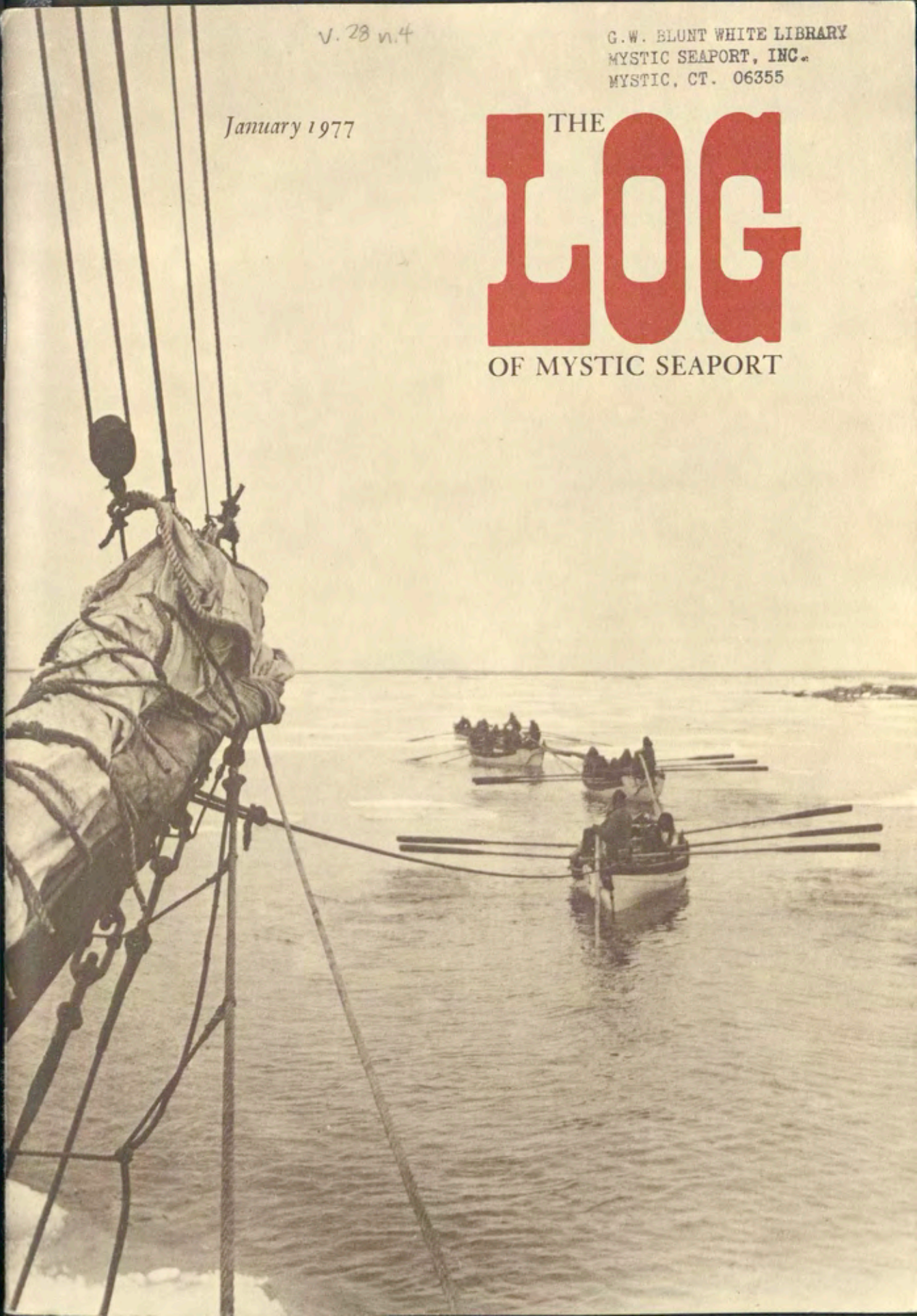
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THE LOG OF MYSTIC SEAPORT



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COVER: *The two-masted whaling schooner* Era *is maneuvered past the ice floes of Hudson Bay in 1905.*

FACING PAGE: *The brig* Hersilia, *built by Christopher Leeds of Stonington, was the first American sealer to explore Antarctic sealing grounds south of the Falkland Islands. Eighth in a series by the late John Leavitt depicting vessels built on or near the Mystic River.*

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OF MYSTIC SEAPORT

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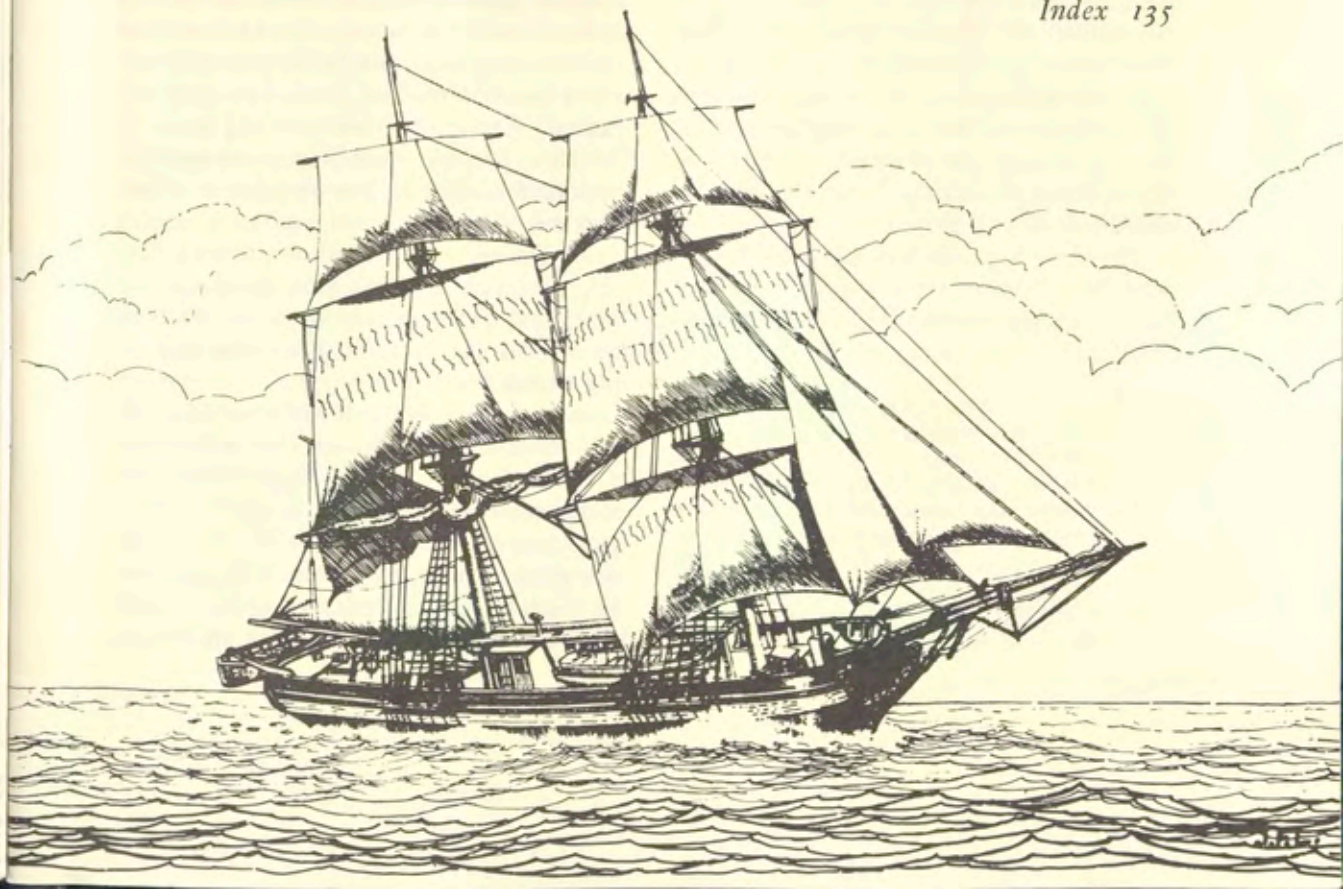
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The Discovery of Antarctica

By THOMAS A. STEVENS*

In the town of Stonington, CT, at the juncture of Fisher's Island Sound and the open ocean, there is no argument about who discovered the continent of Antarctica. Every loyal Stoningtonian will tell you it was Captain Nathaniel Palmer; indeed, there is a wooden plaque on the house where he was born on Water Street on 8 August 1799 that testifies to his achievement. Elsewhere, however, there has for years been smoldering controversy. Nantucket Island, in particular, likes to claim Antarctica's discovery for one or the other of its native sons who, like the sons of Stonington, in the early 19th century embarked on lengthy whaling and sealing voyages to southern seas.

The story that follows, however, can be and has been documented beyond question. And this story tells that on a certain day in November 1820 Captain Nathaniel Palmer, then barely 21 years old, emerged from fog and snow in deepest southern latitudes never before penetrated by man to see before him, in the sparkling light of a perfect day, a continent whose presence had scarcely been surmised before.

The story begins in Stonington in July of 1819. Nat Palmer, not yet 20 years of age, was a seagoing veteran of five years' experience at that time, having gone to sea on his father's schooner *Gleaner* as a common sailor when he reached 14. Under Captain Edward Hancox, the *Gleaner*'s skipper, and later under his uncle Captain Peleg Brown, he progressed in the fishing and coasting trade to the point where in 1819 he was able to qualify as second mate on larger vessels. In July 1819 he returned to Stonington from a coasting voyage and made the decision that was to change his life.

There was a new brig, the *Hersilia*, lying at anchor in Stonington harbor when young Nat's ship sailed in, just completed by Stonington's Master Shipwright, Christopher Leeds. Only 68 feet long, and of 130.87 tons register, she was fitting out for a voyage to sealing grounds some 10,000 miles away in the area of the Falkland Islands. Her master, Captain James Pendleton Sheffield, needed only a second mate to complete his crew, and when young Nat came in he promptly offered him the job. Nat just as promptly accepted, although he had barely 24 hours in which to prepare himself for a voyage that would certainly take him into Arctic climes and would probably last for more than a year. The records of Williams, Moss & Co., ship outfitters of Stonington, testify to the thoroughness of preparation with which he backed his fast decision. That same day he purchased:

Seven and a half yards of Devonshire jersey, three yards of flannel, two dozen buttons, 40 skeins of thread, three red flannel shirts, ten cents worth of sail needles, three pounds of powder and six pounds of shot, and one gross of paper for 25 cents. By the time he reached the Falklands, young Nat would doubtless have these purchases transformed

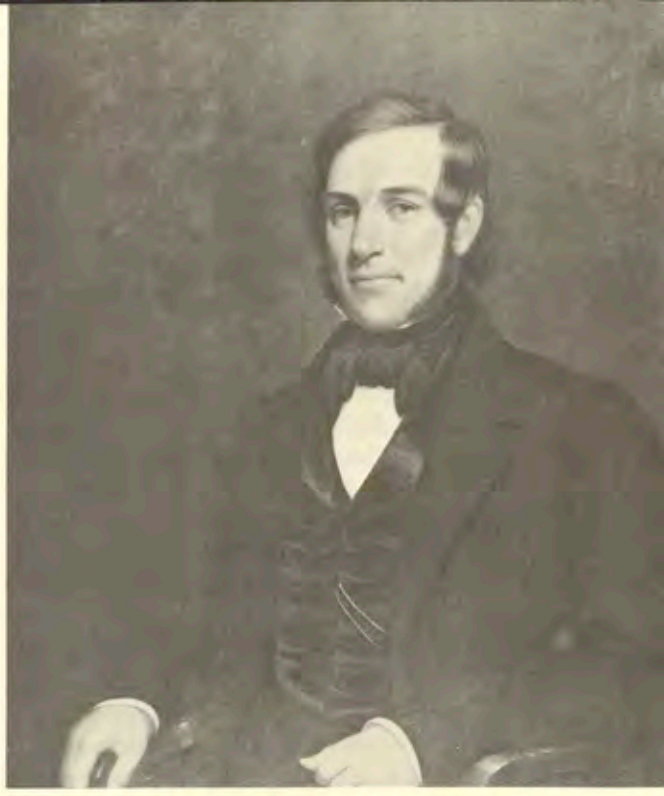
* Thomas A. Stevens was an early member of the Marine Historical Association at Mystic and its Managing Director from 1947 to 1949. As a Lieutenant Commander in the Naval Reserve in World War II and a specialist in underwater detection, he became interested in American maritime history and has explored various facets of the subject in several published works. His article on Captain Nathaniel Palmer's discovery of Antarctica is the culmination of exhaustive research on one of his seagoing heroes.

into the kind of clothing he would need down there.

