

Joseph Lye, a Shoemaker Diarist in Early Nineteenth Century Lynn, Massachusetts: One Aspect of New England Cod Fishery

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When the English writer Harriet Martineau visited Lynn, Massachusetts in 1834, she reported that the cordwainers in Lynn were part-time shoemakers, and that most of them were farmers and fishermen. The editor of the *Lynn Record*, a local newspaper corrected the “inaccuracies of Miss Martineau’s account,” arguing that “most of the Lynn shoemakers devote themselves exclusively to their trade.”¹ In his book *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution*, Paul G. Faler argued “the notion that dual employment was characteristic of shoemakers under the domestic system also carries with it the implication that the cordwainers were not wholly dependent upon the wages from shoemaking,” referring to this episode with Martineau and a diary kept by Joseph Lye between 1817 and 1832. Faler, however, suggested that for Joseph Lye, shoemaking would have been “only an occasional pastime.”²

It was through Mary H. Blewett’s book, *Men, Women, and Work: Class, Gender, and Protest in the New England Shoe Industry, 1780–1910*.³ that the author first knew of Joseph Lye’s diary. Blewett suggested some exceptional cases of woman shoemakers, and among them was Joseph Lye’s mother, Anna Lye.⁴ During a short research trip to the Lynn Museum in the late 1990s, the author obtained a photocopy of the typewritten transcription of Lye’s diary. This typescript of the diary, however, rarely referred to his making shoes but more often referred to his working on the fishing boats—such as caulking and graving, fishing cod and mackerel—planting potatoes, sowing barley and grass seed, working on the salt marsh, and so on.⁵ The typescript recorded more of Joseph Lye’s activities as a fisherman than as a “cordwainer” as was recorded in the probate records. Although the card

catalogue of the Peabody Essex Museum Phillips Library, which also housed some of the Lye family papers, recommended researchers to refer to the original, it had never occurred to her then that it contained a lot of omissions of sentences from the original aside from typos. Because in the 1990s she expected information about shoemaking from his diary, she put aside the typescript and had almost forgotten about it until 2014, when she started working with maritime historians in Japan.⁶

In September of 2015 she went back to the Lye family papers, all of which are now in the collection of the Peabody Essex Museum Phillips Library, and consulted the manuscript. This paper aims to reconstruct some aspects of the life and labor of Joseph Lye and his family through his original diary and other related documents.

Joseph Lye was born in 1792 as the third child of nine to Joseph Lye and Anna Hart Lye, and died in 1834 at the age of 42, unmarried. When his father Joseph, also recorded as a cordwainer, died in 1807 at the age of 48, Joseph was a minor, and as a widow his mother Anna was admitted to be guardian of her eight minor children and as an administratrix of his father's estate.⁷ The Lyes did not fall into poverty thanks to his late father's real and personal property, as the probate records show:

Real estate... The homestead about two acres of land, with the dwelling house, barn, and shop, all other accommodations about under the same	\$3000.—
About ten acres of land in the field bought of Daniel Witt...	1000.—
About eight acres of land, part field and part pasture	533.33
One wood lot, bought of Joseph Stocker, about ten acres	100.—
One wood lot, bought of John Alley, about two acres and 3/4 ...	42.50
Three acres of salt marsh at bails point	180.—
One acre and half salt marsh, bought Salvenus Hussey	75.—
	\$4930.83 ⁸

His personal estate was estimated at \$506.91 while his debt was \$1196.36 in total.⁹

According to the collector's list of taxes for the year 1819, Anna Lye and her son Joseph were taxpayers, and Anna was among the higher taxpayers in Lynn, while a local historian of Anna Lye's descendant concluded that it was not a large estate for a widow with so many children.¹⁰ A merchant-manufacturer's account book recorded Anna Lye's debits and credits from March of 1819 to January 1st of 1820, and during that period she made at least 280 pairs of women's spring-heel pumps, and was paid 18 and 25 cents per pair, more often in sundry goods than in cash, as was often the case with women's transactions. Compared to other women's transactions, however, she was better paid. Most women working in the shoe industry of this era were shoe-binders, who worked only on upper parts of shoes and were considered to be unskilled workers, while Anna Lye was a skilled maker of women's shoes.¹¹

