National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in National Register Bulletin, *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form.* If any item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions.

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Signature of Certifying official/Title.	
Signature of certifying official/Title:	Date
Applicable National Register Criteria: x_ABC	<u>x</u> D
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In my opinion, the property meets recommend that this property be considered	_ does not meet the National Register Criteria. I
the documentation standards for registering I	request for determination of eligibility meets properties in the National Register of Historic onal requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60.
As the designated authority under the Nation	al Historic Preservation Act, as amended,
3. State/Federal Agency Certification	
2. Location Not For Publication: x Vicinity:	х
(Enter 14/A if property is not part of a mult	iple property listing
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Public-Federal

TWO BROTHERS	Honolulu, Hawai`i
Name of Property	County and State
4. National Park Service Certification	
I hereby certify that this property is:	
entered in the National Register	
determined eligible for the National Register	
determined not eligible for the National Register	
removed from the National Register	
other (explain:)	
Signature of the Keeper	Date of Action
5. Classification	
Ownership of Property	
(Check as many boxes as apply.) Private: Public – Local	
Public – State x	

Category of Property (Check only one box.) Building(s) District Site Structure Object Number of Resources within Property (Do not include previously listed resources in the count) Contributing Noncontributing u sites 1 o structures o o tractures objects 1 Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register o 6. Function or Use Historic Functions (Enter categories from instructions.) TRANSPORTATION/ WATER RELATED	/O BROTHERS			Honolulu, Hawa
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Architectural Classification	
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Materials: (enter categories from instructions.)	
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Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current physical appearance and condition of the property. Describe contributing and noncontributing resources if applicable. Begin with **a summary paragraph** that briefly describes the general characteristics of the property, such as its location, type, style, method of construction, setting, size, and significant features. Indicate whether the property has historic integrity.)

Summary Paragraph

(Information in the documentation in bold on page 30 should be redacted or withheld under the National Historic Preservation Act Section 304. Additionally, Figures 1 and 13 should be redacted or withheld).

The remains of the Nantucket whaleship TWO BROTHERS lie scattered, yet undisturbed, in approximately 15 feet of water off "Shark Island," a small, shifting, sand island situated amidst the reef environment of the low lying atoll of French Frigate Shoals, in Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument and World Heritage Site in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, approximately 1,000 miles northwest of Honolulu, Hawaii (**Fig.0001**). The whale ship TWO

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BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains is first mentioned in the historic record in 1818 in Nantucket, Massachusetts. This 217 ton, wooden-hulled, ship-rigged whaling ship, departed Nantucket for the Pacific whaling grounds in November, 1821 and came to grief upon the reefs of the remote Northwest Hawaiian Islands February 11, 1823. Although pounded by rough seas in a dramatic and documented sinking incident, an impressive assemblage of artifacts from the TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains lie in a relatively circumscribed area scattered among the fringing reef environment. Despite the dynamic conditions at French Frigate Shoals, the scattered assemblage of artifacts from the TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains can yet offer a rare glimpse into the early days of Pacific whaling. Moreover, it provides a direct connection to perhaps the best-known American sea story, that of the whale ship Essex, the inspiration for Herman Melville's Moby Dick, through the TWO BROTHERS' captain, George Pollard Jr. who was also captain of the whaleship *Essex*. The site retains its historic integrity due to the extremely remote location in a highly protected area (Papahānaumokuākea Marine

of human activity including looting, dumping or salvage.

National Monument and World Heritage Site). The TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains may be the most intact collection of archaeological materials related to historic whaling of the time period it represents. There are no intrusive or inconsistent artifacts at the site, and no signs

Narrative Description

HISTORIC DESCRIPTION

Unlike many of the other ships lost in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, little is currently known about the construction or working life of TWO BROTHERS prior to its loss at French Frigate Shoals. The few features of the ship that are available were gleaned from an entry in Alexander Starbucks's History of the American Whale Fishery (1878). The Nantucket-owned TWO BROTHERS first appears in this register in the year 1818, where it is described as being 217 tons, ship rigged, and captained by George B. Worth (Starbuck 1878:226). With no owner or agent listed, the ship sailed for the Pacific Ocean on 25 September 1818 and returned on 20 October 1820 with a cargo or 378 barrels of "Sperm-oil" and 1,836 barrels of "Whale-oil" (Starbuck 1878:227).

The same 217-ton ship TWO BROTHERS appears only one other time in Starbuck's table; having departed from Nantucket in 1821, and listed as having been "lost on a coral reef" while under the command of George Pollard, Jr. (Starbuck 1878:236-237).

Using Starbuck's data (1878:227-237) regarding the size and rig of the ship, archival collections of various museums in New England and Hawaii, regional newspapers and shipping registers were consulted in an effort to identify the origin, build date, and any other construction data pertaining to TWO BROTHERS. While its name appears to have been very popular for vessels of all classes during this period, only one matched exactly the known dimensions listed by Starbuck – the 217-ton ship TWO BROTHERS built at Hallowell, Maine by Joseph Glidden in 1804 (Barker 1879:9; Baker 1973:929). Regional shipbuilding records indicate that this vessel measured 84 feet and four inches long, 24 feet and four inches wide and 12 feet and two inches deep. They also state that its original home port was Gardiner, Maine, the first owner was S.

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Bradstreet, the first Master was James Purrington, and that it was fitted with a female figurehead (Baker 1973:659-929).

The dimensions of this vessel fit perfectly with those desired for whaleships of this period and many vessels employed by Nantucket whaling operations were constructed in Maine shipyards, which "turned out many superior ships for the trade" (Martin 1975:45). Thus it is highly likely that this was the same TWO BROTHERS that was lost in PMNM in 1823. If this is indeed the case, as yet no information about the vessel has been found pertaining to its career between the years 1804 and 1817. While it is possible that it was employed in the whale fishery during that time, it would seem unlikely since no mention of it is found in Starbuck's comprehensive shipping returns table for the period (1878:202-225). Instead it is probable that like many other New England ships it was laid up during the period of Jefferson's Embargo and the War of 1812 (Baker 1973:186), and then later used in some branch of the merchant service before being sold to Nantucket owners to be refit as a whaler.

Whaleships differed materially from any other type of merchant ship or clipper in model and equipment, and both sides of a whaleship differed from each other above the waterline. Because whaleships carried a large amount of special gear and equipment not required by clippers and other merchant ships, such as heavy brick tryworks, iron trypots, cooling tanks, casks for oil, whalecraft and gear for capturing, cutting-in and trying out whale blubber, and spare whaleboats, as well as general supplies for voyages covering a period of three to five years.

Whaleships averaged between 250 and 400 tons, and but little more than 100 feet in length on deck. By necessity, they were more bulky in model than ships built expressly for speed. The ratio of beam to length averaged about one to four in whaleships (compared to one to six in a clipper ship). Seaworthiness and ability to carry a full cargo of oil together with the mass of whaling gear and food supplies were the prime consideration in constructing whalers, yet many of them were beautifully modeled.

Above the waterline whaleships differed greatly from any other type of merchant vessel, for on the port side three whaleboats were usually carried, slung from wooden davits about ten feet in height, while another was carried at the starboard quarter, and most of the larger ships also carried a starboard bow boat. The space amidships abreast the main hatch on the starboard side was reserved for a removable section of the bulwarks called the gangway, which was removed when cutting-in whales to facilitate handling the heavy blanket pieces of blubber.

The tryworks, erected on deck forward of the fore hatch, consisted of a brick furnace containing at least two iron trypots, each having a capacity of up to 250 gallons. Around the base a low wooden framework, perhaps a foot in height, called the "goose pen," was kept filled with sea water. The ground tier of brickwork supporting the trypots was laid checkerboard fashion so that water flowed freely beneath it to prevent the ship catching fire.

