, "He must have made some money by the book for he did not return home immediately after being called [to the bar] but travelled in Europe" ("Michel" 255). Belinda Edmonson notes that "the royalties were enough to support Philip's expensive legal studies," but admits that its reception is difficult to reconstruct (50).

[171] Though Edmonson admits this generic connection relative to one of Philip's contemporaries, she calls *Emmanuel Appadocca* a "gothic adventure story," and, as I will discuss, attempts to diminish the novel's ties to sentimental fiction (51).

Ordered by Philip's ambivalent relation to a plantation economy, the world of *Emmanuel Appadocca* is a striking inversion of Sedgwick's 1830 novel. Both authors invoke eighteenth-century Caribbean prehistories to introduce their world's defining patriarch, namely the white plantation owner who forsakes his mixed raced family and returns to his white one. Emmanuel Appadocca is the abandoned son of a white plantation-owning father and a free mixed-race mother. He is not like Edmund Clarence's mixed-race son, whose life Sedgwick vacates to establish her white heroine's inheritance. Instead, Appadocca lives to avenge a birthright denied. The plot of *Emmanuel Appadocca* revolves around this philosophical Caribbean pirate in the waters surrounding late-eighteenth century Trinidad. As in *Clarence*, the pirate of Philip's novel embodies the threat to domestic and oceanic harmony that defines state-backed policy. But whereas Sedgwick demonizes racial and piratical unruliness from the vantage of a white-upper class home, Philip defies privileged domesticity from the deck of a multiracial pirate ship. Though Appadocca is undoubtedly piratical, his disruption of capitalist infrastructures and its agents, his father in particular, is a moral response to state-backed injustices. Appadocca's failed attempt to maroon his neglectful father at sea, which leads to the pirate's captivity on a British naval vessel, is therefore a reason for lament. Likewise, the pirate's successful escape and recapture of his unrepentant father is a sentimental victory. Like Sedgwick's pirate, however, Appadocca fails: a hurricane destroys Appadocca's ship and leads him to suicide. For Sedgwick, the pirate's removal affirms Gertrude's moral and economic purity. For Philip, the pirate's death confirms Appadocca's unwavering yet tragic virtue. The brown and disowned pirate, unlike the white and sanctified heroine, does not profit from plantation inheritances.

As I argue in this chapter, Emmanuel Appadocca embodies Philip's dramatic reckoning with, and incomplete solution to, sympathy's philosophical and material limits. Specifically,

Philip invests in sentimental form to counteract the racial, economic, and sexual violence that defined antebellum state-backed domestic orders. If “both sentimental and resistance strains” infuse Philip’s narrative, as C.L.R. James affirms, Appadocca’s piracy shows that these strains are inseparable (52). Namely, Philip radically reimagines a moral and social order that takes the restoration of universal sympathy— rather than the protection of a state-backed order built on racial, economic and sexual violence— as its justification. A turn to the novel also broadens sympathy’s formal or ideological character beyond the terms set by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Stowe’s novel serves as an important foil to Philip’s own work, as other scholars have noted.[172] Yet while Stowe invokes Adam Smith to affirm pacifism and religiosity, Smith’s alignment of true moral sentiment with retributive “justice” grounds Philip’s narrative. In other words, Philip joins piracy and sympathy as a narrative experiment in *retributive sympathy*. At base, retributive sympathy is a philosophy in which a violent rejection of unsympathetic agents should be the product of a natural moral impetus. Appadocca’s enlightened study of the celestial world, when joined with his prevention of an abandoned woman’s suicide, leads him to believe that only violence against agents of the plantation order can recall the world to balanced fellow feeling.

Within this framework, the novel’s true tragedy is twofold: first, Appadocca’s expansive sympathetic power is limited to a pirate vessel that is irreconcilable with domesticity; secondly, and less evidently, Appadocca is doomed to be misunderstood *because* piracy is the only means

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172 For example, William Cain speculates that Philip likely read Stowe's novel and aimed to “articulate an alternative to it- his vision of vengeance and retribution” (xliii). As Cain notes, Stowe’s novel sold a million and a half copies in Great Britain in its first year alone. Stowe herself visits London in 1853 to much fanfare (xliii). By assuming that Stowe holds a monopoly on sympathy’s application and meaning, however, Cain unduly separates sympathy from the novel’s “more metaphysical” underpinning (xxxvii). In response to Cain, Belinda Edmonson forwards a question that is equally merited and mislaid: she states, “we must ask what, beyond its obvious dramatic and sentimental power, is this American novel’s appeal for a free colored population in the Caribbean where slavery has been over for a generation?” (63). Notwithstanding the idea that Caribbean slavery had been “over for a generation,” or that this fact lessened the novel’s import, it is true that Stowe gives little account of free and mixed race Caribbean subjects. This recognition does not justify a turn away from sympathy, as it had for Edmonson. Instead, I consider how Philip invokes an “obvious sentimental power” that has potency beyond Stowe’s text.

of undoing a false domestic order. To feel for the pirate, or the supposedly natural opposite of the moral nation-state, is to challenge state-backed domestic fiction's philosophical core. In staging Appadocca's failure, Philip returns sympathy to the pirate and, by extension, validates the resentment that may lead white and nonwhite readers to reject white plantation heirs' claims to economic, social, and political privilege. Thought another way, he transfers readers' allegiance from figures like Gertrude Clarence to those like Emmanuel Appadocca.

In each section, I reconstruct Philip's strategic investment in retributive sympathy as a moral philosophy and a narrative trope. In my first section, I outline how Philip stages Smith's principles of "resentment" and "justice" to refute Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and to undercut the alignment of morality with economic access and state power. Specifically, Philip guides readers to proper resentment by connecting a rake's abandonment of a white woman with Appadocca's enlightened justification for violent retribution. In my next section, I consider how Appadocca's piracy both forwards his retributive sympathy and affirms his latent sympathetic power. Only the extranational and self-contained pirate vessel can inflict the pain on plantation bodies that is required to restore justice. Philip highlights Appadocca's technical skill and power as captain, or his status as a sentimental seaman, to prove the pirate's perfect sympathy. In my concluding section, I frame the novel's tragic ending as indicative of the pirate of sympathy's symbolic power and material limits. Philip introduces Appadocca to diagnose a broken world rather than to model a positive future; nonetheless, Philip's call to recognize (and feel) the pirate's retributive sympathy supports the just fellow feeling anathema to plantation order. To feel for the fallen pirate is to cement his claim to justice. In other words, Philip invokes classical philosophy and domestic fiction for distinctly anti-colonial ends. By extension, *Emmanuel Appadocca* invites scholars to recognize sympathy's alternative power on Caribbean seas.

Crafting Retributive Sympathy

As Ralph Dalloe argues in *Caribbean Literature and the Public Sphere* (2011), Michel Maxwell Philip's novel reflects his "desire to imagine a nonwhite Caribbean intellectual who is modern, authoritative, and able to enter the public sphere as a full member" (46). Philip's "nonwhite Caribbean intellectual" is neither the put-upon object of sympathy nor the sacrosanct feeling subject. Yet, the full title of Philip's book, *Emmanuel Appadocca*: *or Blighted Life. A Tale of the Boucauneers,* hints at its currently unrecognized place in the canon of domestic fictions that includes *Clarence: or, A tale of our own times* (1830) and *Uncle Tom's Cabin: or, Life among the lowly* (1852). Each title begins with the eponymous sentimental subject, and use ": or" to frame sympathy's proper location and meaning. As Philip's call to attach with Appadocca and his "blighted life" begins to show, Philip will stage retributive sympathy by adjusting domestic fiction's guiding tropes. To an extent, Philip is akin to the black transatlantic abolitionists Christine Levecq recounts in *Slavery and Sentiment:* his sentimental approach to the question of how the "world might be moved to care more broadly" led him to "project a particular version of society's ideal future" (3). But while Levecq highlights sentimental rhetoric based in "benevolence, sympathy, or more generally feeling," attending to the violent and moral *justice* embedded in Adam Smith's theory of moral sentiments confirms Philip's dramatic crafting of retributive sympathy (3).

To craft retributive sympathy as a model for social relations, Philip relies on an underappreciated feature of Adam Smith's moral philosophy. While William Cain aligns Philip investment in *lex talionis,* or the "law of equivalent retribution," with theories by Aristotle, Bacon, and Hegel, Adam Smith's work was a cornerstone of the classical tradition Philip studied

(xlv).[173] In a section of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* titled "Justice and Beneficence," Smith affirms positive fellow feeling but upholds justice as a necessary virtue. This virtue is powered by the social spread of natural resentments. Beneficent actions "proceed from proper motives," Smith notes, and lead persons to recognize their shared humanity (95). Harriet Beecher Stowe's theory of sympathy is predominantly based on the positive virtue of beneficence, as shown by her call for readers to "*feel right*" (404). Indeed, Stowe affirms that justice will derive from the "atmosphere of sympathetic influence" fostered by the subject "who *feels* strongly, healthily and justly (404). Yet, Stowe's application of beneficence alone, or her rejection of retributive violence in "justly" feeling, is at odds with Smith's theory. For Smith, beneficence helps spread positive virtue, but it is a weak force against fundamental lapses in fellow feeling. In light of beneficence's limits, Smith names *justice* as society's ordering virtue. He writes, "beneficence . . . is less essential to the existence of society than justice. Society may subsist, though not in the most comfortable state, without beneficence; but the prevalence of injustice must utterly destroy it" (104). Justice is the protection against hurtful actions that "from motives which are naturally disapproved of" (96). These improper motives are the active and willful denial of fellow feeling. The sentimental response to such agents, when taken to the extreme, is the sort of retributive violence Appadocca engages.

The violence at the heart of Smith's theory of justice is itself a product of sympathetic mechanisms of fellow feeling and rational self-interest. For Smith, justice derives from resentment, or the desire to personally inflict equal harm to those who have injured you. In other words, it is a means of extending your feelings (in this case pain) to another. Smith does not claim that all resentful passions lead to justice. Instead, the social legibility of one's

[173] For a similar argument about Philip's investment in justice that does not include Smith, see Cudjoe (*Beyond* 123-127). For an extensive account of contemporary responses to Smith's treatise, see Reeder.

resentments— and by extension the justice they lead to— derives from outsiders' ability to share in the offended subject's feelings. Smith notes, "In the same manner, as we sympathize with the sorrow of our fellow creature when we see his distress, so likewise we enter into his abhorrence and aversion for whatever has given occasion to it "(85). In sum, shared resentment is a form of fellow feeling. Resentment is another self-interested extension of feeling, but this passion is nonetheless the "safeguard of justice and the security of innocence" (96). According to Smith, the "natural gratification" of resentment necessarily structures the "political ends of punishment," namely the "correction of the criminal" (84). Upon viewing this correction, "others, through fear of like punishment may be terrified from being guilty of the like offense" (83-4). In other words, the proper expansion of (resentful) fellow feeling positively structures social relations and may lead to justice. In this way, a perfected legal and social structure will directly follow the form of human nature. By reading *Emmanuel Appadocca* in light of this theory, one recognizes that the Caribbean pirate of sympathy embodies the resentment Philip believes just agents should feel towards state-backed plantation societies.

In the novel's preface, Philip outlines the resentful and retributive feelings that lead him to name the pirate as worthy of readers' sympathy. In a calculated crafting of Smith's theory, Philip characterizes the pirate as the product of natural sympathy and just resentment. His story is at base, like Stowe's, a response to broken domesticity in plantation systems. In his preface, Philip claims to write in response to "feelings… roused up" by the "cruel manner in which the slave holders of America deal with their slave-children." Slavery's status as a "dissolver of natural bonds" does not remove the "hideousness " of the treatment of enslaved children whose fathers are their owners. Stowe's knowledge of familial separation and her belief in God's power grounds her affirmation of sympathetic beneficence; according to Philip, Appadocca disavows

beneficence's role in his life *because* he believes in sympathy's great celestial and human power. Piracy not only provides "the machinery, or ground work" for the novel's "true" plot, Philip states, but it also proves the gap between state-backed sympathy and true justice. Emmanuel Appadocca is the novel's paradigmatic "high spirited and sensitive person," and his piracy affirms the "line of conduct" that should naturally result from forced plantation labor (6). If domestic attachments must be protected, then every sensitive person, if enslaved, would violently unmake the plantation order. Likewise, persons who wan to foster justice must identify with the pirate whose violence and resentment is, at heart, an appeal to just sympathy.

Of course, Philip's resentment of plantation inheritances does not guarantee his investment in universal economic or racial equality. While Philip's preface is a denouncement of the plantation economy and an affirmation of justice, a sense of racial superiority, of a claim to an inheritance beyond that of other bound subjects, defines the "high spirited and sensitive person" Philip names. Specifically, Phillip privileges the resentment of a subject who "found himself picking cotton under the encouragement of 'Jimboes' or 'Quimboes' on his own father's plantation"(6). Philip does not deny that a "sensitive person" enslaved by a non-family member deserves retribution. Yet he maintains the primacy of subjects with a stake in the plantation economy, namely the heir to "his own father's plantation." Moreover, the "Jimboes" and "Quimboes" who work as overseers may refer to equally bound racial subjects who seemingly have no claim this "line of conduct." In a way, Philip's preface speaks to his ambivalent relation to whiteness as a biological and social category: beyond Philip's economic connection to the planation, racialized discourse fostered by white colonialism provide him and other Anglo-Caribbean subjects with a measure of social and political privilege in the Caribbean. As Faith Smith affirms this background gave *Emmanuel Appadocca* the "complex double edge of

stereotypical renderings of dark-skinned Black persons and affinities with enslaved Black constituencies" (*Creole Recitations* 79).[174] Perhaps, as Belinda Edmonson argues, Emmanuel Appadocca is more indicative of "brown desires for political power" rather than a celebration of racial blackness (52). Yet, Philip's stake in justice via retributive sympathy fundamentally troubles her claim that "the text's political concerns are focused on the status of free brown people, not on enslaved blacks." In fact, the sentimental "genre-driven sensibility" that Edmonson pairs with Philip's "unmistakable racism, [and] classism" grounds Philip's calls for resentment of an entire plantation order (62). Placing Emmanuel Appadocca in a domestic fiction, Philip dramatizes retributive sympathy as the source of radical justice for all.

Philip begins his novel by invoking sentimental tropes his readers would recognize, but he does so to highlight resentment's value over beneficence. Specifically, Philip outlines how Appadocca's prior belief in positive fellow feeling preceded his investment in justice. The novel begins long after Appadocca's piratical career has begun, but Philip immediately presents the pirate's prehistory as the basis for Appadocca's (and, by extension, readers') resentment. For resentment to be shared, Adam Smith notes, spectators must feel that an unjust agent has deliberately pained a blameless subject (85). And while the pirate Appadocca ostensibly disavows sympathy, he began life with the beneficent feeling espoused by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Fitting the terms of domestic fiction, Appadocca's attachment to a loving mother fostered his sympathetic capacity. Appadocca viewed his mother as the "embodiment of goodness," a woman whose joy "made sorrow shrink into insignificance by its sympathy." In other words, his mother's body recalled him to feeling and affirmed that pain was but a shadow of moral sympathy. Indeed, Appadocca affirms that her character was guided by "the loftiest attributes of

[174] For an extended reading of these racial politics as presented in the novel, see Smith (""Beautiful Indians"). For an intellectual history of Philip contemporary John Jacob Thomas that ties these racial politics' to Caribbean national debates, see Smith (*Creole Recitations*).

human nature— the sentiments" (100). In other words, his mother's love led him to believe that fellow feeling was a natural and sanctified state.

Notably, Appadocca extends his attachment to all women, whether "pure and spotless" or "polluted or stained" (100). While most domestic fictions equate sympathy with sexual and racial purity, Philip begins to present an alternative philosophy. Appadocca's view not only "counter[s] the racist deployment of domestic womanhood," as Leah Rosenberg notes, but also names sympathy's view of sex and class (23). He refuses to marginalize women who by birth, by choice, or by rape, are unable to meet its social or sexual standards. For Appadocca, "to me she ever was a women, and that was sufficient" (100). Likewise, Appadocca protects domestic virtue. As Philip later highlights, Appadocca does not rape, or "blight the innocence or rob the honor of damsels"; Appadocca's moral distinction from the sexually unruly pirate affirms that his protection of domesticity remains intact (42). Indeed, his belief in women's unaltered claim to sympathy led to Appadocca's piratical mission.

Philip sets the stage for Appadocca's theory of retributive sympathy by joining sentimental fiction's paradigmatic trope of familial separation with an enlightened study of celestial balance. Appadocca's father, a "wealthy planter in Trinidad," flatly refuses to acknowledge his son even after Appadocca's mother's death. At this moment, Appadocca notes, "feelings began to rankle in my bosom"(101) At this point, Appadocca is merely a poor man living in England. Instead of aligning Appadocca's piratical turn with an individual resentment, Philip connects Appadocca's pain to domestic fiction's most venerated subjects: the white mother and child. One night, Appadocca ambles near the Thames river. Amidst his "dreaming on the orbs of space," or his focus on celestial truth and order, he faces a fallen woman's impending suicide attempt. This woman was "a combination of utter misery, of gentleness, of innocence"

and holds a babe whose "spirit seemed to sympathize with that of its mother" (102). In short, he views a scene of tragic fellow feeling. Appadocca saves the woman, thereby proving his capacity for beneficent and positive sympathy.

As Appadocca holds the woman in his arms, Philip maintains the sexual and racial hierarchy in which matriarchal and white subjects' serve as sympathy's symbolic ideal. The woman's "pale emaciated face," the "whiteness of her forehead," and her babe "as pale as the moon" act upon Appadocca's feelings (102). I read Philip's acceptance of privileged sympathy's ordering logic as strategic. Philip uses the white family to establish Appadocca's claim to sympathy and piracy in a world dominated by white hegemony. Likewise, the woman's connection to Appadocca's life raises the specter of similar violence against enslaved women. In short, the fellow feeling one shares with the white mother takes on a newly subversive edge once extended to the mixed race subject.

Philip first recounts Appadocca's positive fellow feeling towards this woman prior to any desire for violence. By doing so, Philip models when beneficent feeling should give way to resentment. Specifically, resentment must occur when persons' openly flout positive fellow feeling and make its extension impossible. Previously, Appadocca's moral philosophy had no place for unjust and deliberate violence against truly blameless subjects. As Appadocca notes, "I had accustomed myself to look upon the most appalling phenomenon of organic or inorganic life simply as the consummation to which they must necessarily come" (103). In this moment, Appadocca faces the existential crisis at the heart of any sentimental philosophy. He asks the "Great Ruler of the Universe" how, in a perfect world where all systems "revolve and move in perfect harmony" and "submit implicitly" to universal laws, can "apparently uncontrolled" wicked ones cause pain? (103-04) In other words, how can unsympathetic agents exist in a world

of perfect sympathy? Notably, Appadocca does not conclude that universal sympathy is a lie. In that scenario, Appadocca's piratical vengeance would be understandable. But it would not meet Smith's conditions for justice. Rather than appeal to beneficence and faith, as Stowe had done, Philip joins resentment and intellect.

At this moment, Appadocca narrates the transition to justice that grounds his belief in retributive sympathy. Notably, Appadocca does not rebel solely for the sake of his mother or for the woman he saves; instead, he combines his enlightenment study with personal experiences to map sympathy at a celestial and earthly level. Tellingly, Appadocca applies Adam Smith's moral philosophy while explicitly crediting an African intellectual tradition. Scholars like Gesa Mackenthun note Appadocca's "philosophical legitimation for his [piratical] action," but have yet to connect Philip's admittedly muddled prose to Adam Smith's theory (145). According to Smith, the natural environment proves human sympathy's imperfect application. He writes, "In every part of the universe we observe means adjusted with the nicest artifice to the ends which they are intended to produce; and in the mechanism of a plant, or animal body, admire how every thing is contrived for advancing the two great purposes of nature, the support of the individual, and the propagation of the species" (105). The perfection of systems derives from a clear balance of forces: each individual subject is free to act according to its purpose, which is guided by the needs of the whole. External retribution would not be necessary were the human social body this perfect. In a perfect system, all subjects would receive and offer their share of fellow feeling. Of course, as Smith admits, human sympathy does not match this ideal.

Appadocca's initial formulation is strikingly similar. According to Appadocca, the exemplar of sympathetic relations may be found in the heavens. Celestial orbs "exist, move, and revolve by the force of laws which are impressed upon them." A sympathetic force joins bodies,

though some inevitably have more power than others. The largest spheres move those "subject and obedient to its guidance," though every measurable sphere appears to have one larger than it. This utter balance of forces protects each sphere. Through this system, an immense world of "apparently, disjointed parts" are in fact "united and cemented, under the all-powerful force of law" (104). Celestial bodies continue to be separate, but they are best understood in terms of their underlying unity. Appadocca's claim that African races first "scaled the heavens, read the stars," indicates that the nonwhite pirate is the natural inheritor of enlightened knowledge. To assume that "Appadocca speaks and feels as an African," as Gesa Mackenthun does, is to oversimplify Philip's relatively privileged status as an Afro-Creole figure whose political and intellectual background is tied to classical thought. Nonetheless, Philip's pivot to Africa girds his uncoupling of retributive sympathy from whiteness (144).[175]

Philip undoubtedly applies Smith theory of justice to new ends, but he cements Appadocca's just resentments using Smith's descriptions of natural and celestial sympathy. For both Smith and Appadocca, just agents impulsively seek to match the sympathetic perfection of celestial and non-human systems. For Smith, the question of justice is "not left to the freedom of our own wills" (97). And as I have discussed, Smith frames the desire to inflict pain upon those who have harmed us, or "resentment," as an extension of natural law. For him, "resentment seems to have been given us by nature for defence, and for defence only" (96). Appadocca likewise notes that animals have no need for resentment since, "every animal carries in itself a law and undergoes a pain of retribution whenever it violates that law" (105). According to this view, the "pain of retribution" reflects the self-regulating sympathy of an animal world without an external legal system of justice. Goats that "forget their instinct" and eat poisoned herbs die,

[175] Selwyn Cudjoe confirms that "Philip was aware of Africa's contribution to intellectual thoughts and scientific development," and cites an 1855 lecture Philip gave in Trinidad (*Beyond* 127).

just as antelopes that run off cliffs must be "dashed to pieces" (105). "In all these things," Appadocca notes, "you see law, and its safeguard— retribution" (105). Stronger forces check those who exert undue power. In slave societies, however, legal systems prevent "retribution" and remain imperfect in sympathy. Those persons who "forget their instinct," notably those parents who fail to protect their children, have not been dashed by a natural force. The deviation from law does not disprove perfect sympathy, however, but reveals a need for intervention. As Appadocca notes, "If you establish false systems among yourselves, and consent to postpone to an imaginary period this penalty . . . surely Heaven is not to be blamed" (105). The "false systems" refer to the social protections that prevent greedy and violent men such as his father; the "imaginary period" refers to heavenly retribution. In other words, all of the elements for justice remain present in society and human nature. They just need someone to unlock them.

