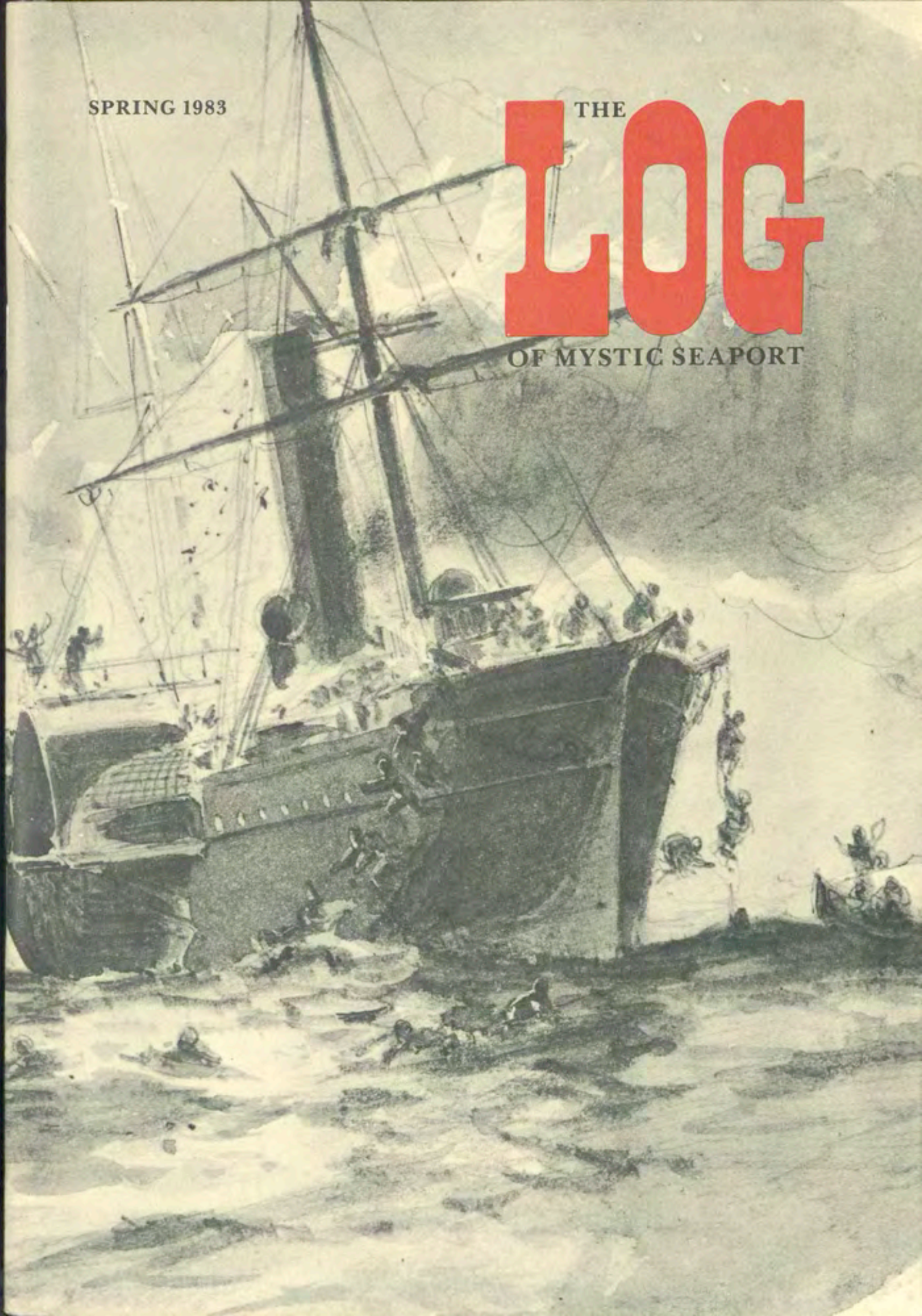
SPRING 1983

THE LOG OF MYSTIC SEAPORT



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COVER: *Disaster at sea: a steamship afire. Detail of a watercolor sketch by Frederic S. Cozzens, 1879. Works by Cozzens will be featured in the R. J. Schaefer Building, 15 May-10 October 1983. (49.2779)*

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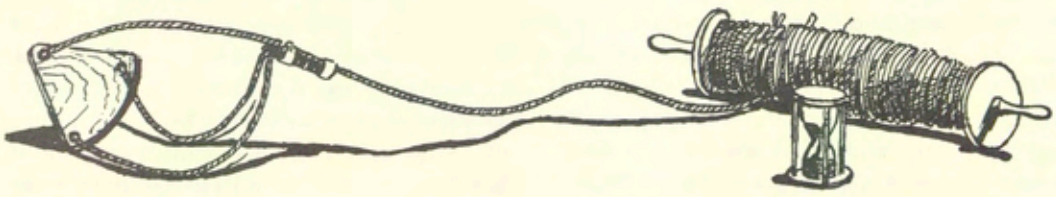
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SIGHTINGS



One of the inevitable tendencies in the maritime museum field is to focus in ever increasing detail on the activities in your special area of interest. Here at Mystic Seaport Museum our attention is most often drawn to the New England maritime story in the nineteenth century, which is the era we seek to interpret through our ships and historic buildings in the village area of the Seaport.

We are aware that there were other things going on in the world during that time, and even maritime activities 3,000 miles away from New England on the West Coast. In order to give ourselves both the scope and the motivation to cover these topics, our Statement of Purpose contains the following passage, "The museum's formal exhibits, educational programs, library, research facilities, and publications convey broader aspects (than nineteenth century New England) of American maritime studies." This year's prize-winning article, which appears in this issue of *The Log*, has given us the perfect opportunity to fulfill this objective by publishing an article involving San Francisco's maritime past. We are also pleased to be able to publish the work of an energetic maritime researcher who is a professional historian with the United States Government.

The author of the prize article, James P. Delgado, has worked in this field for more than a decade, and during the last five years has been with the National Park Service. During this time he has been involved in a number of maritime related projects and is currently on the staff of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area. This National Park Service project now includes what was for many years the San Francisco Maritime Museum.

The competition for the prize was strong this year, with seventeen entries, each adhering to the demanding criteria and guidelines for the program. Eleven states were represented in the submissions and the quality of the papers was very encouraging in that it gave evidence that competent maritime research was being conducted throughout this country.

As an extension of their role in support of the G. W. Blunt White Library, the Fellows of the Library have assumed sponsorship of this annual contest. Their involvement extends beyond simply providing the cash prize, since it includes active participation as judges. The committee this year consisted of three Library Fellows and two members of the *Log* Editorial Board and creates another area of close cooperation and involvement between museum members and staff. The continuation of this project and this sponsorship arrangement should provide a stimulus for maritime scholarship and good reading for Seaport members in the future.

We hope you enjoy this year's award-winning article "Murder Most Foul: San Francisco reacts to the loss of the S. S. *Central America*."

J. Revell Carr

Murder Most Foul

San Francisco Reacts to the Loss of the S. S. *Central America*

JAMES P. DELGADO

On a wild September night, somewhere off the North Carolina coast near Cape Hatteras, the "Graveyard of the Atlantic," the United States Mail steamship *Central America* died. With her went some four hundred and twenty-three souls, as the battered wooden-hulled sidewheeler, her fires dead, her engines stilled, and her seams opened to the seas, suddenly gave a lurch and rapidly sank by the stern. In her final plunge the *Central America* carried, in addition to her human freight, some $1,230,000 in gold, assorted baggage, mails, and the dreams and ambitions of her drowned complement. The disaster – the worst faced by the country since the foundering of the Collins liner *Arctic* three years previously – aroused a national cry of anguish and anger. East Coast newspapers and politicians initially damned and vilified the ship, her dead master, William L. Herndon, the crew, and the owners of the ill-fated steamer. As a storm of proportions equal to the hurricane that sank the *Central America* raged in prose and print in the East, an equal if not more violent protest arose on the West Coast in San Francisco, where most of the *Central America*'s lost passengers had lived.[1]

The loss of the *Central America* on 12 September 1857 had wide-reaching implications and repercussions. While the disaster added to the nation's determination to make ocean travel safe, it also presaged the end of one of America's most traveled steamship routes. Within twelve years, the movement to build a transcontinental railroad in the United States – which was bolstered by the *Central America*'s loss and other steamship disasters on the route – achieved fruition. The completion of the railroad in 1869 brought an end to the heyday of the Panama Route, which between 1848 and 1869 saw some 596,331 people, tons of mail, cargo, baggage, and $710,753,857.62 in gold shipped "via the Isthmus."[2] Transiting the continent by passing over the narrow Isthmus of Panama was an old and time-honored tradition dating to the sixteenth century when Panama had served as a major link in Spanish trade between the Indies and the Old World. The Panama Route faltered during the decline of Spain's American empire but began to revive in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1840, the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, chartered in England by Yankee-born South American businessman William Wheelwright, began to operate between Panama and various South American ports.[3] In 1846, the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company connected Great Britain with the Caribbean shore of Panama, completely reopening the route. American entrepreneurs and politicians followed the British lead in 1847. That year Congress, eager to open a line of communication between the Eastern Seaboard and the recently conquered American Pacific coast provinces subsidized the creation of the Pacific Mail and the United States Mail Steamship Companies to operate on the Panama Route.[4]

At first a seemingly limited proposition, the Panama Route proved successful to the

two steamship companies when gold was discovered in California on 24 January 1848. A world-wide mass migration resulted with thousands of eager gold seekers making their way to California by whatever means possible. In the earliest days of the gold rush sailing ships generally provided the needed transport, but by late 1849 the Pacific Mail steamers on the Pacific and the United States Mail steamers on the Atlantic carried the bulk of passengers, mail, cargo, and treasure between the two coasts. As the popularity of the Panama Route grew, additional steamers were added to the fleets of the two companies, so at the apex of gold rush traffic in 1853 some thirty steamships had operated or were operating for the two companies and their various competitors. From a seemingly "poor start," by the 1850s the revived Panama Route had become a major link in the world's shipping lanes and proved to be the life-line between the rapidly developing Pacific coast regions and the remainder of the United States.

The *Central America* was one of many steamers built to keep up with the increasing demands of the Panama Route. Laid down by William H. Webb in his New York shipyard on 25 March 1852 and launched in October of the same year, the ship, then named *George Law* (for one of the original incorporators of the United States Mail Steamship Company) was 279 feet long, 39 feet, 4 inches wide, had a registered tonnage of 2141-5/95, three masts, a single funnel, a sharp stem and a rounded stern. The design of the *George Law* reflected the demands of the Panama Route with her large passenger capacity, open decks, and two efficient inclined engines.[5] Accommodations were available for 546 persons, though at times the numbers far exceeded that figure. The *George Law* first sailed on 20 October 1853 from New York to Aspinwall, Panama (now known as Colon, the Caribbean entrance to the Panama Canal) henceforth keeping to a bi-monthly sailing schedule. Her career was uneventful with little or no variation save an occasional storm, deaths from diseases contracted in the icy snows of the Sierra or the steamy Isthmian jungles, and the presence of nota-

The U.S. Mail Steamship Company side-wheeler *George Law* was built in 1852 and renamed *Central America* in July 1857. Oil, artist unknown. (Courtesy of the Mariners Museum of Newport News, Virginia)



ble or famous passengers. Various accounts of her voyages can be found in the diaries, letters, and published reminiscences of her passengers; most comment upon the parsimonious habits of the ship's owners. Passengers on the *George Law* and other U.S. Mail steamers were often served cold, unappetizing food, were given hard, lumpy beds, and were treated with uncivil if not rude service by the crews. This was in direct opposition to service on the Pacific side, where passengers were served hot, diverse meals, were given fresh linen, and were treated with generally good-natured service. The differences did not go unnoticed and were often criticized. *George Law* passenger George Lozier Combes noted in his diary that the first day's meal was "salt pork fat with not even a streak of lean. As you know I don't trouble at all . . . cold junk beef, hard biscuit and soup made out of I cannot tell what." Breakfast the next morning was equally unappetizing: "coffee which tastes like bone sett-tea, cold salt pork and slush made out of hard biscuit, salt pork and cold ham fried in grease . . . no matter, I will work my way through and rough it with the rest."[6]

It comes as no surprise to learn of troubles between passengers and crew members. On the same voyage Combes recorded a quarrel over stowed baggage: "one Dutchman drew a knife on one of the sailors but his chances would have been small had he used it." The same year, but several voyages prior to that on which Combes sailed, a passenger on the *George Law* related a bleak account of life on the ship:

Bang, jam, blow, freeze, cold and comfortless embarkation on the *George Law* on the 5th of September, 1855; thermometer at 24 deg.; vessel under way at 2 P.M.; passengers freezing, huddled in the cabins looking for stoves but finding none. A slight pipe containing steam ejected from the boilers, runs underneath the tables, and half warms the feet of a few. Two o'clock passes, three, four, and cold and hungry scores of repentant humanity, innocent of food since an early breakfast, long for the dinner that is to warm and sustain their sinking frames.

