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Nordby, Sønderho, and Marstal: Global Maritime Communities in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

DISSERTATION

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in History

by

Sif Ida Goodale

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DEDICATION

To

Christopher

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Nordby, Sønderho, and Marstal: Global Maritime Communities in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

By

Sif Ida Goodale

Doctor of Philosophy in History

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Professors Laura Mitchell and Ian Coller, Co-chairs

This dissertation is a cultural and global history of the maritime communities of Nordby and Sønderho on Fanø, and Marstal on Ærø, in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This dissertation suggests the possibility of alternative histories of global engagement in the Age of Empires. Although not a history of the nation state of Denmark, it suggests alternatives for thinking about the past of people who live in this region, especially the global labor force of sailors. I argue that, contrary to the stereotype of Jack Tar, sailors from Nordby, Sønderho, and Marstal had strong social ties within their communities. They were married and had children, and their strong social bonds connected them to their home communities, even as they labored far from their homes for years on end. There was a strong gendered component to maritime labor: Sailors and their wives labored separately during long periods of absence. Sailors' wives were more likely to do traditional male labor, something which many other historians have pointed out. I argue that sailors were also more likely to do work which was traditionally women's work. The blurring of gender roles in maritime communities was accompanied by a reaffirmation of gender roles in written evidence.

For sailors, the global aspect of their work was central to their identities. Global literacy was central to their memoirs, and it was also important in how other people saw them. They spoke multiple languages, engaged in cross-cultural encounters, and were familiar with religions, customs, climates, animals, plants, port cities, social structures, and foods which were not found in their home communities. This was central to how they constructed their identities. Especially their cross-cultural engagements were marked by the fact that they were working class rather than European elites. I speculate that as sailors crossed cultural boundaries, they may also have come across medical paradigms which were not established in their home communities. In approaching disease and medicine, their global travels may have been influential as well.

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a maritime history of Nordby, Sønderho, and Marstal in the late nineteenth century. All three maritime communities were directly connected to global networks through the migratory labor patters of the sailors who lived in each of these three towns. The labor of sailors was possible because of the structure and labor of the maritime community on land which served as a base for the sailors. This dissertation therefore looks at the entire maritime community rather than just the sailors on the ship. I argue that members of the maritime communities we connected to other faraway parts of the world through the labor migration of the sailors in the late nineteenth century. This global connection was not mediated through European metropoles or even through Copenhagen.

Between 1803 and 1815, Europe was embroiled in the Napoleonic wars. Denmark was ostensibly neutral, but Britain feared that crown prince Frederik would surrender Danish naval resources to the French. In a strategic move to prevent the Danish navy from falling onto French hands, British naval forces firebombed the Danish navy in the harbor of Copenhagen and besieged the city between August 16 and September 5, 1807, irrevocably drawing Denmark into the war. All Danish naval vessels which had not been destroyed in the bombing were confiscated. The attack on Copenhagen and the destruction of the Danish navy pressed crown prince Frederik VI into an alliance with Napoleon. Napoleon's army and was decisively defeated in 1814. At the peace negotiations in 1814 in Kiel, Denmark had to accept less than favorable conditions, most significantly the loss of Norway.

Because of Denmark's alliance with France, Napoleon's defeat had a profound impact on the pattern of Danish maritime life in the nineteenth century. Economic turmoil in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars meant that wealthy investors in Copenhagen suffered devastating losses.

The Danish merchant fleet in Copenhagen was effectively put out of play for several decades, getting by only on small-scale shipping in the North Atlantic and on shipping to and from the Danish West Indies. Flensborg, in the duchy of Slesvig, harbored the largest navy of the region; it saw a decline in capital and significance following the Napoleonic Wars. The merchant shipping no longer done from Copenhagen or Slesvig, was soon taken over by smaller ports in the region.

This dissertation examines smaller maritime towns in Denmark that grew into prominent shipping centers in the nineteenth century. Although the defeat of Napoleon had negative ramifications for the merchant fleet in larger centers such as Copenhagen and Flensborg, Danish shipping boomed in smaller maritime centers in the nineteenth century. The strength of Danish shipping during this period led maritime historian Anders Monrad Møller to refer the period as the "Danish Maritime Renaissance," but the primary growth in shipping happened outside of Copenhagen because of the decimation of the Danish navy. In 1814, the size of Copenhagen's fleet was roughly equal to the size of the combined provincial fleets. In 1870, Copenhagen had roughly 40,000 NRT while provincial ships accounted for some 130,000 NRT.[1] It was not until the middle of the century that Copenhagen could even begin to compete with individual smaller maritime towns again.[2]

Each smaller provincial town which rose to be a shipping center in the nineteenth century followed a different path to prominence. Aabenraa saw a dramatic increase in shipping activity

[1] NRT stands for Net Register Tonnage. It is a standard unit with which to measure the cargo volume capacity on ships. Anders Monrad Møller, *Med Korn Og Kul*, ed. Ole Feldbæk et al., Dansk Søfarts Historie, 1814 - 1870 4 (København: Gyldendal, 1998), 226; H.C. Johansen, "Danish Sailors, 1570-1870," in *"Those Emblems of Hell"? European Sailors and the Maritime Labour Market, 1570-1870* (St. John's, Nfld: International Maritime Economic History Association, 1997), 236.
[2] Møller, *Med Korn Og Kul*, 226.

following the decline of Flensborg's significance. Owing to its location in southern Jutland, Aabenraa was able to take advantage of the more favorable economic conditions in near-by Hamburg. Ship-builders around southern Funen turned the decrease in overall shipping tonnage to their advantage in the 1820s when they built a fleet of smaller ships that could easily and efficiently accommodate smaller loads of cargo. The primary cargo in the early 1800s was Danish grain, which was exported to Norway and Western Europe. Other types of shipping included imports of coal from England. This was followed later in the century by global shipping.[3]

The development of steamships in the nineteenth century completely changed the landscape of domestic shipping. Smaller sailing ships were replaced by steamships for mail and passenger transport. The rise of the fleet of steam ships primarily benefitted Copenhagen. Steamships required a large up-front investment and this period saw the rise of companies such as DFDS to finance the ventures in steam shipping. In 1870, roughly one quarter of the 12,000 NRT steamship fleet was based in Copenhagen. While steamships gradually encroached on the market of domestic shipping, long-distance shipping continued to be carried out on sail-powered ships until well into the twentieth century.[4] At the end of the nineteenth century, British and German shipping companies began to hire Chinese sailors instead of European sailors, partly in response to growing trade unionism in Europe.[5] This change marked the beginning of the end for Danish sailors in the long-distance shipping sector.

[3] Møller, 226.
[4] Møller, 227.
[5] Karel Davids, "Local and Global: Seafaring Communities in the North Sea Area, c. 1600-2000," *The International Journal of Maritime History* 27, no. 4 (2015): 643.

This dissertation looks at three small maritime communities in Denmark. Nordby and Sønderho are on the island Fanø, a small island off the west coast of south-western Jutland. It measures just under 22 square miles. Marstal is on the island of Ærø. an island in the south-Funen archipelago, measuring just under 34 square miles. According to the census of 1890, the population of Nordby was 2,472, Sønderho had 1,057 inhabitants, while Marstal was the largest of the three towns with a population of 3,015.[6]

Fanø's maritime history stretches back 1741, when citizens of Fanø purchased their independence from the nearby borough of Ribe. Before 1741, all shipping was subject to the permission of officials in the nearby merchant town. Purchasing independence allowed the citizens of Fanø to establish their own shipping companies and ship building works. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, ship-building on Fanø expanded rapidly. Between 1786 and the end of the nineteenth century, Fanø was home to no less than 39 master shipbuilders, who constructed a total of 714 ocean-going vessels, ranging from fishing boats to sailing ships. In 1888, the shipping fleet on Fanø consisted of a total of 124 ships, which together supported a total of over 16,000 tons. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, iron ships began replacing wooden ships; following the turn of the century, Fanø's shipping fleet declined dramatically.[7]

Marstal's early shipping history was characterized by small-scale local transport, which was crushed in connection with the Napoleonic Wars and Norwegian independence. The fleet in Marstal counted 150 small vessels when war broke out in 1807. When the Danish state went

[6] "Folketælling 1890. Landdistrikter. Ribe Amt, Skast Herred, Nordby Sogn.," 1890, https://www.sa.dk/ao-soegesider/da/billedviser?bsid=58820#58820,12148563; "Folketælling 1890. Købstæder. Svendborg Amt, Marstal.," 1890, https://www.sa.dk/ao-soegesider/da/rif/select/7/16880185; "Folketælling 1890. Landdistrikter. Ribe Amt, Skast Herred, Sønderho Sogn.," 1890, https://www.sa.dk/ao-soegesider/da/rif/select/7/16880188.
[7] N. M. Kromann, *Fanø's Historie*, vol. 2 (Esbjerg: Eget forlag, 1934), 295–366.

bankrupt in 1813, people of Marstal, like people everywhere else in Denmark, lost all ready cash. From a period of affluence from shipping in the late eighteenth century, Marstal entered four decades of impoverishment until its fleet began to recover.[8]

In the mid-nineteenth century, Marstal shipping focused on grain transport in the Baltic, while a small number of somewhat larger ships sailed to England and ports on the west coast of the European continent. Marstal ships were not sturdy enough for the North Atlantic, which encouraged building of increasingly larger ships. In 1850, the fleet in Marstal counted 200 ships, and Marstal entered a golden period of sail.[9] The town became the largest maritime force outside of Copenhagen.[10] Denmark's resounding loss to Prussia in 1864 meant that Marstal ships were cut off from shipping to former Danish duchies in southern Jutland. This turn encouraged Marstal to focus even more heavily on long distance shipping with larger vessels. In the 1860s, ships from Marstal began to cross the Atlantic; voyages to the West Indies, Spain, and the Mediterranean were increasingly common. In the 1880s and 1890s, Marstal ships began sailing to South America, Iceland, east Africa, and Australia. In the early 1890s, the Marstal's fleet counted more than 300 vessels.[11]

Local History and World Systems

As the numbers show, Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal were very small towns. By definition, my work belongs somewhat to the category of local history. I lean on the scholarship of local historians who have broadened the category and meaning of local history in the past few

[8] Erik Kroman, "Træk Af Marstal Søfarts Historie," in *Handels- Og Søfartsmuseets Årbog*, 1953, 61.
[9] Kroman, 61.
[10] Annemette Aracama, "Marstal Maritime Museum," *Mariner's Mirror* 102, no. 4 (2016): 466.
[11] Kroman, "Træk Af Marstal Søfarts Historie."

decades, including Steve Hindle and Anne Gerritsen. In looking at these three small towns, I am conscious of not constructing them as bounded spaces. Instead, I look at them through the lens of their connectedness to other places in the global late-nineteenth century. My focus in understanding these maritime towns is on the global labor force that "belonged to those towns" in the eyes of the people who lived there. Anne Gerritsen interrogates the meaning of "local" in the context of a globalizing world. She argues that local history can be used to understand the processes of globalization.[12] In this dissertation, I think with Gerritsen. I look at the local history of Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal to try to understand something new about globalization. What I argue in this dissertation, is that while there is a historiographical emphasis on European connections to other parts of the world through formal structures of empire, sailors were connected to the world on other terms. They were able to make direct connections with other people and they often expressed solidarity with those people whom they met. I develop this argument in chapter two.

This dissertation utilizes a variety of sources, including census records, church registers, memoirs, and letters. The intersection of all four source types forms the basis of my historical argument. The inspiration for my approach to census records in combination with memoirs came from a talk at UC Irvine by historian of early modern England, Steve Hindle. [13] In this talk, and in a working paper on the same topic, Hindle draws on the traditions of *Alltagsgeschichte*, *microistoria*, and the English tradition of local history to trace information about inhabitants of a

[12] Anne Gerritsen, "Scales of a Local: The Place of Locality in a Globalizing World," in *A Companion to World History*, ed. Douglas Northrop (Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/book/10.1002/9781118305492;jsessionid=DFA684AD9A26A112D1D149BBCF1E986F.f03t02.

[13] Steve Hindle, "The Social Topography of a Rural Community: The Spatiality of Inequality in Late Seventeenth Century England" (Early Modern Workshop, University of Chicago, 2015), 2.

single village, Chilvers Coton, over a wide range of archival sources. In the talk, Hindle remarked at the way in which social and emotional connections between people can be traced through looking at a combination of sources. Hindle used the example of the death of a small child in a family which was recorded in the census. The social and emotional connections surrounding the death of the child are elucidated through church pew data and mapping of the town. Hindle has access to detailed information about who sat in which church pew, and with this information, it is possible to trace who the bereaved family sat next to in church the following Sunday. From this, it is possible to infer, or at the very least speculate, on the web of human connections in Chilvers Coton.

Like Hindle, I employ a web of sources from which to tell the narrative of the intersection of the global and the local in small maritime communities. Through weaving together data from census records with memoirs and letters, I push back against common assumptions about sailors, showing a more complex picture of maritime life. Among these assumptions are that sailors were isolated everywhere they went, confined to their ship when they were at sea, and were socially isolated on land. The historical records for sailors in Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal show that neither assumption about isolation holds up to scrutiny. On the contrary, sailors from these three towns engaged with their surroundings when they were away from home. They were not confined to their ships, but instead sought out experiences, places, people, foods, and animals on their voyages. They were also deeply embedded in strong social networks when they were home.

Thinking with Steve Hindle, I use census records to establish a social topography of each maritime village. Hindle used a combination of sources to establish that the villagers who collected poor relief were concentrated in Heath End and the Wash Lane in Chilvers Coton,

which suggested that this part of the parish was the location of "mean tenements inhabited by indifferent persons."[14] Through the 1890 census, we have records of age, gender, and occupation of each member of each household in Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal. The census establishes a correlation between a dwelling and its residents, which allows us to see where in the town each person lived. This combination of records show that sailors were not isolated in sailors' quarters when they returned to their homes. In all three maritime towns, they lived distributed among their neighbors. Thinking with Hindle, I ask questions about the human connections which arose in small maritime communities based on the combination of census records and memoirs. What did it mean that someone was a neighbor to a sailor who had travelled widely?

In *Writing History in the Global Era* Lynn Hunt traces the development of global history.[15] For Hunt, global histories from the bottom up are necessary in order to understand what she calls "the workings of globalization." These are histories of specific commodities such as chocolate, tobacco, diamonds, gold, textiles, mahogany, tea, and ostrich plumes, or histories of ethnic networks such as those of the Jews, Armenians, and South Asians. "Only by tracing commodities and networks—the things exchanged and the people who exchange them—can the workings of globalization be truly understood," argues Hunt. Pointing to the role of human agency in global history, which is uncovered through the act of writing global histories from below, Hunt asserts that

> if deterritorialization is associated with globalization, then it is because things and people cross borders, not just going from one well-defined place to another… but also creating new kinds of interstitial spaces such as caravans, trade convoys, the haunts of pirates and smugglers, slave markets, and banks. New instruments of international interaction, such as currency exchanges and letters of credit, had to be invented to knit together those interstitial spaces. In short, deterritorialization and globalization do not happen willy-nilly

[14] Hindle, 12.
[15] Lynn Hunt, *Writing History in the Global Era* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2014), 46.

through the operation of invisible institutions or processes; they occur because people act and interact.[16]

This dissertation aligns with Hunt on the importance of the history of globalization from below, specifically by drawing attention to a small section of the maritime laborers on whose efforts globalization depended. In doing so, it follows in the footsteps of Marcus Rediker's *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750*, and *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*, as well as more intersectional maritime histories such as Berhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun's edited volume *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean*, and *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700-1920* edited by Margaret S. Creighton and Lisa Norling.[17]

At the heart of this dissertation are three small places and their global connections. The subject of "place and its connections" is the focus of Doreen Massey's article "Places and their Pasts." In it, she discusses the "Frenchness" of a Kentucky Fried Chicken outlet in Paris, arguing that although we may be loath to consider this fast-food chain truly French, and many might argue that fried chicken isn't *real* French food, Paris cannot be disassociated from its global connections. Kentucky Fried Chicken, and other expressions of Paris' connections to the world, are integral to the city's nature as a place. Massey argues that places

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[16] Hunt, 69.

[17] Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea. Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000); Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun, "The Sea Is History," in *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 1–12; Margaret S. Creighton and Lisa Norling, eds., *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700-1920*, Gender Relations in the American Experience (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

> are always constructed out of articulations of social relations (trading connections, the unequal links of colonialism, thoughts of home) which are not only internal to that locale but which link them to elsewhere. Their 'local uniqueness' is always already a product of wider contacts; the local is always already a product in part of 'global' forces, where global in this context refers not necessarily to the planetary scale, but to the geographical beyond, the world beyond the place itself.[18]

One of the methodological questions in this dissertation has been how to situate Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal. I have intentionally resisted defaulting to the nation-state as my unit of analysis. Although all three maritime towns were geographically located within the political boundaries of the Danish state, this is not necessarily a history about Denmark's past. Although we may expect a major European metropole like Paris to be deeply embedded in global networks, my work looks at places which on the surface seem less likely to have been "always already a product of wider contacts," as Massey puts it. Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal are located on the fringes of country that was itself a fringe to Europe in the nineteenth century, or so it has been treated in the historiography.[19] To what degree was Copenhagen's entrance into global circuits intertwined with Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal's global connections?

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[18] Doreen Massey, "Places and Their Pasts," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 39 (1995): 183.

[19] In *Nordic Orientalism* (2005) Elisabeth Oxfeldt explores the "appropriation of Oriental imagery within Danish and Norwegian nineteenth-century literature, culture, painting, and architecture". She points to the fact that the Danish version of Antoine Galland's *Alladin* by Adam Oehlenschläger was staged no fewer than 158 times between 1878 and 1928. *Arabian Nights*, especially the character of Scheherazade, was hugely popular. When Tivoli amusement park opened just outside Copenhagen, the Orientalism of the elites became available to almost all Copenhageners. Tivoli had a so-called Chinese tower, Arabian onion domes, crescent spires, minarets, and Oriental bazars. The Danish king used to wear a fez so-called Oriental garb in private. Interior décor and even vocabulary showed marks of the influence of Orientalism through the incorporation of works such as "sofa," "divan," and "ottoman." (pp. 10-11) Oxfeldt argues that cultural elites in Copenhagen were primarily looking to Paris as the center of Europe. Specifically, they embraced the orientalism that they observed in France. They "embraced an imaginary Orient in an effort to identify and construct themselves as a modern, cosmopolitan nation."(p. 12)

I argue that Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal were peripheral to European political centers, but bypassed those centers in their connections to the economic world system in the Wallerstinian sense of the word. For Wallerstein, it is precisely the economic rather than political relationships that makes up the modern world system as he lays out in *The Modern World-System Vol. 1*.[20] Since Wallerstein's seminal work, historians have complicated the concept of world systems considerably. Andre Gunder Frank and Barry Gills, for instance, argue that the world system is much older than the rise of capitalism in the sixteenth century. As they push back on some of Wallerstein's central concepts, they continue to work with the idea of a world system made up of economic relationships. For Frank and Gills, using Wallerstein's world systems theory as a historical method is problematic because it leads to the privileging of accumulation, exchanges, and hegemonic influence or rivalries. It is still preferable, though, the alternative, which is to "take as the primary unit of analysis a single society (if such a thing can be said to exist!), or a single state, or a single mode of production (if there ever was one in isolation)."[21] Frank and Gills use Wallerstein's world system as the framework for the unit of analysis, and I do the same in this dissertation.

My unit of analysis is not Denmark, Scandinavia, or Europe. My unit of analysis is a sliver of the world system in the late nineteenth century which inhabitants of Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal participated in. The peripheral location of the three maritime towns in relationship to Copenhagen, Paris, London, or other European metropoles was irrelevant to their participation in the global world. My inquiry is unusual within the historiography of world systems in that I look

[20] Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, 1974.
[21] Andre Gunder Frank and Barry K. Gills, "The 5,000-Year World System: An Interdisciplinary Introduction," in *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1993), 29.

at sailors. I argue that sailors created the connections of the world system that they participated in through their labor in moving goods around the world. Their shipping routes were as close a literal manifestation of the world system as it gets.

The Field of Maritime History

In the following section, I define and theorize maritime history and the ocean. I also discuss briefly one of the viewpoints, which I share, on why maritime history is inherently a pursuit which can only happen meaningfully within a global framework.

No discussion of maritime history would be complete without at least a nod to Braudel, to whom many maritime historians trace their roots. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* is in many ways the earliest maritime history in that it is a history of the interaction of humans and the sea. In the words of Edward Peters: "If Braudel did not invent thalassology in 1949 (perhaps at the suggestion of Lucien Febvre) and greatly expand it 20 year later, he certainly put it spectacularly on the historian's map."[22] Picking up the thread from Braudel, the International Association of Maritime Economic History (IMEHA) was established in 1986 and has been publishing the leading journal in the field, the *International Journal of Maritime History* since 1989. With the rise of global history following the cultural turn, which Lynn Hunt discusses in more detail, maritime history and global history have increasingly been intertwined.

Prominent maritime historian Gelina Harlaftis accuses historians in general of having neglected the sea. Historians, she argues, suffer from what she calls "Thalassophobia" caused by

[22] Edward Peters, "Quid Nobis Cum Pelago? The New Thalassology and the Economic History of Europe.," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XXXIV, no. I (Summer 2003): 49.

"land-based bias."[23] Her critique is sharp, but worth exploring, especially in the context of proliferation of global histories. This dissertation draws on recent scholarship in maritime history that echoes Harlaftis' call to bring the sea into focus. Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun problematize what they see as the difference between how historians treat landed spaces and maritime spaces in historical inquiry. They assert that "the ocean itself needs to be analyzed as a deeply historical location whose transformative power is not merely psychological or metaphorical… but material and very real." They point to a cultural myth of the ocean which frames it as somehow beyond history. "The repetitive cycle of the sea obliterates memory and temporality," they argue, and "a fully historicized land" stands diametrically opposed to the atemporal and ahistorical sea.[24]

Frank Broeze's broad definition of maritime history applies in this dissertation, where maritime history comprises communities on land as well as sailors. His seminal article asserts, asserts that Australia is group of islands surrounded by oceanic space, and that without considering Australia's water site as well as her hinterlands, Australia's economy, foreign and defense policies, and social developments cannot be understood. Historians have tended to understand Australia as a landmass, a continent, often "the Bush," relegating the coastline to the background or entirely out of view. Bringing the sea back into the mainstream of historical study rests on the usage of the broadest possible definition of maritime history, which Broeze gives us: Maritime history is based on humans and the sea, but it also concerns "everything related to that use of the sea, everything that leads to that use, and everything that derives from the use or is

[23] Gelina Harlaftis, "Maritime History or the History of Thalassa," in *The New Ways of History* (London: IB Tauris, 2009), 212.
[24] Klein and Mackenthun, "The Sea Is History," 2.

significantly influenced by it."[25] Broeze's maritime history involves ship owners, business management, political activities related to shipping, commodities carried by ships, as well as the consumption of shipped goods.

This dissertation also thinks with Broeze on the problem of "the ocean." For Broeze, the ocean was not just a setting, but a dynamic agent. It draws

> people to its shores to use its animal resources for a great variety of fisheries, and its surface for shipping, trade, migration, and the projection of naval power. In more recent periods… the sea has gained many other functions, such as for sport, leisure and tourism on it shores and waves. Cruising and surfing have become among the most intimate personal encounters between mankind and the sea.[26]

As the dynamic force, which Broeze asserts that the ocean is, it has drawn people to its edges and surfaces in search of exchange routes. It facilitated global mobility in the late nineteenth century, even as railways were developing around the world.

There are few examples which are as clear on the waterways as a historical agent as Foucault's discussion of the concept of the "ship of fools." The section on "ship of fools" in *Madness and Civilization* deals with the literary and literal practice of using waterways to separate madmen from the rest of society in the sixteenth century. For Foucault, waterways have two functions in relationship to madness and the ship of fools: It isolates and it purifies. The former is literal, the latter contextual. On isolation, Foucault says: "to hand a madman over to sailors was to be permanently sure he would not be prowling beneath the city walls; it made sure that he would go far away; it made him prisoner of his own departure."[27] On the concept of

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[25] Frank Broeze, "From the Periphery to the Mainstream: The Challenge of Australia's Maritime History," *The Great Circle* 11, no. 1 (1989): 1–2.
[26] Frank Broeze, "Notes on Paul Butel," *International Journal of Maritime History*, Roundtable, XII, no. 2 (June 2000): 261.
[27] Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1965), 10–11.

waterways as agents of purification, Foucault says: "Navigation delivers a man to the uncertainty of fate; on water, each of us is in the hands of his own destiny; every embarkation is, potentially, the last. It is for the other world that the madman sets sail in his fools' boat; it is from the other world that he comes when he disembarks."[28]

Klein and Mackenthun argue, along with Broeze, that the impact of the ocean on modern history

> has been as enormous as its role has been contradictory: The sea has served as an agent of colonial oppression but also of indigenous resistance and native empowerment, it has been a site of loss, dispersal, and enforced migration but also of new forms of solidarity and affective kinship, a paradigm of modern capitalism but also of its creative reinterpretation, a figure of death but also a figure of life.[29]

In my dissertation I argue, like Klein and Mackenthun, that the sea was a site of loss and dispersal. For members of the maritime communities of Nordby, Sønderho, and Marstal, the seal was the site of labor migration, and like Klein and Mackenthun argue, the sea through its role in labor migration caused the development of new forms of solidarity and social networks.

In 1993, Daniel Vickers argued that those who led the Great Reconnaissance, the Europeans who sailed westward across the Atlantic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, "conducted their business at a great many points around its perimeter." These people, asserts Vickers, differed from other people in that their lives

> unfolded across great spaces and in a wide range of cultural settings. We cannot make sense of their intentions and achievements if we continue to place them only in the local, regional, or national contexts in which we commonly study the past; their stories need to be told from a variety of transoceanic perspectives.[30]

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[28] Foucault, 11.
[29] Klein and Mackenthun, "The Sea Is History," 2.
[30] Daniel Vickers, "Beyond Jack Tar," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (April 1993): 420.

Vickers' words imply that only historians who are willing to research and read across academic boundaries and across a wide variety of fields, will be able to get at the history of sailors. In other words, it takes the courage of a world historian to study sailors, but a similar point could be made about maritime history in general. Only a world historian would dare to approach the range of scholarly traditions that are required to understand the diversity encapsulated with the life of a sailor. National approaches will not suffice.[31]

In this dissertation, I engage with multiple historical fields, especially as I trace the movement of sailors around the globe. In chapter two, for example, I analyze a section from a memoir by a sailor who went by P.H.C. He. describes a situation that unfolded when he was docked at the harbor at Macau. He witnessed local men on the docks being captured and forcibly dragged onto the so-called coolie ships bound for Peru. To contextualize my analysis of P.H.C.' memoir, I delve into the historiography of the coolie trade and of abolition in the mid-nineteenth century. In chapter five, I analyze the memoir of Bertel Clausen Jensen, who suffered from beriberi on a voyage from Nagasaki to Bangkok. In this section, I engage with the history of Japanese medicine, specifically the approaches to beriberi. I do this in order to interrogate how the sailor and his local doctor on Fanø made sense of the disease. It is necessary to engage broadly with historical fields, because sailors dispersed widely across the globe. In order to trace the breadth of the maritime experience, it is necessary to follow sailors outside of narrow fields which are often geographically limited.

[31] For a more thorough discussion of maritime history and global history as interconnected fields, see chapter 4.

The Two Branches of Maritime History

There is a consensus among maritime historians that the field has two distinct branches. One branch belongs to the scholarly historians who practice maritime history within universities across the world. The second branch belongs to a large and enthusiastic group of non-professional historians. These maritime enthusiasts form the bulk of the field. In 2017, Jari Ojala and Stig Tenold performed a "health check" on the field of maritime history. They assert,

> The most popular 'branch' of maritime history comprises locally-based, geographically-limited and knowledge-focused studies that are based on local or regional maritime sources and artefacts, and disseminated to a general audience. Although such 'maritime history; has neither academic nor international pretensions, it is undoubtedly the most visible part of our field, with the biggest headcount. The main–or at least the most influential–dissemination channel for maritime history has always been maritime museums, rather than university departments.[32]

In chapter four, I discuss in more detail Patrick Manning's argument that maritime history and global history have developed along parallel paths rather than as one single field. This parallel development has to do with the two branches of historians—professional historians and enthusiasts—who have dominated the respective fields. The bifurcation of maritime history seems to exist in all the important centers for maritime history in Europe from Greece, to Portugal, Italy, England, and Scandinavia.

The reasons for writing this dissertation, and subsequently the questions which it addresses, grew out of the rifts between the two branches of history, which is why it is worth discussing in more detail. Maritime history is important outside the academy in ways that many other types of history are not. The broad popularity of maritime history suggests that it is interesting, relevant, and meaningful outside the ivory tower. Public historians have gone to great

[32] Jari Ojala and Stig Tenold, "Maritime History: A Health Check," *International Journal of Maritime History* 29, no. 2 (2017): 345–46.

lengths to make their work relevant outside the academy for decades, but in the field of maritime history the job has already been done for us.

Academic history and enthusiast history are, however, not the same, which is why maritime historians have mixed feelings about our large enthusiast branch. As early as 1989, Frank Broeze suggested that the traditional view of maritime history was that it was a field for hobbyists, expressing frustration that the field tended to be pigeonholed by those who saw maritime history as a hobbyist engagement with antiquarianism as well as a field of hero-worship of ships and people. The amateur branch of maritime history was, according to Broeze, directly to blame for the considerable misconceptions about what maritime history was.[33]

Maria Fusaro and Amélia Polónia also point to the domination of the field of maritime history by non-professional historians until the early twenty-first century. They suggest that historians have been skeptical about theoretical approaches to the field precisely because of the enthusiastic involvement in the discipline of former seafarers, which supports both Broeze and Manning's point. In writing maritime history, former seafarers have been principally concerned with technological changes, the craft of seamanship, the day-to-day conditions, and the anecdotes and vignettes that gain traction among their audiences. Fusaro and Polónia argue that they have been more interested in "historicizing their own contribution to their country's past than with more abstract forms of argument." [34] Americanist Daniel Vickers suggests that the pattern is similar in the US context: From clipper ships in California to piracy in the Gulf of Mexico, maritime history has broad popular appeal. All these histories "form part of a maritime

[33] Broeze, "From the Periphery to the Mainstream: The Challenge of Australia's Maritime History," 1.
[34] Maria Fusaro and Amélia Polónia, eds., *Maritime History as Global History*, Research in Maritime History, no. 43 (St. John's, Nfld: International Maritime Economic History Association, 2010), 267.

mythology that supports a sizable corner of the publishing market as well as some of the most important of America's historical museums. This popular history has no comparable academic counterpart".[35]

While some maritime historians primarily see amateur involvement as an impediment to academic maritime history, because it shrouds the field in misunderstandings and deters academic historians, others see strength in the widespread community involvement. Gelina Harlaftis suggests that there has been enthusiastic involvement of non-professional historians because maritime history is very popular with local communities. This popularity has given rise to nautical museums, "friends of the museums," enthusiasm around local narratives of port towns and cities. Although maritime history as a whole, in the view of Harlaftis, has benefitted from community involvement and recognition, the involvement of enthusiasts is not without some drawbacks. Harlaftis, whose focus is on Greek maritime history, points to the amateur history as a strand of history primarily concerned with "the study of glorious ships, admirals, and navigators." She also notes, though, that amateur enthusiasm has negatively affected the reputation of maritime history.[36]

Ojala and Tenold's findings suggested that although there has been a steady and parallel growth in the publications of maritime history and global history over the past decade, there are some key differences in the way that each of the fields are playing out. Maritime history, for instances, has not gained the same traction as global history or world history among students, universities, and research councils. There are very few research centers dedicated to the maritime history. The most notable exceptions are the Memorial University of Newfoundland and the

[35] Vickers, "Beyond Jack Tar," 418.
[36] Harlaftis, "Maritime History or the History of Thalassa," 215.

University of Hull.[37] For Ojala and Tenold, although the publication trends of maritime history and global history have followed parallel paths, the path of maritime history has been decidedly less glamorous. It has received less funding and less institutional recognition.

In the most generous and empathetic nod to amateur to be found among academic historians, Ojala and Tenold argue that maritime history will persevere because it is practiced not only by academics but by enthusiastic non-specialists. They argue that "many of the most knowledgeable, dedicated, and prolific practitioners of maritime history, are not part of [the community of academic historians] and have never aspired to become part of it." Non-academic historians make up the most visible part of the field, argue Ojala and Tenold, and they make up a majority of people who write maritime history. For this reason, the primary channel for dissemination of maritime history continues to be maritime museums rather than university departments. While Ojala and Tenold in no way conflate non-academic history with academic history, and do regret the lack of institutional recognition of maritime history, they recognize that amateur historians and museum professionals continue to make huge contributions to the field.[38] These contributions are not necessarily measured in published histories, but rather in the labor of keeping up museums, preserving documents and artifacts, gathering information, sharing imagery, creating databases, and countless other forms of labor. Ojala and Tenold go so far as to argue that "because of local museums and amateur historians, maritime history has an outreach and a following that 'global' and 'world' history will never be able to replicate."[39]

The historiography of Danish maritime history follows the general trend that historians have observed across Europe. In Denmark, as elsewhere, non-academic maritime enthusiasts

[37] Ojala and Tenold, "Maritime History: A Health Check," 348.
[38] Ojala and Tenold, 345–46.
[39] Ojala and Tenold, 353.

make up the bulk of the field, and have historically been former seafarers, or relatives or friends of seafarers. These non-academic historians were prolific writers of maritime history, and they continue to constitute the primary authorities in the field among their community members. Niels Møller Kromann, who wrote and published an impressive three-volume magnum opus on the history of Fanø, with one entire volume dedicated to its maritime past, was a merchant on Fanø.[40] His father was a merchant and a ship-owner. Kromann's history of Fanø's maritime past continues to constitute one of the most authoritative works on maritime history for non-academic enthusiasts. Other works include *Vi har fået ærter i dag – derfor er det Mandag* (In translation*: We had split peas for dinner tonight – so I know that it is Monday)* by architect and city planner Christian Poulsen. Its primary objective is to describe events around the life of a sailor named Jørgen Beck. As such, it is an annotated version of the diary Beck wrote over the course of his life. The book was published by the local historical association on Fanø and sold widely to the community, which is a testament to its authority and to the community's interest in its maritime past.[41]

Some of the questions in this dissertation are tangential to ongoing political debates around national identity in Denmark. Is Denmark a nation of farmers or of sailors? Are Danes by nature globally oriented or unsuited for globalization? The question for some historians therefore is whether the history of Denmark is the history of a seafaring nation, engaged with the world

[40] N. M. Kromann, *Fanøs Historie*, vol. 1, 3 vols. (Esbjerg: Eget forlag, 1933); Kromann, *Fanø's Historie*; N. M. Kromann, *Fanøs Historie*, vol. 3, 3 vols. (Esbjerg: Eget forlag, 1934).

[41] The list of titles in Danish amateur maritime history is long. Among these titles are books such as Boye, Albert E. *Fra Skibsdreng Til Mægler. Marstalleren Albert E. Boyes Erindringer.* Edited by Martin Boye and v.d. Loewe. 1st ed. Marstal: Marstal of Omegns Museumsforening, 1975. This volume is a publication of the memoirs of a sailor with minor edits published on the 150th anniversary of Marstal harbor.

through its empire, or whether Denmark should be understood as a small peasant nation.[42]Over the past quarter of a century, since the establishment of the right-wing Danish People's Party in 1995, the history of Danish sailors has been utilized in debates around immigration. Xenophobic right-wing politicians contend that Denmark has always been a nation of farmers. Denmark has been a closed, small nation, which has not been used to influences from the wider world. Only elites travelled, but the "true Danes" were salt-of-the-earth people who farmed the land and did not look outward. Implicit in this argument are assumptions about race and religion: Christian Danes have historically married other Christian Danes with the same skin color and eye color. Danes should not now be intermingling with other peoples.

Opposing the Danish ultra-right wing, fiction writer Carsten Jensen leads a smaller faction of people who see Denmark's maritime past as evidence of the fact that Denmark has not been as insular historically as the right wing would like to think.[43] Danes are not new to contact with other peoples and other parts of the globe and Danes are more than capable of negotiating cross-cultural encounters. The historical claims that inform the current political debate remain underexplored by academic historians.

Many of the key sources that form the base of this dissertation come not from large, nationally funded archives, but instead from smaller maritime museums and collections. The parish archive on Fanø has been especially fruitful for this dissertation. The archive is staffed by

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[42] See for example Johansen, "Danish Sailors, 1570-1870."

[43] Hans Christian Davidsen, "Marstals Buddenbrook," *Hans Christian Davidsen* (blog), n.d., https://hcdavidsen.wordpress.com/litteratur/marstals-buddenbrook/; Carsten Andersen, "Carsten Jensen Om Marstal," *Politiken*, November 5, 2006, https://politiken.dk/kultur/boger/art4796902/Carsten-Jensen-om-Marstal; Peter Nielsen, "Carsten Jensen Springer Ud Som Rigtig Romanforfatter Med Hæmningsløs Roman På de Syv Have.," *Information*, November 9, 2006, https://www.information.dk/kultur/2007/07/carsten-jensen-springer-rigtig-romanforfatter-haemningsloes-roman-paa-syv.

volunteers who keep it open Tuesdays between 10am and noon and again on Wednesday evenings between 7pm and 9pm. During my visit, the archive was opened especially for me. While local involvement in the field of maritime history might give rise to prejudice in some circles, non-professional maritime history enthusiasts provide their labor and their passion for the field which nourishes and sustains it through the vicissitudes of academic tastes and turn.

Although this dissertation is a scholarly work, it cannot disentangle itself from non-academic maritime history. The questions that are elucidated in this dissertation touch on themes that have political saliency at this current moment. The labor that went into this dissertation also rests squarely on the shoulders of the labor of curation, preservation, collection, and display by non-professional historians, often without compensation.

Jack Tar?

European sailor is a cultural stereotype that continues to resonate in popular culture, including in recent big budget Hollywood films such as *Master and Commander: The Far Side of the World*, *Pirates of the Caribbean* I-V, and *In the Heart of the Sea*.[44] This stereotype is based on eighteenth-century English sailors who have been well studied, perhaps most notably by Marcus Rediker's *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*.[45] Many scholars have argued for the rescuing of the sailor as a historical figure from the cultural stereotype. Jesse Lemisch argued

[44] Peter Weir, *Master and Commander: The Far Side of the World*, Drama, 2003; Gore Verbinski, *Pirates of the Caribbean: The Curse of the Black Pearl*, Drama, 2003; Gore Verbinski, *Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Man's Chest*, 2006; Gore Verbinski, *Pirates of the Caribbean: The World's End*, 2007; Rob Marshall, *Pirates of the Caribbean: On Stranger Tides*, 2011; Joachim Rønning and Espen Sandberg, *Pirates of the Caribbean: Dead Men Tell No Tales*, 2017; Ron Howard, *In the Heart of the Sea*, 2015.
[45] Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea. Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750*.

that 'jolly Jack Tar' ought to be rescued from the stereotype, and he did so by pointing to the role of Jack Tar in the American War for Independence. Jack Tar in Lemisch's work was a political agent.[46] Eric Sager argues that the sailor is "too often perceived as a drunken and violent ruffian from the 'dregs of society'".[47] Thinking with David Alexander, Sager argues that sailors "as an occupational group were portrayed as misfits living in a world of their own, separated from landward society. Sailors were a 'breed apart' and much of the literature of the nineteenth century twentieth century reinforced that impression."[48] The historiography on eighteenth-century Jack Tar in England and America is extensive, and much scholarship argues for a nuancing of the popular stereotype.[49] In common for these is that the focus in on the English eighteenth-century Jack Tar, a figure which continues to have far-reaching cultural resonances.

In this dissertation, I argue along with Lemisch and Sager that sailors in history ought to be differentiated from popular stereotypes about sailors. Moreover, I point out that sailors were not all the same across time and origin. Much has been written about eighteenth-century English sailors, the sailors on which the cultural stereotype of Jack Tar is fabricated. The eighteenth-century Jack Tar, whether nuanced in relationship to the stereotype or not, is recognizable to us because of the fact that he forms the basis of our stereotype. In addition to being recognizable to

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[46] Jesse Lemisch, "Jack Tar in the Streets: Marchant Seamen in the Politics of Revolution America," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (July 1968): 371–407.
[47] Eric W Sager, *Seafaring Labour the Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914* (Montreal, Que: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 3.
[48] Sager, 3.
[49] On eighteenth-century English/American Jack Tar see for instance Paul A Gilje, *Liberty on the Waterfront: American Maritime Culture in the Age of Revolution* (Philadelphia, Pa.; Bristol: University of Pennsylvania Press ; University Presses Marketing [distributor, 2007); Andrew Parnaby, "The Many Motivations of Jack Tar," *Labour/Le Travail* 62 (Fall 2008): 199–208; Lemisch, "Jack Tar in the Streets: Marchant Seamen in the Politics of Revolution America"; Marcus Rediker, *Villains of All Nations: Atlantic Pirates in the Golden Age*, Nachdr., Paperback (Boston, Mass: Beacon Press, 2010).

us, Jack Tar—the eighteenth century English sailor—was recognizable to his contemporaries because of his distinctive behavior, language, and appearance. According to John Fielding, a contemporary observer whom Rediker draws on, seamen all spoke the same language but among them one would feel as though one were in another country. Rediker points to the fact that Jack Tar's language was distinctive because of the usage of "technical terms, unusual syntax, distinctive pronunciation, and a generous portion of swearing and cursing." Jack Tar swayed like a pendulum when he walked, and he wore distinctive tarred clothing to protect him from the weather and the cold. He had tattoos on his forearms which were made crudely by pricking the skin and rubbing it with gunpowder or pigment. Prolonged exposure to the sun caused Jack Tar to have a leathery, tanned or reddened, prematurely wrinkled skin. His hands were marked by hard work, accidents, and handling heavy cargo.[50]

Jack Tar's character and his behavior have also carried over into the trope of the sailor. The culturally intelligible Jack Tar is a sordid man with questionable habits and even more questionable morals. When he is not at sea, he lives near the docks in cramped quarters. This part of the trope reflects the historical record on London's sailors' quarters in the eighteenth century. Wapping and Rotherhithe were well-known sailors' quarters. They faced each other across the Thames. Wapping was a quarter of narrow, two-story wooden houses in disrepair. On the Wapping side was the execution dock, where "pirates, mutineers, and other seafaring men were "launched into eternity."" In the eighteenth century, Wapping was marked by the grisly spectacle of decaying, crow-shredded sailors' bodies hanging from the gallows along the river.[51] Jack Tar

[50] Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea. Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750*, 11.
[51] Rediker, 26–27.

was not a stranger to crime, according to Rediker, who asserts that Jack Tar knew English prisons from the inside very well.[52]

Sailors in other historical and social contexts may be less culturally familiar, and it requires historical inquiry to become familiar with them. Scandinavian sailors were not eighteenth-century English Jack Tar. They were not lonely figures, marred by a corrupt moral fiber, a propensity for drinking, and characteristics that help us recognize their physical form. One of the common perceptions of Jack Tar, is that he was cut loose from society, without family ties or stable community. In *Many Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* Linebaugh and Rediker argue that sailors in eighteenth century England often took to the sea because enclosure of the commons, the puritanical abolition of holidays, burning of women and stealing of children, as well as the destruction of guilds and assault on paganism all gave rise to a new kinds of labor discipline enforced directly by terror, and that eighteenth century Anglo maritime culture was part of this development.[53] Enclosure laws especially pushed men to the sea, accounting for the loose or absent ties to communities on land among early-modern English sailors. Valerie Burton says that the sailor "roams the world without constraint of home and family, half hero and half reprobate."[54] The projection of freedom onto Jack Tar, then, seems to be bound up on the freedom from social norms and self-control, especially those connected with family and domesticity. English reformers working in sailortowns went so far as to say that the drunkenness and promiscuity of sailors made them incompatible with marriage and family.

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[52] Rediker, 30.
[53] Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*, 40.
[54] Valerie Burton, "The Myth of Bachelor Jack: Masculinity, Patriarchy and Seafaring Labour," in *Jack Tar in History: Essays in the History of Maritime Life and Labour*, ed. Colin Howell and Richard J. Twomey (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Acadiensis Press, 1991), 179.

Nineteenth-century English Jack Tar was different from eighteenth-century Jack Tar. He was further removed from the common stereotype. Burton argues that there may have been a time when English sailors relished in the liberty afforded to them on the basis of their reputation, but that by the late nineteenth century, the reputation of debauchery and drunkenness was injurious owing to the sexual morality and gender norms in late Victorian England.[55] Burton's examination of the first census of seafarers from 1891 shows that forty-six percent of all counted seamen were married or once married.[56] Even though it seems that norms were shifting for English seamen, the rates of marriage, and consequently of community ties, seem significantly lower than they were in the case of Danish sailors.[57]

Jelle van Lottum and Bo Poulsen did a study in 2011 on the relative levels of numeracy and literacy among European sailors in the late eighteenth century. They argue that there is a perceived link between investment in schooling or training and economic performance that was central to the rise of modern capitalism. Skills such as literacy and numeracy can therefore be described as human capital in the late eighteenth century.[58] Sailors from European countries differed significantly in their levels of numeracy and literacy. The study shows that captains had higher levels of numeracy and literacy than ordinary sailors for all national groups, suggesting that numeracy and literacy were valued qualities. Scandinavian seamen had high levels of literacy and numeracy. Ordinary Scandinavian sailors, for instance, had levels of numeracy

[55] Burton, 180.
[56] Burton, 187.
[57] See chapter 1 of this dissertation.
[58] Jelle van Lottum and Bo Poulsen, "Estimating Levels of Numeracy and Literacy in the Maritime Sector of the North Atlantic in the Late Eighteenth Century," *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 59, no. 1 (March 2011): 68.

comparable to that of captains anywhere, while Spanish, French, and Dutch sailors all displayed significantly lower levels of numeracy.[59]

Comparing the data across occupational groups, van Lottum and Poulsen found that ordinary Scandinavian sailors stood out here as well. The numeracy levels of Scandinavian sailors were much higher than numeracy levels among ordinary sailors from other countries but also higher than other occupational groups across Europe. Dutch captains and fishing skippers showed higher levels of numeracy than the general population, comparable only to burghers in Amsterdam, urban populations in England and professionals in the southern part of the Netherlands. In terms of literacy, German, French, and Spanish sailors were about as literate as German day laborers and craftsmen from lower Saxony. Common sailors from Spain, France, and the Netherlands had lower levels of numeracy as well.[60]

Van Lottum and Poulsen's study concerns sailors who lived a century before the sailors who are the focus of this dissertation, but the study helps us understand some of the ways sailors differed across Europe. Historically, sailors from Scandinavia represented valuable human capital. They were well-trained in comparison to their countrymen and compared to sailors from other regions. Van Lottum and Poulsen point to the fact that the Danish sailors in their study were almost exclusively from the Wadden Sea area of Denmark, including Fanø, Rømø, Amrum, and other maritime communities. Norwegian sailors in the study similarly came from maritime communities. The authors suggest that sailors from maritime communities were brought up from an early age to take part in maritime life, and that the communities were involved in educating and training young boys with the necessary skills.[61]

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[59] van Lottum and Poulsen, 72.
[60] van Lottum and Poulsen, 73.
[61] van Lottum and Poulsen, 78.

Sailors and their extended communities are the central focus of this dissertation. The current literature on the social history of maritime communities and maritime labor leaves room for much future research. Within the field of English maritime history, the social history of sailors seems to have experienced a moment of popularity in the early.[62] In this dissertation, I think with Sager, in his analysis of David Alexander's work. Sager pointed out that sailors were not detached from the culture that sent them to sea.[63] In this dissertation, I argue that sailors were closely linked to their home maritime communities. At the same time, the transitory nature of the labor migration patterns of their work was a central component of the identity of sailors from Nordby, Sønderho, and Marstal.