In the annals of the sealing industry, one of the mainstays of Stonington commerce at that time, the *Hersilia* was to become a famous vessel. She was the property of a sealing syndicate, and her managing owner was William A. Fanning, the son of Captain Edmund Fanning of *Betsey* fame: the *Betsey* was the first vessel to carry the American flag right around the world in a voyage she made in 1797–1799. Along with Capt. Edmund Fanning, who also owned shares in the new brig, Elisha Faxon, his son Elisha Jr., Samuel F. Denison, Henry Smith, Jebediah Randall and James P. Sheffield were all part owners in the vessel. William Fanning, in addition to being the managing owner, was also to sail on the *Hersilia* as supercargo.

The aim of the *Hersilia*'s voyage was the discovery of islands which Capt. Edmund Fanning believed existed somewhere in the fogbound and stormwracked seas east of the Falkland Islands. These islands, which were the subject of much seaborne rumor, were known as the Auroras, and it was a fair bet—as witness the *Hersilia*'s expedition—that if they could be found they would prove to be rich in fur seals. However, if the *Hersilia*'s search proved futile, she had an alternate destination: the island of Santa Maria on the coast of Chile around Cape Horn. Hair seals abounded there, and the *Hersilia* could still turn a profit if she could fill her hold at Santa Maria, even though these pelts were less valuable than those of fur seals.

It should be noted that at this period in history the discovery of new sealing lands could be compared in excitement and commercial importance to the gold rush in Alaska still some 70 years in the future. Even for vessels as small as the *Hersilia* the far southern seas were an open invitation to exploration, and news about what was found there was as closely guarded by the finders as any secret document of state might be. If the *Hersilia* found the Auroras, and if they proved to be as rich in seals as was rumored, it would be an



This portrait of Captain Nathaniel Palmer as a young man was painted by Samuel Waldo. His clear, sharp eyes never lost their penetrating look: he lived to be a highly successful businessman, ship designer and builder. The portrait hangs in Stonington's Lighthouse Museum on the Point from which the *Hero* departed on her epic voyage.

event of first magnitude for her owners: fortunes could be, and were being built on such discoveries. Every man aboard the *Hersilia*—and there were 17 of them beyond her skipper, supercargo and second mate—was aware of this when, on 27 July 1819, she sailed out of Stonington's sheltered harbor and headed for the southern seas.

The voyage to the Falkland Islands was uneventful and in some three months time the *Hersilia* dropped her anchor there in Berkeley Sound. She tarried only long enough to put Second Mate Palmer and two men ashore on Kidney Island to collect penguin eggs and shoot wild bullocks to replenish her depleted supplies. Then she sailed east into the foghung ocean in search of the mythical Auroras.

A month passed before the three men temporarily marooned on Kidney Island saw an-

other sail. When it appeared, it proved to be not the *Hersilia* but the polacre brig *Espirito Santo* of Buenos Aires, under charter to an English firm and commanded by Captain Carlos Timblon. Nat Palmer went aboard for a courtesy call and to pick up what news he could, particularly about the *Hersilia*. As might have been expected, Capt. Timblon would not discuss his voyage beyond saying that he was hunting for seals and had put in at the Falklands to obtain provision for what appeared to be a long cruise.

Nat Palmer was an easy-going, affable young man, and he was also a first-rate hunter, as was evident from the store of fresh meat which he had already built up against the *Hersilia*'s return. Before the conversation with the *Espirito Santo*'s officers in the captain's cabin was over, he had been engaged by Mr. Hearne, the first mate, to supply meat for the Argentine brig, and by the time she was ready to sail he had built up what proved to be a useful friendship.

The night before the *Espirito Santo* sailed, young Palmer and Mr. Hearne had a final friendly meeting, and in the course of the conversation the mate disclosed the destination of the brig's voyage. She was sailing, he said, for a newly discovered group of Islands some 500 miles south of the Falklands, and to Nat he gave the particulars of these islands as he knew them, including even the latitude and longitude where they were to be found.

Ten days later, when the *Hersilia* again dropped her anchor at Kidney Island and reported that the fabled Auroras were nothing but three high, pinnacle rocks with no sign of animal life other than clouds of sea birds, young Nat was able to give Capt. Sheffield a good deal of information about the place where he felt the *Hersilia* should now go: to the newly discovered islands. Accordingly, a course was immediately set for Staten Land, the place off Cape Horn which was the usual departure point southward for voyages. A week of anxious sailing through empty seas followed; then the *Hersilia*'s log read:

"Remarks on Tuesday January 18, 1820 (Sea Day) Commences Light winds from W.N.W. with all studding sails set before the wind. At 4 A.M. discovered the land bearing by my compass E.S.E. distance 16 leagues. At 6 light wind from N. West." The *Hersilia* was in Lat. 61-59 South and the island Captain Sheffield sighted was named Mt. Pisga. Today it is shown on charts as Smith Island.

For the next three days the *Hersilia* tacked on and off the island chain which could be seen to the eastward. On January 22 she entered the southern end of a passage between Pisga and Monroe (now known as Snow) Islands. She was in what is known today as Bransfield Strait, named for the English captain who, only days thereafter, gave it his name. "Commences with light wind from Northwest and pleasant weather with all sail set before the wind," Captain Sheffield wrote in his log after he had passed Smith Island. "At 8 P.M. hauled on the wind to the northeast."

A plot of the log book record made on a modern chart shows the *Hersilia* in Bransfield Strait midway between Smith Island, Low Island and Trinity Island. Trinity is today considered as being part of the mainland of Antarctica, or what is known as the Palmer Archipelago. The *Hersilia* is the first vessel known to have traversed the Strait, since Captain Bransfield entered it only five days later, on January 27, when he came in at the northern entrance and proceeded south from King George Bay.

But the *Hersilia* sighted more than Pisga Island on January 22. Her crew also saw Trinity Peak and her log noted "more land to the east"—land which seemed to hold promise of more than the South Shetland Islands. The log continues:

"Sunday January 23, 1820 Commences with a fresh breeze from S.W. and steering S.E. came toward (Ragged Island) after came to anchor in 8 fathoms, sandy bottom, in company with polacre brig from Buenos Ayres the boats went on shore."

Thus Nat Palmer caught up with the *Espirito Santo* only twelve days after she

had dropped her hook in the Ragged Island cove.

The *Hersilia*'s crew named their refuge Hersilia Cove, but it has since been changed to Port Sheffield. For the next few days the men of the *Hersilia* were busy taking seals. On February 8 they got under way for home, and on Sunday February 26 they arrived at Buenos Aires and anchored alongside of the *Espirito Santo* once more. On March 24 they sailed for Stonington, where they arrived on Sunday May 21, 1820.

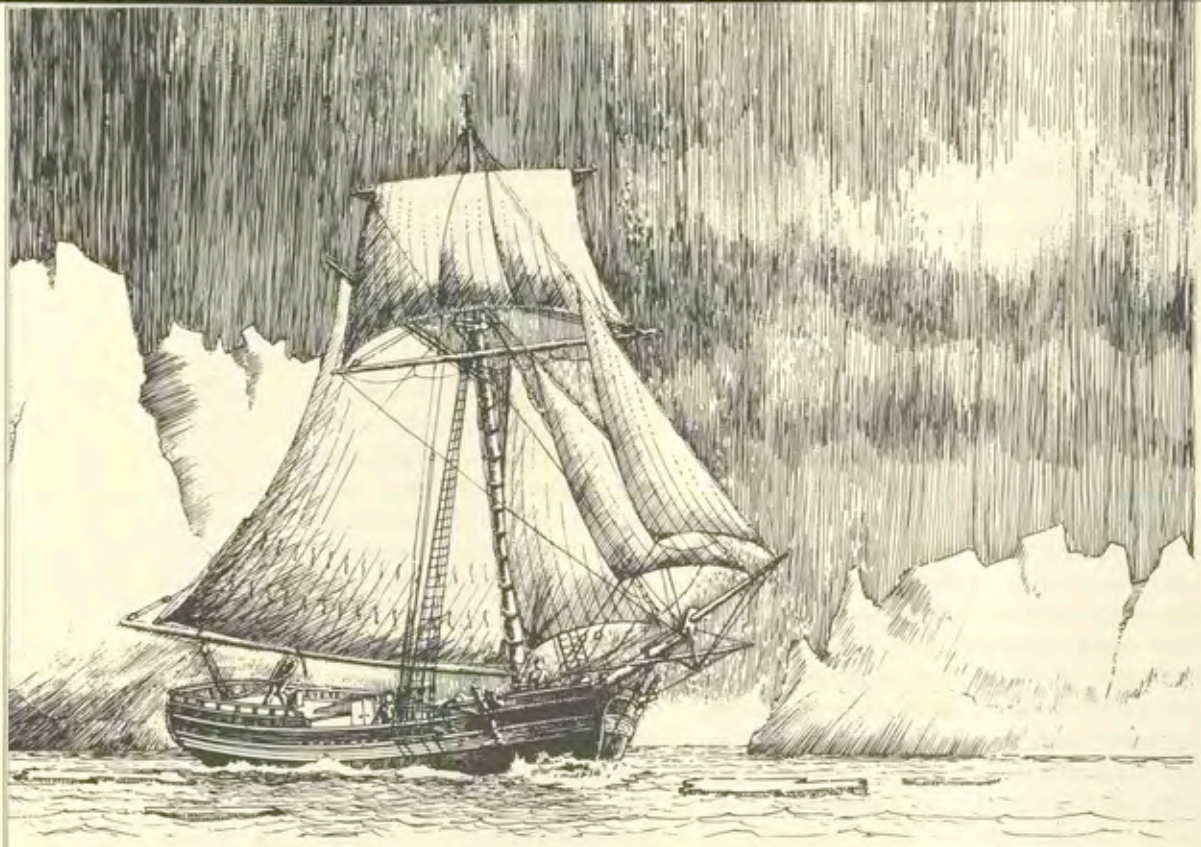
The *Hersilia*'s was the first recorded voyage of any American vessel to the Antarctic, but it was no sooner completed than plans were rapidly made to follow it with another, this time with a small fleet of vessels. The very next day after the *Hersilia*'s arrival in her home port, Supercargo William A. Fanning, in a new role as Agent, was busy planning and organizing a new "South Seas Concern" to exploit what the *Hersilia* had found. Time was of the essence, since the discovery was not theirs alone, and providentially two vessels were immediately available for another expedition: the brig *Frederick*, Captain Benjamin Pendleton, Master; and the schooner *Free Gift*, already detailed as the *Frederick*'s tender.

The situation seemed arranged by Providence for the new syndicate's profit. The *Frederick* had already sailed for the Falklands, where she was to rendezvous with the *Free Gift*; now, with the *Free Gift* still anchored in Stonington harbor, it was possible to send a message to Captain Pendleton advising him of the bountiful new sealing grounds. The schooner's master, Captain Thomas Dunbar Jr., was on this Sunday arranging the last of his affairs at his home in Westerly, Rhode Island; he planned to sail the next day.

Now sail she did, bearing not only the news of the South Shetland Islands but also the news of the new South Seas Concern, in whose services both the *Frederick* and the *Free Gift* were now engaged. Meanwhile, as she proceeded on her way southward, William A. Fanning and his father went about the business of organizing the rest of the fleet. They settled finally on the *Hersilia*, with Captain Sheffield still in command; the schooner *Express*, skippered by Captain Ephraim Williams, and the 47-foot sloop *Hero*, which was to be Nat Palmer's first command.

The *Hero* was not a new vessel, but she was known to be able. She had been built some 20 years previous at Mystic by Master Carpenter Eldridge Packer, and small as she might appear to undertake a 10,000 mile voyage, she was ideally suited for the role of tender to the Stonington fleet. Nat knew her well, having sailed in her before the mast. It remained only for him to acquire a financial interest in the voyage which promised to be so richly rewarding, and this he was able to do with the help of his mother, Mercy Brown Palmer (his father had died the year before while Nat was voyaging aboard the *Hersilia*). Since Nat was still a minor, she signed a note for him in the amount of $750, payable to William A. Fanning. Now a principal partner in the new venture, and part owner of both the *Express* and the *Hero* as well, young Captain Nat took his departure from Stonington on July 31, 1820. "At 11 A.M. got underweigh and proceeded to sea," reads his first logbook entry as a skipper. "At Meridian cleared the Reef, the *Express* and *Hersilia* in company." Nine days later he celebrated his 21st birthday at sea.

