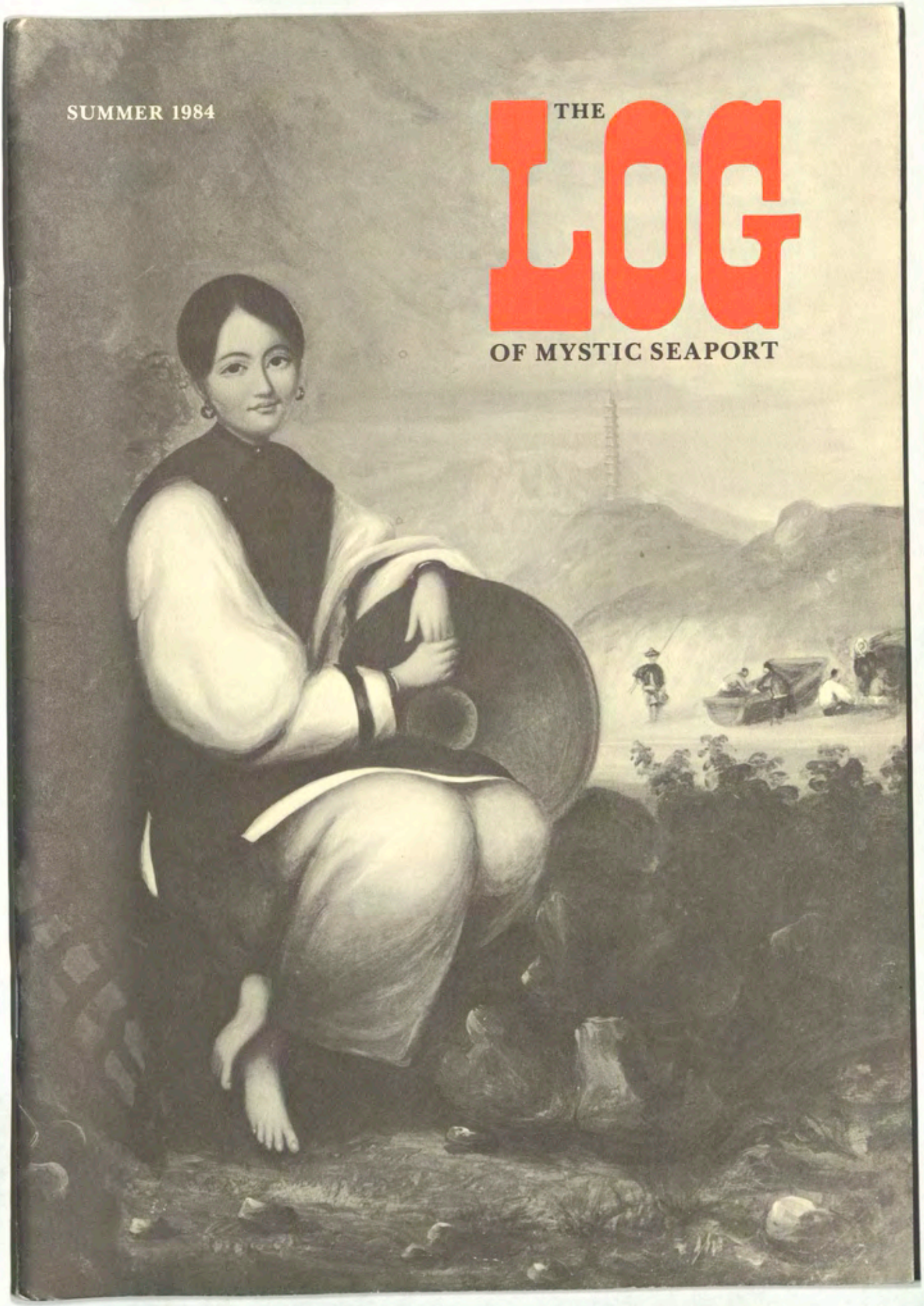
SUMMER 1984

THE LOG OF MYSTIC SEAPORT



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COVER: *This unsigned oil portrait of a Chinese sampan girl resembles the work of the so-called "Chinnery School" of Chinese artists. Influenced by resident English portraitist George Chinnery (1774-1852), these artists flourished at Canton and Macao, beginning in the 1820s. Captain Merrill of the* Flyaway *brought this painting home in the 1850s. 23⅜ x 18 in. (84.17.2)*

BACK COVER: *The Dead Horse at Mystic Seaport. (Photo by Claire White-Peterson)*

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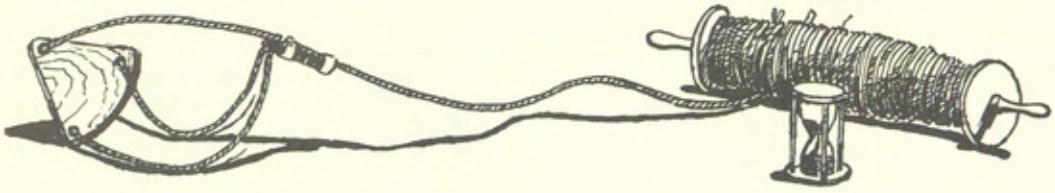
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SIGHTINGS



At the core of Mystic Seaport Museum is the story of men and women going to sea. Virtually every aspect of our programs relates to the human experience of going to sea. The objects we preserve, the ways of life we interpret, the courses we teach, and the material we publish all convey information about the varied sea experiences of many people over many centuries.

At the core of the sea experience is the most basic element – survival. Mariners have always had to acknowledge the risks and dangers of venturing out upon the ocean where the most rugged of vessels can be instantly transformed into a frail shell.

In our museum, when we look at hundred-year-old shipping lists and see vessels recorded as "overdue," a touch of the reality of what that meant to concerned friends and family reaches us. We read stories of shipwrecks and we feel a bit of the courage and pathos of the moment. But this is history, part of a distant era.

Abruptly, we have learned in the most painful of ways that it remains a part of the sea today. In early June the Museum's staff was stunned by news of the sinking of the bark *Marques* which took with it eighteen people, two of them Seaport staff.

It is more normal for us to have either a detached academic view of maritime history or a romantic sense of the sea saga. In an instant our perspective changes as the reality of friends lost at sea penetrates our lives.

We experience the joy of learning that one friend, Stuart Gillespie, has survived. We grasp at glimmering rays of hope as vague information about the disaster comes in. As each of these hopes fades we confront the dark reality and we begin the healing process of remembering.

History has become the present and we experience firsthand what others in past generations and other seaports endured when ships with friends and loved ones "went missing." The anguish and frustration of having members of our family lost at sea is now ours.

These two young women were exceptional, each in her own way, and they each gave in the most positive way to their friends and the Museum. Susan Peterson Howell and Andrea S. Lee were part of Mystic Seaport. Their enthusiasm, interest, dedication, humor, and verve will endure in this museum and in all of us who were touched by their lives.

J. Revell Carr

"To Pass . . . Without Hindrance"

The Ventures of the Brig *Reaper* and the End of Neutral Trade

GLENN S. GORDINIER

The equatorial sun beat down relentlessly as the crew of the American brig *Reaper* repeatedly braced the yards and handled sail in a vain effort to pick up a fair wind. The date was 19 February 1810 and the *Reaper* wallowed in the doldrums at the southern extreme of the Bay of Bengal. The day ended in calms as the men labored to unbend the foretopsail and replace it with another. The only break in the sweltering monotony was the sighting of a sail, far off the larboard bow. It had been an exasperating twenty-four hours; the brig had only traveled a scant thirty miles.

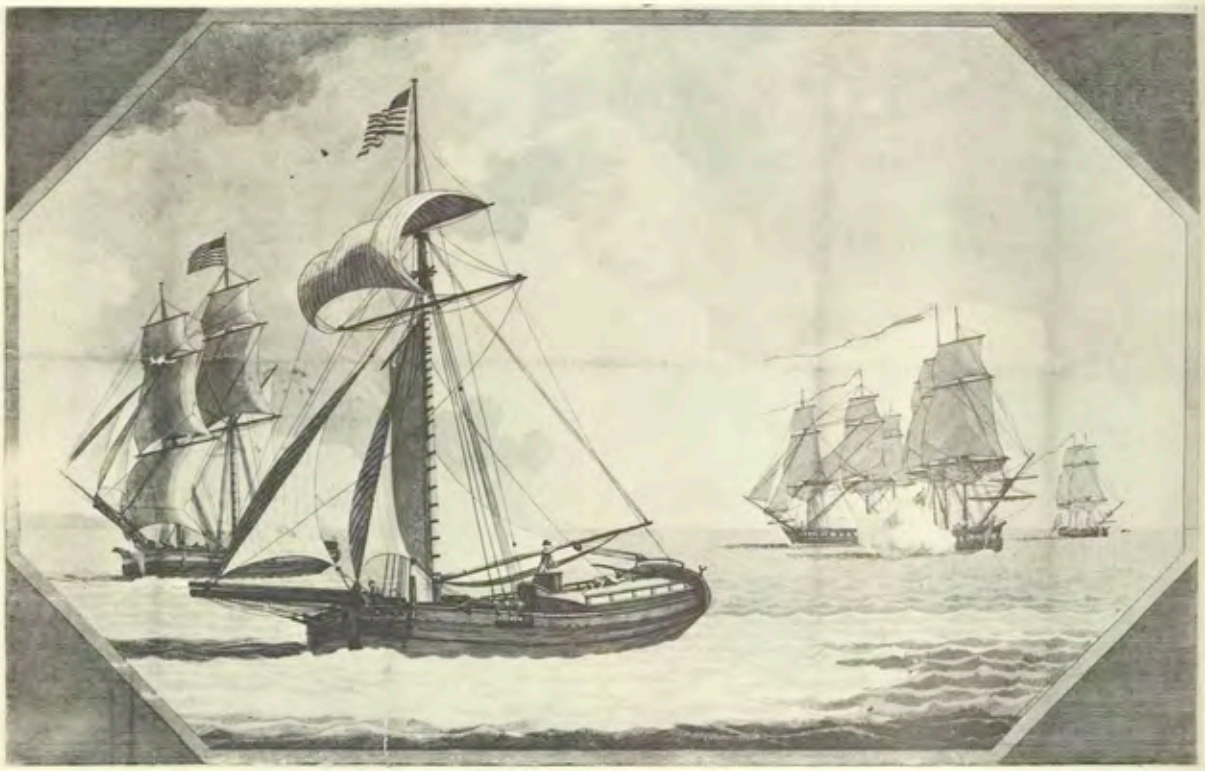
Through the following afternoon the crew continued to toil with the braces. The light winds varied all around the compass and now rain came down in sheets. While working his vessel, Captain Isaac Hinckley continued to watch the unidentified sail as it approached through the heavy rains. At the end of the second dog watch, Hinckley quickly went to his cabin. Picking up a pen, he scrawled in the margin of his daily journal, "Frigate in Chase." There was no doubt any more – the *Reaper* was being pursued by a man-of-war. The tension onboard mounted as questions waited to be answered. Was she British? If so would the American protection papers save them from being impressed into the Royal Navy? Or was she a Frenchman? If that was the case, prospects for the future were even more bleak. With a hold carrying goods from British India the *Reaper* would doubtless be seized and sent into a French port for condemnation; a hapless ending to a long and trying venture. Or was there hope that the spry Yankee brig could outrun the oncoming belligerent?

Hinckley altered course. The *Reaper* responded slowly. Then for the next several hours the two vessels competed in a classic race in light winds, a race that we, who can measure time in millionths of a second, would find painfully slow. Eventually, a puff of smoke erupted from the bow of the frigate, and a shot skipped across the calm waters. Other shots followed as the navy gunners found their range.[1] It appeared that the *Reaper,* like many other American merchantmen, was going to be victimized by a foreign warship.

Actually, the *Reaper* was not in jeopardy because she was an American, but because, as an American, she was a neutral. By 1810 the neutral activities of the American merchant fleet had brought it to the brink of disaster. This seems particularly ironic since it was the same neutral activity which had so recently given it the breath of life. That breath had been needed desperately following the American Revolution when maritime commerce in the United States languished. Part of the troubles were due to some of the Europeans, the British especially, barring Yankee ships from favored colonial trading routes.

This situation changed rapidly, however,

Glenn Gordinier is the Research Associate for the Seaport's Education Department. Having taught before joining the Museum, he holds a Master's Degree in Education. This article grew out of his Master's Thesis in American History at Lehigh University.



In this oft repeated scene a shot from H.M.S. *Leander* forces an American vessel to heave to off Sandy Hook, 28 April 1806. This incident was unique only in that the Yankee helmsman was accidentally killed by an errant ball. The resultant public outcry brought the two nations to the brink of war during 1806. Etching and engraving by John J. Barrelet. (Library of Congress)

when war broke out between France and England in 1795. Due to the pressures the war placed on their own fleets, the belligerents relaxed their mercantilistic restrictions and Americans suddenly found themselves welcome in previously restricted ports. The inflated cost of wartime supplies and freight rates made this neutral carrying business very profitable. As neutrals, Americans were not forced to travel in slow, costly convoys; nor did they have to pay the high insurance rates that sapped the European merchants of their profits. As is so often the case, war had created the perfect conditions for profiteering, and the plucky Yankees were quick to exploit their advantage. This era of neutral trade meant unprecedented prosperity and growth for the American merchant marine.

There was, nonetheless, one major problem with the neutral trade game. If an American captain was carrying French goods, then the British assumed that he was aiding the enemy, and vice versa. Consequently, the warring powers sent cruisers and privateers to the major trading lanes in order to stop and seize American vessels that were carrying goods between enemy ports. Many of the captured vessels were small sloops and schooners that specialized in the West Indies trade. Others were brigs and ships that ventured to Continental ports or eastern markets.

These seizures took place hundreds of times. However, it was not simply a matter of British men-of-war taking every American vessel they found carrying French goods. Throughout the war years the

Europeans' attitude concerning neutral shipping changed continually. One month either or both of the belligerents would accept the arrival and departure of neutral bottoms. The next month one of them might crack down and seize dozens of surprised neutrals. These periodic changes in policy usually reflected how well the war effort was going at the time. When the French were doing poorly and needed the help of the Americans, they would relax their restrictions. If Napoleon scored an important victory, giving him the upper hand, American vessels would soon find themselves suffering from French depredations. The British behaved in much the same manner throughout the era.