A copper tank for cooling hot oil and usually a spare trypot were secured at either side of the tryworks, and a cooper's bench behind it, between the furnace and the hatch. Two small deckhouses were built at the stern at either side of the steering wheel, connected overhead to

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form a shelter for the helmsman (usually referred to as the hurricane house). The cook's galley occupied the house at the starboard side, the other being used as lockers for cooperage tools, supplies, and access to cabins below. Directly forward of the travelling steering wheel was a large skylight that gave light to the main cabin beneath, and a few feet farther forward was a well-ventilated pen built of slatwork used for potatoes and other vegetables, important items of the food supply.

Aboard the square-rigged whaleships an overhead shelter was also built over the tryworks to shield them in stormy weather, and another between the main and mizzenmasts to accommodate two or three extra whaleboats in case those in use became too badly stove for repair onboard the ship.

Aloft, the whaleship differed little from other merchant ships, save for the masthead hoops for lookouts watching for whales on the grounds. They were the most strongly built ships afloat, rigged to withstand unusual strains which wrench their hulls beyond the ability of merchant ships to withstand (Church, 1938).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION

The broken up and scattered archaeological remains of the Nantucket whaling ship TWO BROTHERS lie in Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument and World Heritage Site, at French Frigate Shoals, approximately one mile from Tern Island. The site rests in State of Hawaii waters and within the Hawaiian Islands National Wildlife Refuge.

The following description of the TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and archaeological remains is based upon snorkel, scuba and side scan sonar surveys conducted on the site from 2008 to 2012 by NOAA archaeologists. The surveys employed high frequency sound, measured sketches, baseline trilateration, and digital still and high definition video photography to gather information for archaeological characterization. Vessel size, loss location, site characteristics, artifact inventory and archival research all indicate that the site is the Nantucket whaleship TWO BROTHERS.

The TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains lie scattered across nearly 40,000 square meters (m) around the southern and eastern edges of "Shark Island." Shark Island is one of many small, sandy islets located throughout French Frigate Shoals. Sands on these small islets tend to shift and islands are known to appear and disappear seasonally.

The depth of the TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains ranges from about three meters to seven meters and is scattered over an area that ranges from sandy bottom, to living reef, to hard substrate. Despite the dynamic conditions at the site, artifacts and features remain remarkably stable from year to year. Though all organic material (wood, cloth, etc.) from the ship has deteriorated, what remain are a remarkably intact collection of iron and other metal artifacts representative of the midship to stern section of an early 19th-century American whaling vessel.

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The site was preliminarily recorded in 2008 by a team of NOAA maritime archaeologists and what was discovered that year consists of a trail of artifacts resting in small pockets in the reef and just off its northern edge at depths of between one and four meters. The distribution of the site suggests that the vessel hit the reef in a storm and was violently smashed and scattered across the reef top and over its back edge.

Initial analysis of the artifacts identified at the site suggests that these remains represent those of an early 19th-century whaling ship. Artifacts discovered in 2008 include two large anchors (both exhibiting sharply pointed crowns and large rings permanently attached to the tops of the shanks for connecting hemp cables), two hawse pipes, rigging components such as chain-plates and deadeye strops, copper fasteners of different sizes, copper sheathing and tacks, a lead pipe, mast rings, iron rigging thimbles and deck eyes. In 2008, the artifacts indicating the vessel was a whaling ship include three try-pots and a large number of try-works bricks. Other diagnostic artifacts include two trapezoidal-shaped case bottles that indicate an early 19th-century manufacture date.

In 2009, the team returned to the then unidentified whaling shipwreck site at French Frigate Shoals (referred to at the time as the Shark Island Whaler for the sandy island nearby) in order to conduct an ecological survey. At that time, the team came across an exciting new portion of the wreck site. In addition to the discovery of a fourth trypot, three blubber hooks, a grinding wheel, and a kedge anchor, the team found four small cast-iron pots that resemble small trypots (about 30 cm in diameter). Existing accounting records in Nantucket describe the sale of this type of cast-iron pot for use on whaleships. The team also came across what appears to be the double flued tip of a whaling harpoon, another exciting discovery with the potential to yield information about the vessel's identity.

In May of 2010, maritime archaeologists returned to the site of the Shark Island Whaler. The team had permits to recover the artifact believed to be a double flued whaling harpoon tip. The discovery of this particular artifact was significant because of its potential to yield information about the identity, date and provenience of the shipwreck site. Archaeological work in 2010 resulted in the survey of the section of the shipwreck site discovered in 2009 (called the "south" site) and the completion of a second site map. At that time, five more double flued whaling harpoon tips were discovered along with three whaling lances and five pieces of the shafts of a lance. Eight pieces of ceramics, mostly blue and green shell-edged pearlware were discovered, along with nine pieces of glass including the broken glass of the face of a chronometer or compass. In May of 2010, over one hundred artifacts, as well as dozens of copper fasteners and more than 200 bricks were documented on the seafloor by a NOAA maritime archaeology team. The team created several measured sketches of the artifacts, took still photographs and video, and completed a second site plan. Due to the distance between the "north" and "south" portions of the TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains, it was appropriate to create two distinct site maps (Figs.0002 & 0003).

Significant features documented in 2010 at the North site include: three large iron trypots (Fig.0004), hundreds of bricks from the tryworks, two large early 19th century anchors (one large

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bower anchor and one possible stream anchor) (Figs.0005 & 0006), rigging including one chain plate assembly, 10 stops, mast and yard bands, chain link and copper sheathing.

Key diagnostic artifacts located at the South site, many representing whalecraft, include over 10 harpoon tips, three lance tips, five lance or harpoon shaft pieces (Fig.0007), a grinding stone (Fig.0008), three blubber hooks, seven pieces of dateable ceramics (Fig.0009), and nine pieces of glass including what is believed to be the glass face of a chronometer or compass. Other artifacts discovered at the site that can be linked to Nantucket in the 1820s include a sounding lead, ginger jar (Fig.0010), and four cast iron cooking pots of about 30 cm diameter (Fig.0011).

Later in 2010 the team recovered three whaling harpoon tips (Fig.0012), two lances, two pieces of ceramics (one green shell-edged sherd and one blue shell-edged sherd of pearlware), and one of the four small cast iron cooking pots. All artifacts were appropriately conserved, treated and loaned to the Nantucket Historical Association for display and curation at the Nantucket Whaling Museum.

2010 field work at French Frigate Shoals also included remote sensing survey (side scan sonar and magnetometer) of an area around Shark Island. The survey aimed to explore for new portions of the shipwreck site (including bow section remains). While anomalies revealed new features, the remote sensing survey did not yield any new significant portions of the shipwreck site. The map created by SEARCH, Inc (the contract company who conducted the remote sensing) serves as a valuable reference for seafloor topography, location of anomalies and a georeferenced site map of the area around Shark Island and the Two Brothers shipwreck site (Fig.0013).

2012 archaeological survey of the TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains by NOAA maritime archaeologists specifically focused on the exploration for new artifacts associated with the site and broader survey of the area around the two specific (north and south) site areas. Survey yielded at least three new doubled flued whaling harpoon tips and dozens of new metal artifacts buried in rubble southeast of the shipwreck site. Several new measured sketches in 2012 added to the data collected at the site to date. An inventory was created to document the numerous artifacts discovered and recorded at the site (Fig.0017).