Four others, representing the best in American youth to be found in the young Republic, sailed with Captain Nat when the *Hero* cleared Wicapesset Reef and rose to the first swells of the open sea. Two of his crew were younger than their captain, the other two were a few years his senior. Phineas Wilcox, the first mate, was 28 years old, a veteran who was a captain himself, having served for several years as Master of the sloop *Union* of Stonington. Richard Fanning Loper, the second mate, was a year younger than Nat but had also been a captain and like Nat Palmer was destined to become famous in the American merchant marine. Stanton L. Burdick, 16 years old and of Westerly, R.I., and Peter



The sloop *Hero*, Capt. Nat Palmer's first command, carried him 10,000 miles to the Falkland Islands, then beyond to discover Antarctica. With crew of four, she was only 47 feet long. Drawing by John F. Leavitt.

Harvey, a black who at 31 was the oldest man aboard, rounded out the *Hero*'s small crew.

The *Express* and the *Hero* sailed all the way to the Falklands together, and together anchored in Berkeley Sound on 17 October. Ten days later they were under way for Staten Land, where they made final preparations for the voyage to the South Shetlands. Possibly as shelter against the frigid weather of these far southern seas, they built a deckhouse aft. Before they got away, Captain Palmer was knocked overboard by the *Hero*'s boom, but he escaped unhurt except for a wetting, and on 5 November they set sail.

Mt. Pisga appeared after five days, looming up some 30 miles distant. On Sunday 12 November, the *Hero*'s log notes: "Thick weather at 4 P.M. saw Castle Rock. Stood in for Ragged Island." By 8 o'clock that evening they were in the cove again, and there found Captain Sheffield in the *Hersilia*, who had arrived twelve days before. He informed Captain Palmer that the *Frederick* and the *Free Gift* were in a harbor on the opposite side of what is now called Morton Strait. Ten thousand sailing miles from Stonington, the little fleet was now all but assembled; only the *Express* had not yet arrived.

She came in at 8 o'clock the next morning, after weathering a thick snow storm outside the harbor. Captains Palmer and Fanning then proceeded in the small boat to President's Harbor on the opposite side of the strait where the *Frederick* and the *Free Gift* lay. After a two hour consultation with Captains Dunbar and Pendleton, it was decided to move all of the vessels to the favorable anchorage at President's Harbor, and this was accomplished at 6 A.M. the next morning. As the *Hero*'s log reads: "At 10 bore away

around Ragged Island Course ESE—at 12 came to in President's Harbor." This anchorage is on what is known today as Snow Island.

All five vessels of the little fleet were now assembled, and so in President's Harbor another conference of the captains took place. Captain Dunbar, having been an early arrival in the area, had already undertaken a short exploratory cruise, sailing east as far as Deception Island (so named by him because of a deceptively inviting anchorage there which he had entered, to his disappointment). The details of this cruise were now laid out before young Captain Nat, and it was proposed that he explore further in the *Hero*, investigating not only land to the northward but also other lands suspected of existing further to the east. This was to be the voyage that would bring him lasting fame.

Two days before his scheduled departure, Captain Nat entered in the front pages of the *Hero*'s logbook the landmarks which were known to him. That he was himself excited by the prospect of this cruise may be deduced from the manner in which he noted it:

"W.S.W. Nathaniel B. Palmer, Stonington, Conn. November 14th, 1820
"United States of America—E. Pluribus Unum
"Ragged Island
"Monroe Island
"Deception Island
"Mt. Pisga
"Christmas Sound
"President's Harbor
"Friesland Peak"

All of these places are to be found on modern charts, although under different names in some cases. Ragged Island is now Rugged Island; Monroe Island is Snow Island; Mt. Pisga is Smith Island; Christmas Sound is Morton Sound; Friesland Peak is known as Mt. Barnard, on Livingston Island. President's Harbor, where the little fleet was anchored, is on the north side of Snow Island. Hence it is quite possible to retrace the *Hero*'s voyage on a modern chart.

Captain Palmer's logbook entry of 15 November, 1820, records the start of his cruise. "These 24 hours," he wrote, "commence with thick weather Light breeze from N.W. at 2 P.M. clearing off got underweigh on a cruise Stood over for Deception Course east for the North Head At 8 being close to the land tacked to the northerd Middle part (8 P.M to 4 P.M) thick snow storm. At 12 two-reefed the mainsail. Tacked to the easterd. At 5 made the land—stood along to the southerd and easterd." (These are Sea dates which began at noon.)

The *Hero*, at five o'clock on a snowy morning, was on the northern shore of Deception Island searching for a harbor. After she rounded the point that juts out from the northern shore Captain Nat thought he had found what he was seeking: "Saw what we thought to be a harbor, lowered down the boat but were dissapointed . . . Stood along to the southerd, saw an opening, found it to be a spacious harbor with very deep water 50 to 60 fathoms got out the boat to sound and found a very good anchorage about a mile and a half from the mouth. At 2 came too off the mouth of a lagoon. Went on shore and got some eggs. Ends with thick weather and calm."

Before leaving Deception Island Captain Nat surveyed his new-found harbor in considerable detail with the small boat, scrupulously recording what he found in his log. On 16 November the log continues:

"Returned on board Got underweigh at 10 we were clear of the harbor. Stood over for the land. Course S. by E. 1/4 E. Ends with Fresh Breezes from S.W. and pleasant."

Take a look at a modern chart of the South Shetland Island area. There is Deception Island looking like a slightly bent horseshoe. Across from it, South by East 1/4 East, lies Trinity Island; beyond that the peninsula we know today as Palmer Land.

A plot of the *Hero*'s voyage on a modern chart with calculations adjusted for variation show that she was heading straight for Tower Hill on Trinity. Then, on Friday 17 Novem-

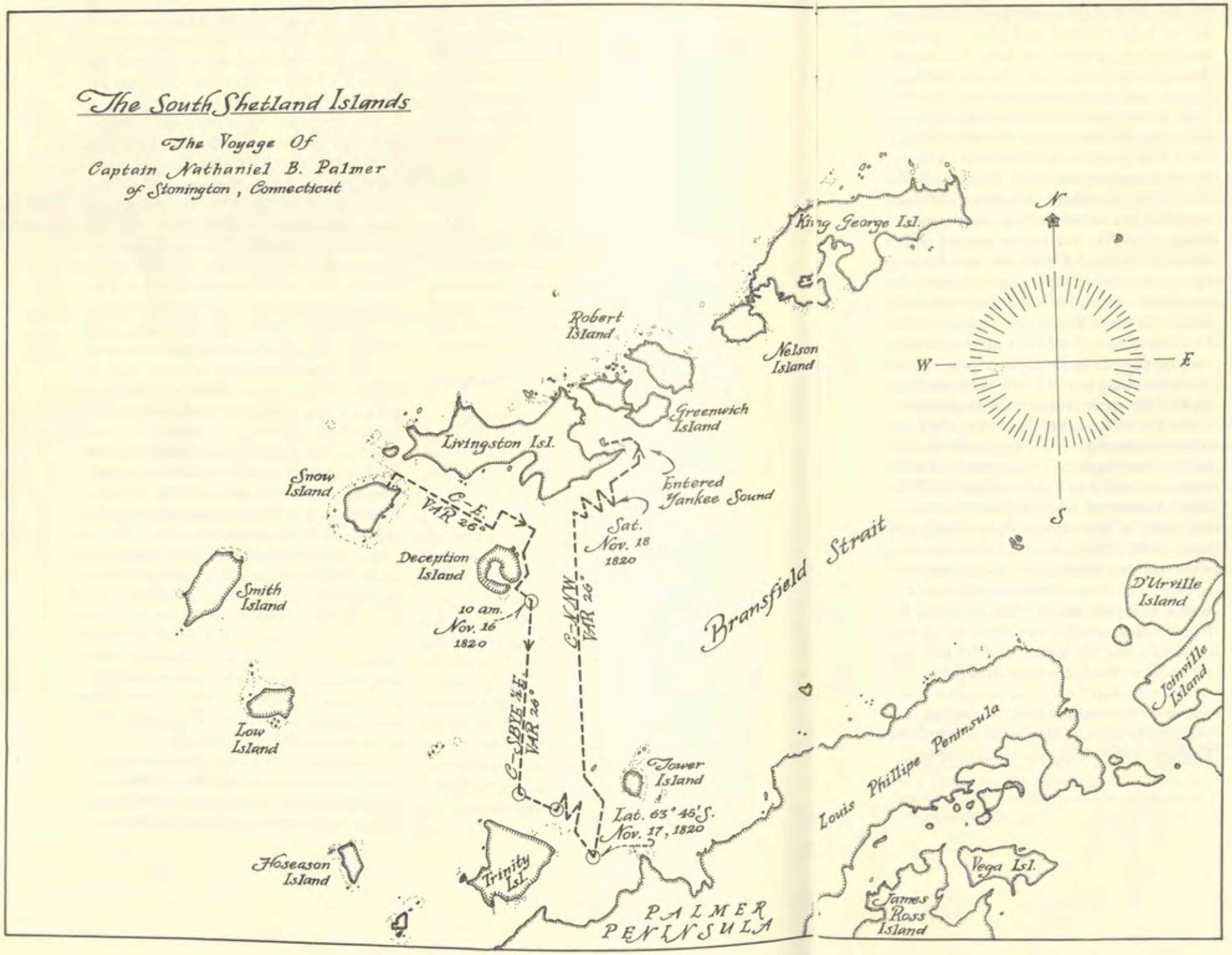
ber, Captain Palmer made the entry in his log book which verifies beyond any doubt that he was at the mainland of Antarctica:

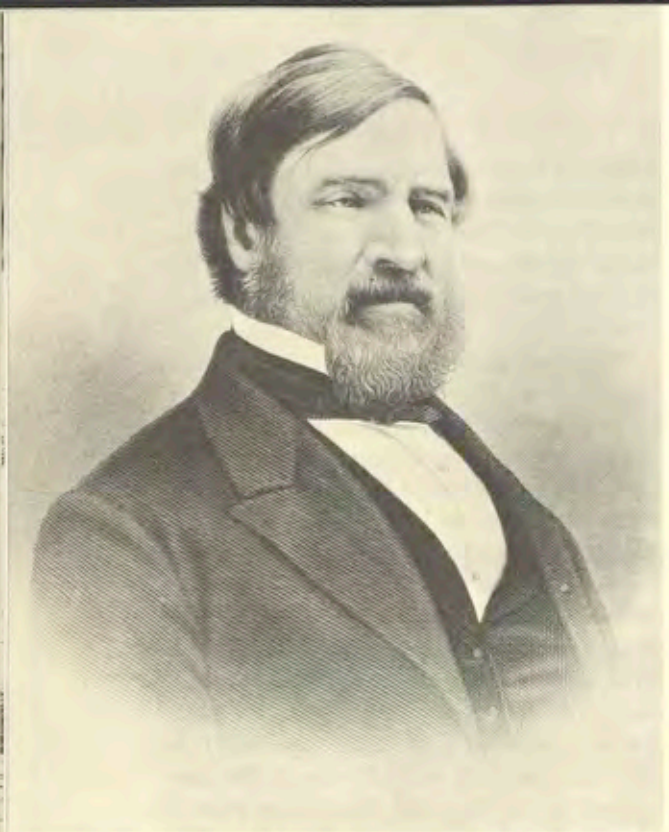
"These 24 hours commences with fresh breezes from S.W. and pleasant. At 8 P.M got over under the land, found the sea filled with immense icebergs at 4 A.M. made sail inshore and Discovered a strait—tending S.S.W. and N.N.E. it was literally filled with ice and the shore inaccessable. We thought it prudent not to venture in. We bore away to the northerd and saw two small islands and the shore everywhere perpendicular. We stood across toward Friesland Course N.N.W. The laditude (sic) of the mouth of the Strait was 63-45. Ends with fine weather wind at S.S.W."

Using a modern Air Force aeronautical chart, it is a simple matter to plot the *Hero*'s voyage over to the mainland of the Antarctic continent. The latitude he gives in his log book shows that he was at the mouth of Orleans Channel, which runs in exactly the S.S.W. and N.N.E. direction he observed at the time. His location was just off Cape Wallaston, the eastern extremity of Trinity Island.