Further adding to the complications, provincial European governments did not always follow national edicts to the letter. For instance, if it was better in the short run for the Britons in Calcutta to foster American shipping out of Bengal, then they would do so in spite of international agreements to the contrary.[2] These local accommodations were quite common in the days of slow communication. However, many neutral merchants paid dearly because of this. Their vessels were sometimes seized, condemned, and sold at auction when revisiting previously cooperative colonial ports.[3]

In 1802 the Peace of Amiens ended the war between the Europeans, and the Americans were freed from harassment. But they were also freed from trading with many colonial markets as the old mercantilistic restrictions went into effect once more. As a result, the maritime industries in the United States suffered accordingly.

It was not long, however, before the demand for neutral carriers returned. In 1803 Napoleon and George III reopened hostilities, and Yankee entrepreneurs hoped that they could resume business as usual. Unfortunately, military victories by Napoleon and the resultant rise of the hardline supporters of George Pitt in the British Parliament caused both belligerents to toughen their positions on neutral trade. The military standoff between the armies of Napoleon and the navy of George III resulted in escalating economic warfare. Through a series of Imperial Edicts and Orders in Council, the combatants eventually proclaimed that any neutral ship that had even entered an enemy port or had been searched and permitted to proceed by an enemy vessel would be considered a prize of war.

By 1807 these proclamations resulted in two out of every nine American carriers being seized. This outrageous circumstance was stoically shouldered by the Yankee merchants. As George Cabot, a member of the Essex Junto, put it, if only one out of three American vessels completed her voyage the owners would still make a handsome profit on the lot.[4] Unfortunately for Cabot and his associates, President Jefferson did not agree.

Late in 1807 Congress enacted Jefferson's proposal for a full trade embargo. He hoped that he could coerce France and England, both of whom still relied heavily on American ships, to relax their trade restrictions by ending trade with both nations. They, however, were in a life-and-death struggle and simply did without neutral aid. Meanwhile, the American maritime industries went into an immediate depression, with ships rotting at the wharves and seamen resorting to the breadlines.[5] After fourteen months of chaos and threats against the Union by spokesmen for New England commercial interest, the embargo was repealed. The merchants who were lucky enough to have survived its effects were back in business.

Some of those merchants had been preparing for the repeal of the embargo for quite some time. The more astute businessmen had maintained contact with their associates overseas and were prepared to send ships to foreign markets as soon as the embargo was lifted. One such merchant was a Bostonian named Andrew Cabot. Cabot was a nephew of the powerful George

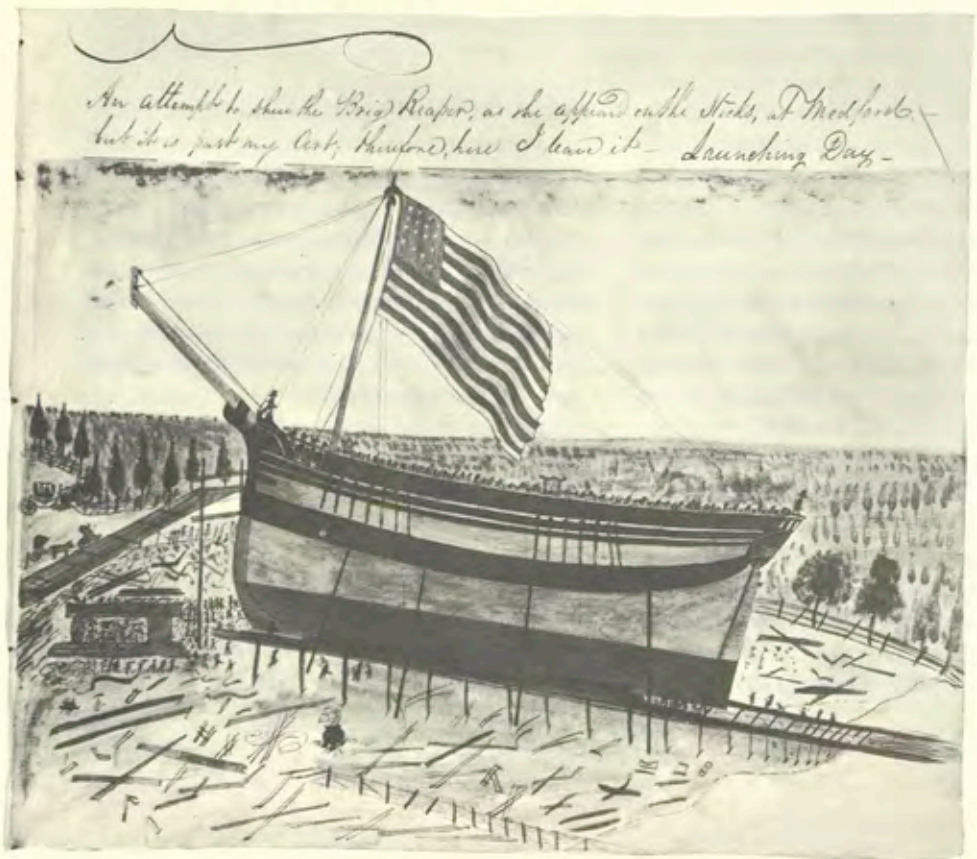
Cabot, and a member of that eminently successful merchant clan. Although only twenty-seven years old during the embargo, Andrew Cabot had been traveling to the Far East for a decade and had earned a reputation as an astute and dependable businessman.[6]

His plans for the end of the embargo were quite ambitious: he financed the building of a brand new vessel and backed her maiden voyage. She was christened *Reaper,* and Cabot himself owned seven-eighths of her 284 tons. Built during the dark days of the embargo, she provided work for the crew at the Thatcher Magoun shipyard in Medford, Massachusetts.[7] With the building of the *Reaper* and several other vessels, Magoun established a reputation for skill and craftsmanship that would endure for three decades.[8]

The *Reaper* was not the typical fore-and-after that coasted to the Caribbean, but a well-found and properly fitted out East Indiaman. Hers would be a voyage to the eastern markets, which meant a long-term capital investment. Consequently, the *Reaper,* like many other eastern traders, was built by one of the nation's finest young master carpenters and constructed of the stoutest materials. However, to be successful she needed more than good workmanship. She also needed to possess the right qualities to survive the challenges of both the sea and belligerent men-of-war.

The vessels most noted for adaptations to accommodate speed were the fleet Baltimore clippers. These lightly-built schooners and brigs, with relatively sharp bows, narrow hulls, and extreme deadrise (the angle at which the hull rises from a trans-

This charming watercolor of the *Reaper*'s launch served as the frontispiece in Hinckley's journal. Well-wishers crowd the deck beneath the oversized ensign (the actual dimensions of the flag were 12′ by 24′). Might that be the proud owner astride the bowsprit, and the ship's master astern?



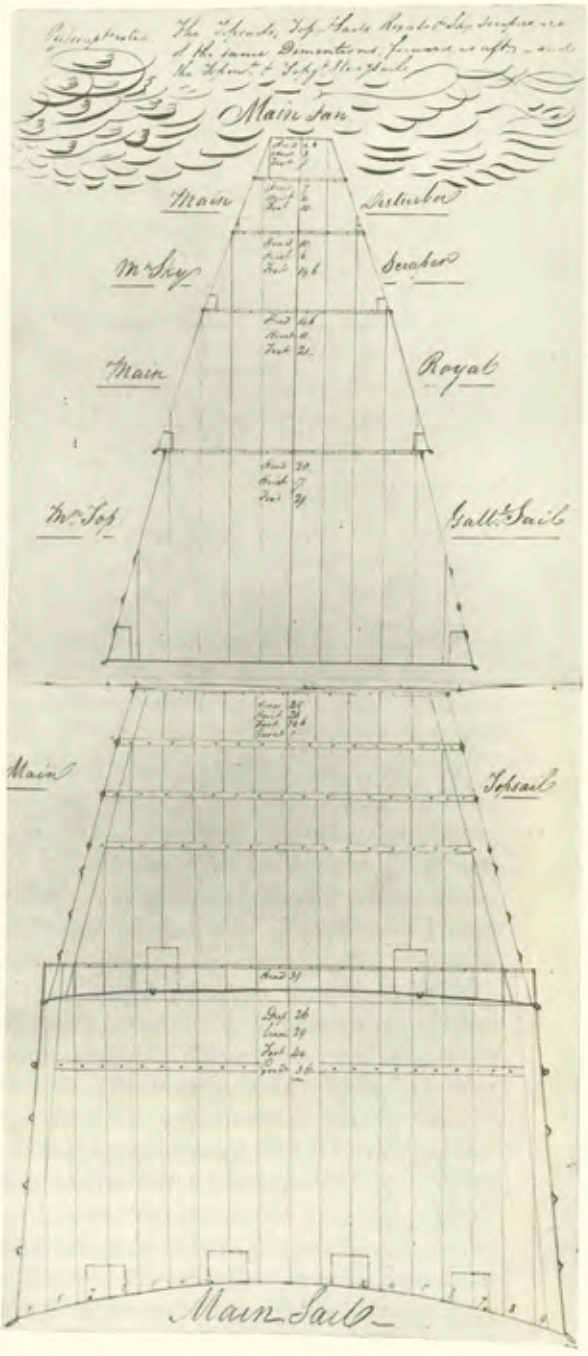
verse horizontal plane), became world renowned for their speed and maneuverability.

The rigging of Baltimore clippers was also of special note. They were greatly oversparred; that is, their masts and yards were extremely long for the size of the hull. By using a predominantly fore-and-aft rig, most of these speedsters could sail much closer to the wind than a square-rigged ship. Meanwhile, the addition of a few square sails aided the downwind run.

The light, sharp hull and the tall rig were ideal for a fast sailing ship, but there were several drawbacks. The higher the rig and the sharper the hull, the more unstable the vessel became. Some of the fastest of these vessels were driven under or capsized when the fine balance between loftiness and stability was altered.[9] Another problem with the Baltimore clipper was limited cargo space. The great deadrise, sharp entrance, and long run reduced the amount of hull in which to carry cargo. The enormous profits garnered from the illicit trades like piracy and slaving made up for lost carrying capacity. However, if one wanted to carry legal cargo, his vessel's hull needed to be more spacious, such as the famed British East Indiaman, built with bluff bows, round bilges, and very little deadrise.

But a neutral trader like the *Reaper* could not be so lumbering and capacious. Therefore, Andrew Cabot and his colleagues settled for a vessel that was something of a compromise. The *Reaper* was neither a seagoing, East Indian warehouse, nor a sleek, bantam-weight Baltimore clipper. Her hull proved to be somewhat full, but that was balanced out by her oversized sailing rig.

The *Reaper* made her entrance into the world of neutral trade on 29 June 1809, when she cleared Boston for the mouth of the Red Sea. The intended venture, however, should have kept her from entanglements with any European warships. She was bound out with $80,000.00 in specie for the purchase of Arabian coffee,[10] which was



The *Reaper*'s main sails as Isaac Hinckley sketched them in his journal. The "Sky Scraper" was made onboard, but the "Disturber" and the tiny "Fan" were purely whims of the captain's fancy.

a good cargo to carry during those difficult times. A French or English captain would have a hard time condemning a brand new American vessel like the *Reaper* for carrying coffee from one non-belligerent port to another.

As the *Reaper* first dipped her head into the swells of the North Atlantic, her captain and one-eighth owner, Isaac Hinckley, began his journal with the entry, "I take my departure... Bound for Mocha in Arabia ... May God send the good Ship to her desired Ports in Safety."[11] Hinckley's supplication was well taken. Not only was he setting out to cross thousands of miles of sea, but, his neutral cargo notwithstanding, he was sailing into a world that was enveloped by global war. Meanwhile, the belligerents had not relaxed their vigilance after the embargo, and the threat of being seized was still real enough.

Therefore, it was with pleasure that Captain Hinckley noted the fine sailing qualities of his new command. During his first day in the open sea, Hinckley remarked in his journal, "... the Brig sails 9 & 10 knots nearly on a wind ..." He followed that the next day with, "Brig sails 9, 10 & 11 knots with more ease & perfectly dry, than any vessel I ever sailed."[12] These were good beginnings, but how would the *Reaper* perform when a vessel flying the French Tricolor or the British Cross of St. George was sighted? Three weeks later Hinckley found out. His journal entry of 22 July reads,

> At 1 PM saw a sail on the Lee Bow Stand[g] Westward, supposing she was bound to America Kept away & sett all sail fore & aft below & aloft at 3 PM Luff'd too & gave him a shott from the Lee Bow – he immediately took in sail....

On this occasion the traditional roles had been reversed. The vessel that had been sighted was the British carrier *Lady Kenmaire*. Hinckley had given chase and overhauled the English merchantman easily. The captain of the *Lady Kenmaire* backed his sails only when Hinckley warned him to do so by firing a shot from his gun on the lee bow, the international signal for "heave to." After Hinckley ordered his "prisoner" to come aboard the *Reaper,* he learned that the Englishman had thought him to be a Frenchman. The other captain explained that the *Reaper* was so lofty and had sailed so well he had been convinced that she was a privateer or a man-of-war. After some discussion, the relieved Briton returned to his own vessel with letters from Isaac to Hannah Hinckley and Andrew Cabot.[13]

Another month found the *Reaper* making her way up the eastern shore of Arabia. Hinckley set his crew to work, and on 30 September he noted in his journal, "shipd the Wooden Guns; we Now Shew 20 Guns and look as Rakeish as a Half wet Swab." These "Quaker" guns would not do much to dissuade an approaching frigate, but they could serve to fend off another fact of life in the eastern trade – Arabian pirates.

Early in October 1809 the *Reaper* came to anchor in the back bay of Aden. Hinckley proceeded to sound out the local market. Unfortunately, for the *Reaper* and her crew, the Europeans did not have exclusive rights to making war: the land around Aden was in the throes of a revolution. As Isaac Hinckley put it, the war between the "Arabs and the Woahoes had caused a scarcity of coffee." What originally had been seen as a safe and profitable voyage to a neutral land had suddenly turned into an extended venture. Waiting to purchase a cargo of coffee would have been "madness in the extreme," so the captain was forced to move on to a belligerent port. It was with despair and great chagrin that Hinckley changed his plans and departed Aden for the great trading center of Calcutta, British East India. Hinckley knew that the northeast monsoon would fight him on his way out of the Gulf of Aden and across the Bay of Bengal and that the passage would "be long, hazardous, & disagreeable." He ended a memorandum in his journal on the day of departure by extending his prayers to his family that



Mocha, Arabia, the *Reaper*'s original port of destination. Local fighting forced the American brig to alter course at Aden. Neither port was very impressive, however. Mocha's ramparts could neither stop a cannon ball, nor support the concussion of their own guns. As for Aden, Hinckley declared it was "the worst place I was ever in . . . the last place that was made in the world." (George Valentia, *Voyages and Travels*, London, 1809)

"they be protected & prosperd if I am not – God Protect the Inocents."[14]

The beat out of the Gulf of Aden was painfully slow, even though the *Reaper* was as good a sailer in light airs as she was in gales of wind.[15] After twenty-nine days of tacking against light winds, Hinckley ordered the royals furled for the first time. These light sails had helped the little brig ghost along, and she finally made her way into the Arabian Sea on the way to the Hooghly River.