In the manuscript census of 1820, Anna Lye was recorded as a household head, and there were six people in her household besides herself. Other household members were a boy aged between 16 and 18, three men aged between 18 and 26, a man aged between 26 and 45, and a girl aged between 10 and 16. No names of the household members were recorded in the census of that year, and comparing those figures with the vital records of the Lye family, those who lived in Anna Lye's household were likely to be Joseph Lye, Jr., Burrill (her 5th child born in 1796), John (7th born in 1801), Robert (8th born in 1803), Sally or Sarah (9th born in 1805), and a man aged between 18 and 26 who may have been a boarder, a hired help or a journeyman. All Joseph's sisters who were not recorded in Anna Lye's household in 1820 had died young except for his eldest sister Elisabeth (born in 1788), who had been married to Amos Tapley in 1814. Four people among Anna's household were employed in "manufacture."¹² Since Anna and Joseph Junior were both shoemakers, "manufacture" here must mean shoemaking.

As a widow, Anna Lye had been as the household head well after her eldest son Joseph became of age and had influence on the other family members. Alan Dawley erroneously noted "Joseph Lye rented a working farm from his

stepmother in 1822” in his *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn*, citing an article on local history by the descendant of Joseph’s sister although that article never identified her as his stepmother. This stepmother theory originated from the fact that Joseph Lye paid 150 dollars to his mother, who leased him “all estate of Joseph Lye late of Lynn deceased and hitherto occupied and improved by the said Anna Lye,” according to the indenture of 1822, but as the vital records showed, Anna was his biological mother. The complete estate of the late Joseph Lye included:

One dwelling house situated on, or bounded by Lynn Common one barn with all other outbuildings attached to the said premises; Two caws, Eight acres of tillage land (more or less)... and four acres of salt marsh..., seven acres of pasturage..., together with a lot of Woodland... with all the privileges and appurtenances there unto belongings.¹³

Comparing this indenture with the probate record of the late Joseph Lye Sr., the farm that Joseph Lye Jr. rented from his mother was smaller than the original farm the late Joseph Sr. left. To clear up her late husband’s debt as the administratrix, Anna Lye probably disposed of real property valued at \$1196.36. The indenture of 1822 seemed to guarantee a widow’s portion or the dower right to Anna Lye, which was based in English common law and had been legal practice in America by the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁴

The Lye family records were scattered after 1830. Although they did not leave Lynn, neither Joseph nor Anna was recorded as a household head in Lynn in the manuscript census of 1830.¹⁵ An instrument dated on October 18th, 1831 demonstrated that Anna Lye paid \$450 to her children and son-in-law and in exchange they agreed to:

remise, release, and forever quit-claim unto the said Anna Lye her Heirs and all our rights & title [unto?] the following described premises to wit, about two acres & an [sic] half of salt marsh ... also about two acres & one hundred & forty poles of pasture land ... also three acres & an [sic] half of wood land in the middle pasture ... all which are situated in said

Lynn & Saugus.¹⁶

In the city directory of 1832 Joseph Lye's address was recorded as Lynn Common, and probably he lived there until his death in 1834.¹⁷

Their family papers and the account book of a manufacturer who had business transaction with the Lyes only indicated that Anna, Joseph, and his two brothers—Robert and John—were shoemakers, and that they had a family farm including salt marsh, pasture, and woodland. His family papers never indicate that Joseph Lye had worked on the sea. However, Joseph Lye's original diary recorded not only how many shoes he made at what rate but also another aspect of his life—on the sea.

In his diary, Joseph Lye recorded his daily work, Sunday church services that he attended, and the deaths and marriages of his friends and neighbors. According to the digital catalogue of the Philips Library, it holds three versions of his diary—the original manuscript (Lye, Joseph, 1817–1834), a photocopy of the handwritten transcription made by Edward M. Breed at the Lynn Historical Society (Diaries of Joseph Lye, 1817–1833), and the typewritten transcription (Joseph Lye Diary, 1817–1830). There is no reference in the catalogue of the Philips Library as to when the typewritten transcription was made.¹⁸ As mentioned earlier, this transcription was severely abridged and omitted mostly the details of his shoemaking. Therefore, it was easy to conclude erroneously that shoemaking was likely to be a sideline for Joseph Lye, and that he spent more time on fishery and working on fishing boats. After consulting the original diary, however, besides making shoes almost every day all year round, he went fishing by himself or carried passengers on his boats to go fishing mainly from spring to fall. Fishery and farming were seasonal and sidelines for him.¹⁹