Overall, the site appears to be an early nineteenth century American whaling vessel broken apart on the reef in a heavy storm. The wreck's location and orientation closely match survivor accounts of the wrecking event of the Nantucket whaleship TWO BROTHERS. Additionally, the artifacts and features of the shipwreck site all match the correct date of the TWO BROTHERS(wrecked in 1823) and provenience (Nantucket, MA). There are no other whaling ships of this timeframe known to have been lost at French Frigate Shoals (Fig.0014). The preponderance of evidence suggests that this site is that of the Nantucket whaleship TWO BROTHERS, the first Nantucket whaleship discovered to date in an archaeological context.

TWO BRO		RS Honolulu, Hawai`i
		nent of Significance
	: "x"	e National Register Criteria in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register
X	A.	Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
	В.	Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
	C.	Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
X	D.	Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.
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		onsiderations in all the boxes that apply.)
	A.	Owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes
	В.	Removed from its original location
	C.	A birthplace or grave
	D.	A cemetery
	E.	A reconstructed building, object, or structure
	F.	A commemorative property
	G.	Less than 50 years old or achieving significance within the past 50 years

Honolulu, Hawai`i
County and State

Areas of Significance (Enter categories from instructions.) ARCHAEOLOGY - HISTORIC MARITIME HISTORY	O BRO	THERS
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Statement of Significance Summary Paragraph (Provide a summary paragraph that includes level of significance, applicable criteria, justification for the period of significance, and any applicable criteria considerations.)

The whaleship TWO BROTHERS, an early nineteenth-century New England whaling vessel, sank at French Frigate Shoals in the Northwest Hawaiian Islands, February 11, 1823 by grounding on the reef. The TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains is a nationally-significant archaeological site, consisting of the remains of the first American whaleship known to be lost in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands (NWHI). Illustrative of the hundreds of voyages and inherent risk involved in early-nineteenth-century Pacific whaling, the TWO BROTHERS was victim to the shallow reefs of French Frigate Shoals, while attempting to traverse the uncharted region (Criterion A). The TWO BROTHERS also has the historic distinction of being directly connected to one of the most storied episodes in the industry's history – the loss of the whaleship Essex – through Captain George Pollard Jr. The true and tragic tale of Captain Pollard's previous ship, the Essex, sunk as a result of by being rammed by a whale in a remote part of the Pacific Ocean, became the inspiration for Herman Melville's famous book *Moby-Dick*. Additionally, the TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck site represents the only discovery of a wrecked whaling ship from Nantucket extant anywhere in the world, and represents the earliest known wreck of an American whaleship so far identified in the Pacific region. Whalers had only been operating in the central Pacific for a few short years when the TWO BROTHERS was lost in 1823. The period of significance of this shipwreck site, 1818-1823 is a period of time when pelagic whaling, as highlighted by the tragic story of the TWO BROTHERS became profoundly significant to American history. The economic impact of whaling upon the country, specifically communities like Nantucket, along with the social consequences of the manifest destiny that played out on the maritime frontier in the Pacific highlights the significance of the period of significance represented by the TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains. Archaeologically, the site is significant as it provides the most complete artifact assemblage of any whaleship lost in the Pacific with great potential to yield information on the history, archaeology, and culture of Pacific whaling (Criterion D). Also unique to this incident are the existence of multiple survivors accounts of the wrecking event, which aided in the positive identification of the wreck. These factors make the archaeological remains of the whaling ship TWO BROTHERS significant at the national level under Criterion A and D.

Narrative Statement of Significance (Provide at least **one** paragraph for each area of significance.)

The Two Brothers qualifies for listing under National Register Criterion A based upon its association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history, in particular, Pacific maritime history and the history of North American whaling. The Northwestern Hawaiian Islands (NWHI) have been an area of continuous maritime activity for hundreds of years. This string of tiny islands, atolls, shoals and banks possess the remains of at least ten whaling vessels reported lost in the most remote archipelago on earth. The opening of

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the extensive whale hunting area known as the Japan Grounds in 1820 sent many whale ships through the low lying atolls of the NWHI. The site of TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains exemplifies the vessels, voyages, and material culture that characterized hundreds of successful cruises undertaken by hardy New Englanders and Pacific Islanders to some of the most remote areas of the world in search of whales throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.

The TWO BROTHERS is directly connected with Captain George Pollard, the story of the sinking of the whaleship Essex, and the inspiration for Herman Melville's novel Moby Dick. Whaling shipwreck sites from the early 19th century are quite rare, yet it is the TWO BROTHERS' association with a famous, or rather infamous, figure in the history and literature of American whaling that elevates its significance from an exemplary whaleship, to a fundamental touchstone for key historic and literary events of the era. Many are familiar with the fate of the Nantucket whaleship Essex, stove by a whale in the Pacific Ocean and cited as the inspiration for Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*. After the tragedy of the *Essex*, Captain George Pollard and other survivors endured a 95 day journey in small boats that resulted in sickness, starvation and ultimately cannibalism. However, this dramatic experience was not the final chapter in Pollard's career as a whaling captain. After his return to Nantucket, he was given command of the whaleship Two Brothers. That voyage also resulted in the disastrous loss of his ship, this time at French Frigate Shoals in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands on February 11, 1823. And though Captain Pollard's career as a whaling captain was then decidedly over, his story, and that of the *Two Brothers* still remains on the seafloor at French Frigate Shoals. The assemblage of artifacts remaining at the TWO BROTHERS shipwreck site embodies the distinctive characteristics of early 19th-century New England, and in particular Nantucket, whaleships and whaling culture. Of the unsuccessful voyages through the NWHI over the decades, only five wreck sites out of the ten whalers reported lost in the area have been located and investigated by NOAA maritime archaeologists. Of these sites, only the extensive material culture found on the seafloor at the TWO BROTHERS shipwreck site truly exemplifies the cargo and features of an early 19th century American whaling ship operating in the Pacific. The collection includes artifacts unique to a ship outfitted in Nantucket, Massachusetts at a time when the whaling trade began to decline due to factors such as high operational costs and the extensive distances that the vessels had to travel to find whales by the early 1820s.

The TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains qualifies for listing under National Register **Criterion D** based upon the archaeological site's likelihood to yield information important to history. At no other single location is better preserved the remains of an early nineteenth-century North American whaleship. The site was discovered by NOAA archaeologists in 2008. Because of the site's remote, and inaccessible nature, the NOAA archaeological investigations from 2008-2012 indicate a high level or archaeological integrity, describing a site disturbed only by natural degradation processes, otherwise undisturbed by human activity since its wrecking in 1823. Information gathered on these successive research cruises, set against the existing limited historical documentation and scant physical remains of early nineteenth-century New England whaleships, suggest that the TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains comprises the most complete artifact assemblage of whaling culture in the early days of working the Japan Grounds. The site has already yielded significant information on early nineteenth-century whaling and

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whaleships, and the culture of whalemen of that era through its unique artifact assemblage. Continued archaeological study is likely to yield important information about this particular vessel, its final voyage and wrecking incident.

This statement of significance is based on the more detailed discussion that follows.

THE NORTHWEST HAWAIIAN ISLANDS ROLE IN PACIFIC WHALING

The identification of the various whaling grounds in the North Pacific proved to be a major driver in Hawaii's economic development. The immense numbers of whales found on those grounds yielded vast amounts of valuable whale products, the sale of which generated enormous profits for ship owners and, to a lesser degree, their officers and crews. This profit potential gave the impetus for whaleship crews to make the most of each and every voyage and resulted in the constant search for opportunities to capitalize on the latest hunting areas. Beginning with the opening of the enormous and fertile Japan Grounds in 1820, reports of seemingly unlimited whale populations caused an explosion in the numbers of British and American ships entering the North Pacific each year.