Dutch ships have historically been manned by international crew. In contrast, the crews of English ships were less international until the early nineteenth century.[64] Iona Man-Cheong points out that the number of Lascar and Chinese sailors in the British East India Company rose during the Napoleonic wars due to the abandonment of the British Navigation Law's restrictions on the nationality of crew on British merchant ships. This also led to an increase of sailors of color in London.[65] Man-Cheong suggests that there was a division in racial policies within the maritime sector. While employers and managers on the one hand, "tended to exacerbate racial divisions… maritime workingmen, by contrast could create alliances borne out of class sympathies that challenged the developing racial narratives."[66] The British tradition of recruiting

[62] See for example *Life and Work at Sea* (1975) by Frank E. Huggett, *The British Sailor* (1970) by Peter Kemp, and *Seafarer & Community* (1973) by Peter Fricke.
[63] Sager, *Seafaring Labour the Merchant Marine of Atlantic Canada, 1820-1914*, 3.
[64] Jelle van Lottum et al., "National and International Labour Markets for Sailors in European, Intercontinental and Asian Waters, 1600-1850" (World Economic History Conference, Utrecht, 2009), 51–53.
[65] Iona Man-Cheong, "'Asiatic' Sailors and the East India Company: Racialisation and Labor Practices, 1803-15," *Journal for Maritime Research* 16, no. 2 (November 2014): 167.
[66] Man-Cheong, 167.

crew from a diverse pool of workers has been written about extensively.[67] In contrast, Hans Chr. Johansen's work shows that Danish ships tended to be manned by sailors from within kingdom of Denmark in the period between 1570 and 1870.[68] Jelle van Lottum et al. point to the fact that national recruitment was the rule rather than the exception in Europe between the seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries.[69]

This dissertation is focused on sailors and the communities of Nordby, Sønderho, and Marstal. I make no claims about the ships that the sailors manned in this work. Memoirs show that the sailors I look at some times sailed on Danish ships, and some times sailed on foreign ships. I have not quantified when they were sailing on what ships. Instead, I focus my analysis on what I find in the memoirs. Based on the research of Hans Chr. Johansen and van Lottum et al., it is probable that when sailors were onboard Danish ships, they were mostly surrounded by other Danish sailors from their home communities or from the surrounding areas of their communities.

Argument and Chapter Outlines

My project contributes an alternative narrative to existing scholarship on global history from a European perspective in the late nineteenth century. I specifically choose an unusual vantage

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[67] See for example Heloise Finch-Boyer, "Lascars through the Colonial Lens: Reconsidering Visual Sources of South Asian Sailors from the Twentieth Century," *Journal for Maritime Research* 16, no. 2 (November 2014): 246–63; Aaron Jaffer, *Lascars and Indian Ocean Seafaring, 1780-1860* (S.l.: Boydell Press, 2015); Jonathan Hyslop, "'Ghostlike' Seafarers and Sailing Ship Nostalgia: The Figure of the Steamship Lascar in the British Imagination, c. 1880-1960," *Journal for Maritime Research* 16, no. 2 (November 2014): 212–28; Ray Costello, *Black Salt: Seafarers of African Descent on British Ships*, 2014; Diane Frost, ed., *Ethnic Labour and British Imperial Trade: A History of Ethnic Seafarers in the UK* (London ; Portland, Or: F. Cass, 1995).; Christian Høgsbjerg, *Chris Braithwaite Mariner, Renegade, & Castaway.* (On Our Own Authority Pub, 2017).

[68] Johansen, "Danish Sailors, 1570-1870," 244–46.

[69] van Lottum et al., "National and International Labour Markets for Sailors in European, Intercontinental and Asian Waters, 1600-1850," 54.

point. In the conventional view which privileges political and state structures, Denmark was on the fringes of Europe in the late nineteenth century; Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal were on the fringes of Denmark. From this conventionally-understood 'fringe,' maritime populations were directly connected to global networks through sailors who shipped goods around the world. My argument unfolds over five chapters. In chapter one, I show that sailors, who worked all over the world, were socially well-connected to their communities on land. This runs counter to common assumptions about sailors as socially isolated figures. Through strong social connections, sailors' global experiences infiltrated their communities. In chapter two, I discuss sailors' memoirs to interrogate how they engaged with the world on their voyages. I use these texts to show what kinds of experiences were valuable to sailors, how they interpreted what they saw and who they met, and what they took with them from their voyages. This chapter is based on the assumption that non-elites were capable of constructing meaning and thinking about the world they encountered. Chapter three discusses the gendered dynamics of maritime communities, arguing that maritime work relied on carefully constructed gendered norms which involved both men at sea and women in the home communities. Chapter four uses empirical evidence to support the recurring assumption in this dissertation that "sailors travelled all around the globe." Through mapping of geographical data extracted from memoirs, this chapter shows where sailors traveled and to what degree the global aspects of their work was significant and remembered. Chapter five uses the approach of microhistory to make sense of a verbal exchange between a sailor and his doctor. The exchange, which was recorded by the sailor, suggests that the local doctor in the maritime community had appropriated medical knowledge on beriberi which was common in the Japanese Navy but not in European medical circles. In this chapter, I discuss the possibility of a connection between sailors and the peoples they encountered which involved exchange of

knowledge and ideas, and which was not subordinate to authoritative European models of knowledge.

CHAPTER ONE

The Social Fabric of three Danish Maritime Communities

The discussion of the social fabric of maritime communities in this chapter forms the basis of the entire dissertation. My arguments throughout this work rest on the evidence which I provide in this chapter: I show that sailors forged meaningful and strong bonds to their family members and to their communities. Only through the understanding that sailors did not live in social isolation, cut off from landed people in their home area, do any of the other arguments in this dissertation make sense. Sailors were married and had strong relationships with their children, and with their extended families. Their homes were dispersed throughout the community, making their reach and contact-surface with non-sailors very wide. Thinking with a strand of maritime historiography which would like to see the sea as a central organizing principle in the lives of maritime populations, I argue that the sea shaped social relationships, and that the sea itself was a primary agency in the lives of maritime dwellers. [1]

The literature on port cities includes a range of disciplinary approaches. The majority of the existing literature focuses on trade, shipping, administration, and economic issues associated with ports. A smaller portion of the historiography looks at maritime labor, shipbuilding, and social or cultural issues.[2] In 1985, Frank Broeze argued that the literature on port cities falls into one of two categories: Either it focuses on cargo-handling, shipping movements, trade statistics,

[1] Frank Broeze, "From the Periphery to the Mainstream: The Challenge of Australia's Maritime History," *The Great Circle* 11, no. 1 (1989): 1–2.
[2] For an overview of the historiography on port cities published in the International Journal of Maritime History, see Malcolm Tull, "Port History in the International Journal of Maritime History (1989-2012)," *International Journal of Maritime History* 26, no. 1 (January 16, 2014): 123–29.

or other issues associated with the business and shipping side of port life or it focuses on the port city as a whole, examining the entire community. In the latter case, Broeze argues, there has been a tendency to treat the maritime aspect of the port cities as entirely incidental to its overall structure.[3] Broeze's critique from 1985 is still valid, in that port city histories since 1985 have continued to fall into one of those two categories. Notable exceptions to this include Alice Mah's work on port cities and political radicalism[4] as well as the forum "Connected Oceans: New Pathways in Maritime History" in the *International Journal for Maritime History*.[5]

The terms "port city" and "maritime community" are not interchangeable but there are overlaps between the two concepts. A maritime community, in accordance with the usage of the term in the work of Karel Davids, is a "village, small town, or neighborhood where a substantial part of the population earns its livelihood whole or partly by work at sea or is directly dependent on seafaring." [6] Davids bases this definition on work done by Peter Fricke in the early 1970s on seafaring communities.[7] Multiple ways of making a living from the sea mean that maritime communities are not all the same. Some maritime communities make a living from fishing in nearby waters, while other maritime communities make their living primarily from long-distance shipping. If a maritime community is connected to the sea through coastal fishing, then it differs from port cities, because port cities involve trade connections. If maritime communities are

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[3] Frank Broeze, "Review Essay: Port Cities: The Search for an Identity," *Journal of Urban History* 11, no. 2 (1985): 210.
[4] Alice Mah, *Port Cities and Global Legacies: Urban Identity, Waterfront Work and Radicalism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
[5] Amélia Polónia et al., "Connected Oceans: New Pathways in Maritime History," *International Journal of Maritime History* 29, no. 1 (February 2017): 90–174.
[6] Karel Davids, "Local and Global: Seafaring Communities in the North Sea Area, c. 1600-2000," *The International Journal of Maritime History* 27, no. 4 (2015): 630.
[7] Peter Fricke, "Seafarer and Community," in *Seafarer and Community. Towards a Social Understanding of Seafaring* (London: Croom Helm, 1973), 1–7.

connected to the sea through long distance trade, then they share the characteristics which scholars attribute to port cities. Although maritime communities may intersect with the theoretical definition of port cities, port cities are not necessarily always maritime communities, since the majority of the inhabitants of port cities do not always make their living by work at sea or by work directly dependent on the sea.

Brian Hoyle argues that a port city is primarily distinguished from other cities in that its social, economic, and political complexities provide a window to the wider world through maritime trade.[8] He defines a port city as a "place where the mode of transportation changes from land systems to waterborne systems."[9] The location of a port city at the nexus of water ways and hinterland has social implications, argues Hoyle: "The social, economic, and political complexities of port cities are distinguished from those of other cities by the fact that a port city provides, through maritime trade, a window on the wider world."[10] Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal are significantly smaller than Hoyle's port cities, but their size is the only way in which they differ significantly. Their geographical location at the intersection of hinterland and waterways, their connections to the world through maritime labor, and their regional significance are all defining features of the port cities.

Maritime communities show distinct cultural markers of their connection to the sea. One tradition in Denmark which demonstrates the close connection between the sea and the community is the tradition of church ships. Roughly one third of Danish churches have ship models suspended from the ceiling in the nave. Although this is not unusual in Catholic countries

[8] Brian Hoyle, "Fields of Tension: Development Dynamics at the Port-City Interface," in *Port Jews. Jewish Communities in Cosmopolitan Maritime Trading Center 1550-1950* (London & Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2002), 13–14.
[9] Hoyle, 16.
[10] Hoyle, 14.

in southern Europe, it is uncommon in Protestant countries. England, the Netherlands, and Germany have very few church ships. Even Norway only has around 100 church ships, while Sweden has around 200. In contrast, Denmark has 820 church ships presently, about a quarter of them dating to the mid nineteenth century, 15 percent dating to the eighteenth century, and 1.6 percent dating to before 1700. Church ships in Denmark bear witness to maritime culture in local communities. Two thirds of all church ships were built by sailors, either by young sailors on long voyages or by retired sailors.[11] In addition to suggesting that the maritime world has historically been important across much of Denmark, the ships also show the importance which the sea and shipping had within individual communities who placed physical ships in the center of their houses of religious worship.

In the introduction to this dissertation, I discuss the cultural tropes which exist about sailors. Cultural tropes about sailors are intertwined with assumptions about how sailors lived and by extension assumptions about sailors' communities. As I argue in the introduction, our assumptions about sailors are based on eighteenth century English Jack Tars. At the heart of the construction of the cultural trope of Jack Tar is his social isolation from respectable landed people, an assumption which is in turn based on assumptions about Jack Tar's habitation and habits when he was in port. Just as Jack Tar was loosely based on prejudices about the eighteenth-century English sailor, assumptions about the lives and communities of sailors are also loosely based on eighteenth-century records.

English sailortowns existed well into the Victorian period but have been caricaturized and misrepresented by Victorian writers. The 1890s version of the Karl Baedeker guidebook to

[11] Henning Henningsen, "Ship-Models in Danish Churches," *The Mariner's Mirror* 38, no. 4 (March 22, 2013): 296.

London included a section on the "notorious Ratcliff Highway" and the docks of London where a "motley crowd" with "numerous dusky visages and foreign customers impart a curious and picturesque air".[12] Baedeker's guidebook fed into the romanticizing of sailors and sailors life, part of which included the concept of the sailor as socially untethered. The social untethering was evident in his habits and his living quarters, which were the antithesis of bourgeois life. The London sailortown was a town apart from the rest of the city.

Brad Beaven argues that the nineteenth-century representation of sailors and sailortowns from the viewpoint of the social explorer needs to be further "contextualized within wider contemporary anxieties over industrial change and modern urban development." Beaven asserts that "sailortowns were the districts of merchants and naval ports where sailors visited, often lived, and were entertained. They were characterized by their public houses, brothels, and low entertainment that employed significant numbers of working people." [13] Stan Hughill, a former sailor, said that "sailortown was a world in, but not of, that of the landsman. It was a world of sordid pleasure, unlimited vice, and lashings of booze, but a dangerous place too."[14] The traditional view of sailors on land, involves a great deal of violence, drunkenness, and debauchery. It emphasizes the sailor as a free spirit without strong connections to other community members or even to the social norms of other land dwellers.

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[12] Brad Beaven, "From Jolly Sailor to Proletarian Jack: The Remaking of Sailortown and the Merchant Seafarer in Victorian London," in *Port Towns and Urban Cultures: International Histories of the Waterfront, 1700-2000*, ed. Karl Bell, Brad Beaven, and Robert James (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 159.
[13] Beaven, 161.
[14] Derek Morris and Ken Cozens, "Mariners Ashore in the Eighteenth Century: The Role of Boarding-House Keepers and Victuallers," *The Mariner's Mirror* 103, no. 4 (November 1, 2017): 431.

In my analysis of the maritime communities of Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal, I argue that sailors were central members of their communities through their multiple close family ties, and through their geographical representation throughout the towns. Sailors showed high rates of marriage, which suggests that maritime life was associated with respectability within the community, and that sailors were attractive marriage partners. It also suggests that sailors were closely connected to members of the community who remained on land, and that through this connection, their maritime life filtered into the community through social practices as well as through the sense of the wider world which sailors shared with their families.

While the cultural trope of Jack Tar may involve assumptions about Jack Tar's bachelorhood, scholars have shown that European sailors were often married. Even sailor populations which were assumed to be unmarried in the scholarship show higher than expected rates of marriage. A recent article by Manon van der Heijden and Danielle van den Heuvel, for example, points to the lacunae in the context of the VOC. There has been an assumption, argue van der Heiden and van den Heuvel, that sailors were unattached young men.[15] This assumption that sailors did not marry has been based on the reasoning that men as breadwinners did not marry or start a family until their income was high enough to support a union. On account of the low wages of sailors, the marriage of seamen has been dismissed historically. However, while the male-as-breadwinner may have been the ideal of the eighteenth century, historical documentation shows us that often women earned supplemental income. The VOC set up systems for transactions to allow VOC employees to send money to relatives back in the metropole. Known as "maandbrieven" (money letters), this transaction system allowed sailors to

[15] Manon van der Heijden and Danielle van den Heuvel, "Sailors' Families and the Urban Institutional Framework in Early Modern Holland," *The History of the Family* 12, no. 4 (2007): 296.

send up to four months' salary per year back to their relatives in Holland while they were away.[16] In the port town of Middelburg in the Netherlands in 1671 and 1675, for instance, approximately 60 to 70 percent of men working on VOC ships transferred money to others each year. In the port town of Enkhuizen, census records show that the number of married sailors ranged between 10 percent and 40 percent between 1700 and 1750.[17]

The literature on sailors' wives is vast, but the literature on marriage rates and family life in different European contexts is much narrower. Cheryl Fury's study of Elizabethan sailors shows that

> seamen married at roughly the same age as the general population; chose spouses from within their social network; established independent households; had children; and at least the elite often became active members of their communities. In this sense, their immersion in the maritime sub-culture relegated them to their own niche within the larger society but clearly did not produce a wholly distinctive way of life.[18]

An article by Melanie Holihead on navy sailors' wives in Portsmouth in the nineteenth century, for instance, says simply that "sailors' women existed in their many thousands ashore, relating to the seafarer as his spouse, mother, grandmother, sister, the parent of his illegitimate child, as a foster carer to his motherless offspring, or as purveyor of nursing care, alcohol, or sexual services."[19] Although the literature on sailors' wives is beginning to nuance the history on the marriage rates of sailors, showing that the assumption of the untethered Jack Tar is false, the vast majority of English navy men were unmarried.[20]

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[16] van der Heijden and van den Heuvel, 301.
[17] van der Heijden and van den Heuvel, 300.
[18] Cheryl A. Fury, "Elizabethan Seamen: Their Lives Ashore," *International Journal of Maritime History* 10, no. 1 (June 1, 1998): 38.
[19] Melanie Holihead, "Cut Adrift or Towed Astern: Sailors' Wives in Mid-Nineteenth Century Portsea Island Considered in Perspective," *Journal for Maritime Research* 17, no. 2 (November 25, 2015): 156.
[20] Holihead, 157.

In this chapter I show that sailors from the three maritime towns of Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal, enjoyed high rates of marriage. Letters attest to the social and emotional bonds which were forged between sailor husband and wife. One sailor from Fanø, for instance, expressed his longing in a letter to his wife:

> Today I have had time to read *The Weekly News*. We have several older issues of this magazine on board. I have especially enjoyed reading a piece about the concept of 'home' and the different meanings which people derive from this concept. It gave me a longing for my own home, and for all of you, my dears, on Fanø. You are so far away, but near to me in my thoughts.[21]

In another letter, the same sailor says: "It must be the loveliest time of year at home. The gentle May when everything is green and blooming. Out here we only see sky and ocean."[22] Sailors' letters show that the wife as recipient is the object of longing for the sailor, but also the gateway to his home, the person whom he could write about his feelings of longing and connection to his community. Sailors' letters abound with examples of similar statements of longing, which served to reaffirm the bond between the sailor at sea and his family at home.

Characteristics of Danish Maritime Communities

Census records from 1890 show that 14 percent of all registered persons in Marstal were sailors. In Sønderho the percentage was somewhat larger: 20 percent of registered inhabitants were registered as sailors. In Nordby, the number of sailors only made up 11 percent of all registered inhabitants. The numbers in these statistics reflect the number of registered sailors of all ages out of the total registered population, including children and pensioners. Working age, childhood, and adulthood are difficult categories to distinguish within this set of census records, as the

[21] Chr. Sørensen, "Capt. Chr. Sørensens Dagbog og Breve fra en rejse med briggen 'Anna og Mathias' as Fanø.," n.d., 8, Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.
[22] Sørensen, 8.

percentage of sailors was not calculated from within the category of adults or even working age men. Given the shifting nature of the categories of children, adults, and old age pensioners, such a distinction would hardly even be meaningful or helpful for the purposes of this inquiry. The people who are represented in these statistics are therefore on one hand the sailors and on the other the people among which the sailors lived when they were home. The people among which the sailor lived might be of any age, occupation, gender, or class. They might be servants, own a shipping company, or be children or pensioners.

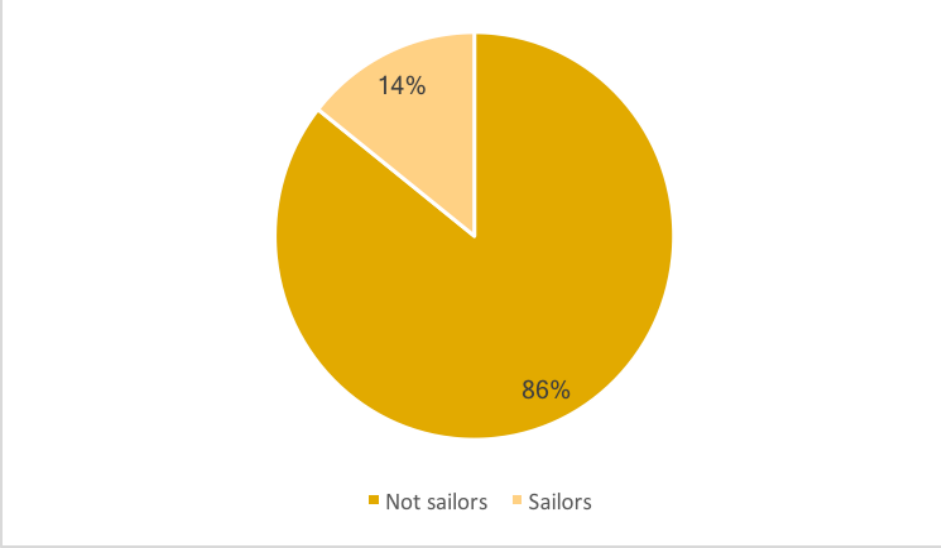

Fig 1.1. Proportion of sailors in Marstal in 1890[23]

[23] Compiled on the basis of data collected from the 1890 census. "Folketælling 1890. Købstæder. Svendborg Amt, Marstal.," 1890, https://www.sa.dk/ao-soegesider/da/rif/select/7/16880185.

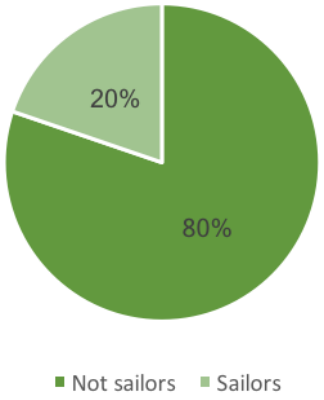

Fig 1.2. Proportion of sailors in Sønderho in 1890[24]

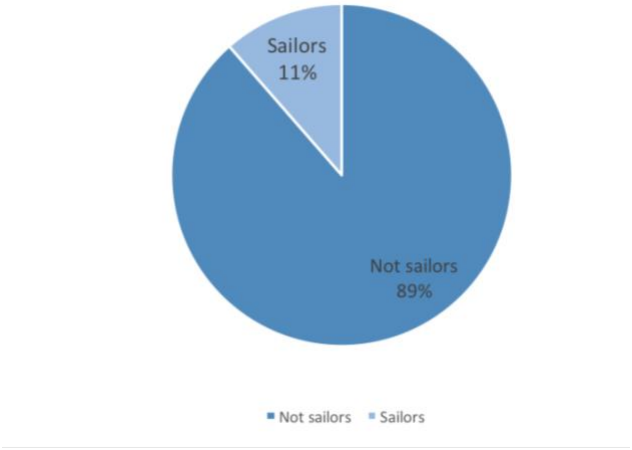

Fig 1.3. Proportion of sailors in Nordby in 1890[25]

Between one in ten and one in five people in Marstal, Sønderho, and Nordby were sailors. This is a significant number of people occupied at sea for longer periods of time,

[24] Compiled on the basis of data collected from the 1890 census. "Folketælling 1890. Landdistrikter. Ribe Amt, Skast Herred, Sønderho Sogn.," 1890, https://www.sa.dk/ao-soegesider/da/rif/select/7/16880188.
[25] Compiled on the basis of data collected from the 1890 census. "Folketælling 1890, Landdistrikter. Ribe Amt, Skast Herred, Nordby Sogn.," February 20, 1890.

especially considering that the total number of people included inhabitants of all ages. At any given time, many of these sailors would be away at sea. In the month of February, when the 1890 census was conducted, over half of the sailors registered in Sønderho were out at sea. In Marstal, roughly a quarter of the sailors were away, and in Nordby the number was over 70 percent. When sailors were home, they would often spend winter months with their families before going out to sea again in the springtime. Had the census been conducted during the spring or summer months, the number of absent sailors would be even higher in all three towns.

Marriage registrations from the 1890 census records give us an idea about how the sailors were dispersed within their communities. The structure of families around sailors is key to understanding how the sailors moved and lived when they were home. In Sønderho, we see that 64 percent of all sailors were married, while 33 percent were unmarried. Three percent were widowed. Marstal and Nordby follow the same pattern. In Marstal 67 percent of sailors were married, and in Nordby, 60 percent of all sailors had wives. In raw numbers, the majority of sailors were married. This finding suggests that sailors in Nordby, Sønderho, and Marstal were unlike their English counterparts in London's sailortown.

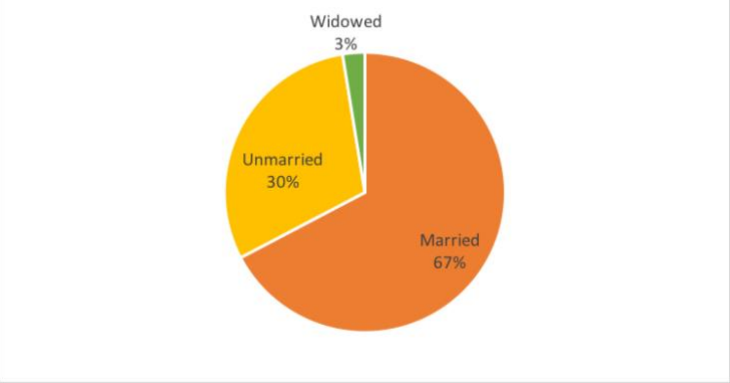

Fig. 1.4. Marital status of sailors in Marstal in 1890[26]

[26] Compiled on the basis of data collected from the 1890 census. "Folketælling 1890. Købstæder. Svendborg Amt, Marstal."

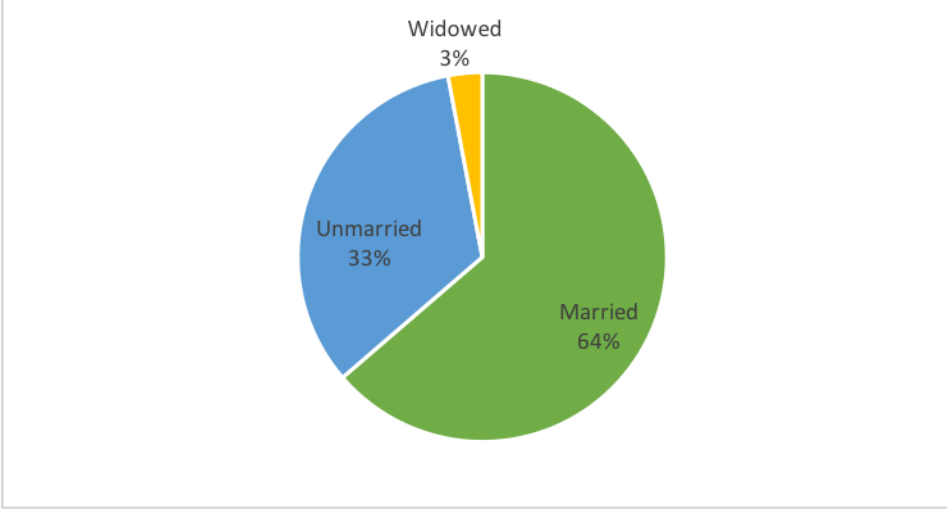

Fig. 1.5. Marital status of sailors in Sønderho in 1890[27]

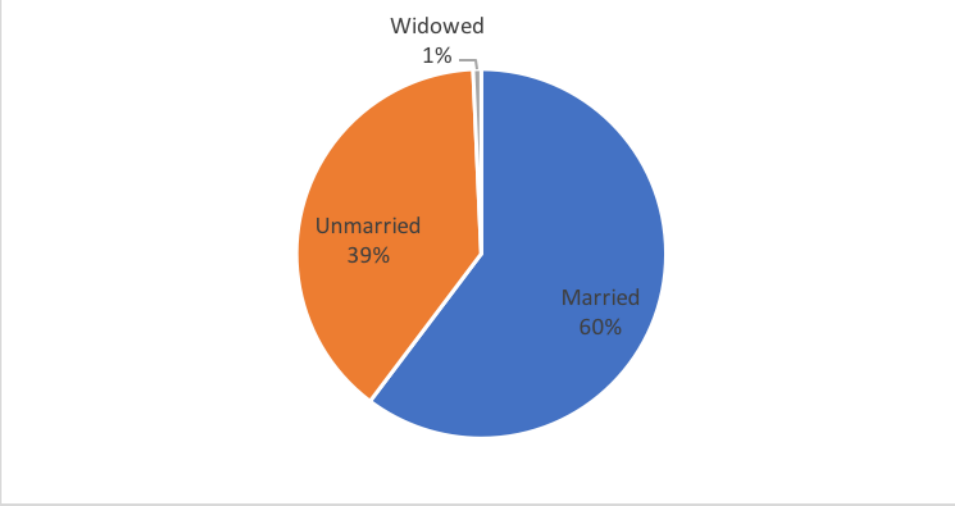

Fig. 1.6. Marital status of sailors in Sønderho in 1890[28]

[27] Compiled on the basis of data collected from the 1890 census. "Folketælling 1890. Landdistrikter. Ribe Amt, Skast Herred, Sønderho Sogn."
[28] Compiled on the basis of data collected from the 1890 census. "Folketælling 1890, Landdistrikter. Ribe Amt, Skast Herred, Nordby Sogn."

The percentage of married sailors alone, as reported in the 1890 census, tells us that marriage among sailors was common, but it does not give us a complete picture of marriage practices in these communities. It suggests that many sailors married, but it does not say when or what the significance of the marriage might be. Examining marriage rates among sailors more closely, an even clearer image of marriage and social structure emerges. Looking at the number of married sailors by age in Sønderho, we see that not only was marriage common, it was rare for sailors not to marry (Fig. 1.8). In the 1890 census from Sønderho, there is not a single example of a sailor over the age of 35 who was not married at least once. What we see is that sailors between the ages of 15 and 24 were mostly unmarried, with few exceptions. Among the 25 to 29-year-old sailors, over 60 percent were married. Less than five percent were already widowed, and somewhere around 20 percent in this age group remained unmarried. Among the age group of sailors between the ages of 30 and 34, more than 80 percent of sailors were married. Between the ages of 35 and 49, 100 percent of sailors were married. Over the age of 50, sailors reported being widowers at higher frequencies.

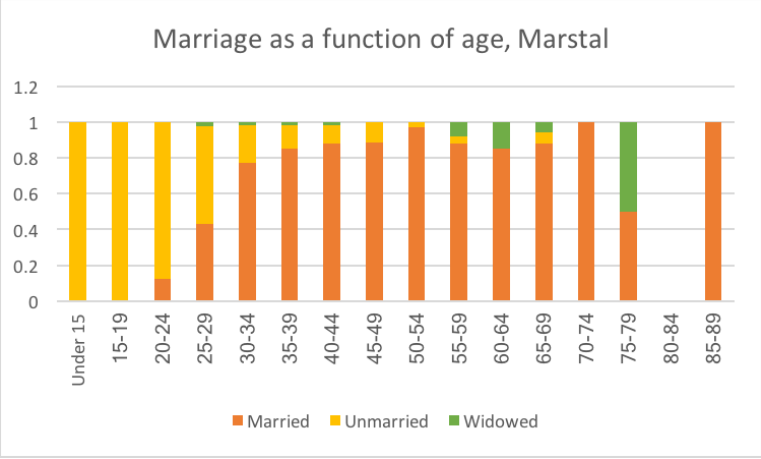

Fig. 1.7. Age distribution of marriage patterns for sailors in Marstal in 1890[29]

[29] Compiled on the basis of data collected from the 1890 census. "Folketælling 1890. Købstæder. Svendborg Amt, Marstal."

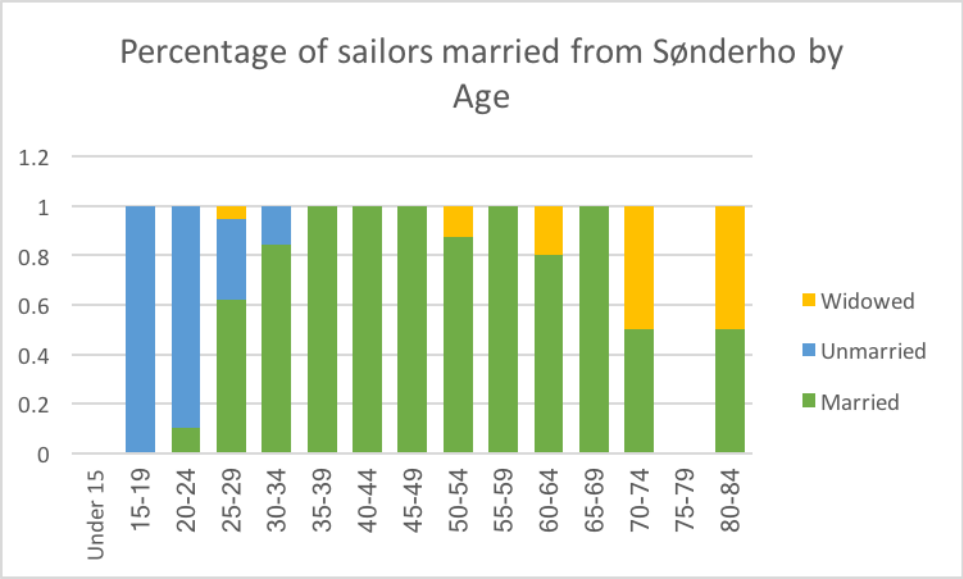

Fig. 1.8. Age distribution of marriage patterns for sailors in Sønderho in 1890[30]

In Marstal, a breakdown of marriage by age show similar trends (Fig. 1.7). Sailors in their teens and twenties were less likely to be married than sailors in their thirties and forties. Sailors in their thirties and forties were married at rates of over 90 percent. The pattern for Nordby is identical to that of Marstal and Sønderho (Fig. 1.9).

[30] Compiled on the basis of data collected from the 1890 census. "Folketælling 1890. Landdistrikter. Ribe Amt, Skast Herred, Sønderho Sogn."

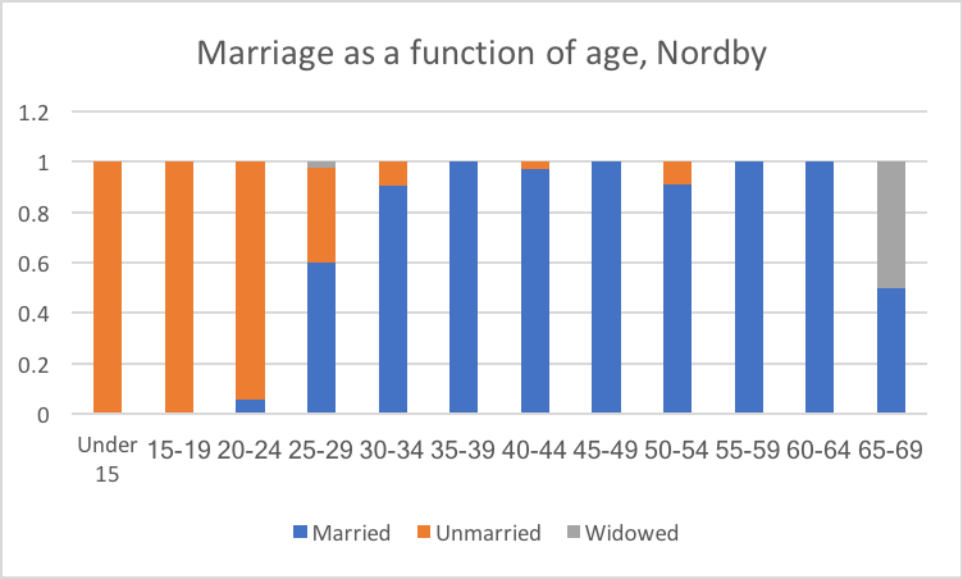

Fig. 1.9. Age distribution of marriage patterns for sailors in Nordby in 1890[31]

The likelihood of marriage among sailors suggests that sailors from Sønderho, Marstal, and Nordby defied common assumptions about maritime workers, which are based on London's sailortown. They were family men in a literal sense. Through the marriages into which they entered, they knowingly tied themselves to a community.

Children

Sailors' wives have received lots of attention from scholars over the past two decades, but the scholarship on sailors' children is almost non-existent. There are a few exceptions, such as Ellen Gill's work on young men in the Georgian navy, but this article does not address the children of sailors who live in maritime communities.[32] Lisa Norling's *Captain Ahab Had a Wife* (2000)

[31] Compiled on the basis of data collected from the 1890 census. "Folketælling 1890, Landdistrikter. Ribe Amt, Skast Herred, Nordby Sogn."
[32] Ellen Gill, "'Children of the Service': Paternalism, Patronage and Friendship in the Georgian Navy," *Journal for Maritime Research* 15, no. 2 (November 29, 2013): 149–65.

focuses primarily on wives and women, but children figure only peripherally in Norling's work. She points out, for instance, that children served as a reminder for women of their husbands at sea, often showing some resemblance to the father. Children therefore were instrumental in maintaining the marital bond between maritime couples who spent so much time apart. Norling observed similar patterns among wives of whalers in New England. One of her sources, Sylvia Leonard, told her sailor husband John: "People ask me sometimes if I know I have got a husband and I tell them I think I have good proof of it for Johnnie looks very much like you." Norling points to multiple other instances of mothers reminding children who their father is, working to maintain the bond between the child and their absent father. They kept pictures, told stories, and kept the memories of the sailor father alive for their children. [33]

Cheryl Fury's work on Elizabethan sailors and their families emphasizes the relationship between children and their sailor father. Fury says that fathers, while absent for long periods of time, were still very much involved with parenting duties. Wills show that sailor fathers attempted to guide and assert influence on their children, suggesting strong bonds between parent and child, even during long periods of absence.[34] Similarly to Norling, Fury also shows that wives and children were a sailor's anchor in their land-based communities.[35]

One of the most in-depth treatments of children in maritime communities to date comes from Martin Østergaard, who has written specifically about children in Marstal. Østergaard's sources show that young boys played on the harbor front from a very young age, and that this type of "sailor role playing" was one of the earliest instantiations in a young boys life of the

[33] Lisa Norling, *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women and the Whalefishery, 1720-1870* (North Carolina: University of North Caroline Press, 2000), 190.
[34] Fury, "Elizabethan Seamen: Their Lives Ashore," 26.
[35] Fury, 37.

creation of a sailor identity. Young boys imagined the life of sailors, they role played, and through their games and imaginations they inscribed themselves in maritime life. They invested heavily in the sailor identity. Based on Etienne Wenger's *Communities of Practice*, Østergaard argues that the boyhood games were part of the identity formation of sailors in Marstal.[36] One of Østergaard's sources said about boyhood in Marstal: "Our playground was the harbor. We mostly played in boats. If we couldn't find a boat to borrow, we simply stole one, and we mostly got away with it."[37]

Eventually the phase of childhood games would end and the step into actual maritime life began for young Marstal boys. One of the youngest boys to be hired onboard a ship was only 12 years old when he took the step from games to reality. More commonly boys went to sea after their confirmation at the ages of around 13 or 14. Østergaard says that in Marstal the local custom at confirmations was not to ask young boys what line of work they would pursue in life, but instead what ship they were leaving on. Østergaard suggests that an important cultural factor in maritime life in Marstal was the sharply drawn division between "sailors and landlubbers," a distinction which put pressure on young boys to join the ranks of the sailors.[38]

In Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal, strong marriage patterns among sailors also meant that sailors were likely to have children. In the following section, I will discuss some of the implications of maritime life on minors. Census records show that married sailors in Sønderho,

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[36] Martin K. Østergaard, *Under fællesskabets sejl – partrederier, selvstændighed og maritim identitet i Marstal* (København: Kontaktudvalget for Dansk Maritime Historie- og Samfundsforskning, 2011), 87–93.Etienne Wenger, *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning, and Identity*, Learning in Doing : Social, Cognitive, and Computational Perspectives (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998).
[37] Østergaard, *Under fællesskabets sejl – partrederier, selvstændighed og maritim identitet i Marstal*, 87.
[38] Østergaard, 93.

Nordby, and Marstal were overwhelmingly likely to have children if they were married. The average number of children per sailor was between two and a half and three and a half (Fig. 1.10). The average number of children is calculated based on the number of children registered as children and dependents of each sailor in February of 1890. This does not count more senior sailors whose children may have moved away from home. This number reflects only dependent children at the time of the census.

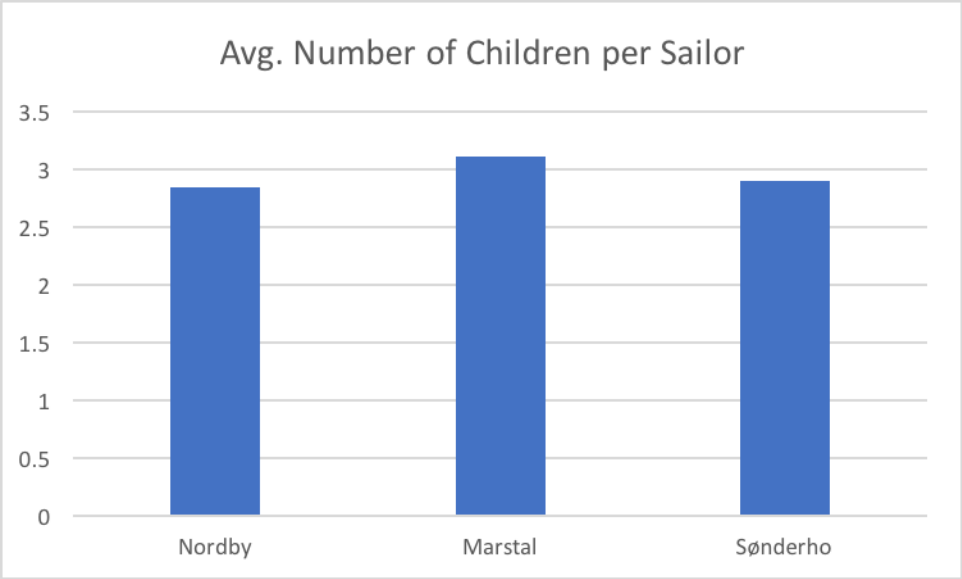

Fig. 1.10. The average number of children of each sailor in 1890[39]

By comparison, on a national level, Danish women around 1890 had an average of 4.5 live births in their lifetimes. The comparison between the number of children per Danish woman, and the number of dependent children of sailors in 1890 is not a straight comparison. One would expect some sailors to have children that were not living at home. There would also be sailors

[39] Compiled on the basis of data collected from the 1890 census. "Folketælling 1890, Landdistrikter. Ribe Amt, Skast Herred, Nordby Sogn."; "Folketælling 1890. Købstæder. Svendborg Amt, Marstal."; "Folketælling 1890. Landdistrikter. Ribe Amt, Skast Herred, Sønderho Sogn."

who would go on to have more children in their lifetime, who would not have been counted at the time of the 1890 census. Similarly, sailors who had no children do not figure into the statistic. What the statistics do show is that sailors were closer to their landed compatriots in child-bearing statistics than they were to untethered Jack Tars who were not likely to have children within a family setting.

The relatively high number of dependent children of each father suggests a strong tie to the home. Children were conceived in between long periods at sea. Sailors' family lives were marked by long periods away at sea in between shorter stays at home with the family. In his memoir, N.M. Toftegaard Nielsen writes that he was engaged to be married to his sweetheart, Sine, while he was in navigation school. They were married as soon as Nielsen finished his last exams. Their honeymoon lasted ten days, and after the honeymoon Nielsen went to Copenhagen to board the ship *Phantom*, which mostly sailed in the Baltic. Because the ship did not sail a very great distance from home, Nielsen was onboard *Phantom* for less than a year. He returned home, where he spent Christmas with his wife. On December 26th, their first son was born. On January 2nd, Nielsen set out again.[40] Nielsen got to see his first-born son right after birth, which he remarked on. Many of his fellow-sailors did not see their children so soon after birth. For Nielsen, it was a special gift that he was able to spend time with his new wife and young son at this special time. Jensen's son was baptized in his absence. It was not at all uncommon for sailors to miss important events such as baptisms, even when it came to their own children. On the baptism of a child born years later, Nielsen wrote: "In September I was home on vacation to

[40] N.M. Toftgaard Nielsen, "Erindringer fra Sejlskibstiden" (Fanø Ugeblad Nr. 3, January 20, 1978), Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.

witness the baptism of our daughter. She was born on July 26th, 1906. She was baptized Johanne after my mother."[41]

The Returning Sailors

The return of the sailor was an important event for the whole family. It was especially significant for maritime children, who had not seen their father for an extended period of time. Some sources on returning from sea come from the sailors themselves, but most sources which discusses the return of sailors come from children who remember their father returning from a period at sea. Part of the return entailed the handing out of gifts which came from all around the world. Bertel Clausen Jensen recalled his return home in 1884 in the following way:

> This time, I returned with money, expensive clothing, and many objects. I brought home two chests and two bags full of many things from far-away lands, which I distributed among my sisters and my old father, who was proud of his son. Such a homecoming is the best and most rewarding experience a sailor can have.[42]

The child of a sailor recalled his father's homecoming in a memoir:

> There was always great joy when father came home, both for him and for us. He brought presents for all of us. Mom got coffee, tea, and spices. The girls received scarves, and us boys got boy things such as a violin. Once I got a ship with two masts. It was made of metal by one of dad's sailors. For mom he always brought cloth, damask and silk. He also brought her scarves and a music box.[43]

[41] Nielsen, 9.
[42] Bertel Clausen Jensen, "Erindringer fra hav og land" (Fanø Ugeblad Nr. 2821, September 29, 1951), Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.
[43] Grejs? Thomsen, "Barndom i Nordby," n.d., Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.

Children of sailors grew up with only a vague notion of who their fathers were. In spite of mothers' best efforts to remind children of the existence of their fathers, children didn't see their father, and he remained distant and theoretical. Children viewed their fathers as strangers, and were often fearful of the father who had just returned from sea. One son of a sailor said: "We looked up to mother, since father sailed long-distance in our early years. Later, he returned home again, but I remember very well that we children were almost afraid of him."[44] In Nordby, 362 children were born to sailor fathers. In Marstal, a larger town, 760 children had a father who was registered as a sailor in 1890. In Sønderho, the number of children whose father was a sailor was 302 (Fig. 1.11). Shifting the perspective from the sailor to the child of a sailor helps to shed light on the maritime community itself. It helps us understand what it was like to live in a town where fathers were routinely very far away from home.

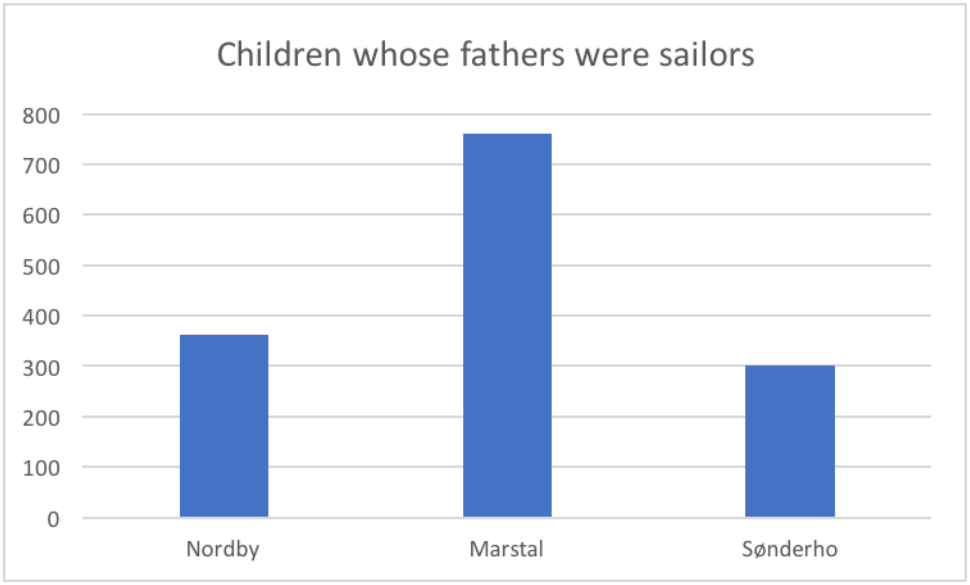

Fig. 1.11. The number of children who had a sailor father in 1890[45]

[44] "Fra min ungdom" (Fanø Ugeblad Nr. 22, June 10, 1961), 1, Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.
[45] Compiled on the basis of data collected from the 1890 census. "Folketælling 1890. Landdistrikter. Ribe Amt, Skast Herred, Nordby Sogn.," 1890, https://www.sa.dk/ao-soegesider/da/billedviser?bsid=58820#58820,12148563; "Folketælling 1890. Købstæder.

The culture among maritime couples in Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal among maritime couples was to co-parent, even when the father was absent for long periods of time. Co-parenting over long distances was not unusual. Fury's work shows that it was common even for sailors in Elizabethan England.[46] In chapter three, I argue that the lines of gendered work were blurred for both men and women in maritime communities. Women took on the roles of both mother and father, something which one memoirist observed and recorded quite literally. Sailor Grejs Thomsen described his mother as "both mother and father in regards to respect and to love."[47] Mothers often invoked the role of the father *in absentia*. Even while the father was away, his role as a father loomed large. Mothers would take care to remind the children that if they were naughty, father would know about it when he returned. Captain Svarrer, whose father was a sailor, recalled:

> Some of my happiest memories of that time are from the occasions when father came home. It happened every one-and-a-half to two years. How excited we were. What had father brought home for us this time? He always brought presents, and they were bought abroad. There was always some trepidation mixed in with the joy: Would father remember that mother had written to him about the times when I was naughty? But father never brought it up, and my nervousness would subside.[48]

When the time came for the father to leave, he told his son: "Be good to mother. I know that you are sometimes naughty!" Svarrer talks about the emptiness at home when his father had left. They all longed for him, and hoped it would not be too long until he would return home again. In

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Svendborg Amt, Marstal."; "Folketælling 1890. Landdistrikter. Ribe Amt, Skast Herred, Sønderho Sogn."

[46] Fury, "Elizabethan Seamen: Their Lives Ashore," 26.

[47] Thomsen, "Barndom i Nordby," 7.