Starving and freezing passenger—Waiter, what is the dinner hour?

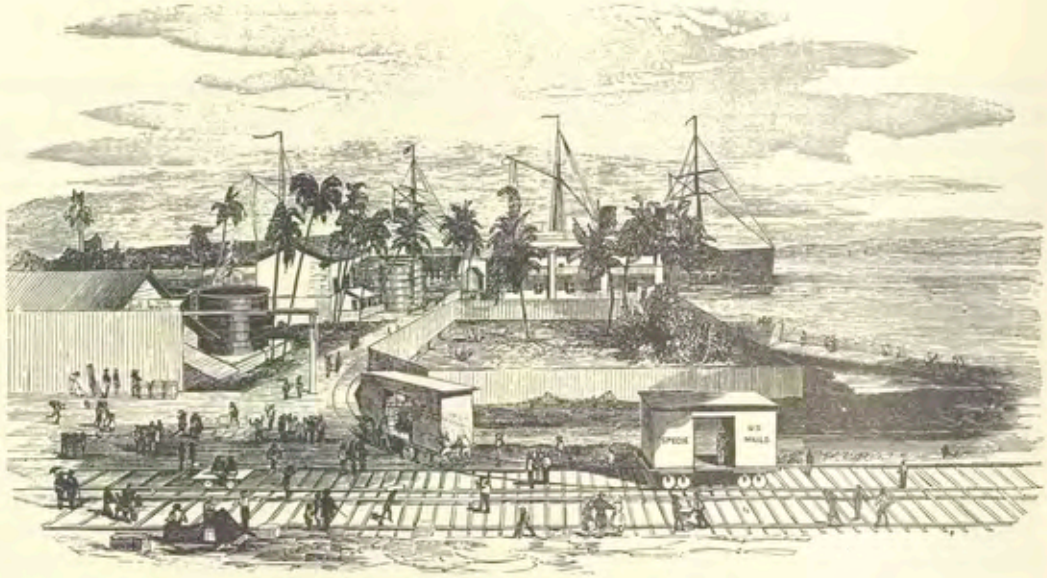
Rough jacketed and hurrying waiter (scornfully)—We don't give no dinner, sir; only gives tea at 6 o'clock today.

Starving and freezing passenger—Bring me a bottle of porter ale, and some crackers and cheese—anything eatable and warming.

Waiter—Store room ain't open, sir. Not allowed to get any stores until regular meal, sir.[7]

The indifferent attitude of the owners of the U.S. Mail Steamship Company, as evinced by the poor service on board their ships, fostered a poor reputation for the firm. It was a reputation that would stand them in bad stead when the *Central America* was lost.

News of the disaster reached New York and most of the Eastern Seaboard soon after the *Central America* foundered. On 18 September, just six days after the wreck, the *New York Times* reported the *Central America* lost after being severely mauled in a storm that had damaged or sunk other ships. On 21 September, the first survivors from the ship landed in New York, and their tales of the last hours of the *Central America*, and their accusations of certain crew members' cowardice and neglect of duty and of the unseaworthy condition of the ship created a sensation. While the shock waves spread throughout the East, the news finally reached San Francisco. On 22 September readers of the major San Francisco dailies opened their newspapers to learn of the "TOTAL SHIPWRECK OF THE MAIL STEAMSHIP GEORGE LAW!"[8] The *San Francisco Daily Alta California* told its horrified readers of the loss of "Four Hundred . . . Californians," and "$1,500,000 in treasure." Reports condemning alleged acts of cowardice on the part of crew members were also published, and the loss of the ship was explained as an act of negligence. The crew, it was said, had let the fires die down, stopping the engines, and leaving the helpless (and rotten and unseaworthy) ship to be



The U.S. Mail Steamship Company facilities at Aspinwall (Colon) were established at the Atlantic terminus of the Panama Railroad in 1852. (*Ballou's Pictorial*, 9 June 1855)

beaten apart in heavy seas.[9] The notorious reputation of the United States Mail Steamship Company and (in the eyes of the public) the suspicious change of the ship's name led to accusations of an unseaworthy hulk having been sent out to die while her owners, cognizant of her condition, had denied the costs of refitting or repair. The fact that most of the lost passengers were well-known San Francisco residents added to the fire and by the end of the day tempers flared, fanned into an open blaze by the journalistic proddings of the press.

The news also sat heavy upon the city. The same afternoon *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* offered the consensus: "The heart sickens at the contemplation of the sad fate of at least four hundred human beings, so suddenly launched into eternity... nearly all our people will have to lament the loss of a friend, if not a relative."[10] At the same time, the press began an immediate attack on the United States Mail Steamship Company. "The crowded nature of our columns, today, will prevent comment on this unhappy event, the cause of the disaster, and the fearful responsibility which must rest upon the avaricious company who periled so many precious lives on an unseaworthy boat." Action was needed, too:

> What does this terrific sacrifice of life and treasure suggest? The necessity, on the grounds of humanity and policy, of making a direct and easily accessible land route to California. There cannot be a second word about it. The thing *must* be done. It is a national affair, and no party considerations should intervene to prevent or postpone it.

The United States Mail Steamship Company also offered a few thoughts; the *Central America* was a staunch boat, well-built, and in good condition. Recent inspections of the ship had proved this, and the loss was an "Act of God."[11]

With the preliminary shots fired on the 22nd the verbal war commenced in earnest on the 23rd. On that date, the *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* asked the rhetorical question "Who is to Blame," and offered their opinion:

> Wherever we went, at every turn, we heard the query put, "Who is responsible for the murder of four hundred of California's worthy citizens? Ay, who is responsible for their murder? For

murder it is, most foul...." We answer, unhesitatingly, the United States Mail Company...and their coadjutors, the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. To the cupidity and heartless inhumanity of these unchristian companies is to be attributed the recent disaster. What care they for the many children made fatherless, or for the wives suddenly thrown upon the cold, heartless world, and the poor and unprotected widows, by the foundering of their rickety, filthy old hulk, the *George Law*?

Those who had died so that the company "might add to their already ill-gotten gain" were "the cream of California's sons; young, manly, brave, active men of business." Thus, within one day of the arrival of the news of the loss of the *Central America*, San Francisco began an attack on the "heartless monopoly" represented by the two steamship companies. The companies, which controlled access to California, were an "Obstacle to Immigration:"

All that California needed to make her a great and prosperous state, was a population. With people enough to fill our valleys, and to develop the immense mineral resources of our state, we will be placed in a position where we will have nothing to ask, self-dependent, and self-reliant.... Heretofore we have been dependent entirely upon the steamship companies for the emigration to this state. The government has not only neglected to build a railroad, but has left our citizens unprotected in traveling across the plains.[12]

The attacks and the criticism continued unabated for over one month's time. Basic tenets were established to the satisfaction of all San Franciscans; the steamship companies were guilty of negligence and needed to be crushed either by introduction of rival firms or construction of a railroad. In addition, the shoddy condition of the *Central America* was but one example and better standards for ship inspections were needed if tragedy was to be avoided in the future.

Lurid poems, tales, statements, and even a popular song, the "Loss of the *Central America*," which when sung to the sad air of "Carry Me Back to Old Virginny" aptly captured the feelings of many San Franciscans, kept public sentiment stirred:

The "Central America," painted so fine,
Went down like a thousand of brick,
And all the old tubs that are now on the line
Will follow her, two at a lick.
'Twould be very fine were the owners aboard,
And sink where they never would rise;
'Twould any amount of amusement afford,
And cancel a million of lies.

Repeat –'Twould be very fine, &c.

These murdering villians will ne'er be forgot,
As long as America stands;
Their bones should be left in the ocean to rot,
And their souls be at Satan's commands.
They've murdered and swindled the people
for years,
And never will be satisfied;
Till death puts an end to their earthly careers,
Then may they with demons reside.

Repeat –They've murdered and swindled, &c.[13]

Unlike most shipwreck songs which extolled bravery or heroism, or evoked pathetic scenes of drowning men, women, and children, the "Loss of the *Central America*" joined in the chorus of angry and bitter denunciations of the United States Mail Steamship Company. Derived no doubt from the sentiments of the "man on the street," the unique ditty quite aptly reflected San Francisco's reaction to the foundering of the *Central America*.

A more conventional offering by San Francisco's literary community was "The Lost Four Hundred," a poem printed in the 24 October 1857 edition of the *San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin*. Rather than assuming a tone of condemnation or anger, the poem praised the bravery and self-sacrifice of the men who went down with the *Central America* so that women and children might be saved:

Ah! Stormy was the day, and wildly flew
the spray,
O'er the deck;

As the straining leaking ship, On her last fatal trip,
Sank a wreck.
Man the boats, a vessel's near! Now my hearts, be of cheer,
And our wives,
And our children let us save, From the fierce drowning wave,
For our lives!

After recounting the disaster, the poem closed with a tribute to the lost:

Toll sadly, solemn bell; Linger long thy sorrowing knell,
For the dead.
Still from shore to distant shore, Shall the tear of mourners pour,
Sadly shed.
Peace to the noble souls, O'er whom old Ocean rolls,
Ever more!
Calm as an infant's bed, lie the four hundred dead;
Gone before.

The most striking literary offering, however, was neither a song or a poem; rather it was a bizarre fictional tale published on the front page of the *Bulletin* of 27 October 1857 which told of an undersea visit to a foundered steamship. The vessel, called the *Marmion*, had been "an appalling shipwreck" which "reached the ears of thousands; but amid the crowd of accidents which followed in quick succession, it was soon forgotten. Not by our party of divers, however." Anchoring near the site of the wreck, the divers descended to the ocean floor, where they soon spotted the "*Marmion*–there she lay upright, with everything still standing! She had gone right down, and had settled in such a position, among the rocks, that she stood upright there, just as though she lay at her wharf. We rushed eagerly along and clambered up the side."

On board the *Marmion*, the narrator explored the ship's decks, holds, engine room, and finally, alone, the after cabin:

Oh, God of Heaven! Had not my hand clenched the door with a grasp which mortal terror had made convulsive, I should have fallen to the floor. I stood nailed to the spot. For there, before me, stood a crowd of people–men and women–caught in the last death struggle by the overwhelming waters, and fastened to the spot, each in the position which death had found him.... Good God! To me, to me, they are looking! They were glancing at me, all those dreadful, those terrible eyes!

To further add to the horror of the scene, a rolling swell shook the ship, propelling the corpses towards the narrator, who turned to flee only to find his exit blocked by the cabin door, which had slammed shut and was wedged tight. After struggling unsuccessfully, the narrator "returned to the cabin floor; I sat down in despair and waited for death.... This, then, was to be my end!" Escape came, though, when another swell knocked the ship to her side, swinging the cabin door open. The tale ends with the remark "I still go down, but only to vessels whose crews have been saved. It is needless to say that the *Marmion* was never again visited."[14] The morbid tale probably strengthened the resolve of San Francisco; the drowned and staring dead of the *Marmion* could have been the "lost four hundred" who lay in the sunken hulk of the *Central America*. The story evoked such a graphic image of real tragedy that it was extremely effective in further rousing the city's passions.