Appadocca's resentment towards the man who abandoned the white woman and child affirms his quest to restore justice through retributive sympathy. Again, Philip dramatizes Smith's philosophy while claiming an African source. The natural self-interest of unsympathetic agents, Appadocca concludes, will recall them to proper action if not proper feeling. If "the wretch . . . were made to suffer the one-hundredth part of that misery which he has caused," Appadocca affirms, "his mates in vile wickedness, appalled by the example, will shrink in trembling fear from the perpetration of like crimes" (106). The fellow feeling of "mates," "vile" though they be, remains strong. As Smith confirms, the "fear of like punishment" that results when offenders view their fellows is the path to justice (84). Appadocca does not appeal to Smith, however, but says that justice first "dwelt on the banks of the Nile old" (105). In this reading, the retributive sympathy that had been perfected by African nations has been adulterated by European ones. The lawmakers of such nations "forget . . . the wisdom of the race you affect

to despise, while you cherish [their] theological philosophy" (106). Appadocca will no longer allow them to "blunt the double edge sword of retribution" (106). He must correct those larger orbs, the fathers and those who control the economy, and reaffirm their proper guidance of smaller orbs with less social power, i.e. women, children, and the oppressed. In turn, Appadocca sacrifices his claim to positive fellow feeling to become a force of just retribution.

While a fallen white woman led Appadocca to a theory of retributive sympathy, Philip deviates from domestic fiction's privileging of whiteness. He does so using the genre's very terms. The abandonment of white women is undoubtedly a feature of the period's sympathetic imbalance. Nonetheless, the abandoned mixed race son serves as the model of sympathetic restoration. Appadocca states that he "shall not rest until I have taught my father, that the creature to whom he has given life possesses feeling and sensibility, and is capable of taking vengeance" (106). Tellingly, Appadocca's goal is not to merely inflict pain on his father. Appadocca will instead prove his "feeling and sensibility," or his claim to sympathy, through just violence. "Taking vengeance" is a highly sentimental act when recognized by spectators who may be moved to follow suit. Indeed, Smith's belief in the power of justice over beneficence supports the idea that shared resentment is the surest path to sympathetic balance. In cases that "arouse the sympathetic resentment of the spectator," Smith notes, an aggrieved person becomes an object of sympathy to outside persons. In a sympathetic joining of bodies, "our heart . . . adopts and beats time to his grief" (85). Moreover, Smith confirms, sympathy's practical power is actually stronger when tied to resentment. The response to a fellow in pain is an "indolent and passive fellow feeling" whereas our attachment to a fellow who righteously inflicts pain is a "more vigorous and active sentiment" (85). As I will show, to sympathize with a resentful pirate

is to actively counter the source of his pain. In the case of *Emmanuel Appadocca*, this source is a state-backed order that protects rapacious capitalism and racial hegemony.

Retributive Sympathy at Sea

The moment Appadocca formulated his theory of sympathy, he "resolved, at once, to start for the West Indies . . . and procure a ship" (106). Philip does not forgo the plantation because it is "less appealing— less romantic" than piratical high seas. Instead, only the pirate can model Philip's theory of retributive sympathy (Smith "Beautiful Indians" 170). For readers, to feel for the pirate is to share in his resentment and, subsequently, to uphold his quest. By extension, Philip's pirate is a symbolic and philosophical threat to competing and conflicting ideological positions: the mixed race pirate hero refutes Catharine Sedgwick's moral laundering, Harriet Beecher Stowe's white liberalism, and the plantation order Stowe condemns. Because while both Philip and Stowe challenge readers to identify with subjects previously denied sympathy, to champion the pirate is to unmake state-backed sentimental politics. Specifically, a heroic pirate of sympathy fundamentally refutes the idea that unprincipled piratical unruliness is the sole barrier to economic, social, and political harmony in both domestic and oceanic space. As Selwyn Cudjoe affirms, "the pirates robbed the slave-owning class of their illusions about their system" (257); extending Cudjoe, I show how the restoration of a just theory of moral sentiments defined this material and symbolic robbery.

Tellingly, Harriet Beecher Stowe grounds her theory of moral sentiments on the state's failure to diagnose ongoing piracy. While *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is by no means a pirate fiction, Stowe invokes piracy to describe the federal government's ongoing failure of refuse oceanic plantation inheritances. "The slave-trade is now, by American law, considered as piracy," Stowe writes in her novel's conclusion. The state has properly marked the slave trade as piratical

unruliness, at least in oceanic space. She continues, “But a slave-trade, as systematic as every was carried on the coast of Africa, is an inevitable attendant and result of American slavery” (403). American law and culture, Stowe reminds, speciously naturalizes past and present piratical spoils. The land trade is an “inevitable attendant and result,” or a clearly defined inheritance, of the sea trade. In other words, Stowe admits that the nineteenth-century economy was built on plantation inheritances. Other authors note the legal and affective gap between land and sea, most notably Frederick Douglass in *The Heroic Slave* (1852).[176]

And while Stowe does not invoke the pirate to launder this inheritance, as Sedgwick did, she does introduce piracy to reaffirm a domestic fiction that is incompatible with Philip’s call for retributive sympathy and justice. Specifically, she aligns slavery with a self-evidently evil piratical source. This source’s removal, like the removal of all pirates of sympathy, confirms the state’s power as the source of moral feeling. Specifically, Stowe aligns slaveholder Simon Legree’s unfeeling nature and cruel methods to piracy: Legree brings Tom and bound persons on “the good steamer Pirate” (307). And according to Cassie, “[Legree] learned his trade well, among the pirates in the West Indies” (342). In other words, this unfeeling embodiment of the slaveholding class is at heart a pirate. Since pirates are self-evidently incompatible with natural sympathy, Stowe concludes that God’s impending wrath is surer than “the eternal law by which

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[176] Douglass rebukes the “strange and perverse…moral sentiment” that guides state definitions of piracy. Namely, the U.S. government brands the African coastal trade “as piracy and as deserving of death” while failing to be moved by an American coastal trade “carried on with the same motives and purposes, and characterized by even *more* odious peculiarities” (225). In other words, state-backed sympathy upholds a willfully circumscribed geographic and moral scope. Its power of sympathy does not reach the sea. In reality, feelings that land on African shores must logically extend to the waters off the so-called “MODEL REPUBLIC.” Given the terms of state policy and its domestic fiction, proximity to domesticity and state-protection should render an ongoing sea trade “*more* odious.” Otherwise, Douglass argues, one may reasonably doubt the validity of the theory of moral sentiments, or “the doctrine of the innate moral sense of mankind” (226). In other words, Douglass proves less willing to take sympathy’s natural existence as a given. And though Douglass certainly challenges state-backed sympathy, he secures his hero’s absolute distinction from pirates who would challenge the state’s very validity. Instead, Douglass presents Washington in the legacy of founding fathers. Washington’s maritime action and Appadocca’s piracy have comparable ends- the enactment of black power at sea- only Philip recovers sympathy for the pirate.

the millstone sinks in the ocean" (408). A sanctified sympathetic power will undergird proper human action just as it shapes oceanic geological power. In other words, retributive violence is in God's power alone. As this section shows, Appadocca's own vision of sanctified fellow feeling gives nonwhite figures the power to claim their share of just retribution.

Counter to privileged domestic fiction's ordering logic, the pirate Appadocca is sympathetic *because of* his violent rejections of plantation inheritances. Since Appadocca's restoration of justice relies on his exertion of sympathetic power from outside an unjust society, the pirate ship is his only recourse. As Ralph Dalloe argues, pirate ship's status "both a counterpublic and a public" allows Philip to envision new public spheres amidst shifts in Caribbean political and cultural institutions. If piracy provides Philip with an "imaginative locus of power" from which to dramatize an extranational and extralegal form of social resistance, this power is one of sympathy (45). As Appadocca argued, the celestial universe is made up of "groups of world-contained worlds" whose internal balance of forces perfects their control over external worlds. Appadocca's single pirate ship models a self-contained world of perfect sympathy. This internal unity not only defines its clear place in a universal order, but also gives it power to reshape existing relations (104). At sea, Appadocca can take away the resources that feed dominant systems while also demonstrating the potential for an alternative just order. So if *Emmanuel Appadocca* is a "mirror and an inversion of the typical seafaring adventure story," it similarly mirrors and inverts the typical domestic fiction (Ficke 123). Namely, Philip invokes domestic fiction's tropes to unmake its support for state-backed sentimental politics.

Just as Philip's preface challenges readers to share in Appadocca's philosophical turn to justice, the author entreats them to recognize piracy's moral basis in sympathy. In this case, Appadocca's crew on the *Black Schooner* provides a model for the reader's expected attachment

to Appadocca. Tellingly, Philip uses Smith's precise philosophical terms—resentment and justice— to characterize the pirate crew's transition from unproductive misanthropes to agents of retributive sympathy. The narrator notes "injustice, whether real or merely supposed" first led the crew to piracy and "it was resentment . . . that had made them separate themselves" (64). In other words, the pirates had turned away from positive fellow feeling. And yet, as I have discussed, resentment leads to justice when directed at a source that merits retribution. The pirates could sympathize with Appadocca, or be moved by the power of his pain. Indeed, the narrator affirms "it was resentment of injustice of a similar nature to the instance to which their chief was a victim, that had changed their lot." The pirates were still feeling resentment, or "hating still the causes of their unhappiness." But their resentment was now guided by Appadocca's principled retribution. The pirates may not fully understand Appadocca's lofty ideals, but they are utterly moved to share his quest of "vengeance upon any individual" who abandons their children or protects such figures (64).

In this system, Appadocca embodies the "intellectual virtues" that Adam Smith ascribes to the most powerful sentimental agents. These virtues are held by a "great leader in science and taste, the man who directs and conducts our own sentiments, the extent and superior justness of whose talents astonish us with wonder and surprise" (26). In other words, an overawing sympathetic power may direct other beings to an elevated purpose. In Appadocca's case, he can turn unruly pirates into agents of justice and, hopefully, astonish those who may otherwise be unsympathetic to his quest for retribution against agents of the plantation economy. Appadocca's piracy is the "tool of His justice," or a godly instrument of retributive sympathy (112).

Whereas Sedgwick images a union of perfect sympathy and plantation inheritances, Appadocca dramatizes the ongoing rejection of subjects otherwise capable of attachment. The

Black Schooner crew not the heroes of sentimental fiction. Yet their status as "sentimental seamen" undermines the trope of piratical unruliness used in state-backed narrations. As I argued in section one, the mechanics of shipboard labor forward sympathetic attachments and narrations that are distinct from landed notions of sympathy. A ship's sentimental order may be judged by the unity of bodies at work and on the captain's control over those bodies. As Ralph Dalloe confirms, the *Black Schooner* is "held together not by reasoned debate but by Appadocca's will" (47); as I show, the ship is "held together" by a sentimental seaman's power to install embodied unity.[177] Appadocca's forceful sounds and voice materially and affectively controls the crew. For example, the call to arms sounded by a fife "was a power so infinitely strong, as to control these, apparently lawless men, in the height of their self-willed pleasure" (32). The sailors internalize the ship's sympathetic order, thereby showing the ship's natural perfection. Control of the crew is "cheerfully cultivated by the men themselves" since they know that to act beyond their ordained power "would be the end of their individual security, and the dissolution of their society" (57). In this world of perfect sympathy, each body acts according to the protection of the whole. As Philip later notes, "Each one seemed to know, instinctively, that the chain which was so variously formed, could be preserved only by a careful protection of each particular link" (74). In other words, the piratical "chain" of sympathy relies on the fellow feelings of individuals who work towards the "protection of each particular link." Sailing as an independent social force, *The Black Schooner* is perfect in its sympathy and powerful in its disruption.

Despite the pirate's claim to feeling, Philip frames piracy as an unnatural system that is better replaced with domestic attachments. Rather than use the pirate's utter removal from

[177] Dalloe does cite Phillip's statement regarding "that mysterious sympathy which instinctively exists between people of the same country, and children of the same soil" (53) to discuss the "[pirate] crew's affinity" as "organized around some of the same affective bonds as the modern nation" (49); however, his claim is undercut by the fact that the passage applies not to the pirate crew but to the newly captured English sailors who are "drawn together around Jim Splice" (53), an old British tar and pirate.

society to uphold state power, as state-backed sentimental politics would dictate, Philip names piracy as a symptom of the broader domestic disruption. Appadocca may claim detachment from all subjects, but the pirate captain retains a capacity for positive fellow feeling. His turn away from beneficence speaks to his sacrifice for the sake of justice. The narrator notes of Appadocca's reunion with Lorenzo,

> How sweet is it when loving relatives have died away, one by one, when [a] lover has been inconsistent, and has shot the arrow- coldness- through the loving heart; when the ingratitude of professed friends has frozen the limpid currents of our feelings… how sweet is it to meet, after separation, the friend whose heart strings throb in sympathy with ours, and about whose head the shadows of suspicion could never play. (192)

The narrator universalizes Appadocca's experience by framing it according to accepted sentimental tropes. By appealing to lost attachment from "loving relations," "lover[s]" and "confessed friends," Philip conflates filial, romantic, and fraternal forms of love to demonstrate the universality of both social rejection and sympathetic connections. To meet one whose "heart strings throb in sympathy with ours" is the height of fellow feeling. For pirates to serve as models for this feeling undermines their supposed moral incapacity as well as their utter distinction from "domestic" subjects. The pirate, it seems, is merely the most extreme case where others' infidelity has "frozen the limpid currents of our feelings." Nonetheless, all may rebuild those feelings by affirming true attachments. In Appadocca's case, however, the product of sympathetic reconciliation is not a marriage of wealth and whiteness. Instead, sympathy leads to an affirmation of piracy. As the novel's events show, Appadocca must disavow positive fellow feeling to become a force of retributive sympathy.

For Appadocca, the pirate's violence against white plantation patriarchs proves that retributive sympathy is morally sound. In other words, Philip's pirate refutes the moral bankruptcy at the heart of plantation inheritances that Sedgwick renders morally and racially

pure. Sedgwick's white hero (or at least, progenitor of her heroine) is Philip's villain. Appadocca, like Edmund Clarence's son Marcelline, is the son of a white slave owner who does not fully recognize his mixed-race son. Appadocca's father, James Wilmington, considers Appadocca "my son only of a sort," and does not feel duty-bound to him since Appadocca's mother was not Mrs. Wilmington (202). Sedgwick skirted the question of a mixed race subject's plantation inheritance by fashioning a suicide brought on by gambling. Gertrude's victory over a single-dimensional pirate affirms that plantation inheritances must be made morally and racially white. On the other hand, Philip's pirate plot is a case study of retributive sympathy.

In the novel's first section, Appadocca captures his father and jails the old man aboard the *Black Schooner*. The "trial" that occurs prior to the father's abandonment at sea allows Appadocca to apply his theory of sympathy. In his trial, Appadocca shows that his father has forsaken sympathy and is therefore fit for retribution. "Now, by certain feelings which are implanted in us, and which are considered the laws of the Creator, written on the heart of man at his creation," the pirate states, "we are admonished that the care of those who spring immediately from us, is one of our principal duties"(62). In sentimental philosophy, familial attachments are the purest form of fellow feeling. Even if Wilmington could not practice beneficence, Appadocca concludes, the mechanisms of self-interest sympathy should have prevented him from injustice. Appadocca tells his father, "even the common affection that you have for yourself— your very essential selfishness itself—should have made you love and cherish [me]; or, at least, feed and water" (63). "Essential selfishness," or natural self-interest that defines Smith's philosophy, must be extended to the other in moments of distress. The fact that Wilmington's selfishness does not lead him to imagine himself upon his son's rack proves the old man's immorality. Even as Appadocca affirms the "heart of man" is divinely implanted

with sympathy, he grants his father's claim that "men are not punished in society for such offences [as abandonment]." This absence of justice vindicates the pirate's very existence. Emmanuel tells his father, "there is no law on this schooner save mine and great Nature's" (65). In other words, the ship is a space of retributive sympathy guided by a natural law of justice.

For Appadocca, the pirate's role is to forcibly cause pain as a way of recalling the world to sympathy. Therefore, his father "ought likewise to feel some part of the sufferings which I undergo" (106). Appadocca casts his father adrift on a small raft, or abandons him. In a way, Adam Smith's philosophy allows one to identify with the pirate over the planter. According to Smith, "Resentment cannot be fully gratified, unless the offender is not only made to grieve in his turn, but to grieve for that particular wrong we have suffered from him. He must be made to repent and be sorry for this very action" (83). If the father has been unable to have fellow feeling for his son on the rack, the father must be put on the rack himself. According to the pirate, "the only prevention of crime is to make its punishment follow immediately in its course" (106). In this case, the abandonment is an extreme version of Smith's definition of just retribution. According to Smith, "Those whose hearts never open to the feelings of humanity, should, we think, be shut out in the same manner, from the affections of all their fellow creatures, and be allowed to live in the midst of society, as in a great desert where there is nobody to care for them" (99). In other words, abandonment may be a final yet just resort for protecting society against unfeeling agents. Appadocca replaces the metaphorical "great desert" with a literal vast ocean and actually removes his father from society. The punishment is not merely based on vengeance, Appadocca implies. Instead, it is part of this pirate's extralegal moral system.

For resentment to become justice, spectators who do not share in Appadocca's embodied experience must access the pirate's feelings. In other words, white and middle-class readers must

feel with the mixed race pirate. Philip thereby shares in Stowe's sentimental task in structure if not in methods. Appadocca's abandonment of his father proves the pirate's dismissal of beneficent sympathy. Again, however, Philip calls upon readers to react to Appadocca's resentment with just fellow feeling. This feeling requires one to reject beneficence's application to Appadocca's father. Indeed, Appadocca does not watch his father float away because "every fibre of feeling is burnt into hard callousness" (70). As Smith affirms, a spectator is not be moved by pain felt by the unjust. A desire for justice is stronger than positive feeling in this case. He concludes, "when an inhuman murdered is brought to the scaffold, though we have some compassion for his misery, we can have no sort of fellow feeling with his resentment" (88). His father is this sort of villain and is therefore fit only for retribution. By extension, the just spectator shares Appadocca's resentment of the plantation system as a whole.

To affirm these terms, an obtrusive narrator instructs readers on their sympathetic relation with the hero. The narrator begins the paragraph immediately following Wilmington's abandonment, "Reader, have you ever felt the absorbing love that sank and merged your existence into that of a cherished object, and have you ever felt the gall of sneering ridicule from her? If you have, then you know the feeling that possessed the pirate captain" (70). Philip conflates romantic rejection with the disruption inherent to plantation societies, thereby invoking the power of generic domestic plots to sanctify Appadocca's pain. In other words, he inserts the pirate into a domestic fiction. A series of rhetorical questions follow, each highlighting various forms of familial or romantic abandonment. Those who have experienced such pain may know "the captain's sentiments," or "the feeling which existed in the bosom" (70). Philip's insertion of this long, repetitive paragraph is both formally strategic and rhetorically effective. He has transitioned from a moment of unsettling violence to a declaration of sympathy. Taking

Appadocca's just resentment as a given, Philip softly chastises the reader whose fellow feeling is misplaced. By extension, he unmakes domestic fiction's racial and class hierarchies using the genre's accepted tools. The pirate, not the domestic heroine, is an identifiable subject fit for fellow feeling. The pirate ship, rather than the upper class white home, serves as the locus for sympathetic unity and retributive justice.

Shockingly, Appadocca's father not only survives, but also helps the British navy capture Appadocca in Trinidad. In other words, the state-backed villain averts true justice. In this moment, Philip juxtaposes Appadocca with his unrepentant and unfeeling father. In the process, foments the resentment against Appadocca's father required to spread retributive sympathy. After Appadocca is captured, he is jailed in the ship's hold while his father freely roams the ship's deck. At this moment, the narrator describes Wilmington's lack of fellow feeling. "What were his feelings," he asks (165). If Wilmington had a proper relation to sympathy, the narrator notes, a trembling leaf would terrify the absent father. "Nature is itself an accuser!," the narrator affirms. In a system ordered by sympathy, nature's power to punish should recall unsympathetic subjects to proper feeling. In other words, Wilmington should feel like the antelope that has run off the cliff, about to be dashed. By rearticulating Appadocca's own theory via the omniscient narrator, Philip proves the pirate of sympathy's moral philosophy. The narrator wonders of Appadocca's father, "Could such a man mingle the stirred sentiments of his soul with the sublime grandeur of nature [?]" (165). Wilmington proves incapable of "stirred sentiments" that align with a natural order, thereby proving his own sympathetic incapacity and the need for Appadocca's moral system. Nature "could receive no sympathy from the heart of such a man" since nature "deserts not its humblest offspring" (165). Since Wilmington flouts a natural order, the pirate of sympathy must instill that pain that could recall such figures to proper action.