[48] N.A. Svarrer, "Kapt. N.A. Svarrers Erindringer. Fanø Ugeblad Jan. 1964" (Fanø Ugeblad, January 1964), Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.

his absence, Svarrer's mother would say to her children: "I can certainly tell that your father has gone. You were so much better behaved when he was home."[49]

While the wife of a sailor was prepared for the life she would lead with her husband away at sea and the risks which were entailed in maritime work, children were born into these circumstances and often lived through trying experiences as a result. The constant separation, the longing for the father at sea, the stories of life far away, and the ever-present risk of injury, or death from disease or drowning must have shaped the children who lived through this. The child of a sailor, Grejs Thomsen, recalls how his father would talk about his time at sea when he was home with the family. He had sailed in the West Indies, and had experienced a hurricane which was so fierce that no one could see or hear anything while the wind was at its highest for a full 20 minutes. When the wind died down, the sailors did not know where the wind had brought them. Grejs Thomsen also wrote about the difficult moments he had as a child, when his father left for the sea. All the children were deeply saddened to see their father go. At the time of departure, their mother would smile and wave and feign good spirits. She later explained that her show of good spirits was all for her husband: "I didn't want him to see me sad. He is even more lonely at sea than we are here." When the wind was strong, the children could hear their mother say: "I wonder where your father is now?"[50]

Children lived through the vicissitudes, the fears, doubts, anxieties, and joys of their fathers' maritime lives. They were deeply invested in life at sea. The family life of a sailor's family was marked by his work and his absence. The family man and sailor—a far cry from the rowdy bachelor drunkard of English lore—had a family which was deeply affected by everything

[49] Svarrer.
[50] Thomsen, "Barndom i Nordby."

he did and everything which happened to him. Thomsen remembers as a child when a letter arrived from the shipping company for his mother which said, "Mrs. Thomsen, please do not worry if you read in the papers about a shipwreck off the Dutch coast. We do not believe this ship to be *Emilie* with your husband on board—but there were boxes of juniper snaps floating around the shipwreck." Mrs. Thomsen immediately burst into tears, as she knew that her husband was sailing juniper snaps. She collapsed on the floor, and all the children gathered around her to comfort her. On delivering the letter for Mrs. Thomsen, the mailman suspected bad news and immediately went to fetch Mrs. Thomsen's sister. Mrs. Thomsen's brother-in-law was a sailor and he was home on Fanø when the letter arrived. He rushed to help Mrs. Thomsen. He believed that all was well. It took a full 120 days of uncertainty and fear for the family until a telegram arrived which simply said "AGREEABLE." All was well. Once again the mother wept, and the children explained to their classmates why their mother had cried tears of joy upon receiving the telegram.[51]

Captain Svarrer remembers as a young man of 14 in 1897 that there was a tragic accident off the north coast of Nordby. *Claus* from Fanø ran aground and none of the eight men aboard survived. The captain and the mate were from Nordby. Svarrer had thought he would go out to sea in the spring after his confirmation. The accident gave him some pause. Should he re-think his plans to go to sea? Svarrer says several of his friends had similar thoughts. Despite the accident, when it came time for confirmation, eighteen of the 24 boys who were confirmed in Nordby that spring were bound for the sea.[52]

[51] Thomsen.
[52] Svarrer, "Kapt. N.A. Svarrers Erindringer. Fanø Ugeblad Jan. 1964."

Yet there is no evidence that being the child of a sailor was anything other than life-as-usual for the children of Fanø and Ærø. In one instance, captain P.J. Pedersen, born in 1876, says that his father, a sailor, drowned in 1878 at the young age of 25. He left a young widow and three children, one-and-a-half to three-and-a-half years old. The father went down with the ship *Ane Kirstine*, a Fanø ship. Pedersen's uncle, the brother of the drowned sailor, was also on board the ship. They were coming back from the Mediterranean with fruits and wine from the south of Europe. The weather was unusually harsh in the English Channel, and the ship crashed on the French coast. It went down "with mice and men," which is a way of saying on Fanø that there were no survivors.[53] The untimely death of his young father did not dissuade Pedersen from choosing a life at sea. If his father's death gave him cause to reflect and think hard about his chosen line of work, there is no evidence of his hesitation in his memoirs. The maritime community, including all family members, seem to have known about and lived with the dangers of the sea as a matter of daily practice. Even young children shouldered these burdens.

Cultural evidence suggests a pattern of family life in a transnational space. Although sailors were separated from their families for long periods of time, the family and the sailor found cultural outlets, such as poems, to construct and maintain strong bonds. A traditional poem from Fanø tells the story maintaining family relationships over long distances around important times of the year. "Hiem til Juleaften"[54] ("Home for Christmas Eve") tells the fanciful story of a homecoming for Christmas. The story goes that the sailor away at sea makes it home just in time for Christmas and surprises his family with his presence. The story is told from the perspective of the homecoming sailor. His family does not know he is coming home. The poem builds

[53] P.J. Pedersen, "Erindringer," n.d.
[54] "Hiem Til Juleaften," *Fanø Ugeblad*, December 24, 1955.

suspense by describing how the ship docks in darkness and stormy weather on December 24th. The sailor sees the lights in the houses in town and knows that his family is in one of them, but the family does not yet know that he is outside. When the sailor comes to the house and takes off his mittens and heavy winter clothes, all of his family recognizes him, and rejoices that he has made it home. He is celebrated in the warmth and glow of his loved ones on Christmas eve.

A second poem[55] tells a similar story, building suspense much like the first one. In the second poem, the sailor has brought presents for his family:

> ”*Hvert skridt ham bringer mere nær,*
> *”De” ved ej, han er kommen,*
> *og glad ved tanken føler han*
> *til godterne i lommen*.”
>
> “Every step brings him nearer,
> “they” do not yet know that he has arrived
> and he feels happy at the thought
> of all the presents in his pockets.”

The presents are an important part of his return home. The poem does not say what the presents are, but the verse uses the colloquial word “goodies,” suggesting presents which will bring pleasure and happiness. The suspense in the second poem is drawn out considerably:

[55] “Hiem Til Juleaften.”

”*Nu er han ved hjemmets bo*

- nær kirkens høje tinde –

da toner ud I aftenens ro

julesalmen derinde...”

“Now he is near the home

near the church spire

when he hears the from inside

the sound of Christmas carols.”

The sailor’s family inside the house are singing Christmas carols, unaware that the sailor they love can hear them. The verse acts out the deepest desire of sailors’ families, their longing for a loved one, and their hope against hope that the absent family member will return for the special evening. The verse goes on:

”og uvilkårligt standser han

og folder hånd om gitret,

imens en taare – glædens tolk –

i øjenkrogen sitrer.”

“the sailor stops

folding his hand around the fencepost

while tears – the messengers of joy –

come to his eyes”

The sailor’s emotions at being home on Christmas matches the longing and suspense of the family inside the house. Finally, the sailor is reunited with his family:

Dog, -- op ad trappen – en-to-tre

nu står han alt ved døren of lytter…..

… hør, de snakke, le:

Tys, stille, lille børn,

hvor er mon nu vor egen far?

År – det er hendes stemme –

”Her! – Åh, min egen, min hjerteven.”

”Far! Far! Åh, far er hjemme.””

“Up the stairs, one-to-three

now he listens at the door

hear, they are talking and laughing

“Quiet, dear children

where do you think he is right now, our father?”

Oh – it is her voice!

“I am here, my dear, my heart’s companion”

“Father! Father! Oh, father is home.””

Christmas is celebrated in happiness and peace at the homecoming of the sailor in both verses. In the first poem:

"We made it home for Christmas!
Praised be God, we made it
Goodbye, Goodbye
Finally we have a peaceful Christmas eve"

In the second poem, the joy of the homecoming sailor is compared to the glory of the lit Christmas tree, highly decorated with golden ornaments:

"Snart efter står grenen fra livets træ
og stråler af guld, og ved glæde;
– for alle storme nu bragt i læ
så glade I kreds de træde
til sangen om barnet i Betlehem, –
selv den mindste den stammer fornøjet.
"Han" måler glæden I lykkeligt hjem
ved glansen i "hendes" øje!"

"Soon after stands the branch of the tree of life
and shines with gold, and with joy

– for all storms are now put to rest

so joyfully they gather around the tree

to sing about the children from Bethlehem–

even the youngest child is humming

"He" sees the joy in a happy home

by the joy and glow of "her" eyes.*"*"

The first poem ends not with happily spending the ever after together, but rather with a departure. It ends with a goodbye and a gratitude for time spent together, which echoes the patterns of sailor family life. The second poem emphasizes the strong bond of romantic life between man and wife, each playing their part in constituting a family in a transnational space. The mother is careful to tell the children about their father, to keep him present in their minds even when he is away: "Quiet, dear children / where do you think he is right now, our father?" She reminds the young children, who may barely have a memory of their father, that they have a parent who is not home. This parent should be kept in mind. The mother asks the children to remember the father at a joyful time. Shortly before the scene when the mother asks the children to imagine where their father might be, the family has been singing Christmas carols and celebrating a holy time of year. Unbeknownst to her, the husband hears his wife perform her part in maintaining the social health of the family when he hears her remind the children to think of their father. While poems about family life may echo the ideals of family life across a great geographical expanse, some memoirs provide a glimpse into the challenges of everyday life as well.

Sailors' Deaths at Away from Home

Fig 1.12. Julius Exner: *Telegram* (1893) [56]

The deaths of sailors, whether feared, imagined, or real, shaped the rhythm of life for women in maritime communities. In memoirs, women speak of worrying about receiving the dreaded telegram bearing the message of the death of their sons or husbands. Julius Exner's painting from 1893 (Fig. 1.12) depicts a central theme in the lives of women in maritime communities: A woman in traditional Fanø dress receives a telegram bearing news of the death of her husband,

[56] Et telegram - http://europeana.eu/portal/record/2020903/KMS1482.html. Julius Exner. Statens Museum for Kunst. Public Domain - http://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/zero/1.0/

son, or brother. Water Langley's *Disaster Scene in a Cornish Fishing Village* (1889) and *Never Morning Wore to Evening but Some Heart Did Break* (1893) feature similar motifs to Exner's. Helen Doe goes so far as to suggest that it was a "regular subject" for Victorian painters.[57] It is a striking choice of motif, and it is difficult not to notice the juxtaposition between the strong sailors' wife and maritime woman on the one hand, and the broken woman in these motifs, tapped of all her strength and reduced to a pitiable state on the other. This is perhaps a topic for another paper.

The sailors who died away from home had various causes of death; common for them all is that they died by migration, a topic which Philip Curtin has explored in the context of globalization beginning in the nineteenth century.[58] The maritime culture around death at sea is relatively unexplored in the literature, but one of the works which explores the topic is a popular work which deals with the 1983 wreck of the *Marine Electric* by journalist Robert Frump. He divides his book into two sections: The first section is called "At Sea" and the second section is called "On Land."[59] Frump's decision to cover land as well as sea in this book makes an important contribution to the conversation about shipwrecks and death at sea. Maritime disaster cannot be isolated at sea. It has far-reaching implications for the landed maritime community.

The difficulty for survivors in losing men at sea has always been compounded by the fact that surviving relatives had no body to bury and no grave site to visit except for memorial sites dedicated to men lost at sea. The theme of death or the looming threat of it is something which

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[57] Helen Doe, *Enterprising Women and Shipping in the Nineteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), 43.
[58] See Philip D. Curtin, *Death by Migration: Europe's Encounter with the Tropical World in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
[59] Robert Frump, *Until the Sea Shall Free Them: Life, Death, and Survival in the Merchant Marine* (New York: Doubleday, 2001).

marks all memoirs from members of the home community. In *The Sea Their Graves: An Archeology of Death and Remembrance in Maritime Culture* David J. Stewart argues that maritime culture was marked by a shared sense of loss and memory of those who died at sea and abroad. The concept of community loss of someone who died at sea or very far away entailed communal rituals. For example, Stewart points to the fact that maritime communities have traditionally erected tombstones for community members who died at sea. This practice, as Stewart points out, is almost completely unexplored in the field of maritime history.[60]

Approaching death and burial from a gendered perspective, Martin Rheinheimer examined parish records for the island of Amrum and found a difference between the number of women and the number of men who were born and died in the maritime community.[61] Between 1700 and 1819, 94.3 percent of all women who were born and baptized on Amrum were also buried on Amrum. In contrast, this was only true for 56 percent of Amrum's male population.[62] This statistic speaks to the gendered experience of death in maritime communities. The differing labor roles—men worked at sea while women worked in the home community—meant that patterns of death and burial differed as well. When women in maritime communities passed away, they were buried in the home communities, while men's bodies were more frequently resting in other parts of the world. For maritime communities, the whole world was a memorial

[60] David J. Stewart, *The Sea Their Graves: An Archeology of Death and Remembrance in Maritime Culture* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011), 2.
[61] Amrum is a German maritime island in the Wadden Sea.
[62] Martin Rheinheimer, "Ægteskabsforhold På Amrum: Et Søfartssamfunds Historiske Demografi 1700-1900," in *Sjæk'len. Årbog for Fiskeri- Og Søfartsmuseet, Saltvandsakvariet i Esbjerg 2011*, ed. Morten Hahn-Pedersen (Esbjerg: Fiskeri- og Søfartsmuseet, Saltvandsakvariet Esbjerg, 2012), 19. 68,2 percent of men who were born on Amrum were also buried on Amrum. Adjusting for high rates of childhood mortality, 56 percent of males who were born on Amrum and who lived to be 15 years or older, also died on Amrum

place. For maritime peoples, the entire world was home to their sailing family members, both those who were living and those who had passed away.

In recent years, Scandinavian maritime historians have begun to approach maritime communities as communities of migrants. Using Patrick Manning's definition of migration, Camilla Brautaset argues that sailors and missionaries who crossed cultural and linguistic borders should be understood as seasonal labor migrants.[63] Understanding sailors as migrants allows us to see their deaths and burials around the world in a new light. Approaching the history of a community by tracing the death and burial of its members is not commonly done, but one of the most notable examples of this approach comes from anthropologist Engseng Ho. In *Graves of Tarim* Ho traces the movement of the diasporic Ḥaḍrāmī across the Indian Ocean over the course of 500 years. The location of graves is significant for Ho's narrative. In one instance, Ho traces the eastward movement of graves belonging to successive members of the Ḥaḍrāmī community.[64] The placement of graves is not incidental for Ho. It is a testament to the movements of a people over time. On the importance of graves within a community, Ho's words are worth quoting at length:

> In a society of migrants, what is important is not where you were born, but where you die. This, if nothing else, makes a diaspora entirely different from a nation, both in concept and in sentiment. Persons belong to nations by virtue of being born into them. Individuals claim entitlement issuing from pace of birth. The nation itself takes its name from the act of giving birth, nasci.
>
> For migrants, by contrast, place of death is important because it often becomes the site of burial. Tombstones abroad acknowledge the shift in allegiance – from origins to destinations – that migrants take whole lifetimes or more to come to terms with… In the old days, when migration was a journey to one's fate, that locational shift within

[63] Camilla Brautaset, "Merchants and Missionaries: Connecting China, Norway and Beyond.," in *The Great Diversity: Trajectories of Asian Development* (Wageningen: Wageningen Academic Publishers, 2014), 22.
[64] Engseng Ho, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean*, The California World History Library 3 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 60.

> individual consciousness marked the larger turn of generations, from ancestors to descendants... A gravestone is a sign whose silent presence marks an absence. In this, the idea of a grave comprehends the many experiences of migration much better than that of "globalization," which loudly shouts its presence everywhere.[65]

The Hadramaut diaspora is by definition very different from the maritime communities of Sønderho, Nordby, and Fanø, and Ho's work is not a template which can be transferred from the Hadramaut diaspora to the maritime communities in this dissertation. Rather, the way that Ho examines the meaning which arises when the geographical location of the graves and the birthplaces or origins differ within a community is helpful for thinking about the significance of Fanø sailors' bodies laid to rest around the world far from their places of origin. Ho asserts that the graves themselves capture the migratory experiences of a community. In this dissertation, the graves of sailors from Fanø and Ærø capture the wide-ranging labor migration patterns of sailors.

Nordby parish, unlike Sønderho parish and Marstal parish, kept a careful record of the deaths of community members which occurred away from the island. According to parish records 549 men belonging to Nordby Parish died between 1880 and 1900 (Fig. 1.13). Out of those 549 deaths, 99 occurred away from Fanø in this 20-year period, averaging roughly five men a year who died and were buried somewhere around the world. The data for Sønderho or Marstal is not available, but since sailing patterns were very similar, death statistics are likely to have been similar to those from Nordby.

[65] Ho, 3.

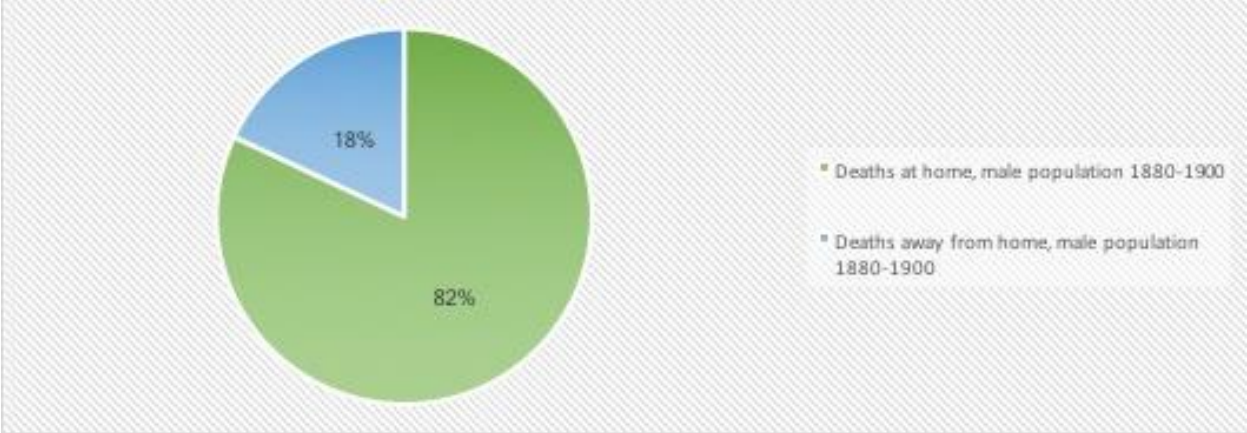

Fig. 1.13. Proportion of sailors from Nordby who died away from their home community between 1880 and 1900[66]

Mapping the deaths of sailors shows that Nordby sailors died around the world. In memoirs and letters, sailors often talk about different parts of the world where their community members died. In his memoir, sailor P.J. Pedersen remembers sailing to Guayaquil on the west coast of South America. On describing his arrival to Guayaquil, Pedersen briefly notes in passing: "Guayaquil was, along with Santos and Rio, one of the very bad fever places. Many Fanø'er died there".[67] In his memoirs, Niels Svarre Kroman speaks of a family member who was stationed in Shanghai when he passed away at a young age. Kroman attests to the verity of this account, saying that "people from Fanø have seen his final resting place over there".[68] For Fanø and other maritime communities, the world was not only as a site for global labor but also a final resting place.

[66] Compiled on the basis church records from the Parish of Nordby. Kirkebog for Nordby Sogn i Skads Herred 1858-1891, 291–315; Kontraministerialbogen for Nordby Sogn i Fanø Birk, Ribe Stift 1892-1903, 349–413.
[67] Pedersen, "Erindringer."
[68] Niels Svarrer Kromann, "Et Tilbageblik!" (Maskineskrevet erindring, n.d.), Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.

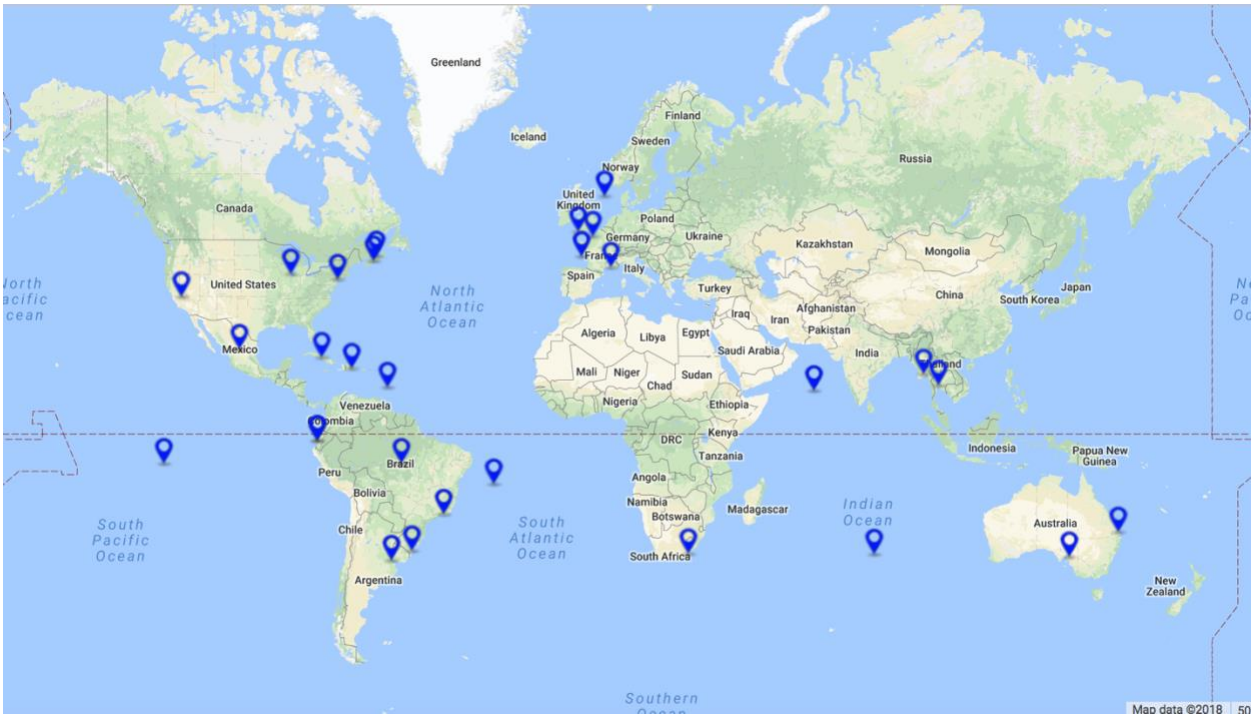

Figure 1.14. Nordby sailors' deaths away from home 1880-1885.[69]

[69] Kirkebog for Nordby Sogn I Skads Herred 1858-1891, 291-315

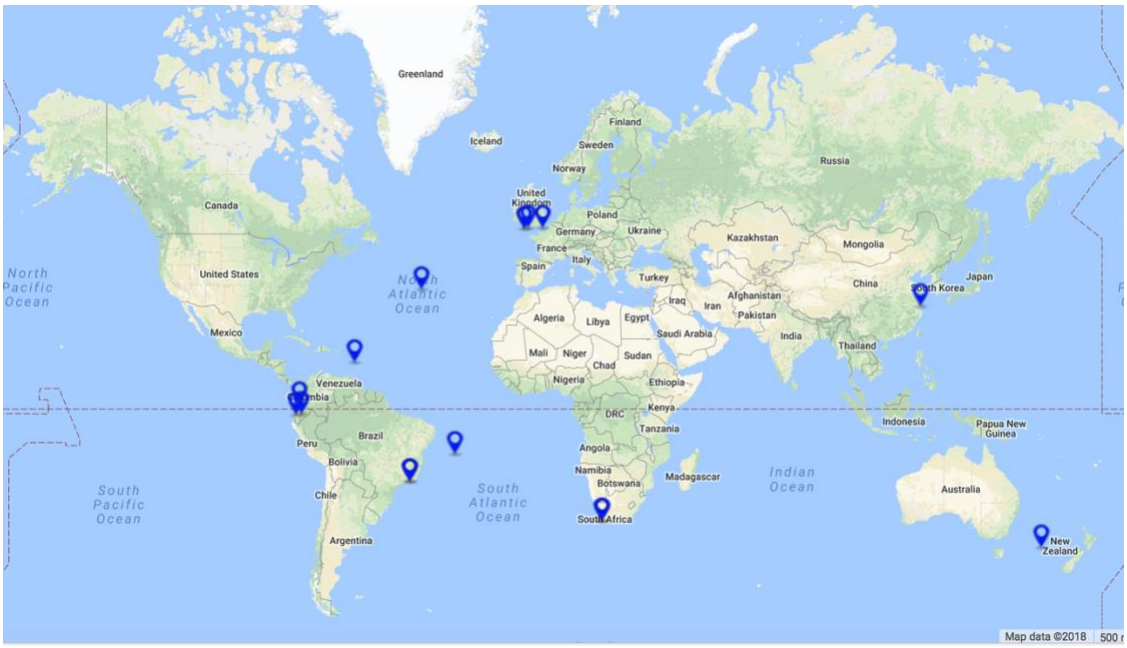

Fig 1.15. Nordby sailors' deaths away from home 1886-1891.[70]

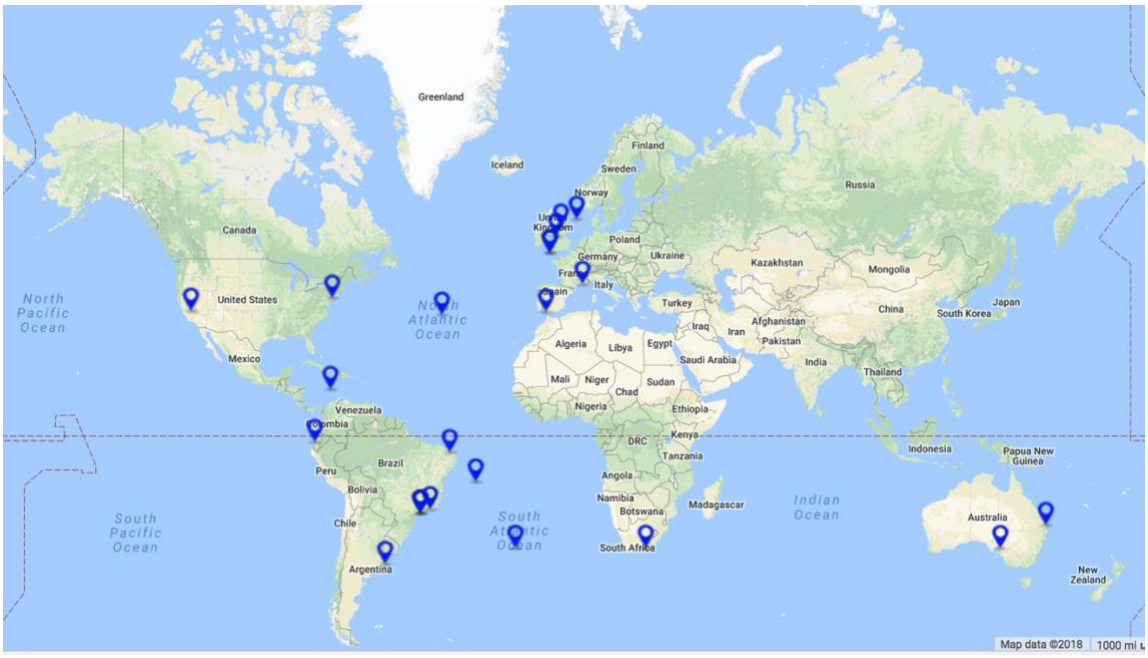

Fig 1.16. Nordby sailors' deaths away from home 1892-1895.[71]

[70] Kirkebog for Nordby Sogn I Skads Herred 1858-1891, 291-315

[71] Kontraministerialbogen for Nordby Sogn I Fanø Birk, Ribe Stift 1892-1903, 349- 413

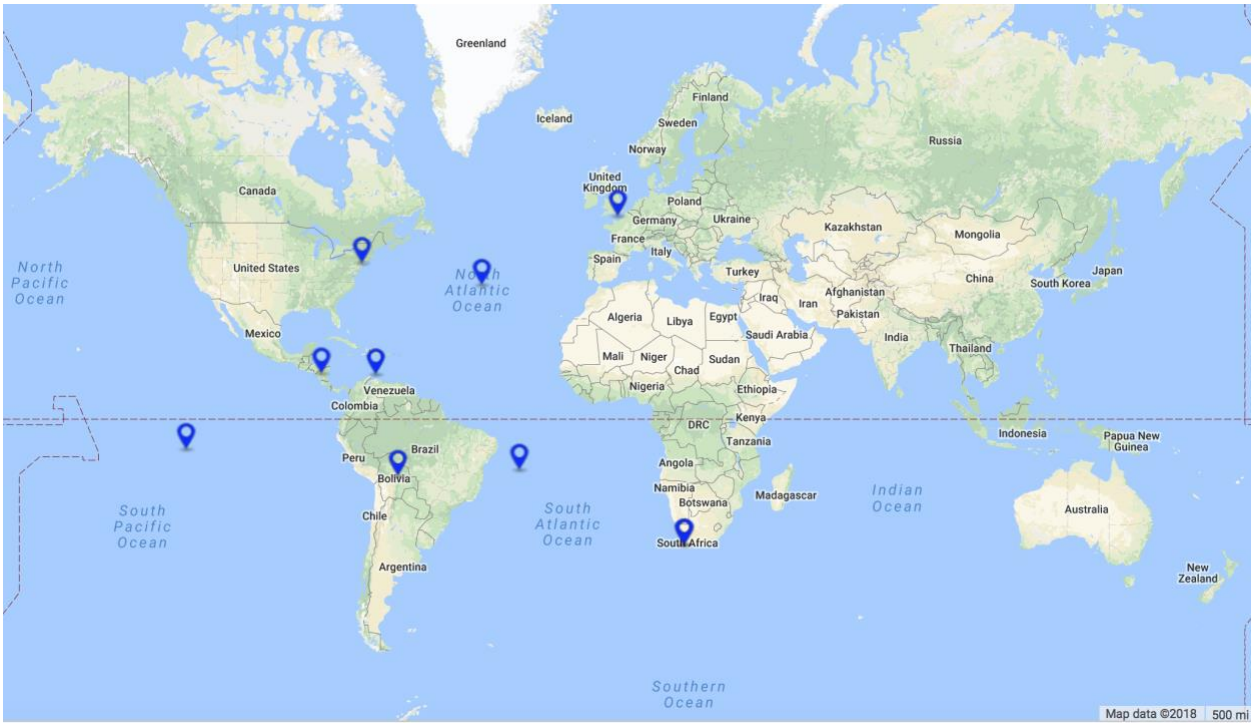

Fig 1.17. Nordby sailors' deaths away from home 1896-1900.[72]

Each one of the deaths away from home is a story of a family which lost a member far away from home. Each one is a story of global connections in life and death. Maritime communities were populated by families who had lost someone somewhere in the world, connecting them to that place, albeit in an abstract kind of way. Memoirs abound with the testaments to those family members who never returned and families take great care to remember where their loved ones died. Jes Clausen, for instance, died in Granton, Canada on June 4th, 1882, leaving behind wife, his parents, a grandfather, four younger siblings. Clausen's family would forever live with the memory that Jes was laid to rest in Canada. Mathias Jensen died of yellow fever in Guayaquil on November 29th, 1880 at age 40. He was survived by his wife on Fanø. Jens Svendsen

[72] Kontraministerialbogen for Nordby Sogn I Fanø Birk, Ribe Stift 1892-1903, 349- 413

Jørgensen fell overboard and drowned on the voyage from Amsterdam to Oslo on August 9th, 1885. Anders Bertelsen Clausen, 46, Niels Jacobsen, 35, and Søren Nielsen Toft, 32, were on a ship from the East Indies to Hamburg. The ship set out in February of 1885 and after its departure it was never heard from again. All three men left wives behind on Fanø. Thomas Lauridsen died in East London, South Africa, on January 22nd, 1881 at age 37. Peder Hansen Ankersen died of yellow fever in Rio de Janeiro in February of 1880. He left a wife behind on Fanø.[73] All 99 men from Nordby who died abroad, have similar stories of a death somewhere very far from Fanø and leaving behind families at home.

Causes of early death for sailors was most frequently drowning, accidents, or illness, and because sailors often came from maritime families, they were often intimately familiar with the risks of a seafaring life from a very early age. Many sailors experienced early loss of close family members and they saw what the loss of a life did to the surviving family members. This did not seem to deter anyone from choosing the sea as a way of life. Parish records indicate that sailors who passed away were often sons of sailors who had also died at sea. This left behind a woman who had lost both a husband and at least one son away from home.

N.A. Svarrer remembered when the ship *Sofie* sank in 1875 "with men and mice," a Fanø term for "no survivors." Svarrer's paternal grandfather was on the ship along with a young man from Fanø who was only 24, and who left behind a wife and a young child. Svarrer's grandfather was less than a month away from his 25th wedding anniversary when *Sofie* went down. Svarrer's paternal uncle drowned in the Rio Grande in 1879, only 24 years old. He was married and had two young children when he died. Svarrer's maternal uncle drowned in 1884 when he was

[73] Family pattern data from Danmarks Statistik, Folketællinger 1880, Landistrikter, Ribe Amt, Skast Herred, Nordby Sogn. Fatality data from Kontraminesterialbogen Ribe Amt, Nordby Sogn. 1858-1991 KVD.

knocked overboard at Cape Horn. Svarrer says that his family often spoke of these accidents while he was growing up. In spite of all the deaths from drowning in his family, this did not frighten off Svarrer from seeking work at sea.[74]

Sailor P.J. Pedersen said that his own father drowned at the age of 25, leaving his mother alone with three young children. Pedersen was only one and a half years old. His oldest sister was three and a half, and another sister was two and a half. Pedersen's father never saw Pedersen as a baby. He left before Pedersen was born and did not return. Even with these family stories, Pedersen says that 33 boys were confirmed in the church in his year, and of the 33, 31 boys went to sea.[75] Memoirist Ane Danielsen Spangsberg remembers the time when her brother Morten was lost at sea. The family knew that he was missing but had no confirmation of his death. The parents of Ane and Morten were sick with worry. Twice a day, once in the morning and once in the evening, their father went to the lookout point in hopes of eyeing a ship which might be carrying Morten home, but he returned disappointed to his wife.[76]

Peter Jørgen Kok's Death at Sea seen Through the Eyes of his Family

Whole families were marked by the absence and death of sailors. In Strandstræde in Marstal in 1890 there was a family of four by the last name of Kok. Peter J. Kok was a cobbler of wooden shoes. His wife Rasmine Kok and their two sons, ages 28 and 25, lived in the household as well. The 1890 census shows no connection to the maritime world other than the fact that the family lived in a maritime town. Piecing together church records, letters, and

[74] Svarrer, "Kapt. N.A. Svarrers Erindringer. Fanø Ugeblad Jan. 1964," 8.
[75] Pedersen, "Erindringer," 1.
[76] Ane Danielsen Spangsberg, "Ane Danielsen Spangsberg's Erindringer," n.d., 4, Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.

shipping records, however, paints a picture of a family which was intimately connected to the maritime world, despite the absence of a maritime connection in the 1890 census record. The family record in the census belies the fact that there were three generations of maritime workers in the family. Two of three generations of sailors lived at that address at the time of the 1890 census, although one was no longer making a living as a sailor, and the other was not a sailor yet.

The census was taken in February of 1890. The youngest son of the family, Christian Kok, was engaged or very shortly to be engaged at the time of the census.[77] Church records show that he married a young woman by the name of Hansine Klausen on October 30th, 1890 in Marstal church. Hansine was only 19 years old. Three years later in 1893 Hansine gave birth to a son. Hansine and Christian lived in the same street where Christian had lived with his family in the 1890 census. From church records, we know that Christian was to go to sea some time after he married Hansine.[78]

Peder Jørgensen Kok, the grandfather in this account, was born in Marstal in 1829. The census record lists his occupation as cobbler, but his death record lists his occupation as former skipper. Like many other men in these maritime communities, he changed occupations over the course of his lifetime.[79] His parents were not employed at sea but were itinerant laborers in Marstal. Peder Jørgensen Kok's occupation and the occupation of his son and grandson are indicative of the increase in the need for maritime labor in Marstal and other Scandinavian

[77] The spelling of the names within the Kock family varies widely depending on the record. The spelling of the fathers' name may be either Peder or Peter while the son may be Christian or Kristian. The family name may be spelled either Kok, Kock, or Koch.
[78] The baptismal record of Peder Jørgensen Kock (born 1893) lists his father as skipper Kristian Rising Kock. Kontraministerialbog 1814-2002, Svendborg Amt, Marstal Sogn 1892 FKVD – 1905 FKVD p. 20
[79] For the death record of Peder Jørgensen Kock see Kontraministerialbog 1814-2002, Svendborg Amt, Marstal Sogn 1902 D – 1934 D p. 16.

maritime towns at the end of the nineteenth century. Christian passed away around the turn of the twentieth century. His death record is elusive, but Hansine was a widow by 1910. Christian and Hansine's son was named Peder after his grandfather. The younger Peder was a prolific letter writer, and some of his experiences at sea have been preserved in the form of letters to his mother. His earliest letters date to his 17th year. In his letters, he shared experiences with his mother from his time at sea. Aside from sharing some of the details of the hum-drum of everyday life onboard the ship, Peder primarily used his letters to his mother for two other things: To tell her his location and to describe a network and a community which was already familiar to her.

The sharing of location had the function of describing a travel pattern and allowing his mother to follow her son on his journey from a distance. Whether Peder was in France, Sweden, Spain, St. Valery, Aberville, Cadic, New Foundland, or Rio Grande, Peder told his mother exactly where on the globe he was whenever he wrote to her. Sometimes, the letters would include details about Peder's location. Food was a common theme in the letters. At a time when food imports were limited and the Danish diet, especially outside of economic centers such as Copenhagen and Århus, consisted primarily of fish, rye bread, porridge, dairy, and seasonal berries and vegetables, fruits and vegetables which only grew far away were rare and extremely special. From Cádiz in Spain, Peder wrote: "It is so warm here. We buy oranges and figs for next to nothing. They are sweet like sugar. I have eaten 20 oranges just since yesterday".[80] From Newfoundland, Peder wrote,

> We have arrived after forty-six days, and you wouldn't believe it's the middle of the summer. It's so cold and foggy…. There are only about 20 or 30 houses in this town and only about 200 inhabitants. On the way over I caught springers for food. We had fresh meat from them, and I will tell you that the meat from leapers[81] is so much better than beef. We see whales which are half as big as our ship. We have so much good cod here,

[80] "Peder Jørgensen Kock: Letters" Letter number 40. Marstal Lokalarkiv.
[81] Leapers refers to some kind of dolphin or dolphin-like animal which leaps out of the water

> and it's not the kind which the fisherman at home charges 25 *øre* for. No, these are big, beautiful cod, eight or nine pounds each. We have them whenever we want. [82]

Peder shared other details with his mother about his life. From Harbor Grace in Newfoundland: "We arrived in Habergreis [sic] yesterday. This is the second largest town in Nev Fondland [sic] with 6000 inhabitants. We are loading the rest of the salt here, all of 90 tons, and then we will load seal skins and seal blubber for Glascow [sic] England."[83] In his letters towards fall of 1910, Peder was beginning to realize that he would not be home with his family for Christmas. In a letter to his mother, he said:

> I think we'll make it to England for Christmas. You will be happy this Christmas with three of your children home with you. I might be celebrating Christmas on the stormy seas, but I hope not. If I do, I know you can't be truly happy. I hope we will be home soon.

In a letter which was sent from the Danish consulate in Liverpool on December 3rd, 1910, he wrote,

> Dear Mother. I wish you a merry Christmas and a happy new year. Love to Hansine, Kristen, and Mine. We will sail to Liverpool as soon as we can. If we can make it home as quickly as last time, we will be home in time for Christmas. Loving regards from your faithful son.

Following the letter of December 3rd, there was no more correspondence from Peder Jørgensen Kok for his mother. The archive folder at Marstal local archive had a copy of a document which read:

> Ship owner: C. W. Clausen.
>
> Captain: Niels Hansen Nielsen
>
> D.W. BR 172 NT 116 CML

[82] "Peder Jørgensen Kock: Letters." Letter number 41. Marstal Lokalarkiv.
[83] "Peder Jørgensen Kock: Letters."Letter number 43. Marstal Lokalarkiv.

Shipwrecked 1910

Place: The Atlantic. Went missing on a journey from St. Johns Newfoundland to Liverpool with blubber departure 4/12. Insurance: 30000 kr.

The shipwreck: The crew consisted of Hans Nielsen Hansen, first mate Hans Jørgen Hansen, able sailor Peter Jørgen Kok all from Marstal and able sailor Niels Christian Jørgensen Udø, and bachelor Oluf Clausen Ristinge.

The intimate connection between son and mother which is expressed in the frequent correspondence, the gift exchanges, and expressions of longing and missing each other captures some aspects of life in a maritime town. Hansine's connection to her son at sea was strong even though he was frequently far away from her. She followed him in thought wherever he went. The palpable heartbreak of the attenuation of letters and the short note about the shipwreck captures the dark side of maritime work. Hansine lost first her husband and then her firstborn son at sea.

The Wreck of *Claus*

Even close to home, the sea could be perilous. Cathrine Martini, a Fanø native born in 1877, remembered an especially tragic shipwreck just off the coast of Fanø. She says: "The cobbler was always on the beach in the early morning hours to look for amber after it had been amber weather.[84] It had been stormy all night, and he went out to collect amber. First, he saw one body

[84] Amber weather is a term for stiff western winds which wash amber up on the western shore of Fanø.

washed up on the shore. Then he saw six more bodies."[85] The bodies on the beach were those of local Fanø residents. They had been sailors onboard the Fanø ship *Claus*. [86]

Claus was a prominent Fanø ship which had been sailing the oceans for 17 years prior to the shipwreck. *Claus* brought Fanø sailors to Zanzibar, Guayaquil, Bilbao, Port Elisabeth, and the Maluku Islands in the Pacific. The ship sailed from St. Croix in the Danish West Indies with sugar for Copenhagen. Afterwards, the ship sailed to Kragerø I Norway. From Kragerø, *Claus* was destined to sail timber to Port Talbot in England. The brother of Captain Hans Laurids Hansen pieced together the events leading up to the wreck of *Claus* based on letters from the captain, as well as observations following the shipwreck. Because of the lightness of its cargo, *Claus* capsized off the coast of Northern Jutland. The Captain decided to cut some of the sails in an effort to right the ship. The maneuver is successful for a time. The crew then decided to head for Esbjerg, which is very close to Fanø, for repairs. At they neared their destination, the ship's crew dressed in their Sunday best to disembark. They were to meet their families again while the ship was undergoing repairs. On the night of November 29th, 1897, *Claus* went aground. The rudder and the stern were crushed against the ocean floor.

The eight sailors onboard *Claus* were stranded just off the coast of Fanø. They sent up their last flare and waited for help. Although the situation was intense, the sailors thought they were sure to get help. However, November 29th 1897 happened to be the inauguration of a new community hall, which meant that no one was paying attention to the signals of distress from the ship. It wasn't until the next morning, when the bodies of crew washed ashore, that the people on Fanø became aware of the shipwreck. A patrol boat sailed out to wreck, which was deserted

[85] Olfert Fischer, "Interview med Cathrine Martini født Gundesen (mormors kusine)" (Unpublished, 1961), 11, Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.
[86] Fischer, 11–12.

except for the ship's cat, which was found asleep in the captain's chair. It is not clear why the crew left the ship. Had they waited for help, they would have survived. Investigations after the shipwreck suggest that perhaps a crew member fell overboard and the remaining seven men set out in a life boat to rescue their mate. Rough weather meant that they didn't survive the rescue mission. [87]

The shipwreck of *Claus* marks a rare occasion when sailors who died at sea were found by their community and buried at home. It was also a first-hand experience of the gruesome death by drowning which befell so many sailors out of sight around the world. Those people who found the bodies from *Claus* washed up on shore, and those who brought them back to town to be cared for a buried, all must have known someone who had drowned far away from Fanø. Maritime peoples say that it brings a tremendous amount of grief to lose someone and never be able to put their body to rest in the ground. While in the case of *Claus* the community was subjected to all the gruesome details of the drowning death itself, at least they were able to care for the bodies of their own people.

Conclusion

The cultural tropes of Jack Tar often paint him as a socially isolated, untethered figure. He is a laborer with no home, and no community. He is a man of the world but a man of no-where at the same time, never truly at home in any place. Unlike the cultural trope of Jack Tar, late-nineteenth-century sailors from Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal were intricately embedded in their home communities. They had strong social connections and a permanent home community to which they returned after every period at sea. They lived among non-sailing neighbors. Their

[87] "Fra Briggen Claus," n.d., Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.

communities were part of the wider maritime world in which sailors lived and worked. There was a high degree of contact between sailors and their home communities. The fact that sailors had social connections in their home communities makes it possible, or even probable, that they shared their knowledge and sense of the global world. This chapter provides the empirical evidence for social networks in which global non-elite knowledge could filter from the sailor population to the rest of the community. The sailors' life, then, cannot be presumed to be one of unfettered freedom. Rather, sailors were seasonal labor migrants who were at the same time rooted in their home communities. They were embedded in a social network of people with whom they had strong, reinforced kinship connections. Maritime family life was marked by patterns of labor, and by absence and home-coming. It was marked by games at the harbor front. The agency of the sea shaped social relationships, imaginations, experiences, community life, and family life in Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal. The ocean was not an incidental neighbor, but a central organizing principle in all aspects of community life. In life as well as in death, maritime communities were marked by gendered patterns of life which differed from those in landed communities in late nineteenth century Scandinavia.

This chapter is about communities, not just about sailors. It argues that sailors were embedded in their home communities, but it simultaneously argues that non-sailors in maritime communities had close contact with sailors. The global consciousness which arose through global death and burial further strengthened global awareness and engagement within the home communities. On a visit to Marstal in 1905, Danish fin-de-siècle author Herman Bang remarked: "One of my neighbors knows every nook and cranny of the Congo river. Another neighbor spent 17 years sailing in Japan." Roughly one in five male deaths happened away from Nordby between 1880 and 1900. Other residents in maritime communities might have said, "My neighbor died of

yellow fever in Guayaquil in Ecuador. Another neighbor fell overboard and drowned on a journey from the west coast of South America to Falmouth. My grandfather died in Marseille. My husband died in Macassar." Global deaths turned the world into a memorial space with deeply intimate connections to the final resting places of close kin.

CHAPTER TWO

Dengang Man Gik i Land: Sailors and the World beyond their Homes

Danes still talk about *dengang man gik i land* or "the days when sailors still went ashore" in reference to a time when sailors went ashore when their ship docked. The act of going ashore was definitive for the experiences of maritime workers. Over the course of the twentieth century, shipping companies acquired the logistical ability to stock enough provisions for their crew to remain on the ship during loading and unloading of cargo, so the experience of sailors has become decidedly more narrow. This chapter explores encounters between sailors and the world beyond their home community. I operate with the understanding that the sailors were seasonal labor migrants who traversed cultural boundaries, and that their impact on their home communities was disproportional. In this chapter I provide empirical evidence of the fact that sailors crossed cultural, national, linguistic, and geographical boundaries. They encountered people, cultures, languages, animals, foods, architecture, art, history, and climates which they would not have experienced in their home communities. This section provides the empirical basis for understanding sailors as cross-cultural migrants. In this chapter I also discuss sailors and travel writing arguing, as some feminist postcolonial scholars do, that there are distinctions to be made between different kinds of European observers. Not all European travel writers were white, wealthy males in service of empire. Sailors were members of the working class, and their writing should be seen in that light.

Sailors as Migrants

Increasingly, Scandinavian maritime historians look at sailors as labor migrants, and analyze their cross-cultural experiences within the larger body of literature on migration.[1] In his typological work on migration, Patrick Manning asserts that cross-community migration is the "migration of humans across the boundaries of language and culture."[2] Manning goes on to say that cross-community migration involves individuals and groups who "move to join an existing community, learning its language and customs. The function of such migration is to share the experience and the labor of various communities."[3] Manning identifies four subcategories of cross-community migrants: settlers, sojourners, itinerants, and invaders. The distinction between the subcategories of cross-community migrants addresses the permanence or impermanence of the movements of a given group. For instance, there is a difference between settlers, who typically intend to remain at their destination, and sojourners, who "move to a new community, usually for a specific purpose, with the intention of returning to their home community."[4]

Patrick Manning asserts, "Human migration can be shown to have clear parallels to that of other animal species."[5] He goes on to argue that there are clearly features which distinguish human migration from the migration of other species. Alan Fix's anthropological work on migration similarly puts human and animal movements in conversation, noting that migration is a relevant concept within an array of fields. For instance, the "spectacular long-distance to and

[1] See for instance Camilla Brautaset, "Merchants and Missionaries: Connecting China, Norway and Beyond.," in *The Great Diversity: Trajectories of Asian Development* (Wageningen: Wageningen Academic Publishers, 2014), 22.
[2] Patrick Manning, "Cross-Community Migration: A Distinctive Human Pattern," *Social Evolution & History* 5, no. 2 (2006): 24.
[3] Manning, 28.
[4] Manning, 40.
[5] Manning, 24.

fro trips of birds and butterflies are more likely to be called 'migration' in biology than one-time, non-return movement that are termed 'dispersal.'"[6] The seasonal departure and return of birds is familiar, but we are perhaps less used to thinking of human groups in the context of seasonal migration.[7] Nonetheless, sailors in the nineteenth century followed a migratory pattern which was similar to the migratory pattern of birds. They departed and returned cyclically.

