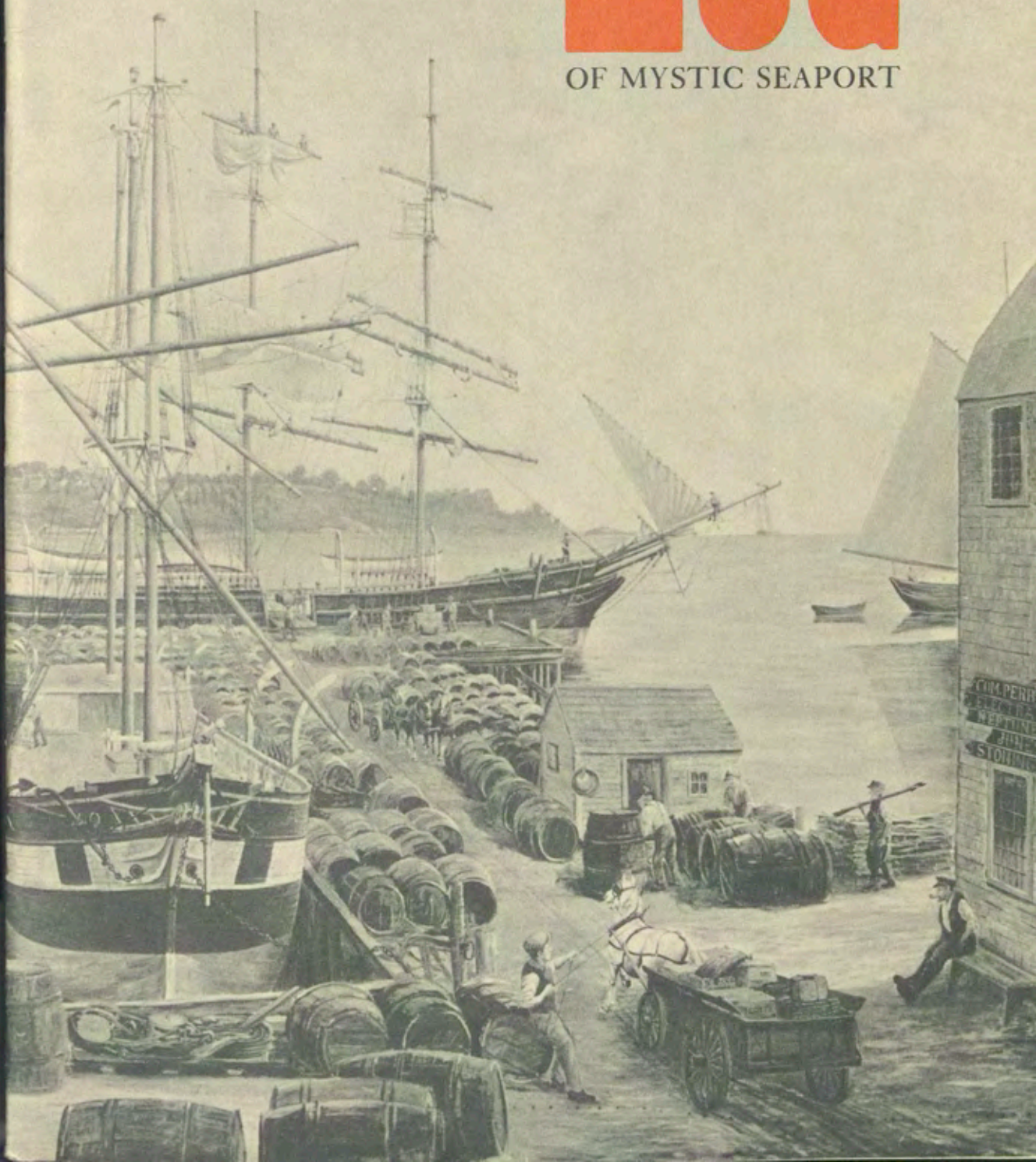
July 1977

THE LOG OF MYSTIC SEAPORT



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COVER: *This lively New London wharf scene shows the major elements of a seaport: coastal and ocean-going vessels, cargo and land transport.*

FACING PAGE: *The Friendship sloop* Estella A., *shown here in her original rig as a lobstering and fishing boat, is a reminder of the Antique and Classic Boat Rendezvous coming up at Mystic Seaport in July. Drawing by the late John F. Leavitt.*

Volume 29, Number 2 / July 1977

THE LOG OF MYSTIC SEAPORT

CONTENTS

The Seaport as *Entrepôt*
BENJAMIN W. LABAREE 34

Boats and Ships in One New England Seaport
JOHN GARDNER 42

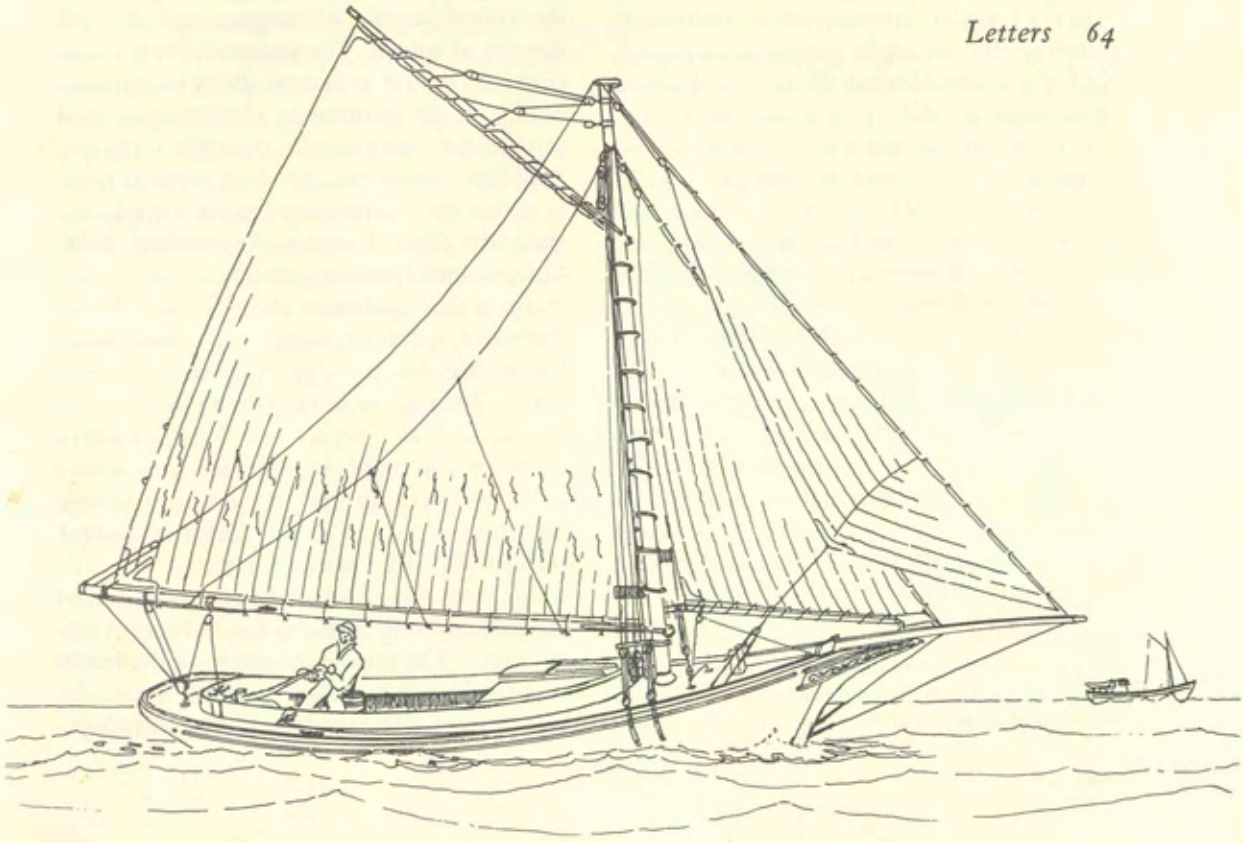
The Seamen's Friend
STUART M. FRANK 52

Addendum: Annual Report 1976 59

Book Reviews 61

Acquisitions 64

Letters 64



The Seaport as *Entrepôt*

By BENJAMIN W. LABAREE*

Man's attitude toward the sea is charged with numerous contrasting views. The sea is a barrier that separates the world's continents at the same time that it is a bridge to distant lands. The edge of the sea is a danger zone to the off-shore mariner but a place of recreation to the landsman. One of the most fascinating contrasts is that between the sea as open space, exposed to all of nature's wildness, and the seaport as a snug harbor offering protection against this wildness. Maritime history has long been dominated by man's interest in the open sea and the ships that sail upon it, but the seaport merits equal attention from historians, for without it there could be little maritime enterprise at all.

In the broadest sense any community with access to the sea might properly be considered a seaport. Coastal villages and towns situated along tidal rivers would qualify under this definition, and it would therefore include places best known for shipbuilding like Bath, Maine, or Mystic, Connecticut, and notable fishing ports like Marblehead and Gloucester, Massachusetts. Shipbuilding is, after all, the foundation to all maritime activity and fishing has been a major factor throughout American maritime history. But the lifeblood of maritime enterprise is seaborne commerce. While some major centers of trade have also been important shipbuilding or fishing communities, these activities do not necessarily go hand in hand. In 1860, for instance, Bath trailed far behind most other New England coastal communities in terms of commerce, although it ranked second only to Boston in shipbuilding. Likewise, the town of Stonington launched about one-third of Connecticut's tonnage that year from its yards along the Mystic River but accounted for less than one-twentieth of its commerce. Neither Gloucester nor Marblehead developed significant trade despite their extensive fishing activities. Commerce, not shipbuilding or fishing, is what distinguishes significant seaports from other seacoast communities.

The primary economic function of major seaports has been as an *entrepôt*—a place for the transshipment of cargoes and the exchange of goods. The success of this function has depended first of all on location. It hardly needs mentioning that the principal requirement for a seaport is access to the sea. And yet further thought brings the realization that few major seaports are actually on the coast itself. London, Amsterdam, New Orleans, and Hamburg, to note but a few, are many miles upstream along rivers. From Montreal, a typical cargo vessel must steam for two-and-a-half days to reach the Atlantic. Even those ports located on bays or fjords, such as Tokyo, New York, or Oslo, are often many miles inland from open water.

This is because access to the sea is only one prerequisite for the location of a successful seaport. Equally important are two other requirements. One is adequate space for mooring vessels along shore and in protected anchorages. The mouths of rivers or the heads of bays have often afforded such areas. Yet seaports are not merely harbors of refuge,

*Dr. Benjamin W. Labaree is Ephraim Williams Professor of American History at Williams College and the Director of the Munson Institute of American Maritime Studies at Mystic Seaport. Starting this fall, he will also direct the newly established Williams College–Mystic Seaport programs in American Maritime Studies.



Provincetown harbor reaches out its long wharves and jetties as if to bid farewell to the fishing fleet departing for the Banks. Small boats mill about the harbor, and two coasters are moored at far left.

which brings us to the third requirement; seaports must also have access into the interior. It is the hinterland which provides merchants with the agricultural or manufactured products they need to export in order to purchase imports. At the same time, the hinterland serves as a marketing area for those imports. Here again, the most successful seaports have been located on broad rivers such as the Rhine, the Mississippi, and the Yangtse, which rise far into the interior of their respective continents. Not only do such rivers provide water transportation at least as far as the fall-line but their valleys are usually heavily populated because of their relatively level terrain and fertile soil. Alternatively, a seaport located at the head of a broad bay can serve the many communities along the shore, precluding their own development as *entrepôts*.