Likewise, Appadocca counters those well-intentioned agents who prevent retributive justice by falsely upholding the conflation of state-power and morality. Philip introduces Charles Hamilton, Appadocca's one-time friend and now a British naval officer, as one who recognizes Appadocca's sympathetic power but who fails to understand its philosophical base.[178] Charles Hamilton is the embodiment of well-intentioned yet deeply misguided feeling. He tells his friend to stop "this course of unnatural enmity" (111). Hamilton may not understand retributive sympathy, but Appadocca uses his friend to restate the pirate's claim to justice. Hamilton laments that a man with a "heart overflowing with abundant benevolence" has spent his time "in the degraded society of the reputed scum of mankind" (203). In other words, Hamilton repeats the logic at the heart of state-backed narrations: those with a capacity for fellow feeling are utterly incompatible with piracy. This assumption, I have discussed, collapses moral capacity with state allegiance. In response, Appadocca provides a précis of his (and Smith's) just philosophy. He outlines to Hamilton "the difference between your sentiments and mine" (112). Hamilton believes "rewards and punishments [are] to be meted out in Heavens and hells," or that a celestial order restores just balances. On the other hand, Appadocca upholds the law that it is "contrary to justice to give life to a sentient being, then abandoned; and that all organised creatures are endowed with the sensibilities to make them feel, and spirit to make them resent injuries" (112). In other words, his piracy reflects a natural resentment that may recalls sensible persons to justice. His quest can move the world at large since "all organised creatures are endowed" with feeling, or have an embodied sympathetic capacity.

Hamilton's definition of piracy as counter to the action of a moral and regulated imperial state is therefore predicated on the conflation of capital accumulation and moral development.

[178] Though a British officer, Charles's surname and utmost faith in state-backed financial markets makes him an intellectual heir to Alexander Hamilton. This Federalist founding father and Caribbean immigrant served as the U.S. Secretary of Treasury during the novel's depicted events.

According to Appadocca, the alignment of state finance with virtue obscures true justice. In response, the pirate "take[s] away from the merchant whose property very likely consists of the accumulation of exorbitant and excessive profits, the sugar which by the vice of mortgages he wrings at a nominal price from the debt-ridden planter, who, in his turn, robs the unfortunate slave of his labor" (115). Appadocca draws a direct line from the merchant, the planter, and the enslaved to reveal socio-economic imbalance's cascading effect. In response, Charles Hamilton voices the false belief that consumption and exchange are the natural source of human sympathy and moral society. Hamilton tells his friend, "you forget, in your observations, that commerce, and the voyages which you seem to censure so much by implication, are the proper stimulants to civilization and human cultivation" (115). One hears echoes of Mr. Clarence's speech in *Clarence* regarding the "wisely regulated human affairs" that are based on both God's providence and capitalism's beneficial influence (362). For state-backed agents, a self-regulating capitalism of "proper stimulants" naturally builds "civilization" as well as moral "cultivation." In a lengthy reply, Appadocca renounces the supposed sympathy of a capitalist system and its ill-gotten inheritances. "Commerce makes steam engines and money," Appadocca deadpans, "it assists not the philosophical progress of the mind" (116). He diagnoses the closed moral economy of Hamilton's imperial imagination, namely that economic gain must be pursued because gain is a good unto itself. According to Appadocca, the human mind "degenerates and falls into the mere thing whose beginning is knack, whose end is knack" when one believes its only improvement comes from "the tinkling of gold" (116). Sympathy and positive social relations must exist outside of this capitalist and imperialist framework.

In the end, Appadocca admits retributive sympathy's deviation from dominant social philosophy; in the process, however, he calls upon domestic fiction's normalizing power.

Appadocca's view of this world is "not the less true on account of its novelty," and could become the basis for domestic life. As he tells Hamilton, "systems and notions which are now as familiar as household terms, were, once upon a time, quite as new, strange, and extraordinary" (116). Certain ways of knowing and being have been domesticated, or "as familiar as household terms," but they can and should be defamiliarized. Likewise, new ways of knowing can and should be made familiar. In other words, domestic fictions make social ideologies appear to be natural. Therefore, this new pirate of sympathy not only disrupts plantation inheritances and the laundering process that renders them domestic. He also reveals an alternative to state-backed domestic fictions. Whether or not retributive sympathy has the power to narratively and materially unmake plantation inheritances is a question Philip struggles to answer.

The Limits of Retributive Sympathy

Admittedly, Appadocca's plan for rebuilding sympathy is less defined than his program for revenging ongoing imbalances. Unlike Sedgwick, Philip does not produce a model marriage of domestic and oceanic harmony. Appadocca's rejection of the domesticity promised by reproductive heterosexual marriage, affirms that his mission is one of retribution rather than rebuilding. Thought another way, Philip denies the catharsis of domestic fiction to reaffirm the ongoing need for retributive sympathy. The promise of domestic fiction, that marriage secures an individual's social place and models social relations in the world at large, is neither possible nor honorable for this pirate of sympathy. Instead, he must recall the world to justice by acting as a force of retributive sympathy. Appadocca's latent feeling demonstrates that his piratical disavowal comes not from an absence of feeling but from a principled, if tragic, rejection of it.

Philip does raise the potential reclamation of domesticity, if only to affirm Appadocca's dedication to justice. After Appadocca escapes the British vessel by jumping to sea, he washes

up on the shores of Venezuela. There, a member of the traveling herders known as Llaneros cares for him. The presence of these indigenous people, called "children of the Savannahs- the Bedouins of South America" (171), may signal prior and ongoing forms of indigenous resistance against colonial incursion in the region. Yet, Feliciana primarily serves to test Appadocca's commitment to just piracy. Feliciana's beautiful face, which reveals "a high degree of intellect, a high degree of sentiment, and a high degree of firmness," stands in for the promise of new sexual and familial attachments (175). If Appadocca wished to claim attachments based on positive feeling, Feliciana would be a model candidate. She watches over her ward "with a mother's fondness and anxiety," revealing her potential for motherly affection and romantic attachment. She tells Appadocca, "nature could never have intended you for a pirate" (178), she promises to "follow you to the end of the world" (179). She hopes to recall the pirate to domesticity.

Tellingly, Appadocca's internal plan for rejecting this offer is neither natural nor unaffected; instead, he resolves to "maintain more than ordinary constraint in conversing with her, in the hopes that the feeling which evidently animated her, might perish from the absence of sympathy" (180). Appadocca must deaden an "animating feeling" that he claims derives from Feliciana alone, but which he admits may be strengthened by his own action. If this pirate were utterly removed from fellow feeling, his "more than ordinary constraint" would not be necessary. Likewise, Appadocca's attempt to perform an "absence of sympathy" hints at his internal struggle. Appadocca tells Feliciana that a "self-same affection" renders him "capable of appreciating and responding" her sentiments, but he cannot respond with feeling since he has "long sacrificed myself to one object" (181). This object is justice. And as Adam Smith affirms, justice is the "one virtue whose general rules determine with the greatest exactness every action that it requires" (202). To make every action an act of justice, Appadocca has disavowed social

relations and even personal identity. Appadocca claims to have “long banished away Emmanuel Appadocca, from Emmanuel Appadocca,” or dissociated from an identity that can feel and be felt for (181). As if to affirm her potential power over his claimed “wasted” heart, Appadocca tells Feliciana prior to his departure that he is not “insensible to your kindness” and may “feel it as much as I am now permitted to feel such things” (182). Yet, his latent power of beneficence must not overcome the resentment required for justice.

Resentment, first formed by abandonment but strengthened by principle, allows Appadocca to disrupt privileged domesticity and its plantation inheritances. After leaving Feliciana, Appadocca travels to his father’s plantation. He removes Mr. Wilmington to the *Black Schooner*, ties up Mrs. Wilmington, and challenges his half-brother to a duel. Appadocca frames this duel as the young man’s opportunity to act according to his natural sympathy. Appadocca must act as “retributioner,” or the embodiment of retributive sympathy, since his father was nothing but cruel. On the other hand, Young Wilmington may follow the “bonds of natural obligation.” Namely, the son is “by the principles of justice, his [father’s] natural defender” because Wilmington treated his other son with “kindness and affection” (212). In other words, privileged subjects who benefit from plantation inheritances nonetheless feel true sympathy and have a sense of justice. After all, these capacities are embodied responses to our individual experiences. Despite these feelings, such heirs’ protection of plantation inheritances and their rejection of true justice render them fit for retribution. These heirs, among whom Gertrude Clarence may number, forward a broader social imbalance.

And while even Appadocca would prefer a world of beneficence, he must act according to justice. Appadocca tells the Wilmington children, “If my heart had not been long seared, if there was still in it one single portion that continued as fresh as once the whole was, your silent

looks, your unspeakable terror, would move me more than the eloquence of a thousand glib-tongued orators" (215). This declaration, like Appadocca's entire moral philosophy, affirms sympathy's potency and naturalness while rejecting its positive application in the pirate's case. Appadocca proves adept at sympathetic narration and, it seems, must will himself to reject its power. After all, a truly unsympathetic and unruly pirate would not recognize the pain of "silent looks" and "unspeakable terror" as the key to his being "moved" in both body and feeling. Appadocca knows that a shred of fellow feeling remains more powerful than a thousand rhetoricians. The pirate's "seared" heart has become inured to feeling due to irreconcilable violence and, as I have argued, Appadocca's willful rejection of his latent sympathetic capacity. For "one single portion" to remain capable of sympathy, or to be "as fresh as once the whole was," would render the pirate of sympathy utterly ineffective.

The pirate's function as a retributive force relies on his removal from all other social spheres, even those that would allow him to establish fulfilling relations beyond the vessel. A final reunion with Feliciana reintroduces the potential for reclaimed domesticity, but it only cements the pirate of sympathy's tragic dedication to justice. Though doomed, Appadocca's unwavering actions speak to his just moral sentiments. The perfect rules of justice, Smith writes, "admit no exceptions or modifications"(202). In other words, justice dictates a sustained and unrelenting retribution against injustice. Appadocca is the embodiment of this philosophy. Before Appadocca returns to his vessel, Feliciana questions why Appadocca "doom[s] himself forever" by remaining a pirate. Appadocca replies, "That the world may profit by my conduct" (228). The "profit" in question may be economic, at least for bound and enslaved subjects, but it is also ethical. As I have discussed, Appadocca's retributive power is an attempt to restore a natural order. Appadocca's piracy, though in the service of justice, also ensures his failure. As

Feliciana notes, Appadocca cannot expect to alter global systems since "the world will not know, will not attend to what you do" (228). His insignificance relative to state-backed structures of power —as well as those states' control over the ideological narratives surrounding pirates— means that his symbolic and material force is limited. His rejection of state power, the key to justice, relies upon piratical movements that are easily dismissed as unruly and immoral. He will be classed among villainous pirates of sympathy like Sedgwick's Henrique Pedrillo. Appadocca knows his limits, but is "resolved" to make "the sacrifice" (228). "The sacrifice" appears to denote his life as well as the potential attachment with Feliciana. The reward, it seems, is the principled dedication to a morally just theory of sympathy.

And while Appadocca continually describes his own removal from beneficent feeling, a final act demonstrates a sympathetic capacity he dare not admit. In the process, Philip begins to foster the reader's final attachment with the pirate according to more accepted sentimental protocols. For example, Appadocca final letter to the British naval captain Chris Hamilton describes a "dear friend, from whose heart I have experienced so much consideration" (236). Though Appadocca places his sentiments in the past, his act of writing is itself proof on ongoing feeling. Moreover, Appadocca favors the protection of his friend over the destruction of an imperialist navy: Appadocca reminds Hamilton not to sail into an oncoming tempest. In other words, he appears to abandon his resentment to reclaim a small share of sympathy. If Appadocca were fully committed to retributive sympathy, he would not lament the destruction of a vessel that protects Britain's Caribbean interests. Rather than test the audience's tolerance for resentment, however, Philip ends by calling upon the pirate's true sentimental capacity.

Indeed, Appadocca belatedly attempts to secure a space of beneficent fellow feeling for his loyal crew. After capturing his father, Appadocca decides he must provide a refuge for his

pirate crew in South America. The best Appadocca can hope for, he writes Charles, is a space "far removed from the world, whose sympathy they cannot hope, and care not to possess" (236). In other words, Philip admits the pirate's incompatibility with a world that neither understands nor shares their resentment. Nonetheless, Appadocca hopes they may be able to export shipboard sympathy to land. And while one may attempt to read a hopeful vision of multiracial and transnational community in the pirate's commune, Philip does not use the pirate ship as a model for social relations. Nor does he refute the "blighted" life it forwards. Instead, the hope for salvaged sympathy is a desperate and ultimately tragic hope. The South American retreat deviates from the restoration of celestial and natural order that formerly guided Appadocca's action. It will remain separated from the social order based on unbalanced power.

Appadocca's final act reveals this retributive sympathy's narrative and material limits. Even the most powerful pirate of sympathy cannot undo plantation inheritances. The destruction of his vessel by a hurricane, which also kills Appadocca's father, leads Appadocca to conclude that a reclaimed sympathy is not fated. The sight of his destroyed ship caused a "hurricane of feelings within him, which equaled the raging hurricane without" (242). Appadocca's power of sympathy remains intact, though its prospects sunk with his vessel. He has no more strength for either resentment or beneficence. Since personal "honor" is all that one can control in a fated world, Appadocca commits suicide (243). As Ralph Dalloe affirms, the Caribbean's ongoing and imperfect shift from a colonial plantation order renders Appadocca the "only kind of hero possible in such infamous times" (Dalloe 53). Appadocca's suicide affirms that Philip has yet to imagine the path to a secure and sustainable anticolonial public sphere, as Dalloe argues. He also recognizes that sympathy, retributive or otherwise, may not be the path to a just social order.

Somewhat bizarrely, however, the story ends not with Appadocca's suicide but with his first mate Lorenzo's sudden marriage to a plantation heiress named Agnes. Lorenzo's real name is St. James Carmonte, and had been part of a noble French line loyal to Louis XVI. Agnes's father presents his daughter to Lorenzo, telling him, "May God . . . preserve you to see the day when the king shall enjoy his own again" (248). In other words, the foremost proof of Appadocca's positive sympathy will directly serve the plantation order he had fought to destroy. Moreover, the marriage appears to reproduce the white, middle class domesticity found in texts like *Clarence*: the prospect (or threat) of racialized lineages has given way to the promise of white heirs. So was retributive sympathy a lie? If, as Belinda Edmonson argues, Lorenzo is the "good pirate who . . . goes straight" and who "make[s] up for the 'blighted life' of the hero" (64), then one may be inclined to say yes. Likewise, if one judges *Emmanuel Appadocca* by the standards of domestic fiction, the novel's final marriage is a model for social relations that undermines Philip's prior worldview. For Philip's promise of justice to materialize, it seems, the pirate should have reclaimed his inheritance rather than resented it.

Tellingly, however, the narrator does not sanctify this marriage and, by extension, naturalize the social relations it models. Instead, he immediately recounts the tragedy of Appadocca's death in the following years. He hints that this tragedy is the fitting precursor to Philip's contemporary moment. Jack Jimmy, Appadocca's young black attendant, may have served Lorzeno with "fidelity," but "a smile . . . was never seen more on his face" (248). Though Philip largely characterizes Jack Jimmy as a broad comedic foil, a move of questionable racial politics when considering that he is the novel's main black character, his final scene affirms that Lorenzo's plantation inheritance does not lead to the balance of social order. Just as the "drops calmly fell from [Jimmy's] now aged eyes," Feliciana spends twice a year at the "lonely grave of

Emmanuel Appadocca" (248). The ending gestures to plantation inheritances' proliferation, but Philip concludes by dramatizing the world that *is* rather than the world he hopes to be. Plantation inheritances doom racialized figures like Appadocca, whose emotional and intellectual power is not given a proper outlet. This world provides even fallen white subjects like Lorenzo with potential redemption. In other words, Philip admits that Appadocca had no effect on the late-eighteenth century plantation economy that serves as Philip's inheritance. Privileged domestic fictions maintain their narrative and ideological power.

Philip's conclusion, and perhaps his novel as a whole, is necessarily paradoxical: it uses retributive sympathy to narrate sympathy's limits and, in the process, generate even more feeling. It appears to reveal that sympathy, though undoubtedly a natural and powerful force, is no match for systemic violence. Yet, Philip's ending is highly sentimental *because* it undercuts positive fellow feeling. Reading this ending in light of Smith's theory of justice, one recognizes Appadocca's suicide as a more powerful call to readers' sympathetic resentment and action. If a righteous pursuer of justice dies without success, Smith argues, "the sympathetic tears which we shed . . . seem to be but a small part of the duty which we owe him" (86). Contrary to the equation of sentimental death with "tears, idle tears," a notion forwarded in Philip's period and our own, Smith's vision of moral sentiment fosters action. Post-death fellow feeling must lead spectators to desire justice. As Smith confirms, "We feel the resentment that we imagine he . . . would feel if in his cold and lifeless body there remained any consciousness of what passes on earth. His blood, we think, calls aloud for vengeance" (86). In other words, death may be an extension rather than a termination of retributive sympathy. The deceased body's insensibility does not preclude one from extending the fellow feeling that produces a "natural sympathy with the imaginary resentment of the slain" (85). The deceased body remains powerful beyond the

live subject's retributive desire. And while one may argue that Appadocca's abstracted and sentimentalized body is by extension a deracialized one, as was the case for Stowe's titular Uncle Tom, the deceased pirate plays a distinctly more radical role. One feels for Appadocca and, by extension, forwards his resentment. A response based on beneficence, Philip has shown, will not forward systematic and radical action Appadocca has embodied. In a system of retributive sympathy, resenting plantation inheritances is the surest way to spread justice.

The Prospect of Retributive Sympathy

If Philip's story of the "hero-pirate" is a "cautionary tale to white people of what happens when brown men go wrong" (Edmonson 63), *Emmanuel Appadocca* is also about the prospect of retributive sympathy as a reading practice and a social model. Because while African American authors such as Frances Harper assert the "epistemological limits of the sentimentalists' insistence on affective translatability," as Glenn Hendler argues in his reading of her 1854 poem "The Slave Auction," Philip does not entirely concede that white spectators are unable to feel slavery's effects (7). He does, however, presage James Baldwin famous argument that Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and related sentimental fictions fail to consider "what it was, after all, that moved people to such [brutal] deeds [as slavery]." In the world of *Emmanuel Appadocca*, it appears that greed powers both racial hegemony and racist violence. Like Baldwin, Philip favors a repudiation of white hegemony over a "catalogue of violence" (14). Philip, like Saidiya Hartman, challenges himself to "give expressions to these [violent] outrages" without invoking a "benumbing spectacle" and a "narcissistic identification that obliterates the other" (4). He locates fellow feeling in Appadocca's resentment, in his desire to unmake and remake a social order. The black pirate forcibly introduces the questions Sedgwick obscures. Namely, why does plantation wealth belong to planters' white heirs rather than the families of

the formerly or currently enslaved? Is principled violence an appropriate response to racial hegemony? And while Philip certainly does not produce a racially egalitarian vision in answering these questions, he undoubtedly returns sympathy to the pirate and, in the process, pirates sympathy from privileged white subjects like Catharine Maria Sedgwick.

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Among the writers I will discuss in my final chapter, abolitionist and orator Wendell Phillips most closely advocates Philip's vision of retributive sympathy.[179] In an 1859 lecture, for example, Phillips justifies John Brown's extralegal violence in his raid of Harper's Ferry by contrasting it with southern slaveholding piracy.[180] Brown's attempt to take a federal arsenal and foment a slave rebellion, or his act against the nation, does not represent an act against feeling. Brown's action is just, Phillip states, because both Virginia and the nation have failed its commitment to protect just fellow feeling against pirates. "No civil society, no government can exist, except on the basis of the willing submission of all its citizens," Phillips writes, "and by the performance of the duty of rendering equal justice between man and man" ("Lecture" 51). In keeping with sentimental politics, Phillips frames citizenship as a moral and willing "submission" to a loving state. Like Michel Maxwell Philip, however, Wendell Phillips positions ongoing state failures as proof of violent maritime retribution's justness. He states,

> Everything that calls itself a government, and refuses that duty, or has not that assent, is no government. It is only a pirate ship. Virginia, the Commonwealth of Virginia! She is only a chronic insurrection. I mean exactly what I say. I am weighing my words now. She is a pirate ship, and John Brown sails the sea a Lord High admiral of the Almighty, with his commission to sink every pirate he meets on God's ocean of the nineteenth-century. (Cheers and applause.) I mean literally and exactly what I say. (51)

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[179] For a critical biography of Phillips, see Stewart.

[180] For more expansive accounts of contemporary responses to Brown's raid, see Beck; Finkelman (*Soul*); Stoneham; Taylor and Herrington.

Here, Phillips characterizes Virginia as a pirate of sympathy and Brown as an extralegal, if not piratical, agent of feeling. Virginia is "pirate ship" because it is guided by insurrectionary, slaveholding feeling. "Virginia is another Algiers. . . a larger and blacker Algiers," Phillips asserts, due to its "barbarous" treatment of the enslaved (52). If federal policy has yet to recognize this slavery as piratical, or act as it had against the so-called Barbary States, then Brown must receive his "commission" from a higher source. Phillips does not recover sympathy for the pirate, as Philip had. To call John Brown a pirate would prevent him from embodying the distinctly nationalist form of abolitionist fellow feeling Phillips calls for. Nonetheless, Phillips fundamentally undermines a vision of sentimental politics that justifies slavery or treats extrajudicial violence as always piratical. Instead, Brown reveals that just retribution may be at hand. Phillips concludes his speech, "John Brown has conquered the pirate. (Applause.) Hope! There is hope every where" (66).

Like Michel Maxwell Philip, Wendell Phillips imagines that one's acceptance of natural law and celestial power necessarily leads to an insurrectionary and moral retribution. In a lecture entitled "Disunion" given three months prior to the war's outset, Phillips promotes a vision of retributive power that could be mistaken for Appadocca's. "Disunion leaves God's natural laws to work their good results," Phillips argues, since "God gives every animal means of self-protection. Under God's law, insurrection is the tyrant's check" (362). Like Appadocca, Brown is imagined as the earthly agent of a celestial order. Only extralegal violence will restore national and moral union. Yet, as I will show, the Civil War piracy debates reflect conflicting and contradictory investments in such union's plantation inheritances.