The Danish literary canon is rich in subject matter on maritime journeys, but perhaps there is no clearer example of the connection between the patterns of migratory birds and the patters of migratory maritime workers as in Hans Christian Andersen's *The Fir Tree*. In this passage, a young fir tree watches older fir trees chopped down and carried off:

> In the autumn the woodcutters would always appear to chop down some of the biggest trees. It happened every year, and the young fir tree, which was now quite grown-up, would start trembling because the tall, magnificent trees would topple to the ground with a groan and a crash. Their branches would be cut off, and they looked so naked, tall and slender. They were almost beyond recognition. But then they were loaded onto wagons, and horses carried them away, out of the forest.
> Where were they going? What was in store for them?
> In the spring, when the swallow and stork appeared, the tree asked them: "Do you know where they were taken? Have you seen them?
> The swallows didn't know anything, but the stork looked thoughtful, nodded his head, and said: "Oh, yes, I think so. I met many new ships as I flew here from Egypt. On the ships were magnificent mast trees, and I'd venture to say they were yours. They smelled of fir. I bring you many greetings. How they swaggered and swayed!
> "Oh, if only I too were big enough to fly across the sea! What is the sea like, anyway? How does it look?"[8]

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[6] Hugh Dingle, *Migration: The Biology of Life on the Move* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); as cited in Alan G. Fix, *Migration and Colonization in Human Microevolution*, Cambridge Studies in Biological and Evolutionary Anthropology 24 (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1.

[7] See for example Adam McKeown, "Global Migration, 1846-1940," *Journal of World History* 15, no. 2 (2004): 155–89. The migrants which figure in the study are emigrants/immigrants. McKeown discusses immigration, emigration, and customs records, noting that these records "count mostly ship passengers" (p.156). In this study, the passengers onboard ships are considered migrants, but the sailors who manned the ships are not.

[8] H.C. Andersen, "The Fir Tree," in *Fairy Tales*, ed. Jackie Wullschlager, trans. Tiina Nunnally (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 163–64.

In this section, the stork appears as a metaphor for the sailor who has seen the world and returned. The explicit reference to ships and foreign countries completes the maritime reference. Although literary rather than scholarly, H.C. Andersen's linking of the stork to the sailor in this section captures perfectly the patterns of movement of maritime workers in Denmark. They departed their communities, leaving behind young boys who were desperately longing to know the big world as the sailors did, and they returned home again with knowledge, a circular migratory pattern which followed the migratory pattern of birds more closely than the one-way migratory patterns which we tend to assume that humans follow.

As migrants, sailors moved in groups rather than on their own. In this way, they exhibited characteristics and some functions which overlap with Philip Curtin's definition of a trade diaspora in which merchants were "linked to one another by several kinds of mutual solidarity: common profession, religion, language, and so on."[9] As Francesca Trivellato points out, Curtin's trade diasporas "generally lacked sovereign authority and the monopoly of violence."[10] Sailors from small Danish maritime communities were certainly linked through mutual solidarity. They shared a profession, religion, language, origin, customs, and much more. They also lacked a single sovereign authority when they were not home, and they did not have a branch of enforcers, which is to say that they lacked the monopoly of violence. Sailors departed from

[9] Philip D. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 46.
[10] Francesca Trivellato, "Introduction: The Historical and Comparative Study of Cross-Cultural Trade," in *Religion and Trade. Cross-Cultural Exchanges in World History 1000-1900*, ed. Francesca Trivellato, Leor Halevi, and Cátia Antunes (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 3.

Curtin's trade diasporas in that they were not settled communities of people, but rather migratory communities facilitating trade through transportation.

In his seminal work of maritime history, Marcus Rediker pointed to the global lives of English sailors in the eighteenth century:

> In an age when most men and women in England and America lived in small, clustered local communities, the early eighteenth-century sailor inhabited a world huge, boundless, and international. The seaman sailed the seven seas; he explored the edges of the earth. He toiled among a diverse and globally experienced body of workingmen, whose labors linked the continents and cultures of Europe, Africa, Asia, and North and South America.[11]

The "small, clustered communities" which Rediker refers to were still the norm in Denmark in the nineteenth century. Although the world had become much more connected, and elites in big cities were exposed to impressions from abroad with great frequency, around the turn of the twentieth century 41percent of the Danish population made their living through agricultural labor.[12] An additional 20 percent of the population lived in the countryside making their living in ways other than farming. Only 39 percent of the population of Denmark lived in cities.[13] Sailors' wide-ranging travels therefore stood in sharp contrast to the experiences of most Danish people in this period. As I show in Chapter One, sailors in Nordby made up 11percent of the total population, while sailors in Sønderho and Marstal made up 20 percent and 14 percent of the populations respectively. In her work on Norwegian missionaries and merchants in China, Camilla Brautaset argues that "cross-community migrants may have a much larger societal

[11] Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea. Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 10.
[12] Kirsten Wismer et al., eds., *Befolkningen i 150 År* (København: Danmarks Statistik, 2000), 59.
[13] Wismer et al., 16.

impact than their numbers would infer."[14] This argument builds on literature about migration and cross cultural encounters by Patrick Manning and others.[15]

Sailor Hans Peter Winther recounts in his memoir that he had been given hire onboard the barque *Bertha*, which was registered in Esbjerg, Denmark. *Bertha* had sailed from Hamburg to four different destinations on the west coast of central America, and was on her way back to Hamburg with cedar, mahogany, and other types of wood. *Bertha* was rounding Cape Horn but the weather was rough and hurricane force winds and high waves gave the crew no choice but to lower all sails and turn the ship to the direction of the wind. A comber[16] tilted the ship over to one side, and it would not right itself again. The crew chopped down the mizzen mast, and the ship was somewhat rectified. The following day, the weather eased somewhat, but the ship was badly damaged in the storm. Navigation was almost impossible, and subsequent south west winds caused even more damage.

Bertha managed to round Cape Horn, and the crew planned to seek refuge on in Port Stanley on the Falkland Islands, but they did not make it. *Bertha* drifted towards the shore south of Port Stanley and finally stranded on the coast by Choiseul Sound late in the afternoon on October 11, 1892. The sailors lowered the longboat and rowed to shore. The crew was drenched. On shore, they gathered wood and made a fire up against a small cliff for shelter.

As *Bertha*'s crew was trying to keep warm on a beach somewhere on the Falklands, they were surrounded by Penguins. Some of the crew ran around among the birds to keep warm. The

[14] Brautaset, "Merchants and Missionaries: Connecting China, Norway and Beyond.," 22.
[15] Manning, "Cross-Community Migration: A Distinctive Human Pattern"; Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, "The Mobility Transition Revisited, 1500-1900: What the Case of Europe Can Offer Global History," *Journal of Global History* 4, no. 3 (November 2009): 347–77.
[16] A long wave

Penguins seemed unafraid and the crew got quite close to them. They spent the night on the beach. Hans Peter Winther recalls,

> The next day, two sheepherders, who had noticed our stranded ship, paid us a visit. Their hut lay four nautical miles inland. The sailors divided into two teams, and each team took turns going to the hut, where the shepherds gave us lamb and freshly baked French bread. We slept on a bed of sheep skins and had sheep skins over us. Never again in my life have I slept as well as I did in that hut. I slept for 16 hours straight, and all thought of our troubles and struggles melted away.[17]

The sheepherders arranged for a messenger on horseback to go to Port Stanley to get help for the sailors. In the meantime, some of the sailors slept in the hut with the sheepherders, while other sailors slept in a tent constructed from sails and oars.[18]

When Pedersen went ashore in Bluff Harbour, New Zealand, he made friends for no other reason than to have a pleasant time. Pedersen was hired on *Wilhelmine* of Fanø in 1893. The ship was loading rice in Rio De Janeiro bound for New Zealand. According to Michael Stevens, scholar of Māori history, Bluff Harbour in New Zealand has been a global hub since the early nineteenth century. A whaling station was established in Bluff Harbour in 1836, and the port which grew up around the whaling station because a site of cross-cultural encounters. Bluff Harbour was one of several coastal enclaves in the area between the 1820s and the 1860s, but it became the most significant center because of colonial settlement beginning in the late 1850s. Kāi Tahu people from around the Foveaux Strait visited Bluff Harbour to sell their produce and in 1881 the first so-called 'native hostelry' opened its doors to Kāi Tahu persons in Bluff Harbour who needed a place to stay while they were conducting business.[19]

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[17] Hans Peter Winther, "Hans Peter Winther's seks første rejser til Søs med sejlskibe, 1888-1897" (Unpublished, n.d.), 7, Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.
[18] Winther, 7.
[19] Michael J. Stevens, "Kā Whare Māori Ki Awarua: Bluff's 'Māori Houses,'" *Te Karaka*, March 31, 2017, https://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/our_stories/tk73-ka-whare-maori-ki-awarua-bluffs-maori-houses/. Stevens' article comes out of the "World History of Bluff" project.

Wilhelmine arrived in Bluff Harbour, New Zealand and Pedersen noted, "Bluff Harbour was a very small port (at least it was then), and very few ships docked there. For that reason, we were invited to private homes in the evenings. We were surprised to learn that one of our own crew was adept at playing the piano!" The crew of *Wilhelmine* stayed in Bluff Harbour to load bales of wool bound for London. Since it took time to compress the bales to maximize cargo space, the crew had some time to spend in Bluff Harbour and to visit with the people of this town.[20] The work of Stevens' shows that Bluff Harbour was a regional hub of activity and commerce, and that Pedersen was only one of many people passing through this port town. Pedersen's memoir says that he spent time socializing in Bluff Harbour. Although he does not say who he socialized with, except that they were local residents, Stevens' work suggests that Pedersen was socializing with people who were themselves exposed to a wide cultural network.

Cross-Cultural Encounters at Sea

The crew on board ships were often varied. Memoirists discuss the different backgrounds of the crew which were present on ships on long distance voyages. A paragraph from Valdemar Petersen's memoir shows both that national prejudices, which were common in Europe in the nineteenth century, clashed with the necessity of getting along with people from other nations at sea. Additionally, there were big differences between how different nations regarded their own sailors, which played out onboard ships. For example, English sailors were generally treated much worse than Scandinavian sailors. When Scandinavian sailors were hired onboard English ships, they felt a stark difference in the way the ship was run and how common sailors lived.

[20] P.J. Pedersen, "Erindringer. Nedskrevet af Styrmand P.J. Pedersen, F. Oldefar (v. Poul Ulsdal f Pedersen).," ed. F Oldefar (Fanø Ugeblad Nr. 18, Maj 1986), 3, Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.

In 1919, Valdemar Petersen sailed with an English ship which had onboard a number of apprentices from elite English boarding schools. He detailed how the English apprentices took four years to complete their training, and that they were often arrogant towards foreign crew. The apprentices, as other Englishmen, showed great disdain for common sailors. Onboard the ship was also the English captain's wife and son. Petersen wrote:

> Captain Thompson was an honorable man, but his wife and six-year-old son were of a different opinion of us foreigners. One day when I was manning the rudder, the little boy came to me and spoke to me, as he had done often before. His mother saw it and said loudly, 'Don't speak to those spiting foreigners.' The captain heard it, and with one word from him, the madam and the boy nearly fell down the stairs in their haste to get to their cabin. The Captain had a friendly glimpse in his eye, which I hoped was meant for me.[21]

Bertel Clausen Jensen was a sailor onboard *Qubanna*, an English ship from London. The captain of *Qubanna* was English, and his English wife was onboard the ship as well. While loading cargo in Fremantle, Australia, smaller vessels would daily come to and from *Qubanna* with mail and rations. One day, a butcher brought a leg of lamb onboard for the sailors. The captain's wife saw the lamb and said, "What an idea, sending simple seamen such a lovely leg of lamb!" She ordered that the leg of lamb be prepared for the captain's quarters instead of for the seamen.[22]

Petersen and Jensens's accounts both involve English women. There is a clear gendered dimension to the mutual resentment onboard ships. English sailors were not generally speaking family men, with the exception of captains. Common English sailors were often associated with immorality and danger. This contrasted with family patterns of Danish sailors. Encounters between the English captains' wives and the Danish sailors suggest a wide class and gender gap.

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[21] Valdemar Petersen, "Episoder fra en sømands liv," n.d., 13, Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.
[22] Bertel Clausen Jensen, "Erindringer fra hav og land" (Fanø Ugeblad Nr. 2821, September 29, 1951), 9, Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.

English captain's wives likely knew of no other ways to treat common sailors than as members of an inferior class. The Danish sailors were hostile to being treated as though they belonged to an inferior class, when in fact they were respected members of their own communities. They were used to camaraderie and support even from senior ranks of their own profession.[23]

Some ships had more varied crew than others. A varied crew meant that sailors had to adapt and learn. If sailors came from different backgrounds, English was the language of command. For this reason, most sailors were fluent in English, and they learned to speak it from their colleagues. As a nineteen-year-old sailor in 1893, Hans Peter Winther was hired on *Clan MacKenzie* of Glasgow to sail coal from Swansea to San Francisco. He remarked on the variation of the crew,

> We were 26 men onboard: Captain Simpson, three mates, a sailmaker, a carpenter, a cook, and a steward, 12 able seamen, and six apprentices. The able seamen alone accounted for six different nations. There was an Englishman, a German, a Lithuanian, a Norwegian, a Swede, and I was the only Dane.[24]

Hans Peter Winther offers another account of sailors from different countries coming together at sea. He wrote that it was "custom in Iquique, that when the ship was loaded with cargo and ready to sail, men from other ships would come onboard and help prepare for journey until the ship was out at sea. As they moved about the gangway, they sang "shanties" just so: "Hurrah, my boys, we are homeward bound."[25] In this section of the memoir, the shanty appears in English while the rest of the text is Danish. Nielsen wrote that in "Hong Kong, a German and

[23] See Chapter One.
[24] Winther, "Hans Peter Winther's seks første rejser til Søs med sejlskibe, 1888-1897," 9.
[25] Winther, 6. Original text: "Det var skik og brug I Iquique, at når skibe var tillastet og skulle sejle, kom der en del mandskab ombord fra andre skibe og hjalp til med at varpe skibet et stykke ud fra kysten, og mens de gik rundt I gangspillet, sang sømændene "shanties", således: "Hurrah, my boys, we are homeward bound."

a West-Indian creole boarded the ship, and the crew was becoming very mixed. We were six different nations onboard, so all commands were in English."[26]

Sometimes a mixed crew could spell danger. Especially in England, men took to the sea because they were in trouble on land. Valdemar Petersen was hired on a ship which departed from Buenos Aires in Argentina. The ship had acquired new crew members in the port. "Aside from us two Danes," Petersen wrote, "three Englishmen embarked in Buenos Aires. One of them was a cunning Londoner, a Cockney. He had served a long prison term for theft, and suffered terribly from "prison-gout," as he called it. He could barely walk, but he had a cunning way of setting us all up against each other, especially us Danes, who had taken the place of two of his comrades."[27]

The varied backgrounds of sailors onboard a ship in some instances meant an opportunity to be exposed to diverse life trajectories and experiences. In Iquique, Chile, new sailors embarked on Valdemar Petersen's vessel:

> We were loading saltpeter for Portuguese south east Africa. Many strange people were among our crew, and later on the voyage, we were lucky enough to hear their experiences from the war. One man, a large Lithuanian, had been a guard on the Russian embassy in Cito, Bolivia. In the revolution, he had stolen the treasury chest and run away into the hills. He went to Peru on foot, but discovered that his stolen rubles had been rendered worthless. Another man, a German officer, had fled the navy and wandered homeless around since 1916. Harry, a young postman's son from Nørrebro, had been imprisoned in every single state in South America.[28]

[26] N.M. Toftgaard Nielsen, "Erindringer fra Sejlskibstiden" (Fanø Ugeblad Nr. 3, January 20, 1978), 5, Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.
[27] Petersen, 13.
[28] Petersen, 14.

The veracity of these stories is entirely secondary to the fact that encounters with difference happened. No farmer in central Jutland ever sat around with a large Lithuanian who may or may not have stolen a chest full of worthless rubles in the Bolivian revolution, a German deserter, and a man from inner-city Copenhagen who may or may not have actually been to prison in every single state in South America.

Disease

Sailors from Scandinavia were moving in and out of global pathogenic networks through their work. Philip Curtin explores the connection between migration and disease. In *Death by Migration*, Curtin shows that European soldiers who were sent to the tropics suffered significantly higher death rates than solders who stayed in Europe.[29] Their higher death rates were caused by moving into zones of new pathogens. Their migratory behavior led to death. Like Curtin's European soldiers, sailors from Nordby, Sønderho, and Marstal also moved in and out of different zones of pathogens. This exposed them to diseases which they could not have encountered in their home communities, and occasionally it led to death abroad.[30] The pathological network refers to pathogens which were spread between people or spread through insects. Yellow fever was one of the most common types of viruses which sailors came into contact with, but they also encountered malaria and cholera. None of these diseases were present in their home communities.

Unlike the spread of pathogens in the early modern world, which is of primary concern to Crosby, the spread of pathogens in the late nineteenth century was subject to attempts to halt it.

[29] Philip D. Curtin, *Death by Migration: Europe's Encounter with the Tropical World in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
[30] See chapter 1

Quarantines were common, and it routinely held up sailors as they moved around the world. Disease cost lives, and sailors lived with the constant reminder that their work brought them into close brushes with death. The deaths of the men around them were the most prescient reminders of their proximity to death. Nielsen said that an able seaman by the name of Axel Christiani, the son of a priest from Nibe in Jutland, was an uncommonly pleasant young man, but that he lost his life to yellow fever in Guayaquil.[31]

Some places were especially known among sailors for their high rates of illness. As I also reference in chapter one, P.J. Pedersen said, "Guayaquil was, along with Santos and Rio, in those says very bad places for fever. Many people from Fanø died there."[32] Nielsen, who was employed on the ship *Vega* in 1896, also recalled how yellow fever was spreading through Guayaquil. Arriving at Ponta Delgada in the Azores, *Vega* was quarantined because it had come from Guayaquil. In an attempt to limit the spread of yellow fever, Portuguese authorities did not allow anyone off the ship, and heavily armed Portuguese police boats were stationed on either side of Vega. Not even doctors were allowed on board. Ill crew were carried to the top deck by other sailors, where doctors could examine them from the dock, at a distance of about three to four meters. The doctors prescribed medicine for the crew on the basis of this long-distance evaluation.[33]

On the way home to Fanø from a long-distance voyage, P.J. Pedersen, just like Nielsen, was quarantined in Kiel for passing through Hamburg in the middle of a cholera outbreak. He was meant to travel from Hamburg to Fanø, which was a journey which sailors undertook

[31] Nielsen, "Erindringer fra Sejlskibstiden," 1.
[32] Pedersen, "Erindringer. Nedskrevet af Styrmand P.J. Pedersen, F. Oldefar (v. Poul Ulsdal f Pedersen).," 1.
[33] Nielsen, "Erindringer fra Sejlskibstiden," 1–2.

routinely in between hires. This time, when Pedersen came to Hamburg, he and his captain, who was also from Fanø and undertaking the same journey, discovered that Hamburg was in the middle of a bad outbreak of cholera. Pedersen and his captain travelled on to Kiel in Northern Germany, where they had to wait in quarantine for three days.[34]

Other diseases, equally suggestive of global mobility, were endemic to life at sea in the late nineteenth century. These diseases included beriberi and scurvy. Memoirs show repeatedly that sailors came into contact with either of these two types of diseases and that they were used to treating both the immediate symptoms and the long-term effects, although with varying degrees of success.

Flora and Fauna

Stereotypical representations often depict sailors with a parrot on one shoulder, suggesting a connection between the sailor an exotic animals. The literature on sailors and animals focuses on two locations: The ship and Europe. Megan Hagseth's work on parrots in the European maritime community suggests that parrots and sailors have a long history.[35] The connection between parrots and sailors has often been ignored because of "association with swashbuckling pirates and their winged sidekicks."[36] In her work on sailors and parrots, Hagseth confronts cultural stereotypes which I also confront in this dissertation. Hagseth demonstrates that stereotypes about sailors and parrots have some basis in the historical reality, but of course she also shows that the connection is far more complex than the stereotype suggests. "The transportation and

[34] Pedersen, "Erindringer. Nedskrevet af Styrmand P.J. Pedersen, F. Oldefar (v. Poul Ulsdal f Pedersen).," 3.
[35] Megan C. Hagseth, "Seadogs and Their Parrots: The Reality of 'Pretty Polly,'" *The Mariner's Mirror* 104, no. 2 (May 1, 2018): 135–52.
[36] Hagseth, 135.

exchange of parrots", argues Hagseth, "provides an opportunity to study how seamen fit into a larger social paradigm of European and American culture."[37] The connection between sailors and exotic birds goes as far back as the Columbian voyages to the New World in the late fifteenth century. Columbus' crew brought parrots back to Spain which they had received as gifts or bartered from indigenous populations in the Americas. Parrots were therefore among the first animals to be transported back to Europe from the New World. The popularity of parrots in Europe should, according to Hagseth, be understood in the fact that Marco Polo described parrots in three separate passages in the thirteenth century.[38] Marco Polo's descriptions gave parrots a cultural intelligibility as exotic and desirable animals in Europe.

Among elites in Europe, parrots were associated with racial hierarchies and European dominance from early on. Bruce Boehrer suggests that writers appropriated exotic pets, such as parrots, to signal "various kinds of social and political subordination." He argues that, "from very early on parrots afford a signal instance of the Old World's acquisition of the New."[39] As elite possessions, Parrots were, along curiosities, a signal of European dominance in the world. Similarly, Peter Fryer has argued for a connection between exotic animals and racial hierarchies in Europe in the seventeenth century. Fryer says, "sometimes, along with a gaudy parrot or two and other exotic gifts, a rich traveler would bring back a black child as a present for his own children, to be their page and plaything."[40]

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[37] Hagseth, 135.
[38] Hagseth, 137.
[39] Bruce Boehrer, "Men, Monkeys, Lap-Dogs, Parrots, Perish All!" Psittacine Articulacy in Early Modern Writing," *Modern Language Quarterly* 59, no. 2 (June 1998): 175.
[40] Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain* (London: Pluto Press, 1984), 21.

Connections between European sailors and exotic animals differed from connections between European elites and exotic animals, although there is some overlap in places. Hagseth argues that sailors, who did not have access to most prestige goods in Europe could acquire parrots relatively easily, and therefore had a unique opportunity to acquire something which was considered a purview of the elite in Europe. Hagseth says, "Any sailor with a bag, gumption, and a little luck, could easily acquire what had become a symbol of status in Europe."[41] Moreover, sailors caught and sold exotic animals at bustling markets in Paris and Amsterdam. Parrots especially represented a way for sailors to make a profit in Europe. Sailors transported parrots back to Europe in large numbers. According to Suzanne Stark, "in 1836 one ship alone had 240 parrots on board which it was bringing from Africa to Portsmouth and even 200 years earlier, French ships were leaving Brazil with as many as 600 parrots per trip."[42]

Connections between parrots and sailors went beyond transportation for markets in Europe. Brad Beaven argues that sailor sub-culture was associated with displays of 'exoticness' and connections to faraway places, which frequently involved exotic birds. Based on analysis of the records of the missionary Father Robert Dolling's *Ten Years in a Portsmouth Slum*, Beaven says that sailor sub-culture was, "fueled by sailors' transitory experience and it was a trait that sailors were keen to exhibit… sailors were likely to enter the house with some 'impossible gifts– "curios" they would call them–sometimes a monkey, sometimes a bird'…This not only clothes

[41] Hagseth, "Seadogs and Their Parrots: The Reality of 'Pretty Polly,'" 136.
[42] Suzanne J. Stark, "Sailors' Pets in the Royal Navy in the Age of Sail," *The American Neptune* 51, no. 2 (Winter 1991): 79.

and language marked out a sailor's maritime identity on land, but their 'curios' gave their sub-culture a visible sense of the exotic on the streets of sailortown."[43]

Beaven and Hagseth focus on the visual signaling of a sailors' connection to the wider world, which is in this case a parrot. The parrot signifies that the sailor has an intimate connection to the world beyond Europe. I don't disagree with this view, but it priveledges the gaze of the observer of the sailor rather than the sailors' own experience. Europeans saw the sailor with the parrot and connected the two, but for the sailor, the parrot was not central. The parrot was only a smaller part of his experience and his connection to the world. In sailors' memoirs, it is clear how this connection came to be forged. I argue that it we emphasize the signaling of the connection to the exotic, we lose sight of what was actually central to sailors themselves: The experience of a world beyond their homes. By looking at memoirs, we see a much broader view of sailors' experiences of animals, and we can see the parrot as a symbol of a larger experience, rather than a central theme.

Experience with animals that were not native to their home communities was a big part of the global lives of sailors from Sønderho, Nordby, and Fanø when they were away from their homes. In this section, I look at the interactions between sailors and animals away from Europe rather than on the ship or at home. Because sailors' work took them to warmer climates, they saw tropical plants and animals which existed only in the imagination of the people in their home communities. Occasionally, sailors travelled to the far north or far south with extreme cold and rough conditions. In these cases, the strange animals were not tropical, but arctic. I argue, like Beaven and Hagseth, that sailor identity was associated with displays of exoticness, which

[43] Brad Beaven, "The Resilience of Sailorstown Culture in English Naval Ports, c. 1820-1900," *Urban History* 43, no. 1 (2016): 90; Robert R. Dolling, *Ten Years in a Portsmouth Slum* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1896), 106–7.

served as evidence of their intimate connections with the world. Unlike Beaven and Hagseth, I focus on how sailors came to acquire this intimate connection, rather than focus on expressions of the connection in Europe. In this section, I show that sailors constituted their global identities in part based on the experiences they had with animals when they were away from their home communities.

Copenhagen Zoo was founded in 1859. Danes had the opportunity to see a range of exotic animals in their capital city. In contrast to visitors to the zoo, sailors encountered animals that were not native to Europe in their natural environments. When sailors encountered animals, it was on terms that were not entirely dictated by the spectators. The animals were not in cages, and they were not living their lives for the amusement of curious Europeans. Sailors saw penguins on wide beaches, monkeys in the rainforest, snakes in the rivers, dolphins and springers in the oceans. They even encountered what they described as 'sea monsters.'

Hans Peter Winther was stranded on the Falklands for a while. During his stay, he picnicked with the German consul by the coast. While picnicking, they amused themselves by catching "six penguins for the zoo in Hamburg. They boarded the steamer bound for home together with me, but we couldn't keep them alive in the warmth of the cabin." The Falklands were also home to other animals not native to Scandinavia, "The coast of the Falklands is full of albatrosses, penguins, wild geese, and cormorants, as well as sea lions and seals."[44]

Sailors saw marine animals which did not live in the waters around Denmark. Pedersen was onboard a southbound ship. When they reached the north-east trade winds, the weather turned very fine and the sails did not need any adjustment. Idle, the crew entertained themselves watching the dolphins which were following the ship: "They come up in small flocks. They

[44] Winther, "Hans Peter Winther's seks første rejser til Søs med sejlskibe, 1888-1897," 8.

spring and tumble around the ship for hours. But if one is harpooned, they all disappear at once. They probably don't like to see or smell blood. Dolphins taste very good."[45]

Around Cape Horn, Pedersen recalled that the crew would catch Albatrosses:

> We attached a piece of meat on a narrow, angular piece of metal, attached to a wooden stick to allow it to float. On the stick was a long line. When the albatross saw the meat, it landed in the water and took the bait. We pulled at the string, and because the beak of the albatross is curved, it couldn't get loose. We pulled it onboard. It walked around the deck for a while. It threw up. Perhaps it was seasick. These large birds are like airplanes. They need to run on a long strip of land to become airborne. When we didn't want to catch any more birds, we slaughtered the ones we had. We gave the feathers to the captain and used the bones in the wings as pipes. The rest was tossed overboard. The meat is fatty and stringy and not fit for consumption.[46]

The Orinoco River in Venezuela was home not only to colorful birds, but also insects which P.H.C. was not familiar with from Scandinavia:

> In the middle of the day, the warmth was often too much for us, but one hour before sundown it was quite pleasant. In the middle of the day we hardly saw any birds. Around sundown, the birds flew in large flocks from one side of the river to the other, always in pairs. The different types of parrots were richly represented, especially the large red ones, but also other colorful birds, the names of which I sadly don't know. At this hour, the air was mild, the river was blank as a mirror, and it was as if nature said a final farewell to the setting sun. I felt completely at peace, but alas, there is no lasting peace on this earth: As soon as the sun was down, a battle for life and death began with the small mosquitos. This battle continued until midnight, when we finally found some rest, exhausted from the blood loss.[47]

Also on the Orinoco River, P.H.C. saw crocodiles:

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[45] Pedersen, "Erindringer. Nedskrevet af Styrmand P.J. Pedersen, F. Oldefar (v. Poul Ulsdal f Pedersen).," 1.
[46] Pedersen, 1.
[47] P.H.C., "Den Gamle Skibsfører Fortæller" (Fanø Ugeblad Nr. 11, March 16, 1968), 3, Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.

> We made two journeys to Angostura with the same ship. The first journey was at the end of the rainy season, when the river had risen over its banks. The second journey was in the middle of the dry season, when large sandbanks were exposed in the river. On these banks dozens of crocodiles were sunning.[48]

In Guayaquil, Ecuador, Huus and his comrades saw water snakes. Huus' memoir says that there were hundreds of them in the river. The crew caught the snakes and put them in bottle of distilled alcohol, until someone told them that the snakes were highly poisonous.[49] Nielsen's ship docked in Dekote on the banks of a rainforest. A troup of monkeys paid visits to the ship daily. They were loud and boisterous, and the crew was greatly entertained. While they were docked in Dekote, the sailors bought two exotic birds which they later sold in Hong Kong.[50]

Twice Clausen reported seeing "sea monsters." The first encounter with the sea monster happened when Clausen and his ship were near the Equator. The crew spotted a gigantic creature in the water. They saw it long before it was even near the ship. It was a type of large tiger shark, light gray with brown spots all over. Two young ones were swimming on either side of it. The sailors considered harpooning it, but it was so large that they feared being dragged under. Once, near the ship, it opened its jaws which were as big as a small doorway. The sailors called it "The Governor of Equator."[51]

Global and transitory experiences were central to sailors' identities. In sailors' memoirs, it is clear how this connection came to be forged. I argue that it we emphasize the signaling of

[48] P.H.C., 4.
[49] Albert Huus, "En Sømands Rejseoplevelser," 1934, 35, Marstal Lokalarkiv.
[50] Nielsen, "Erindringer fra Sejlskibstiden," 3.
[51] Clausen Jensen, "Erindringer fra hav og land," 20.

the connection to the exotic, we lose sight of what was most important to sailors themselves: The experience of a world beyond their homes.

Imprisonment and Crime

Sailors were frequently involved in, or witnesses to, crime and imprisonment around the world. Sailors moved around the world in a way that differed from the way any other traveler would at the turn of the twentieth century. Traveling wealthy elites in this period may have shared experiences of landscapes, culture, art, languages, climate, and people that sailors had, but they were less likely to experience the more unpleasant sides of societies. Europeans who travelled in positions of wealth and power did not often have close brushes with criminal justice systems around the world. Sailors were in a marginal position as foreigners and they often came into contact with the criminal justice systems in the places they landed.

In Iquique, Chile, Petersen and six other able seamen were on their way back to their ship just before sundown, when a group of American seamen ran past them and straight down to the toll booth, where they quickly paid the officers on duty. Quickly thereafter, three policemen with drawn revolvers came running and threatened Petersen and his companions. They were made to follow along with the policemen. An angry bar keeper came to the scene and identified Petersen and his companions as the men who had destroyed his bar. It was Saturday night, and Petersen was not able to summon a Scandinavian consul to help them out. According to Petersen, being mistaken for the men who destroyed a local bar landed the sailors in a Chilean prison in Iquique overnight.

Petersen's account says that the prison in Iquique was a large enclosure in the open air. Each prisoner had staked out their own area. Families brought mattresses, food, and other items.

The prison didn't provide anything for the prisoners. The only available spaces to lie outstretched to sleep overnight were very near the latrines, so the sailors opted to sit all night. Just before daybreak, the prisoners were made to stand in straight rows and the prison guards divided them into teams of four. These teams of four swept the streets with brooms made of a wooden handle with palm fronds tied to one end. A policeman occupied every other street corner.[52]

In Hong Kong, Nielsen saw a fight break out between marines of different nationalities. He and some friends were at an English restaurant, when marines of different nationalities entered the establishment. Suddenly a large fight broke out, and the furniture and interior of the restaurant suffered badly. The brawl spread to the street, where marines broke cobblestones loose from the street and hurled them. Nielsen and his friends withdrew from the fight, and they were never really clear who was battling whom in the situation. The bar keeper was trying to get ahold of Chinese policemen but without luck. Suddenly, English and Indian policemen showed up on the scene together with military police and order was restored.[53]

In addition to their own experiences with criminal justice systems in the places they visited, sailors also witnessed the criminal acts and criminal proceedings of other people. In Marka, on the east coast of Africa, Clausen witnessed criminal proceedings related to the assault of a German supercargo.[54] Someone had beaten the supercargo with a heavy instrument while he was supervising the loading of cargo. The blow went through his cork hat and wounded him badly. Sailors who had witnessed the assault apprehended the attacker and turned him in to local

[52] Petersen, "Episoder fra en sømands liv," 14–15.
[53] Nielsen, "Erindringer fra Sejlskibstiden," 5.
[54] An officer, a representative of the ship's owner, or a representative of the owner of the cargo onboard a merchant ship whose responsibility it is to oversee the delivery and/or sale of the cargo.

authorities. Clausen and other sailors were summoned to testify in the case against the attacker. They went to the courthouse, a large fortification surrounded by moats. Local peasants had assembled outside the courthouse. They were armed with spears and shields. 200 soldiers of Asian origin guarded the fortification, according to Clausen. The attacker was found guilty and sentenced to be transported with Clausen's ship to a larger town to serve his punishment. The peasants outside the fortification, of which it seems that the attacker was one, were unhappy with the verdict and unhappy with the transport of the attacker. The sailors who transported the prisoner were evidently caught up in a struggle between the peasants, the ruling elites, and the Germans in the area. P.H.C. was very self-conscious of his part in the situation.[55]

Food

Since the 1990s, food studies have begun to pay attention to the ways in which food and drink "are signifiers of group culture and identity, wherein the items ingested say something meaningful about people, to themselves and others, in often open-ended processes, that are at the heart of ethnic, national, class, gender, sexual, local and other identities."[56] Thomas Wilson points to a trend whereby global food habits are becoming increasingly similar. Globally, people are growing closer in their habits of food consumption and in the food that they value. Eating and drinking are important to heritage and identity, wherefore imported food elements seemingly threaten national culture and values.[57]

[55] P.H.C., "Den Gamle Skibsfører Fortæller," 1.
[56] Thomas M. Wilson, ed., *Food, Drink and Identity in Europe*, European Studies 22 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), 12.
[57] Wilson, 13.

In *Danish Cookbooks*, Carol Gold analyses the rise of national cooking and national concepts around types of produce. She suggests that although French gastronomy has historically been influential in Danish food culture, there was a notable shift in the eighteenth-century food writing towards foods that were considered native to Denmark. National produce included cabbage, beets, strawberries, white and black 'viper's grass',[58] red onions, shallots, and even potatoes.[59]

For most people in Denmark, experience with fruits and vegetables which do not grow in the Danish climate was unusual in the nineteenth century. Oranges, for instance, were imported to Denmark in the late nineteenth century, but at relatively low rates. A portion of orange imports were re-exported immediately, and only a small number of oranges remained in Denmark for consumption. Fig. 2.1 shows a steady increase in orange consumption in Denmark in the twentieth century. In 1906, Danes consumed 6.84 million pounds of oranges.[60] For reference, that number had increased to nearly 100 million pounds of citrus fruits by 1975.[61]

[58] Asparagus
[59] Carol Gold, *Danish Cookbooks: Domesticity & National Identity, 1616-1901*, New Directions in Scandinavian Studies (Seattle, WA : Copenhagen: University of Washington Press ; Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 2007), 95.
[60] *Statistiske Meddelelser: Danmarks Vareomsætning Med Udlandet i 1906 Samt Tilvirkning Af Spiritus, Øl, Roesukker Og Margarine. 4. Rk., 23. Bd.,hft. 1 1906*.
[61] Kristian Hjulsager, ed., *Statistisk Årbog 1975*, vol. 79 (København, 1975), 247, https://www.dst.dk/Site/Dst/Udgivelser/GetPubFile.aspx?id=13350&sid=hele.

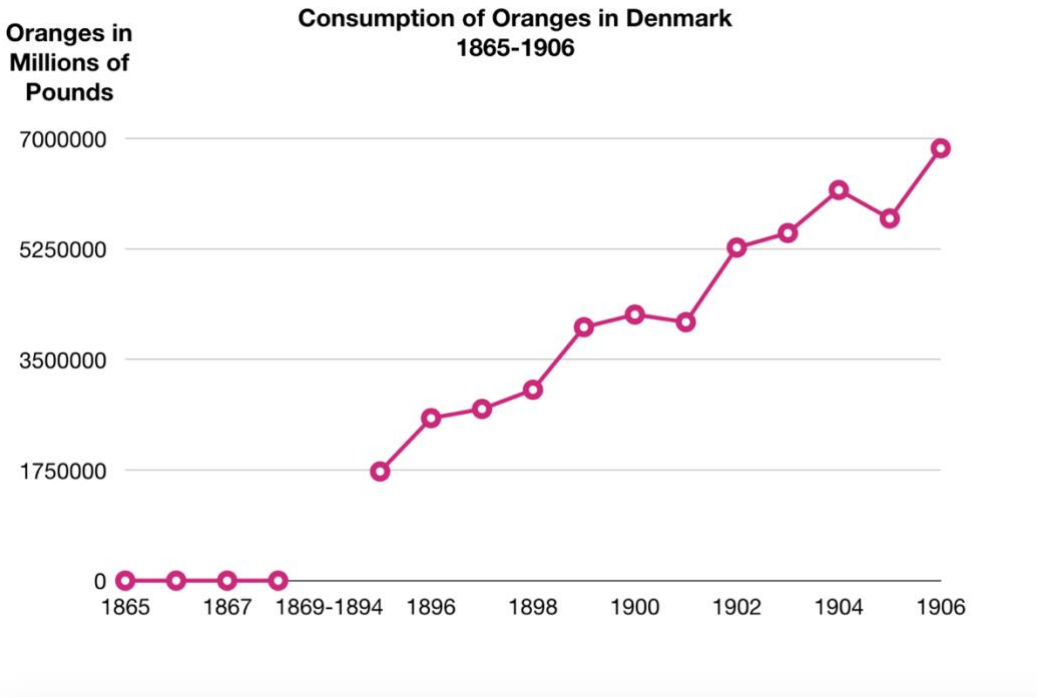

Fig. 2.1. Orange Consumption in Denmark 1865-1906.[62]

[62] Chart compiled on the basis of data from the following sources:
1865, 1866, 1867, 1868: Statistiske Meddelelser, 9. bd., 1870.
1895, 1. kvartal, 1896, 1. kvartal: Statistiske Meddelelser, 3 rk., 17. bd., 1. hft., 1896.
1895, 2. kvartal, 1896, 2. Kvartal: Statistiske Meddelelser, 3. rk., 17. bd., 2. hft., 1896.
1895 3. kvartal. 1896 3. Kvartal: Statistiske Meddelelser, 3. rk., 17. bd., 3. hft., 1896.
1895 4. kvartal. 1896. 4 kvartal: Statistiske Meddelelser, 3. rk., 17. bd., 9. hft., 1896.
1897 1. kvartal: Statistiske Meddelelser, 4. rk., 1. bd., 1. hft., 1897.
1897 2. kvartal: Statistiske Meddelelser, 4. rk., 1 bd., 2 hft., 1897.
1897 3. kvartal: Statistiske Meddelelser, 4. rk., 1. bd., 6. hft., 1897.
1897 4. kvartal: Statistiske Meddelelser, 4. rk., 2. bd., 6. hft., 1898.
1898: Statistiske Meddelelser, 4 rk., 9 bd., 2 hft., 1901.
1899: Statistiske Meddelelser, 4. rk., 9. bd., 2. hft., 1901.
1900: Statistiske Meddelelser, 4. rk., 9. bd., 2. hft., 1901.
1901: Statistiske Meddelelser, 4. rk., 12. bd., 6. hft., 1903.
1902: Statistiske Meddelelser, 4. rk., 12. bd., 6. hft., 1903.
1903: Statistiske Meddelelser, 4. rk., 17. bd., 4. hft., 1905.
1904: Statistiske Meddelelser, 4. rk., 17 bd., 4. hft., 1905.
1905: Statistiske Meddelelser, 4. rk., 23. bd., 1. hft., 1907.
1906: Statistiske Meddelelser, 4. rk., 23. Bd., 1. hft., 1907.

Oranges were one of the food-stuffs that Danish sailors encountered which neither peasants nor urban workers had access to on a regular basis, if at all. In their access to rare and exotic foods, they set themselves apart from other non-elites in Denmark. Their consumption of oranges marked them as people who had access to fine foods which were otherwise only reserved for the elites in Denmark.

Exotic fruits and vegetables had cultural capital in maritime communities in Denmark. Memoirs abound with examples of sailors who talk about eating exotic foods, suggesting that these episodes were important enough to remember and to relate. They stood out as significant components of life at sea. In Bahia, Brazil, for instance, Huus befriended people who had an orange grove. He remembered: "they had a large garden with orange trees, and we were allowed to pick as many oranges as we wanted."[63]

Oranges were not the only fruit which sailors encountered away from home. Winther gorged on pineapples, bananas, and other tropical fruits during a stay on Honolulu.[64] On the Orinoco River in Venezuela, P.H.C. remembers that local inhabitants approached the ship in canoes to sell sugar cane, lemons, and other fruits. In P.H.C.'s account, he says that locals sold "lemoner." The word for lemons that was in usage in Denmark at the time was the Franco-Danish "citroner." The fact that he doesn't use the Danish word suggested that he had developed a vocabulary at sea for a fruit which members of his own community on shore had limited access to. He could access this fruit through his mobility in the world. In Guayaquil, Ecuador, Nielsen's ship was also approached by local inhabitants in canoes who sold orange and bananas.[65] Bertel

[63] Huus, "En Sømands Rejseoplevelser," 31.
[64] Winther, "Hans Peter Winther's seks første rejser til Søs med sejlskibe, 1888-1897," 4.
[65] Nielsen, "Erindringer fra Sejlskibstiden," 1.

Clausen Jensen had coconuts and tropical fruits in Cổ Chiên, Vietnam.[66] In Cape Town, Jensen remembered eating large quantities of fresh grapes.[67]

Huus reports that in Brazil, he and the other crew ate tropical fruits such as oranges, pomegranates, bananas, pineapples, lemons, and limes. Huus says that they bought large bunches of green bananas which they roasted in a pan. His description of bananas suggests that he might have been talking about plantains instead of bananas, or at the very least have had both types of fruit. Huus furthermore suggested that pineapple was dangerous to eat for fever patients, and that under no circumstances should one drink water after eating a pineapple. Well-founded or not, Huus was giving authoritative opinions on the uses and dangers of a fruit which most of the Danish population had neither seen nor tasted at the time.

In Hong Kong, Nielsen went to look at the town. He saw both Chinese people and Europeans. The sailors often went ashore in Shanghai to get to know the city. Once, they went to a Chinese restaurant, where they had something which sounds like *dim sum*. Nielsen said: "We had up to ten different dishes, but the portions were small and our appetites were large, so we were able to eat all of the food."[68] The concept of dining on ten dishes would have been completely foreign to Danish peasants in the late nineteenth century, and can only have sounded like an absurdly enormous feast.

Proximity to Migrants and its Effect on "What it is Possible to Imagine"

Looking at trans-Pacific migration of primarily merchants and missionaries in the early-modern period, Luke Clossey argues that "transnational actors" are at the heart of the process of

[66] Clausen Jensen, "Erindringer fra hav og land," 17.
[67] Clausen Jensen, 19.
[68] Nielsen, "Erindringer fra Sejlskibstiden," 5.

globalization, and that paying attention to human agency in global processes allows us to see globalization as a localized process.[69] Clossey points to an aspect of migration and globalization which is often overlooked: Its effects on the imagination, the thoughts, and the dreams on people who have not migrated themselves, but who are in contact with migrants. Clossey sees this effect of globalization in Martín de Valencia, a Spanish missionary. He had planned to proceed to China, but ended up staying in Mexico. While in Mexico, he had a dream of sailing to China to convert the Chinese who, in his dream, were easier to convert to Christianity than the native Americans in New Spain.[70] This lead Clossey to ask, "How do we explain China being so close to Martín de Valencia in Mexico that it squeezes itself into his dreams?" Clossey arrives at a concept he calls "global consciousness," and it is central to his discussion of globalization. He suggests that missionaries in New Spain had an identity which was inseparable from this global consciousness. For early modern missionaries, global community was primarily defined through religious practice, and thus global Christianity was a central part of their own identity.[71]

Martin Østergaard's discussion of children playing on Marstal harbor involves precisely the type of global consciousness which Clossey points to in his study of missionaries in Mexico. Thinking back to his time as a child, one of Østergaard's sources recalls, "With all of its ships, Marstal harbor instilled a sense of adventure and conjured up imaginations of experiences from distant lands. Full of desire for adventure, we boys took it all in, and looked forward to our turn to experience the big world, which lay out there far away."[72] This is a recurring trend in memoirs

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[69] Luke Clossey, "Merchants, Migrants, Missionaries, and Globalization in the Early-Modern Pacific," *Journal of Global History* 1, no. 1 (March 2006): 57.
[70] Clossey, 49.
[71] Clossey, 57.
[72] Martin K. Østergaard, *Under fællesskabets sejl – partrederier, selvstændighed og maritim identitet i Marstal* (København: Kontaktudvalget for Dansk Maritime Historie- og Samfundsforskning, 2011), 87.

of sailors from this period. Albert Huus wrote, "As boys we spent all our free time by the water, both summer and winter. It was so wonderful for us boys when a ship returned home….especially if we were allowed to go onboard. There was often a biscuit or hardtack for us… What a marvelous sight when the big ships came home after long journeys to "the warmth," decorated with flags from top to bottom."[73] Captain Bertel Clausen Jensen expressed similar dreams and expectations about the big world which pre-dated his time at sea. Arriving at Ceylon, he said, "Now we had arrived at the destination of my dreams: The country with palm trees and spices. This was the land of abundance."[74] It was a global consciousness through contact with sailors which allowed Susanne Frølund, a resident of Fanø in the middle of the twentieth century, to tell me in an interview that as a child she imagined herself walking around the streets of Sydney, Australia when she was unable to fall asleep at night.[75]

Anton Dam, a sailor whose memoir has been preserved at Fanø Sognearkiv, said of his father, who was also a sailor, "He spoke English, German, and French fluently. He also mastered a little bit of Spanish. He knew all the big ports of the world as though they were his home."[76] Dam's description of his father speaks to the sense that other people had of sailors. In this section, Dam as a young boy is like H.C. Andersen's little tree in the forest, witnessing his father as a sailor roaming the wide world. Dam emphasizes that his father knew other languages and places, traits which speak to cross-community migration.

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[73] Huus, "En Sømands Rejseoplevelser," 2.
[74] Bertel Clausen Jensen, "Erindringer Fra Hav Og Land.," *Fanø Ugeavis 2823*, October 13, 1951, 54:2823 edition.
[75] Susanne Frølund, Interview, July 5, 2016.
[76] Anton Dam, "Erindringer fra Fanø" (Unpublished/self published, n.d.), 5, Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.

Sailors as Authors of European Travel Writing

Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* offers a useful lens through which to examine the memoirs of sailors from Sønderho, Nordby, and Fanø. European hegemony, which was constituted by colonial exploitation as well as by gendered and racial hierarchies, was felt by all Europeans who moved within the networks of empire in the nineteenth century. I include in this sailors from Sønderho, Nordby, and Fanø. In this respect, Pratt's *Imperial Eyes* is a useful analysis for looking at the travel writings of all Europeans in the nineteenth century.

But Pratt's analysis has functional limits, most of which she lays out in the work herself. She says, for instance,

> Perhaps one should be more specific about the terms: 'European' in this instance, refers above all to a network of literate Northern Europeans, mainly men from the lower levels of the aristocracy and the middle and upper levels of the bourgeoisie. 'Nature' meant above all regions and ecosystems which were not dominated by 'Europeans,'[77] while including many regions of the geographical entity known as Europe."[78]

'European' in Pratt's work belies a designation which is defined by race, class, and gender. In this dissertation, I use the term European without quotation marks as a geographical designation, and in accordance with Pratt, I use 'European' to refer to white, male, elite people from Europe.