Where nature has provided some but not all of these geographical requirements, man has not hesitated to intervene. Seaports located along the banks of rivers have often been hindered in their functions by the accumulation of silt or sandbars at their mouths. Channels have therefore been dug and kept open by constant dredging operations, protected by breakwaters and marked by buoys and other artificial aids to navigation. In the extreme case of the port of Houston, there was originally no connection at all with the sea until the construction of a fifty-mile ship canal. Leningrad, Amsterdam, and the ports of America's Great Lakes are also dependent upon man-made channels. Extensive dredging operations are required to provide anchorage areas. Where tidal ranges are extreme, man has constructed mammoth wet docks, such as those of London and Antwerp, where ocean-going vessels can lie in deep water free from the rise and fall of the tides.

Perhaps the most extensive effort of man to enhance the natural attributes of his seaports has been in the improvement of access into the interior. He has dredged channels through river shoals; he has built locks around waterfalls obstructing river navigation; and he has greatly extended the area of hinterland by constructing canals along shallow tributaries. Ultimately, canals such as the Erie in upstate New York and those of France and Germany have linked separate rivers and lakes into one inter-connected waterway, adding hundreds of square miles to the areas served by major seaports.

These various construction and maintenance projects serve to underscore one im-



The fishing fleet is in, south side of Boston's T wharf. A schooner with nested dories is drying her sails at left; in foreground is a typical small harbor skiff.

portant aspect of seaports often forgotten. More so than most inland communities, the seaport has depended upon public expenditures for its very creation and continuing existence. Indeed, the very heart of every seaport, the harbor, is itself public property, owned and maintained by the community at large rather than by private individuals or corporations. Commercial use of that harbor has often depended upon public facilities—municipal wharves and warehouses, moles, and wet docks. In the face of expanding private enterprise, especially in the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, many public landing places were sold or abandoned as seemingly unnecessary and with them went some of the public's ready access to its own harbor. Only recently has the subject of public access to the waterfront become an issue, most often in connection with the pleasure-boat industry.

A favorably located seaport such as New York has had many advantages in its role as an *entrepôt*. Even before the construction of canals and railroads it could serve a wide-ranging hinterland by water, from the southern New England coast to the eastward, the Hudson and Mohawk Valleys to the north and all the communities of northern New Jersey to the west and south. As Robert G. Albion pointed out long ago, it was New York's ability to command the coastal trade to the cotton states which assured its dominant economic position even before the full effects of the Erie Canal could be realized. Construction of the Erie, the Raritan and other canals, the railroads, and the intracoastal waterway greatly extended the hinterland areas embraced by New York. The fate of Connecticut's seaports offers a dramatic illustration of the effect. In 1790 the state ranked first or second in the export of numerous agricultural products like oats, cheese, potatoes, pork, and of course onions, as well as livestock such as hogs, sheep and mules. By 1860 it had lost top ranking mostly to New York in all of these categories (except mules, in which it retained second place!). New York even took over the lead in the export of onions, much to the disappointment of Wethersfield boosters. New Bedford was another New England victim of New York. Although New Bedford was the nation's leading whaling port in the mid-nineteenth century, most of its oil and other whale products being shipped abroad left from New York.

Many other seaports have become *entre-*

pôts for their immediate communities—Portsmouth for the Piscataqua River, Newburyport for the Merrimack (until Middlesex Canal diverted traffic to Boston) and Providence for the Blackstone Valley, to name but three small New England ports. Only rarely might one find two ports serving the same area, such as Norwich and New London in the Thames Valley, or Newport and Providence in Narragansett Bay. Invariably one port came to dominate an increasingly large region, with all others falling into secondary roles as "outports." Occasionally a smaller seaport could hang on for awhile through some specialized trade such as Salem's monoply of the pepper trade or New Bedford's role as a whaling port. But such activities only postponed the inevitable. In time the nation's foreign commerce became dominated by the merchants in only a handful of major ports.

On the most elementary scale the seaport *entrepôt* functioned somewhat like a rural market town. Farmers brought their produce in for sale in "market square" and purchased whatever goods they needed. But seaports offered at least two great advantages that inland towns could not match. First, they could market the farmer's produce not only within the local community but also far into the world beyond—the West Indies, South America, and Europe. In the second place, they had a much wider variety of goods for sale, Philadelphia flour, Virginia tobacco, Carolina rice, the ever-popular English woolen and cotton cloths, and more exotic goods like silks and spices. In time, of course, the merchants of major *entrepôts* extended their business contracts far into the interior, arranging with local shopkeepers to provide them with goods and to purchase country produce. An elaborate system of credit soon followed, and it is not surprising that major seaports became the financial centers of their respective regions and nations. Indeed, the center of capital in the Atlantic world has regularly been its leading port—Amsterdam in the seventeenth century, London in the eighteenth and nineteenth, and New York in the twentieth century.



Horse and driver stand glumly in the rain on Boston's T wharf looking for ship which ordered their supplies. Nested dories identify vessel beyond as Banks schooner.

Both the location and function of seaports have had a major effect on their pattern of growth. Most inland towns have expanded outward from their original centers more or less evenly in all directions. Early settlers in New England villages built their homes around the central green, but they soon moved out to be closer to the surrounding

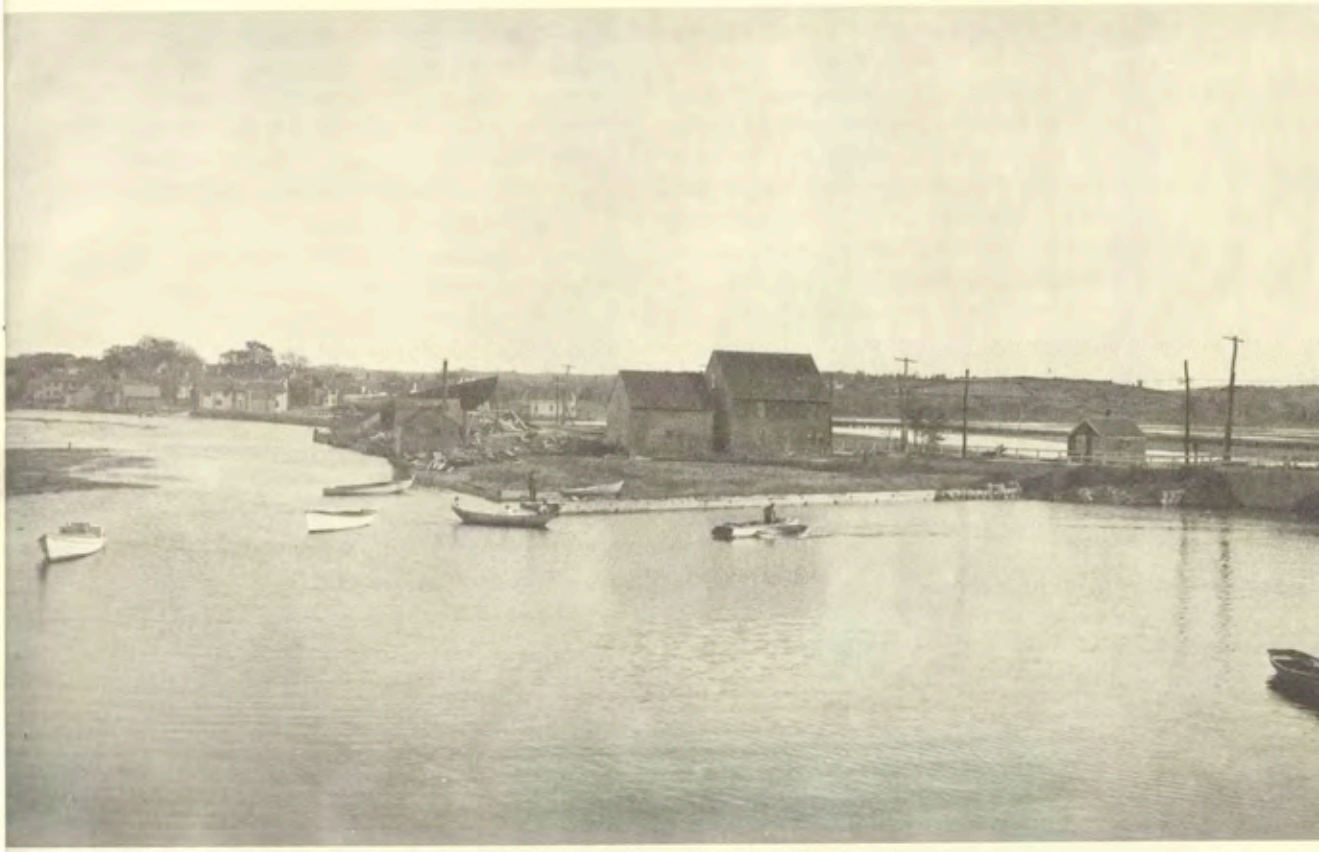
fields where they did their work. Such communities grew along centrifugal force lines. In contrast, the very fact that seaports are situated along the water has severely limited their direction of growth. In the case of seaports built on peninsulas, such as Boston and San Francisco, the town could expand in only one quadrant. More to the point, a merchant, longshoreman or mariner moving to the outskirts of a seaport would only find himself further from his place of work rather than closer to it, as in the case of the farmer. Seaports have therefore tended to grow inward along centripetal force lines, first by crowding more buildings into the center of town and then by the construction of taller buildings. The perfection of the steel skeleton technique led to the development of skyscrapers as a "solution" to the problem. Still, overcrowding remains a condition of life in most seaports, even after the dispersal of port facilities themselves.

Centripetal force lines run like arteries toward the heart of the seaport at the waterfront and out into the harbor itself. Major streets lead to the water's edge, wharves reach out, warehouses and other large buildings run parallel to these lines so that the eye has many glimpses of the water. Further strengthening this sense is the gentle slope of the terrain down to the waterfront itself.

The economic life of seaports was from the outset considerably more complex than that of inland communities of comparable size. For in addition to all of the usual domestic craftsmen—carpenters, bakers, tailors, shoemakers and so forth—seaports also contained maritime craftsmen whose skills represented a dozen or more specialized proficiencies. Sailmakers, riggers, shipsmiths, and coopers jostled for space in the waterfront region already crowded with warehouses, shipyards, and ropewalks. These artisans competed for apprentices as well, and a young man looking for new and different opportunities was far more likely to find them in the seaports than further inland. Not only were there additional trades from which to choose but the expansion of maritime enterprise, at least until the Civil War, added a dimension of growth that rural communities could not match once their surrounding farm lands had been taken up. A young man unable to acquire a special skill could usually pick up work along the waterfront as a longshoreman or go to sea as a greenhorn. In either case, working conditions were far different from those he would have experienced at home. Instead of working alone alongside his farmer-employer he became part of a gang of workers, subjected to an impersonal and authoritarian structure, with very little freedom of action.

This large pool of unskilled labor had a major effect on the social structure of the seaport. Most of the young men and women from the country had no close family ties within the community and were often without immediate means of support. A far more significant element in the population, of course, was the footloose population of mariners, whose lives fluctuated between long months at sea and short stretches ashore, often in ports far removed from their original homes. The result was that a sizeable proportion of the people found in a seaport at any given time were strangers with no permanent place of residence. They lived in impersonal rooming houses, ate (and drank) in public taverns, and could find sexual release only in the brothels along the waterfront. Such an element proved to be a real challenge to local charitable groups. The more common community response, however, was to tighten control through the extension of night watches and curfews. Not surprisingly, police forces were initially established in the seaports.

