SUMMER 1985

# THE LOG OF MYSTIC SEAPORT



## *Officers and Trustees of Mystic Seaport Museum, Inc.*

Alfred Ogden *Chairman Emeritus*
William C. Ridgway, Jr. *Chairman Emeritus*
Clifford D. Mallory, Jr. *Chairman of the Board*
Rudolph J. Schaefer III *President*
Timothea Schneider Larr *Vice President*
Robert G. Stone, Jr. *Vice President*
William Blunt White *Vice President*
James M. Lyon *Treasurer*

TRUSTEES EMERITI
Briggs S. Cunningham
John W. Draper
Waldo Howland
Irving M. Johnson
Donald B. Kipp
Margaret P. Mallory
Richard C. McCurdy
Alfred Ogden
William C. Ridgway, Jr.
Joseph S. Santin
Henry A. Scheel
Olin J. Stephens II
John R. Wheeler

BOARD OF TRUSTEES
Thomas R. Adams
Oakes Ames
William L. Ames
Maynard E. Bray
Powell Cabot
James E. Chapman
David L. Coffin
William H. Combs
Walter L. Cronkite
Endicott P. Davison
John R. Deupree
F. George duPont
Robert A. Farrall
A. Searle Field II
James L. Giblin
Lyttleton B. P. Gould, Jr.
Daniel S. Gregory
Llewellyn Howland III
Charles J. Irwin
David W. P. Jewitt
Waldo C. M. Johnston
Timothea Schneider Larr
Stanley Livingston, Jr.
James M. Lyon
Clifford D. Mallory, Jr.
Danforth Miller, Jr.
William L. Musser, Jr.
Robert L. Newell
Alfred T. Ogden II
Harris B. Parsons
Richard W. Pendleton, Jr.
Hugh M. Pierce
Gifford Pinchot
William C. Ridgway III
Peter D. Sanger
Rudolph J. Schaefer III
Gaddis Smith
Frank V. Snyder
Robert G. Stone, Jr.
Oscar S. Straus II
Michael B. Stubbs
Rudolf L. Talbot
Wade F. B. Thompson
Edwin Thorne
Richard R. Vietor
Thomas J. Watson, Jr.
Katharine L. Weymouth
Joel M. White
William Blunt White
Thomas R. Wilcox
Richard W. Woolworth

## *Staff Officers*

J. Revell Carr
*Director*
Franklin Kneedler
*Deputy Director*
Oliver Denison III
*Secretary and Assistant Treasurer*


## *The Log of Mystic Seaport*


*Editorial Board:* J. Revell Carr, Dorothy E. R. Brewington, Benjamin A. G. Fuller, John Gardner, Benjamin W. Labaree, George Moffett
*Editor:* Gerald E. Morris *Associate Editor:* Andrew W. German
*Picture Editors:* Stuart L. Parnes, Andrew W. German
*Design and Production:* Klaus Gemming, New Haven, Connecticut
*Publications Staff:* Andrew W. German, Nancy E. Zercher
*Photography Staff:* Mary Anne Stets, Claire White-Peterson, Deborah A. Patterson

*The Log of Mystic Seaport* (ISSN 0024-5828) is published quarterly by Mystic Seaport Museum, Mystic, Connecticut 06355. Subscriptions are by membership only, beginning at $25.00. Contributions of previously unpublished articles and pictures are welcome. Editorial guidelines are available from the Publications Department.


© 1985 Mystic Seaport Museum, Inc.


*The Log of Mystic Seaport* is abstracted in *America: History and Life* and *Historical Abstracts.* It is also available in microform from University Microfilms International, Department F. A., Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.