The natural wealth of the Japan Grounds, in conjunction with others in the central and South Pacific, was enough to supply the whale fleets with sperm oil cargoes for nearly two decades. Eventually, however, those resources were overexploited and the returns diminished, causing changes to the patterns of seasonal hunting. Instead of solely concentrating their efforts on the Japan Grounds, whalers passed through the area taking what sperm whales they could find before expanding their geographic scope to the north in search of the next boom. By that time the numbers of British ships fishing in the North Pacific had all but disappeared and the American fleet took a dominant role (Rydell 1952:65). Understanding that the waters to the north were generally too cold for sperm whales, they altered their strategy to search for right whales as well as sperms.

These exploratory voyages quickly paid off; the whalers were rewarded with consecutive discoveries of several fertile right whale grounds all across the Arctic region between 1830 and 1850 (Kugler 1971:24), as well as bowhead grounds in the Bering Sea in 1848 (Bockstoce 2006:54). Coincidentally, during this period prices being paid for sperm oil dropped and the demand for right whale oil and whalebone increased considerably (Bockstoce 1984:531). The new grounds soon became the main focus of most of the American fleet's activities and remained so until the decline of the whaling industry around 1870. Throughout this period Hawaii remained an important port of call for the whalers, but by the late 1850s San Francisco slowly gained prominence until it took the place as the dominant Pacific port for Arctic whaling (Spears 1915:415).

Despite the fact that much of the North Pacific was not officially explored or mapped until the middle of the nineteenth century, the lure of filling cargo holds with oil and turning quick profits brought whalers in droves. In doing so, the captains of these vessels greatly increased their chances of damage or loss through encounters with the many shallow reefs and tiny atolls that

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rise up quickly out of the region's generally deep water. Often such dangerous oceanic features

were completely uncharted and when encountered at night or in conjunction with a storm, the results were catastrophic. Ship captains did their best to fix the positions of each hazard when they stumbled upon them, but often the reported positions were only relative and therefore of little help (Thrum 1915:134). Even when the positions were accurate, charts were seldom published during this period. Thus, the more prudent ships operating in the region maintained a constant and vigilant watch from their mastheads to alert the helmsman of any danger sighted on the horizon (Friis 1967:262).

Though many of the potentially dangerous shoals and reefs that formed around Pacific islands and atolls were visible from a distance, others developed around remote seamounts, which made early detection nearly impossible. In many cases isolated reefs sprang up out of deep, open-ocean environments; but once their presence was charted, ships set courses to bypass them. In other cases, however, such features were not isolated and instead formed links in a chain that stretched over vast distances. These formations resulted in an increased chance of shipwreck, as vessels trying to avoid one reef often unwittingly encountered the next in the chain. The increase in maritime traffic in the Pacific in the early to mid-nineteenth century saw seemingly innocuous semi-submerged archipelagos transform into veritable ship traps. Throughout the nineteenth century many merchant vessels and whaleships came to grief on islands, reefs and shoals previously unknown to Europeans, which in turn received their western names from the encounters (Van Tilburg and Kikiloi 2007:57).

Of the many remote formations that dot the Pacific, the area referred to as the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands (NWHI) are particularly relevant to nineteenth century whaling. Located to the north of the main Hawaiian Islands, the NWHI runs in a northwesterly arc for approximately 2000 km and encompasses a series of low islands, atolls, and barely submerged reefs (McDowell Ward 2010:6). For the most part the entire archipelago is characterized by extremely deep water with intermittent areas of small, shallow reef banks. Aside from the more substantial southern islands of Nihoa and Mokumanamana (Necker), which are known to have been occupied for hundreds of years but abandoned by the time of western contact (Ward 2010:11), few of the other islands within the chain were capable of sustaining human habitation for a lengthy period. And while it is highly likely that voyagers and fishers had long utilized the region for marine resource extraction, by the time Europeans arrived it is believed that the NWHI were not universally known to Native Hawaiians (Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument 2011:19).

While there is some speculation about the date of the first passage by a merchant vessel through the Japan Grounds (Richards 1999), without a doubt it was the initial visit there by American and British whalers in 1820 that sparked the explosion in the numbers of ships entering the North Pacific and Arctic regions over the next fifty years. The stopovers in Hawaiian ports brought whaleships into contact with the NWHI; whether sailing for the Japan Grounds, which stretched from Midway Atoll west to the Bonin Islands (Kugler 1971:24), or to those in the Arctic, the physical position of the NWHI became an obstacle to the success of the ships that dared to enter it.

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County and State In a very short time the uncharted physical hazards of the NWHI were exposed to the early whaling skippers that entered the region. Some of the vessels that encountered reef banks and shoals were fortunate enough to have detected them from a distance and to lay down their location on a chart. For instance, while on his second voyage to the Japan Grounds from the Sandwich Islands in 1820, Captain Joseph Allen of the whaleship *Maro* successfully identified and marked two such features: Maro Reef, a particularly treacherous location marked only by breakers (Robotti 1955:24; Van Tilburg 2002b:38), and Gardiner Pinnacles, which he described as "a new island or rock not laid down on any chart... 150 feet high and about one mile in circumference... it has two detached humps" (Stackpole 1953: 269; Clapp 1972:2). Other early vessels were not as lucky and instead spotted uncharted reefs too late, which resulted in their wrecking and their crews being stranded for lengthy periods. This was the case for the British whaleships *Pearl* and *Hermes*, which were both lost in 1822 on the extensive reef that now bears their name (Sharp 1960:200; Amerson et al 1974:26). These examples illustrate two facts: first that the NWHI contained many dangerous areas that were capable of destroying unsuspecting vessels; and second, that cautious navigation could result in safe passage through the region.

As knowledge of the particularly dangerous areas of the archipelago was gained, it was disseminated amongst the whaling fraternity who fished the Japan Grounds. This knowledge transfer proved extremely useful; in the early to mid-nineteenth century thousands of ships successfully passed though the region by charting courses that avoided the hazards. That is not to say that accidents did not still occur. Winter storms, poor judgment, and other circumstances led to occasional losses in the NWHI throughout the nineteenth century, which in turn contributed to its lasting reputation as being almost impossibly dangerous. An example of this public sentiment is found in a 1915 popular publication that listed the maritime casualties in the archipelago. Reverend J.M. Lydgate (1915:133) describes the general feeling for the area: "The islands and reefs to the northwest of Hawaii have been a veritable graveyard of marine disaster. The two sufficient reasons for this have been, first, the low, inconsistent character of the islands, and, second, the faulty or insufficient location of them on the marine charts. The menace of an iceberg is the fact that it lies seven-eighths under water, and you strike some submerged, protruding spur of it before you dream of danger. In a much more disastrous way the same thing is true of many of these islands."

Regardless of this reputation, the potential for quick returns and profit far outweighed the risks of passing thorough the NWHI and by the late 1820s over a hundred whaleships were successfully fishing on the Japan Grounds each year. For the most part the risks were significantly lessened through industrial strategies, such as the establishment of fishing patterns that seasonally shifted between the North and South Pacific. Using knowledge of whale migration as a guide, ships were able to make the most of the North Pacific whaling season and then safely withdraw before the arrival of the dangerous winter weather. However in some cases whaleships remained on the grounds too late in the season or were simply caught off guard by inclement weather or miscalculations in navigation – between 1822 and 1867 eleven whaleships are reported to have encountered the reefs of the NWHI. Of these eleven, only one was fortunate enough to have been refloated and saved; the other ten became total losses.