Indeed, most of what we today consider to be urban problems made their first appearance in seaport towns for the simple reason that these were the first American cities. Nineteen of the country's twenty largest communities on the eve of the Revolution were, in fact, on tidewater. Their rapid growth in the early years of the nineteenth



The James and Tarr yard at Essex, Mass., has a schooner on the ways which, improbably, will be launched into narrow channel at left.

century required strict attention to matters of public health, water supply, fire protection, and sanitation. The first crude zoning regulations and building codes were efforts to control such "modern" problems as overcrowding and faulty construction, with only mixed success at first. Such amenities as parks and open malls represented early attempts to cope with the lack of public space within the compact seaport centers.

Economic and social problems eventually became so complex within the seaports that by the beginning of the nineteenth century they strained and finally destroyed altogether the original political structure of the community. Expansion of population within inland towns usually resulted in a splitting-off process, whereby outlying districts became separate towns. The creation of Needham out of Dedham, for instance, made two smaller towns in Massachusetts out of one larger one. The growth of seaports often had exactly the opposite result. The absorption of the town of Roxbury into the town of Boston, for instance, made one larger town out of two smaller ones.

The political effects were equally significant. While inland towns were continuing to rely on part-time "amateur" selectmen and open town meetings to manage their governmental affairs, seaports found it necessary to abandon town meetings and turn to full-time "professional" officials such as mayors and aldermen. The change from the direct de-



The crowds, noise and confusion of a fishing wharf when the fleet was in are reflected here, where schooners are tied up side by side with barrels and dories piled on deck.

mocracy of town meeting, which openly "selected" a fairly large number of citizens to carry the burden of government, to the election by ballot of a smaller number of full-timers put added emphasis on the process of selection itself. One immediate result was the establishment of partisan politics at the local level, where it had formerly appeared only at times of acute political stress. Differences there had been at town meeting, but they were rarely fought out along party lines. With parties nominating slates of candidates for salaried political offices, however, the complexion of local politics changed drastically, never to return to the simpler ways of the past.

With all their problems, however, seaports were unquestionably the most interesting communities of America from a cultural standpoint, at least until well after the Civil War if not longer. Where else in America could a youngster learn of faraway lands from his seafaring father or older brothers? What other libraries and museums in young America had artifacts from China, Africa, and other foreign countries? Only on the streets of Boston, New York, and similar seaports could one gawk at the colorful attire of strangers and hear the babble of different tongues. On a more formal basis one could find instruction in such European accomplishments as dancing, fencing, and music even in the smaller seaports, and traveling companies brought concerts, theatrical performances, and other forms of public entertainment with pleasing regularity. Seaport inhabitants had the advantage of more and better newspapers and magazines, traveling lecturers, and institutions of higher learning.

But the true meaning of the seaport reaches beyond its economic value as an *entrepôt*, beyond its social significance as a city, beyond even its cultural importance as a cosmopolitan center. The true meaning of a seaport lies in the fact that it stands as the gateway between land and sea. Through it pour all the passengers and cargoes bound for other ports of the country and of the world. Together, ports mark the beginning and end of that most absorbing human adventure, the sea voyage. As such they largely shape the nature of that voyage. They dictate what cargo is on board, who one's fellow passengers are, what route the vessel is likely to take.

Ports define the nature of an ocean passage in more subtle ways as well. The traveler at sea retains vivid memories of his last days ashore—the places he stayed at and the food he ate, the people he met, the shops he visited. Unlike the traveler by land the sea voyager has many hours to remember that last port of call. As day follows day with nothing but ocean in view, sometimes that last harbor comes to epitomize all the land that has been left behind—its busy and overcrowded streets, its sounds and smells, its security.

Before long, however, the sea voyager's thoughts turn toward another image of the land, the port of destination. With each passing day time becomes distance and distance time. Now he looks ahead through both space and time to anticipate the renewal of his acquaintance with the land, perhaps to old problems but also to exciting new discoveries. Once again it is the seaport through which the transition is made, for at its appearance the sea voyage will end and an entirely different land experience will take its place. Beginning and ending, ending and beginning. Seaports stand as gateways separating man's existence on land from his existence at sea. They stand at the edge of earth's last frontier, sending forth travelers upon the wilderness of the sea and offering them safe haven upon their return.

enlightened enterprise supplied the critical component in Salem's mercantile greatness. And Bentley's diary, faithfully recorded day-by-day for the entire 35 years, constitutes the most complete and perceptive record that now exists of everyday life in an American seaport of that time.

In 1785, the year following Bentley's ordination, Elias Haskett Derby's ship, *Light Horse*, opened American trade with Russia, returning to Salem with a cargo of hemp, canvas, linen duck, and iron for Salem rope walks, sail lofts, and anchor smiths. The long war was over, independence won, and the vessels and crews which had proved their mettle as privateers were turning now to trade. During the war Salem, with a population of less than ten thousand, had backed the Continental Cause with 232 fighting ships, all told, fully manned and equipped, averaging nearly 50 a year in active service. They had harried British shipping from the tropics to the northern seas, and having proved their superiority in war were soon to demonstrate their preeminence in commercial pursuits as well. In the several decades that followed, Salem ships swarmed the seven seas bringing home wealth untold.

Another Salem merchant ship, Derby's *Grand Turk*, was the third American ship to reach China, returning from Canton in 1786 with a cargo of tea, cinnamon and china, which paid a profit of over 100 percent. Soon so many Salem ships were lying in Canton River that one Chinese merchant concluded, it is said, that the United States "must be a village in that great rich country known as Salem."

For a time Salem controlled the world market in pepper after Capt. Jonathan Carnes of Salem in the ship *Rajah* broke the Dutch monopoly. He discovered pepper growing wild on the coast of Sumatra, and returned to Salem with the first cargo of pepper in bulk to reach the West, which yielded a profit of 700 percent. Before 1805 two Crowninshield ships, *Belisarius* and *America*, had brought back from Sumatra two and one-half million pounds of pepper on which duties of over $175,000 were paid at the Salem Custom House. Customs records show that 20 Salem ships were assessed duties of over $192,000 in 1797, indicating cargoes worth more than $4,000,000. In 1800 duties paid at the Salem Custom House amounted in total to one-twentieth of the nation's revenue. Hardly a returning vessel had tied up at Salem wharves in those days but someone in Salem town had made a fortune.

Prior to the war for Independence, Salem merchant shipping other than routine coastwise trade was largely restricted to the West Indies and to a lesser extent to southern European ports. To the former, Salem vessels carried lumber, cooperage and dried codfish, returning with sugar, molasses and rum. To the latter, the principal export was salt cod which Massachusetts' Essex County then produced in great quantity, bringing back cargoes of fruit, wines and assorted merchandise.

It was not until after peace was made with England and Washington had been elected president that Salem merchants finally threw off the dominance of Boston and struck out on their own. Once they did, they soon penetrated the mysteries of the Orient and returned to New England with the wealth of the Indies. Prior to the Revolution not a single American trading vessel had rounded the southern tip of Africa, but before the eighteenth century ended Salem merchant ships had made more than 150 voyages to, or beyond, the Cape of Good Hope.

The splendor and magnitude of Salem's mercantile success in that brief interval between Washington's inauguration and the War of 1812, barely a quarter of a century in extent, is a phenomenon unmatched in the annals of American free enterprise. How a town whose population in 1800 was barely 9,457 and only 12,613 in 1810, was able to accomplish all that was achieved is something to wonder at, and not easily fathomed. At a singular point in time, accident, fate, or whatever brought together the diversity of

components which produced the explosive critical mass. Some of these elements have received attention, others have not.

We have already cited the commercial genius of Salem merchants of which Elias Haskett Derby is the preeminent example. They had the vision and the daring to open trade with the Far East, but of course the wealth of goods they found were waiting for them. Never again would such rich opportunities offer themselves. Already mentioned, the leaven of eighteenth-century enlightenment, manifest in part in the influence of the Rev. William Bentley, had begun to percolate into New England, dissolving old restrictions. And then of course, as we have indicated the experience gained by Salem privateers in seven years of combat on the high seas in which they successfully defied the British Navy, taking a dire toll of British shipping, supplied the necessary fund of confidence and derring-do, not to mention the substantial accumulation of venture capital from prize money. The big fighting ships when they returned to Salem were too large for the West Indies trade, and besides, American vessels found themselves excluded from the West Indies after the war by the British and the French. Rather than lie rotting at Salem wharves, there was little choice, really, but to venture forth into distant seas, and young and feisty Salem seamen hardened in war welcomed the risks and gloried in the adventure while they shared in the profits.

Salem had natural advantages too; the deep and sheltered waters of her fine harbor, and the abundant stands of superb white-oak ship timber still waiting in Essex County for the shipwright's axe.

As Essex County's shire town for more than a hundred years previous, Salem was at that time the County's economic and cultural center, drawing her resources and support from its sober and industrious population of farmers, fishermen, and mechanics, all of whom were imbued with the Puritan work ethic and eager to get ahead in a new country. To quote Salem historian, James Duncan Phillips, the merchant Derby "once remarked that nothing was ever brought into Salem that could not be made better by a Salem mechanic." When all due allowances are made for local pride, one must still grant the skill and versatility of Essex County artisans. Salem's ships and everything they required were produced at home, and at that time no finer, faster, better maintained vessels could be found afloat. But above all it was the quality of Essex County seamen who made Salem great on the sea and gave her preeminence in the Far Eastern trade.

For a century and a half everyday life in the fisheries and coastwise trade along Essex County's shore from Lynn and Nahant eastward to Cape Ann and north to Newburyport had produced a breed of seamen equal to any challenge and any trial. The waters along these shores, often treacherous and always unforgiving, provided from infancy a school in self-reliance and survival, and Essex County boys learned the arts of the sailor early and well. Seven Crowninshield brothers commanded vessels of their own before the age of twenty. Not all Salem youth rose so fast and so far, nor could they, but the way to advancement in Salem ships in those days was wide open, and those with the ability and the will did not long remain before the mast.

Much has been said and written about the parade of fine ships out of the Salem shipyards of Retire Beckett and Enos Briggs, but very little about the small craft of that time which played their part in the life of Salem—a part which was not as inconsiderable as some might suppose. But although boats were so essential and so numerous in the everyday activities of Essex County's coastwise communities, they were also so common and so familiar, and so completely taken for granted, that anything about them beyond the bare mention of their names rarely found its way into contemporary accounts. The one monumental exception is the daily jottings of that indefatigable diarist, the Rev. William Bentley. Bentley was not a mechan-



Crowninshield's Wharf in Salem, named for one of the leading entrepreneurs and masters of the late 18th century, was departure point for such remote and virtually unknown ports as Canton, visited by the Salem vessel *Grand Turk*; the *Light Horse*'s pioneering voyage to Russia in 1785, and the *Rajah*'s trip to Sumatra which broke the Dutch monopoly in the lucrative pepper trade.

ic and he did not record dimensions and design, but he knew boats and used them, and tells us much about them, enough to give us a pretty good idea of the essential role they played.

If it be true in some measure that the battle of Waterloo was won on the playing field of Eton, it can also be claimed with some authority that the seamanship which opened the riches of the Far East to Salem trade received its primary lessons in the multitude of small craft which plied Salem harbor and adjacent Essex County coastal waters. Scattered through the four volumes and the thousands of pages of Dr. Bentley's diary are numerous entries in which such boats are mentioned. The selection which follows will give the reader some notion of the extent to which small craft figured in the everyday life of one New England seaport in the ascendant days of merchant sail.

December 9, 1786. In the last Storm a Connecticut Brig was driven upon Point Shirley. 5 perished who left the vessel in the snow. In the same storm a coasting Sloop drove ashore upon Plumb Island. 2 perished in the snow . . . Two men belonging in Marblehead, supposed intoxicated, perished on Saturday night between Salem and Marblehead. Capt. Wm. Fairfield was driven ashore on Cape Cod & one man perished . . . a Sloop was driven ashore upon Lowell's island, bound for Boston, 10 men & a woman out of 13 persons perished. An eastern Schooner belonging to Boston drove ashore at Cape Cod, Godfrey master, all on board perished.