The contributions of San Francisco literati were probably matched by the oratorical offerings of San Francisco's religious community. Unfortunately, no sermons are known to have been preached which joined in the angry attack on the steamship companies. Only one sermon has survived. Presumably offered soon after news of the disaster reached San Francisco, the sermon treats the loss as either a heavenly sign, or an allegorical gift from above. The Reverend John E. Benton, pastor of the Protestant "Religious Society of

the Mission Dolores," dramatically related the "Wreck of The *Central America*" to his congregation, and drawing from the tale proposed two moral truths. One was that gold – worldly possessions – were of little importance since on the *Central America,* in the face of death "How little they valued gold then – Some threw it upon the deck for anyone to pick up, but it was left, for none cared for it. . . ." Benton also noted that, while the surviving passengers who floated on the surface "had cried," since they thought they were doomed, "in a worse condition is every lost sinner." Rescue by a passing ship made the survivors realize that they "never knew before what gratitude was," and hence, lost sinners, saved by God's passing ship, might also not know until then what gratitude truly was.[15]

"The Lost Four Hundred," the tale of the *Marmion,* and Reverend Benton's sermon do more than inform us of one aspect of San Francisco's reaction to the loss of the *Central America;* they also serve to remind us that San Francisco's citizenry reacted in a typical fashion. The Victorian cult of the hero and Victorian rejection of human costs of progress were unspoken and prevalent motivations in San Francisco's honoring the dead and the criticisms of the steamship "monopoly." While San Francisco's reaction may have been more vehement than that of the rest of the nation, it was certainly motivated by the same social and cultural values.[16]

The anger felt by most San Franciscans desperately needed to be channeled into a productive course. It was with this in mind that many people felt "duty-bound" to correct the laxities and deficiencies which "allowed" the *Central America* to be lost:

> The interior press, from all parts of the State, come to us laden with mourning for the loss of our citizens on the ill-fated *Central America,* and bitter with denunciations of the heartless monopolies, that have been the main cause of the sad disaster. The people of the interior are ready and willing to respond to any action on the part of our citizens that will have a tendency to remedy existing evils. They look to the citizens of San Francisco to take the initiative in this matter. . . .[17]

The forum for such action would not be further bitter accusations and vindictive missives. San Franciscans were admonished by the press

> . . . not to indulge in bitter denunciations of the authors of the late sad catastrophe, but to appoint a committee, who should have time to in-

J. Childs of Philadelphia issued this lithograph of the wreck of the *Central America,* ca. 1857. It incorrectly depicts the vessel with two stacks and a long bowsprit. (Courtesy of the Mariners Museum of Newport News, Virginia)



quire into facts, and report upon the evils under which we have also long groaned, and suggest suitable remedies.[18]

On 30 October, "Aristides," a correspondent of the *Daily Evening Bulletin*, suggested that San Francisco

...call a public meeting, irrespective of party, or prejudice, or local dissentions, to express the grief which this community feel...and do all that is now left to us, take the necessary steps to ascertain whether or not the calamity which has befallen us, arose from guilty and criminal neglect.[19]

In response to the calls for action, E. W. Burr, President of the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco, called a public meeting at the Board Room in City Hall for the evening of 24 October for interested parties to "take such action as they may deem proper and to testify the public appreciation of this sad event."[20] The *Daily Evening Bulletin* of that date remarked upon the impending meeting and suggested the condition of steamships operating on the Pacific Coast be investigated so the tragedy would not be repeated in the West.[21]

The meeting call drew a crowd of hundreds of citizens to City Hall. Since so many persons crowded into the small room, and many more were outside, Board President Burr, who chaired the meeting, suggested it be considered a preliminary event to be followed in the near future by a larger gathering in more commodious quarters. A committee of seven leading citizens, including two "seafaring men," was elected to prepare resolutions for presentation and approval at the mass meeting. The press greeted the news enthusiastically and exhorted its readers to present their views to the committee. After resolutions were agreed upon and passed, said the *Daily Evening Bulletin*, legislation would be needed to prevent future disasters. In particular, more stringent and frequent inspections of steamers were requisite since the greedy steamship companies could not be counted on to insure unsafe boats would be removed from service – the *Central America* tragedy proved that.[22] The statement made by the United States Mail Steamship Company that the *Central America* had been inspected and found seaworthy was particularly attacked since

the official certificate of the condition in which a steamship was, is no proof of its present condition.... The law in regard to these inspections is



Harper's Weekly depicted the plight of the *Central America* disaster victims on the front page of the 3 October 1857 issue.

defective. A sea-going passenger steamer should be thoroughly examined after every voyage, as soon as her boilers have had time to cool.... These examinations should only exonorate the owners from the penalties of going to sea in an improper condition to meet the chances of weather....[23]

The loss of the *Central America*, stated the writer, was *prima facie* evidence of the invalidity of inspection certificates.

As evidence mounted over the next few weeks it seemed that the point perhaps was well taken and that the *Central America* had actually been unfit for sea when officially "passed." This further increased San Francisco's demands that something must be done! Particular proof of the *Central America*'s unsafe condition was presented by a correspondent of the *Daily Evening Bulletin*, who claimed that on 12 September 1855 he had been on board the then *George Law* during a heavy storm. A huge wave had struck the ship astern, straining several timbers and the bed plate of the engine. Only the quick actions of a crew member who shoved his mattress into the open seam saved the ship. The correspondent charged that this damage had not been adequately repaired since the ship had been in for repairs but a short while.[24]

More evidence was presented by the *Bulletin's* Panama correspondent who reported that twice in 1857 the ship had gone aground, losing much of her copper. When the copper was replaced some time later it was applied directly over a healthy colony of shipworms, who were already eating their way into the heart of the ship.[25] An independent account by a survivor of the wreck seems to bear out to some degree the charges of neglect. Passenger John Dement noted that, during the storm which sank the *Central America*,

> the steamer was leaking around the lower portholes or "dead lights," which might have been tight at first, but as they were badly rust eaten, or surrounded by verdigris between them and the wood, they had often been covered with paint, etc., they early began to let in water.[26]

Another damning statement was offered by Dement: "before the steamer went down, when some carpentering was needed ... there was no carpenter among the crew, nor even a set of tools worth the name!"

Further evidence of the unsafe nature of supposedly "safe" steamers was offered by ship caulkers in San Francisco. Referring to several Pacific Mail steamships they had worked on, the caulkers noted all were unseaworthy and some rotten to the core when they repaired them, but that the company, eager to return them to their lucrative runs, allowed little or no time for substantial repairs. Overhauling a steamer, said one caulker, "consisted only of a little paint, putty, and a love of champagne."[27] The point was further emphasized when the Pacific Mail steamships *John L. Stephens* and *Republic* were inspected and found to be in "excellent shape." The Editor of the *Daily Evening Bulletin* stated that he and a "practical caulker" had visited the *Republic*, where the caulker

> ... pointed out to us the lower deck in the fore part of the vessel, and the seams between the deck and the sides of the vessel were open in some places an inch wide. The planks of this deck, forward of midships, seemed to be all sprung and badly caulked, the knife blade falling easily through. Our companion said that the ship was what is called "hogged;"... The timbers of the hull were sound enough, but the vessel altogether very weak.[28]

Whether the caulkers were correct made little difference since the press, and hence most of the reading public, believed them and acted accordingly. Thus the revision of steamship inspections became a very high priority of the committee drafting San Francisco's resolutions concerning the loss of the *Central America*.

The storm of public reaction reached its climax on 30 October 1857, when the mass public meeting was held. After passing resolutions praising the memory of the dead, offering condolences to the bereaved, and

thanking masters and crews of passing ships which had rendered assistance to the survivors of the *Central America*, the public got down to business:

> ...this meeting attributes the loss of the *Central America* to the negligence and indifference of the U.S. Mail Steamship Company to the safety of those whose money it had received...we view such negligence as falling a little short of crime.
>
> That this meeting pledges itself, by all lawful means, to prevent the dispatch from this port with passengers, of any vessel of whose seaworthiness there is any reasonable doubt....
>
> That in view of the abuses to which ocean communication is liable, it behooves the people of this State to demand of Congress an immediate settlement of the Pacific Railroad question, and that this great national work be prosecuted without delay.

Specific resolutions were also passed "relative to further legislation by Congress." These included demands that each steamship

> be furnished with double engines...be divided into sections, so as to make in the vessel at least four water-tight compartments....To have an independent engine and boiler on the main deck, with a wrecker's pump thereto attached, capable to discharging at least sixty barrels of water per minute....To carry, in addition to the ordinary boats, life-boats of the number, character, and capacity sufficient to float all the passengers and crew....To be provided with two life preservers for each person, made only of cork, after the most approved models, kept in accessible places and ready for use.[29]

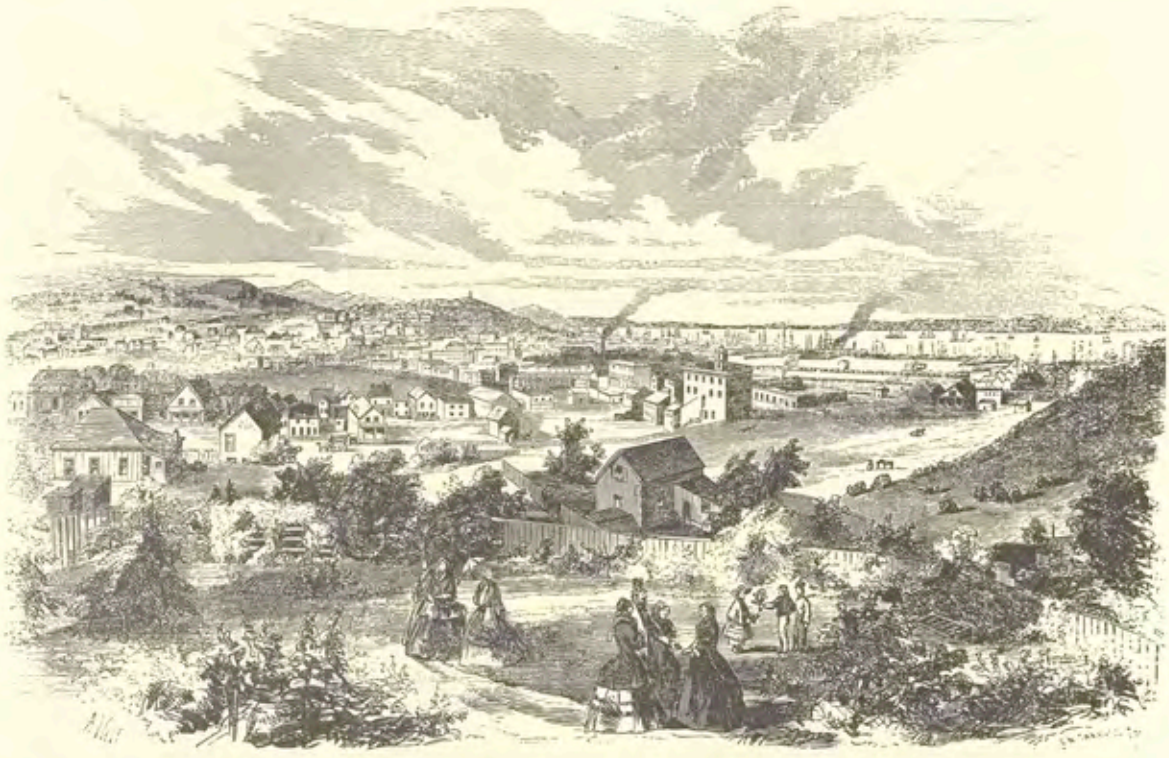
The last two resolutions were probably aimed at vessels other than the *Central America*, which ironically had been loaded with lifesaving gear, including four wooden boats, and two metallic "Francis" lifeboats, considered to be the best model of lifeboat available.[30] The lifesaving gear consisted of "several hundred life-buoys, one of these being suspended to each bunk throughout the ship. These life-buoys are formed of cork and painted canvas, and have straps to fasten them under the arms."[31] The presence of the life preservers on the ship even prompted one passenger to remark that

> the advantage of disposing life-buoys throughout the ship, as in the "George Law," is the general confidence which their presence gives to all, and when the moment of danger comes, that ten shillings' worth of cork and canvas will enable those who cannot swim to keep above water, and those who can swim to double their extertions....[32]

Other resolutions passed at the meeting included some intended to rectify the poor service on board the U.S. Mail steamers. They included demands "to increase the space devoted to each passenger," "to regulate by law the quantity and quality of food," and "to compel all passenger ships to a greater degree of cleanliness...."[33] These resolutions, and the appointment of another committee, this one to lobby for the "needed legislation," mollified most San Franciscans. On 4 November 1857 the *Daily Evening Bulletin*, satisfied that San Francisco's responsibility "to do something" had been fulfilled, reported to "Our Atlantic Readers" that

> The news of the loss of the *Central America* fell with apalling effect upon the people of California. In this city the impression exceeded anything ever experienced before. A general bereavement hung upon our citizens. Scarcely any business was transacted for two days. The universal topic of conversation was the awful shipwreck....The criminal cupidity of the United States Mail Steamship Company...awakened the bitterest denunciations; and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, their partners, on this side, were by no means exonorated from blame. A public meeting was called...which led to a mass meeting....At this...meeting resolutions were passed denouncing the mail companies, and making suggestions for the future safety of the passenger carriage between New York and San Francisco.[34]

While the papers still carried a few stories about the wreck in the weeks to come, with the exception of an occasional attack on the



San Francisco had become a highly civilized city by 1857. Drawn by A. Hill, from a photograph. (*Ballou's Pictorial*, 25 July 1857)

seaworthiness of certain Pacific Mail steamers the storm had passed.