According to his diary starting on Sunday, the 23rd of November 1817, when he was 25 years old, he made one to five pairs of shoes almost every day except Sundays at 25, 28, or 40 cents per pair. He spent a day in caulking,

graving, and launching the boat Ann on Wednesday, the 11th of March 1818, and two days later he went fishing and “caught 33 on the middle ground (half way between Swampscott and the South Shore).” This seemed to be the first fishing he did in the season of 1818. In April he went fishing twice—caught about 20 on April 14th and about 30 on the 25th—and he carried four passengers (at the fee of \$1.67 on May 22) and six passengers (on May 27; no mentions of the fee) to go fishing in his boat while making shoes and farming most of time in May.²⁰

In June he and his company repurchased a boat that they had sold to a man in Brunswick, Massachusetts (now in Maine), and with that boat they started spending more time in fishing and sailing.

Tuesday 30 June [1818] Sailed from this town for North Yarmouth in the sloop Jane[.] Capt. Ross for the purpose of recovering the boat Humbird, which Ellis [Newhall] and myself sold to [the late] David Libby last November.²¹

Captain Ross had been sent to Maine “to recover (and fetched from Brunswick) the boat Humbird” three weeks in advance, and Joseph Lye joined Captain Ross there.

Sunday July 12th Arrived in Lynn with the boat, which we took possession of July 1st without much difficulty. Having had a fatiguing voyage of 10 days, Capt. Ross, L. Hutchingson & myself being all there to [maneuver?] both vessels [the boats Jane and Humbird]....

From Monday July 12 to Saturday 18th made 4 prs mid-long shoes at 40, 1 pr at 28, unloaded & ballasted the boat, carried out 9 passengers a fishing,...

Friday 24th Carried out in the Humbird 7 passengers at 33 cts ea[ch].

Saturday 25 Carried 9 passengers a fishing fees 3 dollars....

Monday 27 made 2 prs [at] 40, 1 pr [at] 28, bought of James Austin 1 sixth part of boat Humbird for 16 dol[lar]s 60 cts.²²

After coming back from Brunswick and obtaining one-sixth of the ownership of the boat, he carried passengers to go fishing and went fishing himself more regularly. On Monday, the 10th of August, he “Sailed in the Humbird at sunset for the Middle Bank” with his company and arrived there next morning. They returned to Lynn the following Thursday afternoon with 450 cod & haddock and 2 halibut, and washed a part of their fish out on Friday.²³

It was obvious that he went fishing and sailed for commercial purposes. As it will be seen later, in spite of its smaller size, the Humbird was categorized as a schooner—belonging to a group of large vessels for fishing—and was registered as a vessel to be employed in cod fishery in the Marblehead Customhouse.²⁴ According to his diary, on March 4th, 1819 Lye purchased a half ownership of the Humbird from Ellis Newhall for \$40 on credit for four months, which made him “sole owner” of the boat. He spent more time in working on the boat, and on April 15th he and his company caught 750 fish. On April 22nd, 1819 he sailed for Marblehead to request a license for his boat and carried passengers to go fishing twice, and caught 44 and 88 fish before May 1st.²⁵

Two months after he became a “sole owner” of the boat, however, he sold a half ownership of the boat to Henry Hallowell on May 4th, 1819. The reason why he gave up his sole ownership might relate to the circumstance he noted on May 1st:

This day the Van-Trump an old fishing boat owned by Henry Hallowell and employed in market fishing these 20 years past was condemned as unseaworthy.²⁶

In the manuscript census of 1820, Henry Hallowell was over forty-five years old and lived with a woman of his generation, and he engaged neither in agriculture, commerce, nor manufacture. If this man had worked as a fisherman for twenty years in this boat, he would have lost his means of livelihood on that day. It would be natural for Lye, who had alternative means of support, to sell a half ownership and to give the mastership of the boat to Henry Hallowell.²⁷

On May 5th 1819 Lye went to Marblehead again to renew the license, but he was ordered to go to Salem to get a copy of the old one, and finally he got a new license on the 6th.²⁸ The copy of this license was found by a lucky chance in the records of Marblehead Customhouse in the U.S. National Archives and Records Administration at Boston.