As I work through the source-material for this chapter, one of my central questions is how to treat travel writings of sailors from Nordby, Sønderho, and Fanø. The literature on European travel writing is currently full of contradictions and debates. For example, although

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[77] "Europeans" in quotation marks will in this chapter refer to Europeans who are defined in terms of race, class and gender. They are, as Pratt defines them, "a network of literate Northern Europeans, mainly men from the lower levels of the aristocracy and the middle and upper levels of the bourgeoisie." Additionally, these men are white. Pratt does not specify their race, but it is clearly her assumption that northern European men in her writings are white.

[78] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed (London : New York: Routledge, 2008), 37.

Pratt's central arguments are insightful, they are also limited in scope, as I discuss above. So, should it be assumed that the travel writing of sailors (not members of the lower aristocracy or bourgeoisie, and not citizens or agents of an empire) are subsumed by the theoretical framework of Pratt's "Europeans"? Are "Imperial Eyes" handed down from elites to lower classes? Do "Imperial Eyes" transfer from men to women?

Scholars disagree on this issue. While Pratt is somewhat careful in her definition of the term 'European,' Edward Said was less careful. The publication of *Orientalism* was followed by vigorous debate about what constituted Europe and Europeans in Said's work.[79] Some scholars argued that Said had not differentiated between male and female Europeans, arguing that female Europeans were implicated in the process of Orientalism in ways that differed from the ways of their male counterparts. The voices of Europeans (people from Europe) rather than the voices of 'Europeans' (while, male, elite people from Europe) in this dissertation belong to working class sailors rather than to women. The literature on working class orientalism is dwarfed by the literature which has been written on gender and travel writing.[80] Gender and travel writing is

[79] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 25th Anniversary Edition (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).
[80]See for example Dea Birkett, *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers* (New York: Dorset Press, 2001); Dea Birkett, *Mary Kingsley: Imperial Adventuress* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992); Susan L. Blake, "A Woman's Trek: What Difference Does Gender Make?," *Women's Studies Int. Forum* 13, no. 4 (1990): 347–55; Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose, eds., *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*, Mappings (New York: Guilford Press, 1994); Mona Domosh, "Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 16, no. 1 (1991): 95–104; Shirley Foster, *Across New Worlds: Nineteenth-Century Women Travellers and Their Writings* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990); Katherine Frank, *A Voyager out: The Life of Mary Kingsley* (London ; New York : Distributed in the U.S. by Palgrave Macmillian: TPP, 2005); Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel, and the Ottoman Harem* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004); Billie Melman, *Women's Orients--English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918: Sexuality, Religion, and Work* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992); Margaret Strobel, *European Women and the Second British Empire* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).

therefore a useful entryway into thinking through issues of class and race in relationship to travel writing.

The reason for differentiating between 'Europeans' as standing for white, elite, imperialist, male, and European as a geographical designation has less to do with absolving anyone of the guilt of imperialism, as has been suggested, and more to do with finding limits and possibilities of resistance to imperialist discourse. On this issue, I think with Reina Lewis in *Rethinking Orientalism* (2004) when she gives her reasoning for trying to parse the Orientalisms of 'Europeans' and Europeans.

> After working on this book for some years, I found myself drafting this introduction during the second Gulf War, again chasing new and old stereotypes. In class, as during previous campaigns in the region, my students and I tried to piece together how best to understand the neo-Orientalisms that informed both pro- and anti-war rhetoric, as the American-led "coalition against terror" deployed the "forces of civilization" against a spectre of Islamic barbarism whose conceptualization was horribly repetitive in its inventive reframing of Orientalist knowledges.
>
> In these and other instances, the effects of what Gayatri Spivak (1985) terms the "epistemic violence" of imperialism and neo-colonialism link the contemporary situation to the sources in this book. Not just because familiarity with historical attitudes to the Orient and to women from Islamic societies can help trace the forms of contemporary prejudice, but because an understanding of how racialised subjects intervened in imperial and Orientalising discourses, even as they were positioned by them in the very forms of their cultural enunciation, can illuminate the possibilities and limitations of resistance.[81]

There is some disagreement in the literature on this issue. Elisabeth Oxfeldt asserts that,

> women's representations of the Orient make up an alternate discourse—or even a counterdiscourse—to the dominant, hegemonic (male) Orientalism. On the other side are those academics who maintain that the feminist discourse is subordinate to, and ultimately supports, the male, Orient-subjugating discourse.[82]

[81] Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism*, 1.
[82] Elizabeth Oxfeldt, *Journeys from Scandinavia. Travelogues of Africa, Asia, and South America, 1840-2000* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 33.

While Lewis and many other feminist geographers belongs to the former category, Pratt ultimately falls in the camp of the latter. Both Lewis and Pratt see differences between male and female discourses, but they differ on how to interpret those differences. In her discussion of Anna Maria Falconbridge, who went to West Africa with her husband Lord Falconbridge in 1791. Pratt says that,

> in contrast with objectivist discovery rhetoric, whose authority is monologic and self-contained, Falconbridge is resolutely dialectic, seeking out rather than defying local knowledge. Her subsequent discoveries, far from accruing the glory of European designs, give rise to a vehement critique of her husband, abolitionists, the Sierra Leone Company, and the British government.[83]

Ultimately, Pratt's argument is that, by its very difference, Falconbridge's discourse supports the male discourse:

> Falconbridge's rhetoric of disbelief, like her professed desire not to see, mocks the authority of Europe's mastering discourses which claim to wish to see and wish to know, but which only see what they wish to see and know what they wish to know. At the same time, in terms of the gender system, Falconbridge's rhetoric is less an antithesis to male rhetoric of discovery and possession than its exact complement, an exact realization of the other (Other) side of male values whose underpinnings its shares.[84]

Class is an important measure of positionality and privilege along with gender, but it is one which Pratt regrettably does not discuss in her analysis of the writings of Falconbridge. Falconbridge was married to Lord Falconbridge, which meant that she was an aristocratic, elite European. In her book chapter "Encounters with West African Women: Textual Representations of Difference by White Women Abroad," Cheryl McEwan discusses the travel writings of Mary Slessor, a Scottish Presbyterian missionary who came from the slums of Dundee. She lived in the

[83] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 102.
[84] Pratt, 103.

forests of southeastern Nigeria for almost forty years, between 1876 and 1915. Her writings did not take the form of a book, but she wrote letters, articles, and reports on her time in Nigeria. McEwan discusses Slessor's writings alongside the writings of Mary Kingsley, who was a travel writer and expert on West African affairs who spent 18 months in West Africa between 1893 and 1895, and Constance Larymore, the wife of a colonial administrator who travelled with her husband to Nigeria.

In her analysis of these three authors McEwan points to gender as a determining factor in the discourse which all three women produce. All three women gain access to areas of Nigerian life which was not permitted for white men, and all three women write with a perspective which differed from that of their male counterparts. Beyond gender, there was a remarkable difference in the way that each of the three women allied themselves with Nigerian women, and consequently the way in which they wrote about Nigeria. Slessor saw herself as part of the community. In her fight against the abuses of West African women, she allied herself with the wife of a prominent ruler. In other words, she showed solidarity with the women she met. In contrast, both Kingsley and especially Larymore maintained a much greater degree of detachment and distance. On account of her status and class, Larymore maintained a "'respectable' distance between herself and Africans," while Kingsley developed somewhat closer relationships with African women. Still, Kingsley's relationships with West African women was never as close as the relationships which West African women forged with Slessor, according to McEwan.[85]

[85] Cheryl McEwan, "Encounters with West African Women: Textual Representations of Difference by White Women Abroad," in *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*, ed. Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose, Mappings (New York: Guilford Press, 1994), 76–77.

Reina Lewis, too, argues for an analysis of travel writing which separates out the characteristics of "European" authorship in travel writing from that of all Europeans, based on distinguishing between the race, class, and gender of authors. For Lewis, it is possible to imagine an intellectual existence in Europe which is not tethered to the imperialist, elite, white, male intellectual existence. Her work looks at English language travel publications written by women which deal with the Ottoman Empire. The women in Lewis' study were, in her own words, connected through "ideological debate," which is suggestive of a kind of solidarity. These women were, like Falconbridge, dialectic in their knowledge production, in continuous conversation. The writings of Ottoman women and the "voices of Western women with whom they were in dialogue, illustrate how the West was never the sole arbiter and owner of meanings about the Orient."[86]

Billie Melman's work on travel writing emphasizes the role of travel in building solidarity across barriers. Melman argues that so-called Western women's travels and travel writings led to "self-criticism rather than cultural smugness and sometimes resulted in an identification with the other that cut across the barriers of religion, culture, and ethnicity. Western women's writings on "other" women then substitutes a sense of solidarity of gender for sexual and racial superiority."[87]

Looking specifically at the Scandinavian example, Elisabeth Oxfeldt joins the camp of Lewis, McEwan, Melman, and many others in seeing female discourse as an alternative to the male discourse rather than its complement. In *Journeys from Scandinavia: Travelogues of Africa, Asia, and South America* Oxfeldt looks at the travel writings of the Polish-born artist Elisabeth

[86] Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism*, 1–2.
[87] Melman, *Women's Orients--English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918,* 7–8.

Jerichau-Baumann, who married a Danish artist and took up residence in Denmark. Oxfeldt grapples with how to deal with Jerichau-Baumann, who is a peripheral figure in multiple ways. Jerichau-Baumann is more difficult to place within the power structure of empire than someone like, for instance, Peter Kolb, whose writings figure in Pratt's *Imperial Eyes.* Kolb was a Prussian mathematician who was sent to the Cape in 1706 to carry out scientific research by his Prussian patron. Kolb along with other writers in Pratt's work, are easier to place within the imperial hierarchy. They were some combination of white, male, elites working in an official capacity for a European empire. Jerichau-Baumann is more difficult to place. She was a woman from a country on the periphery of colonial powers. Moreover, Denmark was her adopted country rather than her native country.[88] Oxfeldt's conclusion about the travel writings of Jerichau-Bauman, is that they were not subsumed by imperial, male, Orientalism discourse. Rather, "…her unusual ethnic and cultural Polish-Danish background together with her unconventional artist role contributes to the discursive constraints that, in the end, leave us with a text serving as a revelatory, indirect critique of the late nineteenth century's discourses of Orientalism, nationalism, and feminism."[89] For Oxfeldt and other Scandinavians, the place of Scandinavia in the realm of nineteenth century empires remains complicated, and this complication is one of the many reasons to address the relative power and ideologies of travel writers in the late nineteenth-century based on origin, race, class, and gender.

Feminist geographers, literary critics, historians, and postcolonial scholars have argued for a nuanced approach to texts of European travel writers. This nuanced approach includes taking into account race, class, and gender in the discussion of the texts of travel writers. Most of

[88] Oxfeldt, *Journeys from Scandinavia. Travelogues of Africa, Asia, and South America, 1840-2000*, 34.
[89] Oxfeldt, 34.

the literature which distinguishes between European travel writers have focused on gender. Women's intellectual approaches to encounters with difference have therefore been discussed at length. In contrast, very little has been written on the intellectual lives of sailors, because very little evidence of their intellectual lives has survived. As I discuss in the introduction, cultural stereotypes about the brutishness of the sailor may have contributed to the lack of any attempt to rescue the intellectual history of this particular group. One notable exception to this is the work of Marcus Rediker and Peter Linebaugh, who in *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* take great care to suggest that sailors were human beings with the capacity for thought and intellectual life.

Eighteenth-century sailors occupied an unusual space within the discourse of empires. Rediker and Linebaugh liken them to the many-headed hydra, casting them as part of a group of unruly and difficult-to-control elements within early capitalist systems. They say that "Sailors, pilots, felons, lovers, translators, musicians, mobile workers of all kinds made new and unexpected connections, which variously appeared to be accidental, contingent, transient, even miraculous."[90] For them, sailors stood in opposition to workers of other kinds, because they were an "amorphous laboring class, set loose from traditional moorings of the peasantry [which] presented a new phenomenon to contemporaries."[91]

This position of marginality remained true in the late nineteenth century. Sailors were non-elites on the margins of Denmark. Maritime communities were on the literal borders of the

[90] Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000), 7.
[91] Joyce Appleby, *Economic Thought and Ideology in Seventeenth-Century England* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1978), 132; as quoted in Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000), 36.

nation state. Sailors were technically registered within the Danish nation, but their work happened almost entirely outside of the nation. Therefore, they were not fully within or outside of the grasp of nation states, nor were they fully acculturated to national customs. They spoke a variety of languages, often mixing languages together. They ate a variety of foods, and encountered global populations. They were the subjects of many judicial systems and criminal courts. They were outside the reach of the law of one single nation state. It is through their position on the margins of ordered society, and through their non-elite class status, that I will examine the travel writings of migrant sailors in this section.

Other scholars have noted the same position of marginality in relationship to states and modes of control. In *Black Jacks* Jeffrey Bolster argues that racial hierarchies which existed in the U.S. in the early nineteenth century did not extend completely to the maritime sphere. He suggests that racial inequities in the U.S. were based on economic exploitation, meaning slavery, and that this system did not exist for sailors. Bolster looks at sources from Dartmoor prison in which black and white sailors were imprisoned. He notes, "… in the prison yard at Dartmoor, white exploitation of black labor was absent; so, too, were white assertions of power such as slave codes, and dramatic inequities in material life."[92]

Julius Scott has similarly pointed to the maritime space as a space in which black people from across the Americas had opportunities that were denied them on land. They were, in other words, less controllable by landed systems of repression. In 1789, the autobiography of sailor Olaudah Equiano, a sailor and slave in the Caribbean, appeared in print. Equiano preferred the occupation over all others available to him. Life at sea allowed him to make money on the side

[92] W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail*, 1. Harvard Univ. Press paperback ed (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1998), 113.

through barter. He was also able to sell his labor to the highest bidder, like a free worker might. In his autobiography, Equiano says that he came to enjoy maritime labor, because it allowed him to "lose sight of the West Indies." As a sailor, Equiano was able to connect with people across the Caribbean. He knew people in Savannah, Georgia. He witnessed demonstrations over the repeal of the Stamp Act and he heard George Whitefield preach in Philadelphia.[93] Through his autobiographical work, an image emerges of an Afro-Caribbean network of knowledge that was constituted by maritime workers coming and going through port cities.

Equiano, along with two other Caribbean sailors and slaves by the names of Tom King and Newport Bowers, are the focus of the chapter "Afro-American Sailors and the International Communications Network: The Case of Newport Bowers." In this chapter, Scott argues that a network of knowledge and communication existed through maritime workers in the Caribbean. They were, in Scott's view, "vectors of experience and information in regional networks of communication."[94] Scott taps into the ways in which ships transported more than material goods in the context of the revolutionary Caribbean. He suggests that inhabitants of port towns paid very close attention when ships docked at the port. Sailors were the bearers of political news, and even the arrival of a ship itself could spark discussion of political events.[95] By Scott's account, multi-lingual sailors with international connections communicated their detailed knowledge of the course of the Haitian revolution to enslaved Africans in Curaçao.[96] Black seamen were, in the

[93] Julius S. Scott, "Afro-American Sailors and the International Communication Network: The Case of Newport Bowers," in *Jack Tar in History: Essays in the History of Maritime Life and Labour*. (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Acadiensis Press, 1991), 39.
[94] Scott, 40.
[95] Scott, 41–42.
[96] Scott, 47.

words of Scott, a "generation of mobile observers who passed their observations along the routes which they traveled."[97]

In *Imperial Eyes*, Pratt argues that ultimately the function of European travel writing was to give Europeans "at home" a sense of "ownership, entitlement, and familiarity with respect to distant parts of the world that were being explored, invaded, invested in, and colonized." They made citizens "at home" feel "part of a planetary project" and travel writing was therefore part of creating the "domestic subject" of empire. Travel writing was inscribed in creating an imperial order of the world, according to Pratt.[98] As I have laid out, there is a robust strand of scholarship which argues that not all European travel writing has the same purpose as the one which Pratt lays out. In the following section, I will show how I see sailors making sense of the world but without instilling a sense of "imperial order" in small maritime communities in Denmark, which did not consider themselves imperial subjects nor identify with European empires.

External Observers of Internal Allies?: How Sailors Related to Others in Cross-Cultural Encounters[99]

On the harbor of Macao, P.H.C. witnessed first-hand the capture of bonded laborers destined for Peru. As slavery was abolished during the course of the nineteenth century, parts of the world which had relied on slave labor faced labor shortages. Extension of cultivation and the development of the guano industry exacerbated the need for cheap labor. Peruvian elites preferred European immigrants for labor, but failed to attract them. Europeans went in larger

[97] Scott, 51.
[98] Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 3.
[99] This subtitle borrows from McEwan, "Encounters with West African Women: Textual Representations of Difference by White Women Abroad," 76. who poses the same question about the meetings between British and West African women.

numbers to the U.S., Australia, and Argentina, where they were promised land. Peru was not offering land or equal standing, but was looking for cheap laborers. Slavery was abolished in Peru in 1856. This made wealthy Peruvian elites turn towards Asia in search of workers.[100]

In 1849, wealthy Peruvian grape and cotton grower Domingo Elias, in cooperation with a business partner, imported 75 workers from China, marking the onset of the labor transportation from China to Peru. The "coolie trade" was lucrative for those who captured and exported workers, as the price ran around $30 per new bonded laborer. Between 1847 and 1874, between a quarter and a half a million Chinese laborers were shipped across the Pacific. They came mainly from Macao on private Portuguese merchant ships and to a somewhat lesser degree from Hong Kong on British merchant ships. A smaller number of laborers were shipped from Canton and Amoy. They were brought to Cuba, Chile, Peru, and the Sandwich Islands. The origins of the workers varied, but a portion of them were captured on harbors and by the shore. They were often unfortunate dockworkers or fishermen who happened to be alone or vulnerable to capture. The captives, often illiterate, were made to sign contracts for a seven or eight-year period of work. An estimated 11 percent of the Chinese bonded laborers did not survive the trans-pacific crossing.[101]

The "coolie trade" occupied the space of public discourse globally. Abolitionist movements were deeply critical of the coolie trade, as it was an extension of slavery by another name. Debates in the nineteenth century around the trade gave rise to an argument for a complete ban on Chinese immigration to the U.S. Proponents of Chinese exclusion argued that the imported laborers in California were nothing short of slaves. Others, however, were reluctant to

[100] D. Hollett, *More Precious than Gold: The Story of the Peruvian Guano Trade* (Madison [NJ]: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008), 143.
[101] Hollett, 152–54.

accept even the suggestion that the workers were unwillingly brought to the U.S. and maintained that Chinese workers came to California by their free will, calling them immigrants, not coolies. "Coolies," it was argued, were shipped to the Caribbean or to South America, not the U.S. This controversy played out in national publications.[102]

New Jersey physician Edgar Holden's article on the trade appeared in *Harper's Magazine* in June 1864. Holden was an outspoken critic of the trade, which he had witnessed first-hand: "Gigantic outrages have been enacted; but more than this, an old form of slavery has been instituted under a new name, and many a deluded Coolie is to-day under a more hopeless and terrible bondage than the African from the Gaboon."[103] Imperialist Europeans recognized that the trade reinforced the predominant racial hierarchies in Europe. English geographer Clement R. Markham, for instance, argued in an article for the *Geographical Magazine* in 1874 that there was a vital difference between coerced labor and slave labor, and that Peruvian elites ought to be congratulated on their fine treatment of the bonded laboring class.[104]

P.H.C.'s ship was docked at Macao at the same time as a transport ship to Peru was loading impressed Chinese laborers. He was keenly aware of the political context of what he saw. He knew about the capture of Chinese workers, he knew where they were being sent, and why. He also knew about the political conditions in Peru to which the bondsmen were going. P.H.C.'s knowledge of the conditions around the trade reinforces the sense that sailors were not passive or indifferent observers. They bore witness to what they saw, and they observed and recorded injustice and exploitation.

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[102] Moon-Ho Jung, "Outlawing 'Coolies': Race, Nation, and Empire in the Age of Emancipation," *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (September 2005).
[103] Edgar Holden, "A Chapter on the Coolie Trade," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* XXIX, no. CLXIX (June 1864).
[104] Hollett, *More Precious than Gold,* 144.

The kind of language P.H.C. used to describe the capture of Chinese laborers suggests that he was not engaging in the wider abolitionist debate of the time. His vocabulary differs from that found in any other accounts ranging from present-day histories such as Hollet's *More Precious than Gold* to contemporary discussions of the coolie trade. P.H.C. referred to the ship that transported workers from Macao to Peru as a "robber ship" because it was a ship whose sole purpose was to transport people who had been stolen or robbed from their communities. He did not employ the euphemistic terms in common use at the time, such as "transport ship" or "refurbished clipper" to refer to the ships that transported captured people from Macao. The difference in vocabulary here suggests an internal political logic which was separate from elite European spheres of discourse. P.H.C. observed the event which was discussed by Markham and Holden, but employed a separate logic and used a different vocabulary and perspective, which suggests that his political thinking was not derived from that of contemporary debates among cultural and political elites.

In his account, P.H.C. noted the presence of the coolie ship. He observed how the ship's crew forcibly dragged Chinese men onboard the ship and how the Chinese dock workers were terrified of the menacing robber ship which was there to steal human beings. The guano shipping from Peru was at its height in the 1860s, P.H.C. noted, and in order to have enough labor, ships were sent out to snatch people who were then forced to work in the guano industry.[105] P.H.C. saw how the Chinese workers on the docks of Macao were terrified of the crew from the robber-ships, and how they would not go out on the docks alone at night. Some laborers were coerced or tricked into boarding the ships, while others were brutally dragged onboard. P.H.C. noted that the Peruvian economy was entirely dependent on this forced labor, suggesting his awareness of

[105] "P.H.C. Erindringer," April 1902, Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.

the political issue at hand. Finally, he concluded: "Actually, it was quite strange that in this century, the same robbery could take place for years without any of the so-called civilized states finding the mandate to act against it."[106]

In his writings on the coolie trade in the nineteenth century, P.H.C. notes that the civilized/uncivilized dichotomy was a sham. So-called civilized people were responsible for outrageously uncivilized behavior. P.H.C. saw this with his own eyes, and expressed an opinion which tended towards radical in the context of his home country, in which the public exhibitions of so-called uncivilized peoples were popular. P.H.C.'s writings show a failure to buy into the imperialist rhetoric of civilized Europeans vs. uncivilized people elsewhere. His discussion of the incivility of Europeans in their committal of forcible removal of people from the docks of Macao is suggestive of solidarity with the impressed laborers rather than with the imperial system.

Opium Smoking

In Beijing, P.H.C. saw numerous opium dens, which had cropped up around China largely as a result of the British Opium Wars in the middle of the nineteenth century. P.H.C.'s account is littered with essentializing, racist language, which suggests that he did not appreciate the full implications of what he was seeing. He did not talk about the Opium Wars or the Era of Unequal Treaties, but it is noteworthy that he had first-hand experience of the effects of these events, even if he did not articulate his observations in the language of causes and consequences.

P.H.C. was hired onboard a ship which was sailing in East Asia. The ship loaded rice, camphor, and other cargo for "the Chinese government" on the north coast of Taiwan. Onboard the ship from Tamsui, Taiwan, to Tianjin, a suburb of Beijing, was "a mandarin and his staff."

[106] "P.H.C. Erindringer."

P.H.C.'s account of the opium smoking is an explicit example of his own experience of cross-community migration in which he traversed linguistic and cultural boundaries. He wrote:

> The Chinese on board enjoyed life. They smoked opium, ate pork, and drank a kind of mead, which they call "samsu." Many people seem to be of the impression that opium is smoked in the same way as tobacco on a water pipe, but this is not the case. For a Chinese person to smoke this substance, he must have a pleasant place to lie down, a small lamp, and a pipe. The pipe consists of a piece of tubing with a wooden head which is slightly smaller than a cork. It has a small hole. When he starts, he takes a small box of opium, which looks like brown tar, dips a needle into the box such that a small head the size of a pea forms on the needle. Then the opium is heated over a lamp until it hardens. It is put into the hole of the pipe, where it is fastened. The Chinese person inhales deeply through the pipe and smokes until he passes into a blissful sleep with beautiful dreams.[107]

This description contains conflicting messages. On the one hand, its tone of objectivity trends towards imperialist travel writing which authoritatively sought to understand, order, and ultimately subjugate the globe.[108] This tone is possibly P.H.C.'s attempt at establishing authority as an author. On the other hand, there are details in this account that suggest he had been engaged very closely with Chinese opium smokers. His knowledge of the softness of the beds, to the intricate and detailed descriptions of the implements used in opium smoking, to his description of the "blissful sleep with beautiful dreams" all point an intimacy between P.H.C. and the opium smoker(s) he encountered. McEwan poses the question of her women travel writers: "External observers or internal allies?" In spite of his tone meant to convey objectivity, he shows an element of being close to the person(s) he is writing about. He shows a closeness and a familiarity with the people he was writing about. He describes what opium smoking feels like to the opium smoker, rather than identifying it from the outside. He is sympathetic to the

[107] P.H.C., "Den Gamle Skibsfører Fortæller," 5.
[108] See Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*. Chapter 2

smoker in his descriptions and the fact that he takes care to describe what the practice of opium smoking is like for the opium smoker, rather than what it looks like to the observer, points to a dialectic mode of knowledge production, similar to the modes of knowledge production that both McEwan and Lewis point to.

Human Exhibitions in European Zoos

The historiography of global encounters in the nineteenth century is characterized by European hegemony through colonialism and its intellectual companions: Scientific racism and racially motivated exploitation. Denmark did not have significant colonial holdings in the nineteenth century, but intellectual strands of colonialism nevertheless reached Copenhagen. One of the clearest examples of intellectual colonialism in Denmark were widely popular exhibits of human beings in the Copenhagen Zoo.

Carl Hagenback, owner of the zoo in Hamburg, was one of the first Europeans to suggest the scheme of exhibiting "exotic" peoples on a mass scale. Along with human beings, Hagenbeck also imported large numbers of exotic animals to Europe. Hagenbeck's exhibitions made their way through London, Paris, Copenhagen, and other European cities. Between 1878 and 1909 there were 33 exhibitions of "exotic people" in Denmark. Most of these were in Copenhagen, but some went on tours of the nation. The exhibitions advertised the following exhibitions: "Nubians, Laplanders, Sioux Indians, Cannibals, Gold Coast Caravan, Negro Caravan, Singhalese, Blacks, Bedouins, Dinkas (East Africa), Samoans, The Harem, Singhalese dwarfs, Indians and cowboys, Amazons, Birmans (Burmese), Shantis, Senegambians, Mahdi's

warriors, Kirghiz, Circassians, Chinese, Japanese, Malabars, Colonial exhibition, and Abyssinians."[109]

The exhibitions of people revolved around the "authentic" daily life of the people on exhibit. A Saami family was on exhibit in Hamburg Zoo for three months. They had been brought to Hamburg along with a herd of reindeer and performed tasks of daily life such as lassoing and milking the animals. The representation of Saami was part of a European stereotype which held that "exotic" peoples were primitive and generally lived in harmony with nature.[110] Exhibit goers had a sense that they were seeing "the real world" as it would have looked if they had travelled to the homes of the people on exhibit. At the same time, the exhibit goers did not have to relinquish power in the meeting of people from other cultures. They maintained the upper hand, and did not leave their own sphere of dominance to meet "the other."

The exhibits were hugely popular. On a Sunday in 1901, around 18,000 people visited Copenhagen Zoo to see an exhibition of the "brown exotic," a group of people who had just arrived from India. The group consisted of 25 Indian men, women, and children. They were on display alongside animals at the zoo. Rikke Andreassen estimates that somewhere between 100,000 and 200,000 people visited each exhibit. The total population of Denmark in the late nineteenth century was around 2.5 million, of whom 500,000 lived in Copenhagen.[111] A very large portion of the capital's residents visited the exhibit. These exhibitions had cultural traction and were widely known and talked about.

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[109] Rikke Andreassen, "The Exotic as Mass Entertainment: Denmark 1878-1909," *Race & Class* 45, no. 2 (October 1, 2003): 25.
[110] Andreassen, 23–24.
[111] Andreassen, 26.

The exhibitions were popular among scientists as well as a mass audience. In the nineteenth century, scientists were occupied with questions around whether humans originated from one species or, as the Bible said, from three different races. Andreassen's research shows that there were interactions between the men on exhibit and Danish women. Specifically, several Danish women were engaged to men who were part of the exhibitions. These connections caused a great deal of anxiety in Copenhagen, specifically around miscegenation. If essential traits of the human character were determined by race, then hybridity was a threat to racial hierarchy.[112] Informed by the work of Laura Ann Laura Stoler, France Gouda, Londa Schiebinger, Anne McClintock, Donna Haraway, and others, Andreassen argues that the "exhibitions can be understood as a collective attempt to control and narrate a hierarchical world order." Furthermore, these exhibits should be seen as the "White European man's attempt to impose control over both European and non-European women's sexuality." [113]

Sailors, however, learned about other cultures in a way that contrasted with viewing people exhibited in the zoo or the "Chinese Village" in Tivoli. N.M. Toftgaard Nielsen, for example, learned about Chinese culture through direct experience. He attended a wedding in Menado, Indonesia, around 1896, which he reported on with interest. The married couple were both from wealthy Chinese families. The captain of Nielsen's ship had been invited to the wedding, and sailors were allowed to observe the proceedings at a distance. Nielsen remembered the loud music from multiple instruments, which contrasted significantly with the subdued weddings which were typical in his home region in Jutland.[114] Nielsen reports that he felt very

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[112] Rikke Andreassen, "Representations of Sexuality and Race at Danish Exhibitions of 'Exotic' People at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 20, no. 2 (June 2012): 126–47.
[113] Andreassen, 23.
[114] Nielsen, "Erindringer fra Sejlskibstiden," 4.

lucky to have been invited as a guest. The privilege of taking part in the celebration of a marriage so far from home and in a context that differed from his own was not lost on him. He recalled the event without any of the pretense of objective description which characterizes P.H.C.'s account of opium smoking. On the contrary, being a guest at a Chinese wedding in Menado was a personal honor for Nielsen. In contrast with exhibit-goers in Copenhagen, Nielsen reported a closeness to the people he observed and wrote about, engaging in cross-cultural exchange on the terms of the people he encountered. This differs from the exhibits in Copenhagen, where encounters were saturated with discourse of subjugation and literal confinement. Nielsen exhibited the "closeness" to his subjects which is central to McEwan when she asks, "External observers or internal allies?"

Similar closeness and sentiments of solidarity crops up throughout many memoirs. The sailors described what they saw, but they were not imperialist observers. The recurrent theme is that they paid attention to social inequities and personal experiences in what they saw and wrote about. P.H.C. was on a ship sailing the Orinoco river in the late nineteenth century. The villages on the river were inhabited in part by African workers. According to P.H.C., they would often carry water from the river to the town. Each water bearer had a donkey, which could carry two barrels of water on its back. On the landing where the workers filled their barrels with water, there was a constant bustle. People were singing and clapping, and washer women were doing their work and gossiping. On the other side of the river was the original settlement of

> the original inhabitants of the area, the Indians. These people lived a peaceful existence, and many of them made a living by cutting and transporting fresh grass to the village on the other side of the river in their canoes. Further up the river was a larger settlement of Indians. Once we saw them sailing on the river in their war-canoe. A war-canoe is made from a large tree trunk which has been hollowed out and it easily seats 25 to 30 people.[115]

[115] P.H.C., "Den Gamle Skibsfører Fortæller," 3.

On the Orinoco River in Venezuela, P.H.C. encountered local inhabitants who were eager to sell fruits and vegetables to the sailors. The ship docked at a small village in a clearing on the banks of the river. He noted that

> the inhabitants came out of their huts. All were dressed in white or bright colors. Because of their dark skin, the bright colors of their clothing were all the more vibrant. Everyone came down to the banks of the river and soon they came up to the ship in canoes. They brought sugar cane, lemons, and other good things which were traded with them for salt meat and hardtack.[116]

P.H.C. met the people on the Orinoco River as trading partners, principally exchanging food.

When sailors met new people, they seem to have been willing to take risks for the sake of their new friendships. In one example, P.H.C. and his comrades helped their new friends fend off an angry crowd of attackers. Sailing from Macao, P.H.C.'s ship docked in Sual in the Philippines. While the natural harbor of Sual was spacious, the town itself was made up of only a few bamboo huts and a church. After sermons on Sundays, the priest of the church arranged cockfights. The crew of the ship made friends with the local inhabitants, a friendship which was aided by giving the villagers tobacco. While in Sual, P.H.C. and the rest of the crew were witnesses to local political unrest. An angry group of people from the inland came to town, armed with clubs and spears. The local priest asked the help of the crew, which the they were willing to provide. They went to the ship to fetch rifles and bayonets, but when they returned the attackers had left.[117]

While P.H.C. was in Sual, an American ship was docked in the same harbor, possibly a navy vessel. American sailors had a different approach to interaction with local residents. According to P.H.C., when Americans wanted pork-roast, they simply stole a swine from a

[116] P.H.C., 3.
[117] P.H.C., "Den Gamle Skibsfører Fortæller."

villager. If a villager pursued the thieving sailor, he would be met with a rain of bullets by the crew of the American ship. The American approach suggests a separate moral code which the Fanø sailors noticed because it contrasted starkly with their own. The two crews had different strategies for navigating the globe and its people. They engaged in cross-cultural exchanges on different terms.

P.H.C. was onboard a ship which sailed on the eastern coast of Africa, after unloading cargo in a place which P.H.C. refers to as Marka.[118] According to P.H.C., the ship sailed to Ethiopia, the Brava, Somalia, where they picked up "a good deal of Arab passengers for Zanzibar." In Zanzibar, a member of the ship's crew died and "was lowered into the ocean. On this occasion, the Arabs were very interested in watching the proceedings, to see how this custom was carried out. The flag was put on half-staff and we moved the body overboard."[119]

Encounters with African American Sailors

Sailor Albert Huus wrote about his time in Marseilles:

> Marseille is on the coast, a large and pretty town. Many ships of all nations docked in the harbor. We happened to dock next to a Greek schooner, which was loaded with wine and currants. Often we handed a bucket over to them, which they filled with wine or with currants. The crew was allowed to drink as much wine as they wanted. It was genuine grape-wine, which did not cause drunkenness, but which strengthened our fever-ravished bodies.
>
> I often went ashore with the others. We went to a restaurant which was frequented by other sailors, among them black sailors from an American ship, which sang many beautiful tunes in harmony. Previously I had the impression that black people were treated like slaves, but here I had another impression. They were very nicely and fashionably dressed and carried themselves just as well as other people. The English that Jim had taught me was useful, since I could take part in a conversation with them. In Marseille, I got to see the lovely nature and vibrant life. We took on a load for Rio

[118] Possibly Merca, Somalia.
[119] P.H.C., "Den Gamle Skibsfører Fortæller," 2.

> Grande, and acquired two Greeks instead of the two men who had to stay in the hospital.[120]

In relationship to McEwan's question "external observers or internal allies?"[121] Huus positioned himself closer to "internal ally" in this section. He built a friendly relationship with the black sailors to bridge a gap in the misunderstanding he had previously held about the conditions of African American workers. Similar to other sailors in encounters with people across cultures, Huus seems preoccupied with the material conditions and the working conditions of the people he met.

Earlier in his life, Huus had another encounter which formed his understanding of African American maritime life. He carried this understanding with him until Marseilles. The first time Huus encountered African American sailors, he was just a young boy in Svendborg in the south of Funen. An American ship had docked near a place where Huus and his friends used to play. The ship had a large number of African American sailors. One of the crew members had been up in the rigging and when he came down, an officer met him on the deck with the end of a rope and beat him senseless. The sailor screamed as he was beaten and finally he passed out on the deck. Huus reflected that when an officer would treat his men thus in a dock, then the horrors of brutality must reach greater heights at sea.[122] In light of his boyhood experience, his meeting with African American sailors in Marseilles forms part of a longer trajectory of learning about other cultures, peoples, and their conditions over a lifetime. It is also part of a larger trend of interest among sailors in the working and living conditions of people they met.

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[120] Huus, "En Sømands Rejseoplevelser," 19.
[121] McEwan, "Encounters with West African Women: Textual Representations of Difference by White Women Abroad," 76.
[122] Huus, "En Sømands Rejseoplevelser," 6.

Working Class Solidarity

The sailors exhibited several instances of explicit working-class solidarity. The ship *Elisabetha* transported a load of bone ash from Pelotas in southern Brazil to Runcorn, a town near Liverpool in England. *Elisabetha* was docked in Runcorn for a while, waiting for a fresh load of cargo, and Nielsen took the opportunity to go ashore. He said, "I often went to the theatre, and thereby I learned quite a bit of high-English which was a good supplement of my ship-English."[123] Miners in Runcorn invited Nielsen into their homes. Nielsen commented that the homes were not fancy and that the miners "didn't make much more money than just to cover the day-to-day essentials."[124] In this memoir, Nielsen describes how he met hardworking people and tried to learn their language.

In navigating relationships with foreigners, the sailors navigated delicate interpersonal relationships in the context of larger geopolitical affairs. *Elisabetha* was docked in Runcorn during the Boer War. Nielsen remembers some difficulty in engaging with Englishmen during their stay, as the sailors were much more sympathetic to the Boers than to the English. "We had to be careful what we said," Nielsen remembers. "In the beginning of the war, the English were boastful, suggesting that the Boer War was a lunch that would quickly be eaten. We couldn't help it but tell them that their lunch might be much longer than they expected."[125]

Valdemar Petersen, who was hired on an English steamer in the aftermath of World War I, remembers sailing through the Strait of Gibraltar and seeing the remnants of torpedoed ships in the water. After they loaded cargo in Genoa, the ship sailed down the Italian coast, past Sicily,

[123] Nielsen, "Erindringer fra Sejlskibstiden."
[124] Nielsen.
[125] Nielsen, 7.

and St. Paul's Bay on Malta. There Petersen fell forty feet down into the cargo hull and broke his right leg. Thus immobilized, he needed help. The ship sailed down the Suez Canal and arrived in Port Said, where an "Arab boy cut my hair off in exchange for a pair of pants, since I didn't have any money." Later, two "Arab boys" transported Valdemar Petersen on a stretcher to the nearest English hospital in Port Said. [126]After Valdemar Petersen was out of hospital in Port Said, he took up temporary lodgings in a Greek boardinghouse, where "the worst elements from all around the world congregated. This was one of the most terrifying times in my life, but fortunately, an Afro-Portuguese man protected me from the people I was subject to."[127] Pedersen's memoir suggests a dependence on the cooperation of people across cultural boundaries. He depended on assistance when he was injured, and on protection when he was vulnerable, from strangers.

Conclusion

As cross-cultural migrants, sailors experienced rich and varied aspects of the globe. They met people from cultures that were different than their own, who spoke other languages, and ate other food. Sailors witnessed politically significant events such as the shipment of bonded laborers from Macao to Peru. They experienced other types of societal structures through their often first-hand accounts with criminal justice systems around the world. They became familiar with the immense diversity of plants and animals on the planet. They saw animals that were not native to their own region, they ate foods that were not available in the north, and they saw other types of

[126] Petersen, "Episoder fra en sømands liv," 7.
[127] Petersen, 8.

trees and vegetation. As cross-cultural migrants, sailors subsequently had a disproportionately large effect in shaping ideas in their home communities.

Sailors engaged with the world through their status as working class individuals. They were white, which afforded them privilege as they moved through the world. At the same time, the memoirs of sailors show that they were consistently interested in observing and reporting on the social conditions of the people which they met. Their engagements showed that they were afforded greater closeness to the people which they met than an elite-traveler might have experienced.

CHAPTER THREE

Deputy Husbands and Deputy Wives: The Blurring of Gender in Maritime Communities

Maritime history has traditionally focused almost exclusively on male labor at sea. The lack of focus on women in the maritime context is a serious oversight. In the words of Helen Doe, "The artificial division between ships and the shore not only isolates women in the community, but also the shore-based functions managed by men or women without which no ship or seaman could remain afloat."[1] Prominent works in the field of social maritime history such as Marcus Rediker's *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750* and B.R. Burg's *Sodomy and the Perception of Evil: English Sea Rovers in the Seventeenth Century* have been critiqued for their narrow male focus.[2] N.A.M. Rodger points out that Rediker's "'Anglo-American maritime world' is necessarily a world in which the men have no escape from their capitalist oppressors, and the ships never come into port."[3] Some of the most notable works which have pushed back against the isolation of male labor at sea in maritime histories include Lisa Norling's *Captain Ahab had a Wife* and Hanna Hagmark-Cooper's *To be a Sailor's Wife*.[4] While both of these works are valuable contributions to the field because they draw our attention to the fact that women have a part to

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[1] Helen Doe, *Enterprising Women and Shipping in the Nineteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009), 36.
[2] Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea. Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).; B. R. Burg, *Sodomy and the Perception of Evil: English Sea Rovers in the Seventeenth-Century Caribbean* (New York: New York University Press, 1983).
[3] N.A.M. Rodger, "Roundtable: Reviews of Daniel Vickers with Vince Walsh, Young Men and the Sea," *International Journal of Maritime History* 17, no. 2 (December 2005): 336.
[4] Lisa Norling, *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women and the Whalefishery, 1720-1870* (North Carolina: University of North Caroline Press, 2000); Hanna Hagmark-Cooper, *To Be a Sailor's Wife* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Pub, 2012).

play in maritime history, they mostly look at women in maritime communities in isolation from male labor.

The isolation of men at sea has been particularly prevalent among academic historians, while older enthusiast histories of maritime communities have written the stories of sailors and communities together as a whole.[5] Within the field of maritime history, historians are beginning to consider the implications of looking at maritime communities as a whole, which is what I also do in this dissertation. I argue that neither sphere makes any sense in isolation. Male labor at sea was entirely dependent on community labor on land. Community labor was done by both men and women, but the absence of male sailors meant that women made up a majority of the community on land at any given time, and also that they made up the overwhelming majority of the sailors' land-based households when the men were away. In my holistic approach to maritime communities, I follow in the footsteps of Daniel Vickers' *Young Men and the Sea* which is a survey of maritime communities both on land and at sea.[6] I also lean on the works of Ruth Wallis Herndon and Lisa Norling in *In Men, Wooden Women. Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700-1920.*[7]

Disproportionate attention has been paid to women in the age of sail who went to sea, which suggests that women's work is more interesting when it looks like male work.[8] Stark looks

[5] See for instance *Fanøs Historie* (1933) by N.M. Kromann
[6] Daniel Vickers and Vince Walsh, *Young Men and the Sea: Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).
[7] Margaret S. Creighton and Lisa Norling, eds., *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700-1920*, Gender Relations in the American Experience (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).
[8] See for instance Suzanne J. Stark, *Female Tars: Women Aboard Ship in the Age of Sail* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2017); Joan Druett, ed., *"She Was a Sister Sailor". The Whaling Journals of Mary Brewster 1845-1851* (Connecticut: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1992); Basil Greenhill and Ann Giffard, *Women under Sail. Letters and Journals Concerning*

at the British Navy, and although there are critiques to be made of her approach to maritime history, her work makes an important contribution.[9] She argues for a nuancing of our understanding of the ship as an exclusively male space. She argues that,

> The British Royal Navy in the Age of Sail—ruler of the waves and protector of the world's largest empire—has always been accounted a strictly male preserve, Britain's strongest bastion of male exclusivity. The belief was ancient and ubiquitous that women had no place at sea….Despite...superstitious prohibition, there were women living and working in naval ships from the late seventeenth century to the middle of the nineteenth, although their presence onboard was officially ignored and even hidden.[10]

The largest group of women onboard English ships in the age of sail were prostitutes who "shared the quarters of the crew on the lower deck whenever a ship was in port."[11] The second largest group were officers' wives who sailed with their husbands, and the third largest group were women in drag.[12] The biggest problem with Stark's argument about women onboard ships is that it only accounts for a small minority of female maritime experiences, and that it joins the ranks of works that focus on women who act like men. In order to understand how the vast majority of women figured in maritime communities and maritime life, maritime communities themselves must figure into the picture. A holistic approach to gendered labor in the field of maritime history requires that we adopt the broadest possible definition of what maritime history is. I take my cue from Frank Broeze's seminal article, in which he says,

> One of the major problems of maritime history is its very name and some very fundamental misconceptions that have arisen from it. Many people, and not only outside the field, believe that maritime history is all about ships and navigation, and about nothing else… By contrast, in my view, and in the policy which our Association from its foundation has been keen to promote, maritime history should be understood as broadly

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Eight Women Travelling or Working in Sailing Vessels between 1829 and 1949 (South Brunswick and New York: Great Albion Books, 1972).

[9] Stark, *Female Tars: Women Aboard Ship in the Age of Sail*.

[10] Stark. p. ix

[11] Stark. p. x

[12] Stark. p. x

> as possible. It is, of course, based on the use of the sea by humans, but beyond that is concerned with everything related to that use of the sea, everything that leads to that use, and everything that derives from that use or is significantly influenced by it. For example, if one is dealing with merchant shipping, it should not only be about the construction of the ship and the navigation from port to port, but also about the ship owners and their business management and political activities, the commodities that are carried and the consumption and production these represent, the importers and exporters with their bankers, the port city industrialization these commodities and merchants stimulate, the seafarers with their living standards and trade unions etc., etc.,[13]

Hanna Hagmark-Cooper discusses the history of sailors' wives on Åland in the northern Baltic in the twentieth century. Hagmark-Cooper's inquiry is centered on the experience of sailors' wives. The organizing principle of the book is the patterns of sailor labor on Åland, which suggests a narrative centered around male patterns of life: There is a section for the preparation for departure, a section for the absence, a section for preparing for the homecoming of the husband, and a section for the period at which the husband was home. She relates a story which is common on Åland in which a woman goes to the grocery store with her sailor husband. She procures everything she needs and heads home again but has a nagging feeling that she has forgotten something. After much thought, she realizes that she has forgotten her husband at the grocery store. She returns to fetch him, and finds him walking around the aisles of the store somewhat lost and confused. In other versions of the story, the couple go to the cinema or the theater, but the point of the story is always the same.[14] The wife doesn't take much notice of whether her husband is with her or not. Hagmark-Cooper argues that this local trope speaks to the independence of the sailors' wives. It shows that they were accustomed to being on their own.

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[13] See p. 13 of the introduction to this dissertation as well as Frank Broeze, "From the Periphery to the Mainstream: The Challenge of Australia's Maritime History," *The Great Circle* 11, no. 1 (1989): 1–2.

[14] Hagmark-Cooper, *To Be a Sailor's Wife*, 9.

Gender Imbalances in the Community

This chapter focuses on gender in maritime communities. It looks at constructions of both masculinity and femininity through examining the history of gendered labor, power, and responsibilities. The study of men and masculinity is as elucidating as the study of women for the understanding of gendered spaces and power. Based on the census records from 1890, I have quantified the gender imbalance in Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal. In two respects, women were a stronger presence in the home community than men. Firstly, the women outnumbered men in the total count of all members belonging to the community in the 1890 census. This number includes both those who were present at the time of the census and those who were absent. Secondly, looking at the community members who were present at the time of the census, women outnumbered men even more significantly. Statistically, women outnumbered men on a national level as well. The statistics demonstrate that compared to the national level, the maritime communities present an even more skewed gender representation. Chapter one demonstrates that the rate of marriage among sailors was high. Most sailors would be married at some point during their lives. The high rate of marriage among sailors meant that there was also a high rate of women in maritime communities whose husbands were away at sea.