January 8, 1790. Mr. Phippen the Undertaker [contractor] assured me that the carting of mud from the Flats upon the wharf, cost him in the ratio of the expense of the Schowwing [scowing] as 33 to 20, so much did the carting exceed.

January 21, 1790. Report of Capt. Reid's being overset in a sloop bound from Boston to Townsend. The Captain and one mariner escaped after being in an open boat eight days.

July 6, 1790. A Mr. Lord was drowned by the sinking of a Gondola near point of Rocks . . . He was aet. 26. He left a wife, & one child & a Mother.

July 28, 1790. This afternoon I went to ride with Nancy Townsend, one of my singers. We passed Pickman's farm towards Phillips Beach . . . There are many little boats laying along above the Beach. These are the property of men in the neighboring towns, who come down in the months of April, May & June, & *fish for cod*, haddock, perch, & with considerable success. They will accommodate 8 to 10 men on the Seats, & much resemble whaleboats, tho' most have flat bottoms.

June 15, 1791. This morning it was agreed to go to Eastern Point, which makes the entrance to the Harbour, above a mile below the town. . . . Opposite to eastern Point at the entrance is a Rocky Shore called Norman's Woe, & about a league Westerly near the shore may be seen Kettle Island, a small island, and a mile beyond on the same shore Egg Rock, as you go toward Manchester. Our party consisted of above 60 persons of both sexes. With Co. Pearce in a skif we caught several dozen of perch, & after two

we dined in a friendly fashion. Another party in a sloop larger than our own furnished us with Cod from the Bay, & after dinner til Tea parties were engaged in Walking, dancing, singing, & Quoiting, & Swinging, & every amusement we could imagine . . . We set out about ten in the morning, and arrived before nine in the evening . . .

August 18, 1791. After dinner with Capt. Strout & others in Mr. Derby's Boat I went to see Cat Island . . . We arrived at 5 o'clock at *Cat Island*, & not venturing near the shore on account of the surf we engaged a Marblehead skiff to land us on the beach.

January 19, 1792. The Snow has fallen in great drifts, is very fine, & descends fast, as well as with violence . . . After three the snow began to cease falling, but the wind continued high & shifting. The night was cold. In the afternoon after the glin appeared, a man named Gunnison, with two boys, apprentices, went off to a fishing jigger in the ice with an anchor. They were soon surrounded by the ice, & the weather storming they were out of sight. A Sloop was sent after them, reached the Jigger, but found not the small boat, & men. We were much alarmed, & dispared of finding them.

July 14, 1792. Upon invitation from General Fiske I went in company with several other Gentlemen in his sloop *Lydia* to accompany his Brig *Sally*, built upon Maine for fast sailing & bound on her first voyage into the Mediterranean for fruit. We went out the Southern way, passing the buoys, & with a light wind. We had no fair experiments but were well satisfied. We parted at two o'clock. We succeeded in taking cod, haddock, halibut, dog fish, & wolf fish. We went in a small boat & landed on half way rock so called from its distance between Boston Light House & Cape Ann lights on Thatcher's Island. We judged it hight nearly 70 feet perhaps 50. It is like marble and encrusted with sea salt, We brought away several specimens for examination.

November 5, 1792. In the late Storm a vessel drove ashore upon Strait's mouth Island, near Thatcher's Island, Cape Ann. It seems the crew having taken to a boat, as nothing was left in the Cabin & boat not found. A Sloop of 60 tons with Cyder, Hay, & Indian Corn.

August 9, 1793. This evening two sons of misfortune in a small sloop upon their last adventures in the W. India Trade, found a dismasted and deserted Ship at Sea, & brought her into Port, richly laden with West India goods from Jamaica for England.

December 17, 1793. Several persons drowned from a Scough near the Pines. They all would have saved their lives, if they could have swum to the shore which was not far distant. The Sufferers were related to several members of our Society [congregation].

August 26, 1794. A Gust with Thunder Storm. A Boat below the Town was upset, & all perished. There were three persons. Skipper Peters, aet. 62, his grandson, & a noted Negro, called the Doctor. It was a large Moses boat rigged Sloopwise.

April 30, 1797. Sunday. This evening was buried from the South Fields, a young Macintire, subject to Epilepsy, who was drowned in the mill pond. He was out in a Canoe & it is supposed suffered from his constitutional Infirmity.

September 20, 1798. We now conclude that Diman Preston & his Crew, who have been missing, & who left this port for the Spanish Main in a Shallop, have foundered at sea. This vessel was deep & small, & they had a heavy gale upon leaving port. Our young men go out among the islands in small boats, & return on the same day with an hundred cod & haddock.

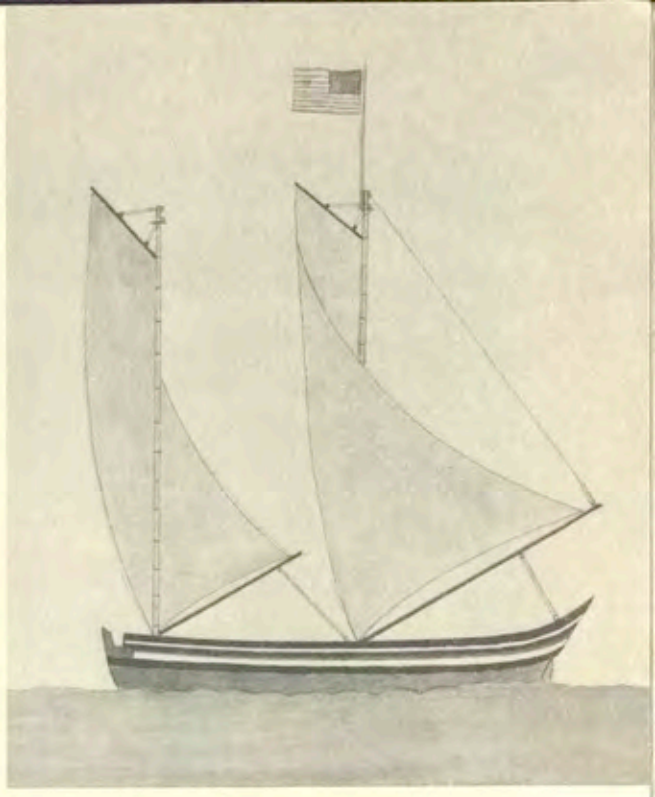
May 13, 1799. Capt. John Gibaut invited me to go with him upon a visit to his Farm and Mills in *Cape Ann Island* . . . As we opened the coves we had an opportunity of seeing the fashion of mooring Boats commonly called Jebacco Boats because built first in that part of Ipwich. They perforate a large stone & raise a tree with its roots & stripped of its branches, & then slide the

stone over the stock of the tree upon the root. The root prevents the stone from a seperation & this is carried & sunk in a convenient place the top remaining like a post above the water. The fish houses are at the head of the coves, & from the number of sunken trees we may nearly ascertain the number of boats in the cove. About 300 in the number for the whole Island, half of which belong to the part called Sandy Bay . . . We then put out into the bay among the wherries which are small flat bottom boats & are as numerous as the Jebacco Boats, & which in good weather make two fares a day & sometimes take as many as five hundred Cod & Haddock. They are rowed cross-handed by one man & even by boys of 10 & 12 years . . .

June 29, 1799. Went to Hovey's at West Beach with my favorite Harriet. We went from the Beach in a wherry from rock to rock till we reached the ledge below Mingo's beach & there supplied ourselves with perch. Sarah & Rebecca, daughters of Mr. Hovey, accompanied us & a Nancy Thorndike, daughter of the Wid. of Isaac Thorndike, quite an agreeable girl. A young son of Mr. Hovey & I tugged at the oars. Miss Nancy returned home in the chaise with us very agreeably. We had a good dish of coffee & fried fish & reached Salem at nine o'clock.

September 27, 1799. The Health Boat is taken out of the water. The Health Committee has ordered this, so the dangers of the season are thought to be over. . .

July 31, 1800. This day opened with unusual heat & at noon the Th: kept by Dr. Holyoke stood one hour at 100. At two the clouds began to collect & run wild in every direction. At four I was in a Moses boat with a Jib & Mainsail, we went before it. All our tackle gave way, and we reached the Marblehead shore in as violent a gust as is commonly known. The vessels drove at their anchors & we should have reached the house without danger of rain, had not the immediate danger of a Sloop called for our assistance. A great abundance of Sea weed was found floating upon our return. Fogg's wharf was





Chebacco boats, first built in Ipswich, Mass., were typical of harbor craft in most New England seaports in early days of the Republic. Good load-carriers, they were moored in unique fashion described by diarist Bentley at left.

cleared of its lumber but no great damage was done. Several building were moved, trees broken down & corn torn up, &c.

August 20, 1800. Went to Baker's Island in the Health Boat.

June 15, 1801. Capt. G. Crowninshield, junr carried me in his remarkably fast sailing boat into Beverly Harbour. We made the whole course in 15 minutes & returned in 34, Wind fresh at S.W. We made no tack on going, & one in Salem Harbour upon our return. I never did sail so much at my ease in any other boat.

June 24, 1803. Being St. John's Day, Mr. Ward, Mr. Becket, and myself with three boys went in a Vineyard pilot boat to visit the Islands. They are built much like Whale Boats, only broader in the middle, & are rendered very safe by good conduct. We struck a dead low water on Fluent's point, but got off without damage, fished between grey rock and Cat Island, & as the wind was rising landed on Cat Island. Here we spent the day.

July 30, 1803. Capt. Chever & friends formed a large water party & I went with them to Naugus on Marblehead side. We had many females with us. A party of us went to Aunt Morse's & enjoyed her good cake & ale, & all returned pleased without any accident.

July 11, 1805. Being a pleasant day I invited eight of my female singers, according to engagements to go with me in the Custom House boat to Naugus. We fished, visited Aunt Morse's ale house, dined & took Coffee on the rocks & returned at sundown.

August 21, 1806. This day at 2 p.m. Mr. Joseph Traske, in his Shallop off Derby wharf left his boat adrift & directed his son to swim for her but the wind carrying the boat faster than the boy could swim, the father stripped & went into the water & before he could get assistance he was drowned aet.47, left a wife & 8 children.

August 10, 1808. Went on the water in a boat belonging to Mr. Joseph Webb with Capt. W. Fairfield & Company. We took fish at Coney Island & then visited the Misery. We found young Franks & his two Companions in the Cabin upon the Cove on the western side of the island near the little Misery, and two Sloops in the Cove attempting to raise a stone pier which was to be sunk on Bowditch's ledge. They had broken one large spar in the attempt. After our walk upon the Island we returned & in 44 minutes from hoisting sail we were at Crowninshield's wharf. We had a pleasant time . . . We saw as we past a Boat launched from Crowninshield's wharf. Since the embargo almost every person fond of sailing has purchased a sail boat & a great variety of experiments have been made upon the form of the boat & the manner of rigging, & these experiments have discovered great ingenuity with various success. When I first came to Salem only two Sail Boats had any claim to the name when their construction was considered in regard to amusement. We may now say dozens are formed for this purpose, but we are indebted to the Embargo for the increase. The Crowninshields, Derby's, Gardners, & most of our enterprising Masters of Vessels have something of this kind they call their own & most of our Ship & boat builders & several of our townsmen who live at their ease. We saw many as we passed among the Islands & in the offing.