Chapter Five:
Confederate Pirates of Sympathy:
Trying National Inheritances with Maria Cummins

The U.S. Civil War, naval historian Warren Spencer confirms, was "a total war with worldwide economic and maritime implications" (1). "An internal struggle. . . took on international ramifications almost immediately," legal scholar Mark Weitz asserts, because maritime policy— particularly Confederate claims in international waters— forced foreign nations to judge secession's validity (3). A postal envelope best introduces the new literary readings that follow from this history. Prominent New York printer Charles Magnus's envelope, produced in the war's opening years, shares the perspective of *A General Map of the World, or Terraqueous Globe* (1794). The globe, sliced into two hemispheres, retains its oceanic focal points. Watery bodies are named and receive equal standing with landed ones. Indeed, the envelope's particular connection to a domestic conflict is evident only by its title: "THE WHOLE WORLD IN COMMOTION ABOUT THE WAR IN AMERICA." A landed conflagration had rippled across a watery globe.

Fittingly, Charles Sumner charts these global contours in a public speech given on September 10th, 1863. As Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chair, Sumner must align domestic concerns with foreign policy. This task, Sumner confirms, remained daunting during a war about to enter its twenty-ninth month. His speech begins,

> Fellow Citizens- From the beginning of the war in which we are now engaged, the public interest has altered anxiously between the current events at home and the more distant current aboard. Foreign relations have been hardly less absorbing than Domestic Relations. At times the latter have seemed to wait upon the former, and a packet from Europe has been like a messenger from a seat of war. (5)

In an opening akin to President Lincoln's 1861 inaugural address, Sumner names the conflict's terraqueous terms.[181] He parallels "*current* events at home" with a "distant *current* abroad," thereby joining land and sea. Likewise, the state of a family of nations, or "foreign *relations,*" is necessarily tied to the national family, or "domestic *relations*." An assumed unity of familial feeling has been disrupted. While Sumner had previously presented the transoceanic post as a "golden thread" that will join the world in feeling, as I discuss elsewhere, wartime "[postal] packets" exemplify a whole world in commotion.[182] This commotion, Sumner notes, is grounded in maritime policies that "may not have the attraction of waving standards or victorious marches, but, more than any conflict of arms . . . concerns the Civilization of the age" (5). Martial spectacles may dominate attention, but legal rip currents had pulled the issue of union to sea.

Specifically, Sumner's speech against secessionist sovereignty focuses on "Oceanic Belligerency" (6). The title refers to secessionist sailors whose existence flouts federal union's material and ideological terms.[183] Put simply, the Confederacy's access to the free sea bolstered its alternative claim to sovereignty. Akin to Thomas Jefferson, Confederate founding figures stage their independence in transoceanic space. Though upstart nations' relative access to this space had recently been limited, European powers found it politically expedient to apply a prior order. The 1854 Treaty of Paris had made privateering illegal, but signatory nations ignored

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[181] After a salutation, Lincoln declares, "You will not be surprised to learn that in the peculiar exigencies of the times our intercourse with foreign nations has been attended with profound solicitude, chiefly turning upon our own domestic affairs" (n.p). Like Sumner, he then outlines the need for foreign support against piratical agents.

[182] In an April 1852 speech, Sumner advocates an increase in the government subsidy of the burgeoning transoceanic postal system, which he claims will be a "new bond of peace among nations" and will "help to weave a golden tissue between the two hemispheres" ("Cheap Ocean" 648). For an analysis of this speech in relation to the period's domestic fiction, see Kelley ("Every India Mail").

[183] The distinction is certainly meaningful, but is one of degree. As legal historian Stephen Neff explains, belligerent communities are "allowed to take and hold prisoners of war, to invade and occupy the territory of their enemies, to mount blockades….[but] are not allowed- at least not *automatically*- to have legislation recognized by foreign powers to send and receive foreign diplomats, because these rights are reserved to sovereigns" (28).

these terms in the case of the non-signatory United States.[184] Britain quickly declared neutrality and others followed.[185] For Sumner, this neutrality serves in "making [Confederate] cruisers lawful instead of piratical" (70). To treat secessionist maritime agents as other than pirates is to confirm the state that backs them. A terraqueous Confederacy, or a secessionist state on land and at sea, is therefore a singular threat to union. As Sumner mourns, sovereign powers' "mistaken sympathy" has emboldened the slave state (79). The response to Sumner's hours-long address confirms this mistaken sympathy's perceived gravity. Sumner's speech allegedly drew three thousand spectators, and was printed *in its entirety* in the following day's *New York Times*. This transcript was also subsequently bound and sold.[186] Like many popular texts of the era, Sumner's speech is at heart a pirate narrative.

This chapter follows the watery terms Magnus and Sumner set, which are themselves a continuation of prior debates on the nation's domestic arrangement and oceanic extensions. As I show, debates on Confederate maritime status power the war's major political currents. These currents include the validity of secession, the prospect of reunion, and the future of black citizenship. In each case, Confederate sailors' relative status as pirates of sympathy shapes the war's competing popular and political narrations. For Confederate writers, secessionist sailors embody southern fellow feeling against northern piracy. These sailors have spiritual ties to past revolutionaries from the American Revolution onward. Letters of marque secure this claim to sympathy and sovereignty by joining secessionist oceanic movements to a Confederate domestic

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[184] Union officials attempted to retroactively sign the agreement to prohibit Confederate claims of sovereignty: in an April 24th dispatch, subsequently published on the *New York Times* front page, Secretary of State William Seward claims that the government "merely suspended the negotiation" and now accepts the ban ("The Secession" 1). European signatories rejected this plot. For an extended study of the war and the Treaty of Paris, see Lemnitzer.

[185] For 1861 neutrality resolutions by Britain (May 13) France (June 10), the Netherlands (June 16), Spain (June 17), Brazil (August 1), see U.S., *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations* (215-21).

[186] The Young Men's Republican Union published the speech under the title *Our Foreign Relations*. The publishers claim that "not less than three thousand" persons had attended. They include a list those prominent New York men "who preferred to retain seats near the ladies whom they escorted to the meeting"(3). I cite the bound edition.

state. In short, secessionists try a new national inheritance using accepted legal and literary sentimental terms. For union figures like Sumner, these mariners embody the unfeeling unruliness inherent to the Confederate slaveholding regime. Their antecedents are prior pirates of sympathy, including Mediterranean corsairs and, paradoxically, Caribbean radicals with ties to the Haitian Revolution. These vexed legal or literary connections reflect union attempts to craft a coherent national inheritance despite a shifting investment in plantation slavery and white hegemony. At the war's outset, the place of nonwhite citizens or bondspeople in a national family remained unsettled. If treating secessionists as pirates confirmed a state rejection of slavery, if not an acceptance of full black citizenship, some believed that this strict piracy law would also prevent future union. The clashing outcomes of two October 1861 jury trials held in the north against the Confederate crews of *Jefferson Davis* (guilty of piracy) and *Savannah* (hung jury) signal piracy's fluid meaning or application. And while Confederate pirates of sympathy are ostensibly removed by the war's close, they reveal the competing and contradictory claims to a slaveholding national inheritance that began in 1776 and continued well past the war's close.

Amidst this history, I recover a Civil War domestic fiction that best stages the pirate debate's narrative, material, and historical sentiments. In *Haunted Hearts* (1864), Maria Cummins invokes historical piracy to show its effects on sympathy and, in the process, make literary *and* legal claims akin to Sumner and his political allies. Specifically, she parallels federal claims that southern mariners who claim domestic sympathy, foreign backing, and historical precedent are unfeeling villains. In the process, the novel's narrator echoes white unionists who both disavow slaveholding piracy *and* affirm white racial hegemony. Published as the Civil War entered its fourth year but set around the War or 1812, *Haunted Hearts* centers on a young French-American woman, Miss Angie Cousin, and her New Jersey community. Tellingly, an

obtrusive narrator assumes readers' pro union stance in Cummins's contemporary moment. Read in these terms, the novel's first volume is a parable of mistaken sympathy for secession. In it, Angie faces the supposed suicide of her Dutch-American lover, George Rawle, due to Angie's slight flirtation with a false British prisoner of war-cum-Caribbean pirate named Black Bullet. The seductive white naval officer and the violent black revolutionary, Cummins suggests, are the Confederate's true antecedents.

The novel's second volume cements this apparent paradox. Namely, Cummins pits Black Bullet's multiracial piracy against a white domesticity that is itself invested in South American slavery. This battle centers on a climactic piracy trial that Cummins explicitly sets against the "familiar outrage" of Confederate piracy (400). As Angie looks on, her would-be lover George recounts a martial and legal victory over Black Bullet. As George tells the jury, he had furtively become a sailor after seeing Angie flirt with Bullet. Soon after his departure, Algerian corsairs allied with Bullet had quickly enslaved him in northern Africa. George had escaped with a merchant's son to Surinam, and subsequently captained the ship that captured Bullet. George's testimony leads to pirate's subsequent conviction and hanging. This piracy trial provides a model for contemporary relations, at least for northern, white, and middle class subjects. By the novel's close, George's income from an unnamed trade in (slaveholding) Surinam fortifies an idyllic home in New Jersey. In other words, Cummins repeats a narrative and ideological trick endemic to state-backed accounts of the pirate of sympathy: she invokes piracy to reject the slaveholder's share of an oceanic inheritance and, in the process, uses that same pirate to justify white, middle class subjects' privileged share. In that way, *Haunted Hearts* in a revealing node in broader debates on the war's domestic meaning and transoceanic scope.

To structure this literary-historical network, the following three sections alternate between analyses of competing government policies and popular accounts. Each section concludes with a close reading of *Haunted Hearts*. My first section tracks debates regarding secessionist letters of marque's legal and moral validity. Wartime political papers and popular texts, most notably printed postal envelopes, variably mark secessionists' claim to sympathy and sovereignty. I then turn to two highly visible 1861 piracy trials that place secessionist maritime agents— and the Confederacy itself— at the center of competing sentimental narrations. For both sides, secessionist privateers' claim to feeling towards and attachment to a Confederate family shapes their legal status. My final section tracks the troubled racial politics that undergird northern rejections of southern sentimental politics. Northern literary and legal precedents, invoked in the historical piracy trials and embodied by Black Bullet of *Haunted Hearts*, link southern secessionists with both Barbary corsairs and Haitian diasporic revolutionaries. Each figure represents competing stakeholders in the nation's national inheritance, notably slaveholders and the enslaved, that the U.S. federal government has deemed piratical. For some, the legal and sentimental mechanisms that justify the secessionist pirate's removal also authorize the denial of black citizen subjects or bondspeople's share of a national inheritance. As my conclusion shows, narratives of postwar sentimental union remove all of these threats in favor of a vision of American empire that stretches from ocean to ocean. Ultimately, the literary-historical figure at this debate's center— the Confederate "pirate"— is central to tracking the ambivalent oceanic legacies that shape a global Civil War and its aftermath.

Letters of Marque and Letters that Mark

On April 11, 1861, one day prior to the firing on Fort Sumter, editors at the *Charleston Mercury* claim that southern "compromising, sentimental generosity," a prior willingness to

allow "encroachment of the North," will soon end. In other words, they are ready for war. No more familial feeling exists between north and south, the editors assert: put simply, "There is now no common interest, sympathy, or hope" (1). According to Elizabeth Duquette in *Loyal Subjects,* such secessionist texts prove "sympathy's treasonous dimensions" and lead northerners to affirm the "virtue of loyalty, defined against a caricatured version of sympathy as arbitrary, contingent, uncontrolled" (23). As I will show, however, figures like Sumner argue that "mistaken sympathy," rather than sympathy itself, is the source of treasonous action. For Sumner and others, Confederate claims to mistaken sympathy are built at sea and for the sake of foreign relations. Indeed, Confederate Secretary of State Robert Hunter instructed James Mason, its ambassador to Britain, to characterize secessionists not as "rebellious subjects seeking to overthrow the authority of a common sovereign," but as part of states "bound together by the tie of a common social system and the sympathies of identical interests" (1207, 1208).[187] In keeping with a secessionist sentimental politics, each state freely "binds" itself to a new government due to self-evident fellow feeling. The protection of an "identical interest," a careful euphemism for plantation slavery, necessitates secession from a "Union whose very bonds prevented them from defending themselves" (1208). As this section confirms, Confederate founding figures and popular writers use privateering to float their genocidal plantation order. For them, letters of marque mark secession as valid. Printed postal envelopes and popular sentimental narratives uphold this political claim. Writers of northern state documents and popular texts reject this position by modeling forms of sympathetic exchange based in union. These competing political and popular letters mark secession as piratical. Both groups reveal the competing sentimental marks that define the war's opening years.

[187] Howard Jones highlights the war's diplomatic competitions in *Blue and Gray Diplomacy* (2010).

Ultimately, secessionist privateers embody the federal government's fundamental problem at the war's outset: assertions of unbroken union floundered in the face of secessionist action on land and at sea. Indeed, Confederate President Davis first expressed his intention to offer letters of marque to would-be Confederate privateers on April 17, 1861, or two days following the attack on Fort Sumter. President Lincoln makes his "Proclamation of Blockade Against Southern Ports" one day later. In it, Lincoln describes "an insurrection" that includes "pretended letters of marque" secured by "a combination of such persons engaged in such insurrection" (para 2). These maritime agents both frustrated the blockade and challenged its very legal standing: only a blockade that effectively controls oceanic space could be considered legally viable.[188] Though Lincoln's legal support was unclear, as later piracy cases would show, the president concludes that all persons who take up this "pretended authority" at sea "will be amenable to the laws of the United States for the prevention and punishment of piracy" (para 5). The legal punishment, all knew, is death. Yet, the policy's desirability was an immediate question in the U.S. and abroad. "If that threat [of hanging pirates] be earnest, and not the mere expression of a legal fact," notes a British commentator in an editorial reprinted in America, "the Federal Government has thrown over the dream of a purely defensive policy, and is resolved not simply to resist, but to subdue, the South" ("From *The Spectator*" 631). Lincoln's appeal to "legal fact" notwithstanding, his approach to oceanic space would decide the conflict's political character. If claims to unbroken union rely on "the dream of a purely defensive policy," the act of hanging secessionist sailors would "subdue" an utterly unruly and nondomestic southern

[188] As Stephen Neff explains, the "effectiveness" of a blockade is a legal principle under which a "blockade does not exist in a legal sense unless there are sufficient ships on patrol to create a serious risk that ships attempting to enter the blockaded area will be captured. A noneffective (or 'paper') blockade gives the belligerent power no right to capture or confiscate neutral ships or cargoes" (262).

body. In short, he would admit a broken union. And yet, as Lincoln affirms, secessionist claims to the free sea fundamentally disrupt the prospect of present or future union.

As I have shown, assertions of national familial feeling must be backed by access to oceanic space. In keeping with these terms, the *Constitution of the Confederate States of America* gives a secessionist congress the power to "declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water" (sec 8.10). The pairing of war-making power with privateering infrastructure signals that the Confederacy is necessarily terraqueous. A privateer's distinction from a pirate is hard to distinguish at sea, but may be proven by his economic and social bond to land. In the era of sentimental politics, this bond must be one of fellow feeling. In this spirit, each of the fifteen sections in another Confederate founding document and popular imprint, "An Act Recognizing the Existence of War," prove Confederate sovereignty via the establishment of privateering policy. Since piracy is understood as unchecked aggression against nations, the act's first section declares that neutral vessels "shall not be subject to seizure" (sec 1.) Jefferson Davis hints at this charge's moral and sexual politics when he instructs his maritime agents "particularly to avoid even the appearance of force or seduction" in relation to nonmilitary forces ("Instructions," para 2). In other words, entrapment of nonmilitary forces will allow union forces to call secessionists seductive pirates of sympathy. Conversely, Davis directs the men to maintain the "justice and humanity which characterizes this government and its citizens" (par. 3), or be the maritime extension of secessionist sympathy. Privateers do not forward piratical actions detached from nations or families, he implies. Instead, they aid domestic infrastructures.

The formation of a Confederate "prize court" where sailors deposit their booty to be judged and distributed by the state cements this familial connection. Ingeniously, the act's final

section allocates five percent of prize money from these courts as a fund for "widows and orphans" and "wounded and disabled [privateers]" (sec 15). The first comparable U.S. privateering act, passed during the War of 1812, made no such provision. A later example allocated a fund of less than five percent (Weitz 20). In each case, the government's ability to rebuild familial bonds and individual bodies is proof of nationhood. In this case, the privateer underwrites secessionist sovereignty and verifies its historical, moral, and legal standing relative to its federal counterpart.

An official document distributed by the Confederate government symbolically marks and materially enacts the sentimental politics required enact this secessionist order. To receive a letter of marque, a ship captain is ostensibly required to complete the "Form of Bond" attached to the act of war. The signed document materializes the economic, legal, and emotional bonds between individuals, their families, and the nation. First, this official "form of bond" promotes a legally binding economic attachment. Its signatories are "bound to the CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA." Moreover, they agree to adhere to state policy and bring all prizes to landed courts. The document is also a "form of bond," or a new kind of bound fellow feeling. Specifically, the document calls its signatories to "bind ourselves, our heirs, executors, and administrators" to the Confederacy. In other words, it establishes a circuit of attachment that links secession's familial and national bodies. The clause that this bond could be "revoked by the President of the Confederate States" affirms that the nation's sovereign head, as opposed to individual and unruly agents, dictates maritime action. The form requires witnesses to validate this communal process of signing, sealing, and delivering Confederate claims to sympathy and sovereignty.

Ultimately, the privateer's role in the war's opening years was both material and symbolic. A writer for *The Southern Literary Messenger* outlines Confederate "revolution of sea warfare" only days before Sumner's speech (Howison "Chapter VIII" 513). This historian assumes secession's foreign recognition, though not all are so sanguine.[189] Compared to Confederate naval ships, however, privateering vessels had a relatively minor role in the war: of the fifty-two given commissions, only twenty recorded service as privateering ships (Mooney 584-85).[190] Sumner and others also call dedicated naval vessels pirates, as I will discuss, but privateers' status dominated the war's initial debates. After all, these ships first floated Confederate sovereignty. The *Savannah* became the first ship to receive a letter of marque in May 1861. It quickly claimed the sugar-laden merchant *Joseph*, which it sent to a Confederate prize court. The *USS Perry* captured *Savannah* on June 3rd 1861. The most successful early privateer, *Jefferson Davis,* captured nine ships following its launch in June 1861. Two of its prizes were successfully auctioned in the south, thereby affirming the ship's domestic connection. *Jefferson Davis* ran aground off the coast of Florida in August 1861. Its remaining prize ships met similar fates. Nonetheless, they had performed their task: secessionist sympathy had claims to land and sea.

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The international literary field, like the ocean, is a neutral venue in which Confederates could float their membership in a family of nations. In the months prior to the war, for example,

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[189] Robert Howison's "History of the War," published from 1862 to 1864 in twenty-four installments in *The Southern Literary Messenger*, narrates Confederate sovereignty as historical fact; for him, "France and Great Britain both recognized the fact that the United States, as they formerly existed, were no longer one sovereignty" ("Chapter VI" 593). Conversely, the *Charleston Mercury* states in November 1862, "The great nations of Europe...began having all their sympathies with the United States. They therefore perpetuated two wrongs upon the Confederate States. They failed to insist on the clear right they possessed by express treaty...to carry on commerce with the Confederate States; and they refused to allow the Confederate States to carry their prizes, taken on the high seas, into their ports" ("Policy" 1).
[190] For compelling naval histories of the war, see Spencer.

Georgia Representative T.R.R. Cobb asserts that a new international copyright resolution passed by the Confederacy's provisional congress will "operate strongly to bring the literary world, especially of Great Britain, to sympathize with us against the Yankee literary pirates" (257). Where the literary world goes, the political world would follow. Both worlds would join the south upon recognizing that Yankees, not southerners, are pirates who do not respect property rights. This Yankee "piracy" refers to northern control over southern literary properties, but also hints at abolitionist threats against southern claims to human property. For Cobb, secessionist sovereignty would secure all southern forms of property across the terraqueous globe. As scholars note, British reliance on southern cotton bolstered Cobb's optimistic belief in the power of secessionist literary nationalism.[191]

While the Confederate nationalist press was hampered by a lack of resources relative to its northern counterpart, they successfully align privateering policy to current events and secessionist forms of bond. As Coleman Hutchinson has shown, Confederate literature was both an "essential vehicle for Confederate nationalism" and "internationally minded" (3).[192] Confederate broadsides in particular contained "a resolutely occasional poetry" (114).[193] If poems against Lincoln or emancipation are recognized as a "weapon in the Confederate ideological arsenal," these weapons also turned seaward (116). For example, Nicholas Greenberry Ridgely published dozens of broadsides and song sheets with titles such as "Southern National Hymn," "Southern Sentiments," and "Song of the Privateer." This last sheet, printed with "Baltimore, Oct. 10, 1861." on the bottom, is set in the port city that helps usher in the war.

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[191] Melissa Homestead treats Cobb's legislation for international copyright as part of a "three-pronged plan" for European support, the other prongs being "a scheme for regulating the cotton trade, and a prohibition of Sunday mail delivery (199). I extend this reading to include the as-yet undiscussed debates on maritime piracy.
[192] For another reading of southern intellectual nationalism and its literary products, see Bernath.
[193] For other studies of wartime broadside poetry, see Cushman; Moss. For a history of Southern war poetry, see Ellinger. For an expansive history of American broadside poetry, see Sullivan.