But, like the distant rumble of thunder that lingers after a storm, echoes of the tragedy continued to be heard in San Francisco for years to come. As 1857 came to a close, the *Daily Evening Bulletin* recounted the major events of the year and mentioned the loss of the *Central America*. At the same time it also reported the findings of the official inquiry into the wreck, which found that the ship had been lost through the disorganization of the crew and "negligence" on the part of the steamship company.[35] The year's end also brought comment from *Hutchings' California Magazine*, a monthly journal of fact, fiction, and poetry intended "to both divert and instruct a wide and literate audience."[36] In a four page editorial, the editor re-evaluated the opinions which had been expressed in San Francisco and found them valid; at the same time, the actions taken by San Francisco were also evaluated and found to be worthy, no matter what had come of them, since the steamship companies were not alone in sharing the blame:

> Perhaps you and I, reader, may find ourselves somewhat implicated.... That steamship and steamboat disasters, directly, result from their cheap (!) and unsubstantial construction, or from the inefficiency or great neglect of their owners or officers in charge but few persons will entertain a doubt. Looking, however, a little beneath the surface, we may find that you and I have never taken the trouble to look into the matter for ourselves....[37]

The resolutions passed by San Francisco ultimately proved impotent. The steamship companies continued to operate, disasters still occurred, and people still drowned. The transcontinental railroad was finally completed on 10 May 1869, some twelve years after the *Central America* had gone down. This led to the decline of the Panama Route's importance until the construction of the Panama Canal.

The reaction of the West Coast's paramount metropolis to the loss of the *Central America* had been important. Several steamship disasters had occurred in the past, some with terrible losses of life, without the intensity of public outrage or censure that had occurred after the foundering of the *Central America*. The loss of the *Central America* awakened San Francisco, and ultimately that furor of public sentiment did play the pivotal role in demanding, through legislation and reform that ocean travel be made safe for passengers and crew members alike.[38]

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to thank Robert Schwendinger, Corinne Swall, Mary Delgado, Michael Keller, Anne Basart, Diane Spencer-Hancock, Toni Carrell, Ted C. Hinckley, and G. Douglass Nadeau for their generous advice and support.

NOTES

[1]The exact location of the foundered *Central America* is the subject of some controversy. It is generally acknowledged that the ship sank somewhere near Cape Hatteras, but her position is unknown. There is some speculation that the *Central America* sank on the eastern edge of the Gulf Stream and hence lies in waters over 150 fathoms deep. Another school of thought feels that the ship sank on the western edge of the Gulf Stream and hence lies in waters only 20 fathoms deep. The latter argument may be valid; a treasure-hunting concern recently announced that they found the *Central America* in 20 fathoms of water near Cape Hatteras. They have yet to offer conclusive proof of the identity of their discovery, however, and until such time, the grave of the *Central America* remains unknown. See Norman Scott, "The *Central America*," *In The Realms of Gold: The Proceedings of the Tenth Conference on Underwater Archaeology* (San Marino, California: Fathom Eight Publications, 1981), pp. 95-99. The term "Graveyard of the Atlantic" for the outer banks of North Carolina's Cape Hatteras area is explored and quantified in David Stick, *Graveyard of the Atlantic: Shipwrecks of the North Carolina Coast* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1952). The *Central America* is not mentioned, perhaps due to the uncertainity of her location.

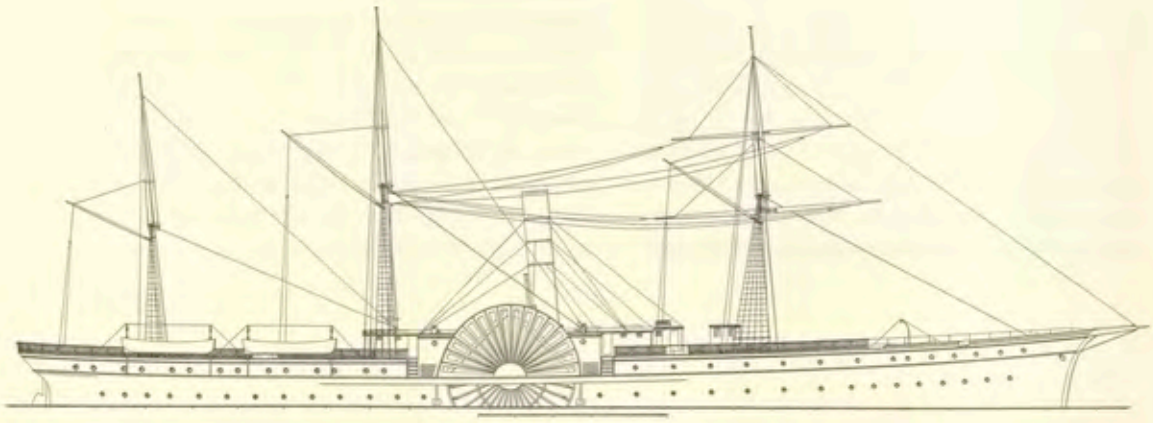
[2]The role and the significance of the Panama Route were assessed by John Haskell Kemble, *The Panama Route, 1848-1869* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1943). Kemble ascribes the transcontinental railroad's construction as the cause of the end of the heyday of the route. Other pertinent works include Oscar Lewis, *Sea Routes to the Gold Fields* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), and Louis Rasmussen, *San Francisco Ship Passenger Lists*, 4 Vols. (Colma, California: San Francisco Historic Records, 1966-1970). The figures for total number of passengers and treasure shipped across the Isthmus between 1848 and 1869 are from Kemble, pages 254-55.

[3]The story of the two pioneer steamship lines can be found in T. A. Bushnell, *"Royal Mail;" A Centenary History of the Royal Mail Line, 1839-1939* (London, Trade and Travel Publications Ltd., 1939) and Arthur C. Wardle, *Steam Conquers the Pacific: A Record of Maritime Achievement, 1840-1940* (London, 1940). A good discussion of the history of the Isthmian crossing from its earliest beginnings through the opening of the great canal can be found in David McCullough, *The Path Between the Seas: The Creation of the Panama Canal, 1870-1914* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977).

[4]Kemble, *The Panama Route*, pp. 12-26. Also see Ernest A. Wiltsee, *Gold Rush Steamers of the Pacific* (San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1938).

[5]The history of the *Central America*, ex-*George Law*, is related in Cedric Ridgely-Nevitt, "The United States Mail Steamer *George Law*," *American Neptune* 4: 3 (October 1944): 305-17. A capsule sketch of the vessel and mention of her career can be found in Kemble, *The Panama Route*. Notices of her launching, sailings, and passenger lists can be found in the *New York Times*, the *New York Herald*, and the *New York Daily Tribune*.

Reconstruction of the *Central America*, by Cedric Ridgely-Nevitt.
(*American Neptune*, October 1944)



[6]Edward Lozier Combes, "My Log Book from New York to California on the Steamship "George Law" June 5-30, 1855," Manuscript 427, California Historical Society, San Francisco. The poor service on the U.S. Mail steamers is also mentioned in Kemble, *The Panama Route*, pp. 158-63. In all fairness, it should be noted that there were occasional complaints about the Pacific Mail steamers.

[7]*New York Herald*, 26 February 1855, as cited in Kemble, *The Panama Route*, pp. 162-63.

[8]*San Francisco Daily Alta California*, 22 September 1857, p. 1 (hereafter cited as *Alta*). The first and second pages of the issue were devoted to the loss of the *Central America*. The use of the ship's old name, *George Law*, is interesting since the name had been changed in July 1857. According to Kemble, this was because Law was no longer a director of the United States Mail Steamship Company, see *The Panama Route*, p. 226. The name change confused many San Franciscans and many times while reporting the disaster the press referred to the ship as the *George Law*. There was also a strong belief that the name had been changed to delude the public into thinking the old, "rotten" *George Law* had been rebuilt, or that the *Central America* was a new ship.

[9]Historians have yet to agree on the actual cause of the wreck. In "The U.S. Mail Steamer *George Law*," p. 316, Cedric Ridgely-Nevitt states that the ship was seaworthy and that the loss "can best be laid to the inherent structural weakness of a wooden ship so twisted and torn by wind and sea that some part of the watertight shell gave way." Kemble also believes that the ship was seaworthy, but directly places the blame on the crew, who let the fires die down, stopping the engine, and allowing the ship to fall into the trough of the sea to be beaten apart, *Panama Route*, p. 226. The official inquiry into the disaster concluded that the loss was due to disorganization on the part of the crew and negligence on the part of the company in not keeping the ship in the best of repair. I tend to agree with all three sources since it would appear that a series of factors and no single event led to the loss of the *Central America*. An excellent analysis of the wreck and the reaction on the Eastern Seaboard can be found in E. Merton Coulter, "The Loss of the Steamship *Central America* off the Coast of Georgia," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 54:4 (Winter 1970): 453-92.

[10]*San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin* 22 September 1857, p. 2 (hereafter cited as *Bulletin*).

[11]*Ibid.*, 22 September 1857, p. 2.

[12]*Alta*, 4 November 1857, p. 2.

[13]John A. Stone, *Put's Golden Songster* (San Francisco: D. E. Appleton, 1858). This was Stone's fourth edition of popular songs of gold rush California. A critic of the steamship companies, Stone had composed several ditties which reflected his views. Included were "A Ripping Trip," "Humbug Steamship Companies," "Steam Navigation Thieves," and the "Loss of the *Central America*."

[14]*Bulletin*, 27 October 1857, p. 1.

[15]Sermon notes for "Wreck of the *Central America*," Manuscript 146, John Eliot Benton Papers, California Historical Society, San Francisco.

[16]Good discussions of the public values and the importance of the press during the Victorian period can be found in Richard D. Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1973), John F. Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776-1900* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1976), and Walter E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979).

[17]*Bulletin*, 26 October 1857, p. 2.

[18]*Ibid.*

[19]*Ibid.*, 23 October 1857, p. 3.

[20]*Ibid.*, 24 October 1857, p. 2.

[21]*Alta*, 25 October 1857, p. 2. The *Bulletin* also carried the story, in their 26 October edition, but with considerably less detail.

[22]*Bulletin*, 26 October 1857, p. 2.

[23]*Ibid.*, 26 October 1857, p. 3.

[24]*Ibid.*, 16 November 1857, p. 3.

[25]*Ibid.*, 18 November 1857, p. 1.

[26]Dement related his tale to fellow passenger H. D. Barrows upon his return to California in the steamer *John L. Stephens*. Barrows wrote down the tale and presented it thirty-nine years later to the Historical Society of Southern California at their meeting of 6 December 1896. It was published as "The Foundering of the Steamship *Central America*" in the *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California and Pioneer Register*, vol. 4 (Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1898), pp. 70-75.

[27]*Bulletin*, 10 November 1857, p. 3.

[28]*Ibid.*, 19 November 1857, p. 2.

[29]*Ibid.*, 2 November 1857, p. 2.

[30]Ridgely-Nevitt, "U.S. Mail Steamer *George Law*," p. 310. Francis Marryat sailed on the ship and remarked upon the metal lifeboats in his memoir *Mountains and Molehills: Or, Recollections of a Burnt Journal* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1855), p. 51. Francis boats were highly praised by shipping companies, masters, and crews. The boats were also used, in addition to service on vessels, as rescue craft by the United States Life-Saving Service. See George F. Allen et al., *Francis' Metallic Life-Boat Company* (New York: William C. Bryant, 1852).

[31]Marryat, *Mountains and Molehills*, p. 351.

[32]*Ibid.*, p. 352.

[33]*Bulletin*, 2 November 1857, p. 2.