Four weeks later, while approaching the Indian coast, another sail was sighted. Once again she was a British trader, and again the *Reaper* was thought to be a French privateer. Hinckley gave chase and after firing several shots, "Some close on the Ship," he forced the Englishman to heave to. This time Hinckley went on board the other vessel to exchange news and leave letters for his wife and ship's owner.[16]

Hinckley and his neutral vessel spent the month of January 1810 in Calcutta purchasing a mixed cargo of goods valued at better than $80,000.[17] The bulk of the cargo was bundles of cotton piece goods. These brightly colored materials were produced by impoverished weavers and bore names such as "Mowsannahs," "Gurrahs," and "Custers."[18] They were all locally created and locally purchased, but according to the Imperial Decrees of Napoleon they were war goods. Calcutta was a British port, and the local authorities had cleared the *Reaper* in and out. If a French privateer or man-of-war intercepted the *Reaper* on her way home, she could well be condemned as a prize of war.

Napoleon notwithstanding, Isaac Hinckley and his fleet little brig were homeward bound as of February first. It was hoped by all on board that they would not encounter a Frenchman, as it was known that at least one of them was operating in the shipping lanes of the Bay of Ben-

gal. As fate would have it, only three weeks after departure Hinckley scrawled on the margin of his journal, "Frigate in Chase."

> At 8 PM discovered the (sail) which we saw in y^e^ morning to be in chase of us, hauld up WSS [*sic*] At 10, after receiving several shot, hove too, & was boarded from the British Frigate CLORINDE treated not very politely, but permitted to proceed. He thought we were a Frenchman.

After several fretful hours, all was well, and the *Reaper* went on her way. Hinckley's records had all been in order, as had his official "protection." This document verified that the *Reaper*, her owners, and crew were all American, and that she should be permitted "to pass . . . without any hindrance, seizure, or molestation." Both the *Reaper*'s document and the sailors' personal protection papers were designed to prevent unjust impressment or seizure, but they were often ineffectual. This was partly due to the fact that the seamen's protections could be purchased on the streets of Yankee seaports, and British deserters often obtained them. That was one reason why sailors were regularly impressed from American decks.[19] The factor which usually determined whether crewmen on American vessels were impressed was the need of the warship in question. Apparently the complement aboard the *Clorinde* was sufficiently large as the *Reaper* and her company were permitted to proceed.

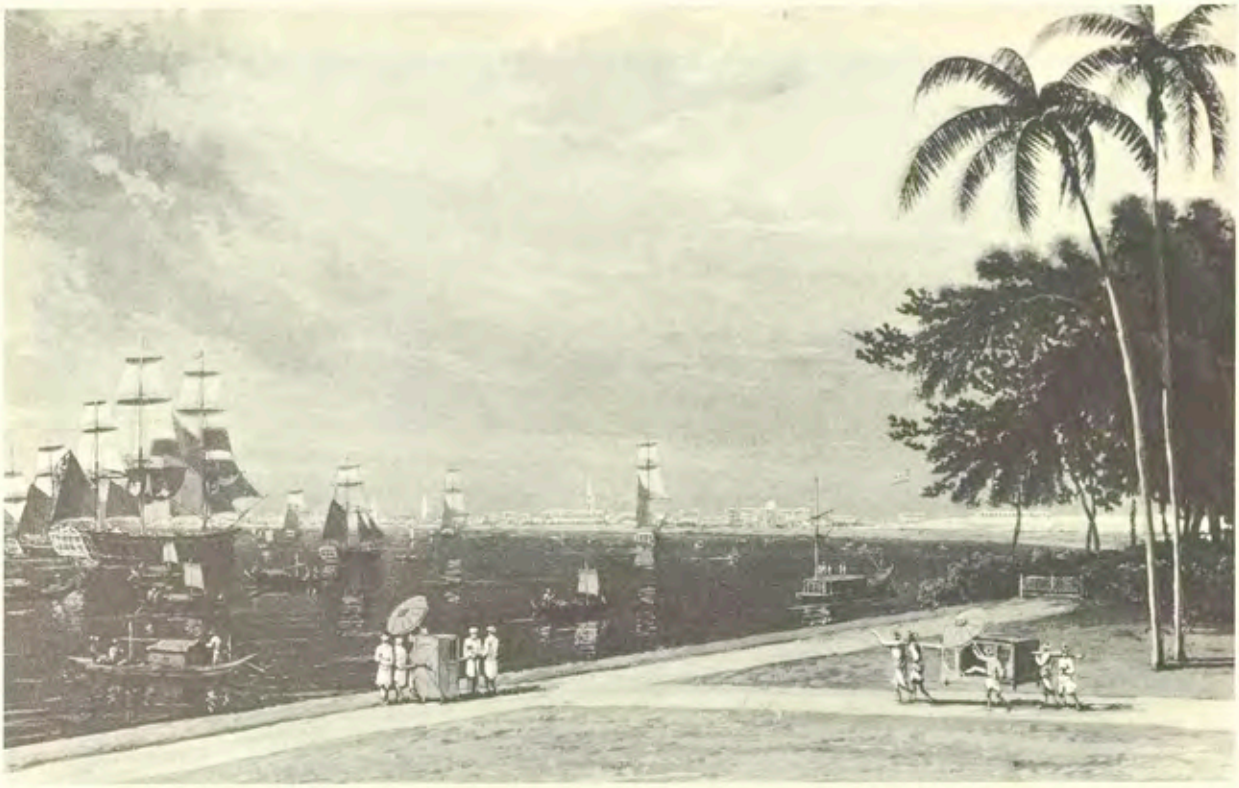
It was not long before the brig made her way across the Indian Ocean and into the safety of the South Atlantic. The larger ocean was safe because the overwhelming power of the Royal Navy forced the opposition to prey upon shipping in limited areas. The Bay of Bengal and waters around the European Continent were liable to be occupied by French marauders, but they could not operate on a large scale. By 1806 the strength of the British fleet had forced most French fighting ships from the sea.

As a result, Hinckley and his vessel proceeded without further incident. On 8 June 1810 the *Reaper* came to anchor off Long Wharf, Boston. The first voyage of this neutral trader was concluded without serious incident, and a fine profit was realized in a city starved for eastern goods.

In fact, the venture had been successful enough that within three weeks from the time the *Reaper* had completed discharging her cargo she was outward bound again, her port of destination: Calcutta, India. The captain for this voyage was Nathaniel Spooner, who had served as first mate under Hinckley on the Mocha venture.[20] Hinckley had sold his minor share of the *Reaper* to Cabot and remained behind to invest his profits in a home for his growing family.[21] The *Reaper* made her way to Calcutta without being disturbed by any belligerent vessel.

Despite an undisciplined crew, the second voyage of the *Reaper* proved to be another financial success.[22] Spooner, and his unwilling crew, brought the *Reaper* home, and Andrew Cabot laid his plans for another venture.

The *Reaper* had put to sea on her maiden voyage during a temporary stay of the Non-Intercourse Act. Thus, she would have been permitted to trade with English or French ports, while American vessels that had been in port when the Act went into effect were prohibited from doing so. By the time Isaac Hinckley brought the brig into Boston, Macon's Bill No. 2 had replaced non-intercourse. At first, Macon's Bill was a boon to Yankee merchants because it lifted the ban on trading with the belligerents. Ultimately, however, it proved to be the American's bane. The problem was that Macon's Bill No. 2 had an additional proviso stating that whichever belligerent first stopped seizing American vessels would be rewarded by the Federal government's reimposing non-intercourse against its rival. This desperate policy amounted to the surrender of the American right to free trade. Coercion had failed; open hostility would be suicidal; so the Re-



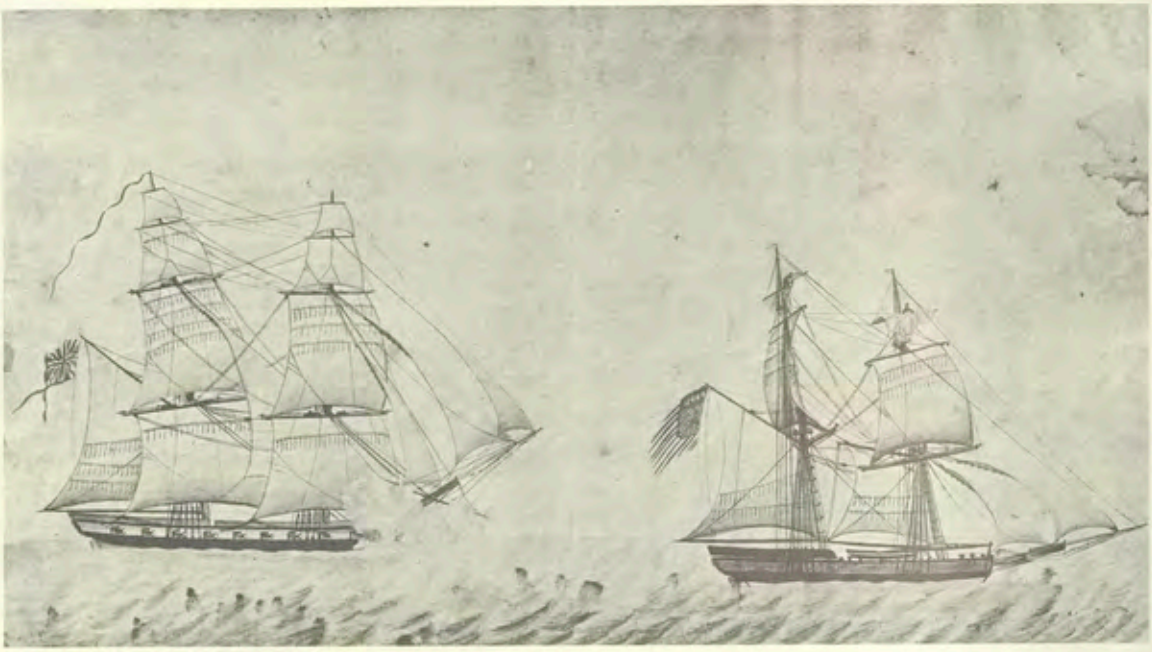
Western vessels make their way up the Hooghly River toward Calcutta, the seat of the British East Indian Empire. Palanquins carry their human cargo in the foreground. Hinckley rented one of these conveyances and its bearers for $16.00. The ever present parasol cost him $1.00 for the same three week period. (R. A. Daniell, *A Picturesque Voyage to India,* London, 1809)

publicans in Washington had opted for solicitation.

While the Europeans were deciding how to respond to Macon's proposition, the *Reaper* put to sea for her second voyage. Once again, as far as the American government was concerned, she could trade with any nation in the world. Then, shortly before the *Reaper* arrived in Calcutta for the second time, Napoleon announced that he accepted the Yankee offer and would desist from harassing American carriers. The British, with the superior naval force, had no reason to reciprocate. As a result, President James Madison declared non-intercourse with Great Britain early in 1811. By the time the *Reaper* returned from her second voyage, trade was again forbidden with the English. Luckily for Andrew Cabot the interdiction had been proclaimed during the *Reaper*'s venture; therefore, American revenue cutters allowed her to enter Boston Harbor unmolested.

With limited trade restrictions in effect, Andrew Cabot needed to decide on the *Reaper*'s destination for her third voyage. In true Federalist style, Cabot unhesitatingly sent Captain Spooner and his little brig to Bristol, England.[23] Like many other New England merchants, Cabot had chosen to ignore the edicts of his own government. This venture, which began on 22 August 1811, was in direct violation of Madison's non-intercourse proclamation; the *Reaper* was an outlaw at last.

Legality aside, the passage to Bristol went without incident. However, upon discharging his cargo of lumber, Spooner had trouble with his crew.[24] According to the *Reaper*'s supercargo, Henry Lee, the trouble



Not as fortunate as the *Reaper,* the New York schooner *Independence* backs her main topsail in acknowledgment of the shot fired across her bow by H. M. Brig *Rover* in the Bay of Biscay, 16 March 1813. She was but one of many American traders to fall prey to British cruisers with the outbreak of the unpopular war. Watercolor by an unknown artist. (Courtesy of Peabody Museum of Salem)

may have been rooted in "evil rum." In a letter to Cabot, Lee stated that because of intemperance, Spooner was "ruin'd forever."[25]

In spite of the complaints by Lee, Spooner took the *Reaper* on to Calcutta. There he picked up another cargo of piece goods and cleared customs, bound for home. Fortunately there were few Frenchmen seizing vessels on the high seas by 1811. This time, however, the *Reaper* could be seized by American revenue cutters as soon as she attempted to enter an American port. As a precaution, Spooner had been given special instructions before he set out:

> ...on your arrival off the port of New York–where you will proceed on your return to the country–you will hoist as a signal a white pendant forward and an American ensign aft, standing off and on until you receive further orders.... In addition... you will have a piece of Blue Bunting or Blue Cloth stitched to the middle of the Fore Top Sail.[26]

The plan was for associates in New York, upon seeing the brig flying said signals, to arrange for a surreptitious landing of the illegal goods.

Henry Lee, the supercargo for the voyage, had written to Cabot from abroad asking for information that might help the *Reaper* discharge her cargo elsewhere:

> ...if we cannot be admitted on our return I suppose Amelia Island will be our destination. If so, when you send off your orders send them with a good chart of that port. I believe it is a dangerous place to enter and we have no information on the subject.[27]

Amelia Island, Florida, was a favorite location for those seeking to smuggle goods into the United States and had been used extensively during Jefferson's embargo. The island was located just across the river from St. Mary's, Georgia. Since it was part of Spanish Florida, vessels could unload their goods there. These same goods would

be smuggled across the border under cover of darkness.[28] Thus, three years after the embargo had been lifted, Yankee merchants in Boston were once again preparing to land goods on the island's shores.

When the *Reaper* departed from Calcutta in October of 1812, Captain Spooner was prepared to avoid capture by the American revenue cutters back at home. Neither he nor anyone else in Calcutta was aware that his worries were in vain. In fact, he had much greater problems. The United States had declared war against Great Britain four months earlier. Instead of having to avoid a thin line of federal revenue cutters, he was faced with the prospect of evading the might of the Royal Navy.