LICENSE BOND

Know all men by these presents,

THAT we, *Henry Hollowell* husband or managing owner, and *Henry Hollowell* master of the *Sch. Boat Humbird*, of *Marblehead* and *Joseph Lye surety* all of Massachusetts, are held & stand firmly bound to the United States of America, in the full and just sum of *one hundred* dollars: for which payment, well and truly to be made, we bind ourselves, our heirs, executors and administrators, jointly and severally, firmly by these presents.

Sealed with our seals, dated this *sixth* day of *May* one thousand eight hundred and *nineteen*.

The condition of the foregoing obligation is such,

That whereas *Joseph Wilson* Collector for the District of *Marblehead*, has in the manner prescribed by the act entitled “An Act for enrolling and licensing ships and vessels to be employed in the coasting trade and fisheries, & for regulating the same,” issued and granted for the *Sch. Boat* called the *Humbird* of *Lynn* burthen *Ten & 42/95* tons, whereof *Henry Hollowell* is at present master, a License carrying, on the *Cod Fishery* for one year from the date hereof, which License is dated this day and numbered *One*.

NOW THEREFORE, if it shall appear within two years from the date thereof, that the said *Schooner Boat Humbird* has, during the time the license granted to the said vessel remained in force, been employed any trade whereby the revenue of the United States shall have been defrauded, then the said Obligation shall be good, and remain in full force; but otherwise, it shall be void and of no effect.

Signed, sealed, and delivered
in presence of

Issac Story



Henry Hallowell

*Joseph Lye*²⁹

Another record of the Humbird was the one dated on May 21st, 1821. In the license of 1821 Joseph Lye was registered as “husband or managing owner” and “master of the Boat Humbird,” and Amos Breed, 3rd as “surety.” In Lye’s diary, however, there was no reference to obtaining the license but only making shoes. Probably Amos Breed or some other agents worked for it.³⁰

The act entitled “An Act for enrolling and licensing ships and vessels to be employed in the coasting trade and fisheries, & for regulating the same” was a federal law enacted in February of 1793.³¹ Obtaining a license of cod fishery meant receiving the bounty from the federal government and being exempted from the payment of the fees and tonnage in the ports of the United States. This bounty system was based on a federal law enacted in 1792 and was for the encouragement of cod fishery.³² On January 6th, 1820 Joseph Lye walked to Marblehead and received a bounty of \$35 “allowed the boat Humbird for past season. She having been actively employed 4 months in the cod fishing.”³³

Among the existing records of Marblehead Customhouse, the name of Joseph Lye was also found in the two license bonds of the Lily of Marblehead. The boat Lily was a larger schooner than the Humbird, weighing twenty-six tons and of 80/95 feet long. The amount of the bond was double that of the Humbird—two hundred dollars. In the license dated on 2 March 1827, the husband or managing owner was Joseph Lye, and the master was Moses Nisbett, and in the license dated on 8 March 1828, Joseph Lye was the husband or managing owner, and Allen Bacon was the master.³⁴

According to Lye’s diary, the boat Lily was purchased by Capt. Z. Atwell,

James Phillips, Jr., and Joseph Lye from Capt. Rich for \$250 on August 17th, 1826. This boat was a “pink stern” or chebacco built at Essex, Massachusetts in 1813, “a sound boat” and “every way equipped for fishing.” On August 22nd, 1826, Lye worked on the boat in the forenoon and went to Marblehead to get a boat license in the afternoon. The collector of the customhouse advised the new owners of the Lily “to use the old one until our bounty time had expired which will be in 30 days.” While there was no reference to the bounty in 1827 in his diary, he and his partners received a bounty of \$93.27 on January 2nd, 1828.³⁵