Here, each “jolly tar” announces their sentimental attachment to the south and its cause. The song begins, “Away o'er the boundless sea,/With steady hearts and free,/We man the Sumter we;/Who for the South and liberty,/Are ready all to die.” These men are not pirates without feeling, but are guided by southern forms of bond. Their secessionist quest begins with access to the “boundless” sea, as Charles Sumner fears, but it remains tied to land. These hearty and full-hearted sailors are “Ever mindful of our home,/Which they to destroy come.” Each verse recounts acts done in the service of this familial attachment, including overtaking “Abe's cruisers.” The song's chorus, sung from the perspective of those on land, completes this form of bond. “Then let each jolly tar,/Huzza! For the noble war!” the chorus sings in response to the privateers, “Give three time three for the Sumter now,/Whose flag shall ne’er to the tyrant bow!” The “noble war” fought against northern tyranny will find its resolution on land and at sea. Another broadside poem, “Song! Hail to the South,” confirms the ultimate goal of such declarations: it announces, “Another star arisen, another flag unfurled,/ Another name inscribed among the nations of the world.” The secessionist privateer could hasten this entry into the family of nations.

Entry into this family requires making slavery compatible with fellow feeling. In response, the author of the sentimental novel *Old Toney and His Master, or, The Abolitionist and the Land-Pirate* (1861) contrasts slaveholding claims with “piratical” abolitionist sentiments. Written prior to the war’s outset, the novel reflects prewar attempts to nullify the federal laws that prohibited the deep-sea slave trade.[194] The author, Desmos, hopes that the proslavery tale will “touch the heart of the reader” and recognize it as the product of a “humble heart, but a hopeful spirit” (viii). In short, it is a classic sentimental fiction. The novel is set in the 1820s and concerns Colonel Shelton, a “lordly Southern planter,” who embodies a southern claim to

[194] For an extended history of these attempts, see Sinha.

national slaveholding feeling. At home, Shelton proves the "feelings and . . . endearing ties which bind together the master and his slave" (34). The "benevolent-hearted" planter also aids all guests "even if he had crossed the broad Atlantic in quest of pecuniary aid" (13). In short, he advances moral foreign relations. Desmos contrasts this plantation form of bond with northern aggression. Abolition, rather than slavery, is the pirate's true calling. If this and other anti-Uncle Tom novels rely on "portraying abolitionists as unfeeling," as Joy Jordan-Lake confirms, the pirate hints at this trope's terraqueous power (7). The novel's villain is "notorious as a land-pirate" (23). Desmos thereby removes the pirate of sympathy from their geological and geographic setting to make a broader claim about southern property rights. Like T.R.R. Cobb, he joins secessionist political and literary claims.

In keeping with these terms, Desmos's path to global fellow feeling includes the removal of piratical abolition and the reassertion of slaveholding order. Ultimately, the abolitionist pirate "suffered upon the gallows for the double crimes of murder and negro stealing" (23). Theft of southern state-backed property, left unchecked by official governments, forces the kind of extrajudicial action that will underwrite secession. In the novel, the pirate's death is not due to the "verdict of a regularly constituted judge and jury," but is instead the result of "calm, collected, dignified men, who felt pained and grieved at the step which they felt that a stern and unavoidable necessity" (385, 388). Southern deviations from established law, or the thing that will make secession piratical in the eyes of unionists, is the product of calm, rational feelings. Befitting the sentimental politics that justify state violence by appealing to citizen-subjects' fellow feeling, northern piracy's removal is the only possible and moral option for those southerners who "felt pained and grieved." In this sentimental fiction, only the abolitionist's death will allow for the model marriage of the novel's slaveholding hero and heroine. Readers

who "unite Christian hearts" with this pair endorse the claim to feeling that will define secessionist maritime policy (393). Ultimately, then, *Old Toney and His Master* is a paradigmatic example of Confederate sentimental politics: the abolitionist pirate of sympathy's removal is the only that preventing the perfection of southern familial feeling.

As I have shown, Jefferson Davis's letters of marque proved key to securing secessionist sympathy and sovereignty. Postal letters were uniquely positioned to support this order. The establishment of a Confederate post was among Davis's first acts as president, for martial and symbolic reasons. If secessionist agents needed logistical support, southern forms of bond required their own circuit of sympathy.[195] Printed postal envelopes, or covers, quickly entered this circuit and its union alternative. Approximately three hundred printers in the north and at least thirty in the south produced over 15,000 different kinds of envelopes during the war. These covers most often cost one or two cents, and were sometimes sold in packs of ten.[196] These envelopes, Alice Fahs confirms, "provided individuals with a means of displaying—and sending—their patriotism" (43). They were part of a broader material visual culture that includes photographs, *cartes de visites*, posters, songbooks, paintings, advertising manuals.[197] Even when kept as souvenirs, as they most often were, envelopes materialized an imagined form of cultural and intimate exchange. "What a remarkable jumble of patriotism, sentiment, humor and animosity does such a collection present," confirms an official writing for the April 1862 *U. S. Mail and Post Office Assistant* (qtd in Hahn). Such envelopes, he believes, will prove useful for future persons "desirous of getting a glimpse of feeling and humors of our times." Fittingly, the

[195]Regular postal service continued for the war's first seven weeks. Mail was smuggled by Confederate vessels as well as private companies after this time. For studies of wartime postal systems, see: Dietz; Milgram; Walske.
[196] These numbers come from Boyd, *Patriotic Envelopes of the Civil War* (2010), 2-4. For more statistics, see Grant. For further account of such envelope's popularity, see Fahs (*Imagined* 42-45)
[197] For recent studies of this wartime iconography, see Berry; Bonner; Gallman; Neely and Holzer; Rosenheim and Jardine; Samuels (*Facing*); and Savage, ed.

popular height of what the writer called the "rage for envelopes"— from the war's outset to mid-1862— coincided with the most heated period of debate regarding Confederate letter of marques' first issuance (qtd in Hahn).[198]

If covers that display the Confederate flag represent the "informal emergence of Confederate nationalism," as Steven Boyd shows in *Patriotic Envelopes of the Civil War*, they also informally uphold its maritime policies (34). Namely, these artifacts allow southerners to align personal attachment with national allegiance. The letters mark the Confederate letter of marque as valid by confirming its grounding claim: secession is the product of familial attachments. Publicly stamped envelopes seal secessionist forms of bond. These covers bear the Confederate flag and name its leaders. In such cases, the entire cover becomes a mark of secessionist government. Of course, northern narrators countermand this policy using even starker terms. An 1861 response to the Confederate flag envelope introduces the northern reaction to be discussed in my next section: Jeff. Davis captains a pirate flag.

Indeed, southern privateering politics' relative success forced federal counter-narrations. As Sumner laments in his 1861 New York speech, foreign nations had not treated secessionists as piratical. This neutrality, he argues, is "opening to [secessionists] boundless facilities at sea and in port, so that they may obtain supplies and even hospitality" (70). Both Sumner and Lincoln have concrete proof of secessionists' access to open seas and foreign ports.[199] These sailors' supposed access to "boundless facilities" exemplifies secessionism's martial and existential threat to union: foreign "hospitality" toward sailors at sea girds Confederate claims to

[198] The official continues, "The rage for envelopes decorated with patriotic or other embellishments seems subsiding. Letters travel without the protection of a flag and portraits of distinguished personages cease to occupy the corner opposite to the physiognomy of Washington. Curious collectors have accumulated a great variety of specimens of those illustrated envelopes" (1).
[199] In April 1862, President Lincoln provided a report to the House of Representatives with "information regarding insurgent privateers in foreign ports" (1). The report includes notes by agents in Great Britain, France, Spain, Brazil, and the Netherlands.

fellow feeling on a national and global scale. In this vision, secessionist sailors are global agents of a domestic order. For Sumner, however, these sailors are "[w]ithout a home and without a legal character" (74). They are characterless pirates of sympathy, or extranational and immoral deviants. Sumner recognizes his claim's limits, but he appeals to a higher moral order based on unionist feeling. "Even if [Ocean] Belligerency seems to be established as a fact," Sumner states, "still its concession in this age of Christian light would seem to be impossible" (76). Despite secessionist sailors' undeniable existence, their legal status is contrary to "every argument of fact and reason—every whisper of conscience and humanity—every indignant outburst of an honest man" (74). Proper thought, feeling, and action—the three ingredients of the "age of Christian light"— dictate that secessionist sailors are pirates. Yet neutrality has granted these sailors a false share of feeling and, in the process, sanctifies their attachment to a slaveholding order. For Sumner, however, legal channels must follow unionist currents.

For some writers, the legal and narrative precedents for anti-secessionist action can be found in early national assertions of American sovereignty in oceanic space. According to a *New York Times* editorial, for example, to admit Confederate sovereignty is to deny America's prior rejections of barbaric unruliness. In an answer to the titular question "What Compromise with the Rebels Means," the author frames Mediterranean piracy and Confederate sovereignty as part of a shared legacy. Secessionists may claim access to the sea, the author admits, but so did Barbary pirates. "The pirates of the Mediterranean looked upon our ships and crews as their private spoil," the writer contends, until the Constitution saved the nation from this "position of intolerable degradation" (4). In short, the nation's founding document establishes a form of bond that links the nation to itself and to the world. They continue, "the world believed as we believed, that it indissolubly united us in peace or war, in weal or woe, and gave the Government an

indisputable and irresistible claim upon the purse and service of every able bodied man in the country" (4). For this author, the world sanctifies federal bonds "indissolubly united" in martial action and personal feeling. This fellow feeling joins the national body to its favored citizens, or "every able bodied man." Faced with a new piratical threat, compromise with secession will undo this national inheritance. Citizens will soon "learn depths of sorrow and suffering and humiliation" since foreign powers will no longer respect federal union (4). In short, compromise means a return to an era in which any national or piratical force, foreign or domestic, could undermine American sympathy and sovereignty.

Britain's real and imagined support for this piratical force guides popular satirical accounts in support of federal policy. The war's comedic characters, Alice Fahs notes, are "a window into an entire imagined world of war," a world marked by "dissonance" rather than "harmonious patriotism" (204). This world is transoceanic, as such characters make clear. For example, Joseph Barber concludes his satirical *War Letters of a Disbanded Volunteer* (1864) with a criticism of British policy. In the process, he name's the state-backed pirate of sympathy's defining trait. "Wun thing's shure, they've got to stop fittin out Rebel men-of-war," the volunteer confirms in a letter dated July 23rd, 1863. This satirical letter demonstrates Barber's awareness of shifting federal standards for piracy and his rebuff of Confederate maritime action (312). He continues, "My friend Abraham is good-naterd to a folt; but as he remarkt to me when we last disgust the subjeck, thar is a pint at witch piracy ceses to be a virtoo." Here, the author hints that "piracy" has variable meaning or application: President Lincoln's supposed appeal to "a pint at witch piracy ceses to be a virtoo," implies that piracy is, at base, virtuous when it serves a prevailing national economic interest. Nevertheless, such power is misapplied when it threatens state power. As the Disbanded Volunteer concludes, "That pint has been reeched, and John Bull

may confidently eggspect kicks ef he continners to countnance free booting" (312). Freebooters, or pirates, may be the source of the domestic conflicts' international expansion.

Robert Henry Newell, New York newspaper satirist, also rejects British neutrality and confirms their status as pirate-abettors. Newell's fictional letters from the simple-minded political hopeful "Orpheus Kerr," first published in 1862 the New York *Sunday Mercury* and bound in 1863, give a running commentary on the war.[200] Most notably, Kerr relays "a pleasing conversation on the state of our foreign relations" in a letter dated November 7th, 1862. He talks to "Bifstek" (a play on the English staple "Beefsteak"), a "phlegmatic British chap connected with the English Ministry" (331). The men are "speaking of the English Southern pirate 'Alabama' in terms of neutrality" (332). The Confederate commerce raider *Alabama* had been built and launched in England, and never docked in a southern port.[201] For Sumner and others, the ship embodies British failures of neutrality. Newell obliquely confirms these terms by calling the ship "the English Southern Pirate." In other words, he answers the question found in works such as G.P. Lowrey's 1863 volume, *English Neutrality: is the Alabama a British Pirate*?.[202]

Newell further draws an affirmative answer via an ingenious visual gag. As Kerr writes, the English man "drew a roll of silk from one of his pockets, fastened it to his cane, unfurled it before my eyes" (333). The flag of skull and crossbones, Kerr confirms, "indeed The Black Flag." "The Black Flag! what a 'orrible h'idea!" Bifstek retorts, "You must be thinking of the h' Alabama." (333). Where Kerr sees a skull and crossbones the Englishman sees the "beautiful

[200] For further biographical information on Newell, see Fahs ("Northern" 202-03).
[201] *Alabama*, launched in July 1862 by British shipbuilders Cammell Laird, served as a "commerce raider" in seven expeditionary raids aimed at disrupting Union shipping across the globe. It claimed 65 Union prizes before its sinking in June 1864. For a history of Alabama, see Merli.
[202] The treatise, published in New York and Philadelphia, is addressed to New York shipping magnate A.A. Low. The author does not call *Alabama* a British pirate, but confirms that Britain has particularly aided the piratical ship. They write, "numerous and notorious acts, in breach of the obligations of neutrality which are due from a friendly nation to another engaged in war, have been perpetrated against us by the British government and people" (5). After the war, Sumner and others call upon Britain to pay reparations for damages sustained by Union shipping.

Hinglish crest— a crown and scepters" that he hopes will adorn the "new Hinglish Revenue flag" (333). The joke is, of course, that Confederate piracy and English revenue have been allied. In keeping with his comedic purpose, Kerr ends with a final cutting remark: "It was strange, indeed, that I should mistake for a skull the insignia of royalty, even though a crown is not unfrequently found identified with a numskull." (333). In short, the British numskull and the Confederate pirate skull have joined heads.

Newell's visual parallels the iconography of printed postal envelopes. As in the south, northern cultural producers echo their government's position via marked envelopes. Scholars of both wartime iconography and postal covers have yet to discuss the large number of northern "pirate" covers. Over one hundred covers include pirate iconography or directly reference the piracy debate. The most popular design, of which there are at least six variations, joins the classic "jolly roger" pirate flag and the title "J.D. His Marque." In a way, this image directly combats Jefferson Davis's maritime letter-making and marking. They indicate that the Confederacy's self-evident status as piratical makes its agents unfit for any mercy or for attachment to the union. Real or imagined exchanges of these envelopes enact an alternative circuit of united feeling and identity. This circuit is defined by the rejection of piratical unruliness. Senders and recipients of anti-pirate envelopes affirm, no matter a letter's content, that their letter defies those held by letter of marque-holders. In short, these envelopes stamp union bonds against secessionist piracy.

Another postal cover best captures the piratical violence that shapes the secessionist form of bond, at least according to unionist figures. Published by New York printer D.B. Murphy, the envelope displays a "Secession Web" with a piratical spider at its center. It contains a misquoted line from Mary Howitt's 1829 poem— "'Walk into my parlor,' says the Spider to the Fly"— that

warns against false flattery. Davis, one presumes, speaks as the pirate-spider. Davis had warned his sailors about seduction when he offered his letters of marque, but this envelope indicates that a prior seduction stands at secession's center. In this vision, the confederated states are like so many flies, unified in duress and blood. Secessionist unity is not the result of fellow feeling. It is a web of bondage spun by a piratical leader. Visually, this web grows out from the nation itself, which is represented by the stars and stripes. This tenuous connection, one held together by only one visible thread, could represent the confederacy's basis in a prior national order. Will this threat be cut? Can this thread be recovered? Befitting an unclear future, the question of union remains unanswered in this representation.

Similarly, Ned Buntline's *The Rattlesnake: Or Rebel Privateer. A Tale of the Present Time* (1862) refutes the sentimental politics at the heart of secessionist maritime policy. This connection has been unnoted in studies of the period's popular fictions.[203] In short, Buntline aligns secessionist privateering with misguided southern attachments. These attachments lend themselves to piratical slavetrading, seduction, and avarice. In keeping with prior narratives centered on pirates of sympathy, Buntline invokes familial feeling to stage political union. In this case, however, a southern gentleman's piratical nature precludes his attachment to a loyal New England woman. At the story's outset, South Carolinian Will Ashton resigns his commission as a navy lieutenant due to a refusal to "fight against the people of that South where I was born" (6). In other words, Ashton makes a claim to familial attachment that also grounds secessionist privateering claims. Ashton's fiancée, the New England heiress Fluta Winchester, had hoped he would "fight for the Union, and for the Union people of the South- not for the traitors and rebels" (6). She maintains the federal view of unbroken union, and leaves her fiancée due to his betrayal. Ashton's claim to southern attachment proves false when tested. He laments that a bout of

[203] Alice Fahs, for example, mentions the novel only in passing in *Imagined Civil War* (2001).

truthfulness led him to "lose such a prize," and devotes himself to revenge (7). Befitting women's centrality in sentimental politics, Fluta's status as a "prize" cements this piratical turn.

Indeed, Ashton's alliance with slave-trading pirates becomes an allegorical refutation of the secessionist form of bond. After the southerner's desertion is printed in the newspaper, a slavetrader named Ichabod Snaggs offers him a "privateering" commission. In form and spirit, Snaggs's pitch undermines southern claims to moral sympathy. He tells Ashton,

> The long and the short of it is this: I was agoin' on the coast for a cargo of niggers, when this cussed war broke out. I'd just got a clipper brig built of four hundred ton, that can out-sail all creation. . . When I heard that the Southern chaps were agoin' to fit out privateers, I got to thinkin' there was more money to be made at that than there was a cartin' niggers to Cuba, runnin' the risk o' gett in' catched, and all that. So I sent to old Jeff Davis for a *letter o' marque* and a flag; and here they be. (11)

Clearly, Snaggs's offer is nothing more than an extension of a piratical slave system. He is swayed by greed rather than southern fealty. Snaggs mentions no solemn ceremony, no sealing of bonds. Davis needs no proof of loyalty or honor, it seems. The commission he grants is one of legal cover. Snaggs's skills in the illegal maritime trade, or his knowledge of waters and his ability to evade capture, make him a fit privateer. Indeed, his eventual crew assumes they are "bound upon a slaving voyage," but accept their fate due to a "love of money" (14). Ashton has his own unfeeling motivations: the prospect of piratical seduction. "Privateer or pirate– about one and the same, but I am in for it," he snarls. He does not heed Jefferson's instructions about seduction. Instead, he hopes, "The day may not be very far away when I will *persuade* the haughty Miss Fluta to take a cruise with me" (12). Ashton aligns his war making with sexual violence: his "cruise" will be the key to both. By having Ashton reject legal niceties to affirm his true piratical intentions, Buntline undermines the sentimental fiction that grounds Davis's

instructions. Yet, Ashton's early death proves that such figures will not determine the ongoing war's outcome. Fittingly, the 1862 novel ends with its narrator set to join ongoing battles.

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Among these Civil War pirate fictions, Maria Cummins's *Haunted Hearts* (1864) is both the least known to modern scholars and the most comprehensive literary meditation on the wartime pirate of sympathy.[204] While not nearly as successful as *The Lamplighter*, *Haunted Hearts* was printed in American, German, French, and multiple British editions.[205] At least one notice touts the novel's simultaneous British and U.S. publications.[206] The novel is best known as the basis for another piracy trial, one centered on non-British writers' protection against unlicensed copies of their work.[207] This incidental tie to the novel's plot nonetheless confirms the stakes Confederate representative T.R.R. Cobb had presented: power in the global (literary) marketplace could fundamentally shape international responses to secessionist forms of bond.

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[204] Befitting the novel's relative visibility in studies of domestic fiction, one page in Nina Baym's introduction of *The Lamplighter* contains the most sustained analysis. Even so, Baym does not discuss piracy as the novel's primary plot point and names Angie (rather than the pirate Bullet) as the object of scorn and discord. Other accounts are equally cursory. Steven Hamelman considers *Haunted Hearts* as having the "rich sympathetic texture" of Cummins's lesser-known novels, but his brief note regarding the novel's "saturation with allusions to 'heart'" serves to prime his vital reading of *El Fureidîs* (62). Heidi Jacobs calls *Haunted Hearts* a "historical crime novel," but does not consider its place in Cummins's literary development (*Reclaiming* 243).

[205] The third British edition appeared in 1868, while the French *Les Fantômes du Coeur* was published in 1878. An advertisement in *Coleman's Rural World* sets its U.S. price at $2.00 ("Advertisement" 7). Cummins's contract for *Haunted Hearts* was thirty cents per copy, given by J.E. Tilton of Boston (Williams *Reclaiming* 195).

[206] The novel was given top billing in a publisher's notice for "Ten New Books" in New York magazine *The Independent*; the notice reads, "The great novel by the author of 'The Lamplighter.' Published in England and the United States simultaneously May 23" (176). The naming of simultaneous publication alongside the expected appeal to Cummins's bestseller demonstrates an imagined connection between literary worth and transnationalism.

[207] Cummins traveled to Canada, then a British colony, to meet the residency stipulation for a British copyright for *Haunted Hearts*. In response to subsequent unlicensed editions, the House of Lords reasserted in *Low v. Routledge* that the crown's power over all "British dominions" secured Cummins's right to be "bound by, subject and entitled to the benefits which affect all British subjects" (117). The terms that made Rutledge piratical are reminiscent of the U.S. federal government's stance towards Confederate piracy: both sovereigns framed themselves as guarantors of legal rights and sentimental bonds. For a history of the trial, see Seville (193-199). For an analysis of copyright law and women's self and literary ownership, see Homestead (*American Women*); Williams (*Authorship*)

If the title *Haunted Hearts* implies a resolved pessimism in the face of secessionist sympathy and internecine violence, Cummins brands “haunted hearts” as *proof* of union.[208] In the process, she not only denies confederate sovereignty as a narrative or legal reality, but also refuses to admit that union has dissolved. To that end, her author’s preface lacks a direct reference to either piracy or secession. Cummins only refers to “the crime on which the incidents of my story hang (an unnatural and unusual crime in civilized communities)” (4). This oblique mention of “unnatural” crimes and narrative hangs, as opposed to a repetition of Lincoln’s proclamation on secessionist piracy and Confederate hangings, grounds an attempt to both account for and deny the war’s effects. In short, Cummins presents piratical violence is a means to perfect sympathy. Probing “false lights, such hidden ghosts, such stalking spectres,” or the prospect of disunion, reveals a “debt of love, compassion, forgiveness, sympathy, which each owes to all” (5). In assuming these terms, Cummins remodels an early national sentimental politics of “agonizing affect” that began with Thomas Jefferson and fundamentally shaped the period’s pirates of sympathy. For the early national writers I discuss, agony’s affective intensity could unite an ideologically divided and geographically dispersed populace. For Cummins, agony’s wartime undeniability could heal a newly fractured union. For both, citizens could recognize their shared pain and, with it, their shared political connection. The disunion embodied by piratical threats is thereby made useful. Cummins “did not write the story for the sake of the crime,” she affirms, but must “tolerate” it (5). The “story hang[s],” much like Bullet hangs, one readers’ rejection of mistaken sympathy and their acceptance of indissoluble union (4).