The Yankee merchants saw their doom approaching. They knew that blockading America's ports would be a simple task for the Englishmen. Henry Lee calculated the *Reaper*'s chances for survival. He had remained behind in Calcutta when the brig departed and, upon hearing of the war, despaired of her ever reaching home. He wrote to his wife, "The *Reaper* has long since, I doubt not, been in the hands of England. She was taken in the West Indian latitudes or off our coast."[29] Lee must have been in great anguish. These unpredictable times had driven him and his brother into bankruptcy, and this venture was an attempt to begin over again. Now the war had dashed all his hopes.[30]

The war was a devastating blow to the American merchant community. There was no hiding the fact that America was too weak to defend its own ports, to say nothing of protecting its vessels on the high seas. The sentiments of many seafarers were echoed in the thoughts of the *Reaper*'s original master and part owner, Isaac Hinckley.

When war was declared, Hinckley had also been in Calcutta, acting as captain and supercargo of the new full-rigged ship *Tartar,* owned by Hinckley's friend and brother-in-law, the well-known Captain William Sturgis. The *Tartar* had been at sea, homeward bound, for three months before her master learned of the war. On 30 December 1812 Hinckley noted in his journal:

> Spoke the Brig Jane Abbott learnd that (we) had been at war since July 19th 1812. This is the first news I have had from America since I left & is the worst for me.
>
> ...it [the news] had literally taken us all aback we may now expect every sail we see to be Enemies–Fortune of War. Heaven guard the right and Chastise the wrong.[31]

On New Year's Day Hinckley was still reeling from the shattering news of war.

> This day, month & year of ruinous vile, wicked infamous, unreasonable unthought of, foolish War bloodshed & murder declar'd by the Amer. Govt. against G. Britain, is attended herewith light airs, squalls & calms, & to me the commencement of the most unhappy year of my journey thru life thus far. May heaven grant that the American Government may be as sick of their folly as I think the American people must be of the War.[32]

For the next three weeks Hinckley guided the *Tartar* toward the American coast. On two occasions Hinckley had the *Tartar*'s guns cleared for action when strange vessels threatened, and on two other occasions he avoided a large vessel that he assumed was a British frigate. On 14 January 1813 he saw a fifth vessel that he did not trust. "The Brig to windw[d] appea[s] Yankeefied He does not show so many TEETH as the TARTAR does He may be a Wolf in Sheeps cloth[s]."[33]

Fortunately, Captain Hinckley managed to avoid capture and brought the *Tartar* into Boston Harbor. But what of the *Reaper*? By year's end dozens of vessels had been seized and condemned, and the noose was still tightening. Miraculously, however, the *Reaper* and every other American vessel that had been in Calcutta that year evaded the developing British blockade and reached home safely.[34]

Andrew Cabot's worries did not end with the *Reaper*'s arrival, however. On 24 March 1813, four days after she made Boston Har-

bor, the *Reaper* was seized by the Federal government for the importation of British goods. A formal accusation was filed in the U.S. District Court and a trial date was set for 29 June.[35] In fact, the action brought against the *Reaper* was only the first of many that grew out of the voyage. The cargo in her hold was actually twenty-five separate lots of goods belonging to dozens of investors. Thus, including the information filed against the *Reaper* herself, twenty-six individual cases were brought before the District Court for violation of the Non-Intercourse Act. A number of Boston's most prominent merchants, including J. and T. H. Perkins, Cornelius Coolidge, Samuel Parkman, P. T. Jackson, and Francis Cabot Lowell faced the bench for their part in the venture.[36] With the nation at war and legal actions pending, Andrew Cabot and his associates found themselves in a less than enviable position.

None of these men, however, suffered from lack of resolution. Legal entanglements notwithstanding, they moved quickly to realize their investments. They had the impounded goods appraised and immediately posted bonds to regain possession of their property. The value of the *Reaper*'s cargo was set at $298,000.00 and bonds were secured for twice that amount.[37] The Bengal piece goods were soon on the market in Boston, and according to the correspondence of Patrick Tracy Jackson, it appeared that the affair would draw to a close without an indictment. (Jackson's only fear was that custom's officials would find out that a small portion of the cargo actually belonged to an English associate of his. If this was discovered it was quite possible that all of the cargo, and the brig herself, would immediately be condemned and sold at government auction.)[38]

The *Reaper* cases came before Judge John Davis on the last Tuesday of June 1813, but a decision was not forthcoming. The actions were carried from one District Court term to another until December of 1814. At that time all charges against the *Reaper* and her shippers were dropped. P. T. Jackson had been right. As had happened in earlier cases involving violations of Non-Intercourse, Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin had stepped in and pardoned all parties involved.[39] Thus, the *Reaper* trials came to a close with her investors emerging from the affair unscathed.

Sadly, for many American vessels and their owners such good fortune was hard to come by during 1813 and 1814. As had been expected, the Royal Navy blockaded America's eastern seaboard. The War of 1812 devastated the nation's maritime interests.

Like so many other beleaguered merchants, Andrew Cabot decided to minimize his holdings during the war. As a result, he sold the *Reaper.* Others in this country had no need of a deep-water sailer that could not reach the open sea. Consequently, as part of a small scale "flight from the flag," the *Reaper* was "sold foreign" and her name was changed. The cancellation of American registry was summarily noted on the back of the *Reaper*'s certificate of registration: "Cancelled at Boston Nov. 11, 1813, sale to a foreigner & called *Rantzow.*"[40]

Thus the *Reaper* departed the American dominion. Her ultimate fate is not known. As a neutral trader she had come onto the scene late in the drama. She was a child of the embargo of 1807, designed and constructed to reap quick profits. She had been burdensome enough to bring home large cargoes, but fleet enough to have been mistaken for a privateer or a man-of-war.

With the completion of three successful voyages, the *Reaper* had served well and had lined the pockets of her owners. But, in the

Opposite: Hinckley's *Tartar* appears in the frontispiece of his journal of 1812. It was this ship that Hinckley ran through the British blockade. Meanwhile the captain had placed "our 10 Guns, our Muskets, Pikes &c in order for defence." Boston Light appears at the right.

Auspicious Hope in thy Sweet Garden grow. Wreaths for each Toil, a charm for every Woe. -



Auspicious Hope in thy sweet garden grow. Wreaths for each Toil, a charm for every Woe. -

Isaac Hinckleys Journal of a Passage in the Ship Tartar from Boston to Calcutta. —

Course Dist. Winds &c. Sunday Feb.y 16th 1812. 1 day.

Eby S. 41. West. -
Es. E. 21. N.t & E.
Miles 62 by Log

I shall only depend on Lunar Observations for my guide. -

I Hinckley

Commences pleas.t got underweigh at 1.30. PM, Boston Light House North. at 7. Cape Cod light, South 4 Leagues. — Then I offered my most sincere prayers to Almighty God, for his protection & care of me, & all the souls imbarked on this Voyage. I also offer up my prayers, for my family friends, & all mankinds. —

Ends fresh Breezes & Cloudy all sail. Coiling Cables, Stowing Hawsers &c.

N.B. The log this day 4 hrs & a half being marked only every Two Hours. —

Lat.d 41. 50 N.

final analysis, she had outlived her usefulness. She had operated as a neutral carrier, but that cherished status vanished with America's declaration of hostilities on 18 June 1812. "Foolish War bloodshed & murder" had gripped the United States and ended her great period of neutral trade.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I wish to acknowledge the valued encouragement of the late Elizabeth Hinckley Sturgis Paine, descendant of Isaac Hinckley.

NOTES

[1]Isaac Hinckley, Journal of a Voyage in the Brig *Reaper* 1809-1810, February 19-20, 1810. Unless otherwise noted, the Hinckley manuscript material is in the possession of descendants of Isaac Hinckley.

[2]G. Bhagat, *Americans In India* (New York: New York University Press, 1970), p. 27.

[3]Some vessels survived even the worst of circumstances. See Elijah Cobb, *Elijah Cobb, A Cape Cod Skipper* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1925), pp. 30, 44. Others, such as the ship *Confederacy*, were plagued by seizure. See Robert Albion, J. B. Pope, *Sea Lanes in Wartime, The American Experience* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1942), p. 78.

[4]Samuel E. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1921), p. 191. The Essex Junto was composed of Federalist extremists from Essex County.

[5]Benjamin W. Labaree, *Patriots and Partisans: The Merchants of Newburyport, 1764-1815* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 154.

[6]Kenneth W. Porter, *The Jacksons and the Lees: Two Generations of Massachusetts Merchants, 1765-1844*. (New York: Russell & Russell, 1937; reissued 1969), p. 781.

[7]Certificate of Registry #200, 1809, Brig *Reaper*, Record Group 41, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[8]John Hutchins, *The American Maritime Industries and Public Policy, 1789-1914* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941; reissued 1969), p. 105; Morison p. 103.

[9]Howard I. Chapelle, *The History of American Sailing Ships* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1935), p. 234.

[10]Hinckley, Journal, 29 June 1809.

[11]*Ibid.*

[12]*Ibid.*, 1 July 1809.

[13]*Ibid.*, 22 July 1809.

[14]*Ibid.*, 22 October 1809.

[15]*Ibid.*, 20 October-20 November 1809, 10 July 1809.

[16]*Ibid.*, 22 December 1809.

[17]Hinckley, Account Book, Voyage of the Brig *Reaper*, 1809-1810, Invoice of Owners Property, Invoice of Shippers' Goods.

[18]Hinckley, Account Book, Shippers' Goods.

[19]Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1955), p. 113.

[20]Hinckley, Journal, List of Men Onboard.

[21]Certificate of Registry #266, 1810, Brig *Reaper*, Record Group 41, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; G. Lincoln, *History of the Town of Hingham, Massachusetts*, (Hingham, 1893), 2: 332.

[22]Log of the Brig *Reaper*, Voyage to Calcutta, 1810-1811, 26 November 1810, 12 December 1810-13 February 1811, Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts.

[23]Porter, p. 978.

[24]*Ibid.*, pp. 1006-1007.

[25]*Ibid.*, p. 1056.

[26]*Ibid.*, p. 976.

[27]*Ibid.*, p. 1009.

[28]Albion, p. 101.

[29]Porter, p. 1071.

[30]*Ibid.*, p. 699.

[31]Isaac Hinckley, Journal of A Voyage of the Ship *Tartar* 1812-1813, 30 December 1812.

[32]*Ibid.*, 1 January 1813.

[33]*Ibid.*, 14 January 1813.

[34]Porter, p. 1071.

[35]United States District Court, District of Massachusetts, Case #100, the United States vs. the Brig *Reaper* and 1 Bale of Goods, Federal Records Center, Waltham, Massachusetts.

[36]United States District Court, Case #101-125.

[37]United States District Court, Case #100.

[38]Porter, 745.

[39]United States District Court, District of Massachusetts, Final Records, Case #100.

[40]Albion, p. 120; Certificate of Registry #266, Brig *Reaper*, Record Group 41, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Oriental Treasures of the *Flyaway*

This year marks the two hundredth anniversary of America's entry into what became known as the "China Trade." In light of this fact it is especially appropriate that the Museum has recently acquired a fine collection of Chinese export items, the gift of Mrs. Anthony L. Prely.

Adding to the significance of the individual items is the fact that they were all brought back from China by Simon Merrill Sewall (1820-1895), master of the clipper ship *Flyaway*. An 1853 product of William H. Webb's New York shipyard, the 1,274-ton *Flyaway* was put into service between New York and China by the firm of Schiff Brothers & Company. She is represented in this collection by an oil painting showing her at Whampoa Anchorage, just below the bustling port of Canton. The unidentified Chinese artist probably executed the work in February 1854 when the new ship reached Whampoa on the first of three voyages to Chinese ports under Captain Sewall's command, 1853-1857.

Canton, on the Pearl River in southeastern China, was one of the busiest of the so-called "Treaty Ports" through which western nations were allowed to trade. Prior to the 1842 Treaty of Nanking China had strictly controlled this foreign commerce by channeling it through a small guild of specially selected Canton merchants called the "Co-Hong."

By the time the *Flyaway* first arrived in China the western merchants were able to trade at additional ports and without many of the restrictions that had characterized the Co-Hong system. In fact Captain Sewall took the *Flyaway* to the treaty ports of Shanghai and Foochow as well as Hong Kong on the next two voyages.

A basic flaw in the pattern of Chinese trade was the fact that there was little demand for western products, especially manufactures, leading to a sizable trade imbalance. Sadly the only western-supplied commodity for which there was demand was opium, and some American firms were quietly engaged in this odious trade. Among the few other items sought by the Chinese were silver, furs, and ginseng, a medicinal root highly prized in China. Chinese exports were more varied, and many are represented in this new collection.

Porcelains in a bewildering variety of types, shapes, and decorations constituted a major export. Vases and jars, plus tea, coffee, and complete dinner services, were particularly popular in America and Europe. Skilled Chinese gold- and silversmiths supplied the great demand for luxury items in the West. Textiles, including raw and finished silks, found a ready market in the United States. Furniture and lacquerware, some obviously oriental in style, some artful copies of European examples, were other elements of the Chinese export trade.

Paintings, including commissioned portraits of western vessels, shipmasters, merchants, and their families, were popular. Working in both oils and watercolors Chinese artists also produced port views and treated a seemingly endless variety of domestic Chinese subjects as disparate as the production of porcelain and the execution of criminals. Intricate carvings in wood, ivory, and shell also figured in the export trade.

Of course tea was the basic Chinese export. Along with rattan, silks, spices, assorted merchandise, dyes, and three thousand boxes of firecrackers in her hold, the *Flyaway* returned to New York in June 1854 with over six thousand chests of tea. Yet, in a year when nearly four dozen

American vessels brought home over twenty-seven million pounds of Chinese tea, the *Flyaway* cargo was not unusual.

The *Flyaway* and Captain Sewall last visited China in early 1857, when the ship called at the port of Foochow. Following a voyage from New York to San Francisco and back, the vessel was sold in 1858. The following year she was sold again at Manila, this time to Spanish owners who renamed her *Concepcion,* and ended her career as the British bark *Bothalwood.* She was wrecked on the Isle of Jersey in 1881.

Captain Sewall came ashore in 1858 and returned briefly to his native North Edgecomb, Maine, eventually moving to a house in Gardiner, Maine, which he filled with the many items he had brought back from China, the Philippines, and elsewhere. He returned to the sea in the 1860s, and later lived in South Carolina. Some years after his death in 1895 his widow Mary, who had accompanied him on at least one *Flyaway* voyage, returned to the house in Gardiner where the donor, a distant relative, was growing up.

Childhood memories of the captain's widow and the many *Flyaway* items led Mrs. Prely in 1955 to write *The Saga of the Flyaway,* a short pamphlet describing some of the items, as well as the man and ship that brought them to America.