September 17, 1808. The State of Commerce has multiplied the little boats for amusement in our harbours, & upon every sudden gust some alarm is given. Two young men were drowned in Marblehead harbour by the sudden gust of the day. They belonged to Marblehead. An old man who was with them was saved.

October 10, 1811. By appointment I went with W. Rogers g.son of the late Revd N. Rogers to Ipswich with the express purpose of visiting the southern end of Plum Island as I had repeatedly visited the North before and after the turnpike was finished. We were invited by Major Farley who was ready to receive us & for the benefit of the tide & shoal waters we passed down in a wherry which we could manage easily with two oars at which we took our turns . . . Mr. Spiller was

hospitable & carried us in his wherry across the inlet to prevent walking around in the sand . . .

July 1, 1812. The Commissions came for the Privateers which had been already fitted in Salem Harbour. Capt. G. Crowninshield's pleasure boat we met upon our returned from Baker's Island in the offing with 30 men going out, & afterwards another with 25 men all of whom had some Command in Merchant Vessels. These were in a fishing smack called a Jigger. They were in fine spirits & huzzaed as we past & we returned the salute. This crew is a valuable one & upon any mishap must be a great loss to Salem.

September 9, 1817. We passed to Straightsmouth whence we had a full view of the Lighthouse upon Thatcher's Island & 70 sail of Boats were seen in the Offing in the Mackerel fishing. The success great this season . . . The Cove between the points about 1/6 of a mile, called Long Cove with Long Cove Hill, would admit 50 boats. The wherries within the piers were an unusual sight, & the trunks of trees sunk into the bason by rocks around their roots was a novel sight.

September 9, 1817. After leaving Sandy Bay in 2 miles we came to Pidgeon Cove at the foot of the celebrated Pidgeon Hill toward the sea. The cove has 15 boats & resembles more the stations on the shores of Lynn than a fishing settlement, the stations being rather for receiving the boats & the fish than habitations & being near together . . . the elevation of the flakes for the fish at Sandy Bay, easy to be approached on the land side, appeared the best for the drying of fish of any that we had seen . . .

September 10, 1817. After two we reached Col. Pierce & dined with him on Isle of Shoal fish. After breakfast & our usual salutations we left Cape Ann for Jebacco . . . We had not time to visit the falls of the river, but the sight of Jebacco boats building for the bay fishery not only at every landing place but in the yards of farmers some distance from the shore, as a novelty was very impressive . . .

January 12, 1819. John Prince, Esqr. informed me that the Jiggers in the bay from Marblehead had adopted an improvement in their fishery. Every Jiger takes out several dories, sufficient to employ the whole crew, except a Ship Keeper. When at their anchorage for fishing the dories are upon the favorite spots for fishing & the event has proved that they get many more fish than could be taken in the former way, by fishing together in the Jiger. He says lately when the dories of a Jiger were laden & a quick breeze came up & it was difficult for the dories of a Jiger to reach her, some Salem boats seeing the danger came & saved the fish & the dories & then bore them away to Salem. He sent a reward to the good neighbors wishing to obtain their names & the history of the event. Such acts ought to be publickly praised & recorded.

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The Seamen's Friend

By STUART M. FRANK

In 1978 the American Seamen's Friend Society will mark a century and a half of benevolent service to American and foreign seamen. Through the generosity of the Trustees of that institution, significant portions of the A.S.F.S. library and archives have been loaned to the G. W. Blunt White Library at Mystic Seaport, where their presence adds considerably to the Museum's research resources. Among the collections are original copies of several of the publications produced by the Society to benefit nineteenth-century seamen, and several shipboard libraries—collections of substantial reading matter to be carried aboard merchant ships to the far reaches of the "aqueous globe." In recognition of the generations of mariners whose lives have been enriched through the good offices of the Society, Mystic Seaport salutes that institution on this historic milestone.

> Six days shalt thou labor and do all that thou art able, And on the seventh—holystone the decks and scrape the cable.
>
> —*Old Sailors' Saying*[1]

When Richard Henry Dana's great classic *Two Years Before the Mast* was published in 1840, the hardships and deprivations of shipboard life of which he had written so eloquently were diffused throughout the civilized world. Demure rural New Englanders, secure in their quiet homesteads away from the noise and clamor of the harborfront, were appalled that such inhumanity could exist aboard a Yankee ship. And of all the evils touched upon in Dana's narrative, perhaps the cruelest—and the one which certainly attracted the greatest attention from his readers—was flogging. This vile institution left entirely to the captain's discretion, without benefit of trial or jury, the ruthless corporal degradation of some poor tar before the whole ship's company, often for the most trivial of offenses.

Dana himself, forsaking a career at sea to resume his studies at Harvard, reentered the closeknit circle of his family's Brahman acquaintances and pursued a career in law. Though he was to become one of the most eminent barristers of his day—a professor of law at Harvard, United States Attorney for the Massachusette District, Federal counsel in the treason proceedings against Jefferson Davis after the Civil War, American representative to the Fisheries Commission at Halifax, and a widely-published authority on civil jurisprudence—he never forsook the common seamen themselves, nor forgot the horrors of inhumane "enslavement" to which he had himself been subjected. He provided encouragement to young Herman Melville, whose shocking exposé of Navy flogging in *White-Jacket* (1849) was said to have been

*Stuart M. Frank's studies in religion at Wesleyan University and the Yale Divinity School have led him to take a natural interest in missionary societies. A graduate of the Munson Institute and Research Associate in the Education Department at Mystic Seaport since 1972, he is currently enrolled in doctoral studies in American Civilization at Brown.

[1]Quoted by Dana in *Two Years Before the Mast.*



Richard Henry Dana, handsome author of "Two Years Before the Mast," never forgot the horrors he witnessed as a youth aboard American deep-sea ships.

in large measure responsible for a subsequent act of Congress banning such corporal misuse in the American service. Throughout his life Dana was the articulate and influential champion of abolitionism, the rights of runaway slaves, universal suffrage and sailors' rights.

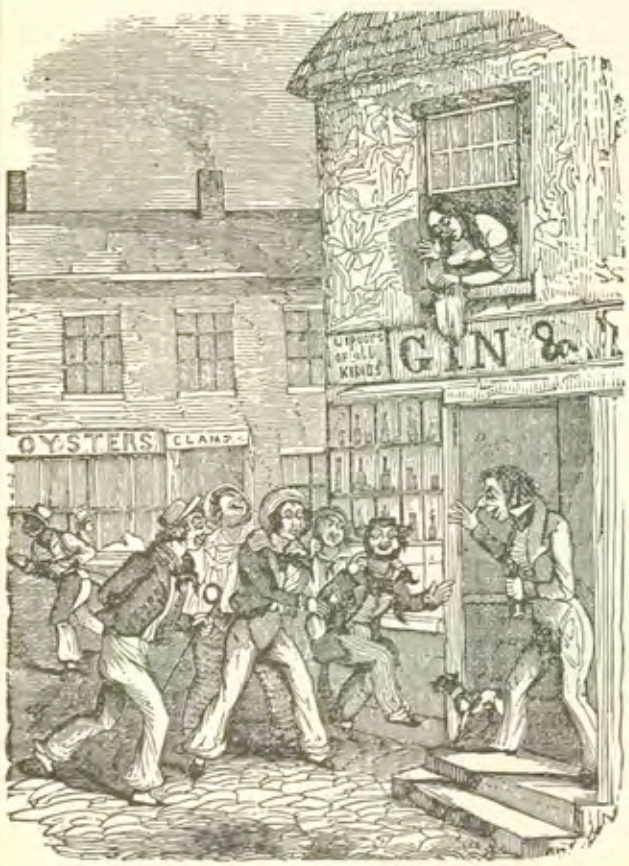
Dana and Melville brought the issue to the popular forefront in the 1840s and '50s, at a time when the causes of abolitionism, suffrage, temperance and egalitarian democracy were pursued with an energy and widespread participation equal to the pressing social issues of our own times. But they were by no means the first to identify the social ills vested upon the common seaman. From time immemorial, sailors before the mast had been treated as the mere chattels of mercantile and military interests, faring little better than their brethren who were chained to the oars of Imperial galleys and beaten mercilessly by the ruthless boatswains of antiquity. Shipboard conditions were perpetually unsavory. While the officers proverbially revelled over fine wines and fresh fowl in the aftercabin, the crews, composed largely of the dregs and refuse of landside society, were habitually underpaid, underfed and overworked. Their health and spiritual well-being were left in the hands of Providence. Beaten and broken at sea, cut off from the social graces of shoreside society, and hopelessly naive about the nefarious wiles of waterfront crimps and scalawags, they were typically easy victims of mercantile usury and plunder ashore.

Interest in the social and moral welfare of merchant seamen seems first to have taken institutional form in Britain and the United States during the first few decades of the nineteenth century, when several private benevolent societies were organized to provide basic services for mariners ashore, to enrich their spiritual lives at sea, and to publish and distribute moral literature ostensibly suited to the sailors' taste. The occasion for this effort was the growing realization among the privileged classes that the sailor's plight was one of almost complete isolation from the values, mores, institutions and comforts of ordinary life, and that a consequent social naivité rendered him virtually helpless against unscrupulous victimization by waterfront landsharks. Fearing more for his immortal soul than for his social welfare or financial security, these agencies endeavored to provide an alternative to the barracuda-infested waters of the harborfront. They offered meals and lodging at minimal cost, dissuaded sailors from the evils of drink and loose women, and encouraged them to deposit their earnings at savings banks and their souls at the local nondenominational chapel.

The outstanding innovation of these early societies was that the mariner was depicted

as the *victim* rather than the *offender:* the extent to which he was accused of moral deficiency reflected not so much upon his character as upon his circumstances. It might have been well, therefore, had these early societies occupied themselves with combatting these evil circumstances at their source—government apathy and commercial policy—rather than attempting solely to reform the wayward seaman. As it was, the help was offered without a thorough understanding of the mariners' practical needs. As soon as the mariner was able later in the century to begin, through unionization and legislative pressures, to provide for himself a betterment program related to improved shipboard conditions, a realistic living wage, job security, and retirement provisions, the old benevolent societies became obsolete shells of their good intentions. Nevertheless, it was the seamen's benevolent and missionary societies that took the all-important first step to awaken in the American mariner a sense of his own worth. That in itself went a long way to pave the road for the alleviation of the sorry condition of sailors at sea and ashore.

Gin mills and prostitutes were the homecoming sailors' usual welcome. After lonely months at sea, they were an easy prey for such seaport racketeers.



As the underlying motivation of these societies was evangelical, they were wont to cite as testimonials to their success the witness of many seamen whose jeopardized souls were snatched from the very jaws of purgatory through the good offices of the Christian chaplaincy. Membership and financial support came primarily from church and missionary institutions, and from the same humanitarian quarters that also peopled the temperance and abolitionist movements. From a vantage point of moral outrage and religious fervor, they proceeded vigorously to establish a vast worldwide network of residential boardinghouses (seamen's homes), libraries, reading rooms, restaurants, savings banks, missionary chapels, and facilities for spiritual counseling, more than a little effective in preventing many sailors from falling into evil and socially destructive ways.

The American Seamen's Friend Society admits readily that the founders received their inspiration through the success of several local organizations already under way in American seaports and similar projects conducted on a national scale in the United Kingdom. Among these they cite in particular the influence of *The Mariner's Magazine*, a publication devoted to the welfare and betterment of British seamen. As was true also with the establishment of the local and Federal life-saving services, the British precedent paved the way for the American institutions which followed soon after. By the time the A.S.F.S. was founded (1828), British seamen's benevolent societies had already achieved national recognition, and local institutions were already operative in the American ports of Boston (1812), Charleston (1819), Philadelphia (1819), Savannah (1821), Portland (1823), New Orleans (1823), New Bedford (1825) and Baltimore (1826).