When they went fishing in the Lily, they spent more time on the sea than they had in the Humbird. As they could catch more fish, they received a bounty almost triple that of the Humbird. Joseph Lye sometimes recorded how they dealt with fish after they were caught. Lye and his partners sometimes sailed to Boston and sold fish there (“plenty” at \$10 on 21 September 1826), and sometimes they washed out, split, and salted fish after going back to Lynn. When Lye recorded in his diary “salt fish,” it was more often the case that he went fishing in his dory, a small, shallow-draft boat for fishing. As a commodity, often exported to Europe and the West Indies, cod was to be dried on the rack after being salted down. In his diary, however, Lye did not mention anything about drying fish while he sometimes boiled out oil from fish—probably mackerel. Mackerel was also a common catch for Lye; its flesh is relatively oily, and it could not be dried. He probably sold fish either fresh or salted to the merchants.³⁶

On March 8th, 1828, Lye went to Marblehead with J. Phillips and Allen Bacon and got the Lily’s license renewed. While Joseph Lye was recorded as “husband or managing owner” in the license bond, he seemed to go fishing less often in the Lily. He let the boat to Bacon for \$25 and the bounty amounting to \$118 for seven months starting on March 1st, 1828, and as was agreed, he obtained the Lily’s bounty of \$93 on January 1st, 1829. While he renewed the Lily’s license and received the bounty in 1829, he sold the boat to its former owner A. Rich of Hull, Massachusetts for \$200 on January 24th, 1829.³⁷ Since then he spent more time in shoemaking, farming, and haying in the marsh, while he sometimes went fishing in the smaller boat as mentioned

earlier.

While most family members among the Lyes engaged in shoe manufacture, only Burrill, Joseph Lye's younger brother, became a sea-going fisherman. Joseph Lye's diary recorded when and to what destinations Burrill made voyages for fishing:

This day [April 24th, 1819] my brother Burrill Lye sailed for the straits of Bellisle [sic] in the John & George of Marblehead. Capt. Stevens on fishing voyage.³⁸

The Strait of Belle Isle is located to the north of Newfoundland, Canada. Almost six month later, on October 20th of the same year, Burrill returned. The amount of fish surprised Joseph Lye so much that he wrote, "My brother Burrill with 100,000 cod fish!!"³⁹ According to Joseph Lye's diary, Burrill Lye set out upon six-month voyages between Marblehead and Newfoundland/Labrador in either late April or May of 1820, 1822, 1823 and 1824, and returned home with 60,000 to 90,000 cod. During the voyage of 1824 two of the crew were drowned.⁴⁰ Although Burrill came back home safe then, after this incident Burrill did not seem to sail for Newfoundland and Labrador but mostly went fishing or sailing with his brother Joseph until he died in 1830.⁴¹

On the ocean voyages Burrill was accompanied by some of his friends and relatives, as was often the case with Yankee seafarers since the colonial period. In his voyage of 1823 he was on board with Thomas Rhodes and J. B. L. Newhall. Captain Thomas Rhodes was probably Lye's neighbor, according to the manuscript census of 1820, and he sometimes accompanied Joseph Lye in the fishing voyages of the *Humbird*. J. B. L. Newhall shared his surname with Lye's uncle Benjamin Newhall and Ellis Newhall, who was a former joint-owner of the *Humbird*, indicating some family relationship.⁴²

Among Lye's family friends and coworkers of sailing and fishing, there

were seafarers that had sailed for Sweden and Portugal. Z. Atwill attended a fishing party on July 31st, 1819 with Lye himself and his sisters and in-laws. Zachariah Atwill was a prominent figure in the community, who once was selected as an overseer of the Poor in the town meeting and led riflemen of the militia regiment. Lye sometimes worked for Atwill and worked with him while Atwill was in town, such as “sitting fence”, went fishing or clamming, helping him paint his small boat, mending his boots, etc. Atwill was also one of the joint-owners of the Lily. Lye rarely mentioned what cargoes were transported by Atwill’s ship except for salt from St. Ubes or Setubal, a maritime city of Portugal, but it is obvious that Atwill engaged in the Transatlantic trade.⁴³ Although Lynn was neither a port town nor a fishing village because of its geographical conditions and was to develop as a shoe-manufacturing city, many residents there were engaged in the maritime industry to some extent in the early nineteenth century.