Research by Richard C. Malley
Photos by Claire White-Peterson

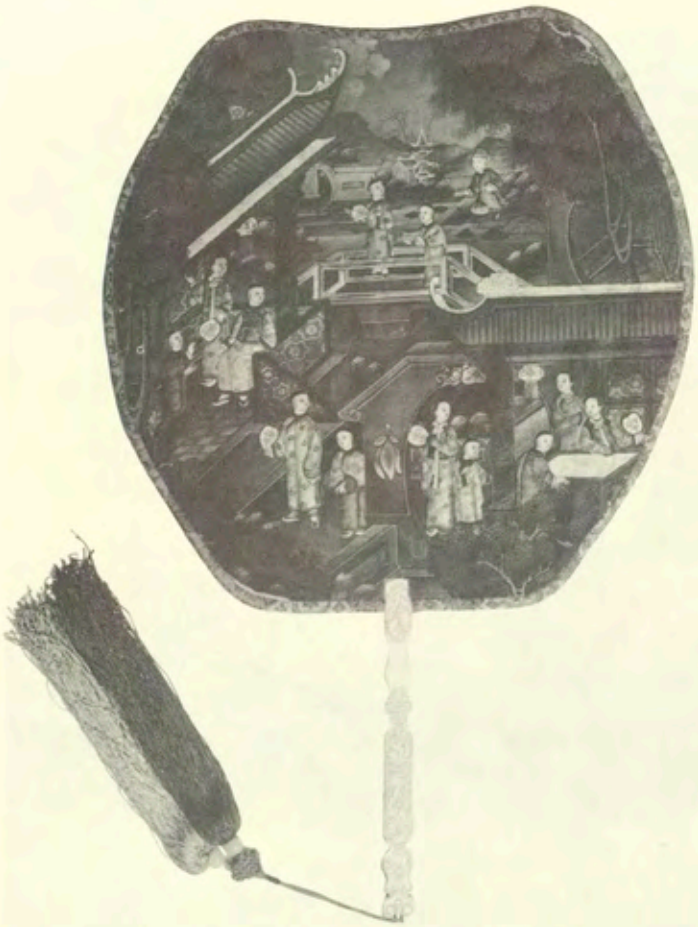






This unsigned oil portrait depicts the clipper *Flyaway* (190 x 38.3 x 21.6) at Whampoa Anchorage, ca. 1854. Due to shallow water large vessels were forced to anchor off Whampoa Island, ten miles downstream from Canton. Smaller vessels lightered goods between Canton and the foreign vessels. Chinese artists produced many similar ship views for western merchants and shipmasters, often employing nearly identical background scenery in each. The painting measures 27¼ x 35¼ inches. (84.17.1)

Opposite: The characteristic pale green underglazing of these two-foot-tall celadon porcelain floor vases or temple jars is covered with floral, fruit, bird, and insect designs. The front of each of these jars includes a scene of a woman on horseback with her attendants. (84.17.8-9)

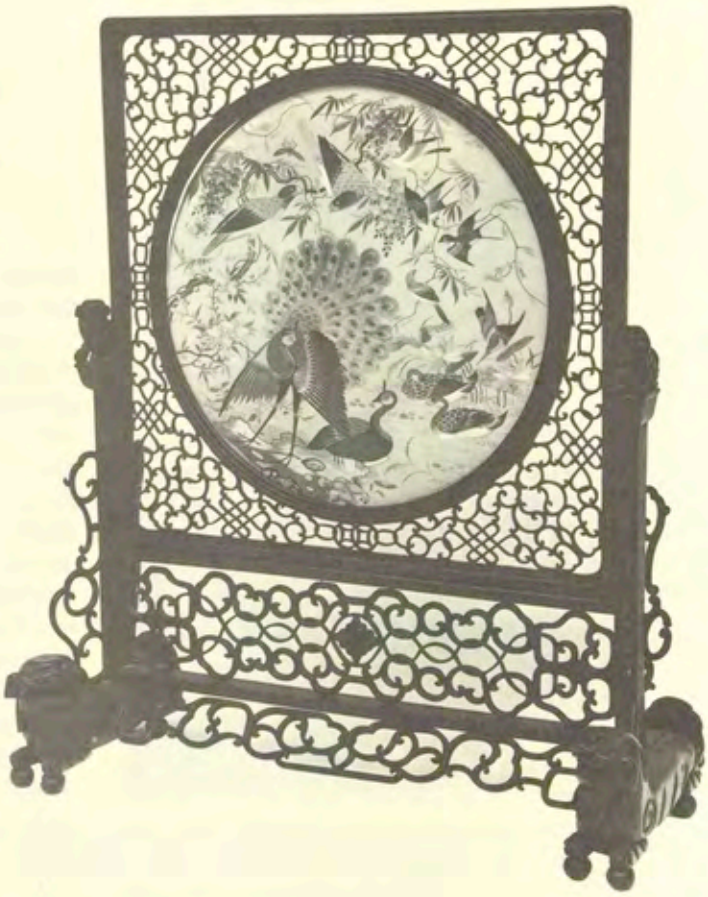


Chinese fans, which were in great demand in nineteenth-century Europe and America, ranged in quality from plain wooden types to elaborately decorated silk or feather examples. This rigid silk screen fan bears an elaborate gouache painted court scene. The costumes are of applied silk and the faces are painted on ivory. A carved ivory handle and silk tassels complete this fifteen-inch-long fan. (84.17.6)

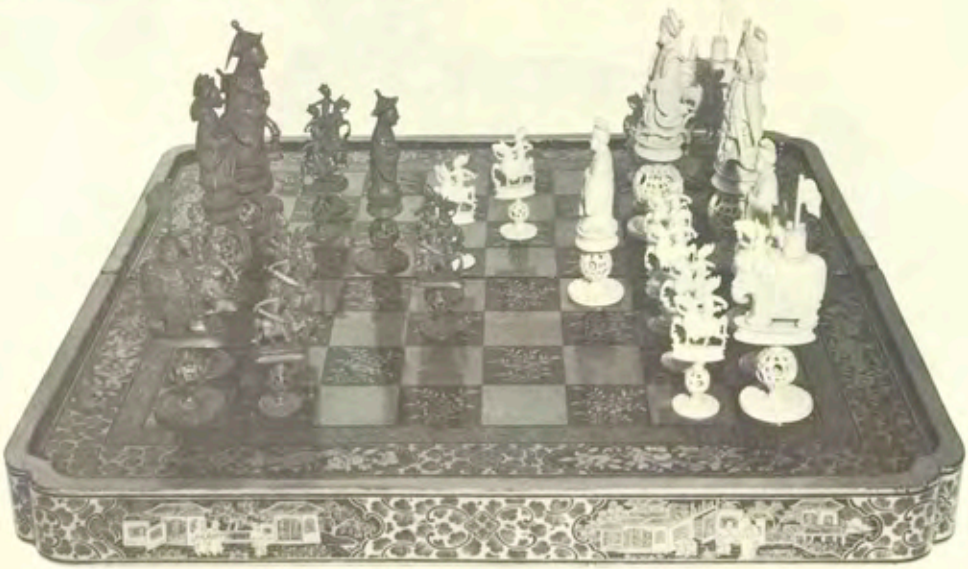
Porcelain was a major export item in China's trade with the West. On at least one voyage the *Flyaway* brought a cargo of this material back to New York. Among Captain Sewall's private purchases were these three examples. Two heavily decorated vases flank a striking thirteen-inch-tall covered water bottle featuring Chinese court scenes. (84.17.20, 23, 18)



This embroidered silk Chinese table screen is mounted in an intricately carved hardwood frame. A peacock and kingfisher, plus ducks, swallows, and other birds, share room with a variety of floral and insect life on this amazing example of needlework. Mythical foo dog figures form the feet of this twenty-five-inch-tall decorative item. (84.17.11)



Chinese artisans were adept at ivory carving, producing among other items marvelous chess sets for export. These chessmen, strongly oriental in appearance, sit atop bases of concentrically carved ivory balls. Half of the pieces were stained red. The reversible black and gold lacquer gameboard measures twenty inches square and includes a backgammon surface on the back. (84.17.27)





A large number of watercolor and gouache paintings on pith paper, sometimes called "rice paper," were produced. Bound in sets of from twelve to thirty-six plates, these groupings often treated a particular theme, such as the cultivation of rice or glimpses of everyday life in China. The fragile nature of the pith paper has claimed many of the thousands of these paintings that were produced. Captain Sewall apparently acquired several sets, with topics including Chinese bird and insect life and members of the imperial court. A number of individual plates, averaging eight by twelve inches each, have survived from these sets. (84.17.13)



The Lady Ships

VITA DODSON

It frequently comes as a considerable surprise, even to those familiar with maritime history, to learn that many ship captains took their wives and their children with them to sea. Nor was this at all uncommon. Though firm statistics are lacking, it has been estimated that by the middle of the nineteenth century one sailing captain in four was accompanied by his wife.[1] This included coastal trading vessels, overseas merchants ships, and most improbably of all, whaleships.

There is a notion prevalent today that men in the last century thought that women on board ship were bad luck. There seems to be little reference to this idea in the journals and diaries which have come down to us. Very probably a captain's wife of uncertain temper and sharp tongue was considered unlucky, but one who bettered the food and softened the discipline seems to have been a welcome addition to the ship's personnel. In 1858 Reverend Samuel C. Damon wrote in *The Friend,* the Seamen's Friend Society newspaper published at Hilo:

> A few years ago it was exceedingly rare for a Whaling Captain to be accompanied by his wife and children, but it is now very common. An examination of the list of whalers shows that no less than 42 are now in the Pacific. Just one half that number are now in Honolulu. The happy influence of this goodly number of ladies is apparent to the most careless observer.... Formerly ship owners in New Bedford were bitterly opposed to their masters bringing their families with them. The reason of course, was that they feared their ships would not as speedily fill up. We believe the reverse might be shown from actual statistics.[2]

Although it is sometimes said that ships carrying the captains' wives were called "hen frigates," Eliza Azalia Williams, wife of Captain Thomas Williams, refers to them in her diary of 1858-1861 as "Lady Ships."[3] It is a suitable term, for most of the captains' wives were, in the best sense of that term, ladies. Courageous but gentle, daring but decorous, they were fiercely devoted to their husbands and to the ideal of making a home wherever duty led them.

Why, given the distance, the danger, the drudgery of a whaling voyage, would a woman leave her home, her relations, sometimes her children, to accompany her husband on such a venture? In her diary of 1854, Harriet Gifford of Falmouth provides the most frequent answer: "We have been married five years and have lived together ten months. It is *too bad. too bad.*"[4] Mary Chipman Lawrence decided to go to sea with her husband in 1856 after nearly ten years of marriage, because more than half of that time he had spent at sea.[5] The loneliness of the wife at home was matched by the captain's loneliness at sea, and rather than be parted they often decided to accept the risk and responsibility of a voyage together.

Many of the wives went on only one voyage, although that voyage might last for several years. Other women quite took to life at sea and were like Mrs. Smith aboard the *Eliza F. Mason* in 1859. According to Eliza Williams, she "likes the sea much. She has been going on the water now 10 years and has been at home a little over one year out of that, in all."[6] Other women were un-

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able to adjust. When the *Florida* came up with Captain Randolph's *South Boston*, Eliza Williams noted that:

> Mrs. Randolph is not at all well. She was very much pleased to see me and said that this is the first day she has set up all day for some time. She has not been on deck for 6 weeks. She has been sea-sick ever since they left the Islands [Hawaii]–5 months. Calm or blow it is all the same.[7]

There were other less common reasons why a wife might go whaling. Charity Randall Norton, wife of Captain John Oliver Norton of Edgartown, sailed with him on every voyage he made as master after 1848. It was Charity who regulated his temper and willfulness, protecting him from retribution at the hands of his crew.[8] Another inducement for a wife to accompany the ship was the temptation offered to a lonesome whaleman by the willing women of the South Sea Islands. Mrs. Wallis, a Nantucket wife, wrote, "The girls came on board for the vilest of purposes, but they said these were not accomplished as the sailors were afraid of the captain's woman."[9]

Typically, the cabin of a whaling vessel was small, cramped, inconvenient; yet most of the whaling wives commented on how cozy it was, "how well fitted out." Aboard the *Cowper* in the Sea of Okhotsk in 1853, Susan Fisher wrote of coming "down into my snug little cabin to warm and rest myself." The *Alaska*, built in 1867, was described as "roomy and fitted with an eye to generous accommodation of the occupants," such as Captain Shubael H. Norton and his wife Ellen M. Vincent Norton.[10] To the built-in tables, couches, and bunks might be added rocking chairs, pictures, and cushions. Sometimes pianos, organs, and even sewing machines were tucked into spare corners. Babies might sleep in drawers, older children on the built-in couches or in hammocks set up at night and taken down each morning. Doilies and knick-knacks, stored safely away during the journey, were set tastefully about the cabin when the ship was in port.

There were, however, liabilities peculiar to the cabin of a whaleship. After lying for several days with a whale lashed alongside until the seas abated, the crew of the *Florida* began cutting in and trying out the ripe carcass. As the smoke from the tryworks found its way into the cabin Eliza Williams noted:

> There is quite an offensive odor... that I don't fancy much. That odor with the smoke that comes below from the try works is quite unpleasant, but I can bear it all first rate when I consider that it is filling our ship all the time and by and by it will all be over and we will go home.[11]

Although shipboard life was inevitably monotonous and lonely much of the time, the resourceful whaling wife created within its narrow confines a life of interest, usefulness, and comfort. Each wife brought to her ship her own particular talents and tastes.

About life on the bark *Charles W. Morgan* during her honeymoon in 1896, Honor Earle was to say in later years, "A whaler, you know, is not the place to have the liveliest time in the world, so I applied myself to learning navigation."[12] Mrs. Earle was signed on as navigator on later voyages, 1902-1907. A number of other wives learned navigation, and more than one saved the day when their husbands were incapacitated through illness or accident. Abigail V. Jernegan took the wheel of her husband's vessel herself as it departed New Bedford. All hands were needed on deck to reef the topsails in the fresh breeze.[13]

Just as on land, the details of housekeeping filled part of every day. The chores were often lightened by the aid of a cabin boy and the captain's steward who assisted with cleaning, cooking, and washing.[14]

When the *Nautilus* departed for the Pacific in 1869 Lucy Smith carried aboard both a sewing machine and an organ. She also brought pen and paper and meticulously recorded her prodigious activity. One

day she made the cabin boy a pair of pants and baked ten pies. She was continually making and mending clothes, and also made whaleboat sails, signal flags, and many other items. She sewed for husband, son, cabin boy, and herself. She played the organ regularly, until it was sold to a missionary, and learned navigation.[15]

Eliza Mayhew Ripley brought her organ aboard the *Mercury* in 1869. On Sundays she played and sang hymns to accompany the sermon regularly delivered by Captain Ripley.[16] Many whaleships scrupulously observed the Sabbath and no whaling or unnecessary work was permitted on that day. Captains who ignored this custom were not well regarded by the generality of whalemen.