Initial steps toward the organization of what was to become the first national seamen's welfare society were taken in 1825, through the interest of a number of New York clergymen and philanthropists. At an organizational meeting on 25th October, a society was founded, with the Honorable Smith Thompson (a former Navy secretary and Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court) named as chairman, and John R. Hurd as secretary. While a constitution was drawn and adopted by 11th January 1826, the group failed to achieve public support sufficient to activate its plans until about two years later. In May of 1828, the Society was officially established,[2] with its purposes outlined in its Constitution (from which the following is excerpted):

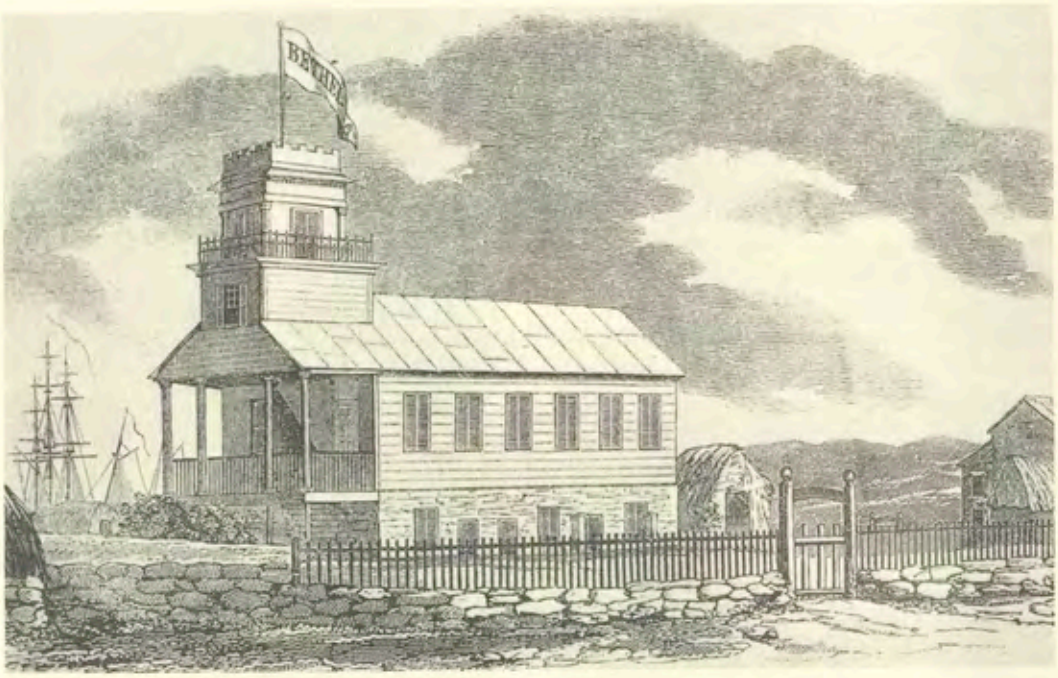
> The object of the Society shall be to improve the social and moral conditions of seamen by efforts of the wise and good in their behalf; by promoting in every port, boarding houses of good character, Savings Banks, Register Offices, Reading Rooms, and Schools; and also the ministrations of the Gospel, and other religious blessings.

Under the auspices of this new national organization were subsumed the functions of many of the heretofore independent local groups. With their combined resources, not only were facilities provided locally in which American and British seamen "were given a friendly and home-like welcome," together with meals and lodging at very modest prices —but also an international network of missions, libraries and port services was established which helped to make foreign seaports more accommodating to English-speaking sailors. The Society conducted its operations (often in cooperation with one or several British organizations) in 28 ports in North America, nine in Central and South America, twenty-five in Europe, nine in Asia, and nine "on islands on the high seas." Missions were set up in such diverse locations as Canton/Wampoa in China (1830); Honolulu (1833); Kronstadt, Russia (1836); and Gothenburg, Sweden (1840–1; 1860). Out of the Hawaiian mission grew the Oahu Bethel Church (1836), under the auspices of which was published for many years a sailors'-companion periodical entitled *The Friend*, which became particularly popular among Yankee whalemen in the Pacific fishery.

A distinctive feature of these foreign missions was that each Chaplain or Superintendent spoke the English language, and sought to provide his guests with a homelike, Christain-hearth atmosphere that encouraged camaraderie and clean living. Both in America and abroad, rooms were provided for nominal fees (only 25¢-50¢ per night even in 1928!) and meals at equally reasonable rates. In each home a library and reading room were available for the use of seamen, whether or not they were registered at the residence; news of ship berths and sailings were posted; and religious (nondenominational Protestant) counseling was provided and encouraged. The shortcomings were, apparently, lack of excitement or even of recreational facilities at this time, overabundance of moralistic literature and evangelistic proselytizing, and a wonderfully unrealistic appraisal of seamen's probable needs and concerns.

By 1834, forty-two auxiliary societies had been founded by or absorbed into the national organization, most of them making an annual contribution to the Society chest, and each of them providing a valuable and much-needed service to at least a portion of the mariner population. Perhaps one of the most significant contributions the chaplains made to the general welfare of seamen was the social education they provided; in counseling their clients against the evils of the harbor, the missionaries no doubt explained much about shoreside life that was eventually to influence the unionization and sailors' rights movements later in the century. The inter-

[2]The persons named as officers of the Society in 1828 were the Hon. Smith Thompson, President; Rev. Charles P. M'Ilvaine, Secretary; Philip Flagler, Recording Secretary; Silas Holmes, Treasurer; Rev. Joshua Leavitt, Agent (later Exec. Sec'y.).



The Seamen's Chapel in Honolulu was one of the first set up by the American Seamen's Friend Society, its clients being chiefly long-voyaging whalemen.

mediary of the A.S.F.S. and its sister institutions was probably the first signficant step in what was to become the sailors' self-education and self-betterment.

In New York, center of the Society's activities throughout its history, a Sailors' Home was planned in 1830. But because of insufficient funding and various other difficulties, it was not built until more than ten years later. Meanwhile, a home was opened in a leased building at 140 Cherry Street in 1837, and by 1840 the Society was operating three separate establishments, "one of these exclusively for negroes." In 1841, the cornerstone was laid for the first sailors' home in the United States to be run by a welfare society. The six-story building at 190 Cherry Street opened its doors in 1842, offering 130 rooms for about 300 seamen. This facility was in continuous operation until 1903, when the City of New York appropriated the land for use in anchoring the Manhattan Bridge (to Brooklyn). There also appears to have been similar facilities in New York operated by affiliated societies, in addition to those funded through the Y.M.C.A. and other benevolent organizations.

After the Cherry Street building was lost in 1903, the Society opened up the so-called Sailors' Home and Institute in 1908, which provided not only the usual residence, restaurant, library and chapel facilities, but also three recreation rooms, a swimming pool, concert hall, and separate quarters for officers and engineers, cooks and stewards, and sailors and firemen, all of which the Society claims was "much appreciated" by the men. This facility continued as such until 1931 when, by negotiated agreement with the Y.M.C.A. and the Seamen's Christian Association, all residential properties were turned over to the management of the New York Y.M.C.A. and a Seamen's House was opened under joint auspices.

In addition to the homes and bethels administered in the various port cities, the Society was early involved in the dispensation of literature for the sailors' use aboard ship. Libraries and reading rooms in each of their stateside boardinghouses led to the Society's announcement in 1828 that it intended to furnish books for placement in foreign ports visited by American seamen. By 1839, libraries were also being provided for vessels sailing out of New York. After Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840) had popularized the cause of seamen's welfare, increasing interest in and monetary contributions to the Society, libraries were instituted on a similar basis for vessels sailing from Boston and New Orleans.

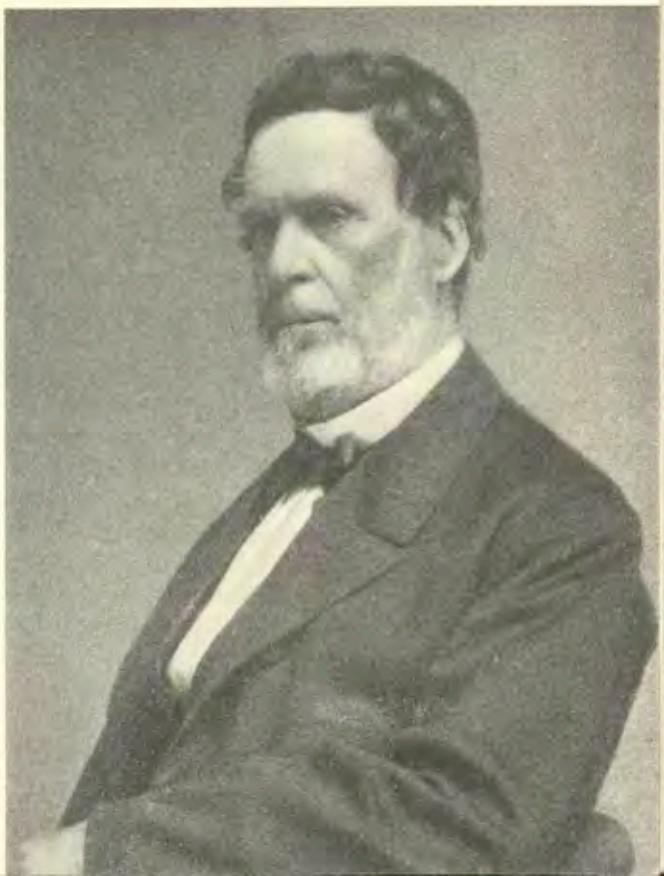
The literature provided was often religious in character, as was the Society itself. Much of it probably had little appeal among seamen. But popular poetry, good fiction, exploration narratives, technical and scientific tracts, and other current fare were also included and, no doubt, appreciated. An ancillary activity in which the Society was engaged was the presentation of a good-quality Bible to graduating midshipman from the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis after 1870.

Principal among the Society's publications was a periodical intended to bring to the sailor both the news and moral guidance appropriate to his circumstances. Founded as *The Sailor's Magazine and Naval Journal* in 1828, it originally included material intended for Navy foremast hands. In 1837, the name was changed to merely *The Sailors' Magazine*, as the content had become specialized to appeal to the merchant trades; and, again, in 1858 to *The Sailors' Magazine and Seamen's Friend*, under which title it persisted up to the second World War.[3] A column entitled "The Cabin Boy's Locker" (1828-ca. 1880) was intended to carry the magazine's persuasive moralism to young boys at sea, and another, entitled "The Children's Page," instituted in 1914, was designed to captivate the young reader ashore.

The Oahu Bethel Church, which had grown out of the Honolulu mission, was responsible for the publication of yet another periodical, the emphasis of which was directed toward English-speaking seamen in the Pacific trades. Entitled *The Friend*, it was originated and edited by the Rev. Samuel C. Damon of the Oahu Bethel under the auspices of the A.S.F.S., claiming a circulation of about 2,000 copies per issue. (Several of the issues are preserved in the permanent collection of the G. W. Blunt White Library at Mystic Seaport; others are included among the materials on loan from the A.S.F.S.)

Another A.S.F.S. publication was intended for distribution among America's Sunday schools, *The Life Boat*, founded in 1858, per-

The stern visage of Joshua Leavitt, an early officer of the Society, reflects its upright character and determination to improve not only the sailor's lot but also his soul.



[3] The first editor of *The Sailors' Magazine* was the Society's co-founder and Executive Secretary, Rev. Joshua Leavitt, who was *ex-officio* director of all A.S.F.S. publications.

sisted until 1914, after which the "Children's Page" of *The Sailors' Magazine and Seamen's Friend* continued the Society's efforts to reach young readers.