The *Hero* spent another four days exploring the South Shetland Islands before she returned to President's Harbor on January 21. Among other places Captain Palmer also discovered Yankee Sound, between "Friesland" (known today as Livingston Island) and Greenwich Island. Later in January he set forth again, and this time coasted along the whole western shore of Palmer Land between Deception Island and Marguerite Bay in latitude 68 degrees South. He also circumnavigated the entire South Shetland Island group, establishing its true dimensions for the first time, and made further exploratory cruises to the eastward. As the log book of the *Frederick* notes on 14 January: "The sloop *Hero*, Capt. N. B. Palmer, sailed to the eastward to look for more seal islands"; and again on 28 January: "The sloop came in after examining the North, East and Southwest to their satisfaction."

One more adventure awaited young Captain Nat in February of 1821 before the Stonington Fleet headed for home. It happened that at this time Captain Thaddeus Bellingshausen of the Imperial Russian Navy was also exploring these waters, returning from a cruise around the world. On the morning of 6 February 1821 (Russian date January 25, 1821) at 10 A.M. while returning from an exploratory cruise, being about halfway between Barnard Pt. on Friesland Island and Deception Island, Captain Nat and his crew of the *Hero* came upon the Russian ships. They noted that a small boat had already been dispatched to speak with them. Captain Nat was invited to go aboard the Russian Captain's flagship *Vostok*, which had already signalled his ships to lay to, and so it happened that the young skipper found himself in the paneled great cabin of an Imperial Russian Ship of War, showing the splendidly uni-





Captain Nathaniel Palmer in his later years was a picture of dignity and success. A highly successful businessman, he designed and built vessels of all kinds, and it was he who raised and rebuilt the huge clipper *Grand Republic* after she burned in New York harbor (July *Log*).

This house in Stonington (*below*) was built by Nathaniel Palmer and his brother Alexander in 1865. Today it is known as the Loper house, having passed into that family by marriage.



formed Russian officers his chart of the area made on his many exploratory cruises. In the course of the conversation Captain Palmer informed Captain Bellingshausen that he had been here some four months, that there were some 18 American and British ships sealing in the area, there being eight in sight at the time. He also informed Captain Bellingshausen of the discovery of the islands by Captain Smith of the brig *Williams* and after a pleasant meeting lasting about an hour the Russian fleet got underway and Captain Bellingshausen made the following entries in his log: "Mr. Palmer soon returned to his ship and according to him the Bay in which we saw the 8 ships lying at anchor is protected from all winds and has a depth of 18 fathoms." The *Vostok*'s log continues: "We proceeded along the shore, at noon we were in Lat. 62-49-32 S Long. 60-18 W., our course parallel to the shore Northeast by East; our speed was 9 knots. At 1:30 P.M. we passed across the mouth of a strait, not more than two miles wide." This was Yankee Sound (now called McFarland Strait) which had been discovered by Captain Nat on November 18, 1820 while returning to the South Shetlands from his first Antarctic cruise to the southward.

On Thursday, 22 February 1821, the *Hero* and the *Express* got underway for the 10,000-mile journey back to Stonington. On 8 May, some two and a half months out of President's Harbor off what they now knew was the coast of a continent, they made their home port, a little more than nine months after they had departed on their southward voyage. In all, four of the original fleet of five vessels returned; the *Hersilia*, searching for more sealing islands, was captured off the coast of Chile by pirates and burned. Between them, the four vessels brought or sent home more than 65,000 seal skins, the foundation of the wealth which Stonington, as a preeminent sealing and whaling port in New England, was to enjoy for years to come.

A Scholarly Innovation

The Williams College–Mystic Seaport Program in American Maritime Studies

By BENJAMIN W. LABAREE*

In September 1977 the Frank C. Munson Institute of American Maritime Studies at Mystic Seaport and Williams College will join in sponsoring an innovative program in undergraduate education. Under the new plan 24 students from leading liberal arts colleges of New England and New York will spend a semester at Mystic taking fully accredited courses in several disciplines focused on the relationship between Americans and the sea.

For many thousands of years coastal peoples throughout the world have used the sea as a source of food and as a means of transportation. In the four centuries since the founding of European settlements in North America, however, the sea has had a more special meaning to the inhabitants of the New World. During most of this period the Atlantic has been a terrifying barrier that made the crossing an unforgettable experience for the forty million Europeans and Africans who came to settle in America. The ocean served as a brutal filter, winnowing out the weak by disease and starvation, carrying off the unlucky by storm and shipwreck, and discouraging the faint-hearted from embarking at all. Those who survived the passage reached their destination by an arduous "journey through the wilderness." No wonder the Puritans called their promised land a "New Canaan." For the millions of unwilling immigrants who found only slavery or poverty in the New World that same Atlantic made a return home virtually impossible. They too, along with the hordes of voluntary immigrants who crossed the Atlantic in search of a new life, were committed to becoming Americans.

The first settlers depended upon the sea for foodstuffs and as an avenue for trading with other colonies and with the homeland for needed articles not available here. Then, when independence had been won, American maritime enterprise expanded throughout the seven seas. By the time of the Civil War our mercantile and fishing fleets were challenging the maritime domination of Great Britain and bringing prosperity to scores of communities along the eastern seaboard. Much of this wealth provided the basis for the rise of industry which gradually revolutionized the region's economy.

For the many refugees who poured in from the Old World the seas that nearly surround North America were a protective moat guarding them against the apparent evils of Europe from which they had fled. Thus secure, most Americans turned away from the sea toward the interior regions of their vast continent. And yet this westward movement could hardly have reached the scale it did during the nineteenth century without the foundation of maritime enterprise. Cotton

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from the new southern states and wheat from the midwest depended upon merchants of the northeast for reaching overseas markets. These entrepreneurs provided much of the capital required for underwriting railroads, and it was their vessels that brought both laborers and materials needed for construction.

Those Americans who have worked at sea for a living have enriched the culture of the country far out of proportion to their relatively small numbers. Until nearly the end of the nineteenth century they were the only Americans to maintain regular contact with other parts of the world: the treasures they have left in the museums, libraries, and private homes of their seaports attest to this. Their way of life has itself become a major theme in our culture and has given us in *Moby Dick* the greatest of all American novels. Their songs, their folk-art, their language, and the very ships they sailed are a distinctive part of our national heritage.

In the twentieth century America's relationship to the sea has become vastly more complex. Our far-flung mercantile interests required naval protection and helped to embroil us in two major wars. Those seas which once formed such a formidable barrier against attack now expose our shores to the naval might of other powers. The fishing banks which were once the private domain of Canadian and American fleets are now exploited by the fishermen of other nations as well. And the percentage of American overseas trade carried in our own ships has steadily declined in favor of foreign-flag vessels. Instead of ranging the seven seas in merchant and fishing vessels Americans are for the most part confined to coastal waters in their millions of pleasure craft. Instead of dragging the ocean's depths for fish we search them for oil and other natural resources. We rely on ocean waters to cool our electric generating plants, and into their seemingly vast reaches we dump the human and industrial wastes of our modern society in ever-increasing quantities.

Present-day Americans are faced with many questions and problems concerning our relationship with the sea. What is the sea's capacity to absorb the waste products of our cities, factories, and power plants? Are fishing and oil-drilling compatible activities in the same waters? Does national security require that we maintain control of the seas? If so, how far should our jurisdiction extend? What are the rights of other nations to free passage, to fishing grounds, to the mineral resources that lie at the sea's bottom? In short, whose sea is it?

These are but a few of the more obvious questions about man's relationship with the sea that face us today. Only men and women with first-rate professional training can hope to find adequate solutions to these and other problems. Major universities have already begun to respond to these needs by establishing and expanding various graduate programs in the marine sciences. This is a welcome development. But few students are ready for such specialized study until they have come to understand their subject in the broadest possible context. Only with such a background will they be able to take full advantage of the professional training and employment available to them in the future. Before one can find answers and solutions, one must learn how to define the most significant questions and problems. That is the task of a truly liberal education, a mission which has through the years been the special role of our liberal arts colleges. And this is where the Williams College–Mystic Seaport Program in American Maritime Studies comes in.

In 1955 the Frank C. Munson Institute of American Maritime Studies was founded at Mystic Seaport through the generosity of Cora Mallory Munson in memory of her husband. For twenty-two summers the Institute has offered graduate courses accredited through the University of Connecticut. In recent years courses in maritime literature and the arts have been added to the original course in maritime history. Over the years these courses have enriched the careers of

more than two hundred teachers, museum staff-members, and professional writers.

Philip R. Mallory took a particular interest in the Institute founded by his sister, and during the last years of his life he gave it several most generous gifts. As the endowment grew, Seaport personnel turned to the consideration of a program for undergraduates to be offered during the regular academic year. Then in 1975 the Munson Institute received from the Mallory Family Foundation a major grant which has enabled it to proceed with its plans for a year-round program. The administration of Williams College, where the current Director of the Munson Institute teaches, showed an immediate interest in joining with Mystic Seaport as co-sponsor. In the spring of 1976 the Williams faculty voted to recommend the program as a fully accredited part of its curriculum, and the College Trustees endorsed the action in June. Meanwhile, the Trustees of Mystic Seaport unanimously adopted the program on behalf of the Munson Institute. Formal announcement of these plans was made at the Seaport's Annual Meeting in August 1976.

Accredited through Williams College and financed through the Munson Institute, the new program combines the endorsement of one of the country's most distinguished liberal arts colleges with the facilities of our leading maritime museum to offer qualified undergraduates a unique educational opportunity to study man's relationship to the sea in its many aspects—historical, literary, artistic, political, economic, and scientific. The sponsors have invited a group of sixteen other colleges and universities in New England and New York to recommend students for the program. They are Amherst, Bates, Bowdoin, Colby, Connecticut College, Hamilton, Middlebury, Mount Holyoke, Smith, Trinity, Tufts University, Union, Vassar, Wellesley, Wesleyan, and Wheaton. Many of these colleges already cooperate in an exchange program which enables their students with a minimum of red tape to spend a semester or two at one of the other institutions. All of them share high standards of admission and are fully committed to a rigorous liberal arts curriculum. Because of their small size and restricted budgets, however, these colleges are unable to offer more than a handful of courses in maritime studies. The Williams College–Mystic Seaport program therefore offers to their students an expanded educational opportunity.

Each of the 17 colleges may nominate up to six undergraduates for consideration. From this total the program's admissions committee will choose 24 students for each semester. Selection will be made without regard to the race, sex, religion, or national origin of the candidates. They will generally be sophomores or juniors and must be in good standing at the time of their enrollment. So that the maximum number of students may benefit from the program, participants will be considered for a second semester only under exceptional circumstances.

The program will bring together students of different academic specialties and vocational goals and with varying degrees of maritime experience, all of whom share a common interest in the sea. At Mystic Seaport they will take courses in American maritime history, maritime literature and the arts, oceanography or marine biology, and a special seminar in uses of the sea. To understand how Americans depended upon the sea in the past, first-semester students will concentrate on the Age of Sail to 1860, while those enrolled in the second semester will study the Age of Steam, from about 1840 to the present. Through the writings of Cooper and Melville, the paintings of Buttersworth and Homer, and the works of other authors and artists who have made the sea their subject-matter, courses in maritime literature and the arts will widen the students' perceptions of the sea and its impact on America's past and present. Oceanography and marine biology will offer a choice of introductory science courses in the composition and behavior of the oceans and the marine life within them. The special seminar will combine historical,

political, and economic approaches to study such uses of the sea as the fisheries, transportation, and the search for natural resources. Visiting lecturers and field trips will consider what is happening in these fields today and what may be expected in the future. Occasional evening programs will make use of films, visitors, and other resources to examine special topics.

To gain a personal sense of confidence and competence about the sea each student will be expected to develop at least one maritime skill of his or her own. Instruction will range from small-boat handling for the uninitiated to celestial navigation, boat-building, and scuba diving for the more advanced. Whenever possible, students will be given the opportunity to put these skills to practical use. Those interested in the work of the museum itself may have the chance to help out in various departments. Arrangements will be made, if possible, for a mid-semester cruise under sail along the coast as an introduction to what life is like at sea.

Facilities for the program will be located in the G. W. Blunt White Library. It houses a specialized collection of more than 30,000 volumes in maritime history, literature, and the arts, as well as extensive reference, periodical, and documents sections, and its catalogued manuscripts number well over 250,000 pieces. The library's staff has had both training and experience in working with students. Classroom and study space will also be located in the library, while laboratory facilities will be provided at nearby institutions. The varied collections of the curatorial department will be of particular use to the students, as well as the small-craft, shipyard, and other special exhibits. Mystic's proximity to coastal waters will greatly enhance the course in oceanography and marine biology. In short, Mystic Seaport makes an ideal place for undergraduates to concentrate on maritime studies.