Joseph Lye died in 1834, and the probate record, which registered him as “cordwainer,” did not indicate that he once engaged in commercial fishery and sailing. In the record Joseph Lye’s real estate was estimated at \$1015 and his personal estate at \$713:

REAL ESTATE

Tillage land, about three fourth of an acre	\$500.—
Salt marsh, two and one third acres	200.—
Woodland, two acres	40.—
Tillage land, three acres \$150.— Shop \$75.—	225.—
One pew and half a pew in 3d Congregational Church	50.—
	\$1015.—

Personal estate

Money in Lynn Saving Bank	\$500.—
T. Atwill’s notes \$57.— Anna Lye’s notes \$94.—	151.—

Wedding apparel	20.—	silver watch	15.—	.....	35.—
Spy glass	5.—	fishing rod	5.—	.....	10.—
Books	10.—	case of bottles	2.—	.....	12.—
Carpenter's tools and iron bar	.....				2.—
Seat and tools	\$2.—	1 harmonika	\$1.—	.....	3.—
					\$713.— ⁴⁴

From the property that Lye left behind, it would be hard to imagine that he used to be a fisherman and the owner of fishing boats.

Attending town meetings, taking militia training, and serving on a jury, he was a respectable citizen and might be regarded as a typical self-made man of this era. On the other hand, he was a journeyman under the putting out system, who depended on material supplied by the merchant-manufacturers, and often experienced wage cuts and no work.⁴⁵ Nonetheless, he was able to choose not to make military shoes at the reduced rate of 30 cents per pair in 1820 while complaining that shoemaking was very dull.⁴⁶ Instead, he chose to be involved in cod fishery.

Even though the fishing boats he solely or jointly owned were on the smaller side for cod fishery, he caught cod, haddock, mackerel, and halibut, and sold to the local or Boston markets. His daily life was enmeshed in the market economy, and his experience might have been common among the residents of New England coastal towns. Daniel Vickers suggested that the New England maritime economy had already matured by the late 17th century as capitalist relations of production had been important in all the major maritime industries of the North Atlantic since the 16th century. Therefore, he argued that any transformation of New England fishery in the late 17th to 18th centuries did not mark “the transition to capitalism” but “a developmental transition within capitalism,” in contrast to that of the rural New England economy.⁴⁷ While it needs more examination to conclude which theory is more appropriate to the history of Lynn, “the transition to capitalism” or “a developmental transition within capitalism,” people in coastal New England shared in a social and economic transformation in the early nineteenth century.

Notes

- 1 “Society in America by Harriet Martineau,” *Lynn Record*, 13 September 1837.
- 2 Paul G. Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution, Lynn, Massachusetts, 1780–1860* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981), 82–84; Harriet Martineau, *Society in America*, Vol. II (London: Saunders and Otley, 1837), 249–50.
- 3 Mary H. Blewett, *Men, Women, and Work: Class, Gender, and Protest in the New England Shoe Industry, 1780–1910* ([1988]; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990).
- 4 Blewett, *Men, Women, and Work*, 23–24.
- 5 Joseph Lye, Jr., Diary, 1817–1832 (typewritten transcription), Lynn Historical Society and Lynn Museum, Lynn, Massachusetts. The Lynn Museum has transferred its manuscript collection to the Peabody Essex Museum Phillips Library. The collection is still the property of the Lynn Museum, but the Phillips is housing it for them. Britt Bowen, Lynn Museum Collections Specialist to Yukako Hisada, 18–19 August 2015.
- 6 Their research was published in Kikuyo Tanaka, et al., eds., *Umi-no-Literacy: Kita-Taiseiyo-Kaiiki no “Kaimin” no Sekaishi* [Ocean Literacy: Global History of “Maritime People” in the North Atlantic Region] (Osaka, Japan: Sogensha, 2016). The author is among the contributors to the book, and this paper contains the English translation of the chapter she wrote in the book, “Shoemaker Joseph Lye: Fishery as a Sideline in Early 19th Century Lynn, Massachusetts,” [in Japanese].
- 7 *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts to the End of the Year 1849*, Vol. 1 (Salem, Mass.: The Essex Institute, 1905), 249; *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts to the End of the Year 1849*, Vol. 2, 236–37, 530; Probate Court Records, Essex County, Massachusetts, 1790–1840 (Microfilm), Massachusetts Archives, Boston; Papers of Lye Family, 1783–1898 (Manuscript), Peabody Essex Museum Phillips Library, Salem, Massachusetts (hereafter PEM).
- 8 *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts to the End of the Year 1849*, Vol. 1 (Salem, Mass.: The Essex Institute, 1905), 249; *Vital Records of Lynn, Massachusetts to the End of the Year 1849*, Vol. 2, 236–37, 530; Probate Court Records, Essex County, Massachusetts, 1790–1840 (Microfilm), Massachusetts Archives, Boston.
- 9 Probate Court Records, Essex County, Massachusetts, 1790–1840, Massachusetts Archives.
- 10 The Collector’s List of Taxes for the Year 1819, Lynn, Massachusetts, Lynn Museum (now in the collection of PEM); Henry F. Tapley, “An Old New England Town as Seen by Joseph Lye, Cordwainer,” *Register of the Lynn Historical Society* 19