In addition to the periodicals, the Society published three religious books of significance. *The Seamen's Devotional Assistant and Mariners' Hymns* (1830), edited by Rev. Joshua Leavitt, was a revised and enlarged version of an earlier work designed to furnish the hymns and liturgical text for shipboard worship. *The Seamen's Manual of Worship* (1887) and the revised *Seamen's Manual of Worship* (1927) completed the Society's shelf of devotional texts intended for use in individual meditation, shipboard religious services and burials at sea, and hymn-singing for purposes of morale-building and spiritual well-being.

As the level of education, social sophistication and cultural awareness among American mariners increased, elevating them from their former hapless condition, the Church, the Seamen's Friends Society, the Seamen's Church Institute, the Salvation Army Sailors' Homes, the mariners' Y.M.C.A., and numerous other benevolent institutions were gradually supplanted by the more secular organizations operated by the seamen themselves, the maritime unions, or government agencies. Meanwhile, with increasing literacy and self-sufficiency among seamen on the one hand, and protective legislation on the other, the social need for such benevolent institutions had been eroded—largely through the unflagging efforts of the benevolent societies themselves. Since 1919 the Federal government has published a guidebook for the merchant seaman ashore, listing the hotels, boarding-houses, banks, union offices, medical clinics, etc. (including those run by the private benevolent organizations), for virtually every seaport in the world frequented by American seamen. With the advent in 1942 of the United Seamen's Service, which combined the several functions of many independent societies in the United States, most of the remaining private facilities were displaced.

Yet the memories and the traditions linger. Perhaps the greatest contribution of the seamen's benevolent societies was, with Dana and Melville, to set indelibly in the public mind an awareness of the cruelty and brutality to which American mariners were commonly subjected, to articulate the extent of their deprivation, and to encourage the seamen themselves to take affirmative action in their own behalf. The proudest heritage of the American Seamen's Friend Society is to have assisted in bringing a sense of decency to the waterfront.

A more complete treatment of the history of the A.S.F.S. may be found in Dr. George Sidney Webster's The Seamen's Friend, *published by the Society in 1932. Stan Hugill's* Sailortown *(London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; New York: E. P. Dutton; 1967) is a wonderfully salty account of the harborfront districts of seaports all over the world, and the crimping and shanghaiing of seamen in particular. Richard H. Dillon's* Shanghaiing Days *(New York: Coward-McCann, 1961) carries many of the same themes into the twentieth century, with emphasis upon the American scene and the West Coast ports in particular. There are several biographical accounts of Father Taylor, the great waterfront missionary who influenced both Dana's and Melville's work. Melville's* Typee, *a fictionalized account of life among the South Pacific islanders, and* Omoo *(a sequel) contain many interesting vignettes about missionary activities in the Pacific region. His* Redburn, *concerning life in the North Atlantic Packet trades, and* White-Jacket, *about life in a Yankee man-of-war, are brimming over with insightful descriptions of shipboard conditions, shorefront and harbor activities, and "the seamen's plight."*

ADDENDUM: ANNUAL REPORT 1976

Through a regrettable mailing delay, the following Report from the Director was not received in time for the April 1977 Log *containing the Annual Report.*—ED.

In my lifetime I have been called upon to perform a number of tasks—but never did I dream I would be asked to write a short Annual Report. This may come as a welcome respite to those indomitable souls who feel compelled to read such reports, but it does lay a heavy burden on the museum director, who may not have a monopoly on verbosity, but nonetheless does a brisk trade in it.

I regret that this mini-report must exclude many museum activities in 1976, and credit for notable service to Mystic Seaport rendered by dedicated staff, Trustees, and members.

All things considered, Mystic Seaport enjoyed a successful Bicentennial year. Despite the closing of the museum for three days in August in deference to Hurricane Belle, and much inclement weather during the fall, 577,978 visitors came to the museum and membership rose to 15,082—new records, but no cause for rejoicing during these uncertain times.

During the year much staff expertise and time went into improving our visitors service program to provide a more meaningful experience for our visitors. Assisted by funds from the National Endowment for the Humanities, utilizing the Computer Center at Yale University, a Visitor Survey was undertaken in the spring. Quite possibly the most thorough survey of its kind ever undertaken by a museum, this survey will continue into 1977. At its conclusion, we will have a storehouse of information about our visitors which will be helpful in our future planning. The program for training Interpreters, instituted by the Education Department in 1975, gathered momentum in 1976; visitor reaction has proven the effectiveness of this project. Parking lots were improved, unified signage installed, gate and ticketing procedures, gate-lane orientation, and new visitors maps studied, with plans initiated for implementation in 1977.

The Education Department reports that over 1,000 youngsters participated in the Mariners Program in 1976. In January, 24 undergraduates from Colby and Skidmore participated in our Winter Term Program; 23 students took part in the Munson Institute's Graduate Seminars held in the summer.

With considerable pride, I announced at the Annual Meeting the formation of the Williams College–Mystic Seaport Program in American Martime Studies. Accredited by Williams College and operated by the Munson Institute, this new undergraduate program combines the endorsement of a leading liberal arts college and an internationally recognized maritime museum to provide a unique opportunity for college students to study man's relationship to the sea and the impact of the sea on our historical, cultural, scientific, political, and economic life. Colleges participating in the program include 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 that permits students to spend a semester or two at one of the other colleges, and the Williams–Mystic Program will provide a rare opportunity for study at Mystic Seaport. Another innovative and significant step in the history of this exceptional museum!

In celebration of the Bicentennial, special events were held during the year. In May the Seaport was the site of a nationwide telecast of the Today Show. In June our shipyard made a special contribution to Operation Sail

by turning out and installing a new main topmast for the *Gazela Primeiro*, to replace the one lost in the spectacular collision off Bermuda. Working around the clock, the shipyard performed a miracle and enabled *Gazela* to participate in the Tall Ships celebration in New York on July 4th. On the July 4th weekend the grounds echoed with patriotic oratory, bands, musketry, and the firing of field pieces. The *General Lafayette* was launched on numerous occasions, the waterfront was alive all summer with huffing and puffing oarsmen in little boats of myriad description, and the Seaport hosted the first Antique and Classic Boat Rendezvous.

Amidst the celebratory bustle, the shipyard carried on in customary fashion. Work on the *Morgan* and countless small craft continued, but emphasis was placed on major restoration of the *L. A. Dunton*. By year's end she was re-launched and partially rigged, and she will be back at her permanent berth next spring. The Thames Keel Building and exhbit was completed, the first stage of a major restoration of *Sabino* was concluded, and a new wood storage shed was built.

After three years of preparation and construction, the final phases of the exhibit of the *Benjamin F. Packard* cabin were completed in the summer. During the year, the R. J. Schaefer Building held three exhibits—an exhibition of recent museum acquisitions, a Bicentennial exhibition of the paintings of two British artists, Admiral Sir Charles Madden and John Stobart, and the work of Charles J. Lundgren and Mel Crawford. Our special Bicentennial exhibition, "The Challenge of Independence, 1776–1815," opened in the Stillman Building in May and continued through September.

In 1975 I reported a grant of $36,000 from the National Endowment for the Humanities to enable us to plan and develop a new permanent exhibit, "New England and the Sea." In June 1976 the NEH gave us a second grant of $146,000 to enable us to proceed and complete this exhibit, which will be installed in the Stillman Building late in 1977. In the fall we were awarded a matching grant of $9,000 from the National Endowment for the Arts, to enable us to publish our Catalogue of Small Craft compiled by Ann and Maynard Bray. Members responded generously to our Year End Appeal, which actually closed 30 April 1977, giving $100,907.77, and other gifts during the year unrelated to YEA amounting to $504,265.53 were received during the period 1 January 1976 to 30 April 1977. To conform to Mystic Seaport's new fiscal year of 1 May to 30 April, the new "giving year" will begin and end on those dates.

These gifts from devoted friends of the museum reflect the heart and soul of Mystic Seaport and enabled us to remain strong and viable in 1976. I acknowledge our gratitude to all who stood by us last year; without your help we would have gone aground.

In giving credit to all who this year, and over the years, have given so generously to Mystic Seaport, I feel it my duty to issue a Call to Arms. Our cultural heritage in America is in jeopardy, and Mystic Seaport—along with all eleemosynary institutions—is on the latest list of Endangered Species. The velocity of history has reached such a pace that in the face of incredible change in the world's life styles, countless traditions long held dear are being demolished. Under attack from countless quarters, private philanthropy, struggling to remain in existence, can no longer meet the needs of the times; likewise, the ever-increasing calls on government for support of new causes, new pressing needs at the national and international levels, render it helpless to take up the slack. Caught in a universal clamor for succor, America is staggering under new—and very real—loads; enmeshed in equally perilous economic webs, our Mystic Seaports stand to be thrown from the troika.

To meet these new challenges, we shall undertake in 1977 a self-analysis from stem to stern, with end in view to cut every vestigial piece of fat from our bones. We shall also go for the jugular—search out new sources of revenue, call more urgently on you for ad-

vice, help and support, explore every alternative we can to assure the continuation of the work we have hardly begun.

We must prove that Mystic Seaport has a mission worthy of our effort!

With your continuing faith—our members, Trustees, staff, Volunteers, and Pilots, I believe we can face the obscurity and dangers that lie ahead with confidence and resolution. We have but to heed the bugles to respond.

Waldo C. M. Johnston

Old Lyme
January 1977

BOOK REVIEWS

The Yachtsman's Navigation Manual. 1st American revised ed. By Jeff Toghill. (Clinton Corners, N. Y., John de Graff, 1977. 255 pp. Photographs, line drawings, charts and index. $12.50)

Mr. Toghill has undertaken a tremendous task—to cover "every aspect of accurate navigation that might be encountered by a yachtsman." In roughly 250 pages, he discusses (with varying success) marine equipment, piloting and dead reckoning, celestial and electronic navigation, weather, tides and currents, and planning ocean voyages. His approach is visual, employing many excellent diagrams. However, some of the numerous boat photographs could have better been replaced by their equal of a thousand words.

Written by an Australian resident, the book has a British slant which can be confusing at times for the American yachtsman. The author's labelling of course lines, lines of position and dead reckoning positions varies from the accepted United States' notation. Definitions of words such as "drift" and "DR" are different. He swings compass instead of swinging ship. Furthermore, he emphasizes converting all compass readings to true rather than magnetic direction, a necessary step for the ocean sailor but an extra burden for the coastal yachtsman who has a magnetic rose printed on his chart.

The aforementioned are not errors, just differences of approach, but there are some debatable statements, especially in the chapter on celestial navigation. All plotting for celestial sights is *not* done from the DR. It makes a difference which sight reduction method one uses. The moon is not used *only* when other means are not available; it is easier to locate and sight the moon than the stars, and the extra work in altitude correction is minimal.

Mr. Toghill's discussion of navigation equipment, charts, and piloting is quite comprehensive and full of many helpful hints from his experiences. However, when he moves into dead reckoning by use of the somewhat complicated Traverse tables, he is not, to my mind, keeping his promise of "whittling things down to essentials." In the celestial navigation section, he continues to go beyond the necessary material for the basic navigator as he discusses longitude by chronometer, the Marc St. Hilaire method and latitude by ex-meridian altitude. On the other hand, the essentials of celestial navigation are not given adequate discussion. Not one example illustrates his text, though pages from navigation tables are reproduced. Later in Appendix II he has worked examples of sight but they are meaningless to the learner without dates or coordination with the excerpts mentioned above.