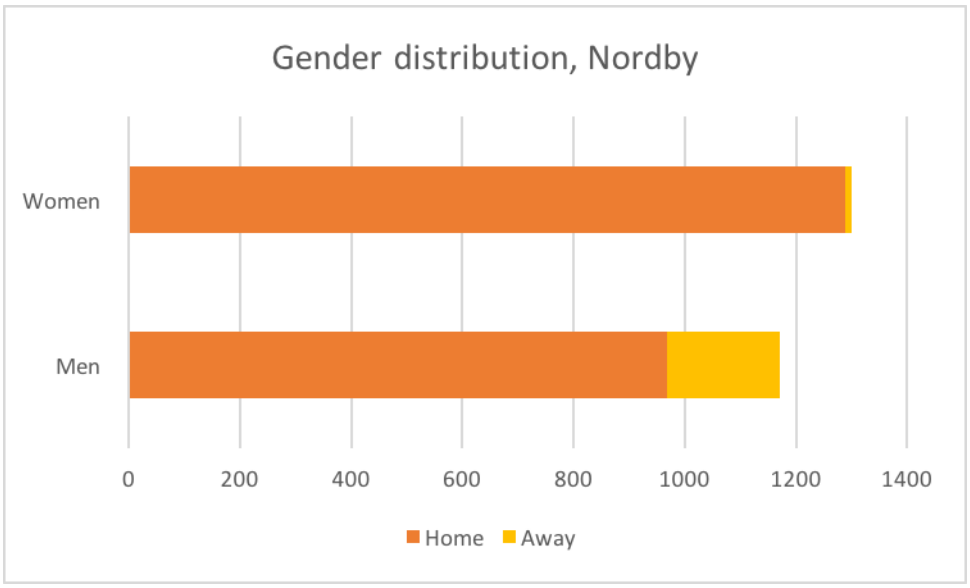

Fig. 3.1. Gender distribution in Nordby at the time of the census in 1890[15]

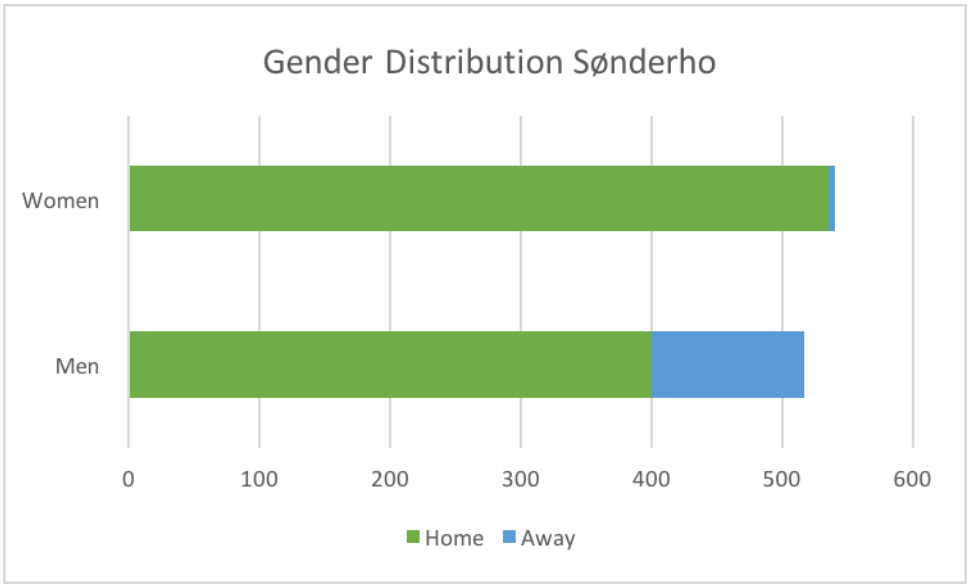

Fig. 3.2. Gender distribution in Sønderho at the time of the census in 1890[16]

[15] Compiled on the basis of census data from 1890. Folketælling 1890, Landdistrikter. Ribe Amt, Skast Herred, Nordby Sogn.
[16] Compiled on the basis of census data from 1890. Folketælling 1890. Landdistrikter. Ribe Amt, Skast Herred, Sønderho Sogn.

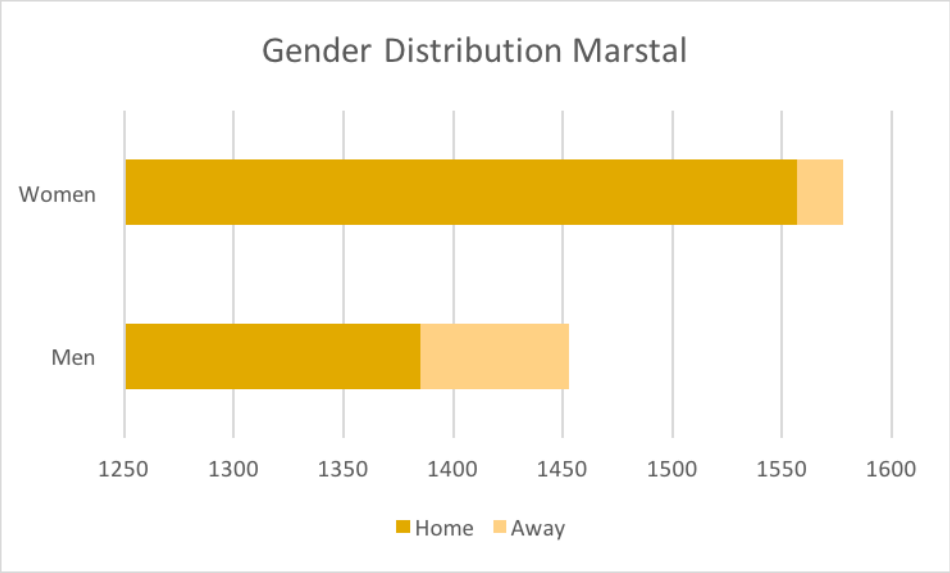

Fig. 3.3. The gender distribution in Marstal at the time of the census in 1890[17]

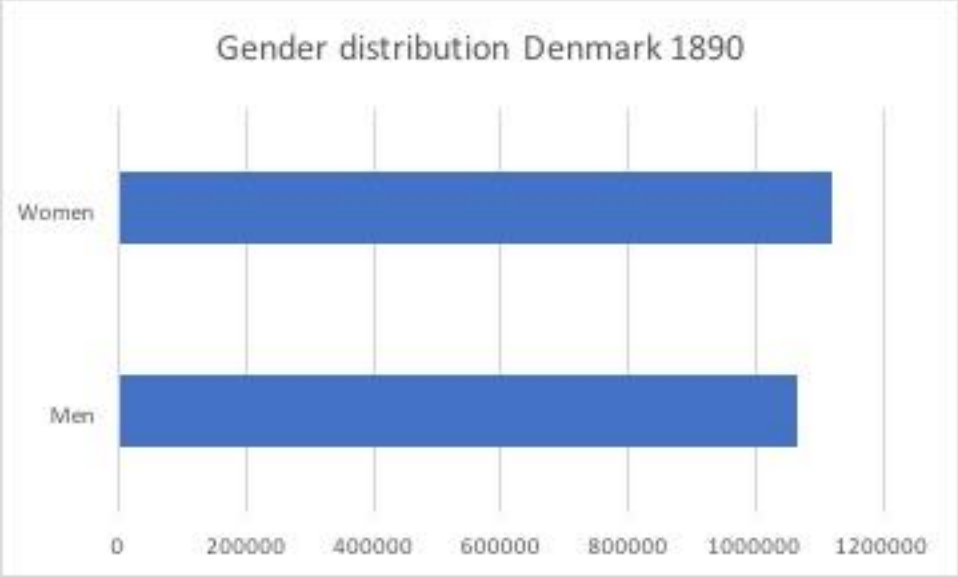

Fig. 3.4. Gender distribution in Denmark in 1890.[18] The distribution of gender for all of Denmark shows that the gender distribution in maritime communities was an abnormality in comparison to the country as a whole.

[17] Compiled on the basis of census data from 1890. Folketælling 1890. Købstæder. Svendborg Amt, Marstal.
[18] "Danmarks Statistik" (Det Statistiske Bureau, 1893).

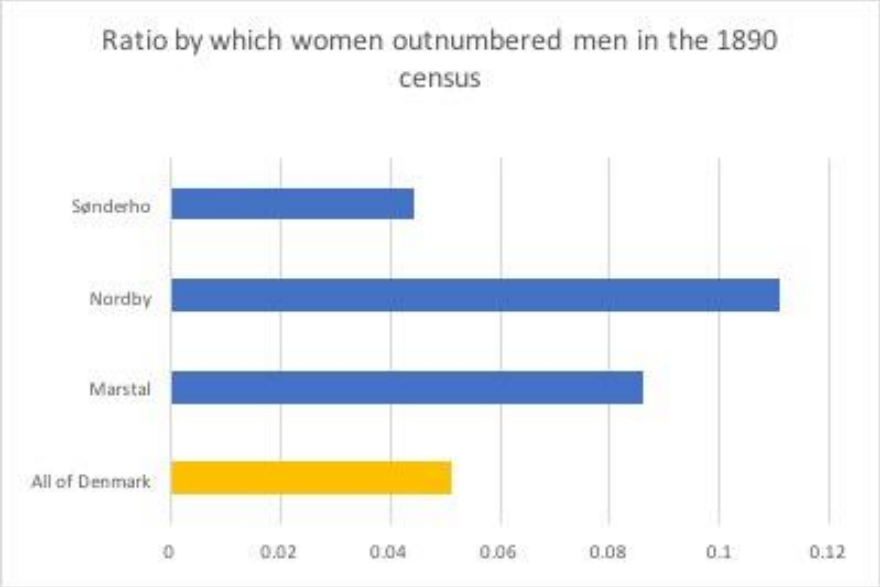

Fig. 3.5. Gender ratios which include all registered community members, including those who were absent at the time of the 1890 census[19]

What should we make of the absence of relatively large numbers of men? The concept of "the absence of males" is central to Ruth Wallis Herndon's chapter "The Domestic Cost of Seafaring." She argues that the "basic requirements of manhood" in late eighteenth century Rhode Island was to head a household, and that sailors, on account of their absences, were unable to do that. In the case of late-eighteenth-century Rhode Island, "Seamen, with their frequent and prolonged absences, necessitated the intervention of town leaders to see to both

[19] Folketælling 1890, Landdistrikter. Ribe Amt, Skast Herred, Nordby Sogn; Folketælling 1890. Landdistrikter. Ribe Amt, Skast Herred, Sønderho Sogn; Folketælling 1890. Købstæder. Svendborg Amt, Marstal; Danmarks Statistik.

their public and their familial responsibilities."[20] She constructs this argument based on research which shows town leaders stepped in to shoulder the burdens which sailors could not carry, including poor relief and governance, "A lame and penniless sailor was the responsibility not of his former employer, but of his town of legal residence."[21]

A significant element of Herndon's argument rests on the fact that sailors in late-eighteenth-century Rhode Island were poorly paid and often came close to economic ruin. Herndon's analysis posits that "gendered notions of dependence and responsibility" were at the heart of maritime masculinity. A more intersectional approach might include an analytical approach to the class of the sailors as well as constructions of masculinity. Sailors were not universally poor. In Scandinavia, for example, people involved in maritime work had opportunities for social mobility. Captains, especially, were wealthy and well-respected members of their communities. Martin K. Østergaard's work shows that in the case of Marstal in the early twentieth century the three most wealthy groups of tax payers were all involved in maritime work. Ship owners accounted for the wealthiest segment of Marstal, while widows and captains accounted for the second and third most wealthy groups. Widows in this case were likely to have been widows of captains or ship owners. Together these three groupings made up 60 percent of the wealthiest ten percent of Marstal's inhabitants. This group does not account for rentiers who lived on the dividends on their maritime investments. Rentiers figured in the tax statistics under

[20] Ruth Wallis Herndon, "The Domestic Cost of Seafaring. Town Leaders and Seamen's Families in Eighteenth Century Rhode Island," in *Iron Men, Wooden Women. Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700-1920*, ed. Margaret S. Creighton and Lisa Norling (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 57.
[21] Herndon, 56.

"other," a category which was also represented in the top ten percent wealth bracket in Marstal in 1906.[22]

Rather than the absence of the sailors resulting in a deficit to their masculinity, the absence of sailors meant a shift in gendered labor on Fanø and Ærø. Women undertook work which was otherwise male-typical. While women were involved in farming in all agricultural communities, they were subjugated to men in rural communities. In maritime communities, women took leadership in small-scale farming. They became heads of their households and saw to managerial affairs, as well as financial and business affairs. Christina Folke Ax has studied women on the island of Rømø in the early modern period. The men from Rømø engaged in whaling and sealing in the Greenland Sea, which led to a gendered division of labor similar to that in maritime communities in the late nineteenth century. Folke Ax's asserts that wives of Rømø whalers were in charge of farming and other traditionally male tasks while their whaler husbands were away at sea, suggesting a similar pattern across Danish maritime communities over time.[23]

Evidence about female work often comes from memoirists who look back on their childhoods and remember their how their mothers worked. Jens Morten Jensen, who was born in 1881, wrote,

> My favorite time as a child, was when older people visited in the evening. They talked about days gone by, about shipwrecks, fishing in hard weather, and many other things from the past. The women talked about their younger days, and what they had to do. My mother said, that in the springtime, when the men were at sea, the women had to do all the work, both indoors and outdoors. When the tide was out, they had to go out on the sandy sea floor to dig sand-worms for fish bait. They walked out a full four kilometers

[22] Martin K. Østergaard, *Under fællesskabets sejl – partrederier, selvstændighed og maritim identitet i Marstal* (København: Kontaktudvalget for Dansk Maritime Historie- og Samfundsforskning, 2011), 40–41.
[23] Christina Folke Ax, "Greenland Whalers and Life on a Wadden Sea Island in the Eighteenth Century," *International Journal of Maritime History* 27, no. 4 (2015): 680–95.

> from the shore. When they came home, they had to prepare the bait for the next days' fishing. Once the fish were in, they had to prepare all the fish by cutting off the heads, salting them, drying them, and otherwise preserving the fish. The fish were sold for money. Women also had to look after the livestock. They had to milk and muck. They took the sheep out to pasture which was a full 12 kilometers for my mother. They churned butter, they baked and brewed. They cooked, and kept up the house, they repaired the house. They swept the floor, and spread sand.[24] There was no time for making the beds. After midsummer when fishing season was waning, all the women would sail to the mainland to sell their fish at the market in Ribe.[25]

Cathrine Martini, born on Fanø in 1877, was interviewed by her nephew about her life in 1964. In her interview, she said that when she was a child on Fanø, the women did all the farm work because their husbands were at sea. They tilled the soil by hand with a spade, rather than with a plow, in order to sow rye for bread. They harvested the grain with a sickle, and brought it to the mill.[26] A sailor from Fanø emphasized in his memoirs that his mother was the head of household because his father was away. He says: "Mother was the one we looked up to, since father was away in my early childhood. He returned home later on, and I remember very well that we children were nearly afraid of him at first. The fear soon subsided. Mother ran a small crofting-style farm with a cow, 2 to 3 sheep, and a pig in the winter."[27]

Sailor Grejs Thomsen described his mother as "both mother and father in regards to respect and to love."[28] The nineteenth-century idealized role of motherhood was constituted by the naturally gentle and loving nature of women. The idealized father was the stern paterfamilias. In Thomsen's view, the role of mother and father was united in the parent who was home with

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[24] Farmhouses on Fanø were often damp and sparsely furnished. A common method for cleaning was to spread sand across the floor to absorb dirt and moisture. The sand was left for a while until it was swept up, removed, and replaced with dry sand.
[25] "Jens Mortensen Jensen Erindringer," n.d., 3–4, Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.
[26] Olfert Fischer, "Interview med Cathrine Martini født Gundesen (mormors kusine)" (Unpublished, 1961), 2, Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.
[27] "Fra min ungdom" (Fanø Ugeblad Nr. 22, June 10, 1961), Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.
[28] Grejs? Thomsen, "Barndom i Nordby," n.d., 7, Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.

them. As so many other sailors' wives did, Thomson's mother ran a small farm. She harvested the grain, a traditionally male job, and brought the grain home from the field.

Although it is tempting to interpret maritime women as early feminists because of their untraditional roles of power in their home communities, they did not view themselves in this way. Interviews and literary evidence from the period suggests that maritime women were fond of idealized notions of matrimony and gender if not outright femininity. They kept house and maintained at least the outward appearance of deference and devotion to their husbands. The seeming contradiction between the between women's increased roles of power and responsibility in seafaring communities on one hand and their subscription to the ideal of Victorian domesticity on the other, stood out to Lisa Norling as well.

> … I thought I would look in New England maritime communities for strong, independent women who had withstood the rising tide of Victorian domesticity along with their seafaring husbands' regular absences. I did not find them. To my dismay, most of the sea-wives I studied (even the strong, independent ones) seemed to have subscribed just as whole-heartedly to pervasive ideas about female character and social roles as any other white, middle-class American woman of that period.[29]

Norling's disappointment may have been premature. The fact that women were fond of the idealized notions of gender does not preclude their independence or power. In the same work, Norling goes on to talk extensively about women's independence and power in Nantucket. There needn't be a correspondence between ideal types and daily practices. In fact, there often isn't. The mythology of the "woman as domestic" thrived in female-dominated communities of hard-laboring, powerful, and independent mariner's wives.

The records show that in the absence of women, sailors did not find female-typical tasks dispensable when they were at sea. They took over the female tasks as much as the women took

[29] Norling, *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women and the Whalefishery, 1720-1870*, 4.

over for their husbands while they were away. The skill involved in being a ship-cook was no more inherently masculine than the skill involved in putting dinner on the table in a home. Letters and memoirs show that sailors sewed gifts for their families while they were away. Sailors knew sewing from their training in sewing and mending sails, of course, but this sewing was no different in character than any other kind of sewing. The skill required to sew a sail was no more masculine than the skill required to sew a doll, and the sailors themselves didn't differentiate between masculine and feminine sewing projects, as their landed brothers did. They used their skill to do something which was squarely in the female domain in traditional landed societies. Sailors were also keen correspondents, eager to maintain social relationships, solely responsible for holding up their end of social responsibilities.

Married maritime women were the sole decision makers for years on end while their husbands were away. They raised their children alone without the physical presence of their partners, and they did hard physical labor which was reserved for men in comparable rural and urban societies. They farmed, fished, and mended their houses. They managed banking and finances, paid bills, and undertook all official transactions with institutions and businesses. In her work, Norling argues that women's work was not in opposition to men's work, but rather it was complimentary. Therefore, women could undertake men's work in the absence of their husbands. They became what Norling calls "deputy husbands".[30] I argue that, while women were "deputy husbands" in the home community, men were "deputy wives" at sea, undertaking the work that would not have been undertaken by their landed counterparts. They cooked, sewed, and performed extraordinary emotional and physical labor in caring for their mates. They also

[30] Norling, 36.

nurtured social bonds with their families on land, a task which otherwise was relegated to women.

Masculinity

Literature on sailors and masculinity tends to focus on hyper-masculine traits such as strength and bravado. Another subset of scholarship which looks at men and masculinity at sea, looks at homosexuality among sailors. There is very little literature masculinity which encompassed women's work. For example, Mary A. Conly offers a survey of constructions of naval masculinity the British age of empire.[31] One of her most evocative examples of masculinity revolve around the funeral of a 16-year-old sight-setter Jack Cornwell who was fatally wounded by shrapnel in the Battle of Jutland in 1916. The funeral of Cornwell became a public spectacle in which the young man was celebrated for his courage, heroism, sense of duty, and religious devotion. Cornwell's death and funeral, which unfolded in the context of World War I, emphasized heroic sacrifice and sense of duty as an elemental part of manliness.[32]

Conley's work on masculinity is joined by James Douglas Alsop, who argues that food onboard English naval vessels in the eighteenth century was bound up on cultural notions of gender. Patterns around eating were important for constituting manliness, according to Alsop.[33] Cori Convertito has studied patterns of tattooing among members of the Victorian Royal Navy, and although the study never explicitly discusses masculinity, it circles the concept throughout.

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[31] Mary A. Conley, *From Jack Tar to Union Jack* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2009).
[32] Conley, 161–63.
[33] James Douglas Alsop, "Jack Tar's Food: Masculine Self-Fashioning in the Age of Sail," in *The Social History of English Seamen, 1650-1815*, ed. Cheryl A. Fury, NED-New edition (Boydell and Brewer, Boydell Press, 2017), 183–212.

Based on a broad survey of tattoos among Victorian naval sailors, the author argues that tattoos were important in constructing the identity of sailors.[34] Margarette Lincoln argues that public portrayal of sailors always emphasized "strength and manliness," especially in the face of danger and hardship.[35]

In the sources from Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal from the late nineteenth century, the construction of gender looks radically different from that which scholars have found in English sources. In Scandinavian sources, the construction of gender among sailors involved work which has traditionally been thought of as typically female. For instance, among typical female responsibilities was the duty to orchestrate meal times for her family.[36] Male sailors, however, orchestrated mealtimes at sea. It was common for sailors to be employed on ships as cooks in the early days of their careers. As captains, sailors had great influence over the diet of their men. Their roles became, similar to those of their landed female counterparts, to nourish and sustain the members of their households, if we can conceive of the ship as a household unit while it is on the ocean. At sea, men became caregivers, and part of the art of the care they provided for their fellow sailors onboard the ships was good nutrition.

Sewing was another female-typical labor which sailors participated in at sea. Marcus Rediker acknowledges the labor of sewing, but doesn't consider it through the lens of gender, despite noting, "Some of his apparel he might well have made for himself, so deft was he with a

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[34] Cori Convertito, "Defying Conformity: Using Tatoos to Express Individuality in the Victorian Royal Navy," in *Maritime History and Identity. The Sea and Culture in the Modern World.*, ed. Duncan Redford (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2014), 205–29.
[35] Margarette Lincoln, *Representing the Royal Navy: British Sea Power, 1750-1815* (London and New York: Routledge. Taylor and Francis Group, 2002), 30.
[36] Philippe Ariès et al., *A history of private life* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989), 271.

needle and thread after years of mending sails at sea."[37] In a letter to his wife Anna, Captain Christian Sørensen wrote, "I have started sewing a mat for you. I will also sew one for M. Christiansen and maybe one for P. Harbye as well."[38] Sørensen and his wife Anna had several daughters who were also beneficiaries of his sewing projects. On board the ship, he would make dolls for his daughters. In another letter, following up on the sewing project, he says: "I have sewn a mat for you and one for Martine. Now I am making dolls. They might be too big, and it may be difficult for the girls to hold on to them."[39] In addition to the labor of sewing, Sørensen displayed community work and the work involved in gift-giving and building bonds with his family members through his craft. This is equivalent to the social complexity of work involved when women knit or sew for family members.

The act of nursing was also female-typical on land, but something which sailors did at sea. Nursing work was usually the responsibility of the captain in the event of illness, but diaries and letters also show a pattern of care work and nursing among the men onboard. In his memoirs, one sailor relates an accident on board a ship. Two men, including the memoirist, sustained leg injuries from being hit by a poorly-secured beam on the deck. Their leg injuries were so severe that the two men were unable to stand. They were carried to the back of the ship, where the captain examined them. Both sailors had open leg wounds. Remembering this incident, the sailor said, "I have thought many times of Captain Clausen's care for us. He checked on us every day. He cleaned our wounds and gave us new bandages. When I was less sore, I asked him if I could go up on the deck. 'No, don't do that' he said, 'you must be careful

[37] Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea. Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750*, 11.
[38] Chr. Sørensen, "Capt. Chr. Sørensens Dagbog og Breve fra en rejse med briggen 'Anna og Mathias' as Fanø.," n.d., 33, Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.
[39] Sørensen, 34.

with such a wound.'"[40] In a letter to his wife, Captain Sørensen said, "In the morning, when I am done with my personal hygiene, I must look after the sick. First him with the nasty illness, which I really must try to cure, then the American boy who has a terrible infection in his finger, and lastly the Czech, who has a bad eye."[41] On a journey from a place which Jensen refers to as Conchien to London, Bertel Clausen Jensen became very ill.[42] In one of the few examples of sailors making explicit analogies between women's work and their own work, he said, "I remember fondly the camaraderie onboard the ship. My friend, the Swedish Nielson, cared for me so well, that my own mother could not have done a better job."[43]

Sailor Grejs Thomsen relates in his memoirs the way in which his father, a sea captain, acted as nurse and caregiver for his men. He was as a father for his people, Thomsen says. The captain's behavior may be more recognizable as the behavior of a Victorian mother than a Victorian father, but in the context of a seafaring community which divided roles differently, the gender of the caregiver does not align perfectly with expectations. Thomsen's father made sure that his sailors had parsley or something else green to prevent scurvy and ensure that his men took their greens every day mid-morning. In order to make the medicine go down—the sailors grumbled that the greens were like rabbit food—the captain helped the medicine go down with a shot of schnapps.[44] Thomsen's father evidently took great pride in the good health of his men. So much so, that while other ships experienced deaths due to ill health, Thomsen's father boasted

[40] N.A. Svarrer, "Barkskibet 'Prinsesse Marie' af Fanø" (Fanø Ugeblad Nr. 5, January 30, 1960), Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.
[41] Sørensen, "Capt. Chr. Sørensens Dagbog og Breve fra en rejse med briggen 'Anna og Mathias' as Fanø.," 37.
[42] Conchien possibly refers to Kochi in Kerala, India.
[43] Bertel Clausen Jensen, "Erindringer fra hav og land" (Fanø Ugeblad Nr. 2821, September 29, 1951), 19, Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.
[44] Thomsen, "Barndom i Nordby," 3.

that there were no illnesses or deaths on board his ship, so good was the care he took of his men. He even made sure they were clothed well in woolen clothes.[45]

Marriages

Maritime marriages were characterized outwardly by sadness due to long periods of separation. As Lisa Norling also discusses in *Captain Ahab had a Wife*, maritime relationships were often based on conventional nineteenth-century expectations of love and romance in the relationship between husband and wife. One of Norling's sources, Captain Seth Blackmer, told his "dear treasure of a wife" that she was a "trusting Loveing and industrious little Woman the moddle of mothers who strives to make Home happy."[46] Norling argues that correspondence between whalers and their wives in the mid-nineteenth century abound with idealized versions of women as "tender, modest, chaste, selfless, sympathetic, emotive, maternal, devoted, and domestic."[47]

The same pattern is observable in the sources on maritime marriages on Fanø and Ærø. The culture around marriage in sailor communities focused on tropes of romantic love between man and wife. In one memoir, Grejs Thomsen, the son of a sailor, recounts the 25th wedding anniversary of his parents. The anniversary celebration was widely attended by over 200 people. At the party, the minister asked the couple how maritime couples manage with the long periods of absence. The wife answered, "I will tell you, minister. We are as though we were newly engaged every time we are together."[48] The wife in this memoir used a narrative about her

[45] Thomsen, 3.
[46] Norling, *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women and the Whalefishery, 1720-1870*, 170.
[47] Norling, 170.
[48] Thomsen, "Barndom i Nordby."

marriage which focused on the most positive aspect of long separation possible. She chose to see her separation from her husband as a means to bring them closer and to keep their love for one another alive. This is a typical narration of love between married couples in the maritime community. Memoirs and diaries show many examples of this.

The conventional romance and attendant gender norms contrast starkly with the way that maritime life blurred the lines between male and female work and experience. Perhaps because of this blurring of the lines, maritime marriages were spaces in which to outwardly re-affirm conventional gender roles so as not to disturb social order in the community overall. Female shows of devotion and romantic attachment to her husband confirmed the gendered hierarchy within the relationship which maritime labor effectively disturbed in the absence of the sailor.

In a social history of maritime communities from 1973, Peter Fricke explored the concept of the family and the community of ships' officers. Approaching the topic quantitatively, Fricke spoke to officer's wives and asked them a series of questions, the responses to which he displayed in a series of tables in order to create a picture of the prevalent patterns within the community. Fricke's chapter skirts some interesting questions around gender, and he is curiously preoccupied with how the wife spent her time, and whom she spent it with, while her husband was away at sea. For the purposes of this inquiry, one of the most interesting tables charts the "attitudes of officers' wives to husband's seagoing." The range of attitudes which a wife could have to her husband going to sea in Fricke's study fell into one of four categories: "non-committal," "prefers him home," "does not like," or "extreme dislike."[49]

[49] Peter H. Fricke, "Family and Community: The Environment of the Ships' Officer," in *Seafarer & Community. Towards a Social Understanding of Seafaring* (London and New Jersey: Croom Helm and Rowman & Littlefield, 1973), 144.

Fricke's four categories replicate the range of acceptable emotions which a wife might express at her husbands' going away to sea. I do not doubt the sincerity of the outward expression of sadness and regret at the husband's departure, but have to wonder whether the emotional lives of maritime wives aren't more complex than Fricke's four categories could capture. Similarly, the emotional lives of women and men were undoubtedly more complicated than could be captured in idealized letters attesting to romance and devotion. Women who wed sailors entered into the marriage with full awareness of what maritime life had in store. They joined a close-knit community of women whose husbands were sailors, and they gained a tremendous amount of autonomy and power within their own domestic sphere. The strong outward appearance of romance and idealized expressions of gender may suggest that a strong affirmation of gender was necessary precisely because the lines between the genders were already blurred.

Staffordshire Dog Figurines

Husband and wife were separated for long periods of time in maritime marriages. The nineteenth-century model of family life and fidelity does not allow the explicit imagination of something akin to open relationships, unspoken rules about other partners, or love affairs. The common adage that a sailor has a girl in every port is as familiar as ideas about the sailor as a violent, crass, drunkard. Whether sailors had love affairs while they were away remains unknowable. The sources for the cultural life of sailors in Scandinavian maritime communities do not allow for the survival of stories about love affairs while the sailor was away, because the sources have generally been of such a nature that the entire community would have access to

them. Memoirs would be written for family members or printed in newspaper, letters would be intended for parents or wives. Very little source material can tell us about unfaithful husbands.

While stories about wives' love affairs while their husbands were away have not survived for the same reasons that tales of the sailors' affairs have not survived, there are suggestions in folklore that love affairs were not altogether uncommon.

Ceramic Staffordshire dogs were prolific in the Victorian period. They were, in Sonia Solicari's words "the chimney-adorning, hearth-hogging, decorative axis of the nineteenth century domestic taste."[50] In the English context, the dogs were popular figurines for decoration. Their enduring appeal have made them valuable collectors' items. Staffordshire pottery was made in the English Midlands. Beginning in the 1840s, Staffordshire pottery entered a period of mass production.[51]

The popularity of the figures in England meant that they were readily available and therefore popular gifts for Danish sailors to bring back for their wives and girlfriends. They were in fact some of the most popular souvenirs of the time. The figures were always sold as a pair, and they were of relatively shallow depth because they meant to be placed on the mantle. Their fronts were painted as dogs, but their backsides were quite plain. In other words, they had a distinct front and back side. Although Staffordshire pottery made many types of figurines, only the dogs were popular among Danish sailors. It is worth noting that in England the dogs had no special connection to the maritime community. English sailors were more likely to purchase porcelain figurines with painted ships or poems about sailors' farewell and sailors' return.[52] In

[50] Sonia Solicari, "From Cottage to Kitsch: The Enduring Appeal of the Staffordshire Figure," *The Journal of the Decorative Arts Society 1850- Present* 35 (2011): 135.
[51] Hanne Poulsen, "Sømandens Uartige Hunde," *Museet for Søfart, Årbog* 71 (2012).
[52] Poulsen.

Denmark, Staffordshire dogs were so common among sailors that they are known colloquially as *sømandshunde* or sailors' dogs.

In the Danish tradition, the dogs were not placed on the mantle, but in a windowsill adjacent to the front door. The dogs were part of a sailors' home. Johannes Olsens' description of a sailors' home on the south of Funen around the turn of the twentieth century says,

> There were paintings of ships on the walls, Chinese porcelain, copper and brass objects from far away, lacquered objects from the East, textiles from India, Persia, Turkey and many other places. There was strange pottery, weapons, and more from all the countries of the world. Not least of all were the funny English porcelain dogs with gilded and violet spots. They keep watch over the rare seashells and other objects which father brought home to his wife and children after long periods away.[53]

Folklore suggests that the dogs were used to signal whether the sailors was home or away, warning the lover of a sailors' wife not to come in if the sailors was home. When the sailor was away, the figurines would face outward, as though they were looking for their master who was out at sea. When the sailor was home, the figures would face inward, paying attention to their master's presence inside the house. Another tradition says that sex workers in brothels were not allowed to accept money. Instead, they sold the dogs at a very high price in exchange for sexual services.[54] Both traditions hint at sexual freedom for husbands and wives while the husband was away, but no sources confirm this explicitly.

Whether the folklore corresponds to actual sexual practice is not clear. Poulsen says that none of the surviving sources around the Staffordshire dogs involve anything sexual. On the other hand, she acknowledges the pervasiveness of the folklore around the dogs and the ways in which they might have been used to send signals. What surviving case studies involving the popular Staffordshire dogs do suggest is that the dogs had strong symbolic meaning involving

[53] Poulsen, 129.
[54] Poulsen, "Sømandens Uartige Hunde."

love and faithfulness. The dogs were given to a woman by her boyfriend or husband. Occasionally, a son would bring dogs home for his mother. The dogs are not gendered, but the dog on the left is said to be the "heart dog," referring to older statues of lions in the Buddhist tradition on which the Staffordshire dogs are based. The dogs have a golden locket around their necks. Since ceramic dogs in the Buddhist tradition had a lotus flower around their necks, the locket is possibly a lotus flower which took another shape in translation. The locket and the golden chain around the dogs' necks also have strong undertones of faithfulness.[55]

There is no obvious contradiction between the sexual signaling of the dogs and the dogs as symbols of faithfulness. Contemporary polyamorous communities, for instance, are based on theories of open relationships which hold that faithfulness need not be physical, but can be emotional and spiritual.[56] The traditions of sexual relationships outside of marriage which are hinted at in folklore around the Staffordshire dogs suggest that married couples found ways to negotiate their sexual and personal lives during long periods of absence. Given strong community traditions and long experience, it is likely that married couples in a transnational space founds ways to manage intimacy and companionship over long periods of absence without the disintegration of the family unit.

Homosexuality Among Sailors

The all-male environment on board ships invites questions about homosexuality. These obvious and pressing questions have highly elusive answers. Scholarship on homosexuality among sailors

[55] Poulsen. For further discussion of ceramic Staffordshire dogs and infidelity see Morten Tinning, ed., *Lyst Og Længsel. Myter, Afsavn, Og Erotik i Sømandens Verden.* (Helsingør: M/S Museet for Søfart, 2016).
[56] See for example "The Polyamory Society," 2019 1997, http://www.polyamorysociety.org.

agrees that homosexuality was always covert beginning in the seventeenth century. In spite of the covert practices and subsequent sparse source material, scholars have attempted to answer questions around homosexuality at sea in the Anglo maritime world.

B.R. Burg's monograph, *Sodomy and the Pirate Tradition: English Sea Rovers in the Seventeenth-Century Caribbean* is dedicated to the study of same-sex relationships in the all-male environment onboard ships.[57] It is one of the few studies dedicated to the topic of homosexuality among sailors. *Hello Sailor!: The Hidden History of Gay Life at Sea* argues that ships were one of the only places where gay men could be open about their sexuality in the mid-twentieth century.[58] Ships were a haven for gay men, a world apart from existing laws on land. Baker and Stanley question the very nature of the need for a for an all-male world far from shore.

We must turn to literature and literary scholarship to find other treatments of this topic. Chapter 10 of Melville's *Moby Dick* famously features the first portrait of same-sex marriage in American literature when Ishmael marries Queequeg.[59] Literary scholarship on this topic includes Hans Turley's discussion of the close relationships which develops between Singleton and Quaker William in Dafoe's *Captain Singleton*. In Turley's reading, the Singleton's character "discovers alternative identity which shows the restrictions of normative desire and domesticity."[60]

The source material which has been left behind by Danish sailors is remarkable in its absence of any mention of homosexuality. If same-sex practices were common or even occurred,

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[57] Burg, *Sodomy and the Perception of Evil*.
[58] Paul Baker and Jo Stanley, *Hello Sailor! The Hidden History of Gay Life at Sea* (London: Longman, 2003).
[59] Scholars have argued for various interpretations of the significance of this same-sex marriage. See among others Steven B. Hermann, "Melville's Portrait of Same-Sex Marriage in Moby-Dick," *Jung Journal: Culture & Psyche* 4, no. 3 (Summer 2010): 65–82.
[60] Turley, "Piracy, Identity, and Desire in 'Captain Singleton,'" 200.

they were kept out of letters and memoirs. What this suggests is that sailors abided by a Victorian culture which condemned same-sex relationships. Danish law from 1866 says that, "Intercourse which goes against nature shall be punished with death by fire."[61] The harshness of the law was rarely carried out in practice. State responses to homosexuality ranged from outright ignoring it to work or prison terms. In 1814, a homosexual community was discovered, and although the punishment for homosexuality was harsh even before the 1866 law, no charges were made, except in the case of a Jew, Justus Meyer, who was deported from Denmark. The President of the Danish Chancellery commented on the case:

> As long as the wretched, who find taste in such bestial enjoyments, keep to their own, that is to say, alone in their enjoyment with those, who are equally despicable in taste and of the same age, then the state should close its eyes and ears on the matter and doubt their existence that their fellow citizens may limit themselves to branding these people with contempt. On the other hand, when they seek objects of affection for their devilish desires among children and favorites, then the case becomes of greater importance. Then it must call attention and use force to bring the guilty to punishment in order to limit the evil from spreading. [62]

As early as the 1830s, punishment of homosexuality was becoming increasingly common. Between 1835 and 1866, 20 men and boys were charged among which 14 were sentenced to

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[61] "*Omgængelse, som er imod Naturen, Straffis med Baal og Brand.*" Danske Lov § 6-13-15

[62] Asger Nørlund Christensen and Morten Tinning, "Flådens Friske Fyre - Kønslivet i 1800-Tallets Danske Orlogsflåde," in *Lyst Og Længsel - Myter, Afsavn Og Erotik i Sømandens Verden.*, 1st edition (Helsingør: M/S Museet for Søfart, 2016), 86. "*Saa længe de Elendige, der finder Smag i saa bestialske Nydelser, holde sig inden for deres egen Grændse, det vil sige, alleene dele deres Nydelse med de, som i Henseende til Smag og Alder ere ligesaa foragtelige Væsener som de selv, saa længe kan og bør vel Stats Styreren lukke Øjne og Øren for sagen og tvivle om deres tilværelse, saa længe kan medborgerne indskrænke sig til at stemple saadanne Personer med Foragt. Naar derimod søger Gienstand of Offere for deres fæiske Lyster, blandt Børn og Ynglinge, saa bliver Sagen af større Vigtighed, den maa da tildrage sig Opmærksomhed og fremkalde passende Midler, om ikke til at drage de Skyldige til Straf, saa dog til at hæmme de Onde, at det ikke griber videre om sig*."

death by fire. Their punishment was never carried out, but forgiven. Beginning in the middle of the eighteen hundreds, a homosexual subculture sprang up in Copenhagen.[63] Same-sex relationships among Danish sailors at sea cannot be confirmed or denied in surviving source material. The practice that we have evidence of is a deep sense of camaraderie and caring for fellow sailors. Earlier in this chapter, I discussed Jensen's comment on the care he received from one of his friends when he fell ill at sea. He said, "On the journey from Cochien to London, I became very ill. I have fond memories of the faithful camaraderie of the sailors on board. My friend, the Swedish Nielsen, took care of me so well that my own mother could not have done a better job."[64] Previously, I used this quotation to talk about gendered labor, but it also speaks to intimate male relationships onboard the ship.

Conclusion

The lines of gender were blurred in maritime communities. Long periods of separation between husband and wife meant that each person took on roles that would have traditionally belonged to the other sex. In part to reaffirm their gender roles, maritime couples often expressed especially romantic sentiments of devotion in the language and symbols of gender in the nineteenth century. Men became deputy wives just like women became deputy husbands. When they met, they expressed their own gender is strong terms to reaffirm a gendered hierarchy. Although sexuality is not easy to find directly in the sources left by a population reticent to discuss physical intimacy or sexuality outside monogamous marriage, there are hints about sexual

[63] Nørlund Christensen and Tinning, 87.
[64] Clausen Jensen, "Erindringer fra hav og land," 19.

practices in maritime communities, including the possibility of same-sex relationships, open marriages, and/or multiple partners.

CHAPTER FOUR

Maritime History and Global History

For sailors from Nordby, Sønderho, and Fanø, the global aspect of their work was central to their identities rather than incidental. When they wrote their memoirs, they placed their experiences with foreign cultures, people, port cities, climates, religions, plants, and animals at the center of their narratives. They went to great lengths to demonstrate their own familiarities with the wider world and to position themselves as the link between their home community and the rest of the world. Through the extraction of geographical data from sailors' memoirs collected and plotted onto maps of the world, this chapter argues that sailors were communicating the global aspect of their line of work in their memoirs. They were communicating to their communities that their work took them to many different parts of the world.

This chapter positions itself at the intersection of maritime history and global history. As a historiographical intervention, this chapter argues, that in the case of the maritime communities of Nordby, Marstal, and Sønderho, the maritime and the global were two sides of the same coin. I argue this based on the centrality of 'the global' in sailors' memoirs. In arguing for a link between the maritime and the global, I join the ranks of much of the recent work within the field of maritime history, which also sees clear links between maritime history and global history. Although many historians are seeing this link now, it was not always so apparent, which is why the argument is worth making.

Lewis R. Fischer, co-founder and editor-in-chief of the *International Journal of Maritime History*, is not enthusiastic about thinking maritime history and world history into a single field. This chapter disagrees with Fischer's position on the necessity of keeping maritime history and

global history separate. "Both world and global history," Fischer argues, "are still developing their definitions and paradigms, a state of affairs that does not make either an ideal candidate for some kind of merger with maritime history, a field that by comparison has become reasonably well established."[1] This broad definition allows naval history to be part of the field, which is crucial for Fischer. But most importantly, maritime history diverges from global history in that it can have local and national foci, as well as broader frameworks of inquiry.[2] As Fischer looks to the future of the field of maritime history, he advocates that it should not be shackled by global history. For Fischer, maritime history is the examination of the relationship between humankind and the sea. I argue that part of humankind's relationship to the sea is precisely that proximity to the sea has been conducive to the connection to global networks, as was the case in Sønderho, Nordby, and Fanø.

Maritime history and global history developed along parallel lines for most of the past century, but the two fields rarely intertwined. In recent decades, global historians have begun to pay closer attention to maritime history, and maritime historians have increasingly asserted themselves as global historians. It would seem that the fields are nearing each other, but there are still voices of caution and dissent on the issue of thinking the two together as sides of the same coin. This chapter addresses specific question about the interconnection of the maritime and the global. Are maritime histories global histories? Are global histories maritime histories? Is it even possible to think about global histories that don't involve a maritime aspect?

For Patrick Manning, the tandem developments of maritime history and global history require an explanation. He suggests that one of the explanations might be that informal and

[1] Lewis R. Fischer, "The Future Course of Maritime History," *International Journal of Maritime History* 29, no. 2 (May 2017): 358.
[2] Fischer, 359.

amateur versions of maritime history and global history have been the foundation of both fields for decades. It was not until the twentieth century that both maritime history and global history gained traction among professional historians who became increasingly concerned with analytical inquiries in both disciplines.[3] The parallel nature of the two fields, which seem like such a likely pairing, can be explained by the nature of the early practitioners. Early maritime historians were often involved in maritime life. They were sailors, family members of sailors, or lived in maritime communities. Non-professional early practitioners of global history, were typically academics working in other fields.[4]

In *The Myth of Continents* Lewis and Wigen proposed that maritime spaces might serve as units of analysis as an alternative to more traditional nationally and politically bounded frameworks of historical inquiry. They argued for "the intellectual history of maritime regions in the geographical imagination" as an area in which there was potential for new work.[5] Since the publication of *The Myth of Continents*, many historians have taken up that challenge most notably in the field of oceanic history. Lewis and Wigen's call for work in the area of intellectual history of maritime regions has inspired my approach in my dissertation in general and to this chapter in particular. This dissertation is a history of three maritime communities located within Denmark, but the nation state of Denmark is not my unit of analysis. Instead, I am interested in the way in which maritime communities were linked to global networks.

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[3] Patrick Manning, "Global History and Maritime History," *International Journal of Maritime History* XXV, no. 1 (June 2013): 9–12.
[4] Manning, 12. For a more detailed discussion on amateur vs. professional branches of maritime history, see Introduction.
[5] Martin W. Lewis and Kären Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 204.

More than a decade after the publication of *The Myth of Continents*, the *American Historical Review* forum "Oceans of History," to which Kären Wigen wrote the introduction, included some of the most prominent historians to have done just what Lewis and Wigen suggested. Common to all three contributions to the forum are that they consider maritime history a space for global inquiry and for leaving behind national and politically bounded units of analysis.[6] Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell's contribution coined the term "the new thalassology" for the kind of historical inquiry which "cuts across the political divisions which have shaped traditional history: the study of the lakes of the East African Rift Valley, for example, or the Silk Road."[7] In a piece on Atlantic history, Alison Games sees the maritime space as a unit of exploration which facilitates histories that "explores commonalities and convergences, seeking larger patterns derived from the new interactions of people around, within, and across the Atlantic."[8] Finally, Matt K. Matsuda, historian of the Pacific Ocean argued that histories of maritime spaces "emphasize movements and interconnections rather than area-studies distinctions."[9] For maritime historian Gelina Harlaftis, maritime history "offers the liberation of a borderless world."[10]

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[6] Some historians consider oceanic history and 'The New Thalassology' different from maritime history, perhaps because the reputation which maritime history has had within academic departments. Other historians, like Frank Broeze and many maritime historians whose work is discussed in this chapter, don't make such distinctions. Broeze, for instance, argues for a broader view of maritime history which would include approaches such as oceanic history. See Frank Broeze, "From the Periphery to the Mainstream: The Challenge of Australia's Maritime History," *The Great Circle* 11, no. 1 (1989): 1–13.

[7] Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, "The Mediterranean and 'the New Thalassology,'" *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (June 1, 2006): 723.

[8] Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities," *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (June 1, 2006): 749.

[9] Matt K. Matsuda, "The Pacific," *The American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (June 2006): 761.

[10] Gelina Harlaftis, "Maritime History or the History of Thalassa," in *The New Ways of History* (London: IB Tauris, 2009), 211.

The *AHR* forum "Oceans of History" was among the earliest instantiations of the coupling of maritime history and global history in the twentieth century, which Manning points to. In the introduction to the forum, Kären Wigen famously remarked: "Maritime scholarship seems to have burst its bounds; across the discipline, the sea is swinging into view."[11] Scholars were beginning to pay attention to diverse areas within the field of maritime history, including geographical history, labor history, the history of radical politics, pirates, maritime commerce, and environmental and ecological history focusing on marine life.[12] Wigen's comment addressed the diverse areas of maritime history which had recently experienced increased attention by academic historians, suggesting that the maritime history might finally be shedding some of its reputation of amateurism among academic historians.[13] The rise in the popularity of maritime history might have to do with the "global turn" in the field of history more generally.[14] Since the early twenty-first century, historians have increasingly seen the maritime space as a potential space in which to write global narratives.

The idea of the maritime space as a framework for global inquiry was a central theme at a conference at the University of Porto in 2015, which gave rise to a forum in the *International Journal of Maritime History*. This conference investigated oceans and seas as spaces of cultural and economic exchange. One of the conceptual impediments to maritime history as global history has been the geographical division of the oceans of the world into distinct bodies of water. Recently, historians have begun to turn away from understanding the Mediterranean Sea,

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[11] Brian Hoyle, "Fields of Tension: Development Dynamics at the Port-City Interface," in *Port Jews. Jewish Communities in Cosmopolitan Maritime Trading Center 1550-1950* (London & Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2002), 13–14.
[12] Wigen, 717.
[13] See Introduction on amateurism in the field of maritime history
[14] Lynn Hunt, *Writing History in the Global Era* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2014).

as well as the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans as distinct spaces. Instead, oceans are studied as connected areas without delineated boundaries. The conference sought to investigate how maritime historians have been dealing with the increasing erasure of boundaries between maritime spaces, through the examination of diverse topics ranging from the role of the Bay of Bengal in the Indian Ocean world, to the interactions between Europeans and Asians in the ports of Surat and Madras (Chennai) in the seventeenth century, to the ports in Macao and Manila which had maritime connections to China, Japan, and Spanish America through the Manila Galleons, to the slave trade in the Atlantic African port cities, to the port cities of Angra, Funchal, Port Royal, and Bridgetown. Through focusing on littorals and port cities, the forum investigated "the sea as a zone of cultural encounter and a vehicle for social and economic exchanges, thereby illustrating how oceans connected people and ideas across the globe."[15] The take-away from this collection of papers is that maritime history and global history are intimately connected. Looking to the sea is looking beyond boundaries and borders and instead looking at connectivity and cross-cultural encounters. Polónia et al. suggest that the marriage between global history and maritime history is not surprising. Maritime connections have historically been crucial for global patterns of interaction and exchange.