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NANTUCKET WHALING

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Nantucket, MA is a crescent-shaped island just thirteen miles long and seven miles wide. It is roughly thirty miles from Woods Hole on Cape Cod, and fifteen miles from Martha's Vineyard. Originally settled by individuals seeking religious freedom, the island was purchased by eighteen men in 1661. The group was comprised of a small group of non-Puritans and separatist sympathizers led by Tristram Coffin of Salisbury. The island in its entirety is listed on the National Register of Historic Places as a Historic District.

The whaling industry on Nantucket originated in the late 17th century. The settlers began copying the whaling activities of the original Native American inhabitants. As early as 1672, Nantucketers began to develop a company for off shore whaling. The island acquired its first whaling sloop in 1694 and by 1712 owned five vessels. By 1714 the Nantucket whaling fleet had grown to 9 and 12 years later there were 28 vessels engaged in offshore whaling. The success of off shore whaling led to the abandonment of shore whaling by 1760 and by 1730 Nantucket began to build her own ships. By 1748 the island owned 60 ships.

As the whaling industry flourished the town became the leading American whaling port until the 1840's. The "golden age" of Nantucket began in about 1820 when the whaling industry prospered after the decline following the American Revolution and the War of 1812. The American Revolution affected the whaling industry of Nantucket in several ways: more than 1,200 sailors were lost during the war, 134 ships were lost, and the economy suffered as the Revolution interrupted Nantucket's oil trade with London. The War of 1812 again caused the loss of several ships, but the industry regained momentum and Nantucket controlled over 80 vessels by 1822.

By the early 1820s the Nantucket whalers began sailing further in to the Pacific in search of new whaling grounds. Despite the small size and population of Nantucket Island, all who visited noted the incredible success of the whale fishery there, which had made a fortune for many on the island. The Pacific whale fishery helped to create a prosperous community with a worldwide reach (Dolin 2007:206).

Nantucket's whaling industry began its decline by 1843. There were several factors that contributed to it; these included a devastating fire in the town's center and wharfs in 1846, the California Gold Rush of 1849 which lured more than 400 young Nantucketers away from the island, and most importantly, the sand bars in the harbor hindered the ability of the larger ships to dock in the town. The need to travel further afield, to whaling grounds on the opposite side of the world for years at a time necessitated larger vessels. Nantucket simply couldn't accommodate the changing industry. In 1869, the bark Oak was the last whaler to sail from Nantucket's port. By 1874 Nantucket was no longer listed as an American whaling port (Heintzelman 1967: 6).

THE WHALESHIP TWO BROTHERS IN HISTORY

Little is currently known about the construction or working life of TWO BROTHERS prior to its loss at French Frigate Shoals. The few features of the ship that are available were gleaned

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from an entry in Alexander Starbucks's History of the American Whale Fishery (1878) and extracted from survivor's accounts of the wrecking event. The Nantucket-owned TWO BROTHERS first appears in this register in the year 1818, where it is described as being 217 tons, ship rigged, and captained by George B. Worth (Starbuck 1878:226). With no owner or agent listed, the ship sailed for the Pacific Ocean on 25 September 1818 and returned on 20 October 1820 with a cargo of 378 barrels of "Sperm-oil" and 1,836 barrels of "Whale-oil" (Starbuck 1878:227). Though no data about the actual cruise is recorded, the much greater cargo of whale oil than sperm oil might suggest that they encountered large numbers of right whales while passing through the South Atlantic – possibly on the Brazil Banks – for at least part of the cruise. The same 217-ton ship TWO BROTHERS appears only one other time in Starbuck's table; in 1821, where it is listed as having been "lost on a coral reef" while under the command of George Pollard, Jr. (Starbuck 1878:236-237).

CONNECTION TO THE WHALESHIP ESSEX

The next known historical mention of TWO BROTHERS comes in its association with the story of the sinking of the whaleship Essex. This now famous incident involved the harrowing experience of the crew of an ill-fated whaleship that was twice rammed by an angered whale while hunting in an open stretch of the Pacific 1200 miles northeast of the Marquesas Islands (Whipple 1979:85). According to an account of the loss (Chase 1821), the whale's second sortie resulted in the hull being stove in at the bow and the ship quickly taking on water (Dakin 1934:88). Salvaging what little provisions they could access, Captain George Pollard, Jr. and the twenty-man crew set out in three whaleboats hoping to make it to the coast of South America. Though efforts were made to keep the three small boats together, storms soon separated them. After surviving a traumatic ninety-four day journey that resulted in sickness, starvation, and ultimately, cannibalism, two of the boats were rescued at sea within five days of one another – the third boat was never heard from again (Whipple 1979:87).

The story of the loss of the whaleship *Essex* has become immortalized as an American epic, as the improbability of a whale sinking a ship pursuing it is a fascinating concept. But contrary to conventional wisdom this was not the only occurrence of a whale attacking a ship; instead other such instances have occurred and several accounts of this behavior exist. These include those of the wrecks of *Union* in 1807, *Ann Alexander* in 1851, and *Kathleen* in 1902 (Dulles 1933:145). However, it was the story of *Essex* that captured the public's attention when first mate and survivor Owen Chase published his account (Chase 1821). The accounts of other survivors are known, including that of Captain Pollard (1823) and a crew member named Thomas Chappel (circa 1824), but none gained as much notoriety as did the one penned by Chase. Since then the story has been recounted many times, with the most notable of these being Herman Melville's classic Moby Dick, first published in 1851. Directly inspired by Chase's account, Melville's adaptation of the story eventually became one of the great works of American literature and has enlightened generations about the experience of mid-nineteenth century whaling. Notable research into the sinking of Essex includes Tomas Heffernan's Stove by a Whale: Owen Chase and the Essex (1981) and Nathaniel Philbrick's award-winning book entitled In the Heart of the

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Sea: The Tragedy of the Whaleship Essex (2000).

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The five survivors of the *Essex* tragedy were taken to Valparaiso, Chile. There they recuperated for a few months, before four of the crew returned home aboard the Nantucket whaleship *Eagle*. Deemed too weak to accompany the crew, Captain Pollard remained a further two months in Chile before gaining passage to Nantucket aboard the whaleship TWO BROTHERS (Philbrick 2000:193). All five of these men returned to sea and in the course of their careers each one went on to become a captain (Whipple 1954:34). For his part, Pollard's integrity so impressed Captain George Worth over the course of the two-and-a-half month return voyage, that he was recommended as a replacement for master of the whaleship that brought him home (Philbrick 2000:203). The freakish nature of the accident that led to the loss of *Essex* did little to tarnish Pollard's reputation as a fine skipper and he soon found himself preparing for yet another voyage to the Pacific, this time in command of TWO BROTHERS (Heffernan 1981:145).

THE FINAL VOYAGE AND WRECKING OF TWO BROTHERS

In late November 1821, little more than three months after his return to Nantucket, Pollard sailed for the Pacific Ocean as master of TWO BROTHERS (Macy 1835:249). Interestingly, Pollard was not the only *Essex* survivor on board; as a sign of their trust in his skills, both Thomas Nickerson and Charles Ramsdell chose to serve under him again (Philbrick 2000:206). After a long and stormy yet uneventful passage the ship rounded Cape Horn and eventually arrived safely in Talcahuano, Chile, where they met the Nantucket whaler *Martha*. There the captains of the two vessels agreed to "throw their chances together and cruise for whales far to the westward" (Nickerson n.d.). After each took on recruits in that port, the two ships met off the coast of Peru and cruised west northwest on a course for the Japan Grounds - possibly even passing over the spot where the whale had struck *Essex* only two years earlier (Heffernan 1981:149).