The author's summary of electronic navigation equipment is rather sketchy, especially on phase methods like Loran. Omega isn't even mentioned. Detail on most of the instruments is left to the reader to find in "instructions with the set." The chapters on weather and tides give a nice overall picture of the motion of our atmosphere and ocean, containing paragraphs on winds, pressure systems, fronts, storms, clouds, the weather map, global currents and tides.

The book concludes with suggestions regarding emergency equipment, fire prevention, food planning and preparations for visiting foreign ports. It is here that buoyage is finally discussed with a slant once again on the European and British system. Lights were covered in quite good detail in an earlier chapter.

All in all, I feel that while the yachtsman who has already studied or practiced navigation could use this manual as a valuable review and gap filler, the beginner who wants to find a book "from which navigation can be learned" would benefit little from *The Yachtsman's Navigation Manual*. There are too many other books that give special, practical treatment to the individual subjects and that can provide the beginner with more examples and self-experience.

Susan Howell

A Wind to Shake the World: The Story of the 1938 Hurricane. By Everett Allen. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976. xii + 370 pp. Illustrations. $10.00)

Three years before hurricanes began to be named for the weaker sex came a belle so ferocious that today merely the date of her debut raises eyebrows all along the New England coast. Christened the "Long Island Express" because of its acceleration over New York and Connecticut, the hurricane of 1938 broke all previous records for property damage with an estimated third of a billion dollars. September 21, 1938 is still a date of infamy today. For some it recalls personal anguish while for others it is history, the end of an era, indeed the end of much of the New England previously known.

Everett Allen's exciting narrative is the definitive work on a storm that totally transformed the New England coastline. Exhaustive research from the newspapers of New York, New London, Providence and New Bedford provide the journalistic framework. The character of the book, however, is clearly established in the interviews with the victims. Poignant and sometimes brutal, this is oral history at its most compelling. Here in the twentieth century students of New England history will find the traditional Yankee spirit unchanged. Too often that spirit and courage are nostalgically attributed to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but found lacking in our own time. In fact, while eastern seaboard buildings lauded for architectural beauty and historic prominence crumbled under the attack of the '38 storm, the character of the New England populace well exemplified the reputation established by its ancestry.

In Long Island, Connecticut and Rhode Island elaborate edifices, the remaining vestiges of the Gilded Age, were swept off never to be replaced. Mr. Allen bids farewell to the ornate gardens of Watch Hill and Newport, noting the end of a horticultural age. But if '38 is known for nothing else it should be for the blatant irony of death. Many of those fully expecting to survive did not, while those who faced seemingly insurmountable odds often managed to swim or float their way to safety. Familiar myths were methodically smashed as the Atlantic, the trusted playground of the rich, reared its ugly head. Gone was the previously known security of hearth and home as whole houses became sealed death traps, ripped from their foundations by winds clocked up to one hundred and twenty miles per hour.

The lesson of 1938 is in black and white now. In preparation for any kind of real blow, we board or tape our windows and check the flashlight and candle supply. Trivial precautions when one considers the brute force of the '38 storm. Electronically, we are assured advance warning of an impending disaster. Geographically, however, we still choose to be distressingly vulnerable. Much of the area devastated in 1938 has been built up again. The real estate race for the "waterview" has once again produced beachside construction which is easy prey for any hurricane. There can, of course, be no assurance that a storm of 1938 proportion will not sweep the New England coastline in 1977. Hopefully the outcome would reflect close to forty years of progress, not the repetition of history.

Lalie Keeshan

The Classic Boat. By the editors of Time-Life Books, with an introduction by John Gardner. (Alexandria, Va.: Time-Life Books, 1976. 176 pp., numerous illustrations, glossary, index. $10.95)

This is not a book for boat buffs alone; it is a book for dreamers, for art lovers, for people who like to sit on a rock and watch sea gulls soaring overhead. It is probably one of the most beautiful books on oldtime sailing, rowing and power craft ever published anywhere.

The first thing to knock your eye out is a two-page color picture, unfortunately uncaptioned, of what looks like a Chesapeake Bay skipjack

scudding downwind, mainsail and jib full out and bellied with wind, coming straight at the camera. Turn the page and you come to John Gardner's explanation of why the classic boat is having a great popular revival: "In a way, it is part of the trend back to simpler, saner, more natural ways of living." And from there on, it's a Nantucket sleighride past innumerable pictures, both in dazzling color and functional black-and-white; explanatory sketches of everything from drift bolts to deck-framing systems; sail rigs, with the whys and wherefores and how to use them; the full story, in text and pictures, of how one Maine man lovingly rebuilt a Friendship sloop launched as a work boat in 1904 and which is now again sailing on her native seas. It is a mind-boggler of a book.

For anyone who wants to get into the work and joy of restoring a classic boat, this is an excellent introduction. It is not a manual on how to do it, but a useful survey of what you'll be getting into—and a motive for sticking with it despite discouragement once you get started. It's a conciliatory book too: powerboats get their full due in these pages, and even the most prejudiced sailor will admit the glowing beauty of the mahogany-hulled Chris-Craft shown on pages 116 and 117, as compared to the heart-stopping combination of functional, honest lines, surging, wind-filled sails, and shining paint and trim which boat-builder Jarvis Newman achieved with his Friendship sloop in Maine. Both are children of the sea, born to it, designed for different roles in it, and exquisitely functional for what those roles were to be.

There'll never be another world like the one for which these classic boats were built; and perhaps that's just as well, because there were some things far less pretty that existed in those times. What is wonderful about today is being able to look backward and admire the honesty of design, the thoroughness of craftsmanship and materials, and the pride of product that made these vessels what they were. And those are qualities which can be cherished in any age.

Percy Knauth

BOOK ANNOTATIONS

American Naval Prints. Introduction by Roger B. Stein. (Washington: International Exhibitions Foundation, 1976. 121 pp. Ill. $7.00 paper)

An exhibit catalogue of 65 prints selected from the Beverly R. Robinson Collection of the U.S. Naval Academy Museum. The material is arranged chronologically, starting with Louisbourg in 1745 and continuing through the bombardment of Fort Fisher in 1865. Very nicely printed and well worth the price.

Dinghy Building. Second Edition. By Richard Creagh-Osborne. (Clinton Corners, New York: John DeGraff, Inc., 1977. 240 pp. Illustrations, appendices and index. $15.00)

One should hope that the contemplation of small boat building would commence with appropriate research. This "how to" book of 13 chapters and 12 appendices is a good departure point, which may take the committed all the way.

Great Voyages in Small Boats: Solo Circumnavigation. (Clinton Corners: New York: John DeGraff, Inc., 1976. 516 pp. Illustrations. $15.00)

A reprint of three classic stories under one cover. These are *Trekka Round The World*, by John Guzzwell; *Alone Through the Roaring Forties*, by Vito Dumas; and *Sailing Around The World*, by Joshua Slocum. One should consider this a must.

The Last Cruise of the Oliver Cromwell, 1779. By Louis F. Middlebrook. (Essex: Essex Historical Society, Inc., 1975. 16 pp. Illustrations, afterword and notes. $1.50)

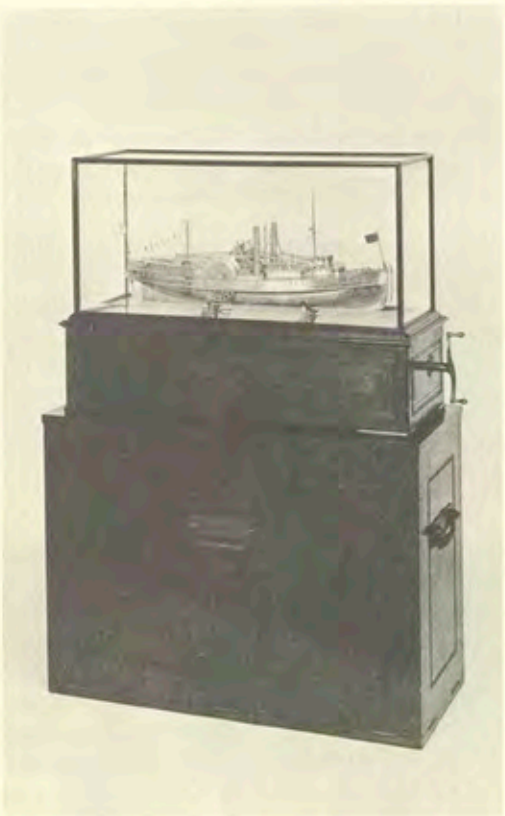
This reprint takes us back to 1931 and the early days of Mystic Seaport's viable monograph publishing program. Welcome back!

Living Aboard; The Cruising Sailboat as a Home. By Jan and Bill Moeller. (Camden: International Marine Publishing Co., 1977. viii + 304 pp. Illustrations and index. $12.50)

This guide is a result of six years of cumulative experience. Anyone who is a devotee of cruising for even brief periods of time will profit from having this volume close at hand.

Self-Contained Celestial Navigation with H.O. 208. By John S. Letcher, Jr. (Camden: International Marine Publishing Company, 1977. x + 229 pp. Illustrations, appendices and index. $12.50)

It really makes little difference if you describe this volume as a how-to, workbook or text. The main point is, it gets the job done for offshore cruising. In particular, the corrected H.O. 208 tables are worth the price.



ACQUISITIONS

Mystic Seaport has been given by Harry G. Nye an unusual music box model of the Long Island Sound steamer *City of New York* (76.11). The 24" long model is made of silver with gold trim and decoration. When the music box beneath is played, the walking beams and paddle wheel on the model are set in motion. John Dean Benton who built this model began his career as a jeweler and worked in Providence, Wilmington and Philadelphia. Between 1860 and 1870 he built thirteen silver and gold models, including one of a locomotive and one of the *Charles W. Morgan*. The *City of New York* probably dates from this period. This spectacular model has been cleaned and restored and will be on display at the Seaport in the "New England and the Sea" exhibit which is due to open this fall.

LETTERS

In the January issue of the *Log*, we published a photograph of a Banks fishing schooner being towed by her dories "out to the wind," asking readers to identify, if possible, the locale of the picture. In the April *Log* we were able to publish the answer: St. John's, Newfoundland. Now, going one step further, we have the name of the photographer, supplied by the writer of this letter:

"The picture you ran must have been made by... the late Ern Maunder—who was not only a fine men's tailor but a first rate photographer who carried his big Graflex wherever he went—but he was also a model maker of great skill. Some of his models of the old time Newfoundland sealing fleet—such as the *Terra Nova*—the ship that Scott used in his Antarctic exploration—were just marvelous. Examples of his work can be enjoyed in the Museum in St. John's, I believe.

How Ern would appreciate the kind of collection you have gathered at Mystic.

Sincerely,
George C. Whiteley
West Chester, PA"

PHOTO CREDITS: Cover: Painting by Thos. Peterson, courtesy The Savings Bank of New London; pp. 35 through 40: Courtesy Mystic Seaport, Andrew German Collection; p. 42: Courtesy Peabody Museum of Salem; pp. 46–47: Painting by G. Ropes, Jr., courtesy Peabody Museum of Salem; p. 49: Watercolors by John Leavitt, courtesy Peabody Museum of Salem; p. 53: C. F. Adams, from "Richard Henry Dana"; p. 54: Engraving from "Tales of the Ocean" by Hawser Martingale; p. 56: Courtesy American Seamen's Friend Society; p. 57: by George Sydney Webster, courtesy American Seamen's Friend Society; p. 64: Courtesy Henry K. Cordier; Inside back cover: Mystic Seaport photograph by Mary Anne Stets; Back cover: Mystic Seaport photograph by Claire L. White.



A warm midsummer sun beats down on a corner of the Seaport where the Greenman Brothers shipyard once stood.



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