The wives of whalemen soon were caught up in the business of whaling. Their diaries are filled with statistics on whales sighted, whales chased, whales caught or lost. They recorded the anxiety experienced when a boat was late returning. They watched the trying-out and kept track of the number of barrels as they accumulated. Of course, they noted the weather. Storms were the great enemy. They endangered the ship and arrested the whaling. Of the passage of the *Nautilus* round Cape Horn in 1872 Lucy Smith remembered, "I would get very tired holding myself in a chair fastened to the deck, and with a box of playthings for Fred [her six-year-old son] would lie down in the swinging bed for a while to rest my arms."[17] When the *Warren* rounded the Horn in 1835 it seemed to Caroline Mayhew that "during the storm we made twenty knots, ten straight ahead and ten up and down."[18]

One of the most remarkable features of the life of the sailing wife was her apparently calm acceptance of pregnancy and birth aboard ship. Eliza Williams did not mention in her diary was that she was expecting a child until she remarked: "It is now about a month since I have written any in my journal.... We have a fine healthy Boy, born on the 12th, five days before we got into port [Mangonui, New Zealand]."[19] Before the end of the journey in 1861 Eliza Williams had delivered another boy. She already had two older children whom she had left behind to be taken care of by her parents. Accompanied by the two who were born on the voyage, she and her husband continued to sail together through 1874.



Dressed in her finest, Honor Matthews Earle, with Captain Earle and their son Jamie, looks like a visitor aboard the *Charles W. Morgan*, ca. 1906. Actually, she spent her honeymoon and four additional years living aboard the *Morgan*. (73.899.231)

While it was normally the intention of captains to bring their wives to a civilized port well before the time for the delivery of a child, this was not always possible, as is apparent from the Williamses' experience. Many a captain's child made his appearance with only his father to assist at the birth. There were, in some ports, midwives who could be engaged to join the family and cruise with the ship until the expected child was delivered and the mother was able to manage without help. But even in the most

civilized islands survival of a newborn child was not guaranteed. Annie Ricketson, wife of Captain Daniel Ricketson of the *A. R. Tucker,* in 1871 gave birth to a daughter at Fayal and lost her the next day. "Oh how hard it was to give that little thing up!," she lamented.[20]

Once a child became part of the family circle, arrangements had to be made for its care and amusement. Little Prescott Jernegan, the lively and mischievious child of Captain Jared and Helen Jernegan, was assigned a cabin boy whose duty it was to entertain him and keep him out of trouble. His older sister, Laura, had lessons every day and kept a diary recording her activities, beginning when she was but six years old.[21]

Both parents might take part in educating their children. In one family the mother taught the older children and the father taught the beginners. The women of the New England coast were sometimes better educated and better able to assume the role of teacher than were their husbands. A boy who hoped for a career at sea might sign on as cabin boy by the age of eleven or twelve. His sisters stayed ashore and continued their education through sixth or eighth grade, sometimes even beyond as advanced education for women developed in the nineteenth century.

Besides academic subjects, aboard ship girls were taught music and needlework and boys learned navigation and the handling of the ship. They both, of course, learned geography firsthand. As children grew older, they were very often left behind with relatives to continue their education in a more conventional setting. Wives without children, such as Annie Ricketson aboard the *A. R. Tucker,* 1871-1874, might have a pet dog aboard.[22]

Keeping a supply of reasonably palatable and nourishing food on board was a constant problem in sailing ships, because of inadequate means of preservation and the long distances between ports. Whenever a ship touched land, the food supply was replenished along with the wood and fresh water supplies. Eliza Williams wrote on one occasion that there were "a great many hogs and ducks, also 5 large turtles up there running about, that we bought at the Wellington's Island. The men try to keep them forward, but they will get aft sometimes. . . ." They carried as well a large supply of coconuts to feed both themselves and the pigs.[23]

When the *Florida* was hunting grey whales in "Humpback Bay" on the coast of Mexico during the winter of 1861, Captain Williams, along with the captains of nearby ships, took the opportunity to go hunting for ducks, geese, snipe, and partridges. They also brought back to the ship tropical fruits and vegetables purchased from the natives.[24] The Williamses did, on occasion, eat whale meat, but only the tender meat of the calf, not the mature whale.[25]

Tobacco, cloth, and guns were all traded to the natives of the Pacific Islands for local produce and meat. Fruit, butter, pumpkins, and corn were the sort of presents an officer made to a whaling wife when he boarded her husband's ship for a gam. There is no doubt that much of this largesse stayed in the aft cabin. But it has been said that the captain's wife usually improved the food for the whole ship, and we can assume that some of the Williamses' many hogs and Lucy Smith's ten or twelve pies per day must surely have found their way to the fo'c'sle.

Holidays were, whenever possible, celebrated with an appropriate meal. There are descriptions of turkeys, whole-roasted pigs, pumpkin pies, and even cranberries, though it is not clear where these last were obtained. A goat was sometimes cooked for the crew, and plum duff, a deep-water version of plum pudding, was served on all special occasions.

In time of illness the captain's wife might help care for the sick. Caroline Mayhew assisted with the care of the *Powhatan*'s crew, which had contracted smallpox. She then

nursed her husband, who was stricken just as the crew began to recover. She took over the navigation as well. Finally, exhausted by her efforts, Caroline herself fell ill with the disease. As she slowly recovered, the grateful crew showered her with scrimshaw work to show their appreciation.[26]

The greatest trial of the whaling wife was loneliness. She missed her family, her friends, and the activities that had filled her days in her distant home. Eliza Williams left two children with her mother. She pined for them and for the spiritual consolation and companionship of the church, central to her life in Wethersfield, Connecticut. She also missed holidays and family celebrations. She wrote in her diary on 4 July 1861: "Today is Independence. Oh how I would like to be home and enjoy this day with family and friends. We cannot celebrate it here with any degree of pleasure."[27]

The best cure for loneliness was the "gam." If two or more whaling ships were near each other for a time, the captains, mates, and other members of the crew might exchange visits, always being sure that the captains were on one ship and the first mates were on the other. If there were ladies on both ships, they would often spend whole days together, enjoying as long as possible the pleasure of feminine companionship. A visiting captain might bring fresh food, newspapers, news from other ships he had visited, and sometimes news from home.

There were certain ports in South America, Mexico, and the Pacific where whaleships gathered and where the wives might spend a few days or several months ashore. Hawaii was the most popular of these. Both Hilo and Honolulu had small colonies of whaling families that came and went. If a whaleship was bound for the dangerous arctic whaling grounds, the captain's family often remained safely in Hawaii. Arctic whaling was unpleasant at best and it could be extremely dangerous. Shifting ice floes could trap the vessels in the ice and crush them. It was thought better to leave families in pleasant hotels, boardinghouses, or rented villas in Hawaii. This was a welcome respite from hardship for the wives, who could indulge in shopping, visiting, and church-going. There were balls, picnics, and sight-seeing trips. Permanent families on the islands served as a nucleus for the migratory community and everyone was friendly and welcoming. The flowers, the beautiful scenery, the pleasant weather and relaxed way of life seemed a sort of Paradise in contrast to the rigorous and demanding life aboard ship.

Still, it was not home to the women of New England. Sarah Luce was there in the



Charlotte Ott Church poses with her husband aboard the *Charles W. Morgan* at New Bedford, ca. 1911. Mrs. Church, who had also sailed aboard the whaler *Andrew Hicks*, acted as assistant navigator and keeper of the log during her first voyage on the *Morgan*. Her log is now at Mystic Seaport's G. W. Blunt White Library. (Seaport Photo Archives)

Cricketers Hotel in 1871. Staying there at the same time were fourteen Americans–captains, wives, and children. Upon returning to the ship after a five week visit she wrote: "Formed several very pleasant acquaintances, made some very pleasant calls. Enjoyed some fine walks, but I am glad to get back to my home on board ship."[28]

Hawaii was also a place where mail and news from home might be waiting. Letters, although anxiously awaited, were often received with trembling hands. Mary Lawrence wrote in her diary of 1857:

> Immediately after our arrival [in Honolulu], my husband went on shore to get our letters, and in the meantime I tried to compose myself against his return. I could only hope for the best, which truly was granted me, as I received the welcome intelligence of the well-being of all my friends. No sickness or death had occurred in either family....[29]

One captain who had left his family at home waited several days before he gathered the necessary courage to open his accumulated mail, only to learn of the death of his wife.[30]

The *Charles W. Morgan* rated as a "lady ship" several times during her career. On her seventh voyage, Captain Thomas Landers sailed from New Bedford in 1863 and picked up his young bride in San Francisco after rounding the Horn. The voyage lasted until 1867, and included a stop at Guam where Mrs. Landers gave birth to a son.[31]

In 1890 Captain James A. M. Earle, who had spent many of his own early years aboard a whaler, took command of the *Morgan*. His 1896 voyage aboard the *Morgan* was his honeymoon trip with his bride Honor Matthews of New Zealand. Honor accompanied her husband as navigator on five of the voyages he made on the *Morgan* between 1896 and 1907. After their son Jamie was born, he traveled with them. Besides assisting with navigation, Honor tried her hand at photography, taking pictures of what she must have known was a dying way of life.[32]

In 1910 Captain Charles S. Church replaced Captain Gibbons aboard the *Morgan* and brought his wife Charlotte along. The daughter of a San Francisco pilot, she was a skilled navigator and keeper of the log. Church and his wife remained on the *Morgan* until she was laid up at the end of her thirty-third voyage in 1913.[33] In a few short years the days of whaling under sail were over. Few indeed must have been the women who felt any regret.

NOTES

[1]"Children on Blue Water," *New York Times*, 22 December 1889.

[2]*The Friend*, 8 November 1858, p. 84.

[3]Harold Williams, ed., *One Whaling Family* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964), p. 82.

[4]Stanton Garner, ed., *The Captain's Best Mate: The Journal of Mary Chipman Lawrence on the Whaler "Addison," 1856-1860* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1966), p. xvi.

[5]*Ibid.*, p. xv.

[6]Williams, p. 82.

[7]*Ibid.*, p. 130

[8]Emma Mayhew Whiting and Henry Beetle Hough, *Whaling Wives* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1952), p. 34.

[9]Daniel Henderson, *Yankee Ships in the China Seas* (New York: Hastings House, 1946), p. 102.

[10]Whiting, pp. 27, 194.

[11]Williams, p. 196.

[12]Whiting p. 259.

[13]*Ibid.*, p. 136.

[14]Williams, p. 130

[15]Whiting, pp. 162-64.

[16]*Ibid.*, p. 198.

[17]*Ibid.*, p. 201.

[18]*Ibid.*, p. 11.

[19]Williams, p. 38.

[20]*The Journal of Annie Holmes Ricketson on the Whaleship* A. R. Tucker, *1871-1874* (New Bedford: Old Dartmouth Historical Society, 1958), pp. 20-21.

[21]Whiting, pp. 117-18.

[22]*Journal of Annie Ricketson*, p. 51.

[23]Williams, pp. 100-01.

[24]*Ibid.*, p. 172.

[25]*Ibid.*, p. 80.

[26]Whiting, p. 17.

[27]Williams, p. 184.

[28]Whiting, p. 188.

[29]Garner, p. 49.

[30]Whiting, p. 2.

[31]John F. Leavitt, *The Charles W. Morgan* (Mystic: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1973), pp. 32-37.

[32]Patricia Biggins, "Doughnuts in the Tryworks," *The Log of Mystic Seaport* 27:1 (May 1975): 8-16; "The Business of Whaling," *The Log of Mystic Seaport* 27:1 (May 1975): 22-28.

[33]Leavitt, pp. 65-69.

The Dead Horse Ceremony

The following description appeared in Harper's Weekly, *11 November 1882. It gives an eyewitness view of one of the mock ceremonies with which sailors amused themselves at sea.*

In this case they were celebrating the end of their first month at sea, which had particular significance because during that time they had been working off their debt to the ship for the month's wages advanced to them for signing aboard. The advance was intended to allow them to pay their bills ashore and outfit themselves for the coming voyage. In actuality, it often went to the shipping agents, or "crimps," who made it their business to find berths for sailors aboard ships, and to outfit them with cheap, shoddy seaboots, oilskins, and ragged clothing, all for an exorbitant fee often conveniently equal to one month's wages. If crimps did not get the sailors' advance, it was likely left in bars and brothels during a last binge ashore. In any case, the first month at sea, with no wages accumulating, only served to point up the hardships of the sailor's life, and its passing was something to celebrate.