By early February 1823 TWO BROTHERS and Martha had turned more to the north and were cruising in roughly the same latitude as French Frigate Shoals when the weather deteriorated (Nickerson n.d.). Despite only being able to rely on dead reckoning due to overcast skies, both captains judged their position to be well west of any known danger and maintained their courses (Philbrick 2000:208). The two ships were barely visible to one another when, on the afternoon of February 11, heavy squalls and severe gales caused the crew of TWO BROTHERS to reduce sail. Soon large breakers were seen and though an attempt was made to change course, "the high sea running behind" them affected their steering and almost immediately the ship struck on a reef (Nickerson n.d.). Though the vessel briefly refloated, it quickly struck again with such force that it shattered the stern (Gardner 1823). In his account of the wrecking event, boatsteerer Thomas Nickerson stated that there were "breakers apparently mountains high" and that soon the stricken ship was being pushed over onto its broadsides and pounding so hard "that one could scarcely stand upon his feet" (Nickerson n.d.). The ship was beating to pieces and water filled it so quickly that the pumps were of no use (Macy 1835:249). Nickerson (n.d.) noted that while "Captain Pollard seemed to stand amazed at the scene before him," two of the mates stepped in and ordered that masts be cut away in an attempt to save the ship. Luckily Pollard came to and realized that TWO BROTHERS, was beyond saving; knowing that the falling masts and spars

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would likely damage the whaleboats, he ordered the crew to drop their axes and instead to prepare to abandon the ship (Nickerson n.d.; Philbrick 2000:209). Two whaleboats were each loaded with four oars, a sail, and some navigational equipment; however no fresh water, provisions or spare clothing could be obtained (Gardner 1823). The entire complement of officers and crew – including Pollard who did so reluctantly – escaped in the crowded boats (Nickerson n.d.; Philbrick 2000:209) as the ship was smashed by the heavy surf.

The TWO BROTHERS crew passed the night being tossed around in the tempestuous seas and eventually the boats became separated. In the morning one of the boats noticed a sail in the distance; they rowed towards it and as they neared it was found to be their companion Martha. Though it too had run aground on a reef after parting a cable during the storm, quick action by the chief mate freed it with little damage sustained (Nickerson n.d.). The other boat saw a high rock in the distance and pulled for it through the night, but upon reaching it found the area to be inhospitable. Instead they rowed to the south where the following day they encountered three small islands, one of which they were able to land upon and take refuge. They established a makeshift camp and began to search for food, but soon one of the men saw a sail on the horizon which proved to be Martha (Gardner 1823). They rowed the whaleboat out to meet the ship and with the crews of both whaleships onboard, Martha sailed for the island of Oahu, Hawaii. They arrived there three weeks later and after a brief rest, the ship soon departed for Nantucket (Macy 1835:250). There is no indication that any attempt to salvage the wreck of TWO BROTHERS was ever undertaken.

EVIDENCE FOR IDENTIFICATION AS TWO BROTHERS

While the archaeological data indicated that the Shark Island Whaler was indeed the TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains, two main issues needed consideration before a positive identification of the site could be made. The first of these relates to the possibility that the remains represent another, completely undocumented whaleship that wrecked on that reef. While this is always a concern when dealing with shipwrecks found in remote locations, the fact that the crews of contemporary ships wrecked in the same region all survived those wrecking events and that their losses were duly reported in several news sources makes this an unlikely conclusion. Instead it is far more probable that the site is in fact the TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains and that the historically reported location of its loss was incorrect. In order to better understand this second issue, the available accounts of the loss of TWO BROTHERS were scrutinized along with other historical information pertaining to it.

By all accounts the captains of both TWO BROTHERS and Martha were convinced that the reef that their vessels encountered was uncharted. Since the geography of the region was largely unknown at the time of the wrecking, its existence was not questioned; instead its position was dubbed 'Two Brothers Reef' and included on nautical charts for many years (Fig.0015). However, some doubt about the veracity of their positioning can be found in a letter by Thomas Nickerson to author Leon Lewis dated October 1876. In it Nickerson described discussions he had with Thomas Derrick, the first mate of *Martha*, in which they both agreed that the reef on

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which TWO BROTHERS was lost was in fact French Frigate Shoals, "notwithstanding our two Captains believed and reported that this was a new discovery" (Nickerson to Lewis 1876). The two mates alleged that an error of navigation was made as a result of nearly two straight weeks of poor weather, which prevented the captains from taking the far more accurate lunar observations to determine their position; instead they were forced to rely solely on dead reckoning (Nickerson to Lewis 1876; Philbrick 2000:208).

The assumption made by Nickerson and Derrick was eventually verified through the voyages of several vessels that surveyed the region over the next century. While it is probable that other whaleships passing the area attempted to validate the supposed location of Two Brothers Reef, the first known record of such activity occurred through an 1859 US Naval survey of the region by Lieutenant J.M. Brooke in USS Fennimore Cooper. In his journal of the voyage Brooke referred to it as 'Brothers' reef and, though he expressed doubts about its existence, he nevertheless passed over the assigned position "without perceiving any indication of land or shoal" (Brooke 1986:43). Later in that same year during pioneering investigations of the NWHI, Captain N.C. Brooks of Honolulu crossed over the given position in the bark *Gambia* but, finding no shallow reef, determined that TWO BROTHERS struck on French Frigate Shoal (Brooks 1860:500; Hydrographic Office 1903:145). Subsequent attempts to identify the reef also proved fruitless; these include efforts by USS Albatross in 1902 (US Coast and Geodetic Survey 1919:51) and USS Tanager in 1923 (King 1931:16). As only "great depths were obtained at its reported position" (US Coast and Geodetic Survey 1919:51), the location for Two Brothers Reef was eventually stricken from official charts. Thus the fact that none of these attempts to verify the position given by captains Pollard and Pease for the loss of *Two Brothers* was successful, when combined with modern hydrographic and satellite imaging data that indicate no shoals in the region, provides strong support for the theory that the whaleship was indeed lost at French Frigate Shoals.

Clues to the ship's identity were also found using the accounts of first mate Eben Gardner and boatsteerer Thomas Nickerson, two of the shipwreck's survivors. Details extracted from their accounts provide not only a provocative image of the wrecking event and the destruction of the ship; they also offer spatial data that was used to analyze the site layout and distribution of artifacts at the Shark Island Whaler shipwreck. For instance Gardener states that after the initial impact on the reef, the hull briefly refloated before it "struck again so heavy and shattered her whole stern" (Gardner 1823). To this description Nickerson adds that the ship was soon "careening over upon its broadsides and thumping heavily..." (Nickerson n.d.) . When taken together, these two descriptions indicate that the ship broke apart and scattered over a large area of the reef, spilling its contents as it moved.

Upon completion of archaeological recording of the site, plan view illustrations of each section were made. When georectified using global positioning data, these two plans matched the information put forth in the survivor's accounts. The approach from the south leading to the wreck is deep enough to allow a ship the size of TWO BROTHERS to easily pass until it encountered the inner line of reefs – which could be the location of the ship's initial impact. Because the depth of this inner reef is not very shallow, it is probable that the "mountainous seas" described by Nickerson (n.d.) could have refloated it after grounding there. And if the

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survivor's accounts are correct, the following sea that affected the ship's steering (Nickerson n.d.) would have pushed them directly into the next reef in the complex, which is much shallower and roughly "once the length of the ship," which is the distance posited by Gardner (1823). Further, as described above the South section of the Shark Island Whaler site encompasses a relatively small area and is characterized by artifacts associated with known use areas of a whaleship's aft section such as the galley and "bo's'n's locker" (Stackpole 1967:31). Thus, the South site likely represents the stern of TWO BROTHERS that is described as having been shattered in the second impact with the reef.