- (1915): 37.
- 11 Blewett, *Men, Women, and Work*, 3–27; Samuel Bacheller, Account Book, 1795–1845 (Manuscript), Old Sturbridge Village Research Library, Sturbridge, Massachusetts.
 - 12 United States Census Schedule, Essex County, Massachusetts, 1820 (Microfilm), National Archives and Record Administration at Boston, Waltham, Massachusetts (hereafter NARA); *Vital Records of Lynn*, Vol. 1, 249; Vol. 2, 236–37, 530.
 - 13 *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn* ([1976]; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 46; Tapley, “An Old New England Town as Seen by Joseph Lye” (1915): 38; Indenture, 27 April 1822, Papers of Lye Family, 1783–1898, PEM.
 - 14 Probate Court Records, Essex County, Massachusetts, 1790–1840, Massachusetts Archives; Helen Shoumaker and Shirley Teresa Wajda, eds., *Material Culture in America: Understanding Everyday Life* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 2008), 160–61; Cornelia Hughes Dayton, *Women before the Bar: Gender, Law, and Society in Connecticut, 1639–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 40–44.
 - 15 United States Census Schedule, Essex County, Massachusetts, 1830 (Microfilm), NARA.
 - 16 Instrument, 18 October 1831, Papers of Lye Family, 1783–1898, PEM.
 - 17 C. F. Lummus, *The Lynn Directory and Town Register for 1832* (Lynn, Mass., 1832).
 - 18 Joseph Lye Diary, 1817–1830, Lynn Manuscripts, LYNN MAN 422, PEM.
<http://pem-voyager.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/vwebv/holdingsInfo?searchId=222&recCount=10&recPointer=1&bibId=168036> (accessed 15 October 2016).
 - 19 Lye, Joseph, 1817–1834, Diary, Lynn Manuscripts, LYNN MAN 296, PEM.
 - 20 Lye, Diary (Manuscript), Vol. 1, 23 November 1817–31 May 1818, PEM.
 - 21 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, 30 June 1818.
 - 22 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, 9 June–27 July 1818.
 - 23 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, 10–14 August 1818.
 - 24 Collector of Customs, District of Marblehead (Manuscript), RG-36, Items No. 18, Box 5 of 10, NARA at Boston.
 - 25 Lye, Diary, Vol. 1, 4 March–1 May 1819.
 - 26 *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, 1 May 1819.
 - 27 United States Census Schedule, Essex County, Massachusetts, 1820 (Microfilm), NARA.
 - 28 Lye, Diary, Vol. 1, 5–6 May 1819.