The term dead horse *came from Great Britain. According to the* Oxford English Dictionary, horse *was English workmen's slang for work charged for before it was done. As early as 1600,* dead horse *connoted something given to pay one's debts.*

It is unclear when the term first went to sea, and when the ceremony was established. Stan Hugill, in his Shanties from the Seven Seas, *implies that the ceremony was known before 1850, was most popular in the emigrant ships through the 1880s, and degenerated thereafter, though surviving to the end of sail. The term still survives in the U. S. Navy to denote a debt.*

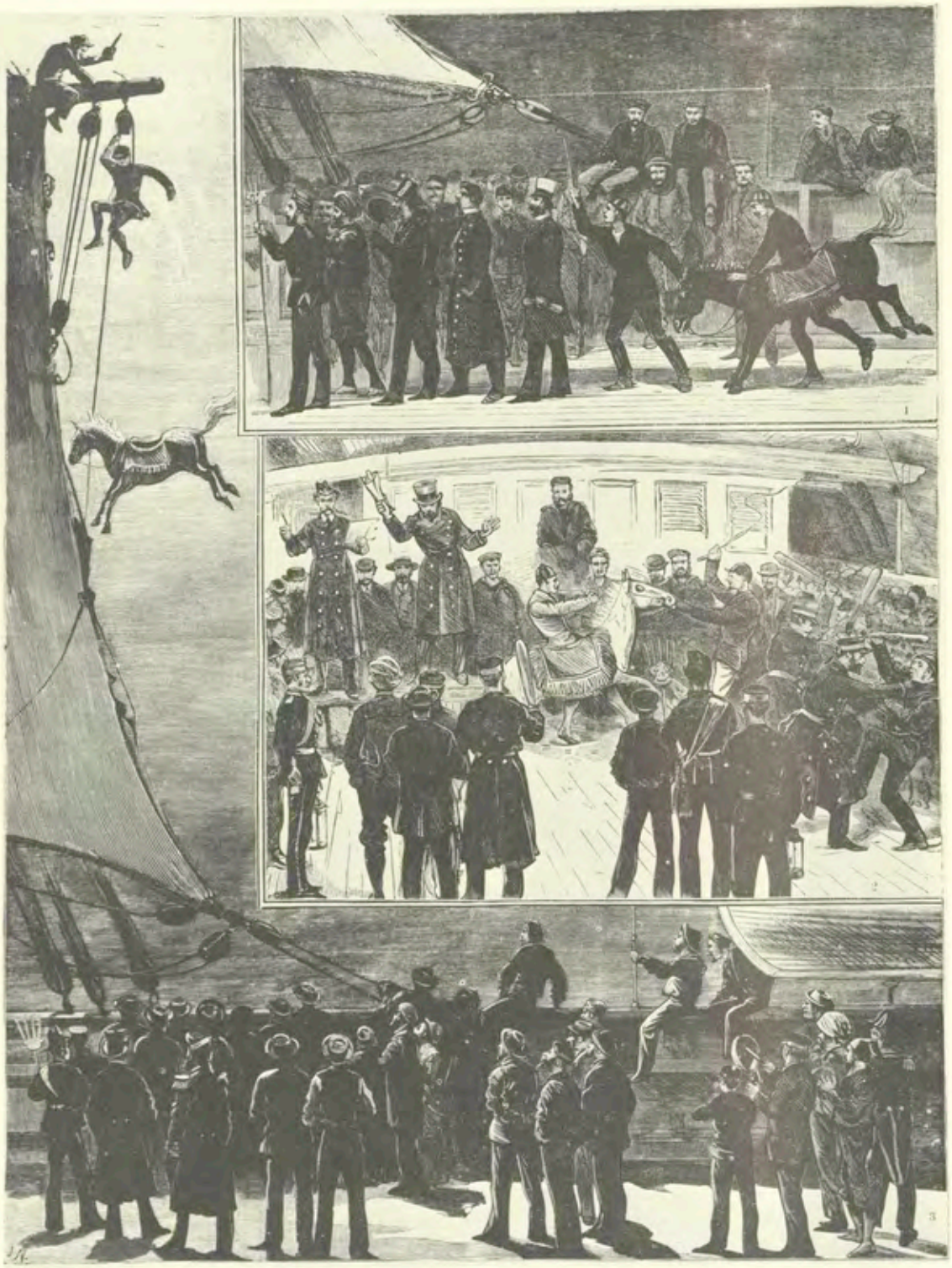
The Harper's *article describes what must have been an elaborate version of the ceremony, calculated for the amusement of passengers going out to Australia. The routine was probably much simpler in vessels not carrying passengers. It was certainly not universally performed since few reminiscences of sailors in British ships mention it. British sailors may have introduced the ceremony aboard American ships in which they served, but it does not appear to have been performed very often under the stars and stripes.*

Recently, a dead horse ceremony has been revived as a demonstration by the chantey singer and Special Demonstration Squad aboard the Joseph Conrad *at Mystic Seaport Museum. While much less elaborate than the ceremony in the following description, it is still an amusing and telling commentary on the life of the sailor.*

This amusing ceremony often takes place on board of English ships sailing to Australia. On joining a ship the sailors are advanced a month's wages, with which they are supposed to have bought a horse, which dies at the end of four weeks. A dummy steed is prepared in the forecastle, the body being an old flour barrel, the neck and head of canvas, stuffed with straw and painted. In place of a saddle, a hole is cut through the body, large enough to admit the legs of the rider.

About half past seven in the evening a small procession, headed by a man who carries a baton, furnished with a rude imitation of a human face, issues from the forecastle. Following him is a sailor with long white whiskers, who holds a can for penny contributions. He is protected by a number of policemen, armed with canvas clubs like those used in pantomime, with which they lay about them as freely as a New York policeman, but with no other effect than eliciting shouts of laughter. The procession is closed by a number of sailors who sing jolly sea songs during the march. After the collection has been taken up, the party returns to the forecastle.

Shortly afterward, a larger procession, shown in sketch No. 1, issues from the



1. The Procession. 2. The Auction. 3. Last of the Dead Horse.

THE DEAD HORSE FESTIVAL.

forecastle, with a number of comic characters in addition to those just mentioned, among them the auctioneer, in frock-coat and tall hat, with a roll of papers in his hands, and attended by a clerk. Immediately after the auctioneer comes the horse, ridden, or rather carried, by a sailor dressed as a jockey, and led by a groom. The procession parades about the deck, the rider making the horse prance in the most lively and amusing manner.

The auctioneer then mounts a barrel on the quarter-deck, and after a long and laughable harangue on the merits of the horse, puts up the animal for sale. Previous to all this the hat has been passed round among the passengers and officers, and ten to fifteen pounds have been collected for the benefit of the sailors. The bidding is spirited and amusing, and ceases when it reaches the amount collected, which is then handed to the sailors by one of the lady passengers.

After the auction, the leading characters move off to the lee side, near the mainsail, and a solemn dirge is chanted about the poor animal dying suddenly, each verse ending with, "Poor old Horse!" The horse and rider are then hoisted to the end of the mainyard over the ship's side, blue-lights are let off, giving a ghastly aspect to the scene, and at a given signal the rope is cut, and the horse falls into the sea, leaving the rider suspended in the air, and floats astern into the darkness. The procession again forms and marches around the deck, the sailors singing, "Rule Britannia." The ceremony ends with dancing and singing.

BOOK REVIEWS

Bernhard Kilian. *The Voyage of the Schooner Polar Bear: Whaling and Trading in the North Pacific and Arctic, 1913-1914*. John Bockstoce, ed. New Bedford: Old Dartmouth Historical Society and Alaska Historical Commission, 1983. 106 pp., appendix. $25.00.

In 1913, twenty-year old Ben Kilian sailed from Seattle, bound for the western Arctic as chief engineer onboard the auxiliary schooner *Polar Bear*. Kilian's written and photographic records of this whaling and trading voyage provide the foundation of this handsome book. John Bockstoce has edited and organized Kilian's material and added an introduction to place this voyage in the larger context of the region's commercial maritime history. The *Polar Bear* and the principal individuals in the account, Kilian and arctic veterans Billy Mogg and Captain Louis Lane, are described in concise biographical sketches.

Kilian's journal follows. It is actually a compilation of his engineer's log and a narrative written following his return. With the exception of a thousand-mile winter trek through interior Alaska by Captain Lane, the voyage seems not to have been particularly noteworthy, but rather typical for that time and place. The navigational problems caused by ice, the presence of explorers and adventurers, the interaction with Eskimos, and the business of whaling and trading are all standard arctic fare. What makes this volume unique is the combination of Ben Kilian's animated account and his unusually clear photographs.

A very appealing image of Kilian emerges from his journal. A competent and diligent engine mechanic, he was nevertheless a young man of limited experience, and eagerly anticipated and greatly enjoyed this adventure. His journal is free of the self-glorification which is so characteristic of many published arctic narratives. Instead, he is genuinely impressed by others with more experience than he and by his arctic surroundings. Much of his journal is informative, with good descriptions of his work. These passages are nicely balanced by his comments on the area and its inhabitants. He refers to the Canadian Mounted Police, for example, as "very nice gentlemen" who, from time to time, solve "very exciting problems," and notes that a "stay with Itloon [an Eskimo] and his wife was one of the highlights of the trip and I enjoyed every minute of it." Fortunately, Kilian has captured his enthusiasm in words, and the result is a refreshing account that reflects his excitement and naiveté, as well as his skills.

The book is illustrated throughout with Kilian's photographs, and his talents in this field are impressive. A wide range of subject matter is represented. Especially interesting are the numerous harbor and shore views, which depict a variety of large vessels and many types of small craft, both of white and Eskimo origin. These photographs, in fact most of the photos in the book, are technically quite good, showing good sharpness and detail. Several experienced photographers were along on the voyage and Kilian apparently benefited from their presence.

Dunbar Lockwood, an adventurer and recent Harvard graduate who had traveled north with the *Polar Bear*, accompanied Captain Lane on his winter trip across the interior of Alaska to Fairbanks. His journal and photographs from this trek have been added as an appendix. Unfortunately, although this crossing of the Brooks Range was apparently historically significant, Lockwood's account is uninspiring. Its inclusion may be relevant, but it adds little to the book as a whole.

Finally, a statement by the editor in the introduction invites comment. He states that "the 1913 voyage of the *Polar Bear* was the only whaling or trading voyage to the western Arctic that was thoroughly recorded by photographs." Actually, several whaling masters left photographic records of their experiences in this region, but even more noteworthy is the work of Herbert L. Aldrich. Aldrich was a photojournalist from Boston who accompanied the arctic whaling fleet in 1887. He took many photographs, several of which were used to illustrate a published account of his experiences. John Bockstoce, in fact, published several of these in his *Steam Whaling in the Western Arctic*. Although Aldrich's photographs lack the range of content and technical quality of Kilian's, they are at least worthy of mention.

Although this book is not lengthy, its profusion of good illustrations probably justifies its $25.00 price. And those who can't resist an arc-

tic narrative should be pleased to find that this one, at least, replaces the all-to-common egocentrism with a touch of charm.

Fred Calabretta
Stonington, Connecticut

David R. MacGregor. *Merchant Sailing Ships, 1815-1850*. London: Conway Maritime Press, Ltd.; Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1984. 192 pp., illustrations, plans, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $21.95.

Sailing Ship fanciers will find a wealth of information on developments in ship design, construction, and rigging variations in this work, which is the second in the author's series on merchant sailing vessels since 1775. MacGregor's analysis is historically fuller and generally less technical than the approach Howard Chapelle took for his studies. Consequently this book is of more general interest. It is particularly useful for information on small brigs and other ubiquitous but poorly documented types. There is also a clear discussion of the introduction of wire rigging and iron shipbuilding components.

However, the book is awkward to use. Chapters are broken down into many subtopics, making them very choppy and hard to assimilate. MacGregor often refers to his *Fast Sailing Ships* (1973) and to unspecified Chapelle works, so to receive the full benefit of this book one must be surrounded by a comprehensive library. Considering his in-depth treatment of the products of several British shipyards and the contents of several British treatises on shipbuilding, his coverage of American and Canadian vessels is disappointingly sketchy. Although he notes the tremendous growth of the American merchant marine between 1830 and 1850, his comments are confined to general statements and passing notice of a few Webb designs. Certainly American builders contributed more to the history of the merchant ship than this treatment suggests.

Nevertheless, *Merchant Sailing Ships, 1815-1850* contains a wonderful collection of early photographs, paintings, and plans, and must be considered an important reference for maritime historians and modelers.

Frederic L. Thompson. *The Lightships of Cape Cod*. Portland, Maine: Congress Square Press, 1983. 112 pp., illustrations, appendix, bibliography. $10.95.

Lightships have an emotional appeal that has never been matched by solid publications on their design and use. This volume takes a step in that direction by presenting a brief history of lightships, a discussion of the development and operation of American lightships, and detailed coverage of the thirteen lightship stations surrounding Cape Cod, from Minot's Ledge in the north to Brenton Reef in the southwest. It is essentially a picture history, with many excellent views of the vessels and life aboard them. Each station rates a chapter describing the different vessels that served there and any notable incidents. Collision was a constant danger, and storms claimed several of these lightships. If the photos and anecdotes in this book are not enough, the appendix – Gustav Kobbé's "Life on the South Shoal Lightship" from an 1891 *Century Magazine* – will delight readers.

The Wherry Oarsman

Christopher Dodd, ed. *Boating*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983. 120 pp., illustrations, index. $9.95.

This little book celebrates the charm of the oar and the lure of rivers, expecially the English Thames. In 110 pages, including an index, Christopher Dodd has selected a fascinating collection.

Here are old favorites such as Rat and Mole from *Wind in the Willows*, the solemn antics of *Three Men and a Boat*, or the jolly boating weather so feelingly hailed in the Eton Boating Song. But less familiar is the rowing verse of Rudolph Lehmann who even found the perfect meter to convey the rhythm of the rowing stroke. Although there is a brief look at the professionals – the galley slaves who rowed a trireme a little faster than a modern racing eight – most of the selections illustrate the who, what, where, and why of modern rowing over the last century. Both sculling and sweep-oar rowing receive their share of attention. Among the coaches who have tried to verbalize the secret of their art, Steve Fairbairn is rightly featured: "the dreamier a crew looks, the more it approaches the poetry of motion." The exhilaration of a clean, powerful stroke, the pride that comes with good watermanship, and the bond that unites boaters on and off the water are all lovingly chronicled. Woodcuts from *Punch* and a nineteenth-century work also entitled *Boating* enliven the pages of this volume and help to demonstrate the timeless attraction of "messing about in boats."

Thomas C. Mendenhall
Vineyard Haven, Massachusetts

Mystic Seaport Museum Publications

We are pleased to announce our most recent publications.

Origins of Sea Terms
By John G. Rogers

Origins of Sea Terms differs from existing glossaries and dictionaries. It emphasizes word roots and earliest meanings, making it an indispensable companion to standard maritime dictionaries. The author steers his way through a potentially dry subject with a witty flair that will please as well as inform.

The mariner's language is almost universal in its usage and its sources. An idle curiosity about the derivation of the term "peajacket" led John G. Rogers to devour ancient and modern texts in his six-year search for the origins of sea terms.

While light-hearted in its presentation, *Origins of Sea Terms* is serious in intent. It contains 1,249 entries pertaining to life onboard ship, hulls and rigging, shiphandling, sea and weather conditions, and naval and technical terms.

Origins of Sea Terms is volume XI in Mystic Seaport Museum's American Maritime Library.

John Rogers was indoctrinated in the correct use of sea language as a boy sailing with his father, brother, and friends in New England waters. After leaving Harvard College in 1936 he got his sea legs in six Matson Line ships in the Pacific. During World War II he served in destroyer escorts, logging 100,000 miles and retiring as lieutenant commander. Now a retired stockbroker, John Rogers keeps his ties to the sea as a trustee of the National Maritime Museum Association and assistant curator of the St. Francis Yacht Club. He resides in San Francisco with his wife.

This 230-page book is available bound in cloth for $15.00.

Silent Pilots: Figureheads in Mystic Seaport Museum
by Georgia W. Hamilton

Silent Pilots is the second in a series of studies funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for the purpose of making the Seaport's collection more accessible both to the scholar and to the public. In this book, Georgia Hamilton has researched, described, and illustrated forty figureheads in the collection. These range from the well known and positively identified, such as the eagle from the clipper *Great Republic*, to those with traditional but unverified attributions and those with unknown provenances. A list of all the figureheads in the collection is appended.