In the novel’s first volume, Cummins initiates this highly allegorical fable of Civil War politics. Yhe plot supports the belief that secessionist southern gentlemen prey on mistaken

[208] In her introduction to *The Lamplighter,* Nina Baym invokes this title to consider Cummins’s “gloomiest” novel as proof that, in terms of domestic ideology, “either the national family was shattered or the attempt to think of the nation in the image of the family was ludicrous in the first place” (xxx).

sympathy. As in prior narrations, a seduction plot is a fitting means of staging piratical incursions in domestic space. In this case, the seduction is communal and individual. As the novel opens, a British lieutenant and "gintleman prisoner" in the ongoing War of 1812 has entered a quaint New Jersey town (39). The townspeople are kinder to Lieutenant Josselyn, who is actually the pirate Black Bullet, than one would expect of a typical prisoner of war (39). They have an abundance of sympathy, but unknowingly aid this piratical agent. For example, the tavern headed by George Rawle's cousin and standing at the "centre of that [domestic] circle" serves as the both novel's center and pirate's secret base (9). The events at this tavern, which "in some degrees shared the fortunes of the new republic," demonstrate that acts of sedition begin at home (11). Indeed, George's cousin helps rig a horse race for Josselyn that will lead to George's disownment. Most troublingly, Bullet's arrival at Angie's home one night gives her "a little flutter of pleasurable excitement," and sets the stage for the novel's fundamental crisis (124). Allowing pirates to enter domestic bodies leads to violent ruptures.

While the novel's first section contains little explicit discussion of the ongoing Civil War, its domestic break begins, like the war itself, with Baltimore. During Bullet's visit with Angie, George arrives at Angie's home greatly distressed: George's cantankerous uncle and closest paternal relative, Baltimore Rawle, has disinherited him due to the machinations of Bullet and his accomplices. The Baltimore riot of April 1861 occurred in a seaport city that contained the nation's largest free black population but was beset with secessionists. The event signaled that war was imminent.[209] Through Baltimore, Cummins stages her own domestic break. After Angie unsuccessfully hides Bullet's presence from George, the young American departs suddenly and in great despair. The next morning, Baltimore Rawle is dead, George has disappeared, and Baltimore's cache of "gold guineas" is gone (86). A seditious murder, a patricide of sorts, has cut

[209] For a history of the Baltimore riot, see Ezratty.

the Rawle paternal line and has prevented its continuation through George's marriage with Angie. Bullet's secret escape, in addition to George's staged death by a greedy Bullet-allied cousin, means that a domestic inheritance has become a bankroll for piracy.

The novel's omnipotent narrator explicitly judges Bullet's success and the community's mistaken sympathy in terms of readers' proper feelings towards their Civil War present. Namely, the narrator recalls readers to the proper relation between the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and the ongoing Civil War. In the process, she presents a genealogy of American martial power and indissoluble union that the novel's characters failed to recognize. For the novel's New Jersey community, the War of 1812 was "fought at a distance . . . on an element to which they were strangers," and led to the "insurance of rights of which they had never dreamed of being dispossessed" (308). Bullet's actions prove that the community *should have* recognized that maritime policy and conflicts shape domestic space. The War of 1812 protected the inheritances won in the Revolutionary War, or "the hand-to-hand struggle in which their grandfathers had achieved freedom" (308). Moreover, the community did not know their role in priming freedom's projection in the Civil War, or the "the life-and-death grapple to which their grandchildren have lately sprung in her defence" (308). The narrator assumes that the "grandchildren" of the revolution serve solely on the side of union, thereby naming and disavowing the very existence of secessionist sympathy or sovereignty. As this narration makes clear, union is the only familial relation or form of bond.

Whereas the manumission and enfranchisement of formerly enslaved subjects would provide one model for restored domestic relations, Cummins removes the novel's sole nonwhite subject who isn't a pirate. In keeping with Cummins's privileging of white, middle class domesticity, to be discussed in length, the novel's sole formerly enslaved black subject, "old

Happy Boose," serves as the site for Angie's development. Tellingly, Happy presents the only direct account of Southern slavery. After the British officer's absence brings a character to tears, Happy states "Ole Hap thought mebbe Miss Angie was a 'beatin yer; same as ole missus down South used to beat dis yer nigger-wench" (212). The matter-of-fact account of domestic violence perpetrated by "ole missus down South" signals that southern homes are violently ordered; this fact serves in comparison with Boose's uncomplicated happiness as a northern domestic worker. If a "Happy" nonwhite domestic line must be invoked to counter secessionist ideology, it cannot proliferate in the union Cummins will present. Angie alone models proper citizenship by proving her capacity for virtue and household labor. After George's disappearance, Angie spent the months prior to Happy's death "nursing the faithful servant and performing the household drudgery besides" (257). This nonwhite subject may be both sanctified and removed from domestic space; as I will show, the racialized pirate will prove much more difficult to contain.

The novel's fallen heroine not only models mistaken sympathy's violent effects, but also shows how Civil War agony may become the basis for positive national bonds. Angie's moral and embodied capacity to withstand a seemingly permanent domestic break makes her the incarnation of the Civil War landscape. George's "death" is followed by a five-year gap in the narrative, during which the War of 1812 ends. While Angie sits "musing on the ruins of those [castles] demolished five years ago," the narrator highlights her marked body: Angie's "first flush of youth is passed," her frame shows "languor and debility," and her form is no longer beautiful but "patient and peaceful" (311-12). She is undeniably scarred. In keeping with the novel's preface, however, this negative account primes an affirmation: "And this, then, is victory! Certainly; why not?" (312). The narrator notes,

> Tell me, is victory beautiful? Is it not wounded, stained, scarred, just in proportion as it is hard-won and glorious? Does it not come with tattered banners, and broken

> ranks, and weary steps, as tokens of its triumph? Who sees in our decimated battalions, or on the face of our bloody battle-fields, the cheering signs of conquest? It is known only by its fruits. It is felt, not seen. (312)

The lessons of the ongoing Civil War, left unnamed but unmistakably invoked, provide a key to understanding how "beauty" serves as an ineffectual marker of one's moral victories. Angie's body maps ongoing scenes of carnage, which in turn validates both her silent suffering and the current war effort. The Civil War's presence in the scene builds in power and specificity. Cummins evokes the "wounded, stained, scarred," then grimly introduces "tattered," "broken," and "weary" wartime figures. Finally, she recalls "our decimated battalions" and "our bloody battlefields" in her Civil War present. Facile "cheering signs of conquest" are not to be found, but this doubly "victorious" account marks a shift from easy feeling. For both Angie and the novel's readers, the "fruits" of conquest are internal and affective, or "felt, not seen." Such troubled optimism befits a war seemingly without end. Even so, the narrator indicates a lingering doubt by framing these appeals as questions. In light of Angie's undeniable domestic break, union can only occur once the piratical source of disruption is subdued both at sea and in the courts. Due to an extraordinary set of circumstances, Angie will come to face Bullet in a New York courtroom. As Cummins makes clear, however, it is actually the Confederacy on trial.

"Crimes Against Feeling": Trying Secessionist Sympathy

By the time *Haunted Hearts* is published in 1864, the Confederacy's maritime action and legal status had been widely debated if not resolved. After the *USS Perry* captures the secessionist *Savannah* in June 1861, the *New York Times* publishes a copy of the privateer's letter of marque, which is inscribed "Letter-of-Marque, No. 1" ("The Privateer *Savannah*" 1). This public claim to power over a secessionist founding text also broadcasts its legal message: *Savannah* is an extension of a Confederate state and its form of bond. To hold a military trial

would affirm this point, thereby contradicting the foundational union position. Therefore, the U.S. government has these sailors tried in a civil court. During the final week of October 1861, the twelve crewmembers of *Savannah* face a New York jury. A Philadelphia jury tries William Smith, captain of privateering vessel *Jefferson Davis,* on nearly concurrent days.[210] Each faces piracy charges, which ostensibly carry a mandatory death sentence. Both sets of defense attorneys are pro-union northerners who act independently of the Confederate government. Nonetheless, each invokes the sentimental terms that had ordered prior debates.[211] As I will show, Maria Cummins responds by advocating a stance in line with the prosecution yet more extreme than many northerners: for some, hanging these Confederates will hinder domestic relations. Cummins, however, uses historical fiction to argue for an unflinching dedication to the removal of unfeeling pirates on trial.

The war's legal field, though not as deadly as the battlefields of the conflict's fourth month, directly informs the war's martial and political terms. The *Savannah* and *Jefferson Davis* trials are given daily coverage and transcription in the *New York Times*, the *New York Herald*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, and other national newspapers.[212] These trials, though ostensibly directed at juries, also share narrative and historical space with ongoing public competitions between Union and Confederate forces. The *Jefferson Davis* defense goes so far as to "beg my friends the reporters here, who appear to be taking notes of what I am saying, not to misunderstand me, or misquote me." He continues, "At a time like this, it is as much as a man's

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[210] The *Jefferson Davis* trial began on October 22nd in Philadelphia and concluded on October 29th; the *Savannah* case ran in New York from October 23rd to October 31st.

[211] For a superb legal history of the cases, see Weitz.

[212] The *Philadelphia Inquirer* gives a "full and complete report" of its home trial that includes a transcription of the first day's proceedings and partial transcripts to each of the days thereafter ("Trial of William Smith" 2). Other papers republish these reports.

liberty, or even his life is worth, to be correctly quoted" (60).[213] He has reason to be cautious: a member of the *Savannah* legal defense, a northerner, had been arrested (without charges) due to his contact with the Confederate government.[214]

Indeed, newspapers present serialized domestic dramas complete with obtrusive narrators. They also recount the scenes of battle, thereby textualizing the connections between events in court, on land, and at sea. For example, The *New York Times* back page for October 25th 1861 dedicates almost two columns to an editorialized transcription entitled, "The Privateer *Savannah*: Public Interest Unabated- Progress of the Trial." The page's other maritime entries include: "The Rebel Attack on the Blockading Fleet at New-Orleans"; "The Pirates again at Work. Capture of the Brig Granada by a Charleston Privateer"; "Capture of the Rebel Steamer Salver with a Valuable Cargo"; "Marine Intelligence"; and various shipping notices. Moreover, New Yorkers who are separated from the war's southern front have a prime seat for its legal one. According to the *Herald*, the *Savannah* trial is "densely crowded" on its first day ("First Case") and by day five officers barely "prevented the doors from being burst open by the masses who were anxious to hear" ("Case" 29 Oct.). The paper notes there are "a number of ladies also present" to view the proceedings ("Case" 30 Oct.). As with many sentimental narrations, legal or otherwise, the trial transcripts are later bound and sold.[215]

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[213] The defense attempts to distinguish between their legal argument and the presumed "mistaken sympathies" such an argument could be said to include. He states, "I do not stand here as a secessionist, or as the advocate of secession, nor is it necessary in fact, that I should do so. But what I say, and all that I say, is, that, admitting secession to be all wrong; and admitting that the Southern Confederacy has no right whatsoever to revolutionize, still it has revolutionized- it had not only gone out of the Union, but it has taken eleven of the states out with it, and it has left, at least, two more upon the fence top" (60).

[214] Attorney Algernon S. Sullivan's attempts to gather evidence inevitably led to his contact with the Confederate government; even so, U.S. Secretary of State William Seward directs the New York Police commissioner to arrest Sullivan. For a detailed account, see Weitz (79-83).

[215] New York printer Baker and Godwin publish the *Savannah* transcript in 1862. King and Baird of Philadelphia publish the Jefferson Davis transcript in 1861. I cite these bound transcripts.

Beyond merely debating the facts at hand— whether these sailors' had engaged in piratical action— both sides use sentimental language endemic to the period's legal arguments. Not surprisingly, then, each defense's strategy continues Confederate sentimental narrations. In short, each naturalizes a secessionist legal claim via appeals to historical precedents and familial attachments. The *Jefferson Davis* defense muses, for example, "upon what principle, or by what authority, did the Congress of the United States dare to appropriate one cent to the real or personal representatives of John Paul Jones?" (60). By aiding Jones, a revolutionary privateer deemed piratical by the British, the federal government had confirmed that familial and national bonds may be made against the wishes of a former sovereign. According to the *Savannah* defense, northern prejudice must not desensitize the jury to the defendants' claim to such revolutionary sovereignties. Revolutionary Texans, for example, also denied the Mexican government's "odious sentiments" in their assertion of independence.

According to this lawyer, denying the Confederate privateer access to secessionist fellow feeling will prevent the prospect of future revolutionary sentiments. Namely, future revolutions will seek "a word of sympathy" from the U.S. when asserting their rights; in other words, they will expect the federal government to respect Jefferson's declaration against "piratical warfare." The jury must "listen therefore to the better voices whispering to each heart" (230). Applied to the present case, this voice reveals "the sympathy that existed" between these sailors and the Confederate government (232). Rather than justify that government's specific policy, the defense confirms secessionist sentimental politics: letters of marque "nominally" under Davis are in fact "virtually and actually a commission issuing from eight millions of people, who recognized and sanctioned it under the hand of their president and the seal of their government" (234). In other words, southern familial feeling underwrites the Confederate government document. The

witnessing of signatures and branding of seals that secure the textual "Form of Bond" has served its intended purpose.

To highlight this secessionist form of bond, the defenses channel the unfeeling and undomesticated pirates at the heart of the period's fiction and policy. The *Savannah* lawyers describe how the initial capture of Confederate sailors lead many to expect a view of "'monsters of the deep' as they were manacled through the streets" but instead were met with "gentlemen of character, intelligence, refinement, and education" (231). These men's' familial and social positions, the defense argues, makes them utterly incompatible with pirates. They are not monstrous enemies of the human race, or pirates incapable of familial feeling or human connection. Specifically, these sailors' "fixed place of residence" render them domestic rather than unruly (233); if pirates' ethos is one of "pillage and depredation" that is linked to "no sovereign, no law," these men have claims to law as well as to familial feeling (234). In short, secessionist sailors' distinction from highly visible yet historically dubious pirates of sympathy confirms their innocence.

Not surprisingly, prosecutors take a contrapuntal position: for them, Confederates are pirates with false claims to history and to feeling. For example, the *Savannah* prosecution grants that the "feeling of lawful right, the feeling that statutory law is not violated" is a productive source of revolutionary fervor (297-98); nonetheless, they reject the idea that the "low position" of these men may be aligned with the "high purity of the patriot and the martyr" (298). A form of bond is only as strong as its principles. Confederate slaveholding sympathies at sea have been proven piratical, notwithstanding federal acceptance of landed bondage. To prove that the crew perpetrated "an offense without feeling," the *Jefferson Davis* prosecution highlights the sailors' intention to sell the black cook of the *Enchantress,* Jacob Garrick, in the Confederate prize court

for $1500. If slavery defines the Confederate form of bond, the crew's desire to "tear a man from his home and enslave him forever" makes these mariners' claims to sovereignty invalid (70). In keeping with sentimental politics, the sailors' failure to respect Garrick's familial attachment proves that secessionists lack valid political bonds. In these terms, the sailors' landed connections are irrelevant. Only pirates ignore familial feeling's moral sanctity.

In response, both closing defenses present a vision of fellow feeling more expansive than could be found in many domestic fictions. In short, their appeals to universal sympathy skirt questions of slavery while distinguishing the defendants from pirates. According to the *Jefferson Davis* defense, for example, a guilty verdict will undermine morality since,

> The meanest wretch that crawls upon the face of the earth has still a claim upon the sympathy of some one. You cannot separate him; you cannot alienate him; you cannot tear him from that sympathy. You cannot touch a chord in his bosom which does not vibrate, by a thousand feelings, and with a thousand sympathies and emotions, through the hearts of others. . . . in weal or in woe, he is still the centre of a circle, which he calls his own, and to which kindred, and home, and friends and family, and a thousand endearing interesting and endearing associations have indissolubly and forever bound him. (70)

The defense's language of "hearts" and the "centre of a circle" is inseparable from its legal claim. In short, to admit these men's compatibility with fellow feeling is to render their legal death immoral. In other words, sympathy's universal power undermines piracy's fundamental character and its application to the defendants: even a "degraded" pirate has a "claim upon the sympathy of some one." Moreover, to be "forever bound" by a "thousand interesting and endearing associations" is to have a communal, potentially national, circle of social and economic interest. Therefore, these men's capacity for feeling means that causing their death would be immoral. Likewise, the *Savannah* defense admits that the jury is pressured by "popular prejudice, or feeling, or fury" against the Confederate cause. The lawyer hopes that the "sympathy that arises properly in every well-constituted heart and mind, in favor of the accused,

their relatives and friends, would overcome and such wrong impulse" (238). In short, the jury should exercise their capacity for fellow feeling. According to the October 29th *New York Herald*, this appeal for "a due sympathy for the accused" resulted in "manifestations of applause in court" (4).[216] Applause for a wartime enemy reveals sympathy's enduring power.

Though Captain Smith of *Jefferson Davis* is convicted of piracy, the *Savannah* defendants in New York are not. Each are moved to military prisons on February 2nd, 1862 and later released. The rationale for leniency is practical and political. Jefferson Davis had asserted in a pretrial letter to Abraham Lincoln, published in the *New York Times* and elsewhere, that a "just regard to humanity and to the honor of this Government" dictates that union prisoners will share the secessionist sailors' fate ("That Flag of Truce"). In other words, Davis fashions a grotesque form of bond. The latter will directly feel the pain of the former. Additionally, the Confederate Secretary of War allegedly drew a lottery during the trials to determine which union prisoners would serve as proxies for the secessionist sailors (Scharf 75). If Confederates' piratical status makes their removal an acceptable expression of moral feeling, as some suggest, secessionists' ties to *individual* Union sailors alters this moral calculus.

Despite this threat of death, some feel no need to deliberate. An August 1861 *New York* T*imes* editorial article concludes, "No leniency, no recognition of letters of marque, no attention to the threats of retaliation" ("About Prisoners" 2). This preference can be found on dozens of printed envelopes: one example is a jail room scene of "Jeff Davis's Private'Tears"—or Davis and his privateers' private tears—as they receive their death warrant. The noose rightly hangs over them. This position, widely felt, is understandable given Lincoln's clear rejection of

[216] The subsequently printed trial transcript repeats this claim exactly (282).

Confederate sovereignty.[217] Yet others give stridently unionist rationales for leniency. A *New York Times* author, for example, believes that the *Savannah* crew is guilty, but does not think they deserve death. He asks, "Is it not a poor exchange, to give up good men to be murdered, in return for the satisfaction of hanging a few characterless pirates?" ("Jefferson" 4). This "poor exchange" is based on a dark sympathetic calculus: the "satisfaction" of watching a secessionist die is not worth the pain of hearing of a Union's soldier's death. New York judge Charles Daly's December 1861 *New York Times* editorial, subsequently expanded and published, likewise aligns legal jurisprudence with moral prudence. According to Daly, not hanging these sailors is just since "we are not to forget that we are carrying on this war for the restoration of the Union" (*Southern Privateersmen* 12). The hanging of union and secessionist sailors will render them, and perhaps the south itself, incapable of domestic reincorporation. In response, Maria Cummins stages a pirate trial that leads to both pirates' death and union's restoration.

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Cummins's oblique reference to Civil War pirate trials in *Haunted Hearts*, though easily missed by modern readers, are undeniable once read alongside the history just presented. Like many New Yorkers during the 1861 *Savannah* trial, Angie Cousins finds herself in a courtroom filled with a notorious gang. Through a remarkable coincidence, Angie enters Black Bullet's highly publicized trial without knowing his former identity or his connection to George. The novel's climactic chapter begins, "The trial of a gang of notorious pirates would prove an eventful circumstance, in any seaport city of the Old or New World" (374). This includes, one may assume, 1860s New York. In a seeming slight to her contemporaries, Cummins rejects journalists ability to truly convey such events; the narrator later notes, "The reporter for the

[217] Other editorials unambiguously in favor of hanging these and other secessionist privateers include: "Jefferson Davis and His Pirates." *New York Times*. 21 July 1861. 4;"Are they pirates?" *New York Times.* 23 June 1861. 4.; and "How to Clear the Seas of Privateers." *New York Times.* 30 Jun. 1863. 4.

Chronicle was but a superficial observer of the minor features of the trial" (437). Only a novelist may reveal such trials' true import. In this case, the trial of Black Bullet confirms that mistaken sympathy has been applied to Confederate sailors due to these figures' claims to foreign backing and domestic feeling. In practice, such pirates' forcible removal will lead to true domestic union.