[34]*Ibid.*, 4 November 1857, p. 1.

[35]*Ibid.*, 30 December 1857, p. 1.

[36]Roger R. Olmsted, ed., *Scenes of Wonder & Curiosity from Hutchings' California Magazine, 1856-1861* (Berkeley: Howell-North and Company, 1962), p. v.

[37]*Hutchings' California Magazine* 2:6 (December 1857): 286.

[38]The story of the *Central America* has attracted the attention of writers for years: e.g., *Great Shipwrecks: A Record of Perils and Disasters at Sea; 1544 to 1877* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1878); Hanson W. Baldwin, *Sea Fights and Shipwrecks: True Tales of the Seven Seas* (New York: Hanover House, 1955), pp. 13-18; and Dave Horner, *Shipwrecks, Skin Divers, and Sunken Gold* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1965), pp. 66-73.

Graven by the fishermen themselves

Scrimshaw in Mystic Seaport Museum

In 1980 Mystic Seaport Museum received a generous grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for the purpose of making the collections at the Seaport more accessible to the public and to scholars. Part of this grant has been used to fund research and publication. The first book to appear under Mellon sponsorship, in April 1982, was *Marine Paintings and Drawings in Mystic Seaport Museum,* by Dorothy E. R. Brewington, a comprehensive catalog of the Seaport's holdings in these areas.

Projected for the future is a series of monographs, each covering in depth one area of the collection or field of interest. Because of its quality and extent, it is appropriate that the scrimshaw collection inaugurate the series.

In *Graven by the fishermen themselves,* Richard C. Malley, Assistant Registrar, uses the artifacts as a starting point from which to inform the reader about the history of scrimshaw and of the Seaport's collection. The author goes on to describe the categories of scrimshaw and give advice to the collector. The book, which replaces and augments an earlier Mystic Seaport publication, constitutes an introduction to the subject for the Museum visitor or general reader. Scholars and collectors will find food for research in the appendices that list the scrimshanders, vessels, and people and places documented in the collection.

Mr. Malley, a 1974 graduate of Providence College, received his M.A. in American History from Fordham University and has been a member of the Seaport staff for seven years. As Assistant Registrar he has examined and cataloged all new acquisitions of scrimshaw, studied every item in the collection, and published and lectured on the subject.

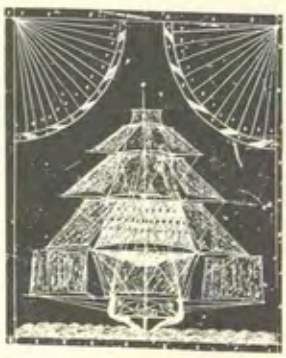


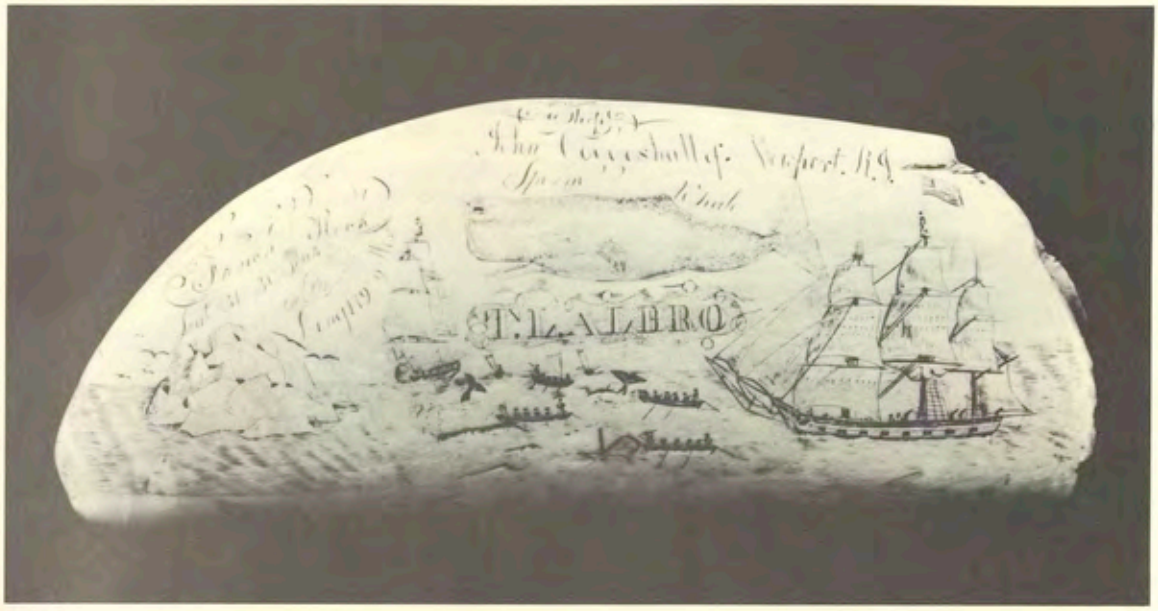
Graven by the fishermen themselves contains 145 black-and-white illustrations and five in full color. The 156-page paperbound book is available for $16.00.

All Mystic Seaport Museum Publications, and other books, are available at 10% discount for members only at the Mystic Seaport Museum Bookstore. (Add $2.00 for shipping and handling. For Connecticut delivery, add 7½% sales tax.)

The following pages contain a selection of photographs from the book and text by Richard Malley that suggest the diversity of the Museum's scrimshaw collection.

Photos by Mary Anne Stets and Claire White-Peterson





81.40

DECORATIVE SCRIMSHAW

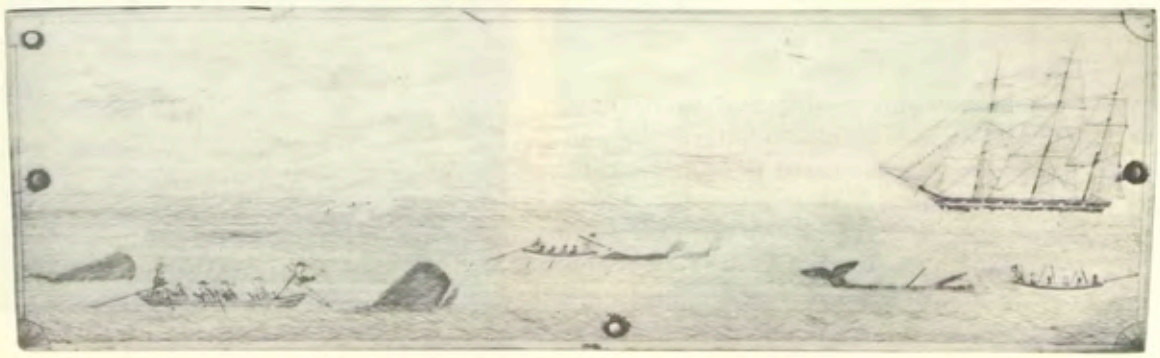
Whales & Whaling

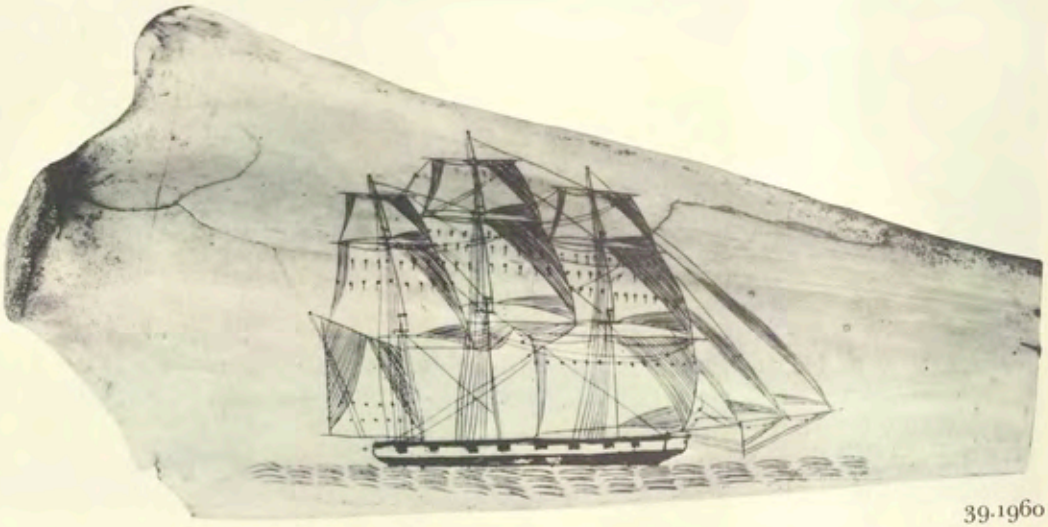
Since so many scrimshanders were whalemen it is not surprising that numerous scrimshaw pieces serve to record particular aspects of the whale fishery, with special emphasis on the excitement of the hunt. Teeth and portions of jawbone from the valuable sperm whale are common mediums for this and other topics engraved during long periods at sea.

T. L. Albro fashioned such a piece during a Pacific voyage aboard the Newport, Rhode Island, whaleship *John Coggeshall* sometime in the 1830s or 1840s. Surrounding his name are such images as a sperm whale, whaleships, and an involved scene featuring whaleboats attacking a small group of whales. A portrait of "French Rock," a landmark known to American whalemen, places this action in the rich grounds north of New Zealand.

Albro's signature makes this piece an exception to the general rule that scrimshaw is an anonymous art. The vast majority of items, like this panbone plaque with engraved whaling scene, bear no identifying name or initials. Such thin bone, from the broad jaw pans of the sperm whale, provided the whaleman-artist with his "canvas" and led to the creation of such striking panoramic views.

52.39





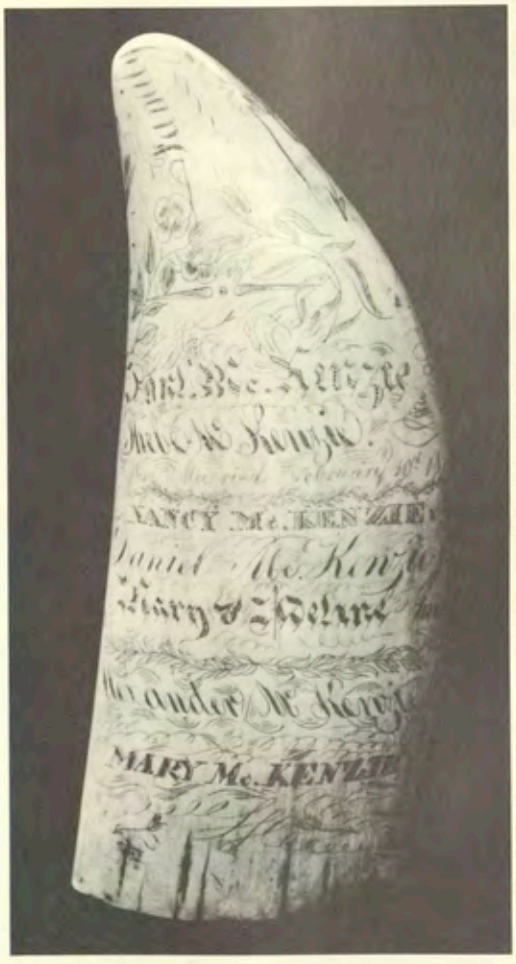
39.1960

Vessel Portraits

More than just whaling scenes occupied the scrimshander's imagination. Portraits of vessels, including his own, also proved a popular subject. With an accuracy born of firsthand knowledge, sailors captured on bone, ivory, and baleen the images of contemporary sailing craft. In so doing they sometimes have provided us with our only documentation of a vessel's appearance. The small merchant ship portrayed on this uncut piece of panbone exemplifies the finest elements of scrimshaw portraiture – accurate proportions, crisp detailing, and a sense of depth – which lend life to what might otherwise have been just another unremarkable piece of work.