- 29 License Bonds Year 1819 &1820, Collector of Customs, District of Marblehead (Manuscript), RG-36, Items No. 18, Box 5 of 10, NARA at Boston.
- 30 Ibid.; Lye, Diary, Vol. 2, 21 May 1821.
- 31 The United States Statutes at Large, Vol. 1, 2nd Congress, 2nd Session, Chapter 8.
- 32 James Madison, “Bounty Payments for Cod Fisheries,” *Federal Gazette*, 20 Feb. 1792, Madison Papers, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/?q=bounty%2C%20cod%20fisheries&s=1111311111&sa=&r=26&sr=> (Accessed August 30, 2015).
- 33 Lye, Diary, Vol. 1, 6 January 1820.
- 34 Collector of Customs, District of Marblehead (Manuscript), RG-36, Items No. 18, Box 5 of 10, NARA at Boston.
- 35 Lye, Diary, Vol. 6, 17 August 1826–2 January 1828.
- 36 Ibid., Vol. 2, 17 August 1821; Vol. 6, 18–21 September 1826, 31 July 1827, 28 September 1827; Vol. 7, 14–16 January 1828, 20–25 July 1828, 1–24 January 1829, 4 March, 1829. For fish and fishing vessels, see W. Jeffrey Bolster, *The Mortal Sea: Fishing the Atlantic in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012), 335–56.
- 37 Lye, Diary, Vol. 7, 8–10 March 1828, 1–24 January 1829, 4 March, 1829, March 19, 1829; Collector of Customs, District of Marblehead (Manuscript), RG-36, Items No. 18, Box 5 of 10, NARA.
- 38 Lye, Diary, Vol. 1, 24 April 1819.
- 39 Ibid., Vol. 1, 20 October 1819.
- 40 Ibid., Vol. 2, 29 April 1820, 17 October 1820; Vol. 3, 15 May 1822, 28 October 1822, 20 May 1823, 3 October 1823; Vol. 4, 23 May 1824, 1 October 1824.
- 41 Ibid., Vols. 5–8. Burrill died young, painfully and suddenly, but not in an accident as was often the case with fishermen. He went out in the evening of October 11, got sick the next morning, and died on the 14th. Lye, Diary, Vol. 8, 14 October 1830.
- 42 Daniel Vickers with Vince Walsh, *Young Men and Sea: Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 77–78, 105–106, 128–29; Lye, Diary, Vol. 1, 10 August 1818; Vol. 3, 20 May 1823; United States Census Schedule, Essex County, Massachusetts, 1820 (Microfilm), NARA; *Vital Records of Lynn*, Vol. 2, 264.
- 43 Lye, Diary, Vol. 1, 2 March 1818, 25 September 1818, 2–8 October 1818, 30 October 1818, 4 July 1819, 29–31 July 1819, 6–13 August 1819, 20 November 1819; Vol. 2, 6 December 1820, 28 September 1821, 21 January 1822, 22 February 1822; Vol. 3, 20 November 1822; Vol. 6, 17 August 1826, 16 October 1828; *Vital Records of Lynn*, Vol. 2, 418.

- 44 Probate Court Records, Essex County, Massachusetts, 1790–1840 (Microfilm), Massachusetts Archives, Boston.
- 45 Lye, Diary, Vol. 1, 4–6 April 1818, 4–5 May 1818, 4 September 1819, 22 September 1819, 10 March 1820; Vol. 2, 15 August 1820, 29 September 1821, 1 October 1821; Vol. 3, 8 October 1822, 3–4 March 1823; Vol. 6, 6–17 November 1827, 4–14 December 1827.
- 46 Ibid., Vol. 1, 22 January 1820, 31 March 1820.
- 47 Daniel Vickers, *Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630–1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 143–45.

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マサチューセッツ州リンの靴職人の日記からみた 19世紀初頭ニューイングランドにおける タラ漁業の一側面

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リンの製靴業の歴史は、産業革命の事例研究として長らく研究されてきた。しかしながらこれらの研究では、製靴業と農業の兼業が目されたものの、リンが面している「海」が視野に入ることはなかった。ニューイングランド大西洋沿岸、とりわけリンが属するエセックス郡では、植民地時代以来、漁業と農業、および製造業との兼業がおこなわれており、靴職人は製靴と農業だけで生計を立てていたわけではなかったのである。

ここで俎上に載せるのは、1817年から1832年にかけて靴職人ジョセフ・ライがつけていた日記である。本稿では、彼とその労働に関する日記の記述に着目し、副業としての漁業のありようを考察する。なお本稿は、田中きく代・阿河雄二郎・金澤周作編著『海のリテラシー——北大西洋海域の「海民」の世界史』（創元社、2016年）所収の拙稿「靴職人ジョセフ・ライ——19世紀初頭マサチューセッツ州リンにおける副業としての漁業」の英語翻訳に加筆修正を加えたものである。