Like Catharine Sedgwick, Maria Cummins frames pirates as self-evidently unfeeling due to their imagined incompatibility with capitalist forms of consumption and exchange. Though the pirate's violence is ostensibly universal, its effects on those deemed central to such exchanges— white, middle class citizens— prove their true villainy. The narrator describes those who have a stake in their pirates' removal:

> From the merchant whose rich cargoes have suffered, or may chance to suffer from their depredations, to the poorest man or woman whose son has shipped as cabin-boy, all have an interest in the apprehension and conviction of ruffian hordes, whose cruelties wear a deeper aspect of horror from being added to the other perils of the deep, and whose remorselessness in the execution of their barbarities has made their very name synonymous with crimes of the darkest dye. (374)

The pirate's ability to disrupt domesticity's moral and economic character defines his ostensibly universal threat: as the logic goes, everyone has families and everyone benefits from pervading economic systems. Tellingly, the "all [who] have an interest" are those whose domestic space can be placed on an economic scale: merchants and their "rich cargoes" have the highest economic and affective claim; the separation of "cabin-boy[s]"and the "poorest" families is both an affective and economic loss. Given this logic, a rich man with a lost son is the most deserving of "an interest." As I will show, Cummins's paradigmatic merchant is also the father of one taken at sea. Against this domesticity stand the "ruffian hordes" who apparently have no motivation for their "crimes of the darkest dye" than "remorselessness," "cruelty," and "barbarity." Cummins thereby responds, perhaps unintentionally, to prior legal arguments: after

all, the Confederate closing defense was founded on the potential for even the "meanest wretch" to be part of a domestic circle.

To ensure that readers recognize Bullet's relation to secessionist privateers, Cummins places the prosecution's opening statement in a Civil War context. The narrator summarizes the lawyer's defense of the five "buccaneers" on trial thusly,

> It was the old story of deception, robbery, and cruelty, all summed up in the dark word, Piracy, — a story so old, a deed so dark, as almost to be forgotten and lost in oblivion, but for the recent revival of the crime which makes it now a familiar outrage. But lawless freebooters may yet claim legal sanction for their deeds, and indifference to others' rights may be fostered by sophistry or imaginary wrongs. (400-01)

For Cummins, "piracy" is a form of unruliness whose universal "dark" evil overshadows any historical specificity. Piracy is not merely an act of "robbery," it seems, but an improper relation to feeling itself. It is "deception" and "cruelty" incarnate. The narrator's references to "the recent revival of the crime" and its "familiar outrage," recalls contemporary readers to secessionist piracy trials as well ongoing maritime action. Confederate privateering and its "lawless freebooters," the narrator implies, are no better than common pirates. Their outrage is "familiar" in the multiple meanings of the word: piracy is known across vast spaces, and also contains a sexual threat inherent to familial and intimate contact. In other words, they are the seducers Jefferson Davis warned about. The narrator does not directly name the supposed "legal sanction" for Bullet's deeds, nor does she recount the "sophistry or imaginary wrongs" that make them possible. Public trials and ongoing debates make further explanation unnecessary. No matter the Confederate claim, one may cast it aside as an "old story" of piratical offenses without feeling.

As in Charles Sumner's 1863 speech, Cummins blames this domestic crisis on foreign relations. Mistaken sympathy has lead to pirate's false protection. Her narrator continues,

> In some instances, too, life may be held sacred while property is sacrificed, and the eyes of neutrals may be blinded to the outrage by a certain pretence of justice and discrimination. No such affectation of mercy, no such partial distinctions softened the crimes of these men, or qualified their deeds. (401)

In other words, not hanging Confederate pirates was too soft a judgment that favored "life" over property. This frame is somewhat in tension with union policies. After all, secessionism rested on the valuing of enslaved property more than black lives. Moreover, a fully recovered union would appear to include secessionist agents. In this case, however, the narrator believes that a fundamental rejection of unnamed wartime pirates aligns with proper feeling. As she implies, pirates' lives are less "sacred" and thereby fit for removal. As she makes clear, however, the pirate's legal status is not merely a domestic one: the phrase "the eyes of neutrals" stands for the nations Sumner descried. The "neutral" status of privateer, the narrator affirms, is based on a "pretence of justice and discrimination" rather than proper feeling. Those "blinded to the outrage" of piracy draw "partial distinctions" whose legal grounds are in fact the false "affectation of mercy." Black Bullet and the men on trial are not "softened" or "qualified" by this mistaken sympathy because their actions are self-evidently evil. Moreover, they have no access to Confederate legal arguments. Even so, Bullet and the so-called secessionist sailor share a practical lineage. Hanging both will restore proper domestic relations.

The threat of the Confederacy, and the power to defeat it, can be traced to maritime battles against the British and the freedom from bondage at the hands of African corsairs. Thought another way, Cummins places George Rawle's successful escape from slavery in a historical context that directly counters the *Jefferson Davis* and *Savannah* defenses. In short, George Rawle is a member of the generation that "chained the dastardly tyrant of the Mediterranean" (375). These early national wars had,

> given our infant navy her earliest title to a nation's praise,—a foretaste of the future triumphs which now fill her sails, as she sweeps on in the march of freedom; praise which has swelled into a hymn of thanksgiving as we feel how, in this our day of trial, she girds us with her strength. (375)

Cummins's panegyric applies to the U.S. nation as a whole, but she focuses on the navy as the guarantor of union and a counter to secession. The state's power over oceanic space reaffirms its domestic validity. Yet, the appeal's temporal tangle shows Cummins' attempt to launch a historical ship of state in uncertain waters. If the nation's "earliest title" to maritime power foretold "future triumphs which now fill her sails," the Civil War remains an ongoing "day of trial." She cannot say for certain that this ongoing battle is won. Therefore, the "hymn of thanksgiving" is not a song that heralds present victory, but instead affirms that "we feel" the connection between past victory and the strength to fight. Who constitutes "us" and "we" is stated primarily by their opposite: we are neither pirates, nor tyrants, but are part of a "march of freedom." In other words, unionists are not the antebellum period's pirates of sympathy but instead represent a moral and martial check to unfeeling unruliness.

As the novel's privateering hero, George not only has the material means to reject piracy, but also models a march to freedom that may or may not include black subjects. In the process, he acts as an analog for Civil War soldiers and a foil to Bullet and his Confederate analogs. George's sudden reappearance leads the narrator to discuss hoped-for Civil War reunions. She notes, "In these days of terrible uncertainty, long suspense, premature despair, which are breaking Hearts all over this our land, such instances of earthly resurrection may not be rare" (409). Separated families may still be reunited. In a nod to inescapable violence, however, she prays that "the lives of the lost" will be "so pure from every stain" (410). George's privateering success despite suffering and enslavement serves as a model for the union cause. As George tells the jury, he had been licensed to capture pirates. At trial, Bullet's lawyer asks why George

engaged in a fight whose “time and zeal [was] inconsistent with your interest as a shipmaster” (415). This line of questioning, alongside the implication George had abandoned his family, frames George as a piratical figure himself. Nonetheless, George affirms that his zeal in attacking Bullet can be attributed,

> To five years of bondage and cruelty, and hard labour imposed on me by men of their stamp; to my knowing what it is to be my own master, and what it is to be a slave; to the chains that have eaten my flesh to the bone” (and turning up the sleeve of a rough pea- jacket which he wore, he displayed, just above his wrist, a ghastly groove that encircled it, the effects of a long corroding wound); “and more than this,” he added, replacing his sleeve, and looking down upon his mother, with that tender, boyish smile of his, tempered now by the sterner sufferings of his manhood, “more than all to the home-sickness that has eaten into my heart.” (415-16)

In a reversal of the middle-passage, George was shipped from the Americas and forced to toil “under an African sun” (510). Such charged language both connects to and abstracts from the novel’s contemporary moment. This speech shares the language of abolitionism: enslavement’s “bondage and cruelty” can be found in its physical manifestations- “chains that have eaten my flesh to the bone”- as well as its disruption of familial ties-“homesickness…eaten into my heart.” Clearly, George’s capacity for feeling and his protection of domesticity grounds his distinction from slave-trading pirates. He, like the early national white captives discussed in chapter one, embodies a vulnerable nation’s need to reassert its oceanic supremacy. And yet, racialized figures who suffered most from the pirate’s lucrative slave trade have no share of sympathy. Racial otherness, when invoked, is attributable to the “barbarities” of pirates whose very subjectivity is attached to “crimes of the darkest dye” (374). As my final section will show, this investment in both anti-secession and racial hegemony finds its match in U.S. policy and meets its literary embodiment in the “deepest dyed villain” known as Black Bullet (402).

Homes for White Men

As this section shows, debates on secessionist maritime action rely on legal and narrative precedents with deep ties to Haiti. In a way, Haiti's unrecognized sovereign status in the antebellum period speaks to the federal government's alignment of black revolutionary sovereignty with piracy. The nation may have declared independence in 1804, but it had yet to join the family of nations. Befitting the war's shifting moral and political calculus, American recognition of Haitian sovereignty occurs only after the threat of secessionist maritime action. By the time Lincoln presents his first State of the Union in December 1861, secessionist privateers had floated secessionist sovereignty. In response, Lincoln calls upon congress to aid those who seek to "defend themselves against and to capture pirates"; the path to this economic and martial support is "maintaining a charge' d'affaires" with the "new states" of Haiti and Liberia. These "new" free black republics (founded in 1804 and 1847) now merit a home in the family of nations. These "diplomatic" outposts may materially aid the fight against Confederate privateers. At the same time, the recognition of black sovereignty does not threaten white, middle class citizens' domestic primacy. If some claimed that the "only legitimate object of acquiring territory is to furnish homes for white men," Lincoln muses, the prospective "emigration of colored men" to Liberia and Haiti "leaves additional room for white men remaining or coming here" (n.p.). This conflation of domestic space with "homes for white men" is met with approbation in northern papers.[218] Lincoln's desire to maintain white union, as well as his growing acceptance of black citizenship, leads him to grant Haiti with an incomplete share of sovereignty first secured by its revolutionary action. Northern popular and political writers' varied investment in "homes for white when" define their representation of secessionist piracy's ties to Haiti.

[218] For an expansive reading of colonization's history and reception, see May (*Slavery*) Paul D. Escott provides a more holistic account of emancipation debates.

A return to the 1861 Confederate trials confirms policymakers' pervasive alignment of piracy with both slaveholding violence and unruly blackness. In the 1861 *Jefferson Davis* trial, however, Haiti's revolutionary power is stripped for the sake of rejecting secessionist claims. Rather than juxtapose Haitian sovereignty with secessionist piracy, the prosecution renders both equally piratical. Namely, the prosecution appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Rose v Himeley* (1808). This case upheld the federal government's justification for denying Haitian sovereignty. According to the 1808 decision, quoted verbatim in the 1861 Philadelphia court,

> It is for governments to decide whether they will consider St. Domingo as an independent nation, and until such decision shall be made, or France shall relinquish her claim, courts of justice must consider the ancient state of things as remaining unaltered, and the sovereign power of France over that colony as still subsisting (qtd 54).

When deciding a proper response to revolutionary action, the prosecution implies, one must deem imperial nations' forms of bond as inherently worthy of protection. From this perspective, both the Haitian and the Confederate are pirates. Just as the U.S. denied Haitian sovereignty by claiming Haiti lacked foreign relations or French support, the jury must recognize that foreign neutrality and federal union preclude Confederate sovereignty. This precedent "applies with ten-fold force," the prosecution concludes, since the U.S. government is asserting its domestic rights. The claim has a legal logic, though a perverse one. Both are revolutionaries that foment violent separations from states that refuse to admit their rights to do so. In other words, they are both pirates of sympathy. For their cases to be joined, however, the Haiti must be stripped of its historical specificity and ideological threat. The "ancient state of things" had applied to states' rights to the "ancient state" of slavery, but must now be used to reject secessionists' claims to this state. This account demonstrates the mutability of laws otherwise treated as domestic lineages: the terms that made Haitian independence a matter of colonial permission may be

applied equally to an opposite Confederate case. And yet, this claim does not necessarily require an abolitionist declaration. After all, emancipation is not federal policy during the trial.

Yet, Haitian legal and cultural precedent could also inform an emancipatory politics. Eventual U.S. War Department solicitor William Whiting's immensely popular treatise, *The War Powers of the President,* is one example. Part of a ten-volume set, this work is published in two editions prior to 1863. In response to the question of wartime federal authority, which includes its power over those "captured as spies, as pirates, as guerillas or bush-whackers," the Harvard-educated lawyer refutes the belief that union necessitated treating Confederates as pirates (15). Whiting joins the *Jefferson Davis* prosecution in aligning the United States with colonial France and the Confederacy with revolutionary Haiti. But he does so to affirm both federal union and domestic abolition. Notably, he claims that the "civil war between St. Domingo and France" led the Supreme Court in *Rose v. Himley* to recognize the "right of a country to treat its rebellious citizens both as *belligerents and as subjects*" (44). In other words, both the Haitian and the Confederate may be treated as both wartime adversaries and domestic subjects. Appealing to international law's power as a national inheritance, Whiting forcefully validates emancipation. Specifically, the French commissioners' 1793 "Proclamation of Emancipation" shows that "France recognizes the right, under martial law, to emancipate the slaves of an enemy" (73). The federal government may likewise abolish slavery. In a tacit response to white fears, Whiting asserts that "commerce, industry, and general prosperity was rapid and satisfactory" following Haiti's revolution. Formerly enslaved Haitians "retained their liberty" and had now "entered into diplomatic relations with the United States" (73). Whiting thereby reimagines Lincoln's strategic

pivot towards Haiti as proof of black Americans' claim to national relations. Whiting thereby presages an Emancipation Proclamation he comes to directly influence.[219]

Charles Sumner, in addition to abolitionist figures like Wendell Phillips and Lydia Maria Child, echoes Whiting's turn to Haiti. They also add a warning: Haiti proves that racial violence follows slavery's protraction. In refusing to treat just black violence as proof of an incapacity for citizenship, these figures reject the fears that shaped visions of black piracy. "It is according to an old law, that bloody inventions return to plague the inventor," Sumner asserts in 1862. If "the story of St. Domingo, so often quoted against [the African Slave], testifies to his humanity" only the threat of re-enslavement leads to bloodshed (*Emancipation!* 17). In other words, emancipation is the only means to protecting fellow feeling and preventing violence. Lydia Maria Child likewise proclaims in 1862, "It was never the *granting* of rights to the colored people that produced bloodshed." Instead, the "*withholding* those rights" and a "forcible attempt to *take them away*" led to violence (*Right* 86). To deny rights will lead to hostile feelings. Likewise, Wendell Phillips beckons his audience to prevent racial violence in the U.S., or "avert that necessity from our land," and instead "raise into peaceful liberty the four million committed to our care" (492). Like Sumner and Child, Phillips balances the potential for (just) violence with his paternal appeal to "care." In the process, each attempt to marry the sympathies of liberal figures like Harriet Beecher Stowe with those of revolutionary antiracists like John Brown.

Two wartime envelopes best represent the tortured racial legacy at the heart of state-backed pirate policy. The first, entitled "Secession Calvary" portrays four Confederates hoisting the pirate flag. They sit astride the enslaved. The evocative image pairs secessionist's legal status with slaveholding practice: secessionists are piratical, it seems to indicate, because their claims are made on the backs of the enslaved. Therefore, a secessionist form of bond is null on land and

[219] For Whiting's influence on Lincoln's "Emancipation Proclamation," see Stevenson.

at sea. A second envelope names all of these men's potential fates. On it, a serpent-tongued figure hangs from the gallows. His black face and bulging eye draw immediate attention. The uniformed, emblazoned with "Secession," shows that he is a secessionist sailor. The pirate's face and hands have become blue-black due the lack of oxygen. Union martial power on land and at sea, represented by "The Union 34 Pounder," has overcome secessionist piracy. The Confederate flag-topped pirate hat confirms this narrative. Yet if the pirate's black face signals his death, it also draws attention to the state's complicity in black deaths. The lynch mob had long been a feature of black American life. Its extrajudicial use grew during a wartime period that, Manfred Berg confirms, "marks a distinct and crucial phase in the history of lynching in America"(69).[220] Moreover, this striking figure highlights the dearth of envelopes that represent blackness beyond enslavement. Perhaps an envelope representing the benefits of black citizenship in a remade union is less commercially viable. Instead, both popular and political narrators' alternatives to secessionist piracy privileged homes for white men.

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More than any other wartime fiction, *Haunted Hearts* exposes a dual fear of both slavery and emancipation that power many representations of secessionist piracy. In the process, Maria Cummins finds a home among those wartime northern women writers who mobilize "republican rhetoric to call for a strengthened sense of purpose that largely avoided issues of racial or economic strife" (Sizer 120).[221] The pirate Black Bullet embodies this avoidance, as well as its relative failure. As the trial scenes show, Cummins invokes Bullet's villainy during the War of

[220] Berg cites two main reasons for lynching's expansion during the war: "First, in a general climate of insecurity and social upheaval, mob violence became more rampant and deadlier than ever before. Second, political terror emerged as a major objective of mobs and vigilante groups and temporarily overshadowed the traditional idea of lynch law as communal punishment for heinous crimes" (69). For related histories, see Pfeifer; Kato.

[221] Sizer includes essayist Gail Hamilton (Mary Abigail Dodge) among this group, with Susan B. Anthony promoting a bolder abolitionist view.

1812 to deny secessionist claims to sympathy or sovereignty. In fact, Black Bullet sails the same (fictional) waters as this book's major pirates of sympathy. He is party to the piratical British crown, North African corsairs, and Caribbean buccaneers. His linguistic and affective power in seducing white American women also allows him to recruit pirates throughout the British and French Atlantic (125). Indeed, Bullet's "apt use of French phrases" while masquerading as a British lieutenant is his first defining feature.

Ultimately, Bullet's ability to perform across a spectrum of racial or ethnic identity makes him a global pirate of sympathy. He is "Bullet, or the Black Bull of the Indies" (317), a man who "learned his trade among the African corsairs" in the late eighteenth century and had earned the "reputation as the king of pirates" in the intervening years (417). This historical and geographic tangle is telling. Though he passes as white, *Black* Bullet has been radicalized by distinctly "African" sources. He first joined the Barbary corsairs and perfected his Caribbean terror in a Haitian revolutionary moment. This racially ambiguous "king" embodies an alternative sovereignty ostensibly built on anti-democratic and anti-white power. According to a witness during Bullet's trial, "I don't care what high soundin' title he's borrowed or stolen, it's all the same whether you call him Hebrew Bullet, the Black Bull o' the Indies, Cap'n Josselyn of his Majesty's Roy'l Navy, or the very Evil One himself" (429). This pirate's "borrowed or stolen" transnational identity heightens his villainy and reflects his false claims to multiple sovereigns. The pirate's ability to pass as an Englishman shows that unruliness may hide under the cover of both whiteness and foreign recognition. His alignment with Africanness, Jewishness and West Indian blackness code his threat as a racial and multinational subject. In other words, Cummins collapses narratives used against the secessionist sailor and the black revolutionary dating back to Thomas Jefferson.

If whiteness is a thing to be both reified and protected, a racially ambiguous pirate is an undeniable threat. So while Cummins sanctions George's privateering as the restoration of familial and economic relations versus piratical or secessionist threats, she, like Lincoln, concludes by imagining homes for white men. Only a racially pure Dutch-American hero whose name aligns him with George Washington can overcome the racially ambiguous villain. The narrator affirms, "Nature meant [George] to be, the best specimen of the best stock" according to the standards of "birth and blood" (55). The fetishization of George's lineage, this naming of his distinction from men like Bullet, relies on racially charged discourses of "blood" and "stock" that serve to naturalize George's whiteness and class standing.

Moreover, George's place in a Surinam merchant house makes plantation spoils a fit reward for moral action. As in other laundering narratives, a slaveholding inheritance is rendered morally and socially pure by a white figures' rejection of unfeeling piracy. In the case of *Haunted Hearts*, George accepts the "countenance, aid, and advancement of his interests which grew naturally out of his friendly and sympathetic relations with the family of the Surinam merchant" (479). During this "natural" economic advancement, George's investment in a slave economy is neither addressed nor commented upon.[222] Instead, George shows Angie "an account of travels in South America" that he corroborates with own experience (535). George notes, "O, the sail up that river is delightful! . . . I was thinking of you all the time I was there!" (535). The narrator does not state why George first sailed upstream into Surinam's interior, though the image would be as incongruous as a delightful sail down the Mississippi. Nonetheless, George announces that "breathing the delicious climate" will rejuvenate Angie after her period of trouble

[222] Slavery had been "abolished" in Surinam by the Dutch in 1863, or one year prior to the novel's publication, but a ten-year "transitional" period ensured its practical sanction. The slave trade was certainly still in effect in 1817, the year the novel recounts.

(535). In other words, latent threats to white middle class domesticity are overcome by an environment of white colonial control.

By staging the novel's paradigmatic marriage in relation to Surinam, Cummins models a process of colonization: she displaces nonwhite figures in order to establish a postwar domestic order. Given what Robert May cites as Lincoln's "prioritization of Latin America over Liberia" as a site for colonization, the couple's marriage in Surinam is telling (250). Seeing Angie handle "a certain piece of India muslin (one of his gifts)," George boasts, "You must wear it the day we send for the dominie; and in Surinam half a dozen such dresses wont be too many; they all wear white in Surinam" (537). The fine, white material worn on the "[wedding] day we send for the dominie," or pastor in the then-called Dutch Reformed Church, is to be worn in and multiplied by her entrance into the Surinam merchant's social circle. Indeed, a predominantly non-abolitionist church performs this sanctification of northern domesticity.[223] In Cummins's telling, however, the black mark of piracy has given way to a model domestic marriage whose whiteness belies its reliance on bondage. The Indian muslin may replace U.S. southern cotton as a material and symbolic support of northern domesticity, but the fabric's apparent whiteness is also made possible by bound and racialized labor (550). Likewise, George may only claim "they all wear white in Surinam" by denying subjectivity to those enslaved persons whose bodies and labors are the basis for the Surinamese economy. "They" refers to the hemispheric community of merchants with whom Angie and George align. The couple's success in Surinam, as well as in "future and more extended voyages," grounds a "reciprocal friendship . . . between her and George's friends at the South American port" (550). This "reciprocal friendship" relies on the maintenance of whiteness as both a symbolic marker of virtue and sanctified racial category.