Home, Family, & Other Topics

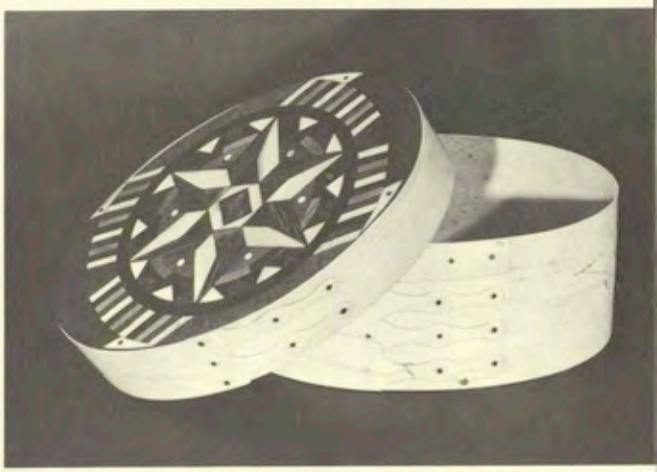
Scrimshanders did not limit their attention to strictly marine topics. Far from it. Loneliness and thoughts of home manifested themselves in a wide variety of subjects and motifs. Portraits of fashionable women, sentimental imagery like hearts and lovebirds, and even renderings of familiar people and places provided whalemen an emotional and physical outlet



81.64.19

from the relentless pressures of shipboard life.

One of the more unusual examples of this type of effort is a sperm whale "Family Tooth" bearing a genealogy of the Captain Daniel McKenzie family of New Bedford. Possibly the work of McKenzie's son, Daniel, Jr., the tooth lists important birth, marriage, and death dates for the period 1794-1834. The younger McKenzie accompanied his whaling master father on a globe-girdling voyage during the years 1837-40 and possibly engraved the piece at that time.



41.399

UTILITARIAN SCRIMSHAW

Household Items

Some ornamentation is found on scrimshaw objects of a utilitarian nature. A wide range of items designed for home or shipboard use was produced by the ship-bound artist-craftsman. Ditty boxes like the whalebone example illustrated, for instance, were equally useful in fo'c'sle and parlor. The elaborately inlaid lid of woods, ivory, baleen, and gold make this storage or sewing box both functionally useful and visually pleasing.

As with Albro's engraved tooth we know the identity of the scrimshander, or in this case scrimshanders. Captain Fred Smith and his wife Sallie collaborated on this ditty box while aboard the bark *Ohio* in 1877. Sallie's voluminous journal of this voyage specifically mentions its construction.



41.294





39.1932-1933

Highly unusual is the fact that photographs of the Smiths survive as part of the collection, adding even more interest to the piece.

Walrus tusks sometimes provided an alternative raw material for the scrimshander. Ivory of long lengths from the tusks was available for any number of uses. Candlesticks, owned and possibly made by New London whaling master Edwin W. White, suggest the potential applications of this material in the fashioning of homemade utensils.



Clothing & Accessories

In an age before mass-produced clothing scrimshanders enjoyed the opportunity to create fashionable items for everyday wear. Canes, corset busks, and, more rarely, jewelry are among the objects fabricated by the whaleman or mariner.

An example of this type of work, which is at the same time typical yet exceptional, is a corset busk. Prepared from a slab of baleen, a flexible straining material found in the mouth of certain whale species, this item is intended for use as the front stay in a woman's corset. Perhaps thousands of these engraved busks, many made of thin whalebone, were fashioned for wives or sweethearts ashore. What sets this piece apart is the fact that it is signed by the scrimshander – and the scrimshander is a woman. Mary E. Stark of Mystic produced



the busk in 1856 while aboard the clipper ship *B. F. Hoxie* homeward bound from Honolulu. Her talent with a needle enabled her to pass long hours engraving the piece, most likely as a memento of this voyage with her shipmaster husband.



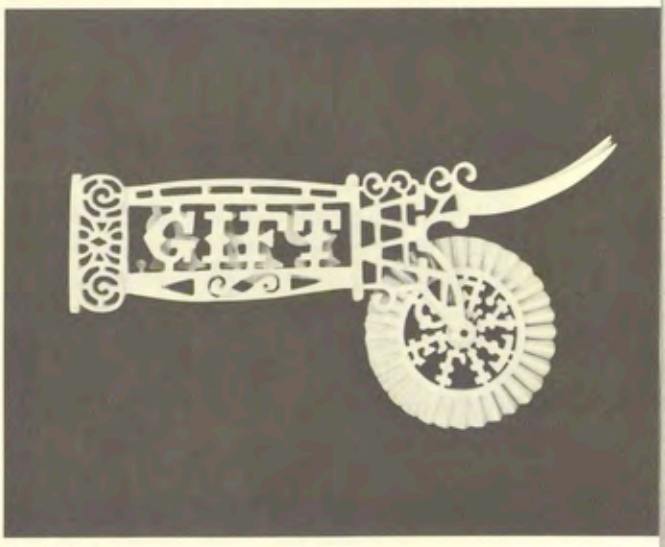


48.1043

Kitchen Utensils

Food preparation in the last century was a much more individual matter than today. In response to the need for many types of culinary aids scrimshanders produced thousands of items designed for kitchen use. Rolling pins, ladles, spoons, forks, dishes, and other utensils were created aboard ship.

Perhaps the most popular object was the pie crimper, sometimes called a pie wheel or jagging wheel. Designed to cut and crimp pie and pastry dough, these creations were equally valued as keepsakes by their recipients ashore.



41.413.3

Oftentimes form simply overwhelmed function as decorative embellishment reached new heights of complexity. An example of this can be seen in an ivory pie crimper with an openwork handle that incorporates the initials "P.H.R.," the word "GIFT," and the date "JULY 15 1857." Rounding out the intricate carving is the message "FIDELITY" spelled out by the spokes of the fluted cutting wheel. This masterpiece of design and execution typifies the finest characteristics of this nautical art form.

Beacons of Safety

A Sample of New England Light Station Types

Since the construction of Boston Light in 1716, the coast of the United States has been increasingly better supplied with aids to navigation. The familiar conical white tower was just one form taken by lighthouses. Some locations were differentiated by multiple towers, such as the twin lights of Chatham, the three lights at Nauset, or Cape Ann's twin lights on Thacher Island. A few "wave-swept" towers, notably Minots Ledge Light, were constructed boldly on ledges in the sea. On more sheltered bottoms there were screw-pile and caisson lights. Elsewhere, harbor and lake lighthouse architecture took a more residential form. Finally, the busiest waters and major shipping approaches were well marked by lightships, beginning in 1820.

Fourteen American lights had been established through colonial or local initiative by the time the U.S. Treasury Department assumed management of lighthouses in 1789. Until 1820, supervision of light stations was a duty of the Secretary of the Treasury. Then, the Fifth Auditor of the Treasury acted as General Superintendent of Lights until the U.S. Lighthouse Board was created in 1852. The Board was placed under the Department of Commerce and Labor in 1903, and was replaced by the Bureau of Lighthouses seven years later. In 1939, supervision of lighthouses and buoys was relegated to the U.S. Coast Guard, formed in 1915 by the consolidation of the Life-Saving Service and the Revenue Service.

In 1850 there were 297 lighthouses, 35 lightships, and 49 fog signals under government supervision. The number had increased to 1,397 major and 2,256 minor lighthouses, 54 lightships, and 457 fog signals by 1910. At that time the lighthouse service was composed of nineteen administrative districts covering the ocean, lake, and river shores. The first three districts managed 386 lighthouses, lightships, and lighted buoys in New England and New York Bay in 1907.

Lighthouse technology developed steadily during the nineteenth century. The refracting Fresnel lens, composed of central "bulls eyes" and concentric prismatic rings above and below, was introduced to America in 1841. Making five-sixths of the light usable, the Fresnel lens quickly demonstrated its superiority over less efficient reflecting lenses. The Lighthouse Board authorized installation of Fresnel lenses in 1852, and by 1859 nearly all American lights had them. Fresnel lenses were produced in six sizes, or "orders." The order of a Fresnel lens refers to its focal distance: the distance from the light source to the inner surface of the lens. The largest, or first-order lens, has a focal length of 36.2 inches while the smallest, or sixth-order lens, has a focal length of only 5.9 inches.

Through the nineteenth century, illuminants improved in brilliance and burning efficiency. Fish or whale oil gave way to sperm whale oil about 1812. Lard oil replaced sperm whale oil about 1865. After 1880 kerosene was the regulation illuminant until electric lights were adopted in this century. There was a simultaneous improvement in lamp and wick design.

Fog signals improved from eighteenth-century cannon to bells in the 1820s, trum-

pets in the 1850s, and steam-powered whistles and sirens in the 1860s. In the last sixty years the trend has been toward smaller, automated signals, electrification, radio beacons, elimination of superfluous stations, and the replacement of lightships with beacons on towers.

Some useful sources on nineteenth-century American lighthouses and lightships are the annual reports of the U.S. Lighthouse Board; Francis Ross Holland, Jr.'s *America's Lighthouses* (Brattleboro: Stephen Greene Press, 1972); Gustav Kobbe's "Life on the South Shoal Lightship," *Century Magazine* 42:4 (1891): 537-47, and "Life in a Lighthouse (Minot's Ledge): *Century Magazine* 47:3 (1894): 364-74; and Richard W. Updike's "Augustin Fresnel and his Lighthouse Lenses" reprinted in *The Log of Mystic Seaport* 32:1 (1980): 10-14.

The following sample of New England lighthouse photographs, ca. 1870-1910, was drawn from the extensive collection of historic photographs at Mystic Seaport Museum. The Museum's photograph collection is currently being cataloged under a grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

Research and photo selection by Andrew W. German

Tarpaulin Cove Light, on the Vineyard Sound side of Naushon Island, Massachusetts, marks a popular sheltered anchorage in northerly winds. Established in 1817, this structure was representative of early lighthouse architecture. The squat, thirty-two-foot tower held a fixed white light seventy-seven feet above sea level. A fifth-order Fresnel lens was installed in 1856. A light's characteristics were sometimes changed as marine traffic in the area increased, or to differentiate it clearly as further lights were established nearby. In 1870 Tarpaulin Cove's light was altered to a white light with flash every thirty seconds. The tower



was rebuilt in 1891, and is still in service. Albumen photograph by Samuel Masury, ca. 1870. (79.148.14)

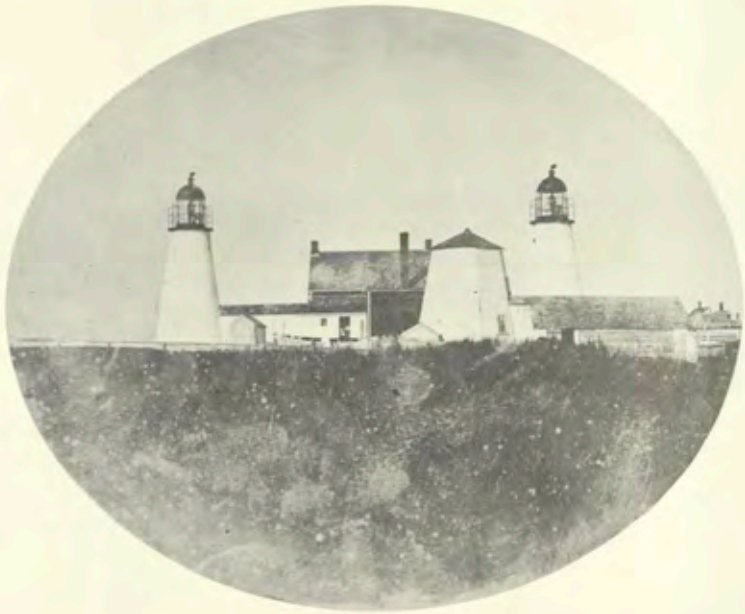
Monomoy Point Light was established at the end of the long sandspit south of Chatham, Cape Cod, in 1823. This thirty-four-foot-high structure of cast-iron plates replaced the original tower in 1849. Initially intended to guide traffic to Stage Harbor, Chatham, the light was upgraded several times between 1850 and 1880 as it became an important mark for the increasing flow of coasters through Nantucket Sound. By 1907 this awkward-looking red tower mounted a fourth-order Fresnel lens. The fixed white light, with red sector to the west, was visible for twelve miles. Monomoy Point Light was deactivated in 1923. Albumen photograph by Samuel Masury, ca. 1870. (79.148.20)