The program will be administered by the Director of the Munson Institute in consultation with an Advisory Council composed of representatives from both sponsoring institutions. In addition to the Director the faculty will be drawn from various cooperating colleges and other neighboring institutions and the staff of the Seaport itself. Some of the faculty will be at Mystic full-time; others will be on hand each week for classes and student conferences.

Students enrolled in the program will live in Seaport housing close to the museum grounds. They will be responsible for the routine maintenance of their quarters and will prepare their own breakfasts, lunches, and all week-end meals. During the week dinners will be served at the Seaman's Inne. Costs of the program will be commensurate with the tuition and room charges at Williams College. Board costs will probably be considerably lower, but there will be an additional fee to help defray the expense of the mid-semester cruise.

Whatever their future field of study, participants in the program will return to their home campuses with new and widened perceptions about the sea and man's relationship to it. Those who continue on in marine sciences will have profited from their study of maritime history, literature, and the arts. Those interested in political science or economics will better understand the ecology of the sea and the impact of our modern industrial society upon it. Students of the humanities will better understand how man has used the sea. In ten years' time this program will have made a difference in the education and future contributions of some five hundred young men and women. And when one considers the importance of the sea to the future of all mankind, perhaps this program will make a difference to all of us as well.

Sealing and Stonington: A Short-Lived Bonanza

By RICHARD M. JONES*

One of the lesser known facets of the history of Stonington, Connecticut, whose antecedents are so closely intertwined with those of Mystic, is the degree to which the town was involved in sealing in the early nineteenth century. Part of that story is told elsewhere in this issue by Thomas A. Stevens in his account of Captain Nathaniel Palmer's discovery of Antarctica, which was the direct result of Stonington's search for new seal rookeries. The full extent of Stonington's involvement in sealing is detailed here by Richard M. Jones, who has exhaustively researched the town's past history as the subject for his doctoral dissertation on the early history of New England.

Stonington Borough would have remained a poor and insignificant little fishing village if it was forced to depend solely for revenue upon codfishing and coastal trade, the kingposts of the economy in the early nineteenth century. Possessing neither a hinterland worth exploiting, nor the necessary water power for manufacturing, the residents of Stonington Borough could only seek their fortunes on the distant oceans. After Captain Edmund Fanning, a veteran sealing master, retired in 1818 to his birthplace in Stonington Borough, the *Frederick*, first of a fleet of Stonington sealers, sailed for the Antarctic. The money brought home by the sealers was the first trickle of a flood of wealth which would transform Stonington Borough by the 1850s.

The antarctic seal fishery was initially pursued by American whaling vessels during the latter part of the eighteenth century. American whalers (largely from Nantucket) first crossed the Equator around 1774. During the next few years they hunted along the South American coast as far as Patagonia, often approaching Tristan da Cunha and the Falkland Islands where fur, hair, and elephant seals abounded. Occasionally the whalers killed seals and brought home seal oil as part of their cargo.[1]

The opening of the oriental market for fur seals led to the rapid expansion of the antarctic seal fishery. Furs formed the main article of clothing of the people of northern China; sea otter commanded the highest price, while fur seal skins were used by those of a lesser station.[2] The southern fur seal has a dense, soft, shiny undercoat which made it the prey pursued almost to extinction by the China-bound Yankee seaman in the two decades before the war of 1812. The southern hair seal—the "sea lion"—had no value at Canton and

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[1]A. Howard Clark, "The Antarctic Fur Seal and Sea Elephant Industry," in Section V, Volume II of *The Fisheries and Fishery Industries of the United States*, ed. George Brown Goode (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1887), p. 400.

[2]James Kirker, *Adventurers to China: Americans in the Southern Oceans, 1792 to 1812* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 8.

was never taken as part of the outward cargo for the trade to the Orient. But there was a market for its skin in America and Europe:[3] the hair seal was used for harnesses and trunks.[4]

Added impetus to American sealing was given by the European wars, beginning in 1792, which destroyed both European commerce and trade restrictions, and opened trade opportunities for the United States all over the world. James Kirker claims that New England's lesser merchants and smaller ports were the primary figures in the trade. While the leading merchants of New England were sending ships directly to China for cargoes, principally tea, in return for Spanish dollars, smaller businessmen based the success of their China ventures on the capture of seals in the southern oceans.[5] The proceeds from the seal skins sold at Canton were invested in teas, silks and nankeens, which were then brought back to the United States.[6]

By 1795, a large number of vessels out of New York, New Haven, Nantucket, Salem and other ports,[7] were engaged in carrying fur seal skins to Canton from the Falklands, South Georgia, Mas A Fuera, and other islands in the southern oceans. Reports by explorers like Bougainville, Hawkesworth, Cooke, and Anson, of the vast seal rookeries in southern waters led American sealers to the Antarctic.[8] One unusually successful voyage was made by the brig *Betsey*, which sailed from Stonington in 1797. The *Betsey*'s commander was a Stonington native, Edmund Fanning. Her cargo of a hundred thousand fur seal skins was obtained principally at Mas A Fuera, and exchanged at Canton for goods that yielded a net profit of $52,300 to the owners in New York.[9]

Amasa Delano, an ancestor of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and one of the most successful sealing captains, wrote an excellent concise account of the grisly and brutal business of sealing:

> When the Americans first came to ... (Mas A Fuera, an island off the coast of southern Chile) about the year 1797, and began to make a business of killing seals, there is no doubt but there were two or three millions of them on the island. I have made an estimate of more than three million that have been carried to Canton from thence, in the space of seven years. I have carried more than one hundred thousand myself ... The method practised to take them was, to get between them and the water, and make a lane of men, two abreast, and then drive the seal through this lane, each man furnished with a club, between five and six feet long; and as they passed he knocked down such of them as he chose, ... this is easily done, as a very small blow on the nose effects it. When stunned, knives are taken to cut or rip them down on the breast, from the under jaw to the tail, giving a stab in the breast that will kill them, After this, all hands go to skinnning ... They take off all the fat, and some of the lean, with the skin as the more weight there is to the skin, the easier it will beam. This (beaming) is performed in the same manner in which curriers flesh their skin; after which it is stretched and pegged on the ground to dry. It is necessary to keep it two days in pegs in fair weather to make it keep its shape. After this they are taken out of pegs, and stacked in the manner of salted dried cod fish ... (They) will keep for years ... if kept dry ... They are carried to Canton, ... they have been sold there as high as three or four dollars a skin, and as low as thirty-five cents; but the most common price ... has been about one dollar. Three fourths of the payment for them is generally made in tea. Seals in the Southern latitudes go on shore in the months of November or December for the purpose of bringing forth their young.[10]

[3] Ibid., p. 17.

[4] Henry Robinson Palmer, *Stonington by the Sea* (Stonington, Conn.: Palmer Press, 1913), p. 60.

[5] Kirker, *Adventurers To China*, p. 12.

[6] Clark, "Antarctic Fur Seal," p. 402.

[7] Thomas A. Stevens, *The First American Sealers in the Antarctic, 1812–1819, and The First Voyage of the Brig Hersilia of Stonington*. Report for the United States Department of State, May 1, 1954.

[8] Kirker, *Adventurers to China*, p. 12.

[9] Clark, "Antarctic Fur Seal," p. 401.

[10] Amasa Delano, *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres* (Boston: the author, 1817), pp. 306–307.

In the seal rookeries of the Antarctic, Americans encountered for the first time a limited, valuable and fragile animal population, which would soon disappear unless moderation controlled their actions. But it is difficult to expect moderation from men who saw such easy money dangling before their eyes. With the smash of a club and the rip of a knife, they obtained a sealskin worth $1.00, a day's wages as late as 1870. Any idea of leaving enough to replenish the herds for the following years was probably absurd, since what they didn't kill, their competitors would. So, of course, in almost no time at all, the newly discovered sealing grounds in the Southern Hemisphere were exhausted, and vessels began to cruise throughout the southern seas in search of new grounds. Large cargoes were obtained at South Georgia, the Auckland Islands, the Crozets and other places.[11]

The number of sealing voyages from America declined sharply after 1804, although the exact number is difficult to discover. The statistics of A. Howard Clark, who evidently made the only compilation of American sealing voyages, are incomplete. Edmund Fanning wrote that in 1801, off the Chilean coast, "we found a small fleet of American sealers, being five ships and a schooner, from whom we learned there were upwards of thirty American sealing vessels on this coast whose cargoes were destined for the China market."[12] Yet according to Clark's figures only five American vessels were involved in sealing in 1801.[13]

Although the number of voyages in the early days of Antarctic sealing was certainly more numerous than Clark would have us believe, he lists a decline from nine voyages in 1803 to two in 1804. The latter date marked the beginning of the decline of the first period of Antarctic sealing. According to Clark, only nine sealing voyages were made from America between 1804 and the War of 1812. The last sealing voyage before the war ended abruptly when a Nantucket vessel was captured by a British warship soon after the outbreak of hostilities.

The end of the war in 1815, as might be expected, led to a revival of sealing. In that year three ships left from Nantucket, one from New Haven, and two from New York. One of the New York ventures, the voyage of the *Volunteer*, commanded by Edmund Fanning, had an important influence on Stonington's maritime history, for it served as a training cruise for several key figures in the town's whaling and sealing industries. Captain Fanning's first mate was Benjamin Pendleton, later to be master of the *Frederick*, Stonington's first sealer, in 1818. (Two years after that Pendleton was commander of the first Stonington sealing fleet). Second mate on the *Volunteer* was James Pendleton Sheffield, master of the *Hersilia*, which in 1819 became the first American vessel to work the vast seal rookeries of the South Shetland Islands. Two other officers on the *Hersilia* were also members of the *Volunteer*'s crew: third mate Daniel W. Clark was first mate on the *Hersilia*; and William Fanning, Edmund's son, was managing owner and supercargo of the *Hersilia*. The *Volunteer* arrived back in New York on 18 April 1817 with a full cargo of sealskins taken at the Falklands, Mas A Fuera, Galapagos and St. Mary's Islands.[14]

It is difficult to explain why Stonington did not send a sealing vessel to the Antarctic before 1818.[15] Certainly many of the town's

[11] Clark, "Antarctic Fur Seal," p. 404.

[12] Edmund Fanning, *Voyages and Discoveries in the South Seas, 1792–1832* (Salem, Mass.: Marine Research Society, 1924 (orig. published 1833), p. 223.

[13] At one point Clark, citing Edmund Fanning's *Voyages and Discoveries*, mentions that Fanning visited the South Shetlands. But nowhere in his book did Fanning claim that he ever visited those islands.

[14] Stevens, *First American Sealers*, p. 21.

[15] Although I have found no definite evidence, it is possible that Stonington sealers were operating in the Antarctic before the War of 1812. The following was taken from an 1831 petition to Andrew Jackson, signed by a number of key figures in the Stonington seal fishery, seeking protection for American sealing vessels at the Falkland Islands. "For more than thirty

residents were aware of the tremendous profits which could be made in the seal fishery, since Edmund Fanning was one of its leading figures and a Stonington native with close ties to his old home. In addition, sealing voyages had been reported as early as 1799 in Stonington's first newspaper, *The Journal of the Times*: "Seal skins will be landed this week from on board the schooner *Little Sarah*. A number of excellent hair and fur seal skins of various sizes preserved in salt . . . for cash or short credit . . . George Howe, Stonington Port, Feb. 27, 1799."[16]

Edmund Fanning did become the key figure in the establishment of Stonington's seal fishery and without his efforts it is doubtful if Stonington would have become the nation's leading sealing port in the decade between 1820 and 1830.[17] Fanning was born at Stonington, 16 July 1769.[18] At fourteen he went to sea as a cabin boy, and he made his first sealing voyage in 1792 as first mate on the brig *Betsey* bound for the Falkland Islands for fur seals and thence to Canton.[19] In 1796 he received his first command: the schooner *Dolly* of New York, engaged in the Curacao trade. His business acumen was immediately evident: "While exercising a master's usual privilege of having several tons freight free allowed him, I had stowed the same with eighteen dozen beaver hats . . . together with one hundred and sixty kegs of butter. It was a most fortunate venture, the Curacao market was greatly in want of (butter) it readily brought fifty cents per pound. . . . This butter cost but twelve and a half cents (a pound) at home."[20]

In 1797, at the suggestion of Captain John Whetten, who was involved in the China trade, Fanning took command of the 100-ton brig *Betsey* (he also owned a ⅛ share of the vessel). His orders were to procure a cargo of fur seal skins and proceed to Canton. The *Betsey*'s crew was obtained at New York, New Haven and Stonington, and when she returned, in 1799, she had sailed right around the world, the first American ship to do so.[21] In 1800, Fanning sailed south again, this time on the *Aspasia*, for a two-year exploring and sealing expedition in the southern oceans.[22] In 1812, Fanning was commissioned to lead an official government expedition to the South Seas, but shortly after getting under way war with Britain broke out and he had to return.[23]

In 1817, Fanning assumed his last command, the brig *Sea Fox*, on a seven-month sealing voyage to the Falkland Islands. The following year he retired from active life to his home in Stonington.[24] In 1818, Edmund's son, William A. Fanning, visited New Haven where he purchased the brig *Frederick*, and brought her back to Stonington to be fitted out for a sealing voyage. William's principal associate in the venture was Captain Benjamin Pendleton of Stonington. Several of the men on the *Frederick*'s crew served on subsequent sealing and whaling voyages out of Stonington, some as masters. The *Frederick* sailed south from Stonington on 10 October 1818 and returned 13 November 1819 with a cargo of 28,000 sealskins taken at St. Mary's and the Galapagos Islands off the west coast of South America.[25] Her cargo was sold at auction in Stonington Borough in December, and brought $21,378.[26]

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years the undersigned and other residents of this vicinity have been engaged in the seal fishery in the southern oceans . . . (at) the islands of South Shetland, South Georgia, Staten and Diego Ramirez, Tierra del Fuego and other islands in the vicinity of Cape Horn including the Southern Coast of Patagonia touching at Falkland Islands as a place of rendezvous and refuge." "Sealing Petition," Miscellaneous Collection, Stonington Historical Society, Stonington, Connecticut.