[223] As Evan Haefeli notes, the Dutch Reformed Church "did not play a role in the ending of slavery. In fact, Dutch Americans in New York and New Jersey proved to be some of the fiercest opponents of abolition" (434). For the church's ties to slavery in colonial and early national periods, see De Jong.

Ultimately, George and Angie's final domestic arrangement confirms that Cummins has retreated to an untenable prewar ideal. After some time at sea, George becomes a "landlord, farmer, citizen, and benefactor" (553). Through a domestication of privateering (and potentially slaveholding) spoils, George models the agrarian citizen-subject who may replace the slaveholder and the enslaved. In this space, Angie stands as "the centre and light of a domestic circle" (551). While the *Jefferson Davis* defense had argued that "the meanest wretch…is still the centre of a circle," Cummins affirms a "centre and light" defined by a model white and middle class subject. Cummins extends this domestic model to her contemporary moment: the tavern that served as Black Bullet's lair is by novel's end, "the centre to which old hearts cling, haunted only now by grateful memories of the blessings which have crowned their days, and by the serene and joyful hopes which gild their sunset" (554). The space invaded by pirates may be restored even if the pirates cannot. "Haunted" hearts may turn "grateful." Reference to the now-elder Angie and George's "serene and joyful hopes" during their lives' "sunset" in a Civil War moment ties them to Cummins's contemporary readers. This couple, Cummins affirms, believes in indissoluble union existence despite an unprecedented domestic break. Their white, middle class home is therefore a model of comfort for all. Such sentimental politics, though a powerful counter to a genocidal Confederate form of bond, do not grant nonwhite figures their rightful share in a postwar domestic union. This vision— one of piratical unruliness giving way to domestic security and imperial expansion—defines federal visions of post-war global order.

'Stretching From Ocean to Ocean': Posting Postwar Empire

If Charles Magnus's printed postal envelope names the world in commotion at the war's outset, two envelopes best represent the imperial hopes to be found in the war's outcome. In the first, "Secession" is represented as a historical link in a chain of wartime victories that include

Independence, the War of 1812, and the Mexican-American War. In other words, it names the succession of victories against pirates of sympathy. An undated and therefore timeless "Peace" necessarily follows this final secessionist war. This peace goes beyond landed boundaries, and covers at least one half of the terraqueous globe. North and South America borders on land as well as at sea are bridged by the words, "One Hemisphere One Country." The fractured north and south are now one, as are global spaces in every direction. Moreover, dual flags clearly wrap around the unseen part of the sphere. This coverage indicates the potential for the union of hemispheres in the terraqueous globe. Indeed, the eagle perched above this globe renders the entire sphere under a national seal. In other words, the vision of Maria Cummins's historical fiction has been realized.

Another envelope indicates that an imperial government would rule this harmonious globe. The envelope is undated, but its image of unity suggests a later issuance. In it, the world is decidedly not in commotion. Instead, the nation is doubly housed in oceanic space. First, the globe itself floats in a seemingly limitless watery expanse. Its lower half is submerged, as if to render southern spaces both secondary to and undeniably linked with global oceanic systems. After all, southern ports and routes must be reconstructed in the new national order. As if to reinforce this domestic power, "our country" is cast across the globe's landed and oceanic contours. The united country is not confined to land, but appears to reference the entire globe. An American flag is planted at the northern pole, conferring ownership over this space. Moreover, the subtitle indicates that "our country" knows no bounds. The country is "Ours to preserve—Ours to enjoy—Ours to transmit." Internal preservation, fellow feeling, and imperial expansion are part of a shared national identity. Proper feeling exists across the globe. According to this image, terraqueous war must give way to terraqueous peace.

While Charles Sumner began with terraqueous war in his 1863 speech, he too imagines an imperial future. In a closing section entitled "Our Duty," Sumner asserts, "Stretching from ocean to ocean…[the U.S.] will be more than conqueror. Nothing too vast for its power; nothing too minute for its care" (79). Sumner's parallelism is telling. If expansion is to be a moral rather than imperial act, or "more than conqueror," exercises of "power" must be inseparable from acts of "care." The harmony of "vast" oceanic space and "minute" domestic space will be state-backed. Since state power is to reach "where any member of the Human Family is the succored," it will be as boundless as humanity's capacity for feeling (79). Here, Sumner marks a transition to a truly imperial sentimental politics: if a "family of nations" is collection of separate sovereign nations, a single imperial sovereign may head the "human family." This vision requires material infrastructure: Sumner closes by lauding the U.S. as the "upstart among the nations…as the steam-engine, the telegraph, and chloroform are upstart" (80). Emergent technology confirms the nation's imperial scope and moral power. "[With] Comforter and Helper like these," Sumner concludes, "[the Republic] can know no bounds to its empire over a willing world." (80). Sumner's imagined "empire over a willing world," or an empire of fellow feeling, can only occur after secession's defeat. Rather than track the domestic conflicts and imperial formations that define a postbellum age of steam, my epilogue will consider the prospect of a literary field equally at home with sentimental seamen and pirates of sympathy.[224]

[224] As I discuss in an extended but omitted epilogue, the Suez Canal's opening in 1869 leads some to imagine a globe without sentimental seamen or pirates of sympathy. Put simply, the Suez heralds a postbellum age of steam and with it a new terraqueous globe utterly joined in feeling. The technology of steam power fundamentally alters the shipboard practices that had produced sentimental seamen; in short, steam's material power supersedes sail's affective labor. Moreover, the postbellum state's heightened power diminished the pirate of sympathy's imagined threat. Walt Whitman's celebratory poem, "Passage to India" is emblematic of this new order. He buries the sentimental seamen by invoking an even more expansive form of labor untroubled by humans' embodied limits. He marries the pirate of sympathy, rather than removing them as prior fictions had done, by refusing to admit that anyone would reject state-backed transcendental unity. This unity occurs on both individual ships and the homes they connect. In other words, Whitman assumes the success of a terraqueous order made possible by the material

Epilogue:
The Prospect of Terraqueous Domestic Studies

Thinkers have long abandoned a geocentric model that separates a landed, earthly sphere from an external, watery sphere outside. Yet, a similar separation of landed and watery spheres persists in both "oceanic" and "domestic" studies. As my two sections have shown, however, these categories' mutual slippages confirm the need for a new model. This model must consider the variable meaning of "domesticity" on a terraqueous globe. It must also account for persons who appear securely positioned on land or at sea. Shipboard interiority in an age of sail, or the domesticity of the sea, has lead me to sentimental seamen. The antebellum nation's oceanic inheritances, or the sea in domesticity, have lead me to pirates of sympathy. Both domestic ideals are the product of oceanic entanglements and sentimental investments. While my two sections have outlined these homes' literary-historical characters, this epilogue names their relation to a prospective field of terraqueous domestic studies whose terms I have begun to shape.

First and foremost, a turn to terraqueous domestic studies necessarily alters pervasive assumptions regarding ostensibly "masculine" sea spaces and seemingly "feminine" landed spaces. The result is not a conflation of gendered experience. Nor is it a judgment of landed women or oceanic men's relative value as objects of study.[225] Instead, a field of terraqueous domestic studies treats the particular gendering work performed in homes throughout a watery globe. Scholars of gender, women's writing, and domesticity have thoroughly debunked an

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and literary labors recounted in this dissertation; in short, the Suez necessarily produces a transcendental union that, in truth, will ultimately fail to pass.

[225] Maritime historians continue to debate this question of value in economic terms. For example, while Daniel Vickers and Vince Walsh include a chapter on "Maritime Society Ashore," in their book *Young Men and the Sea* and cite Norling's work, they make a concerted effort to argue that "the female economy" should be considered almost entirely a "domestic economy" since the economic role of women in the fishery and its connected economies is "dwarfed in value by the commercial business that seafaring men insisted on conducting themselves" (147). This frame dismisses other notions of "value" potentially at work. Claims of women's "value" marked by economic output are difficult to make, but such cold economic calculation is limiting.

absolute spatial and political separation of gendered writing or identity.[226] Yet the idea remains insidious, particular within maritime studies.[227] After all, men are overwhelmingly represented on ship. Larger numbers of women remain on land (notwithstanding women- turned-cargo). As Lisa Norling and Mary Creighton's collection *Iron Men, Wooden Women* (1996) confirms, however, robust and complete maps of the maritime world rest on new histories of gendered maritime experience. As they note, "sailors' masculinity has varied in form and meaning, that women have played active and important roles in maritime enterprises, and that the shore has been vital in shaping seafaring experience" (vii). Ideal sentimental seamen's maritime masculinity, I have shown, is predicated on homosocial forms of labor and feeling. The regulation of fellow feeling is central to sailors' masculine identity as well as to their navigation of shipboard space. Studies of women at sea or in direct cooperation with sailors on shore, though extremely valuable, must be paired with accounts of how landed domestic spaces take part in transoceanic cultures and economies.[228] To highlight antebellum women's domestic investments is to *confirm* their ties to oceanic space. Pirates of sympathy prove that domestic,

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[226] For example, Jason Berger's supposition in *Antebellum at Sea* (2012) that "antebellum maritime narratives by or about women's experiences increasingly pander to emergent gender norms that stress female domesticity" fails to complicate its own assumptions about domesticity's historical character and scholarly purchase (126). Rather than argue that these narratives "pander" to existing norms, I show how antebellum maritime narratives by or about women's experiences—as well as men's shipboard narratives— assume domesticity's complexity and power.

[227] Cathy Davidson's collection *No More Separate Spheres* (2002) is a particularly comprehensive rebuttal to a much-maligned yet still-pervasive "separate spheres" paradigm that names domesticity as part of a singularly feminine realm whose concerns consist in enacting female virtue in the home and influencing men who take part in masculine public debate. For the genesis of these "separate spheres" ideas, see Douglas. In terms of the debate that has followed, Eve Sedgwick says it best: "The immense productiveness of the public/private crux in feminist thought has come, not from the confirmation of an original hypothesized homology that male:female::public:private, but from the wealth of its deconstructive deformations" (109).

[228] Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun's introduction to *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean* (2004) provides an appropriate précis of current field attitudes' strength and weakness; they write, "To see the ocean and the social space of the ship as exclusively male spheres of action is to ignore both the many women who traveled on board ship in various capacities, and the ways in which the lives of seafaring men interacted with that of women on shore" (4). This productive rejection of essentialized gender categories nonetheless evinces a limited imagination on why the sea and ship was not an "exclusively male sphere." In short, it makes women's transoceanic power an extension of either direct access to oceanic space or direct attachment with sailors themselves.

sentimental narrations not only reflect landed writers' necessary attention to oceanic matter(s), but also power these writers' shaping of oceanic matter(s).

By extension, this work calls for a new image of the "domestic" age-of-sail ship as both a material space and a lens for scholarly practice. As Paul Gilroy confirms in *The Black Atlantic* (1993), "The image of the ship — a living, microcultural, micro-political system in motion — is especially important for historical and theoretical reasons" (4). Scholars' images of the ship prime key questions, such as: what is the ship's material and narrative character? What is its connection to the world at large? What texts reveal and forward that image? Images abound. Gilroy's uses his image to highlight a diasporic and transnational black cultural consciousness that shapes Atlantic systems as well as modernist thought.[229] For Michel Foucault, the ship is "heterotopia par excellence," or a space of multilayered otherness whose proliferation is a positive step toward anti-authoritarian society.[230] Each figure aligns a historical claim with a theoretical aim, though neither fully accounts for oceanic materiality.[231] Other images of the ship are more securely based on material shipboard practice. Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker's language of "hydrarchy," or "the organization of the maritime state from above, and the self-

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[229] For recent reappraisals of Gilroy's field-shaping monograph, see Elmer; Evans. As these scholars discuss, many challenge Gilroy's treatment of the Anglophone world as the key to black diasporic thought and highlight African or non-American or British writers who enter maritime space. For examples, see Ledent; Naro; Siemerling. Feminist scholars have also argued against the tendency to prize men's movements against women's implied fixity. For an example, see Schindler.

[230] Foucault's oft referenced conclusion to "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias" reads, "the boat is a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea…" (336). For recent examples that evoke Foucault to structure their account of the ship, see Blum (180-81); and Casarino (11-13).

[231] As maritime theorist and geographer Philip Steinberg quips, "Venturing into Gilroy's Black Atlantic, one never gets wet" ("Other" 158). While Steinburg praises Gilroy's work, but concludes that, "even as Gilroy appears to reference the ocean, the ultimate target of these references is far removed from the liquid space across which ships carrying Africans historically traveled" (158). He more directly rejects Foucault and related metaphorical images. In response to Foucault, Steinburg laments the "disconnect between the idealized sea of poststructuralist theorists and the actual sea encountered by those who engage it" (158). Steinburg's appeal to materialism is in keeping with his call to recover maritime communities' "aqueous center." This center includes the "non-human" and "geophysical" alongside the human and social (156). For an ecological-history that balances the social, nonhuman, and geophysical, see Steinburg (*Social*); Bolster (*Mortal*).

organization of sailors from below," powers a Marxist social history of maritime capital (144).[232] Yet a less-invoked image of ship as a "domestic" space provides theoretical and methodological possibilities yet to be captured.

Specifically, my appeal for terraqueous domestic studies is based on the related "architectures of domesticity" that produce both sentimental seamen and pirates of sympathy. Such architectures are predicated on maritime space's intimate interior organization and public oceanic exteriority. Like Anne McClintock, I argue that domesticity "denotes both a *space* (a geographical and architectural alignment) and a *social relation to power*" (34). For McClintock, nineteenth-century agents of "imperial domesticity" produce domesticity's social and geographic boundaries via appeals to feminizing language or through women's real or depicted actions. To be properly domestic is to exist inside those linguistic and experiential boundaries. This definition allows McClintock to treat disparate spaces—the British parlor and the Indian trading-house for example—as linked by British national or imperial orders.

Using similar terms, I have highlighted two spaces— the age-of-sail ship and an imagined antebellum ship of state—as linked by sentimental exercises in domestic authority. I began with age of sail of vessels' architectures of domesticity; these architectures help confirm landed, domestic architecture's oceanic stakes. The age of sail's vessel's particular architecture— namely its oceanic isolation and its closed social system— produces an ideal of sentimental seamen who exist *inside* its boundaries. In short, sailors' exercises in domesticity solidify the ship's social arrangement by sustaining its laboring order. In this case, sentimental seamen perform the regulated domestic labor that sustains the feeling ship at sea. The antebellum

[232] Rediker and Linebaugh treat "hydrarchy" as "the organization of the [late seventeenth century] maritime state from above, and the self-organization of sailors from below" (144). The hydra head speaks to the "increasingly global systems of labor" (3) at work in the Atlantic world since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is also a hermeneutic, or "a means of exploring multiplicity, movement, and connection, the long waves and planetary currents of humanity"(6).

nation relies on a collection of such homes on the water. The antebellum nation's own architecture of domesticity— namely its supposed status as families that is itself part of a family of nations—produces pirates of sympathy who exist *outside* its boundaries. Landed writers' assertions of domesticity solidify the nation's claim to sovereignty by naming its political limits. In this case, pirates of sympathy oppose the regulated domestic attachments that sustain the feeling ship of state. The antebellum nation relies on a (real or imagined) collection of such homes on land. In each case, domestic boundaries— of the ship, the home, or the nation— are products of oceanic entanglements.[233]

An appeal to these constructed forms of terraqueous domesticity also highlights the unique hierarchical and imperial social organizations produced in homes shaped by land and water together. As Rosemary Marangoly George confirms in the introduction to her collection *Burning Down the House: Recycling Domesticity* (1998), a more interesting approach to "domestic" forms to track "the material and historical factors that have enabled domesticity to flourish" (3). After doing this, studying domesticity may become "a means of critiquing unwieldly ideological structures from within" (4). The "domesticity" of the nineteenth-century nation, at least as imagined by its state-backed subjects, is structured by a belief that positive feeling is always already nationalist feeling. The domestic order that results, one dedicated to white hegemony and capitalist economy, is produced via its slaveholding inheritances and its increasing power in oceanic space. If the pirate of sympathy helps makes this arrangement

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[233] This theory of space is tied to Eve Sedgwick's account of the sailing ship and the Shakespearean stage as sites of gender performativity. For Sedgwick, "these (all-male) venues made graphic the truth that the other architectural vernaculars of the nineteenth century, at any rate, conspired to cover over: that the difference between 'public' and 'private' could never be stably or intelligibly represented between two concrete classes of physical space. Instead, on shipboard as on the boards, the space for those acts whose performative efficacy depended on their being defined as either private or public had to be delineated and categorized anew for each (*Epistemology* 110). As Sedgwick confirms, absolute distinctions between individual, private space and communal, public space falls away on ship and on stage. The reason is due to each space's construction, its "architectural vernacular," as well as its guiding performances. In each case, spaces previously understood solely as "public" and "private" prove to be unstable. This vision's oceanic implications led me to my own image of the ship.

possible, their recovery reveals the self-serving logic at the heart of white, middle class sentimental culture. The pirate of sympathy's status as a literary-historical representative of myriad contradictory identities— the pirate may be white and black, enslaver and enslaved, secessionist and abolitionist— reveals the self-serving logic at the heart of white, middle class sentimental culture. In short, the pirate' of sympathy's stability as a trope— i.e. their status as the unfeeling alternative to familial attachment and state power— creates an illusion of ideological and historical continuity in an antebellum era with shifting and contradictory investments in slavery and white hegemony.

Similarly, a shipboard "domesticity" populated by sentimental seamen is the product of a growing maritime economy that requires sailors' material and affective attachment to oceanic space. Shipboard sympathy's social benefits are ostensibly available to all subjects willing to sustain the shipboard system of bound labor and regulated feeling. This historical and ideological structure certainly benefited many sailors, particularly those nonwhite sailors, whose economic and social status promised even more extensive forms of bondage. Nonetheless, the sentimental terms invoked to sustain shipboard domesticity may, in the hands of authors like Herman Melville, Frederick Douglass, and Nancy Prince, be used to confirm the economic, racial, and gender hierarchies embedded in this system. In each case, on ship and on shore, the historical and ideological forms of domesticity that create pirates of sympathy and sentimental seamen also give rise to their alternatives.

A terraqueous approach is also powered by the analysis of literatures whose sentimental terms are the product of writers' navigations of oceanic materiality.[234] Specifically, one's relative

[234] To probe this fact is to apply Hester Blum's appeal to literary scholars in "The Prospect of Oceanic Studies." Similarly to Cohen, Blum calls for a literary field based on "the material conditions and praxis of the maritime world, one that draws from the epistemological structures provided by the lives and writings of those for whom the

claim to "home" in oceanic space shapes particular imaginations of what a cohesive sentimental body looks like. Sentimental seamen's limited share of landed sentimental narration is the product of their embodied separation from home as well as landed sympathy's threat to shipboard cohesion. Calls for sailors to retain landed sympathies fail in the face of oceanic materiality, as Brian Sinche has shown.[235] Their attachment my still be considered sentimental, Sinche concludes, because figures like Lydia Sigourney align economic subsidy with sentimental attachment. "The sailor is away at sea," he writes, "but the goods he transports from distant shores come to rest in middle-class homes in the United States" (64). As I have shown, "sentimental seaman" make this economic link possible while also securing shipboard domesticity. Logs, journals, and other writings' singular sentimental form parallel sailors' singular oceanic sympathies; specifically, these narrations reinforce materialist, labor-based forms of cohesion embedded in shipboard labors and required to produce economic value. The pirate of sympathy is in some ways an imaginative response to the promise and peril created by this maritime economy, particularly in relation to maritime slavery. In short, narrations of national familial attachment must attend to competing domestic claims to oceanic inheritances. Such narrations must also prove domestic cohesion's viability in a global order. The pirate's own rejection of feeling is supposedly proven by narrations that prove their separation from families. Narrations about ideal citizen-subjects—variably named in state policy, sentimental fiction, and other popular or legal forms—create a shared language in response to the ocean's material and social threat to domestic interiority. Pirates of sympathy thereby power imaginations of the "national" body that confirm its necessary reliance on oceanic bodies. In each case,

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sea was simultaneously workplace, home, passage, penitentiary, and promise" (670). As I have begun to show, sentimental philosophy is one such epistemological structure at work in the maritime world.

[235] Sinche tracks Lydia Sigourney's failure to herald sailors' "affective union" with their landed homes in her collection *Poetry for Seamen* (1845). Sigourney's appeals fail because the "wide gulf between land and sea weakens the binding power of affection" (64).

"sentimental" literary forms are not defined by gendered assumptions regarding its total alignment with femininity or its utter incompatibility with masculinity; instead, sentimental narrations in a terraqueous field are the product of attempts to name landed or oceanic bodies' moral and material constitution.

In sum, to practice terraqueous domestic studies is to make a scholarly home of generic, geographic, and gendered fluidity. It is, to borrow a title from my esteemed mentor Nicole Tonkovich, a study "Of Compass Bearings and Reorientations in the Study of American Women Writers." As Tonkovich confirms, new readings of American women writers in particular and American writing as a whole requires one to "follow new compass bearings along unfamiliar routes through hitherto occulted spaces and times" (243). As Tonkovich notes, new modes of literary study reveal how works have been falsely categorized according to if they "conform to preexisting gender-linked ideological presumptions" (253). One counteracted presumption is that shipboard subjects have little claim to fellow feeling. Another is that the domestic narration has little claim to transoceanic space. These routes represent alternative histories and critical methodologies. One occulted space I have recounted is the intimate age-of-sail vessel. Another is the transoceanic antebellum home. Casting aside hydrophasia, I have explored these "domestic" formations across a terraqueous globe. I have introduced a new age-of-sail ship whose character is tied to antebellum landmasses but has a history all its own. I have also considered antebellum domestic cultures that are firmly situated on land but whose characters are shaped by oceanic investments. In total, I have called upon domestic and oceanic scholars to align their respective scholarly compasses. Each may be pointed to new kinds of terraqueous domestic studies.

A new home: who'll follow?

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