Billingsgate Island Light, an unexceptional example of mid-nineteenth-century lighthouse architecture, is known less for its routine service than for the fact that the only trace of Billingsgate Island today is a shoal visible at low tide. The low, sandy island once stood off the entrance to Wellfleet Bay, Cape Cod. A light was established there in 1822 to guide traffic in and out of Wellfleet, a bustling fishing and trading port at the time. This thirty-four-foot-high, square, red brick tower was built in 1858, perhaps when erosion first threatened the island. Equipped with a fourth-order Fresnel lens, its fixed white light was visible for nearly twelve miles. The tower and dwelling stood on sand only six feet above sea level, so more than once the keeper found storm tides lapping at his doorstep. In 1915, possibly due to current changes caused by the opening of the Cape Cod Canal, the island began to erode steadily. The light tower was abandoned to the sea that year, to be replaced by a temporary structure. In 1922 vanishing Billingsgate Island was discontinued as a light station. Photograph ca. 1900. (75.242.22)

The twin lights at Chatham, Cape Cod, were established in 1808 and rebuilt of brick in the 1830s. Situated on a thirty-foot bluff, these forty-foot towers were given fourth-order Fresnel lenses in 1857. The south tower (right) was rebuilt in 1863. With changes in the coastline, the bluff began to erode in the early 1870s, seriously threatening the lights. In 1877 two cast-iron towers were built at a safe distance back from the cliff, one of which remains in service today. Undermined, the original towers toppled over the cliff about 1879. Note the covered walkway connecting the light to the keeper's dwelling, a feature common among lighthouses in exposed locations. Albumen photograph by Samuel Masury, ca. 1870. (79.148.11)

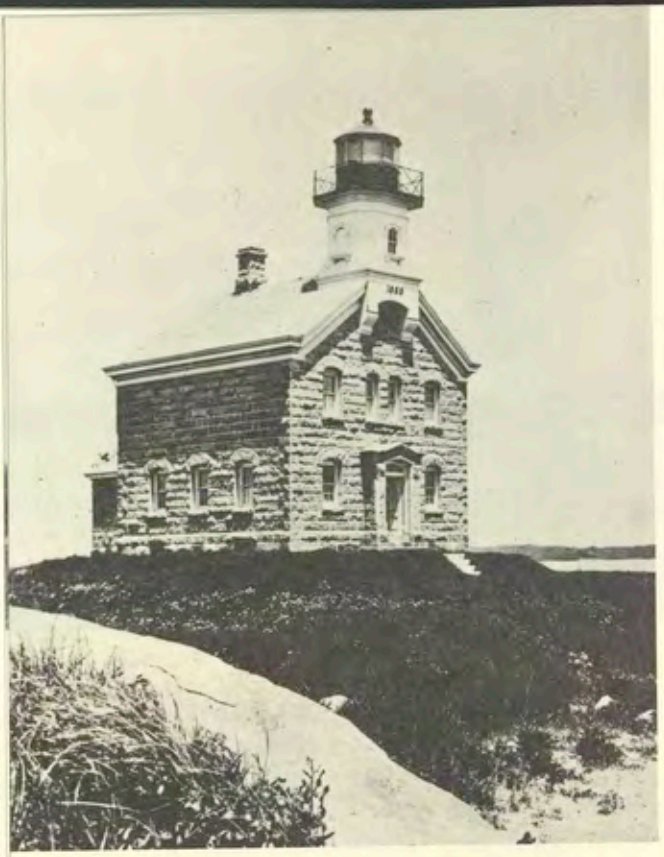




Cape Ann's twin lights on Thacher Island were established in 1771 as the eleventh light station in the colonies. The original towers were replaced by these 124-foot stone towers in 1860. The installation included a keeper's house near the north tower (right), two houses near the south tower, a storage house for lamp oil between the towers, and a steam fog signal house with smokestack. By 1900 the fog signal was a 10-inch steam whistle. The two fixed white lights with first-order Fresnel lenses, 166 feet above sea level, were visible for nineteen miles. The north tower was deactivated in 1932. Photograph by Henry D. Fisher, ca. 1910. (76.208.720)

On a calm August day, Minots Ledge Light and the deadly ledges off Cohasset, Massachusetts, look serene. A pile tower was ordered for this wreck-prone site in 1847. Completed in 1850, it washed away in 1851 with the loss of two lives. This eighty-foot stone tower, the lower half of which is solid block foundation, was begun in 1855 and lit 15 November 1860. It supported a second-order Fresnel lens 84½ feet above mean high water, with a white light visible for 14¾ miles. In 1915 there were twenty of these "wave-swept" towers in the U.S., nearly half of them in New England. Among America's most famous lights, Minots Ledge has been automated since 1947. Visible in the photograph is the keeper's boat, hanging in davits on the right at the level of the lower gallery. A mooring and line to the right of the tower ease the approach and departure of boats. Photograph by Henry D. Fisher, 1912. (79.8.12)





In 1831 Morgan Point Light was established in Noank, Connecticut, at the mouth of the Mystic River. By 1866 the original light was obsolete and construction had begun on this granite residence and light. The same basic design was used for lights at Block Island (1867), Great Captain Island, Connecticut(1868), Norwalk Islands, Connecticut, and Old Field Point, Long Island, New York (1869), and Plum Island, New York (1870). Lit in 1868, Morgan Point Light's fixed white beacon, with sixth-order Fresnel lens sixty feet above mean high water, could be seen for eleven miles. Deactivated in 1921, the structure still stands. Photograph ca. 1890. (65.533)

The screw-pile "bug" light below the Narrows in Boston Harbor was established in 1856. The screw-pile, with helicoidal flange on its foot allowing it to be bored into soft bottom, was developed in England and applied to lighthouse design there in 1838. The first American screw-pile light was placed on Brandywine Shoal in the Delaware River in 1850. This design, resembling a bug standing on the water, was particularly suited to soft bottoms in shallow water, and was widely used on the Delaware River, Chesapeake Bay, and further south. The fixed red light and fifth-order lens of the Narrows Light stood forty-five feet above mean high water and was visible for 8½ miles in 1900. The fog bell below the cupola was struck mechanically every six seconds. Screw-pile lights were quite vulnerable to moving ice. This one had a bulkhead structure (left) that served as ice protection and as a boat landing. Note the tie-rods connecting the tower's six outer piles to the central pile. The Narrows Light burned 7 June 1929 and was replaced by an automatic light and bell. Photograph by Henry D. Fisher, 5 July 1908. (76.208.315)



On a flat calm summer day, several cutters and a naphtha launch approach Southwest Ledge Light off New Haven, Connecticut. New Haven Light, visible on Five Mile or Lighthouse Point at the right center, was established in 1805 to signal the entrance to New Haven Harbor. But the hazard of Southwest Ledge Reef and other shoals just east of the ship channel remained poorly marked until Congress approved construction of a light there in 1872. By the 1870s the caisson form of construction had been perfected for lighthouses on somewhat sheltered "wave-swept" shoals and ledges. Construction of Southwest Ledge Light began with the assembly of a cylindrical caisson of riveted cast-iron plates on the prepared surface of the submerged ledge. The interior of the caisson was pumped dry and then filled with concrete, forming a solid base rising twenty-two feet above mean high water. The lighthouse built atop the caisson bore a fourth-order lens with a fixed white light and a fixed red sector to the northwest. Situated fifty-four feet above high water, the light was visible for nearly thirteen miles. A Daboll steam trumpet was installed for foggy conditions. First lighted on 1 January 1877, Southwest Ledge Light replaced New Haven Light and remains in service today. It was one of forty-six caisson lights operated by the Bureau of Lighthouses in 1915. Photograph ca. 1896. (71.230.35)



Brenton Reef, off Newport, Rhode Island, was one of sixteen New England lightship stations established between 1828 and 1905. It was first lighted in 1853 by this vessel, a 320-ton schooner, 104′ x 24.8′ x 11.6′, built in 1853. She served on this station until about 1894, and was later put on the Scotland station in New York Bay. Relegated to relief duty in 1925, she was sold in 1927. The Brenton Reef lightship station has been served by a lighted tower since 1962. Note the large fog bell on the foredeck and the daymarks at the mastheads. The short Spencer masts abaft the masts were used if the vessel's schooner-rig sails were set. In this view the sails are removed and the gaffs have been hoisted out of the way. The lights, kept in lantern houses beneath the masts during the day, were attached to iron collars circling the masts. When raised, the lights hung forty-five feet above the sea, and were visible for twelve miles. Photograph by Edward W. Smith, ca. 1893. (69.822.48)



BOOK REVIEWS

George S. Emmerson. *S.S. Great Eastern: The Greatest Iron Ship.* North Pomfret, Vermont: David & Charles, Inc., 1982. 182 pp., illustrations. $22.50.

More than anything else she was big. Unbelievably big, awesomely big, grotesquely big. She was nearly twice as large as any ship built before, and almost fifty years would pass before another vessel would surpass her in size and displacement. Her main deck was 692 feet long and 83 feet wide. Like her hull it was built of iron, but covered with wood planks, and those who strolled her promenade did so some 30 feet above the ocean waves. She was steam powered, driven by paddle wheels and a screw that measured 24 feet in diameter, and weighed 36 tons. She carried a crew of 400, and had accommodations for 4,000 passengers, plus cargo. The impression of gigantic size was so great that she has become a maritime phenomenon, linked in the popular mind to no particular nation or era, and existing quite apart from the normal flow of time and historical events. Initially called *Leviathan*, she was soon renamed, and became known forever after as the *Great Eastern*.

The *Great Eastern* will always be the subject of debate. Her existence has been attacked and defended from many points of view. She has been considered on the one hand as perhaps the greatest and most sensational engineering achievement of the nineteenth century, and represented on the other as a product of technology unchecked by the restraints of contemporary maritime development and commercial capacity. Some thought her straight lines were sleek and powerful; others believed the sight of her iron-plated hull towering over more conventional vessels was an abomination. Critics have viewed her as a predestined economic failure, but those more sympathetic thought her to be mismanaged, and never given the opportunity to prove herself in the role for which she had been built. She was also considered by many to be a cursed or unlucky ship. George S. Emmerson believes that she epitomized the industrial and entrepreneurial spirit of the times, and especially the maritime spirit of Great Britain.

These and other points of view are discussed in Mr. Emmerson's new book, *S.S. Great Eastern: The Greatest Iron Ship*, in which he presents a very balanced survey of this remarkable vessel. The 138 pages of text incorporate eight chapters organized in a rather straightforward chronological sequence.

The author, who is a Professor of Engineering Science, analyzes the engineering aspects of the vessel's design and construction in a way that informs, yet does not confuse or bore the reader with little interest in the technical parts of the ship's story. We learn about such innovative aspects of her design as double hull construction, first employed on the *Great Eastern*, and the iron main deck of cellular design borrowed from girder bridge building methods. The launching itself was a major achievement, and took nearly three months to accomplish. Emmerson justifiably devotes an entire chapter to this event, as he describes how the gigantic hull was pushed and pulled 200 feet sideways down specially constructed rails into the Thames River. A more complete technical look at the ship is provided in a thirty-three-page appendix, featuring the principal details of the ship in the builder's own words, along with drawings of hull cross sections, paddle engines, boilers, and the screw propeller.

Emmerson succeeds in blending his obvious engineering interest in the *Great Eastern* with other equally important aspects of the great ship's story. We are introduced to her designer, Isambard K. Brunel ("...the promoter of bold engineering schemes, ever ready to stretch existing technology to the limit..."), and to John Scott Russell, who built her to Brunel's specifications, and whose "wave line" principles of naval architecture influenced the design of the vessel's hull. The economic arguments that helped create a ship capable of carrying enough coal for nonstop passages between England and Australia are discussed, as are the financial problems that plagued her owners throughout her career. Between 1865 and 1874 the *Great Eastern* laid five transatlantic telegraph cables, and one across the Indian Ocean between Bombay and Suez. This proved to be the only period that the ship returned a reasonable profit to her investors.

Emmerson describes all the important events associated with the ship, and augments them with first person accounts of voyages, descrip-

tions of accommodations, and other impressions of travel aboard the *Great Eastern*. Fifty illustrations, most of them seen in previous publications, are, however, nicely reproduced, and add interest to the book.

Adequate footnotes convey an accurate impression of the author's research, which comes primarily from Brunel papers found in public and private collections, and from contemporary published sources. The bibliography is disappointing and incomplete, with all but two of the titles published before 1900. James Dugan's *The Great Iron Ship* (1953) has been the most recent and popular book about the *Great Eastern*. Mr. Emmerson's book is not as thorough; however it offers a more technical aspect to many of the points discussed. It will not replace the earlier volume, but does represent a valid contemporary treatment of a controversial and interesting subject, and may initiate other studies of this remarkable ship.