Although there seems to be enthusiastic support for the coupling of global history and maritime history, some scholars raise voices of caution. In response to terrestrial historians enthusiastically adopting the oceans as new spaces of inquiry, some maritime historians are unconvinced by approaches which adopt the ocean simply as an unexplored *terra* without theorizing it as a space. As an example, Jeffrey Bolster argued, and Lewis R. Fischer supported

[15] Amélia Polónia, Ana Sofia Ribeiro, and Daniel Lange, "Connected Oceans: New Pathways in Maritime History," *International Journal of Maritime History* 29, no. 1 (February 2017): 90.

this argument, that most oceanic area histories tended to ignore the sea and focus on the land.[16] In his criticism of Atlantic history in particular, Bolster calls for increased attention to the sea: "Most studies of the early modern Atlantic world have slighted nature, whether terrestrial or marine. Nature is rarely problematized, and it is often assumed to be stable…. The living ocean's role in history remains shrouded in fog, despite the growing prominence of oceanic histories and the Atlantic paradigm."[17] Neither Bolster nor Fischer seemingly support Broeze's call for a broader definition of maritime history which includes landed aspects of maritime history within the field.[18]

Katherine Foxhall calls attention to the need for theorizing the maritime space. As Frank Broeze, Berhard Klein, and Gesa Mackenthun have also argued, the ocean is not an incidental space.[19] She argues that

> much of the extant maritime literature pays little attention to the nature of the ocean. Water has become a social, cultural, or economic surface across which ships travelled. Oceans are theatres for, rather than actors in, history…Oceans with their winds and waves, storms, calms, and creatures have receded from view.[20]

Foxhall says that "the importance of being *at* sea often derived from the different rhythms, frustrations, and accumulated problems associated with travelling south, of moving through

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[16] W. Jeffrey Bolster, "Putting the Ocean in Atlantic History: Maritime Communities and Marine Ecology in the Northwest Atlantic, 1500-1800," *The American Historical Review* 113, no. 1 (February 1, 2008): 36.
[17] Bolster, 24.
[18] Broeze, "From the Periphery to the Mainstream: The Challenge of Australia's Maritime History."
[19] See Introduction and Frank Broeze, "Notes on Paul Butel," *International Journal of Maritime History*, Roundtable, XII, no. 2 (June 2000): 261; Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun, "The Sea Is History," in *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 2.
[20] Katherine Foxhall, *Health, Medicine, and the Sea: Australian Voyages, c.1815-1860* (Manchester : New York: Manchester University Press ; Distributed in the U.S. by Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 5–6.

storms and calms, of passing Sierra Leone and the Cape of Good Hope, of experiencing four seasons in as many months."[21] For this reason, the sea itself should take up a more central role in maritime and also global histories. On the other hand, Matsuda suggests that oceanic studies can focus too much on the sea, referring to scholars who have argued that "an ocean-based approach to the Pacific misreads the many land-bounded peoples of New Guinea, or the Kanak of New Caledonia, for whom *terra* is as defining as water, if not more so."[22]

In addition, historians of empire take the ocean for granted in their inquiries, despite the fact that oceans loom large as physical spaces of operation in any global history. In many recent histories of empires and globalization, the ocean remains unproblematized and undertheorized even as it functions as the silent motors of global progresses.[23] Foxhall suggests that the reason for this neglect stems from a focus on networks and nodes rather than Braudelian deep structures.[24] This relative neglect of the oceans in studies of empires is a contemporary phenomenon. As Marcus Rediker has pointed out, both Adam Smith and Karl Marx operated with the assumption that globalization was inherently a process which relied on maritime developments.[25]

Almost three decades after its original publication, Rediker's *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea* is still among the most important works to look at global processes from the

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[21] Foxhall, 6.
[22] Matsuda, "The Pacific," 761–62.
[23] For examples see works such as Christopher Alan Bayly's *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830* (1989), Kerry Ward's *Networks of Empire* (2009), *Mosquito Empires: Ecology and War in the Greater Caribbean*, 1620-1914 (2010), and most chapters of *Empires in World History. Power and the Politics of Difference* (2010) by Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper.
[24] Foxhall, *Health, Medicine, and the Sea*, 6.
[25] Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000), 327.

perspective of maritime labor. The primary unit of analysis for Rediker is the ocean and the people who labored on it, rather than a specific body of water examined in the abstract as an untheorized *terra*. Rediker seems to have considered the unfolding of capitalist processes in the early modern period, and then recognized that maritime laborers made the "global" in "global capitalism" possible. For Rediker, the question about the global nature of maritime history is intertwined with the economic developments of the capitalist system. Rediker did what many maritime historians have been calling for lately: He factors maritime history into existing narratives about global development. He does this through thinking with Marxist historians like Eric Hobsbawm:

> As Eric Hobsbawm has noted, "the creation of a large and expanding market for goods and a large available free labor force go together, two aspects of the same process."[26] Hobsbawm calls attention to the relationship between the growth of commercial markets and the growth of a working class, and implicitly to the ways in which labor processes, markets, and experiences were transformed or created during the drive of early capitalist development…. The seamen occupied a pivotal position in the creation of international markets and a waged working class, as well as in the worldwide concentration and organization of capital and labor.[27]

The memoirs of sailors from Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal, show two very clear patterns: The global loomed large in the lives of sailors, both in their physical movements around the world and in their thoughts. This pushes Hobsbawm's claims a bit further, by suggesting that more than cogs in the operation of international markets, sailors made the global aspect of their work central to their identities. Sailor P.H.C. wrote an account of the very first part of a voyage

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[26] E. J. Hobsbawm, "The General Crisis of the European Economy in the 17th Century," *Past & Present*, no. 5 (May 1954): 40.
[27] Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea. Merchant Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 77.

from London, down the Thames, through the English Channel, and out onto open water, for instance. Clausen's words describe an event which reoccurred in the life of a sailor: The experience of leaving home and heading towards the big world. What was he heading towards? A great unknown? A familiar place? What did the world look like in the mind of the sailor? In his account of the voyage down the Thames, which was the first stage of a global voyage, his attention to the physicality of the ocean, to the historical specificity of the geography of the space he is in, and to the impending sense of adventure all ring clear:

> On a misty morning in London, a steamer ship comes up on our side from which a pilot boards our ship. Shortly thereafter, the steamer tugs us down the river among a myriad of ships from countries all around the world. With some surprise, we notice how dense the traffic is on the Thames River. No other river in the world can compare. Along the banks of the Thames, several older but mighty triple-decked man-of-war vessels are docked, and we cannot help but think back to 1807 and ask ourselves: Were any of these proud ships among those that were stolen from our proud navy?[28]
>
> Past Gravesend, the river widens, and the steamer leaves us here. The pilot continues on to North Foreland, where friendly-looking houses are dotted peacefully on the banks in the sunlight. Later, at sun-down, the lighthouses are lit on the shore and, and we pass by Ramsgate, Deal, South Foreland, and Dover, and we find ourselves in the Channel. Steamers and sailing ships cross among each other in all directions and the green and red lanterns blink everywhere. Great care must be taken to avoid collusion. Especially the large passenger and emigration ships cast a great deal of light, which is reminiscent of entire towns rather than of single ships. A sailing ship comes towards us, and we must change our course to avoid collision. Behind us, a steamer is gaining on us at great speed, and ahead on the starboard side, a lighthouse blinks on land. All night, officers are engaged in navigation of the channel with all its traffic. At Scilly we bid farewell to Europe and head briskly for the open Atlantic.
>
> Aside from chores on board, the sailor must look after his own tasks such as washing and mending his clothes. At the same time every evening, the crew gathers on the deck, and it doesn't take long for lively conversation to get going. Sometimes sailors dance to the soft tunes of harmonica music. Sometimes they sing shanties, or discuss politics, or religion. Especially on the latter topic, debates can get complicated. Usually

[28] Reference to the Battle of Copenhagen 1807. Denmark was allied with Napoleon. Fearful that Napoleon should control the Danish navy, the British attacked Copenhagen, after which the Danes surrendered. Britain took control of some 60 Danish vessels.

these end in the conclusion that a brave and honest sailor shall certainly go to heaven, as he has suffered so much on earth."[29]

Sailors memoirs are rich in geographical detail. Based on the geographical data in sailors' memoirs, I have generated maps which plot each geographical reference. Each map in the following section shows the extent to which a sailor has traveled and recorded their travels. In order to be plotted on the map in this chapter, each data point was associated with something significant for the sailor. If there was nothing significant about the data point, then the sailor would not have devoted time to it in the memoir. These maps do not trace all the movements of individual sailors, but rather trace the places which each sailor thought about when they returned home and sat down to write about their life at sea.

The maps provide empirical evidence for the assertion that sailors from Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal "traveled all around the world." Since each point on the map is associated with meaning for the individual sailor, then it also follows that sailors thought about their movements around the world, and that their intellectual lives and their memories, as well as their bodies, travelled and unfolded in a global space. The meaning associated with each individual data point varies in significance. Sometimes, the data point is mentioned in the memoir because something calamitous happened somewhere: A close friend died of Yellow Fever in Guayaquil, for example. Other times, the data points represent memories of a beautiful view or a friendly stranger: The snow-clad mountains of the Andes in the sunlight visible from the deck of the ship, or shepherds who provided food and shelter for a shipwrecked crew. However small or large the

[29] P.H.C., "Den Gamle Skibsfører Fortæller" (Fanø Ugeblad Nr. 11, March 16, 1968), Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.

significance of the data point, it was significant enough for the sailor to remember it and to talk about it. Together these points made up the conceptualization of the world as the sailor thought about it.

Fig. 4.1. Map of geographical data points from the memoirs of sailor P. J. Pedersen[30]

[30] P.J. Pedersen, "Erindringer. Nedskrevet af Styrmand P.J. Pedersen, F. Oldefar (v. Poul Ulsdal f Pedersen).," ed. F Oldefar (Fanø Ugeblad Nr. 18, Maj 1986), Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.

Fig. 4.2. Map of geographical data points from the memoirs of sailor Valdemar Petersen[31]

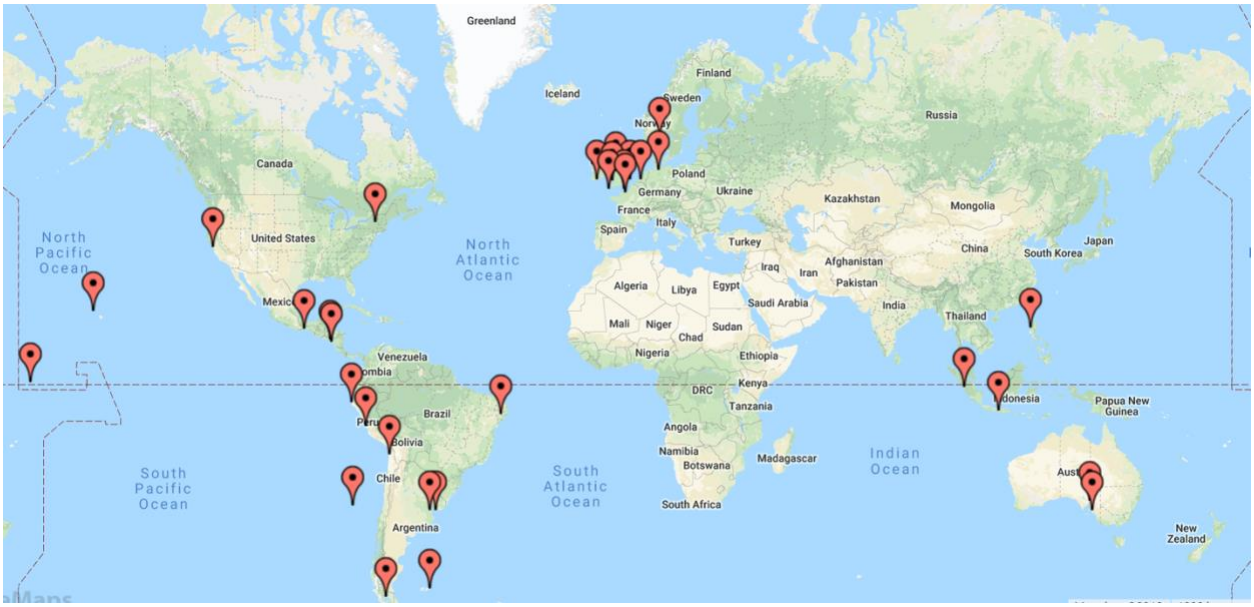

Fig. 4.3. Map of geographical data points from the memoirs of sailor Hans Peter Winther[32]

[31] Valdemar Petersen, "Episoder fra en sømands liv," n.d., Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.
[32] Hans Peter Winther, "Hans Peter Winther's seks første rejser til Søs med sejlskibe, 1888-1897" (Unpublished, n.d.), Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.

Fig. 4.4. Map of geographical data points from the memoirs of sailor N.M. Toftgaard Nielsen.

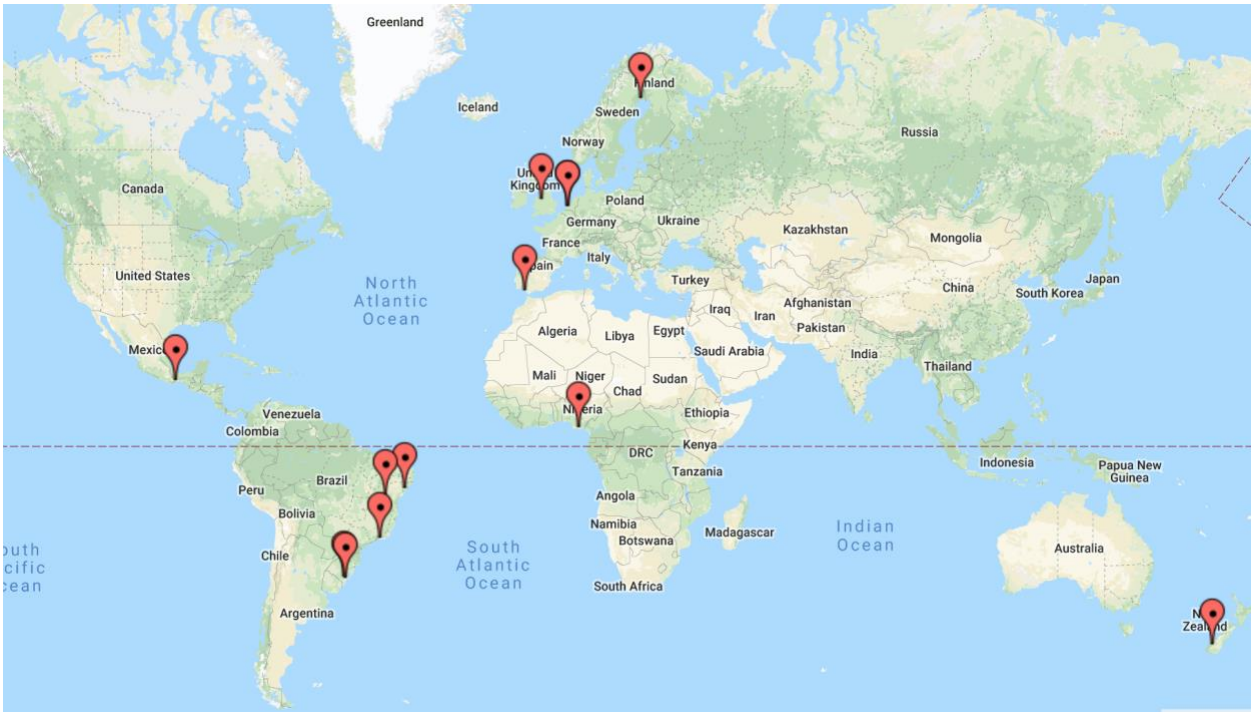

Fig. 4.5. Map of geographical data points from the memoirs of sailor Albert Huus.

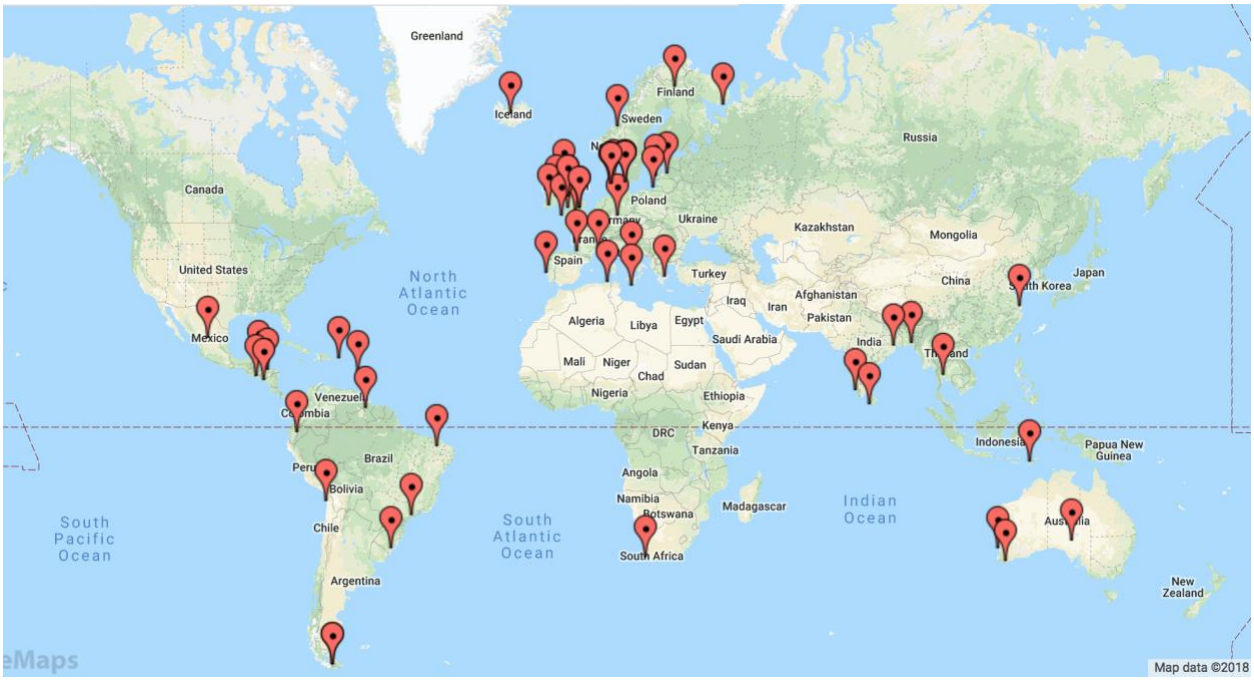

Fig. 4.6. Map of geographical data points from the memoirs of sailor Bertel Clausen Jensen.

Remembering, Recording, and Appropriating Global Space

In this section, I discuss the geographical information which sailors included in their memoirs. All the memoirs in this section were published either by local newspapers or in book form by the sailors themselves. The first memoir was published in 1902, which coincided with the beginning of the rapid decline of the age of sail. I examine the inclusions of geographical information in the memoirs as constructions of collective memory. History and the construction of collective memory has been the topic of numerous scholarly works. In this dissertation, I lean on the thoughts of Jacques Le Goff and Eric Hobsbawm to understand how and why sailors actively inscribed themselves and their experiences in the collective memories and the identities of their communities. Marxist historians like Le Goff and Hobsbawm, as well as historians of the Holocaust who have used the concept of collective memory extensively, are especially insightful

because of their understanding of the social function of historical memory in a community, whether the community is intellectually, ethnically, or locally defined.

In an article from 1972, Eric Hobsbawm asserted the universality of historical consciousness: "All human beings are conscious of the past by virtue of living with people older than themselves. All societies likely to concern the historian have a past, for even the most innovative colonies are populated by people who come from some society with an already long history."[33] Hobsbawm's piece poses more questions than it does answers, except in its argument that "collective continuity" seems to be important in almost all social contexts (or at least those readily imaginable to a Marxist historian) from history classes to Marxist communities. Hobsbawm asks, "What precisely did or do Marxists gain from the knowledge that there were slave rebellions in ancient Rome which… were by their own analysis doomed to failure or to produce results which could have little bearing on the aspirations of modern communists?"[34]

In this section, I make sense of how sailors used their memoirs to construct a discourse about their recent past. As sailors recorded and published their memoirs, their maritime communities were disintegrating before their eyes. The age of sail was already ending when the earliest memoirs were published. In addition to providing empirical evidence about the global travels of sailors, the memoirs also have an element of authoritative function in preserving the world that was already being lost to the sailors. As the older generation, the sailors were authoritatively recording the collective past of their maritime communities. In these recollections, it is central that they recorded their cross-cultural experiences[35] as well as their

[33] E. J. Hobsbawm, "The Social Function of the Past: Some Questions," *Past & Present* 55, no. 1 (May 1, 1972): 3.
[34] Hobsbawm, 14.
[35] See chapter 2

global travels. The broad geographic presence of each sailor was central to the way in which they constituted the identity of themselves as global laborers, as well as central to the way they were constructing the collective memory of their communities as communities of global engagement.

On the role of history and community, Nicholas Dirks argues that the "master narratives of nineteenth-century history have been appropriated by the subjects of colonial rule," and that history therefore, "has not only been the outcome of political representation but also its necessary condition. History has therefore been deeply implicated both in hegemony and struggle."[36] Dirks' unit of analysis is much broader than mine, but I argue that Dirks' assertion is accurate on any scale. The creation of history is involved in struggles over hegemony and rights to representation within a community. The sailors who used their memoirs to establish themselves as authorities at the center of their maritime communities use geographical data to suggest the primacy of global knowledge and global experiences as fundamental to their identities within the community. They used their memoirs to set themselves apart from their community members as those who had traveled widely, and in the process of asserting their particular identities they used pedagogical methods to assert their authorities. They taught their community members about the geography of the world through their memoirs, thereby asserting themselves within their communities as those who knew about the world.

Geographies of a Mobile Working Class

In the following section I discuss the empirical evidence for the assertion that sailors from Nordby, Sønderho, and Marstal were members of a global labor force. It presents the geography of the world from the perspective of the sailors themselves, allowing their voices to come

[36] Nicholas B. Dirks, "History as a Sign of the Modern," *Public Culture* 2, no. 2 (1990): 25–26.

through authoritatively in a way which reflects how they constructed the geographical space they worked in. In the following, we will see not only what the world looked like to the sailors, but also how they presented and interpreted the geographical world to their communities. This section is a geographical representation of the world as it related to the sailors, and it is not to be confused with the way in which sailors participated in social hierarchies globally. For a discussion specifically on social geography, see Chapter Two. This part of the chapter is organized into sections based on geographical region, because sailors made sure to show in their memoirs that their experience with the world was broad. They had been to many different parts of the world.

South America

Petersen remembered the tall snow-clad mountains on the coast of Peru. He also remembers celebrating Christmas as his ship rounded Cape Horn.[37] Arriving in Rio De Janeiro, Pedersen said: "Rio's harbor is large and very beautiful. Although the approach is narrow, it widens into a beautifully large bay surrounded by tall mountains which are covered in tropical plants."[38] Nielsen remembers of Guayaquil in Ecuador: "It was terribly hot in Guayaquil. The city was just below the equator 80 miles into the country up a long river through marshlands and jungle, and we were almost eaten up by mosquitoes."[39] On the west coast of Mexico, Albert Huus and his comrades saw a sawfish and just below the equator on the coast of South America, they saw several large whales. On the voyage down the west coast, Albert Huus said: "It was delightful to

[37] Petersen, "Episoder fra en sømands liv," 13.
[38] Pedersen, "Erindringer. Nedskrevet af Styrmand P.J. Pedersen, F. Oldefar (v. Poul Ulsdal f Pedersen).," 3.
[39] N.M. Toftgaard Nielsen, "Erindringer fra Sejlskibstiden" (Fanø Ugeblad Nr. 3, January 20, 1978), 1, Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.

see the beautiful coast with the Andes mountains in the background. The mountain peaks reached high into the air."[40] Of an unspecified location on the west coast of South America Huus said: "We made landing in a little bay, where the water was very clear. We saw many corals, marine plants, and seashells on the white sandy ocean floor."[41]

On sailing around the Cape Horn, Huus remarked: "The oceans on the southern hemisphere are colder than on the same latitude on the northern hemisphere. Cape Horn is the most dangerous headland on the entire planet, since the weather is always harsh and stormy. It is winter all year around, even though it is on the same latitude as Denmark."[42]

Africa

Huus was onboard a ship which was docked on the west coast of Africa: "Our ropes and sails turned red with the sand blowing in from the Sahara. The wind was clear up above and red down below."[43] In a separate recollection, Huus said: "In the trade winds at night, flying fish will often fall on the deck of the ship. They have the size of a nice herring, and we eat them."[44] Jensen and his comrades had occasion to visit Alexandria while their ship was docked for a few days. They rode donkeys through the city and saw granaries purported to have belonged to the Hebrew patriarch Joseph.[45]

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[40] Albert Huus, "En Sømands Rejseoplevelser," 1934, 25, Marstal Lokalarkiv.
[41] Huus, 26.
[42] Huus, 25.
[43] Huus, 14.
[44] Huus, 20.
[45] Bertel Clausen Jensen, "Erindringer Fra Hav Og Land.," *Fanø Ugeavis 6*, February 9, 1952, 55:6 edition.

Tristan da Cunha is an island in the Atlantic Ocean off the coast of South Africa. A Danish ship of young sailors learning the trade was wrecked on Tristan da Cunha, and the event was much talked about in Danish maritime communities. Pedersen was onboard a ship which sailed close to Tristan da Cunha, and he remembered the shipwreck: "Shortly thereafter we saw the island of Tristan da Cunha. It was much discussed in connection with the wreck of the Danish training ship *Danmark*. The island is an insignificant volcanic island with about 50 inhabitants. The population consists of people who have been banished from society on account of run-ins with the law."[46]

Sailor Pedersen sailed from Australia to South Africa during the Boer War. His ship transported rations for the English troops. He said: "The war between the English and the Boers had just broken out, and the English troops needed food, which there was plenty of in Australia. We arrived in Cape Town without any difficulties. Cape Town is a large city with lots of shipping, especially during the Boer War. Everything which they needed during the war had to arrive by ship."[47]

Asia

In an expression of longing, fantasy, and imagination of the world beyond Scandinavia, Jensen said that his dreams came true when his ship docked arrived at Sri Lanka: "Now we had reached the destination of my dreams, the land of palm trees and spices, the island of plenty. This was an apt description of Ceylon."[48] Pedersen was on board the ship *Wilhelmine* of Fanø which sailed to

[46] Pedersen, "Erindringer. Nedskrevet af Styrmand P.J. Pedersen, F. Oldefar (v. Poul Ulsdal f Pedersen).," 3.
[47] Pedersen, 6.
[48] Bertel Clausen Jensen, "Erindringer Fra Hav Og Land.," *Fanø Ugeavis 2823*, October 13, 1951, 54:2823 edition.

Bangkok: “Bangkok is far up the river Menang, and is a very interesting place. It has many temples and pagodas, and lots of people in boats on the river at all times. Chickens, eggs, and fish were cheap, so we always got a little extra.”[49]

In Indonesia, on a voyage from Bangkok to Rio De Janeiro with a cargo full of rice, Petersen’s ship sailed close by an island with the remnants of a large volcano by the name of *Krakatoa*. Its eruption in 1884 caused widespread destruction on the island. Nielsen sailed from Dekote to Menado in Indonesia. On the way, he and the other crew felt an earthquake: “We could feel the vibrations through the water. On Celebes[50] and the surrounding islands, there are many volcanoes, and they erupt every so often.”[51] In Menado, Nielsen said: “Since we were just below the equator, it was unbearably hot. We were there during the rainy season, and every night there was thunder and lightning. The tropical rains came barreling down.”[52]

Arriving in Mumbai, Pedersen said: “Now we have arrived at a completely new place with new colors and new conditions than we are used to. Bombay is a large city with great wealth, but also great poverty, which is evident when you get into the city.”[53] Jensen experienced the jungles in India several times. One time, he and his comrades landed in Balasore in the province of Odisha. Jensen said: “The Captain had to travel into the town of Balasore ten miles into the country. The sailors stayed on the little landing by the ship. At night we slept up high on

[49] Pedersen, “Erindringer. Nedskrevet af Styrmand P.J. Pedersen, F. Oldefar (v. Poul Ulsdal f Pedersen).,” 3.
[50] Celebes is the antiquated name for Sulawesi.
[51] Nielsen, “Erindringer fra Sejlskibstiden,” 3.
[52] Nielsen, 4.
[53] Pedersen, “Erindringer. Nedskrevet af Styrmand P.J. Pedersen, F. Oldefar (v. Poul Ulsdal f Pedersen).,” 5.

sacks of rice out of fear of the tigers which lived in the big jungle."[54] Another time in the jungle, Jensen reflected on the nature of the place: "The jungle is such a strange place, I think. It is mysterious and oppressive. There is a great plain as far as the eye can see, with dense brambles which neither animals nor humans can pass through. Among the brambles are passable areas which were carved out by nature. It is a sad and dangerous place for humans, but a safe haven for wild animals. Here and there a gnarly tree grew up through the brambles. In the rainy season, when the monsoon blows, the entire plain is under water, and no one can live there." For Jensen, there were other parts of India that he liked better than the jungle. He was fond of Cochin in the province of Kerala: "The coconut palms were grown in this part of the country. There were coconut palms on the coast as far as the eye could see."[55]

Europe

Albert Huus was especially favorably impressed with the town of Cadiz in Spain. He said: "What a wonderful sight to one morning lie outside the town of Cadiz… The view of the bar and the town was glorious with all the white houses in the background. Here, it is safe to say, we sailed right into the paradise of the tropics. Oh what a wonderful climate to always have clear skies, and mild and clean air from the ocean during the day." Huus went with the captain into Cadiz, and saw the diversity and in the town, including what he said were beautiful women and beautifully dressed men with brightly colored clothes and a scarf around their waists. There was an abundance of Mediterranean fruits. He saw large Spanish ships of war maneuvering on the

[54] Bertel Clausen Jensen, "Erindringer Fra Hav Og Land.," *Fanø Ugeavis 2830*, December 1, 1951, 54:2830 edition.
[55] Bertel Clausen Jensen, "Erindringer Fra Hav Og Land.," *Fanø Ugeavis 2831*, December 8, 1951, 54:2831 edition.

bay by the city. He liked the vibrant and colorful life in Cadiz and expressed a fondness for it in contrast with his own country: "The colorful life and the grand landscape around the bay and the harbor made for an unforgettable sight, which would imprint itself on anyone's mind, especially on the mind of someone from the cold and harsh north."[56]

As a young boy of around 14, Svarrer was onboard a ship which made a stop in Cardiff. He said: "There was so much to see for a boy on his first voyage: First and foremost, all the many steamships and sailing ships from different nations."[57] Jensen was onboard a ship which docked in Piraeus near Athens in Greece. The crew was given leave to look around the city. Although Jensen was disappointed with his visit to Athens, at least he formed an impression: "It was clear than Athens was once a mighty city. Large marble columns were strewn about where they had fallen. I went into an ancient temple, but I didn't know any Greek history, and there was no one there to help me understand. I got very little out of my visit."[58]

Australia

Pedersen's memoir says that Brisbane was a large city and that Australia has a healthful climate.[59] Jensen spent some time in Fremantle, Australia. It was a depressing place, he said. Fremantle was a small town but it was growing quickly. It was a convict colony with large

[56] Huus, "En Sømands Rejseoplevelser," 7.
[57] N.A. Svarrer, "Kapt. N.A. Svarrers Erindringer. Fanø Ugeblad Jan. 1964" (Fanø Ugeblad, January 1964), 12, Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.
[58] Jensen, "Erindringer Fra Hav Og Land.," February 9, 1952.
[59] Pedersen, "Erindringer. Nedskrevet af Styrmand P.J. Pedersen, F. Oldefar (v. Poul Ulsdal f Pedersen).," 4.

prisons, but many of the inhabitants of the town were also prisoners who had been released on good behavior. Jensen lodged with a man who was a former convict.[60]

Ships could be docked for shorter or longer periods of time, depending on how long it took to load the cargo or if the ship needed repairs. On longer stays, sometimes lasting months, sailors had more opportunities to look around. They formed impressions of foreign places, some even expressing desires to settle down permanently. The more thorough engagement with a place often led to deeper understandings of the place, involving political considerations. Sailors were often quick to notice how living conditions differed for people of different ethnicities.

Political Observations

In Angostura, Venezuela, P.H.C. noticed that there was a new part of town and an old part of town. The old part of town, a collection of ramshackle huts, was settled by workers of African descent: "Finally our long journey up the river came to an end and one fine afternoon we anchored outside Angostura. To announce our arrival, we fired a small rear canon. The town lies on the southern bank of the river, and consists of an old part and a new part. The new part, or the capital city, is called Teudad Bolivar, after Simon Bolivar, the liberator of Venezuela. The other part of Angostura, the older part, is a collection of ramshackle thatched huts and it is inhabited by Africans."[61]

In Taiwan, P.H.C. noticed a similar difference between two parts of town. The town of Tamsui, on the north coast of Taiwan, had a fortification within the town which was a refuge for white settlers when they were afraid of people around them: "We were loading rice and camphor

[60] Bertel Clausen Jensen, "Erindringer Fra Hav Og Land.," *Fanø Ugeavis 2824*, October 20, 1951, 54:2824 edition.
[61] P.H.C., "Den Gamle Skibsfører Fortæller," 3.

and more for the Chinese government. Tamsui has a good harbor, but it isn't deep enough, so to take a full load of cargo, the ship must be loaded outside the bar. Tamsui itself is built on hills and looks very pretty. It has a little fortification, which the Europeans run to when there is trouble and they are frightened, as happened often in those days."[62]

Bertel Clausen Jensen observed that Shanghai similarly consisted of two different parts. One part of the city was reserved for the Europeans and the other part was reserved for non-Europeans. When Bertel Clausen Jensen and his Swedish friend Nielson went ashore in Shanghai, they sought out a guide who could show them both parts of the city. The Chinese city was a few miles from the European city. Before reaching the old Chinese city, they saw two opium houses in the new European part of town. The opium houses had a few large rooms and many smaller rooms meant for only a few people. The opium houses were opulently decorated, but Jensen felt very keenly a sense of horror in these houses. Sleeping people were scattered on divans, sleeping off their opium high. They slept as soundly as if they were dead. Jensen and Nielsen walked about the opium house as though it were a museum. No one took any notice of the two sailors and their guide.

Jensen and Nielsen continued into the old part of town, which was surrounded by walls which were twice as high as anywhere else. The houses were low, dirty, and unpaved, narrow lanes led between them. Their guide suddenly picked up speed so that the sailors had to strain to keep up with him. They were unsure what caused the sudden swiftness. The guide, who had previously been friendly and smiling, had turned icy. He mumbled as he hurried forward. The two sailors felt somewhat anxious, but dared not turn around, as they could not find their way back to the ship on their own. After a short while, the party arrived at a large open square with a

[62] P.H.C., 5.

large building. The guide, who had returned to his usual self, explained that they had reached a Mandarin's palace. Cages reminiscent of birdcages surrounded the square. Each cage contained a prisoner. The cages were only three or four paces wide, and the prisoners had no beds or chairs. They were forced to sleep on the bare dirt. There was no shelter for snow or wind. The guide encouraged the two sailors to spit at the prisoners, as it was anyone's right to do.

Jensen and Nielsen visited two temples. One was a special house for the gods. It had hundreds of statues of gods which were all on display on shelves in long rows. There was a god for anything which could possibly concern human life. When a person needed help, they need only address the god who was specific to their troubles and offer them silver or golden paper, which could be bought from the priest. When the paper was burned in front of the face of the god, it was sure to cause the god to aid the seeker. Above all the smaller gods was a larger, gilded god. He had his own special room in the temple. The god of war was gruesome to behold. His appearance alone would chance away the enemy. The guide showed the two sailors the god of storms, who ought to be the friend of any honest seaman. His friendship could be elicited by offering flowers of paper and half a dollar. Upon the offering, a priest would record the names of the sailors into a book, and they would henceforth always be safe in stormy weather. The sailors performed the ritual, but suspected that the priest might have cheated the storm god out of his rightful offerings. The party left the temple and the old city altogether.

Outside the city walls, the guide asked for his pay and for permission to depart from the company of the sailors. As the two men were making their way back to their ship, they saw a group of beggars writhing in the mud and snow. The sailors were heartsick to see this suffering, and gave what coins they had left over to the beggars. One of the beggar women threw her arms

around the legs of Jensen, and wouldn't let go. Jensen beat her with his cane until she no longer held on.[63]

Conclusion

As a global, maritime workforce, sailors traveled to many different places in the world. The fact that sailors' memoirs are preoccupied with showing that they had been to many different parts of the globe, that they were familiar with the world suggests that the global aspect of sailors' lives was not incidental to their work but central to their identities. They made a point of telling their home communities in written memoirs, and possibly orally as well, that they had a familiarity with the world, its people, its cultures, customs, religions, languages, climates, and much more. Published memoirs don't say very much about life onboard the ship except when it specifically serves the purpose of demonstrating that sailors were crossing cultural barriers or experiencing foreign climates. Although the late nineteenth century was a time of European empires dominating the globe, the maps in this chapter are not imperial maps. They are the maps of people who belonged to a global laboring class. Most importantly, the maps allow these people to define their own relationship to the world because they were derived through the writing of global maritime workers.

[63] Bertel Clausen Jensen, "Erindringer Fra Hav Og Land.," *Fanø Ugeavis 2827*, November 10, 1951, 54:2827 edition.

CHAPTER FIVE

Beriberi and Maritime Medicine

The first part of this chapter is an account of captain Bertel Clausen Jensen's experience with beriberi in East Asia in 1902. Jensen was sailing from Nagasaki to Bangkok when, due to a storm, the ship was blown off course, the crew lost their rations of potatoes, and eventually everyone onboard developed beriberi. In the second part of this chapter, I examine Jensen's account of the beriberi outbreak in order to illuminate aspects of the intersection of medical practice and maritime culture. Medicine at sea differed from medicine on land on a number of counts, and I use medical anthropology and medical texts to analyze Jensen's account of health and disease onboard the ship. When Jensen returned to Fanø, he spoke to his local doctor about his illness. In the conversation Jensen had with his unnamed doctor, the doctor approached beriberi in a way that resembled how the surgeon general of the Japanese navy approached the illness but that seems inconsistent with what many people in Europe, including Dutch physician Christiaan Eijkman, thought about the illness.

In the early summer of 1902, Jensen had recently been promoted to captain of the ship *Ragnhild*. In Nagasaki, the crew of *Ragnhild* loaded coal to transport to Bangkok for the Danish East Asia Company. While *Ragnhild* was docked in Nagasaki, the monsoon winds shifted and *Ragnhild* was going to be sailing into a south-western monsoon wind, which worried Jensen. He knew that even under favorable conditions, the journey was going to be long and difficult, but sailing against the monsoonal winds was going to be extraordinarily trying. At sea, conditions were unfavorable, and the ship soon found itself slowed by stiff wind. As the weather got rougher, the ship suffered damages and the crew was straining to keep up with repairs at sea. In

Nagasaki, Jensen had bought a few thousand pounds of potatoes for his crew because he believed potatoes would stave off scurvy and beriberi. At sea the crew discovered that most of the potatoes had rotted due to damp and warm monsoonal weather. Consequently, all potatoes had to be thrown overboard. With the potatoes gone, the crew relied on a diet of white rice for the remainder of the journey.

Ragnhild had managed to make her way down through the Strait of Taiwan when the stormy weather got even worse. The ship strained and all ropes on the starboard side burst. All hands were on deck to keep the ship on its course, securing ropes and fastenings. Gale force winds and increasing wind speeds suggested to Jensen that the ship was in the middle of a typhoon and that they were headed directly for the center of the storm. This was to be avoided at all costs, even though changing course would mean losing days of progress at sea. It was with a heavy heart that Jensen made the decision to turn around. In the eleventh hour, when ocean and sky were indistinguishable and sailors were grasping anything they could reach so as not to be knocked over by the wind, *Ragnhild* turned her back on the eye of the storm. It was four hours until the barometer pressure began to drop again and *Ragnhild* was out of immediate danger. *Ragnhild* sailed for more than three weeks before passing out of reach of the hurricane. By that time *Ragnhild* was sailing in waters which Jensen knew were full of reefs and which were marked on the map as "unreliably charted." Jensen did not know exactly where the ship was traveling or how far they had to go before reaching a safe port. While the ship was fleeing the typhoon, the first indication that the loss of the ship's store of potatoes was beginning to have negative effects on the crew's health became apparent.

On July 13, *Ragnhild*'s Norwegian first mate, Vroldsen, complained of back pain and went to lie down, unable to carry out his duties. Jensen and the other crew picked up Vroldsen's

work while he was ill. The extra work wore on the rest of the crew, including Jensen. He was on deck constantly because of his first mate's illness, resting only occasionally on the floor, wearing his oil clothes. After a full week of illness, Vroldsen showed no signs of improvement. On the contrary, he began complaining of pain in his legs, which swelled badly, and he developed large water-filled boils. Jensen feared that Vroldsen was suffering from beriberi but, with the store of potatoes gone, there was little the captain could do. The days went on with thunder and lightning storms, until July 30, when the rain let up for the first time since *Ragnhild* left Nagasaki.

Vroldsen rallied somewhat, and was well enough to be up on deck to help with mending and repairs. The improvement in both the weather and Vroldson's health were both short lived, however. On August 1, the weather turned bad again, and on August 5, Vroldsen returned to his sickbed. By the 9th, Vroldsen reported that, although he was without pain, his legs were weak and he had trouble walking. His legs began swelling again soon after and by August 15 the first mate was in critical condition, suffering badly and desperately in need of medical attention. Jensen studied the medical manual but it was of no help, and there was no medicine in Jensen's chest which would aid the patient. Lacking useful medication, Vroldsen was given condensed milk and meat extract in the hope that it might strengthen him, but this had no effect. Jensen sat with his dying first mate until 3:30 in the afternoon, when Vroldsen passed away in great pain.

First mate Vroldsen was given a solemn but simple burial at sea. Captain Jensen felt too moved by the death of his first mate to speak, and no one was in the mood to sing, so Jensen simply read a few psalms for the crew. Jensen's thoughts went to Vroldsen's widow and children in Norway, remarking that God would now be their first mate. Vroldsen's illness was only the beginning of troubles for the crew on *Ragnhild*, however. Jensen was overworked and tired, and had started to feel pain and weakness in his own legs. Other crew members were also beginning

to feel the effects of beriberi. Soon the entire crew, including the captain, was plagued by unspecified digestive disorders. Not knowing how to treat the symptoms he saw, Jensen distributed English salt (also known as magnesium sulfate, or Epsom salt) and American oil (castor oil) to his crew, but the medicine was running low. W. Weichardt, the only other Danish sailor on board, was second mate, but had been acting first mate since Vroldsen's death. Weichardt was complaining of leg pains too. Jensen's own pains were getting worse daily, and other sailors were complaining of pain and weakness, especially in the legs.

By August 29, the ship found itself in the gulf of Siam, and Jensen was hoping to make it to Bangkok in three days' time. The entire crew now had swollen legs and conditions onboard *Ragnhild* were becoming critical. Hard rains and wind continued to slow the pace of the ship. Hoisting the sails was especially challenging, as the crew was too weak to work and the ship was making very little progress. Their swollen legs were heavy as lead, and Jensen debated running the ship aground. But even if he took such drastic action, the crew was too weak to get to land and there was no guarantee of landing anywhere near a populated area. On September 1st, the weather had improved some, but the ship was still several days away from its destination. As an experiment, Jensen tried wrapping his legs in tar-soaked cloth to reduce the swelling. The treatment failed, as did warm foot baths, vigorous rubbing of cognac on the affected area, and applications of mustard. Captain Jensen concluded that the swelling of the lower body must be caused by buildup of fluid. He tried applying a Spanish fly patch which was made from a pulverized insect of the "blister beetle" family. The pulverized insect contained cantharidin, which causes the skin to develop blisters. Once a large blister had formed on Jensen's leg, he opened the blister and drained the fluid. This treatment failed to make any real difference, and Jensen now had a wound on his leg the size of his palm. Jensen prevented the wound from

healing, in order to continuously drain liquid from his legs, but this only resulted in the infection of his leg wound.

Finally, on September 7, the crew saw land, and on September 9, 91 days after leaving Japan and still in bad weather, *Ragnhild* reached Ko Si Chang, near Bangkok. The crew received unspecified beriberi medicine and ample fruits and vegetable. In his memoirs, Jensen related a particularly strong memory of gorging on a head of cabbage after months of eating only rice. In Bangkok the crew saw improvement but not recovery, and they continued treatment and rest for some time. Even though they ate fruit and vegetables, the affliction would not completely dissipate. Nevertheless, Jensen and his crew had to start thinking about heading back to Europe. A German doctor came aboard *Ragnhild* and he spoke to Jensen about the illness. It had been Jensen's intent to sail *Ragnhild* to Lisbon with a cargo of teak wood, but the doctor strongly advised against it, arguing that Jensen was much too frail and would not survive the strenuous journey. Instead he suggested that Jensen and a Norwegian sailor be transported home aboard the Danish steamer *Prinsesse Marie*. Jensen ultimately agreed, and the doctor arranged the transport with the shipping company. The doctor, who was employed by the military, had come to Bangkok from Berlin to study beriberi, and had a large number of beriberi patients in his care. "What is beriberi, and what causes the illness?" Jensen asked the doctor. "If I could answer that question, I would be a very famous man," replied the doctor.[1] What the doctor knew was that beriberi was common among sailors and that it was a wide-spread illness in Japan.

Jensen left Bangkok and went home. When he arrived on Fanø he was still in low spirits and plagued by the effects of beriberi. He went straight to the doctor on Fanø. The doctor, whose

[1] Bertel Clausen Jensen, "Erindringer Fra Hav Og Land.," *Fanø Ugeavis 39*, October 11, 1952, 55:39 edition.

name Jensen did not record, knew much about beriberi, as he had treated many sailors with the illness. The Fanø doctor inquired whether the crew had eaten rice as a substitute for potatoes. Since the potatoes had rotted onboard *Ragnhild*, Jensen and the crew had indeed eaten rice instead of potatoes. "This is the cause of your illness" said the Fanø doctor. Jensen was skeptical. He was under the impression that rice was harmless, and he had himself lived off rice for months at a time with no ill effect. "It was probably a different kind of rice" replied the doctor. "We're still not entirely sure, but we think that rice has something to do with beriberi. When the outer hard shell of the rice is removed, there is a thin yellow coating on the core of the rice. This yellow shell seems to be a very high nutritional value. The modern mill removes the yellow shell, producing a fine white grain of rice which has almost no nutritional value."[2]

One of the central points in Jensen's account is the difference between what the German doctor told him in Bangkok and what his own doctor told him when he returned to Fanø, and the relationship of Jensen's memory of both conversations to the fact that a consensus on the causes of beriberi was established in 1912, ten years after the two conversations took place, according to Jensen's memory. This is one of the central points of Jensen's account because it raises questions about medical knowledge in the nineteenth century. Did Jensen's doctor know about beriberi from returning sailors who had been in contact with someone in the Japanese Navy? Or did Jensen's doctor know about beriberi from some other source? When sailors were engaging in cross cultural exchanges, to what degree were they also engage in the exchange of knowledge? How closely did they adhere to the authorities within their own region and culture, and how much authority did they attribute to knowledge which came from sources outside of their own cultural sphere? Jensen's account raises many more questions than it answers.

[2] Jensen.

Jensen's account was published in *Fanø Ugeblad* between September 20th, 1952, and October 11th, 1952, nearly 50 years after Jensen's voyage on *Ragnhild* in East Asia. In the time between Jensen's voyage and the publication of his memoirs, the Western medical community reached a consensus on the causes of beriberi. Jensen's memory may have been influenced by knowledge which he acquired after his initial experience with beriberi. Any historian working with historical evidence in the form of memory or oral testimony must acknowledge the possibility of working with an unreliable narrator. It is possible that Jensen was misremembering the conversation he had with his doctor when he came back from East Asia in 1902. The contradiction which Jensen remembers between what the German doctor told him in Bangkok, and what his own doctor told him on Fanø, is possibly a misrepresentation of what actually happened, given the long lapse in time. It is also possible that Jensen's memory is accurate. The schematic nature of the way in which the two conversations are presented in his memoir suggests that sequence of the two conversations is important to Jensen. He juxtaposes the two conversations, implicitly suggesting that his own doctor on Fanø had the true knowledge while the German doctor in Bangkok did not. If Jensen's memory is accurate, the question is why Jensen's doctor thought what a white rice diet was to blame for beriberi.

Another central concept in Jensen's account is the way in which sailors were doctors, nurses, and patients to each other when they are isolated from civil society on the open sea. Jensen even experimented on himself. The variety of roles related to medicine and medical practice, which sailors fulfilled, suggests that they were thinking about medicine. They were not thoughtlessly executing directives in the medical manual. They were caring for fellow sailors, nursing and comforting their comrades, actively trying to lessen pain and heal illness. We have come to see such caring as amateurish and even thoughtless in the face of the increasing

professionalization of medical practice. In doing so, we obscure the agency and authority which non-professional medical practitioners have historically had. The field of medical anthropology has elucidated these problems of the last 25 years. In my analysis of sailors as medical practitioners and healers, as well as in trying to understand the multiplicity of approaches to beriberi, I borrow from the field of medical anthropology.