[16] *Stonington Journal of the Times*, 27 February, 1799.

[17] John R. Spears, *Captain Nathaniel Brown Palmer: An Old Time Sailor of the Sea* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1972), pp. 113–114.

[18] Fanning, *Voyages and Discoveries*, p. VIII.

[19] Ibid., pp. 4–6.

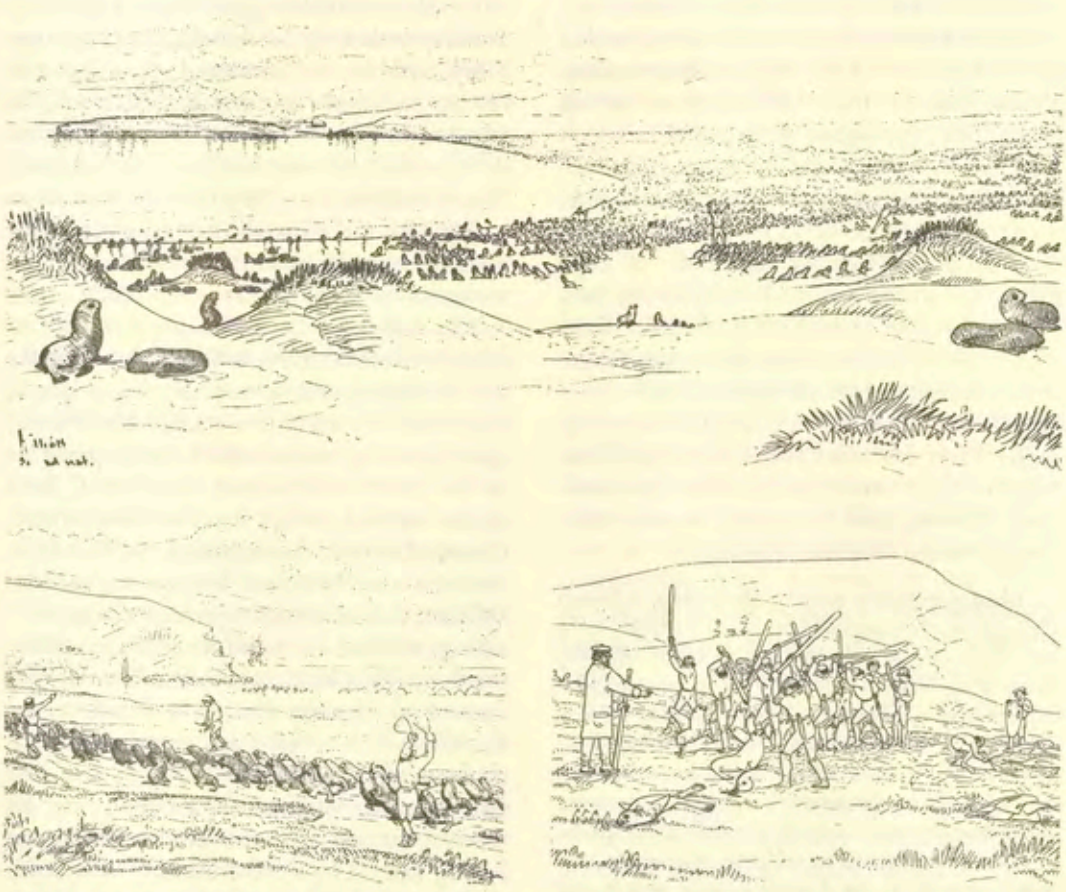
[20] Ibid., p. 33–34. [21] Ibid., p. 40–42. [22] Ibid., p. 206.

[23] Kane, "Earliest American Sealers," p. 10.

[24] Stevens, *First American Sealers*, p. 31.

[25] Ibid., p. 27.

[26] Ibid., p. 27.



Seal hunting in the early 1800s was quick, efficient and brutal. The rookeries abounded in seals and men first herded them roughly into single lines. The seals then "ran the gantlet" between a double line of men armed with clubs. One blow on the snout rendered a seal unconscious, and the work of skinning then followed immediately.

Stonington's most important contribution to the American seal fishery was the voyage of the *Hersilia*, the first American ship to work the seal rookeries of the South Shetland Islands. Kane notes that sealers from Stonington possibly reached the South Shetlands before 1819 since *Niles Weekly Register* of September 30, 1820 reported that: "The newly discovered land in the Pacific Ocean, south of Cape Horn, has been known to Brother Jonathan, at least so long that a voyage to and from the island has actually been completed out of the port of Stonington, Connecticut." But according to Kane, no records exist to substantiate this claim. Captain Edmund Fanning, who was undoubtedly the man responsible for the voyage of the *Hersilia*, makes no mention in his book, published in 1833, of a voyage to the South Shetlands before 1819. The discovery of the sealing rookeries was based, Fanning wrote, upon a hunch. Fanning was certainly the "purchaser of seven or eight ships," since he and his son were the organizers of the Stonington sealing fleet assembled after the *Hersilia*'s return. But there was no reason for him not to mention an earlier voyage, if he had made one, in his book.

Three months before the *Frederick* returned to Stonington, the port's second sealer, the *Hersilia*, sailed for the southern oceans, around July 22, 1818.[27] Prime mover in this expedition was again Edmund Fanning,[28] who had supervised the building of the 130-ton brig in the yards of Christopher Leeds, master shipbuilder of Mystic. Fanning was convinced that land existed south of Cape Horn, and that if this land could be reached, vast numbers of seals could be found.[29] Fanning's convictions were based on two things: the manuscript chart of Captain Dirck Gherritz's voyage in the Dutch ship *Goodnews* in 1599 which described the discovery of land south of Cape Horn,[30] and a natural phenomenon Fanning had witnessed on an earlier voyage to the southern oceans:

"I had previously been in the spring, at South Georgia at the breaking up of the winter ice a few days after a gale had set in from W.S.W.; fleets of ice islands came from that quarter giving decisive evidence that land did exist in that direction . . . (for ice islands) must have had land to form at, or they could never have been in existence. Thus the master and supercargo were instructed (by me) to sail to the Falkland Islands, to take on water and some fresh provisions, and then to search for the Aurora Islands, and should seals be there found, to procure their cargo, . . . (and if not finding seals there to return to Staten Land then sail south to latitude 63° then sail east) where it was confidently expected they would meet with land."[31]

The *Hersilia* did reach the Auroras, but found them to be not much more than rocks, with "no landing place, even for amphibious animals, on them." After leaving the Auroras, the brig sailed westward for Staten Land where she took on wood and water, then steered south to about 60° south latitude, arriving at a group of islands her skipper named the Fanning Islands, and anchoring at one which they named Ragged Island. Here they discovered vast seal herds, estimated at 50,000. They took several thousand skins, but not having sufficient salt for curing, and the weather being too wet for drying the skins, the *Hersilia* left with less than a full cargo.[32] She arrived home 21 May 1820, and her cargo of 8,868 fur seal skins, the first taken from the South Shetlands by an American vessel, sold at auction in Stonington for $12,146.[33]

The return of the *Hersilia* prompted intense excitement in New England, for unlike the *Frederick*, whose voyage was to places previously visited by sealers, the *Hersilia* had opened new grounds which might prove to be the most valuable yet discovered. By a stroke of luck, when the *Hersilia* arrived, Captain Dunbar, the master of the *Free Gift*, tender to the *Frederick*, had not yet sailed.[34] William A. Fanning, supercargo of the *Hersilia*, gave Dunbar the information regarding the South Shetlands, which Dunbar communicated to Captain Benjamin Pendleton of the *Frederick* when they rendezvoused as planned at the Falklands. During the next two months, William A. Fanning and his father organized the rest of the Stonington sealing fleet. The second unit of the fleet included the *Hersilia*, the *Express* and the *Hero*, young Captain Nat Palmer's first command (see page 109), and because the location of the South Shetlands was known by Dunbar, the Stonington fleet was in complete domination of the sealing grounds when vessels from other ports arrived.[35]

[27] Ibid., p. 30.
[28] Spears, *Captain Nathaniel Brown Palmer*, p. 20.
[29] Stevens, *First American Sealers*, p. 32.
[30] Fanning, *Voyages and Discoveries*, p. 301.
[31] Ibid., pp. 301–302.

[32] The South Shetland Archipelago lies in the South Atlantic 300 miles south of Cape Horn. These Islands had been discovered 15 months earlier by a British mariner, Captain Smith and named by him the South Shetlands (Fanning, *Voyages and Discoveries*, pp. 303–4). Stevens wrote that knowledge of land south of Cape Horn did not reach America until 1820 (Stevens, *First American Sealers*, p. 1), after the *Hersilia* had left Stonington.
[33] Stevens, *First American Sealers*, pp. 48–49.
[34] According to marine columns the *Free Gift* sailed on May 21, 1820—the same day the *Hersilia* arrived at Stonington.
[35] Stevens, *First American Sealers*, pp. 49–50.

Only six American vessels had made sealing voyages the previous year, but in 1820, aroused by the possibilities which the South Shetlands offered, twenty-four sealers set out from the United States (including vessels from New York, Nantucket and New Haven), as well as English and Russian vessels, making a total fleet of thirty.[36] The sealers arrived in late autumn, but unfortunately for them, Stonington held the dominant position in the sealing grounds. Out of the 150,000 sealskins which Clark estimated were taken in the 1820–1821 season, Stonington vessels took 88,000.[37] But the bottom of the horn of plenty was much closer than had been imagined. The *New London Gazette* of 2 May 1821 printed an extract from a letter written at the South Shetlands a few months earlier by Captain Joseph Henfield of the *Catharine*. "We have been much mistaken about sealing in this country, as there is but little ground that the seals come upon, and a greater number of vessels than were supposed there would be. The country is a wild, cold, disagreeable mass of snow and ice and its shores are extremely dangerous."[38] (One of the Stonington fleet, the brig *Clothier*, was wrecked at the South Shetlands).[39]

As might have been expected, the growing scarcity of seals led to friction among the sealers, and a pitched battle between Americans and British was narrowly averted in January of 1821. Nine American masters, including Pendleton, Sheffield, Williams, and Dunbar of Stonington, agreed to act together "to muster all our men from our several camps and as one body to go on to said beach at Sheriff's Cape and to take seal by fair means if we could but at all events to take them."[40] Hostilities were avoided, however, because the British were too well armed.