The physical remains documented in the North site of the Shark Island Whaler site also matches Nickerson's assertion that the ship was soon "careening over upon its broadsides and thumping heavily" (Nickerson n.d.). The composition of the reef complex in this area is such that the sections of reef holding the remains are separated by a relatively deep (approximately 10 m) sandy channel. The artifacts found scattered across the reef to the north indicate that they would likely have been associated with the midships and foreword parts of the vessel; therefore, it is possible that Nickerson was describing the motion of the ship after losing its steering from the smashing of its stern. Uncontrollable, the vessel could have bounced along until reaching the channel, where it began to go onto its side and then was pushed onto the subsequent reef where it spilled open and foundered. This supposition is further supported by the fact that numerous rigging components were recorded on the reef flat on the northern side of the outer reef, which likely indicates that the masts of the vessel came to rest there.

In summary, the historical information pertaining to actual location of the site of the wrecking for the whaleship TWO BROTHERS and the physical descriptions provided by survivors present a solid case for the identity of the Shark Island Whaler shipwreck. Furthermore, the archaeological deposits found at the site are indicative of those associated with an early nineteenth-century wooden ship employed in pelagic whaling operations.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE **TWO BROTHERS**, SHIPWRECK AND REMAINS SITE

The TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains is a significant archaeological resource. While extensive historical information about the construction and use of early 19th century whaling ships exists, relatively few examples of these vessels have been investigated in an archaeological context. Information gathered on research expeditions between 2008 and 2012, set against the existing limited historical documentation and scant physical remains of early nineteenth-century New England whaleships, suggest that the TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains comprise the most complete artifact assemblage of whaling culture in the early days of working the Japan Grounds. At no other single location is better preserved the remains of an early nineteenth-century North American whaleship.

The archaeological investigation of the whaling shipwreck site of the TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains provides a tangible link to the period of history when whaling was a primary industry of the Pacific. No other place in the Pacific region offers such a unique

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opportunity to learn about the pelagic whaling industry, the technologies employed, or the abilities and perseverance of those who engaged in it. Through the protection afforded by the site within a Marine National Monument and a UNESCO World Heritage Site, as well as its extremely remote location, this well preserved site has the potential to shed light on an industry of worldwide impact.

Because of the site's remote, and inaccessible nature, the NOAA archaeological investigations from 2008-2012 indicate a high level of archaeological integrity, describing a site disturbed only by natural degradation processes, otherwise undisturbed by human activity since the ship's wrecking in 1823. The site has already yielded significant information on early nineteenthcentury whaling and whaleships, and the culture of whalemen of that era through the artifact assemblage. Continued archaeological study is likely to yield important information about this particular vessel, its final voyage and wrecking incident.

The remains of the TWO BROTHERS shipwreck site provide a great deal of information about the ship's outfitting, including an inventory of hundreds of tools used in the whaling trade in the 1820's and, more specifically, those used on a whaling ship out of Nantucket bound for the Pacific. Unique artifacts such as double flued whaling harpoon tips, whaling lances, blubber hooks and other whaling implements are rarely found (if ever) in an archaeological context. These tools were able to confirm the identity of the shipwreck site, and enlighten us to the actual cargo of a whaling vessel of this era. While artifacts of these types are common in museums, they are unique to an archaeological site and highlight the archaeological integrity of the TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains.

Additionally, rigging implements at the site yield clues as to the construction of the vessel, since to date, no ship plans or drawings of the vessel have been discovered during archival research. The TWO BROTHERS was a representative example of a New England whaleship of the early 19th century. Only one example remains of the more than 2,700 vessels that made up the American whaling fleet, the *Charles W. Morgan* (listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1966). It survives at Mystic Seaport where a major restoration effort facilitated a 38th voyage in 2014. The *Charles W. Morgan* is a superb example of a whaling vessel, however, dates to a timeframe later than that of the TWO BROTHERS. The 1823 timeframe of the Two Brothers is an important time period in American whaling history when Nantucket's fleet began its decline, and New Bedford's fleet began its rise to dominance.

Other whaleships listed on the National Register of Historic Places in addition to the Charles W. Morgan include the Stamboul and Lydia. As with the Charles W. Morgan, Stamboul and Lydia represent a later time period in whaling history and reflect a period in history when whaling had shifted away from New England ports like Nantucket. Stamboul was built in 1843 and prior to discovery in Benecia, California, began service in New England and employed as a whaling vessel between 1865 and 1896. She was placed on the NRHP in 1988. The whaleship *Lydia*, built in 1840 was discovered near Pier 42 in San Francisco, California in 1980. Lydia was laid up in 1907, and like Stamboul and Charles W. Morgan, represent a later timeframe in whaling history when technology and trade centers shifted. Lydia was listed on the NRHP in 1981.

TWO BROTHERS Honolulu, Hawai`i County and State

Name of Property

Museum in Nantucket, MA.

Due to the remote location of the shipwreck site in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, there are circumstances under which select, unique artifacts are recovered from shipwreck sites and conserved for research and outreach. In 2010, NOAA archaeologists determined that in order to identify the shipwreck site, and to provide the opportunity for public outreach, select artifacts would be recovered and conserved from the TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains site. All appropriate permits were acquired and the artifacts removed included: three whaling harpoons, two whaling lances, two ceramic sherds, and one cooking pot. All items were transported to the Heritage Resources Conservation Laboratory in Chico, CA, studied, conserved and treated under the direction of Dr. Georgia Fox (Fox 2012; 1-7). Upon completion of the conservation process, artifacts were returned and currently remain on loan and on display at the Nantucket Whaling

In addition to the TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains, Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument contains other archaeological sites associated with the early nineteenthcentury whaling industry. Archaeological investigations of the Pearl, Hermes, Parker and Gledstanes have each offered glimpses of the material culture from this era of seafaring in the Pacific. These sites are similar in structural integrity, but all lack the extensive inventory of material culture discovered at the TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains site. Because of the limits to the historical record regarding the TWO BROTHERS, archaeological evidence plays an important role in filling gaps in what we know of the construction and cargo of the vessel. The *Pearl*, *Hermes*, *Gledstanes* and *Parker* all possess the large heavy features common on a whaleship: trypots, anchors, and in the case of the *Pearl*, *Hermes* and *Gledstanes* (all British vessels), armament.

To date, archaeological survey at the TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains site has resulted in the discovery of the portion of the ship running from approximately midships to the stern. Artifacts associated with the bow section remain to be uncovered, and it is likely that further survey at the site may yield more complete information about the cargo and construction of the ship. Archaeological survey at the TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains site to date, has resulted in several articles, public presentations and graduate student research. Archaeological research at the site is ongoing and continues to yield insight about this important time for America's whaling industry in the Pacific.

SUMMARY

The whaleship TWO BROTHERS is a significant early nineteenth-century New England whaling vessel, wrecked at French Frigate Shoals in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands on February 11, 1823. This site is eligible at the national level for the National Register based upon Criteria A and D. The whaling vessel represents the archaeological remains of the first American whaleship known to have been lost in Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, and the first Nantucket whaleship discovered in an archaeological context. The TWO BROTHERS ran aground on an uncharted reef while trying to use lunar navigation to transit the hazardous reefs of the Hawaiian Island archipelago.