Medical Anthropology

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there was an acceleration of the acquisition of effective knowledge for treating infectious diseases. This led to the establishment of a standardized medical system based on the scientific biomedical model. Of course, the widespread biomedical system which is in place today is historically conditioned. Anthropologist Charles Leslie discusses the development of the modern medical system, arguing that from an anthropological perspective, medical practices in general need to be studied with an understanding that the current most pervasive medical system is a very recent historically conditioned artefact.[3] The most pervasive medical system worldwide today relies on the historical circumstances of the late nineteenth century, which gave rise to a system within the modern nation state of health departments, ministries of health, medical legislation, doctors, and specialists. This medical system involves schools, hospitals, clinics, professional associations, companies, agencies, trained doctors, and research facilities.[4]

The history of beriberi in the Japanese medical tradition is one such example of responses to a disease which developed independently from the European biomedical system up until the

[3] Charles Leslie, "Medical Pluralism in World Perspective," *Social Science & Medicine. Part B: Medical Anthropology* 14, no. 4 (November 1980): 191.
[4] Leslie, 191.

nineteenth century. In many ways, the biomedical system ultimately displaced indigenous medical knowledge in Japan. But even as indigenous medicine was being displaced by biomedicine, Japan's navy surgeon general Takaki Kanehiro argued for a hybrid medical approach to beriberi, in which older Japanese medical practices blended with newer biomedical practices which were coming into the country after the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate.[5]

Medical anthropology elucidates the nuances and pluralism of medical practice. It allows us to investigate whether, and to what degree, sailors were medical thinkers and medical practitioners within their own communities. Charles Leslie, one of the first scholars in the field of medical anthropology, argued for the creation of an even-handed view of medical pluralism: "Starting from the observations of local medical systems, anthropologists cultivate an even-handed view of medical pluralism, in contrast to the normative view that characterizes health professionals."[6] Leslie's evenhanded view of medical systems, according to Catherine Panter-Brick and Mark Eggerman at Yale University, creates an understanding of "why diverse ways of framing healer-patient relationships co-exist, and how this is related to historical, social, and political contexts."[7] Medical anthropology examines how the health of individuals is affected by cultural norms, social institutions, politics, economic factors, and especially by forces of globalization.[8] With a diverse framing of the healer-patient relationship, Jensen's role as a healer comes into focus. He becomes less of an incidental actor, and can instead be understood as a medical practitioner onboard the ship. His crew saw him as such, and he had prepared himself for that role, since he was in possession of a medical chest, a medical manual, and was making

[5] Alexander R Bay, *Beriberi in Modern Japan: The Making of a National Disease*, 2012, 127.
[6] Leslie, "Medical Pluralism in World Perspective," 191.
[7] Catherine Panter-Brick and Mark Eggerman, "The Field of Medical Anthropologie in Social Science & Medicine," *Social Science and Medicine* 196 (2018): 234.
[8] Panter-Brick and Eggerman, 234.

decisions about the health of his sailors even before *Ragnhild* left the port in Nagasaki. Jensen's role as a healer was a direct result of historical, social, and political contexts, as Panter-Brick and Eggerman put it. Jensen was a healer because he was a captain onboard a merchant vessel which was at sea when his crew became ill.

Medical Anthropology and the World System: A Critical Perspective (1997) is a seminal text in the field of medical anthropology. In the context of Wallerstein, Baer, Singer, and Susser offer a critical perspective on health through the "political, economic, social structural, and environmental conditions in all societies that contribute to the etiology of disease."[9] The work argues that class and power relations are significant to the ways in which health and illness are understood. The theoretical framework which Baer, Singer, and Susser propose in *Medical anthropology and the World System* is called Critical Medical Anthropology, and it argues there is a social origin of disease which is identified with class difference. CMA is a useful category for understanding the health and response to illness of Scandinavian cargo vessels. Equipped with the tools of medical anthropologists, we can ask questions about how "cultural norms, social institutions, politics, economic factors, and forces of globalization" affected the health and medical practices of sailors.[10]

While medical anthropologists elucidate how we can think about sailors as medical practitioners, there is absolutely no evidence of a unified and articulated "maritime medical model." The biomedical model, in contrast, is formed by disparate practices and ideas which share assumptions about the evidentiary basis of knowledge. There is no evidence that sailors shared any kind of assumptions or beliefs which would suggest that maritime medicine existed as

[9] Hans A. Baer, Merrill Singer, and Ida Susser, *Medical Anthropology and the World System: A Critical Perspective* (Westport, Conn: Bergin & Garvey, 1997), 35.
[10] Baer, Singer, and Susser, *Medical Anthropology and the World System*.

a unified, cohesive system. At the same time, sailors' medical beliefs and practices should not be discarded as quackery, superstition, or pseudo-science.[11] Medical anthropologists such as Leslie argue that diverse medical practices, and I would include sailors' medical practices in this group, have been grossly misunderstood. With the rise of the current hegemonic medical system, there has been an attempt to eliminate other medical systems. The ultimate goal, argues Leslie, has been to standardize all components of medical care into a larger structure as a "worldwide system of cosmopolitan medicine."[12] By historicizing the process of the standardization of medicine, we can see medical practices in their own context rather than constantly in reference to the biomedical model.

On the spectrum of unified medical model on one end, and quackery on the other end, lies a range of medical practices which may be either independent, disparate, and eclectic. There is evidence to suggest that we should think of sailors as medical thinkers and practitioners and there is good reason to investigate their relationships to various established medical models. I argue that it is possible that medical knowledge was not siloed, and that sailors may have been in contact with multiple practices of medicine.

Maritime Medicine Historiography

The rather narrow historiography on maritime medicine focuses almost exclusively on naval medicine with an emphasis on the British context. The historiography also numbers a few volumes on medicine aboard New England whaling ships, while the historiography on medicine on cargo vessels remains understudied. While naval ships had surgeons on staff to look after the

[11] This is analogous to the ways in which Ginzburg does not discard Mennochio's words as peasant superstition, but instead takes them seriously and investigates what they mean.
[12] Leslie, "Medical Pluralism in World Perspective," 192.

medical needs of the sailors, merchant ships as well as whaling vessels relied on captains to perform medical care for the crew. Broadly speaking, there were circumstances around medical practice at sea which were common for all sailors. On longer voyages at sea, they were unable to access doctors but always in the proximity or on the verge of injury or disease. In the absence of doctors, sailors became community medical practitioners for each other. The captain of a ship was the head of the medical practice, often doing much of the supervisory medical work, but also providing the labor of health and care.

Adopting a broad definition of healthcare, and using the tools of medical anthropology, allows us to see that relationships between patients and practitioners are not defined by the biomedical model, but vary across time and space. In other situations, systems, or cultures, a healthcare practitioner may take on a much broader set of responsibilities relating to the care of his or her fellow human beings. In 1977, for instance, Thorne and Montague presented work on midwives in Islamic communities, which showed that midwives had other roles than that of birth attendant. Thorne and Montague's work is an example of anthropological work which demonstrates that medical practitioners have had different roles in different historical contexts. Thorne and Montague show that midwives also did household chores, washed corpses at funerals, and were consulted about other issues.[13] Looking at sailors as medical practitioners, requires that we historicize the western biomedical concept of medical practitioner, and accept that medical practitioners take on a variety of work and care duties. Sailors were caregivers and doctors as well as first-mates and able seamen. Their care work often crossed the boundaries of

[13] M. Thorne and J. Montague, "Role and Function of the Traditional Midwife in Islamic Societies." (1977).

gendered labor. The memoirs of sailors from Sønderho, Nordby, and Marstal show that captains did the emotional as well as the practical work of caregiving when their comrades were ill.

Nutrition and health have historically been especially closely connected in the practice of maritime medicine. A broader contextual definition of healthcare, which is advocated for by medical anthropologists, allows us to see attention to diet in the maritime context as a pillar of maritime practice for sailors. One of the most famous examples of the connection between diet and the health of mariners is scurvy, which accounted for especially high death tolls among sailors from the eighteenth century onward. For European nations who relied on maritime workers in their expanding empires and growing trading networks, solving the problem of scurvy became a pressing issue. One of the most egregious examples was the voyage undertaken by the Englishman George Anson to harass Spanish shipping in the Pacific in the middle of the eighteenth century. Anson's crew numbered 1,995 sailors of which 1,051 perished, primarily from scurvy.[14]

James Lind's *Treatise of the Scurvy* from 1753 marked a watershed moment in maritime medicine. Based on experimental observations as surgeon onboard the HMS *Salisbury*, James Lind determined diet was the principle cause of scurvy: "…as [diet] appears to be the principal occasional cause of their malady, it may be worthwhile to consider sea-provisions in their best state."[15] For the prevention of scurvy, Lind suggests strict attention to diet. Sailors should:

> eat a bit of raw onion, or a head of garlic, in a morning before they are exposed to the rains and washings of the sea. Whatever promotes perspiration is useful; and perhaps

[14] William M. McBride, "'Normal' Medical Science and British Treatment of the Sea Scurvy, 1753-1775," *The Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 46, no. 2 (April 1991): 159.

[15] James Lind, *A Treatise of the Scurvy. In Three Parts. Containing an Inquiry into the Nature, Causes, and Cure, of That Disease. Together with A Critical and Chronological View of What Has Been Published on the Subject. By James Lind, M.D.* (London: Sands, Murray, and Cochran. For A. Millar, 1753), 118.

> nothing will do it more effectiually at this time than a raw onion. Nor ought farther precautions to be omitted, of using proper exercise in the day, and having their bedding kept always dry, not binding it up close together till sufficiently aired and dried. When they are threatened with the approach of this disease, they ought, at going to bed, to promote a gentle diaphoresis, by draughts of water-gruel and vinegar, with the addition of lemon-juice, or the extract. They should use plenty of mustard and onions in the victuals; and may then indulge more freely in the use of fermented vinous liquors..[16]

Scurvy has received a tremendous amount of attention from historians, but diet and health at sea remains an under-studied subject. One exception to this is the essay by Erica Charters, who argues that diet was an instrumental part of the maritime strategy of the Western Squadron in the blockade of the French Atlantic Coast during the Seven Years' War.[17] Navies had begun to pay serious attention to the health of their sailors on whom the labor and hence success rested. Attention to the health of sailors after Lind's *Treatise* meant that navies paid close attention to the diets of their sailors. In keeping with a long-standing trend in maritime medicine and health at sea, Jensen was especially attentive to matters of nutrition and disease prevention. Before *Ragnhild*'s departure from Nagasaki, Jensen had purchased potatoes for the crew to eat during the voyage. He said, "In Nagasaki I bought a few thousand pounds of potatoes, partly because they were cheap, but mostly because I wanted my people to eat as many as they wanted. Potatoes were a good and healthful food. As long as we had potatoes, we didn't need to fear scurvy or beriberi."[18] Clearly, the health of the crew was on Jensen's mind as he thought about provisions for the voyage.

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[16] Lind, 233.
[17] Erica M. Charters, "'The Intention Is Certain Noble': The Western Squadron, Medical Trials, and the Sick and Hurt Board during the Seven Years War (1756-63)," in *Health and Medicine at Sea, 1700-1900*, ed. David Boyd Haycock and Sally Archer (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009).
[18] Bertel Clausen Jensen, "Erindringer Fra Hav Og Land.," *Fanø Ugeavis 36*, September 20, 1952, 55:36 edition.

Aside from diet, Jensen paid attention to the health and care of his sailors in other ways as well, often prompting them to rest if they were unwell. Hornemann's medical manual, which was the medical manual Jensen likely had onboard his ship, said, "In the case of serious illness, [the captain]… should approach the illness with calmness, and as a rule he should intervene less rather than more."[19] Jensen's actions followed this advice from the medical manual. As chiefly responsible for the medical care of his sailors, Jensen attempted to treat his first mate. The first attempt at treatment was simply to let the first mate rest in his hammock, but even with rest, the first mate did not recover. In a second attempt at treatment, Jensen administered condensed milk and meat extract, foods which were thought to be highly nourishing and conducive to healing. This also produced no effect. When Vroldsen was feeling ill, Jensen told him to rest, and took over Vroldsen's shifts. When Cisa was ill, Jensen similarly told him to rest. In his position of authority, Jensen had responsibility for the welfare of his sailors, and choosing to give them time to rest and recover was the first step in a series of actions he took in the interest of their health. Jensen's account of Vroldsen's illness reads like a medical journal. Jensen meticulously noted symptoms and treatments.

> July 30th: The first mate is feeling better and will work his shift on the deck. The swollen legs are normal again but he feels tired…On August 5, the first mate is ill again. He says that he is tired and he is experiencing chest pain. He will not work his shift, but instead rest until the fever has fallen. I'm not sure what his illness is. I have not prescribed medicine, his stomach is alright, and his appetite is good…On August 9, the first mate is lively, and doesn't have pain. His legs are weak, and he has trouble walking. His legs have started swelling again…August 15: The first mate is in much worse condition. He is clearly suffering, and he cannot walk without help. His tongue is not coated, and his temperature is 37.3˚. He is nauseated and is vomiting. He was given condensed milk and meat extract.[20]

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[19] Emil Hornemann, *Hornemanns Lægebog for Søfarende indeholdende vejledning til en forbedret sunheds- og sygepleje i handelsskibe*, ed. H.A. Breuning-Storm, 7th ed. (København: Forlaget af V. Pio's Boghandel, 1892).
[20] Bertel Clausen Jensen, "Erindringer Fra Hav Og Land.," *Fanø Ugeavis 37*, September 27, 1952, 55:37 edition.

One of the main differences between maritime medicine and landed medicine is that at sea, conventional hierarchies of medical authority are put out of play because both patient and practitioner are isolated from any other help while they are on the vessel. In the case of English naval medicine, naval medical guides testify to this alternate sphere of authority. In an overview of medical practice on land in relationship to medical practice at sea in the first half of the nineteenth century, Joan Druett points to the fact that on land in England there were barber surgeons and there were physicians, each with distinct roles and authorities. Barber surgeons practiced all hands-on medicine, while physicians were university-educated men who could prescribe medicine and expound medical theories, but who did not involve themselves with the physical practice of healing. Physicians were at the top of medical hierarchy while surgeons were decidedly lower.[21]At sea, naval surgeons were cut loose from the constraints of the medical hierarchy. The health of the crew depended on their actions and judgments alone. There was no higher authority to refer to. For this reason, surgeons at sea relied on medical guides written specifically for their circumstances. The earliest of these manuals was *The Surgions Mate* written in 1617 by John Woodall, a surgeon of the English East India Company. *The Surgions Mate* was the first manual in any language written for medical practitioners at sea. Druett describes Woodall as the "father of sea surgery"[22] and, although Woodall's manual was replaced by multiple subsequent manuals, it was the foundational text of its genre.

[21] Joan Druett, *Rough Medicine: Surgeons at Sea in the Age of Sail.* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 11–14.
[22] Druett, 10.

Like Druett's English sailors, Jensen had a medical manual on board his ship, which he consulted.[23] Beginning in 1867, Danish law required all cargo vessels to carry a standard medical chest which included a medical manual.[24] Although Jensen did not specify which medical manual he was consulting, it is likely he was consulting the standard medical manual which had been approved by the Danish ministry of internal affairs for the medical chests which were required by law to be carried on all merchant vessels. This manual was the *Hornemanns Lægebog for Søfarende; indeholdende Vejledning til en forbedret Sundheds- og Sygepleje I Handelsskibe* which was written by Emil Hornemann.

Hornemann was a socially conscious doctor who dedicated his life to the betterment of living conditions for the urban poor. Travels to France and England were formative for Hornemann in his understanding of the spread of disease. He saw crowded and unsanitary living conditions as one of the primary causes of disease, especially cholera, among the urban working poor in Copenhagen. He spearheaded socially conscious building projects in Copenhagen such as widely-known planned community of "Brumleby" which was meant to serve as a model for betterment of housing conditions for the city's industrial working class.[25] Emil Hornemann's brother, Wilken Hornemann, was also a medical doctor but, unlike his brother, he had extensive experience at sea through his service as a medical doctor in the Danish navy. Through his naval career he became aware of the poor health condition onboard ships and, like his brother, sought to apply his medical expertise in service of the betterment of the working class. He wrote

[23] He said: "I studied the medical manual, to find out how to lessen the horrible pains which the first mate was having. The medical manual gave no directions, because beriberi was a new disease which doctors did not know how to treat." (Jensen, Sept. 27, 1952)
[24] Henrik L. Larsen, "Når Søfarende Kommer Til Skade Eller Bliver Syge – Om Skibsmedicinkister Og Lægebøger for Søfarende Gennem 300 År.," *Museet for Søfart, Årbog* 68 (2009): 61.
[25] Larsen, 61.

treatises on medical treatments at sea, which were published in a journal which had an editor who later went into politics and advocated for Wilken Hornemann's ideas. Specifically, the editor-turned-politician Johan Tuxen advocated for a law which would require the presence of standard medical chests on all merchant vessels.[26]

Emil Hornemann's medical guide begins with a letter addressed to the captain of the ship, which invites the captains to take an active role in shaping new editions of the manual by sending feedback on medicines and procedures which are described in the book. The editor of the seventh edition, H.A. Breuning-Storm, says to the captains that his experience with medicine at sea includes only naval medicine, and that medicine onboard merchant vessels is of a different nature: "Unlike the captain of this ship, I have never known what it means to be without medical education and experience only equipped with a brief description, a few basic medicines, and in very cramped quarters… I would be grateful for statements from captains on what might be missing from this manual." Breuning-Storm continues to say that all medical terms in the manual are recorded in Danish, Latin, and English, to facilitate communication with medical professionals in any foreign ports.[27]

Jensen was unable to find a cure for beriberi in the medical manual, and indeed beriberi is not listed anywhere in Hornemann's guide from 1892. Confronted with swelling in his own legs, Jensen resorted to the practice of blistering, which was a common treatment in the early half of the nineteenth century. One of its proponents was Benjamin Rush, surgeon general in the United States' continental army and signer of the Declaration of Independence. Rush belonged to the school of medicine which believed in drastic intervention. Powdered "Spanish fly" was a good

[26] Larsen, 61.
[27] Hornemann, *Hornemanns Lægebog for Søfarende indeholdende vejledning til en forbedret sunheds- og sygepleje i handelsskibe*.

choice for blistering, according to standard practices. Lacking Spanish fly, burgundy pitch or even mustard might be used instead.[28] Jensen's memoirs say that he applied Spanish fly to induce blistering in an attempt to drain fluid from his legs.

Blistering with Spanish fly appears multiple times throughout the Hornemann's medical manual. It appears as a treatment for an infection of the heart and well as for heart disease if the patient experiences palpitations or fainting. In this case, the Spanish fly should be applied to the skin in the chest-region until a blister forms. The blister should be kept open, until the patient experiences improvement.[29] It also appears as a treatment for joint pain[30], as a treatment for erysipelas (if the patient experiences confusion, Spanish fly should be applied to the forehead and the blister be drained continually until the patient is better),[31] and as a treatment for meningitis if cupping and leeches along the spine did not produce the desired result.[32] Spanish fly appears many more times in Hornemann's medical guide, and each time it is a last resort to be tried only if other treatments failed. Spanish fly is to be applied directly to area of the body in which the symptom appears: To the chest in case of heart disease, to the head in case of confusion, to the spine in case of meningitis. Jensen's application of Spanish fly to his own swollen legs when all other treatments had failed, follows the spirit of Hornemann's medical advice. His caution with Spanish fly–the fact that he tested this extreme measure on his own body first–shows his level of responsibility for the health of his entire crew.

[28] Druett, *Rough Medicine: Surgeons at Sea in the Age of Sail.*, 67–69.
[29] Hornemann, *Hornemanns Lægebog for Søfarende indeholdende vejledning til en forbedret sunheds- og sygepleje i handelsskibe*, 198.
[30] Hornemann, 107.
[31] Hornemann, 139.
[32] Hornemann, 176.

As the captain of the ship, Jensen was in possession of the standard medical chest which was required on all Danish merchant vessels. The chest did not contain anything which could help him treat his first mate's affliction, and Jensen's despair in the face of his powerlessness is palpable in the memoir. "There was no medicine in my chest which could help me treat beriberi. I administered drops of opium to try to ease the pain, but the opium didn't seem to help at all. I felt sad, and asked my first mate: 'What can I do for you?' 'Nothing', he answered. 'Death is coming for me."[33] The first mate passed away, and the remaining crew began to experience similar symptoms. In an attempt to provide medical care, even if it was futile, Jensen administered American oil.[34] When the supply of American oil dried up, Jensen administered English salt, but the supply of English salt ran out as well.[35]

Captain Jensen figures in this chapter as a person with agency, authority, and intellectual judgment. As captain, Jensen was a medical practitioner whose judgment could mean life and death for his crew. He took an active role in the promotion of health among his crew. He thought about medicine, performing experiments on himself at sea to the best of his abilities and most likely armed with Hornemann's medical guide. In passing laws about medical chests onboard cargo vessels, the Danish state had signaled that to preserve the health of the crew was to preserve the assets of the Danish East India Company. In this spirit, captains were encouraged to preserve and care for the crew to the best of their abilities. They were also encouraged, as Breuning-Storm's letter to the captains say, to think about their medical practice and to participate in the improvement of the medical guide by contributing their own thoughts and experiences on medical practice at sea. Jensen's experience with medicine at sea is the antithesis

[33] Jensen, "Erindringer Fra Hav Og Land.," September 27, 1952.
[34] American oil is another name for castor oil.
[35] English salt is another name for Epsom salts.

of top-down medical theory. Instead, the historical and economic contexts of Jensen's medical practice suggest a circularity in the dissemination of maritime medical knowledge.

Concurrent Medical Understandings of Beriberi in the Late Nineteenth Century

In the following section, I argue, based on sources from medical anthropology and Japanese medical history, that in the late nineteenth century there were concurrent approaches to beriberi which had separate origins. One was the biomedical (or the Western) model of the disease, which we have largely inherited today because of the dominance of biomedicine as an epistemological paradigm. The other model of understanding beriberi is based on East Asian medical systems. The East Asian understanding of beriberi has a longer history, because beriberi has been known in East Asia for longer than it has been known in Europe. The sketch of the two medical models for understanding the same biological disease does not suggest that the two systems were completely separate. As I show in this section, specifically in the discussion of Japanese medical history of beriberi, the two systems became deeply entangled, especially in the late nineteenth century. Even with the entangled nature of different concurrently existing medical epistemological systems, it is entirely possible, as I show, to separate out different strands. Having made sense of the different approaches to beriberi, we will return to Jensen's account once more.

Before getting into concurrently existing medical systems in the late nineteenth century, I will briefly discuss the current consensus around beriberi. This will serve as a baseline understanding of the disease as we see it now, which will contextualize the development of the understanding of beriberi in both the East Asian and the European traditions. The US department of Health and Human Services describes beriberi as a

> condition which occurs in people who are deficient in thiamine (vitamin B1). Beriberi may affect either the cardiovascular system or the nervous system.[36] Cardiovascular beriberi is called wet beriberi while neurological beriberi is called dry beriberi. Both types of beriberi involve symptoms of leg-swelling, difficulty walking, loss of feeling in the hands and feet, paralysis in the lower legs, mental confusion, speech difficulties, pain, and vomiting.[37]

Beriberi is fatal when left untreated, as we also see in Jensen's account.

Beriberi is a rare disease in modern society because it is easily preventable, but in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, beriberi was common among sailors. Like scurvy, beriberi posed a threat to sailors who were at risk of finding themselves away from adequate sources of nutrition for long periods of time. Beriberi was also widespread in Japan. Japanese doctors and public health officials classified it as a "national disease" in Japan's Meiji period (1868-1912). It afflicted between 30 and 90 percent of the Japanese troops in wartime. Contemporary observers noted that the disease crossed social barriers. Even the Meiji Emperor suffered from beriberi.[38]

The discovery of thiamin and the causes of beriberi often involves narratives which tend towards hero-worship of Christiaan Eijkman, who is credited in popular sources with discovering the cause of beriberi in 1897.[39] The historical record on the discovery of the causes of beriberi is more nuanced than hero-worshipping narratives suggest. In the late nineteenth century, Eijkman was one of many scientists working on the causes of beriberi, and there was no consensus around

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[36] "Beriberi," in *Genetic and Rare Disease Information Center* (National Institutes of Health, November 17, 2015), https://rarediseases.info.nih.gov/diseases/9948/beriberi.
[37] "Beriberi."
[38] Bay, *Beriberi in Modern Japan*, 19.
[39] Catherine Price, "The Man Who Didscovered Thiamin," *Www.Slate.Com*, March 6, 2015, https://slate.com/technology/2015/03/vitamania-excerpt-the-discovery-of-beriberi.html; "Thiamine Deficiency," in *Wikipedia*, n.d.

Eijkman's findings. Even Eijkman didn't ascribe the kind of clarity and importance to his own findings with later narratives have suggested.

Naval surgeons in the late nineteenth century saw beriberi as a corollary to scurvy and believed that beriberi was caused by diet because scurvy was caused by diet. Dutch naval surgeon F.J. van Leent, for instance, believed that while scurvy was caused by lack of fresh fruits and vegetables, beriberi was caused by the lack of fresh meat. French naval surgeon Le Roy de Méricourt also believed that malnutrition was the most important cause of beriberi, but agreed with most writers at the time that "there could not be one simple explanation for this puzzling disease, and therefore that it required a combination of stresses to appear."[40]

Even after he discovered the link between beriberi and polished white rice, Eijkman himself did not believe that diet was responsible for beriberi. Instead, he saw two possible explanations for his findings. Either, the skin of the rice contained valuable nutrients or the skin formed a protective coating which prevented harmful microorganisms was penetrating the rice.[41] Eijkman was highly critical of navy surgeons who had suggested that diet was to blame for beriberi. He was especially critical of Takaki Kanehiro and F.J. van Leent, whose theories about the link between diet and beriberi he dismissed on the grounds that their studies at sea lacked control groups. In 1898, Eijkman warned against hasty conclusions on the origins of beriberi. In lectures which Eijkman gave to medical students, he argued that beriberi was not caused by diet but was possibly linked to it.[42] Around 1900, Eijkman seemingly thought that the coating on rice

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[40] Kenneth Carpenter, *Beriberi, White Rice, and Vitamin B: A Disease, a Cause, and a Cure.* (Berkeley, Ca: University of California Press, 2000), 29–30, http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/kt5b69q3n2/.
[41] Carpenter, 30.
[42] Kurt Bayertz and Roy Porter, eds., *From Physico-Theology to Bio-Technology: Essays in the Social and Cultural History of Biosciences ; a Festschrift for Mikuláš Teich*, Clio Medica 48 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), 242.

may contain a substance which did to beriberi what quinine did to malaria.[43] Propensity towards hero-worship of scientists has led to a misrepresentation of the clarity of Eijkman's findings. While it is clear to us in hindsight that Eijkman was on to something important in his studies, it is important to resist reaching back in time to rescue and promote only those scientific ideas which turned out to be the correct ones.

While Eijkman was doing his studies on white rice and beriberi, British doctors also weighed in on the issue of beriberi. They suggested a range of reasons for the causes of beriberi which were published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, pointing to a lack of consensus around the causes of beriberi, even as Eijkman was supposed to have discovered the causes of the disease according to popular lore. Publishing in the *British Medical Journal* in 1892, a Dr. Duncan Scott argued, based on a study of Chinese laborers with beriberi, that the symptoms were caused by an altered state of the blood associated either with acidity or by the presence of an alkaloid similar to that of muscarine. The altered state of blood, Scott's theory argued, may be caused by microorganisms introduced through food or soil. Auto-infection due to climate or diet was a possible explanation as well.[44] In 1897, a Dr. Neil Mcleod in Shanghai suggested that food supplies from countries where beriberi was endemic were to blame for beriberi outbreaks.[45] In response, Dr. D. C. Rees argued that there was no evidence of the food supply being at all involved in the outbreak of beriberi. Instead, beriberi was a disease associated

[43] Bayertz and Porter, 242.
[44] W. Duncan Scott, "Beri-Beri: Its Causation and Treatment," *Foreign and Commonwealth Office Collection*, 1892.
[45] Neil Mcleod, "Can Beri-Beri Be Caused by Food Supplies From Countries Where Beri-Beri Is Endemic?," *The British Medical Journal* 2, no. 1911 (August 14, 1897): 390–92.

with "place" *plus* "favorable predisposing conditions." Dr. Rees was of the belief that indoor climate and hygiene were the main contributors to outbreaks of beriberi.[46]

It was not until a meeting of the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine in Hong Kong, in January of 1912, that a general agreement on the cause of beriberi was reached: It was often the result of a diet of polished white rice. This idea had been around for a long time, especially in East Asia, but the 1912 meeting was the first time that a scientific consensus was established. The international delegation, which included participants from French Indo-China, Japan, and China, was not sure why the addition of bran to the diet prevented beriberi, but agreed that it did. Leading up to the consensus reached in 1912, was a long and complicated struggle in colonial medical communities to find the cause of and cure for beriberi.[47] Between 1912 and 1938, scientists worked on figuring out what the bran of rice contained, and eventually this led to the identification of thiamine.[48]

While beriberi was cause for debate and uncertainty within the Western biomedical profession, the disease was known in Asia long before the arrival of European colonial powers. Early texts by Chinese writer Han Yu (768-824 C.E.) commented that while the people in Northern China, whose diet consisted mostly of wheat, were free of the disease, it was common among those populations living near rivers, whose diet was based on rice. Within the European medical community, it was not until the international convention in 1912 that a medical consensus was established on the role of polished rice in causing beriberi. It was another decade until the nature of vitamin B, or thiamine, was understood in greater detail.[49]

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[46] D.C. Rees, "Beri-Beri A 'Place' Disease, Not A Food Disease," *The British Medical Journal* 2, no. 1916 (September 18, 1897): 747–48.
[47] Carpenter, *Beriberi, White Rice, and Vitamin B: A Disease, a Cause, and a Cure.*
[48] Carpenter, 96–115.
[49] Carpenter, 199.

Seventh-century Japanese medical texts such as Zhu bing yuan hou lun (Jpn. Shoyōgenkōron, 610 C.E.) and Qian jin fang (Jpn. Senkinhō, 650 C.E.) discuss a disease characterized by swelling of the legs.[50] The disease was classified as a poison wind, and seventh-century medical authorities said that it was caused by "cold, damp wind penetrating the body from the ground and causing swelling in the legs." Preventative measures included avoiding coldness and dampness, as well as dietary regimens. Other treatments included herbs and moxibustion.[51]Early Japanese medical traditions were based on traditional Chinese medicine.

In Edo-period Japan (1603-1868), illness could be avoided by following appropriate dietary regiments as well as by avoiding locations which were prone to causing illness. Honma Sōken (1804-72) was an expert in Chinese and Dutch medicine. His medical notes say that beriberi comes into the body through the legs and moves into muscles and nerves, and finally into the heart. Treatment included medicinal herbs and foods which regulated the qi. Dietary regulation was encouraged as part of the recovery process. Beriberi patients were encouraged to avoid salt and to eat foods such as rice, barley and other grains and well as fish.[52]

Hayashi Ichiu and Takekoshi Motomichi, two famous doctors of the mid-eighteenth century, had tremendous success in curing beriberi. Takekoshi claims to have cured more than a thousand patients in 1734 alone. He made, patented, and sold beriberi medicine in Japan in the 1730s. The formula consisted of a mixture of roasted barley, wheat, and a diuretic which was infused in water. In addition, Hayashi and Takekoshi told their patients to eat a diet of barley and red or adzuki beans while taking the infusion. Standard advice for treating beriberi was: "Eat barley on top of bananas for beriberi." As Alexander Bay points out, Japanese treatments of

[50] Bay, *Beriberi in Modern Japan*, 41.
[51] Bay, 41.
[52] Bay, 48–49.

beriberi do not need to be certified by Western medical science, but it is interesting for comparison to note that barley and adzuki beans are naturally high in thiamin.[53] Medical systems which emerged in the eighteenth century continued to maintain that diet was key to the treatment of beriberi. Clinical technician Tsuda Gensen (1737-1809) wrote: "Moderation in food helps the working of the stomach and the flow of poison out of the body naturally becomes better. The first principle for beriberi is to eat moderate portions of easy to digest barley rice." Other doctors in the mid-nineteenth century similarly said to avoid salt, and advocated taking herbal medicines, and eating barley and red beans to strengthen the body.[54]

The causes and treatments of beriberi were deeply intertwined with politics, nationalism, and imperialism in Meiji Japan. Each of these factors affected how the disease was studied and treated. Japan was not colonized, but the imperial world order affected the Japanese state in the Meiji period. Progress was seen as a Western phenomenon, and consequently Western medical practices gradually displaced indigenous medical practices in Japan. The Japanese government mandated vaccinations and aggressive cholera treatments based on Western models in the Meiji period.[55]

With the influx of Western ideas, the field of medicine became a battleground for Japanese nationalism. Although there was no widespread consensus that beriberi was linked to diet, those who argued that it was linked to diet found themselves in the middle of sensitive issues that touched on the very heart of Japanese identity. In the Meiji period, there were doctors who thought that white rice was insufficient in nutritional value, and that this might cause beriberi. Army surgeon Mori Rintō had studied medicine under the guidance of Robert Koch and

[53] Bay, 50.
[54] Bay, 49.
[55] Bay, 128.

Max von Pettenkofer in the 1880s. He practiced biomedicine in the Western tradition rather than traditional Japanese medicine. He staunchly opposed the idea that the traditional Japanese diet was deficient: "Proposals to change old established customs are made with such abandon all over the land that a proper examination of the proposed changes often comes too late. We must never forget that customs and habits that have been accepted and maintained for centuries must have a solid core; otherwise they would never have lasted so long!"[56]

The debate over causes and treatments of beriberi was inscribed into larger debates and anxieties around nationalism and Western influences. Some Japanese medical practitioners in the Meiji period used eighteenth-century Japanese treatments for beriberi, given their practical effectiveness. They prescribed barley and bananas, in the tradition of Hayashi Ichiu and Takekoshi Motomichi. Paradoxically, this was seen as a rejection of Japanese national heritage, because barley treatments went hand-in-hand with suggestions that a deficient Japanese diet was to blame for high rates of beriberi. Mori mobilized both historical and scientific arguments in support of the anti-barley faction in the beriberi debate.[57]

While Mori's support of the anti-barley faction was based on a resistance to the hegemony of the Western diet, other supporters of the anti-barley faction were motivated by a support for Western influences in Japan, specifically within the field of science. Treatment of beriberi with barley belonged to an 'Oriental medical system' and not a Western medical system. The Oriental medical system was seen as backwards, and the emerging field of doctors in Japan who looked to Western medicine discredited medical practices from earlier Japanese and Chinese traditions.[58]

[56] Bay, 128.
[57] Bay, 158.
[58] Bay, 50.

Takaki Kanehiro (1849-1920) was Japan's navy surgeon general. As early as 1885 Kanehiro "argued that the white rice diet in the navy was deficient in protein (according to Western standards of nutrition) and caused beriberi, so he added barley to the navy diets as a form of disease prevention."[59] Kanehiro was responsible for implementing a hybrid medical approach to beriberi, using Western science in combination with indigenous Japanese knowledge about beriberi. This medical approach was a distinctly modern type of Japanese medicine which happened as the result of the social and cultural circumstances of Kanehiro's practice. His views were based on observations within the Japanese navy. The observations were made during a case study of a merchant marine ship which sailed for 500 days on a training voyage. The crew consisted of trainees, as well as officers and enlisted men. Of the 125 trainees, 70 had developed beriberi by the end of the voyage. None of the enlisted men or the officers had developed the illness. The difference between the two populations on the ship was their diet. The officers and the enlisted men received Western food, while the trainees ate mostly white rice. Kanehiro argued that case studies and observations in the Japanese navy, dating back to the 1880s, proved that white rice was the cause of beriberi.[60] In the context of the beriberi debate in Japan, Kanehiro situated himself in opposition to the nationalist discourse which argued that white rice had been a staple of Japan for centuries. Suggesting one of the most important Japanese foods was nutritionally deficient was a serious attack on Japanese nationalism.

For most of the nineteenth century, American and European doctors were in disagreement about the causes of beriberi, but were mostly in agreement in rejecting the idea that beriberi was caused by diet. Dr. D.B. Simmons, who was the director of the Prefectural Hospital

[59] Bay, 128.
[60] Bay, 234.

in Yokohama, thought that the disease was caused by miasma, which is similar to earlier Chinese ideas that beriberi was caused by bad air. Simmons asserted that beriberi was not related to diet, aligning himself with Western doctors in and outside of Japan. What Dr. Simmons and other struggled to understand, was why upper classes in society were affected as much or more than lower classes. Simmons reasoned that, if a poor diet was the cause of beriberi, then lower classes who did not have access to good food would be affected more severely.[61]

In light of ongoing medical debates about the nature of beriberi at the time when Jensen was suffering from the illness, how did he make sense of the disease? Jensen's memoirs contain two dialogues on beriberi which give two different impressions. The first dialogue which Jensen recounts in his memoir was between himself and the German doctor who had come to Bangkok to study beriberi. The second dialogue was between Jensen and his local unnamed doctor on Fanø. Jensen presents the two dialogues back to back almost as if to make an implicit comparison between the two voices of medical authority

The Cheese and the Worms has irrevocably troubled the notion that intellectual activity belongs to the elites alone, and that it trickles down to the lower classes, who adhere or reject as well as they can. Instead, Ginzburg demonstrates, based on the work of Mikhail Bakhtin, that in early modern Europe there existed what he calls a circularity: "between the culture of the dominant classes and that of the subordinate classes there existed, in preindustrial Europe, a circular relationship composed of reciprocal influences, which traveled from low to high as well as from high to low."[62]

[61] Bay, 58.
[62] Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*. p. xii

Ginzburg's concept of oral history is helpful in making sense of Jensen's account. In the brief essay "The Inquisitor as Anthropologist", Ginzburg questions our assumptions about oral and written sources. He argues that early modern scholars use oral sources, or at least that they use "written records of oral speech." In his study of witch trials in early modern Italy, Ginzburg has become well known for his use of inquisitorial records concerning the trials of Mennochio, a miller from Friuli who was accused of heresy. In "The Inquisitor as Anthropologist," Ginzburg revisits inquisitorial records as oral sources. He suggests that court records are analogous to the notebooks of anthropologists or to field recordings of oral speech. Approaching his sources in this way, the inquisitor becomes the anthropologist, and the defendant the "native."[63]

Ginzburg argues that among the inquisitorial records, in which defendants often simply echo inquisitors' questions, it is possible in exceptional cases to "hear distinct voices." This happens when there is a gap between what the inquisitors say and comprehend on the one hand and on the other what the defendant says. In such cases, argues Ginzburg, there emerges a *dialogic* situation, borrowing a concept from the work of Mikhail Bakhtin. One such case involves the *benandanti*, in which the inquisitorial records reflect that they described nocturnal battles "in spirit against witches for the fertility of their crop." Inquisitors heard this as though the *benandanti* were giving a veiled description of a witches' Sabbath. The gap between what the *benandanti* said and what the inquisitors heard indicates to Ginzburg that there was a "deep cultural layer which was totally foreign to the inquisitors."[64] Ginzburg also refers to this as the clash of unresolved voices in the Bakthinian sense.[65]

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[63] Carlo Ginzburg, "The Inquisitor as Anthropologist," in *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method* (Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 156.
[64] Ginzburg, 160.
[65] Ginzburg, 164.

In analyzing Jensen's record of his conversations with the German doctor in Bangkok and his own doctor on Fanø, I take inspiration from Ginzburg. The recorded conversations are Jensen's attempt to preserve oral sources in writing, but the fifty-year gap between when Jensen had the conversations and when he recorded them is significant. One reason to not discount the sources as the faulty memories of an old man, is that Jensen intentionally recalls both conversations and records them as direct speech in his memoirs, rather than summarize them. He also juxtaposes them, implicitly showcasing what two different doctors told him within a short time span.

Jensen's account raises more questions than it answers, but I am hesitant to discard it out of hand just because it doesn't neatly fit into assumptions about medical knowledge among provincial doctors on the fringes of Europe. There are many reasons to think that Jensen's account should not be taken seriously. The 50-year gap between when the conversations happened and when the memoir was recorded is reason enough to consider whether Jensen may have misremembered what happened upon his return to Fanø in 1902. Jensen may have conflated what he learned later about thiamine and beriberi with what his doctor told him. He may have wanted him own doctor on Fanø to appear more knowledgeable than the German doctor he met on Fanø. Jensen's account is just one example rather than a collection of data. It is anecdotal.

On the other hand, Jensen recorded the conversations as direct speech, rather than summarizing them. He referred to a "diary" in parts of his memoir, suggesting that the published memoir was recorded on the basis of diaries which he kept. There may have been an original recording of the conversation which has been lost. History based on memoirs, diaries, letters, or oral testimonies require some level of taking one's source at their word. No one argues that

sources should be blindly trusted, but a small leap of faith is involved in all analysis of human testimony.

In this chapter, I argue that sailors were actively involved in the practice of medicine on multiple levels. They were nurses, healers, doctors, and even experimenters. They were clearly thinking about medicine. In chapter two, I argue that sailors should be understood as labor migrants. They were in contact with people across cultural and linguistic barriers. In this chapter, I combine those two arguments through Jensen's memoir to ask questions about sailors and medical practice. I suggest that it is possible that sailors were absorbing medical knowledge, and that they were subsequently transmitting that knowledge when they came home to their communities. If Jensen's memory was not failing him, and the Fanø doctor did indeed believe that polished rice was the cause of beriberi, then there are several ways in which he could have come to this conclusion. He could have been reading medical journals, although given his conclusions, it is not likely in 1902 that he would have been studying Eijkman, since Eijkman did not believe in 1902 that beriberi was caused by diet. He could have been reading other opinions in medical journals, or he could have been talking to medical researchers. It is also possible that sailors returning from East Asia, who had somehow come into contact with the opinions which were prevalent within Japanese navy medical practice, told the Fanø doctor what they had learned.

CONCLUSION

The sea was a central organizing principle for inhabitants of Marstal, Nordby, and Sønderho. Because sailors made their living at sea away from their communities, access to and labor on the sea shaped concepts of gender, marital patterns, labor, and exposure to larger global networks in the nineteenth century.

In chapter one of this dissertation, I argue that sailors forged strong social bonds within their communities. They were married, had children, and extended family. They were not socially isolated within their communities. They were also not geographically isolated. The census records show that sailors lived throughout the towns, rather than isolated in sailors' quarters. The high degree social connection is significant because it dispels a common stereotype about sailors, which holds that sailors were isolated and cut loose from organized, landed society. In chapter one I show that sailors were not cut loose from their communities. The significance of this argument is that it suggests that sailors' experiences were not just their own, but affected a wider circle of people within maritime communities. As part of strong social networks at home, sailors' experiences were not isolated to the community of sailors, but became part of the fabric of the maritime community itself. Social connectivity itself does not prove that sailors shared their experiences, but it suggests that it was possibly or even probably for sailors to share their experiences. Memoirs of sailors' family members provide the concrete evidence of the fact that sailors shared what they knew of the world with their community members and families.

While they were at sea, sailors were exposed to people, cultures, languages, climates, animals, plants, foods, ideas, religions, and knowledge which they would not have encountered

in their home communities. This global exposure was important to sailors, as evidenced by the fact that accounts of cross-cultural engagement was a central theme in their memoirs. Through their writing and remembering, they constituted themselves as worldly men.

In the late nineteenth century, Denmark had colonies in the West Indies and on Greenland. Unlike France and England, Denmark in the nineteenth century was an empire in decline. In 1845, the Danish colony *Tranquebar* was sold to Britain, and in 1917, the Danes sold their colonies in the West Indies to the United States. In 1890 Danish colonies in the West Indies had a total population of 32,789 people.[1] Denmark remained in possession of the colony of Greenland and continued to govern its population which, in 1890, numbered 10,516 people.[2] By comparison, subjects of the British Empire numbered around 400 million by the end of the nineteenth century.[3] Numbers do not give a completely picture of colonial pasts, but by all counts, Denmark was only a very minor imperial power at the end of the nineteenth century, and its colonies were negligible. The small number of colonial subjects suggests that Denmark did not have a colonial apparatus with anything like the complexity of the British Empire. Denmark was a colonial power, but was located on the fringes of much larger, established empires.

Although Danish colonies were negligible in size and scope, it is the colonies which are most often associated with Danish global engagement in the nineteenth century. In this dissertation, I tell an alternative historical narrative of global engagement from within Denmark in the age of empires. I suggest that Denmark's colonies were not fully representative of Danish global engagement, and that sailors in Nordby, Marstal, and Sønderho, were part of global

[1] Marcus Rubin, *Statistisk Aarbog*, vol. 5 (København: Statens Statistiske Bureau, 1900), 177.
[2] Rubin, 5:176.
[3] Judith M. Brown and William Roger Louis, eds., *The Twentieth Century*, The Oxford History of the British Empire, Wm. Roger Louis, editor-in chief; Vol. 4 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2013), 48.

networks which did not involve the Danish colonies. Some might argue that maritime labor was involved in the Danish colonial apparatus, which is undeniably true, but the sailors in this study from Marstal, Sønderho, and Nordby, were not the same sailors that were going to the West Indies. Sailors in Nordby, Sønderho, and Marstal were merchant marines. They were not sailing to or from the Danish colonies. Danish colonies were so tangential to the lives and work of sailors on the west coast of Jutland and the south Funen archipelago, that memoirists did not mention Danish colonies even once in any of their memoirs. One sailor, P.H.C., mentions Danish participation in the transport of Chinese laborers to Peru, and says that he thinks Danish participation in this practice is shameful.[4] Sailors, like P.H.C., did not shy away from criticizing Danes. In other words, it was not lack of self-criticism and self-reflected which prevented sailors from writing about Danish colonies. It is far more likely that they did not have any dealings with Danish colonies and had no reason to write about them.

The unit of analysis in this dissertation are the three maritime towns of Marstal, Sønderho, and Nordby, rather than the nation state of Denmark. I have intentionally avoided writing this dissertation within a national framework. Instead, I look at networks and connections from three small maritime communities that were connected to the world without direct mediation through the nation's capital or through the colonial administration. It is the connection of the three towns to global networks, rather than Denmark's global engagement, which has formed the basis of my inquiry.

In chapter two, I argue that sailors were connected to global networks and through these networks, they engaged in cross-cultural exchange. I argue that their cross-cultural exchange was

[4] P.H.C., "Den Gamle Skibsfører Fortæller" (Fanø Ugeblad Nr. 11, March 16, 1968), Nordby Sognearkiv, Fanø.

varied, and it exposed them to a variety of perspectives from other parts of the world. Denmark had a few very small colonies in the late nineteenth century, but these colonies do not define Danish connections to global networks. The argument of chapter two is that sailors, as working class non-elites from a fringe of Europe, were part of global networks and that their global lives were not mediated through the capital or through colonies. Their experiences of the world were not filtered through a colonial apparatus, but was transmitted directly from them to their community members. When they witnessed the transport of Chinese laborers in Macao, they went back to Fanø and told their communities about it. They told their communities about people they met, animals, plants, places, foods, spices, climates, customs, religions, towns, and much more.

The global labor of maritime workers in Sønderho, Nordby, and Fanø, was only possible because of the work which was done by the community while sailors were away at sea. This dissertation avoids the pitfalls of many maritime histories before it which have rendered women's work on land invisible and focused only on male labor at sea. In this dissertation, I treat the maritime community as a whole, and argue that sailors could not work across the globe without the support networks of women on land. The gendered division of labor in maritime communities was more complex than women working at home to support their husbands at sea. The very concepts of gender were challenged by the fact that sailors engaged in work which was more typically allocated to women, while women engaged in male-typical labor on land. Maritime couples tended to blur the lines of gender in practice while going to great lengths to reaffirm their beliefs in traditional gender roles.

In chapter four, I argue that the global aspect of maritime labor was important to sailors themselves. The evidence of sailors' global labor patters, which forms the basis of that chapter,

comes directly from sailors' members, which means that sailors themselves showcased the way in which their work cross cultural engagement and global presence. When sailors wrote their memoirs, it was important to them to emphasize the global aspect of their work. I argue that sailors constituted themselves as global citizens through the inclusion of global details in their memoirs.

Chapter 5 is speculative. It asks more questions than it answers. Based on an account by Bertel Clausen Jensen, it speculates on the possibility of global knowledge transmission mediated by sailors. It brings together all the chapters in the dissertation. It relies on evidence provided in chapter one, that sailors had strong social networks. Only with social networks was it plausible that sailors were sharing knowledge. It relies on the argument laid out in chapter two, that sailors were encountering and engaging with foreign peoples and cultures. They did not remain in sailor-town districts when they came into port. They ventured out into towns, they met people, visited temples, tried local food. They were invited to witness weddings, they were rescued on the beach in the Falklands by sheep herders. They were actively making connections across cultures. They were not passive observers. Instead, they reflected on what they experienced. In chapter three, I argue that none of the work which sailors did was possible without the work of entire communities on land. I resist the tendency to focus only on male labor at sea. Instead, I argue that global work was a community effort. Maritime communities were disproportionately female, and female labor was necessary for male global labor. The global aspect of sailors' work and lives what central to their understanding of themselves, as I argue in chapter four. They defined themselves by their engagement across cultures, their knowledge of the world, their exposure to foreign languages, peoples, foods, religions, and climates. On the basis of these four chapters, I speculate whether sailors were also transferring knowledge to their

home communities. The evidence of knowledge transfer is minimal, but there are hints in some of the memoirs which suggest that they may have been participating in networks of global knowledge which existed on the fringes of European institutional channels.

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