Soon there would be nothing left to fight for anyway, because the slaughter of the seals resulted in their almost total extinction at the South Shetlands. Never again would there be such a rich harvest of pelts. Of an estimated 250,000 skins taken in the 1820–1821 season, the Americans took 150,000 of those, while thousands more were killed and lost. The *New London Gazette* of May 9, 1821, reported that the *Frederick*, *Free Gift*, and *Express* had returned to Stonington with "65,000 large size prime, salted fur seal skins, in excellent order for the London or European market," and by June 20, the *Catharine* and *Emeline* had returned with 20,000 more.[41] But the greed of the sealers resulted in the destruction of the South Shetland seal rookeries in only one season. "A system of extermination was practised at the South Shetlands; for whenever a seal reached the beach of whatever (sex) it was immediately killed. . . . At the end of the second year the animals became nearly extinct, the young, having lost their mothers when only three or four days old, of course died, which at the lowest calculation exceeded 100,000." No more than 5000 sealskins were taken at the South Shetlands the following year.[42]

During the summer of 1821, apparently ignorant of the extent to which the seal population had been decimated, the Stonington sealers prepared another fleet for the South Shetlands. It was to be a joint operation and included the brigs *Frederick* and *Alabama Packet*, schooners *Express* and *Free Gift*, and sloops *Hero* and *James Monroe*. The following sailing orders to N. B. Palmer indicate something about how the operation was to be conducted.

Captain Nathaniel B. Palmer: Sir, you will proceed to sea with the sloop *James Monroe* in

[36] Clark, "Antarctic Fur Seal," p. 406.

[37] Ibid., in addition Stonington vessels took 1500 barrels of sea elephant oil worth $10 a barrel. Spears, *Captain Nathaniel Brown Palmer*, pp. 90–91.

[38] *New London Gazette*, 2 May 1821, p. 3.

[39] Clark, "Antarctic Fur Seal," p. 448.

[40] Stackpole, *Voyage of the Huron*, p. 44.

[41] *New London Gazette*, 9 May 1821, p. 3; 20 June 1821. According to the *Stonington Yankee* of 27 December 1826, the skins brought back by the first Stonington fleet brought over $102,000 in the auctions at Stonington Borough.

[42] Clark, "Antarctic Fur Seal," pp. 406–407.

company with the brig *Alabama Packet* (and sail for) Deception Harbor in New South Iceland (the name Gherritz had given to the South Shetlands), where you will employ your crew in taking elephant blubber and procuring seal skins. You will consider yourself and crew and vessel mated with the brigs *Frederick* and *Alabama Packet*, schooners *Express* and *Free Gift* and sloop *Hero*, and you will share with them in proportion to the number of their and your crews. Your vessel is fitted out for the express purpose to act as a tender to the vessels of this concern. E. Fanning, B. Pendleton, agents for the concern.[43]

In a letter to his father the following January, William A. Fanning wrote that the South Shetland expedition would have to be abandoned:

Dear Father, I shall now attempt to give you some account of our voyage hither to. (We) all arrived safe at Deception (Harbor) where we found the *Express* and *Free Gift*, turned all to immediately, secured the vessels and began our sealing, after being 70 or 80 days having got only about 1000 skins and 11 bbls. of oil, no prospect of seal, we have thought best to send home the *Express* and the *Free Gift* and proceed with the others around Cape Horn where we shall endeavor to fill the *Frederick* this season and send her home, the *Alabama* and *Hero* must remain so long as their resources hold out.[44]

By August 1822, however, it was evident that the second Stonington sealing expedition, which had looked so disastrous in January, would be successful, though on a smaller scale than that of the previous year. This time Fanning wrote his father from St. Mary's Island, off the west coast of South America:

Dear Father, we have now on board the *Alabama* 11,000 skins, hair . . . The *Frederick*, had on board, near 24 or 25 thousand, which will make in all 35 or 36 thousand, ½ to each vessel. The sealing season is now over here and I shall proceed to the Leward after one more trip with the sloop to Mocha, I am in hopes to make up 20 thousand in about 5 months from now if not, I must return home as I have but 8 or 9 months provisions . . . and 3 or 3½ months must be allowed for my passage home. Neither Benjamin (Pendleton) nor myself know what to do with the sloop (the *Alabama*'s tender) in case I should not be able to sell her at Valparaiso, after we have done sealing she must go for what she will fetch.[45]

The cargoes of the *Alabama Packet* and *Frederick* were sold at auction in Stonington for $41,500.[46] Three of the small ships of the Stonington fleet, the *Express*, *Free Gift* and *Hero*, had a combined cargo of 1200 barrels of sea elephant oil[47] and 1200 large fur seal skins, all sold at auction.

The indifferent returns made by the second sealing fleet ended any dreams there might have been for annual incursions into the antarctic seal rookeries by large numbers of vessels out of Stonington. Generally, in each year between 1823 and 1854, only one or two sealing vessels left Stonington for the Antarctic. In 1835, one more attempt was made to prosecute the fishery on a large scale. In that year, nine sealing vessels left Stonington for the Antarctic, but the returns were disappointing: only 18,700 fur seal skins, 2,750 hair seal skins, and 34 barrels of elephant oil.[48] By 1837, when only three sealers cleared for the Antarctic, the Stonington sealing fleet had reverted to its normally modest proportions. The perpetual bonanza which the opening of the South Shetlands seemed to promise never materialized. The Antarctic seal population was simply insufficient for exploitation on the scale of that first season. By the 1830's whaling had become the principal concern of Stonington's sea faring men, and by 1846, sealing was just about dead.

[43] Balch, "Stonington Antarctic Explorers," pp. 10, 11.

[44] William Fanning to Edmund Fanning, 27 February 1822, Fanning Collection, New York Geographical Society.

[45] Ibid., St. Mary's, 8 August 1822.

[46] *Stonington Yankee*, 27 December 1826.

[47] "The sea elephant, or elephant seal, yields an oil but little inferior to sperm oil. (They are) found . . . generally in about the same localities as the fur seal. The place of (their) greatest abundance is at Heard's Island in the Southern Indian Ocean." Clark, "Antarctic Fur Seal," p. 403.

[48] Ibid., p. 402.

"Sailing by Ash Breeze"

A PICTURE ESSAY

They called it "sailing by ash breeze," and it's a sight you would rarely see today, when every sailing vessel, from a dinghy to a tall ship, has some sort of a kicker or inboard power to push her along. The first of these rare pictures to surface on the Editor's desk shows *Galatina*, a Gloucester fishing schooner, being pulled into harbor on St. Pierre in the late summer of 1933 (*below*). Chester Bowles, who much later was America's ambassador to India, took the photograph from his own schooner, *Nordlys*. Having stopped in Lunenburg and Chester, Nova Scotia, she was hauled for some hull repairs in St. Pierre. Francis Day Rogers, Mystic Seaport's chairman, who sent us the picture, was along and remembers: "One clearing afternoon, the *Galatina* appeared, being towed in by her

Galatina is hauled into St. Pierre in late 1933.





Towed by her ten dories, a fishing schooner (*left*) crawls out to where the wind is, and (*below*) the two-masted whaling schooner *Era* is maneuvered past the ice floes of Hudson Bay in 1905. Few vessels of those times could boast of auxiliary power.

seven dories in order to get into the harbor before dark. Next day she was hauled alongside us. Of course, conversations started and did not terminate until the wee hours. *Galatina* was then operating on the banks completely manned with Newfoundland sailors. It certainly was a marvelous experience and I guess the photograph must be the last of its kind."

One thing usually leads to another and next thing we knew, we had another picture of "sailing by ash breeze," this time with whaleboats plying their oars admidst ice floes (*right*). On investigation, this turned out to be a cold day in the life of *Era*, a two-masted whaling schooner which, in 1905 when this picture was taken, was sailing out of New Bedford. The locale: Hudson Bay.

Then came the third picture, and with it a mystery. There are ten dories here (*above*), towing a Banks fishing schooner "out to the wind." The headland in the background is presumed to be Newfoundland. Can anyone fill in the rest of the story?



DIRECTOR'S PAGE

On New Year's Day, 1970, I presented ten hopes for Mystic Seaport for the next decade. One of these was that the Munson Institute would rise to its full potential and that a full-time director would come aboard. When Professor Benjamin Labaree of Williams College takes up residence at Mystic next year as the first full-time director of the Munson Institute, that hope will become reality. In this issue, Ben Labaree unfolds our plans for an undergraduate program at Mystic Seaport entitled "Man and the Sea," conducted under the joint auspices of Mystic Seaport and Williams College as well as a group of colleges already closely associated with Williams in intra-college academic programs and activities. In 1970 this new concept of higher education was only a dream; it was a dream, nevertheless, that caught man's fancy, including that of Philip Rogers Mallory, who was determined to make certain that this dream became a reality.

The implications of the program are far-reaching. They represent a timely and dramatic point of departure, fully recognized at Williams College and at Mystic Seaport. For the first time, college undergraduates will have the opportunity to learn about the sea, both in an academic and practical sense, and its many-faceted impact on America as a maritime nation as well as upon our lives as American citizens—and from this experience they will be able to enrich their lives and guide their thinking as citizens and leaders.

The program as described by Professor Labaree has been years in the making, and we have sought much advice for its content from members of the faculties of numerous colleges. Nevertheless, we know that any new course through uncharted waters runs added hazard from unforeseen and unknown reefs along the way. We believe that most of these have been spotted and identified, but others, still unknown, exist.

Yet we are convinced that the course we have plotted is a true one, which will lead to the fulfillment of a great need and offer a great potential. I am proud indeed that Mystic Seaport has evidenced the courage and conviction to carry it out and that we have been fortunate enough to bring aboard Ben Labaree to administer it. To have discovered a need and sought to fulfill it is positive proof of the viability and innovativeness of this museum.

Furthermore, it is added proof of the determination of this museum to maintain its position of leadership among the world's great maritime museums, and offer unexcelled educational opportunities to those who seek to learn.

Waldo Chapman Johnston

BOOK REVIEWS

The Whaling City: A History of New London. By Robert Owen Decker. (Chester, Connecticut: Pequot Press, 1976. xvi + 415 pp. Illustrations, appendices, references, bibliography and index. $15.00)

The bicentennial publication for the New London County Historical Society utilizes the full resources of this author's special interest in the Whaling City. Professor Decker has previously provided us with *The New London Merchants: 1645–1909*, and the more recent *Whaling Industry of New London*. Both of these studies probe more in depth on selected phases, while the current analytical overview deals with the entire history of the port of New London.

As pointed out in the preface, there is a natural division into pre- and post-1819. Additionally, the reader will find the materials are grouped quite handily by topic. This enables one to trace a phase of history from beginning to end, while keeping the whole in proper perspective. The fifteen chapters are virtually definitive in their own right.

This is a very enjoyable book, profusely illustrated, and very easy to read. The reader will readily begin to understand how truly honestly New London came by its nickname. As an industry, whaling rose to dominate the entire financial and social order of the city. Its departure created such an intense vacuum that only recent events are beginning to show some promising prospects for the future. The city has experienced sunshine and shadow during its long and varied history, but one must conclude that the finest harbor between New York and Boston has yet to approach its full potential.

Without hesitation, both by its subject matter and its significant scholarship, this book is to be highly recommended.

Donald R. Judge, LIBRARIAN

A Glossary of Modern Sailing Terms. By John Rousmaniere. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1976. 144 pp. $6.95)

It is a pleasure to say right off that John Rousmaniere has produced a book that can bestow security on the neophyte and confirm good dialectic practice in the seasoned yachtsman. Not only is it lucid, concise and well-illustrated, but the Dodd, Mead production will be a major aid in getting it read by the watch below.

The title should be imagined to have the word "Modern" underlined. Even the entry "Dolphin striker," included almost apologetically by the compiler because he likes "the ring and implication," is still with us. It is the strut which reduces bobstay compression on many contemporary bowsprits, and it would still scratch up porpoises that got too close under the bow. Absent by intention is the tar and oakum quality so beloved by nautical antiquarians who sail round the Horn with the *Flying Cloud* on winter evenings. In the second paragraph of the Preface these scholars are given references to "huge" and "meticulous" dictionaries. Note the great difference; here we have a glossary, not a pocket dictionary. The words are to be used because they serve immediate purpose today. They are part of the salt in salt water. Many are new. They were invented by active people because they were required for clarity and emphasis in the conduct of the sport of sailing.

Rousmaniere puts in no pet items and tilts for no lost causes. Though his sole purpose is to arm the timid in the use of unfamiliar terms—and of course to settle a few bets—he has done his bit to defend the language of the sea. With this book in print we can hope to be spared "under weigh" for "under way." The volume can be used to clobber the journalists who "demast" a boat—what a blessing if "dismasted" could hold out against the false salinity of "lost her spar!" You hardly have to look up from your drink at a marina to see five spars on a racing sloop: a mast straight up, a boom straight out, spinnaker pole on deck (plus spare) and the reaching strut. The last two spars can be pitched overboard with no loss of speed.