This monograph will appeal to folk art enthusiasts as well as to students of maritime history and to anyone intrigued by these sometimes mysterious figures.

Georgia W. Hamilton graduated from Connecticut College in 1966. From 1966 to 1969 she was in the Registrar's Office at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and from 1970 to 1972 she was Registrar of the Museum of New Mexico. Since 1973 Hamilton has been Head Cataloger at Mystic Seaport Museum.

Silent Pilots includes eighty-nine illustrations, an appendix, and a bibliography. This 116-page book is available bound in paper for $15.00.

A Life in Boats: The Years Before the War
by Waldo Howland

The story of American yachting between the World Wars is told here by one of the participants from the shores of Buzzards Bay. Some of America's greatest yacht designers were active during these years. In a

warm and engaging style, author Howland recalls the influences they and their boats had on him. Full of practical comments on boat design and boat handling, this book will be read with profit and pleasure by a broad range of sailing enthusiasts.

Waldo Howland was for more than thirty years president of Concordia Company, builders of wooden boats (including the perennially popular Beetle Cat) and originators of the Concordia Yawl. A long-time trustee of Mystic Seaport Museum, he is a fifty-year member of the Cruising Club of America and the Royal Ocean Racing Club.

This 307-page book contains 150 illustrations. It is available bound in cloth for $32.50.

The Aspinwall Empire

by Col. Duncan S. Somerville

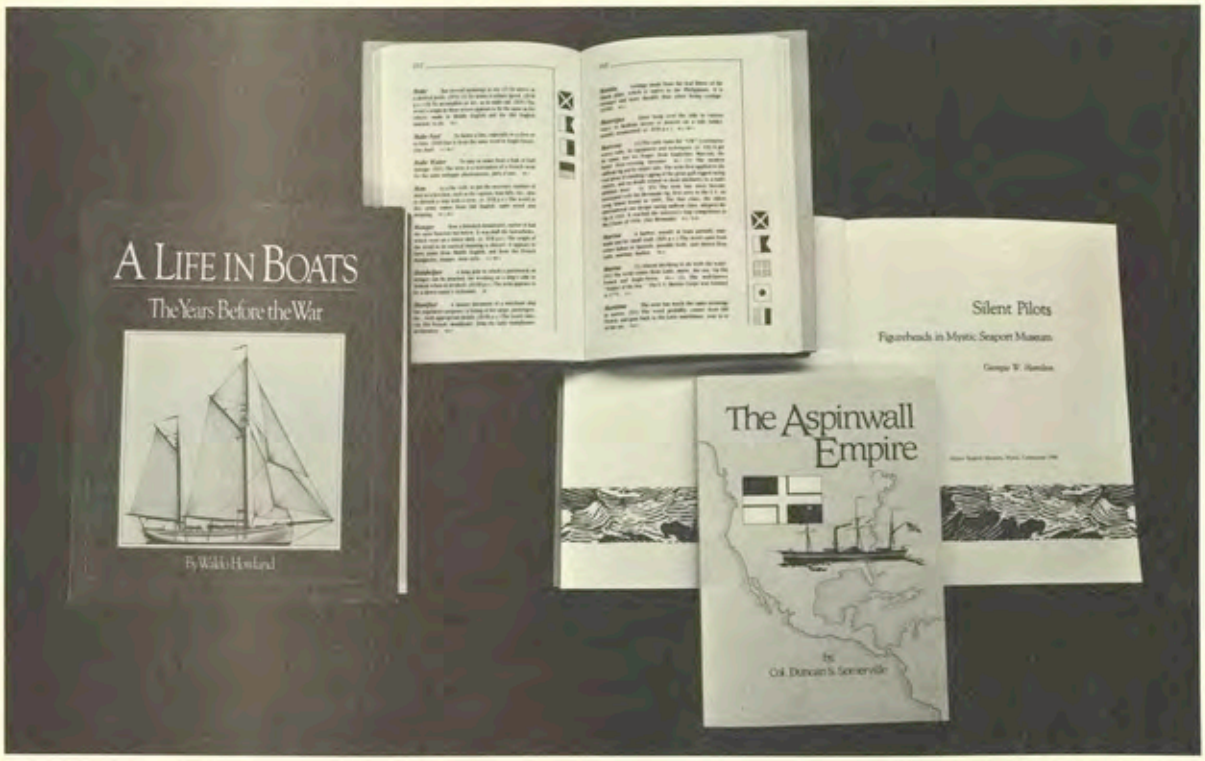
This lively narrative traces the notable and influential career of nineteenth-century New York merchant William H. Aspinwall, who championed early clipper ship designs, established the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and the Panama Railroad, supported the arts, and acted as a secret agent during the Civil War. Aspinwall helped shape the course of American maritime history.

Col. Duncan S. Somerville graduated from West Point in 1928, served in the Field Artillery, and later taught English at West Point. He saw service in Europe and the Philippines during World War II, and later was stationed in Latin America, scene of much of Aspinwall's business activity. Col. Somerville began investigating Aspinwall's career because his wife is an Aspinwall descendant.

The *Aspinwall Empire* includes twenty-nine illustrations, a catalog of Aspinwall's notable art collection, and a bibliography. This 140-page book is available bound in paper for $12.00.

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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.)



(Photo by Claire White-Peterson)

HISTORIC SHIPS AFLOAT

The *Charles W. Morgan*

Surely few members of Mystic Seaport Museum are unfamiliar with the *Charles W. Morgan*. The last survivor of her type, she was built in 1841, spent eighty years whaling, and came to Mystic in her hundredth year. Declared a National Historic Landmark in 1967, she has undergone intensive restoration since removal from her sand berth in 1973. The long restoration project was symbolically completed when the eagle was affixed to her stern in a dedication ceremony on flag day, 14 June 1984.

During the final stage of restoration, which began in 1980, researchers were busily seeking information on correct color schemes, rigging details, deck layouts, and the minutest fittings aboard. New evidence uncovered, as well as old evidence reexamined, helped Seaport shipwrights reassemble the *Morgan* as accurately as possible. Members who have not seen her in several years may be surprised at her new old appearance.

In 1970 it was decided that too little was known of her appearance between 1841 and 1867 to replace the ship rig that she bore during those years; nor was there enough evidence to restore her to the single-topsail rig she carried from 1867 to 1881. Consequently, she has been restored to her configuration between 1881 and 1906. In most details she appears as she did during the twenty years after she was altered for arctic whaling in 1886. During this period she left New Bedford and made sixteen year-long voyages in the Pacific and Okhotsk Sea from San Francisco, returning to New Bedford in 1906.

Evidence for the changes came from photographs, physical remains, logs, journals, outfitting bills and other documents, paintings of other whaleships, and oral history. Most important were twenty or more photographs taken between 1900 and 1906. Careful study of them revealed paint schemes, rigging details, and equipment placement. Dimensions for many components were scaled from the photographs by comparing them with known dimensions in the views. Several items in the Museum's collection could be identified from the photographs, incidentally verifying the accuracy of the scaling process. Photographs also depicted the correct leads for rigging, and other details such as chain sheets for the lower topsails, which have been installed.

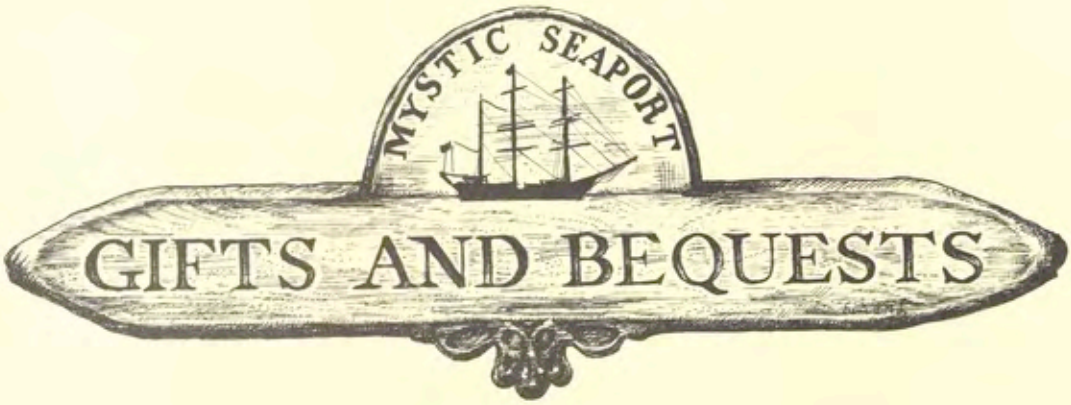
Two changes are immediately apparent. The new ochre color of her hurricane house, deck structures, and the inner facing of her bulwarks was verified by photographs, paintings, and analysis of paint layers on her woodwork. Also changed is her transom. In 1957 evidence of stern windows was discovered, and they were replaced at that time. Documents indicate that the transom was extensively rebuilt when the *Morgan* was refitted for arctic whaling in 1886, and it is probable that the windows were replaced with two portholes at that time. Certainly by 1900 the windows were gone, so they have been removed and portholes again put in.

On deck, the many cleats, racks, and fittings for whaling gear are being added. Examples of appropriate whalecraft (ironwork) will be produced in the Shipsmith Shop so the process of whaling can be depicted accurately.

The results of careful research and documentation, coupled with skillful ship carpentry, are now evident in this most accurate restoration.

The *Charles W. Morgan* returns to Chubb's Wharf, May 1984. (Photo by Mary Anne Stets)





GIFTS AND BEQUESTS

The development of the museum–the buildings, ships and wharves, the exhibits, books and manuscripts–give eloquent testimony to the generosity of members and other friends of Mystic Seaport Museum. There are continuing opportunities for gifts and bequests which will help assure its future strength and development.

Members of the Seaport who have not already done so are urged to perpetuate their interest in the work of the museum through a bequest. Some members will want to make a specific bequest while others may want to designate Mystic Seaport Museum as a residuary or contingent beneficiary of all or a portion of their estate.

Mystic Seaport Museum is a nonprofit institution publicly supported by gifts and grants. Contributions are deductible within legal limits for Federal income tax purposes. Inquiries regarding gifts and bequests are encouraged and may be directed to the Director of Resource Development.

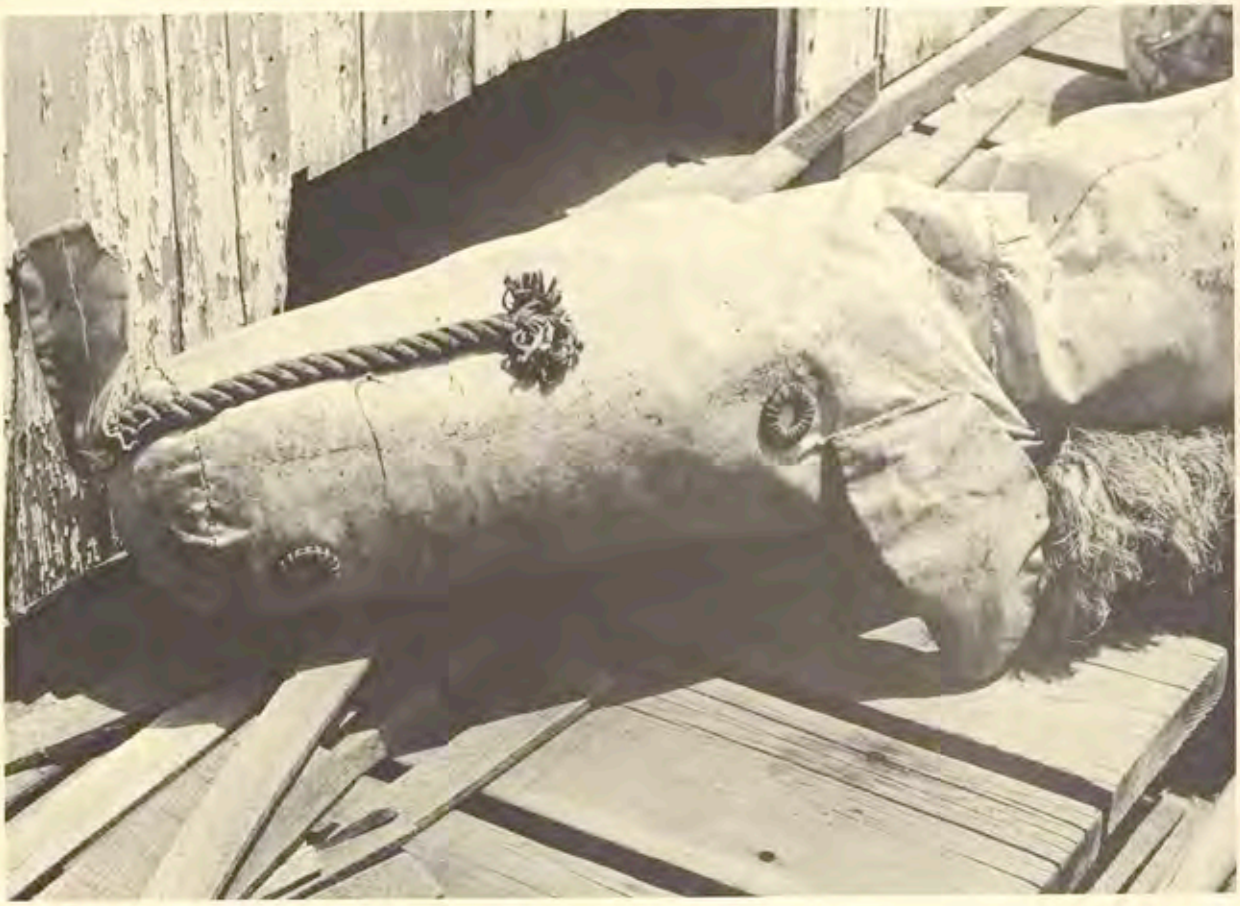
SUGGESTED FORMS FOR BEQUESTS

General

I give and bequeath to Mystic Seaport Museum, Inc., a corporation existing under and by virtue of a charter granted by the State of Connecticut, and located in Mystic (Town of Stonington) in said State, $ . . . . . , to be used (or the net income to be used) at the discretion of the Trustees of said Corporation.

Residuary

All the rest, residue, and remainder of my real and personal estate I devise and bequeath to Mystic Seaport Museum, Inc., a corporation existing under and by virtue of a charter granted by the State of Connecticut, and located in Mystic (Town of Stonington) in said State, said estate to be used (or the net income to be used) at the discretion of the Trustees of said Corporation.



THE LOG OF MYSTIC SEAPORT

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