TWO BROTHERS Honolulu, Hawai`i

Name of Property

County and State

The TWO BROTHERS' connection to the tragic tale of the whaleship *Essex* through Captain George Pollard, Jr. adds an important layer of significance to this maritime disaster. As the captain of the ship who inspired Herman Melville to pen one of the greatest works of American literature, George Pollard's unfortunate legacy was not complete with his rescue from the small boat of the Essex off the coast of South America. The TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains site represents the true sequel to that tale, after Captain Pollard set sail once again from Nantucket in search of new Pacific whaling grounds, with an optimism that "lightning can't strike twice" - though indeed it did.

Archaeologically, the site is significant as it provides the most complete artifact assemblage of any whaleship lost in the Pacific with great potential to yield information on the history, archaeology, and culture of Pacific whaling. Also unique to this incident are the existence of multiple survivors accounts of the wrecking event, which aided in the positive identification of the wreck. Together these factors make the archaeological remains of the whaling ship TWO BROTHERS significant at the national level under Criteria A and D.

TWO BROTHERS	Honolulu, Hawai`i
Name of Property	County and State

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Name of Property

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County and State

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VO BROTHERS	Honolulu, Hawai`i
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Previous documentation on file (NPS):	
preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has be previously listed in the National Register	en requested
previously determined eligible by the National Registerdesignated a National Historic Landmark	
recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #	
recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #	-
recorded by Historic American Landscape Survey #	

 $\label{primary location of additional data:} Primary location of additional data:$

Exact Location Withheld

TWO BROTHERS		Honolulu, Hawai`i
Name of Property		County and State
State Historic Preserv	ation Office	
Other State agency		
<u>x</u> Federal agency		
Local government		
University		
Other		
Name of repository: _	Papahānaumokuākea Marine National	Monument, Office of
National Marine Sanctuarie	S	
Historic Resources Surve	Number (if assigned):	
10. Geographical Data		
Acreage of Property	40,000 square meters (.04 sq km) 9	.88 acres.

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property.)

The TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains rests undisturbed at French Frigate Shoals in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands approximately 1000 miles northwest of Honolulu, Hawaii at a depth of three to seven meters and approximately 200 meters to the south of Shark Island (**Fig.0016**). The whaleship's remains lie within the boundaries of the Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument and World Heritage Site. It lies in Hawaiian State waters and is also under the jurisdiction of the Hawaiian Islands National Wildlife Refuge.

The wreckage is contained in a 9.88 acre square site with boundary coordinates above, encompassing the two main sections of the site which comprise artifacts from the midship and stern section of the vessel with a buffer zone to encompass additional artifacts and debris that are associated with the shipwreck but not located in the main sections of the site.

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

The National Register boundaries of the TWO BROTHERS, shipwreck and remains are limited to the footprint of the site encompassed within a square (330 m x 230 m per side) surrounding the shipwreck to capture debris and artifacts that are in the proximity of the main artifact deposits (North site and South site). A side scan sonar survey by SEARCH Inc. in 2010 revealed the extent of artifact distribution around the site.

TWO BROTHERS	Honolulu, Hawai`i
Name of Property	County and State
11. Form Prepared By	
11. Torm Trepared By	
name/title: _Kelly Keogh, PhD, Maritime Heritage Coordinator	, Cathy Green, Maritime
Archaeologist, Jason Raupp, PhD, Maritime Archaeologist	
organization: _ Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monume	nt
street & number: _ NOAA/ Daniel K. Inouye Regional Center, I	NOS/ONMS/PMNM/Kelly
Gleason, 1845 Wasp Blvd, Building 176	<u></u>
city or town: Honolulu state: HI zi	p code: <u>96818</u>
e-mail_kelly.keogh@noaa.gov, cathy.green@noaa.gov,	-
jason.raupp@flinders.edu.au	
telephone:_(808)725-5837	
date: 06/20/2015	

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

- **Maps:** A **USGS map** or equivalent (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
- **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources. Key all photographs to this map.
- Additional items: (Check with the SHPO, TPO, or FPO for any additional items.)

TWO BROTHERS

Name of Property

Honolulu, Hawai`i County and State

Photographs

Submit clear and descriptive photographs. The size of each image must be 1600x1200 pixels (minimum), 3000x2000 preferred, at 300 ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. Key all photographs to the sketch map. Each photograph must be numbered and that number must correspond to the photograph number on the photo log. For simplicity, the name of the photographer, photo date, etc. may be listed once on the photograph log and doesn't need to be labeled on every photograph.

Photo Log

Name of Property: Two Brothers site

City or Vicinity: Northwestern Hawaiian Islands

County: French Frigate Shoals

State: HI

Photographer: Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument/NOAA

Date Photographed: 2008-2012

Description of Photograph(s)

1 of 17

HI_FrenchFrigateShoals_TwoBrothers_0001

Map of Two Brothers site at French Frigate Shoal, NWHI

2 of 17

 $HI_FrenchFrigateShoals_TwoBrothers_0002$

Two Brothers North Site plan

3 of 17

HI_FrenchFrigateShoals_TwoBrothers_0003

Two Brothers South Site plan

4 of 17

HI_FrenchFrigateShoals_TwoBrothers_0004

Iron try pot

5 of 17

HI_FrenchFrigateShoals_TwoBrothers_0005

Large bower anchor

6 of 17

HI FrenchFrigateShoals TwoBrothers 0006

Anchor (possible steam anchor)

7 of 17

Honolulu, Hawai`i

County and State

TWO BROTHERS

Name of Property

HI_FrenchFrigateShoals_TwoBrothers_0007 Harpoon and lance tips

8 of 17

HI_FrenchFrigateShoals_TwoBrothers_0008 Grinding stone

9 of 17

HI_FrenchFrigateShoals_TwoBrothers_0009 Blubber hook

10 of 17

HI_FrenchFrigateShoals_TwoBrothers_0010 Ginger jar

11 of 17

HI_FrenchFrigateShoals_TwoBrothers_0011 Cast iron cooking pot

12 of 17

HI_FrenchFrigateShoals_TwoBrothers_0012 Recovered harpoon tip

13 of 17

HI_FrenchFrigateShoals_TwoBrothers_0013 2010 remote sensing survey map (side scan sonar)

14 of 17

HI_FrenchFrigateShoals_TwoBrothers_0014 Map depicting known whaling ship losses in the NWHI

15 of 17

HI_FrenchFrigateShoals_TwoBrothers_0015
Map from US North Pacific Surveying Expedition 1856

16 of 17

HI_FrenchFrigateShoals_TwoBrothers_0016 Location of the *Two Brothers* site, surface looking northwest toward Shark Island

17 of 17

HI_FrenchFrigateShoals_TwoBrothers_0017 Two Brothers shipwreck site artifact inventory

United States Department of the Interior	
National Park Service / National Register	of Historic Places Registration Form
NPS Form 10-900	OMB No. 1024-0018

TWO BROTHERS	Honolulu, Hawai`i
Name of Property	County and State

Paperwork Reduction Act Statement: This information is being collected for applications to the National Register of Historic Places to nominate properties for listing or determine eligibility for listing, to list properties, and to amend existing listings. Response to this request is required to obtain a benefit in accordance with the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended (16 U.S.C.460 et seg.).

Estimated Burden Statement: Public reporting burden for this form is estimated to average 100 hours per response including time for reviewing instructions, gathering and maintaining data, and completing and reviewing the form. Direct comments regarding this burden estimate or any aspect of this form to the Office of Planning and Performance Management. U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1849 C. Street, NW, Washington, DC.





Two Brothers

(North)

Nantucket whaleship lost on the reef at French Frigate Shoals in Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument on 11 February, 1823



