A major merit of the book is that in the few instances where precision is in danger, the reader can stay on course. The reversal of "clam" for "cam," in the legends of cleat types, might even help a girl who lisps.

In a couple of the longer entries—and 40 words is long—the impression of authority dims

for a moment. Archimedes would feel his teachings were forgotten under "Displacement," but using the term alone, as defined, would not put the yachtsman in error.

If only to prove bona fide reviewing ancestry, exception will have to be taken to "Gulf Stream." Its proper name is not "North Equatorial Current . . . thought (mind you) to be caused by the strong trade wind blowing into the Gulf." A "goose wing jibe" is a batten-busting indignity John Rousmaniere obviously never suffered—the top of the mainsail on one side of the mast with the boom cocked up absurdly on the other. Hanging the boom on the backstay is not such a jibe. It is, however, horrendous, and a name for it, a dirty one, should be concocted.

Close scrutiny often suggests latent controversies which could revitalize a dying conversation. Enjoy every word in this fine glossary and then write the editor of *The Log* the truth behind this term: "Cunningham. A line . . . to adjust tension on the luff. A sailor named Briggs Cunningham is thought by many to have invented this sail control." Fellow trustee of the Seaport, helmsman of the first modern defender of the America's Cup, many times national champion of the Atlantic class, and donor to the Seaport of the great schooner *Brilliant*, Mr. Cunningham might cock a quizzical eyebrow at this explanation.

Read the book. May you ever after speak with utmost clarity to an obedient crew.

John W. Streeter

Shipbuilding in Colonial America. By Joseph A. Goldenberg. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for The Mariners Museum, 1976. xiii + 299 pp. Illustrations, maps and index. $15.00)

Announced as the first general survey of the subject, the text of Joseph A. Goldenberg's *Shipbuilding in Colonial America* comprises about 42 percent of the volume. A slightly larger percentage is devoted to tables of the number and tonnage of vessels built here and there as derived from scattered colonial port records, and one wonders why the detailed records for Boston, Salem and Marblehead, 1756–1763, were not included. Mr. Goldenberg's research of merchants' papers, legislative and judicial records, newspapers, port records, shipping registers and insurance lists of the period is documented by about 13 percent of the pages. Unfortunately, these sources are so scattered that it is impossible to present a balanced picture of the growth of the industry, encompassing social, labor, political, maritime and economic history.

Prospective readers should be aware that this book deals with the *business* of shipbuilding, not with the great change in shipbuilding practices that occurred during the colonial period nor with the products of the shipyards. It would have been worth quoting one of the many available detailed contracts that list sizes of the various parts of a ship's structure and do not omit such items as clamps and wales, as was done in the sketchy description of shipbuilding on pages 88 and 89.

While the average reader may not worry about technical details, those who do will be disturbed. The scattered technical material, properly documented by references given in the back of the book to please the printer and not help the reader, is generally correct, but often, by a word or two, misleading in a manner that fails to present a proper picture of the state of the art of shipbuilding. The *Sparrow Hawk*, page 16, did not *need* only six or seven iron bolts—they were probably all that her builder or owner could afford. Some barks may have had a two-masted square rig and some ketches may have been rigged with fore-and-aft sails only (page 5), but many barks had the simple three-masted ship rig and many ketches were square-rigged. Some square-rigged ketches were even built after the Revolution. While some shallops may have had a single-masted fore-and-aft rig, a two-masted square-rig was standard on fishing shallops.

If the statement that a curved-down deck behind a hawse hole improves the holding power of an anchor is true (page 80), then we should expect to find curved-down decks on passenger liners and supertankers, but one looks for them in vain. Curved-down decks can be found, however, on many plans of European vessels published by Chapman in 1768. The situation is simply a result of the location of the hawse holes in relation to the complicated structure of the head. In some circumstances it was easier to curve a deck than to build a step, cut slots, or fit watertight trunks through which the cables could be led from the hawse holes to the upper deck windlass.

The book has a sketch map showing the loca-

tions of the major colonial shipbuilding centers, and eight pages of illustrations, one of which completes with the two end papers a depiction of the colonial Atlantic coast.

William A. Baker

BOOK ANNOTATIONS

As We Were On The Shore, A Bicentennial Pictorial History. By James W. Miller. (Guilford, Connecticut: Shore Line Times Co., 1976. vii + 420 pp. Illustrated, advertisements, and index to advertisers. $17.50)

A sub-title on the title page also describes this volume as "An Informal Pictorial History of Sixteen Connecticut Towns." The volume is arranged into 50 topical sections concerning nearly all phases of local life and scenery in the shore area of the Connecticut River valley. Many of the photographs appear in a publication for the first time, and with the balance of the text and pictorial material, one is provided with a very rewarding experience.

Battleships, United States Battleships in World War II. By Robert O. Dulin, Jr. and William H. Garzke, Jr. (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1976. vii + 267 pp. Illustrations, line drawings, appendices, bibliography and index. $24.00)

Obsolete before design studies were even finalized, battleships have nonetheless intrigued naval buffs in much the same manner as dinosaurs have afflicted many natural science enthusiasts. The five general classes of our capital ships are treated with extensive technical detail, and the differences relating to each vessel within a class are indicated. This data is complemented by extensive line drawings, histories and ultimate dispositions. The design, printing and photographs contribute to overall excellence in a reference volume.

Boat Living. By Jack Wiley. (Camden, Maine: International Marine Publishing Company, 1976. 136 pp. Appendix and index. $8.95)

This volume could be the best of two worlds, such as light reading about a serious subject in the winter and vice versa in the summer. Either way, it is always best to learn from the experiences of others because none of us will probably live long enough to make all of the mistakes possible by ourselves. Between these covers are more facets and facts of boat living than many individuals might consider during the first rush of enthusiasm, and even old salts will find an abundance of useful information.

Combat Fleets of the World, 1976–77: Their Ships, Aircraft and Armament. Edited by Jean Labayle Couhat. (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1976. xi + 575 pp. Illustrations and index. $49.50)

The first English language edition of a French serial founded in 1897 was brought to fruition under the aegis of the Naval Institute staff. Similar to *Jane's*, it provides an alternative and one which ultimately will be reduced to a personal choice exercised by those responsible for selecting reference books.

International Nautical Index Quarterly. Forrest W. Wilcox, Jr., publisher. (Tucson: F. W. Wilcox Publishing Co., 1976. $10.00 annual subscription)

Volume 1, No. 1 (April) and No. 2 (July) have been distributed and total 110 pages, numbered consecutively. No. 3 is due in October and No. 4 in January 1977. This quarterly presents a cross-referenced bibliography of popular nautical literature published in some 60 periodicals cited. There are about 200 subject headings and article reprint information is provided. The full spectrum of boating/yachting is covered.

The National Watercraft Collection, 2d ed. By Howard I. Chapelle. (Camden, Maine: Smithsonian Institution Press (Washington) and International Marine Publishing Company, joint publishers, 1976. xiii + 399 pp. Illustrations, line drawings, photographs, supplement, bibliography and index. $20.00)

When the first edition appeared in 1960 it was very well received as an important reference work and index to the collection. With the second edition, there are both new and added materials and the design and printing are of exceptionally fine quality. This latter improvement alone will stand the volume in good stead because of its high usage rate. Subject matter is, of course, Merchant Sail, Merchant Steam and Fishing Craft, with each having a separate catalog of the collection.

Ships, Sailors and Samaritans, The Woman's Seamen's Friend Society of Connecticut, 1859–1976. By Jack M. Seymour. (New Haven: Woman's

Seamen's Friend Society of Connecticut, 1976. x + 157 pp. Illustrations, appendices, end notes and index. $10.00)

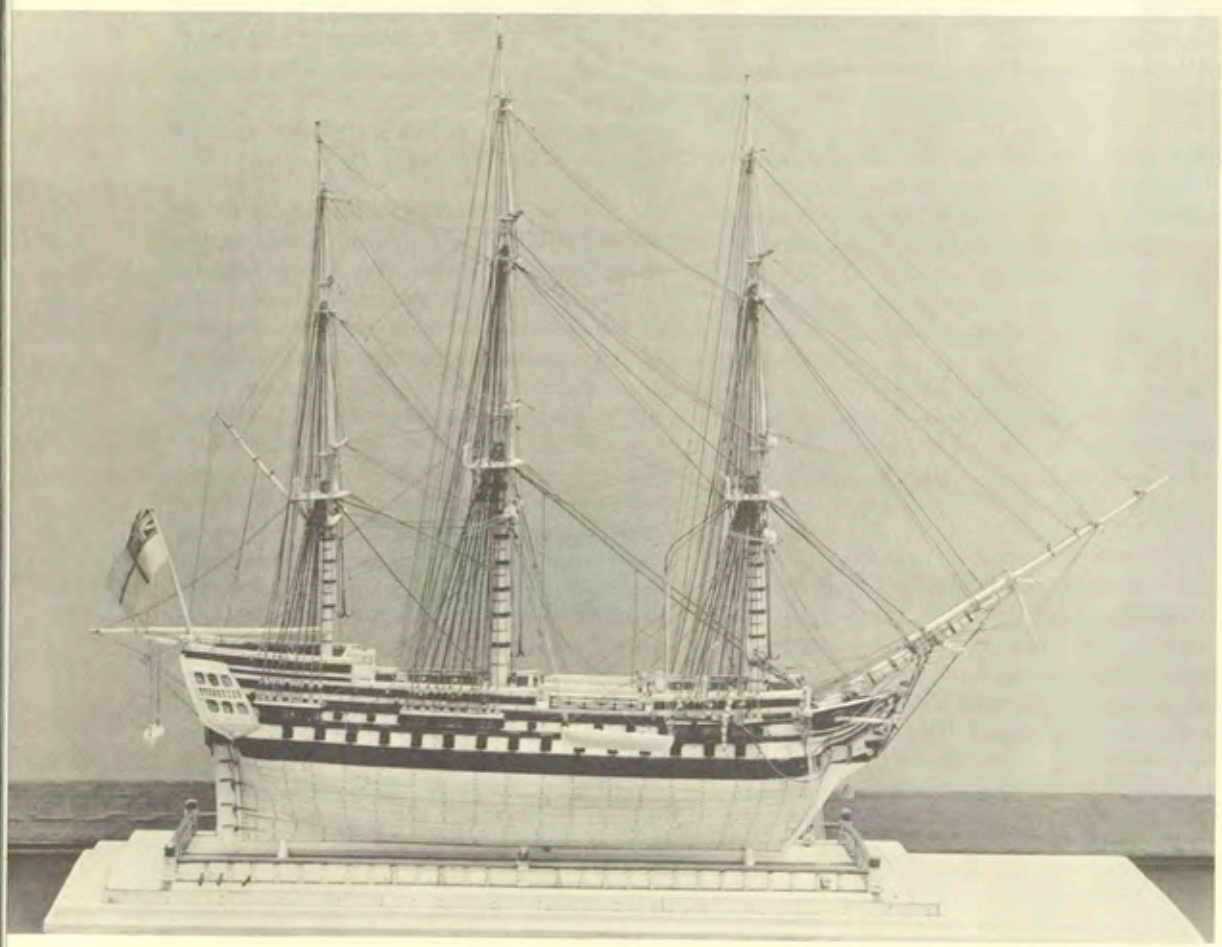
The bicentennial celebration year of 1976 has been the target date for many historical publications. This particular volume concerns itself with the activities of a public service society in and around the Port of New Haven. It is well written and will add yet another facet to the complex social history of an important city.

ACQUISITIONS

Mystic Seaport has recently been given by the heirs of the estate of Louis S. De Remer a prisoner-of-war bone model (*below*) of an unidentified 92 gun British ship (76.142). It is a fine example of the work done by military prisoners captured during the Napoleonic Wars and incarcerated in England. Since conditions in the military prisons were less severe than in those for convicted criminals, the men had more opportunity to exercise their talents and skills. The prisoners were allowed to trade or buy from the guards the necessary tools and materials to make models, toys and trinkets. This activity was financially rewarding to the prisoners since the finished items were often sold by the guards, acting as agents. Most of the more intricate models, such as the Seaport's new acquisition, are probably the result of joint efforts, one man carving the figurehead and balustrades, one shaping the hull and fitting the planking, and one threading the rigging. Some prisoner-of-war models are of identifiable vessels, but more often they are composite representations of particular types, combining characteristics of several individual vessels.

Dim: H. 20½", L. 24".

Donors: Preston H. Saunders, Dr. Norman W. Saunders, Timothy K. Saunders.



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