At $22.50 the book cannot be considered a bargain, though it does provide a respectable historical account that can be enjoyed by all of us who possess only a layman's knowledge of the S.S. *Great Eastern*.

Douglas L. Stein
Curator of Manuscripts, M.S.M.

Douglas Lamar Jones. *Village and Seaport: Migration and Society in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts*. Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1981. 167 pp., photographs, tables, notes, bibliography, index. $15.00.

Thomas C. Gillmer. *Chesapeake Bay Sloops*. St. Michaels, Maryland: Chespeake Bay Maritime Museum, 1982. 56 pp., photographs, drawings, bibliography. $5.00.

John Leather. *Sail and Oar*. London: Conway Maritime Press, 1982. 144 pp., diagrams, photographs, drawings, index. $19.95.

Uffa Fox. *Sailing Seamanship and Yacht Construction*. London: Peter Davis, 1934; Camden, Maine: International Marine Publishing Company, 1982. 271 pp., photographs, diagrams, index. $50.00.

Adlard K. Coles. *Sailing Years: An Autobiography*. Clinton Corners, New York: John de Graff Inc., 1981. 212 pp., photographs, drawings, maps, index. $18.50.

Roger C. Taylor. *The Elements of Seamanship*. Camden, Maine: International Marine Publishing Company, 1982. 119 pp., drawings, glossary, bibliography, index. $12.95.

The bag of books reported on here is rather eclectic, ranging as it does from a scholarly work on New England towns to a reprint of a yachting classic. Nevertheless, there is probably something in it to appeal to the taste of almost any *Log* reader.

Village and Seaport by Douglas Jones is a scholarly study of the populations of Wenham and Beverly, Massachusetts, in the late eighteenth century. Jones uses genealogies, tax records, birth and death records, and other data, with a computer to aid analysis, to draw a detailed picture of each town and explore how people migrated in and out of them. He shows how, at that early period of American history, out migration–whether opening up new land or to sea via commercial towns–was an important safety valve for population growth, the beginning of our long history of internal movement. As a monograph, it's not aimed at the general reader, but it's necessary reading for those interested in town studies and how to do them, as well as those interested in early New England history.

A small monograph of a different sort is Naval Architect Thomas Gillmer's *Chesapeake Bay Sloops*. Gillmer covers one American workboat, using the last example, the sloop *J. T. Leonard*, as a case study. He recounts the history of the type in the Chesapeake briefly and then goes into considerable detail on construction, a section illustrated by his fine measured drawings of the *Leonard*, as well as many photographs. A list of all sloops built on the Chesapeake compiled by John Earle is included, as is an afterword by Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum's director R. J. Holt. The afterword should be of interest to the general reader, and required reading for anyone concerned with ship and boat preservation. For the story of the *Leonard* is the story of what should happen when a boat comes to a museum too late, when it *isn't* possible to preserve or restore it (such as Mystic's *Australia*). Holt explains how the museum went about documenting the vessel, so that an exact replica could be built, and so that a visitor can understand how the boat went together.

John Leather touches on working boats in his

Sail and Oar. He considers a lot of other boats too—definitely a mixed bag. He's interested in versatile boats: beach cruisers, cruising canoes, canoe yawls, boats with good performance under sail and oar. There are designs both old and modern. Unusual to American boat fanciers are chapters on craft such as the wickedly fast Norfolk punt, English and Swedish decked cruising canoes, large rowing gigs, and on rigs such as the lug, unusual in American practice. Information on dories, the North Haven dinghy, Frederic Fenger's rudderless *Yakaboo*, and paddling canoes, has appeared in other forms in publications that likely are available in a well-found small-boat library.

Leather's main point that we should push forward in designing versatile craft without being slaves to tradition is well taken, although one should understand thoroughly why a traditional design is the way it is before modifying it. The book is well illustrated with diagrams and photographs so that one can make the comparisons that Leather finds so interesting. But it is a bit puzzling too: it's not necessarily a book for someone seeking a first boat. It seems to be best suited for those who have some familiarity with boats, and have had some time to think about them. Leather's choices are interesting, as are his comments, and reflect a man with good taste in boats. As usual and regrettable with a Leather book, there is no guidance for further reading.

Another book presenting a fleet of boats is the reprint of Uffa Fox's *Sailing Seamanship and Yacht Design.* This was the first of Fox's classic series of five, the books that made his writing reputation. It is some of his best stuff. The cruising section reads like a who's who of 1930s yachting history: L. Francis Herreshoff's *Landfall,* Starling Burgess's *Niña,* Olin Stephens's *Brilliant* and *Dorade,* among others. Fox crewed on many of these, and his experiences enliven the book, as does the story of cruising his own Twenty-two Square Meter *Vigilant* to Sweden for a few races, and his trip across the Channel and up the Seine with his Sea Scouts in their whaleboat. A section on cruising yacht proportions still has a message in today's race-dominated yachting; chapters on rigging, gear, and anchors show us the state of the 1930s art. The racing section emphasizes Fox's first and greatest love, racing small boats. His career was made by his success with *Avenger,* the first "modern" International Fourteen. Here he tells her story, including the famous jaunt from Cowes to Le Havre for a few days of racing, returning with a 100-mile beat to weather in thirty-seven hours, not bad for a 14-foot open boat! Other stories include winning the International Canoe Trophy (one of yachting's oldest), and accounts of J boats like *Weetamoe,* the *Britannia,* and racing Six Meters. The reprint is a good job, considering that original photographs could not be found. Consequently it's expensive, almost as much as the original, if you can find one. But it's a classic, indeed the whole series is, and I hope that the last three will also be reprinted.

The sailing career of K. Adlard Coles, recounted in his autobiography *Sailing Years,* covered much the same period as Fox's. But Coles was first a cruiser, and only after World War II an ocean racer. His book is a fascinating account of how he gained and built on the experience that made him a successful yachting writer and publisher. His detailed account of cruising in the Baltic prior to World War II, to now-forgotten countries in boats like Arthur Ransome's *Racundra,* which he bought in Riga and sailed home in 1925, is especially interesting, based on journals accurate and detailed enough to give the reader a feeling of being along. It's these journals that formed the basis of his numerous cruising guides. His experience during a lifetime of sailing led to his classic book, *Heavy Weather Sailing,* must reading for those who go to sea in small ships, and his well-written autobiography shows us how he gained it.

Roger Taylor's *The Elements of Seamanship* could also become a classic. It is a compilation of articles first written for *WoodenBoat,* based on experience messing about in boats ranging from Beetle cats to the Naval Academy's sailing fleet. His style is simple, spare, to the point, and witty. It's confined to essentials: "Keeping the Water Out, Keeping from Hitting Anything, Keeping Her Going, Keeping Her Where You Want Her, and Keeping Your Reputation." It's an excellent first choice for the first time boat owner, but there are good tips for the experienced too. A glossary of sea terms completes the book; his bibliography is a minimum list of essentials, books that will supply the facts needed to follow the principles Taylor sets out. It deserves to sit next to L. F. Herreshoff's *Compleat Cruiser,* another compilation of uncommon common sense.

Seabag



ACQUISITION

This watercolor of the American ship *Pacific* by Joseph Honoré Maxime Pellegrin was recently acquired by the Seaport through an exchange. The *Pacific* was built at Guilford, Connecticut, in 1818 by James Leete, and owned by Abraham Heaton and her master, Ichabod Smith, both of New Haven. Though largely a satellite of New York, New Haven had extensive trading ties with the West Indies, and ongoing trade with the fruit ports of the Mediterranean. New Haven's trade with China and Northern Europe tapered off after the War of 1812.

Planked with fir over oak frames, the *Pacific* was registered at 217-75/95 tons, with a length of 84′3″ between perpendiculars, beam of 24′8″, and 12′ depth of hold. A single-deck vessel, she had a large deckhouse aft. Her registration certificates indicate that she made several coastal voyages between New Haven and New Orleans in the early 1820s. *Lloyds' Register* documents a voyage between New York and Bristol, England, in 1824, at which time she was rated A-1.

The Pellegrin painting depicts her at Marseilles, where she was rated by the French Bureau Veritas in February 1830. At that time she was owned by Robert Atwater, Leonard A. Daggett, and Ezra Hotchkiss (Atwater, Daggett & Co.) of New Haven, and was under the command of Captain Cartwright. Seven months later she was sold foreign at Valparaiso, Chile.

Joseph Honoré Maxime Pellegrin was an accomplished marine watercolorist who is represented in many museum collections. Born 26 November 1793 at Marseilles, he painted there between 1827 and 1864 or 1867. He died 11 November 1869 at Marseilles. The painting is signed "h^re. Pellegrin à Marseille, au 1830," lower right. Unframed paper 17 3/16 x 23 1/2". [82.123]

HISTORIC SHIPS AFLOAT

The *Katahdin*

The International Congress of Maritime Museums (ICMM) *Historic Ship Register* contains many well-known museum vessels, and also some obscure ones. Among the latter is the steamboat *Katahdin*, currently undergoing restoration at Moosehead Lake in Maine.

As early as 1836 steamboats were introduced into this isolated region of central Maine, and for 100 years provided the only link between the ends of the thirty-five-mile-long lake. With the rise of summer resorts Moosehead Lake became a popular wilderness retreat for tourists. In 1896 a 111-foot steamer named *Katahdin* was built to serve the increasing volume of business on the lake. She burned in 1912, and was replaced by the surviving *Katahdin* in 1914.



The *Katahdin*. (Courtesy of Moosehead Marine Museum)

Built by the Bath Iron Works, the steel hull of the steamer was shipped in sections to be assembled at the lake, where a wooden superstructure was added. She was launched in August 1914 for the Coburn Steamboat Company. While similar in purpose to the *Ticonderoga* (see fall 1982 *Log*) the *Katahdin* represented a more modern design, with screw propeller. In 1922 she was converted to diesel power. The largest steamer on the lake, the 115-foot *Katahdin* was rated to carry 500 passengers to the hotels, villages, and hunting and fishing camps along the lake shore. She also transported cargo and mail, as well as railroad cars on barges.

By 1938 highway construction had obviated the need for water transport on Moosehead Lake, and the *Katahdin* was retired from passenger service. Purchased by the Hollingsworth and Whitney Paper Company, she spent the next thirty-eight years hauling logs for the paper industry, towing up to 6,000 cords of pulpwood in a single "raft." When the Environmental Protection Agency banned log drives the *Katahdin* was laid up after the 1975 season.

The Moosehead Marine Museum was established in 1977 and shortly thereafter acquired the *Katahdin* from the Scott Paper Company. The vessel has been undergoing restoration for several years, but plans call for relaunching her as an excursion boat for the museum. The Moosehead Marine Museum is located in Greenville, Maine, at the southern end of Moosehead Lake.

CORRECTIONS

In the fall 1982 *Log* it was stated that the *Ticonderoga* is the last surviving vertical-beam (walking-beam) side-wheel steamer in the United States. Several readers have pointed out that the ferryboat *Eureka*, on display at the National Maritime Museum in San Francisco, is also a vertical-beam side-wheel steamer. She was built as the ferry *Ukiah* in 1890 by the Southern Pacific Railroad, and was extensively rebuilt and renamed *Eureka* in 1922.

In the winter 1983 *Log* Mary Anne Stets and Claire White-Peterson should have been credited for the photography in "Sailor-made" by Stuart Parnes.

Prize Article Contest

The Editorial Board of *The Log of Mystic Seaport* is pleased to announce its third prize article contest.

Purpose To encourage the study of American maritime subjects, and to promote the publication of original research in the field.

Criteria Accurate scholarship demonstrating original research and, when appropriate, the use of primary source material. Articles can take the form of biography or studies on economic, political, social, literary, artistic, or musical aspects of the American maritime traditions. However, strictly naval topics and works of fiction are excluded.

Eligibility Ineligible are Trustees of Mystic Seaport Museum and members of the Editorial Board of *The Log of Mystic Seaport.*

Manuscripts No more than 6,000 words in length (excluding footnotes and bibliography). Entries must not have been previously published. Editorial Guidelines and Contest Entry Forms are available from: The Editor, *The Log of Mystic Seaport,* Mystic Seaport Museum, Mystic, Connecticut 06355.

Deadline Manuscripts must be submitted prior to 1 December 1983.

Award Five hundred dollars and publication in *The Log of Mystic Seaport.*



THE LOG OF MYSTIC SEAPORT

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