FRONT COVER: *The Battery, New York, with a British frigate anchored in the North River, ca. 1776. Detail from "A View of New York from the North West," in Joseph DesBarres's* Atlantic Neptune, *volume IV, part 2 (London, 1784).*

BACK COVER: *"On the docks after a hot day," New York. Illustration by* [?] *Hogan,* Harper's Weekly, *22 August 1868.*

*Volume 37, Number 2 / Summer 1985*

THE LOG
OF MYSTIC SEAPORT

CONTENTS

*Sightings* 42

From Quarterdeck to Blast Furnace:
The Revolutionary Career
Of Captain Solomon Townsend
GEOFFREY ROSSANO and JOAN BALDWIN 43

Augustus Waldeck Buhler:
The Artist as Historian
JOYCE BUTLER 62

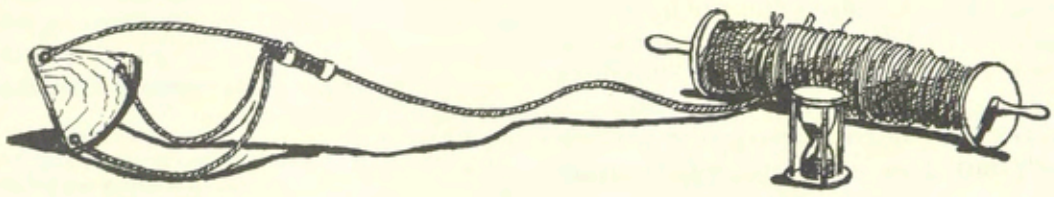
Book Reviews 70

Letters 73

Acquisition 74

*Log* Prize Article Contest 75

Historic Ships:
The *Meteor* 76



# *SIGHTINGS*



In a recent issue of the *Wind Rose,* members learned in some detail of the new building that will house the Mystic Maritime Gallery of the Seaport Store. The gift of this building to the Museum, and the Gallery's function as part of the Museum Store, raise several points which highlight the importance of the Store to Mystic Seaport Museum.

First, it should be noted that the gift of this new building is a very unusual contribution. It is not out of the ordinary for donors to contribute traditional galleries to museums, but it is extremely rare when a donor provides a commercial gallery. In making this exceptional gift, Rudie Schaefer is generously carrying on a Schaefer tradition. Over the years the family has given the Tap Room in the Seamen's Inne Restaurant, the Spouter Tavern exhibit on the Museum grounds, and the R. J. Schaefer Building for changing museum exhibitions. With the gift of the Mystic Maritime Gallery, the Schaefer family philanthropy has now touched all major areas of the Museum.

Just as the Seaport itself has grown and matured over the decades, so also has the Store. It has two closely-related basic functions: to serve the Museum, and to serve its visitors and customers. The Store functions as a wholly-owned, profit-making subsidiary of the nonprofit Museum. It generates income for the support of the Museum and its programs. We must develop such additional sources of income in order to be able to sustain our programs, since visitor admission income produces only 40 percent of our operating budget.

The Store staff has been creative, particularly during the last decade, and has made the Store a very positive part of the Museum experience. A stop at the "museum shop" has become an expected part of a visit to any American museum, and, through the efforts of our Store staff, a visit to our "shop" is truly exceptional.

The way the Store now complements the Museum's programs is most encouraging. In support of the institution's efforts to provide information on historical and maritime subjects, the book department of the Store has been expanded into one of the largest and most comprehensive maritime bookstores in the nation, serving the needs of visitors as well as phone and mail-order customers. The newly-expanded Mystic Maritime Gallery plays an important role in serving both artists and collectors of contemporary maritime art. While the Seaport encourages artists working in the maritime field, it is difficult to exhibit their work in our conventional museum galleries where the work can not be offered for sale. The Store Gallery came into being to fill this need to exhibit and sell contemporary marine art, and clearly complements the Museum's activities in this regard.

Steps are continually being taken to improve the Store operation, through its Board of Directors, its President, Tom Aageson, and its energetic staff. With the extraordinary support of people like Rudolph J. Schaefer III, the Store will clearly serve the Museum and its patrons in the future.

J. Revell Carr

# From Quarterdeck to Blast Furnace

## The Revolutionary Career Of Captain Solomon Townsend

GEOFFREY ROSSANO *and* JOAN BALDWIN

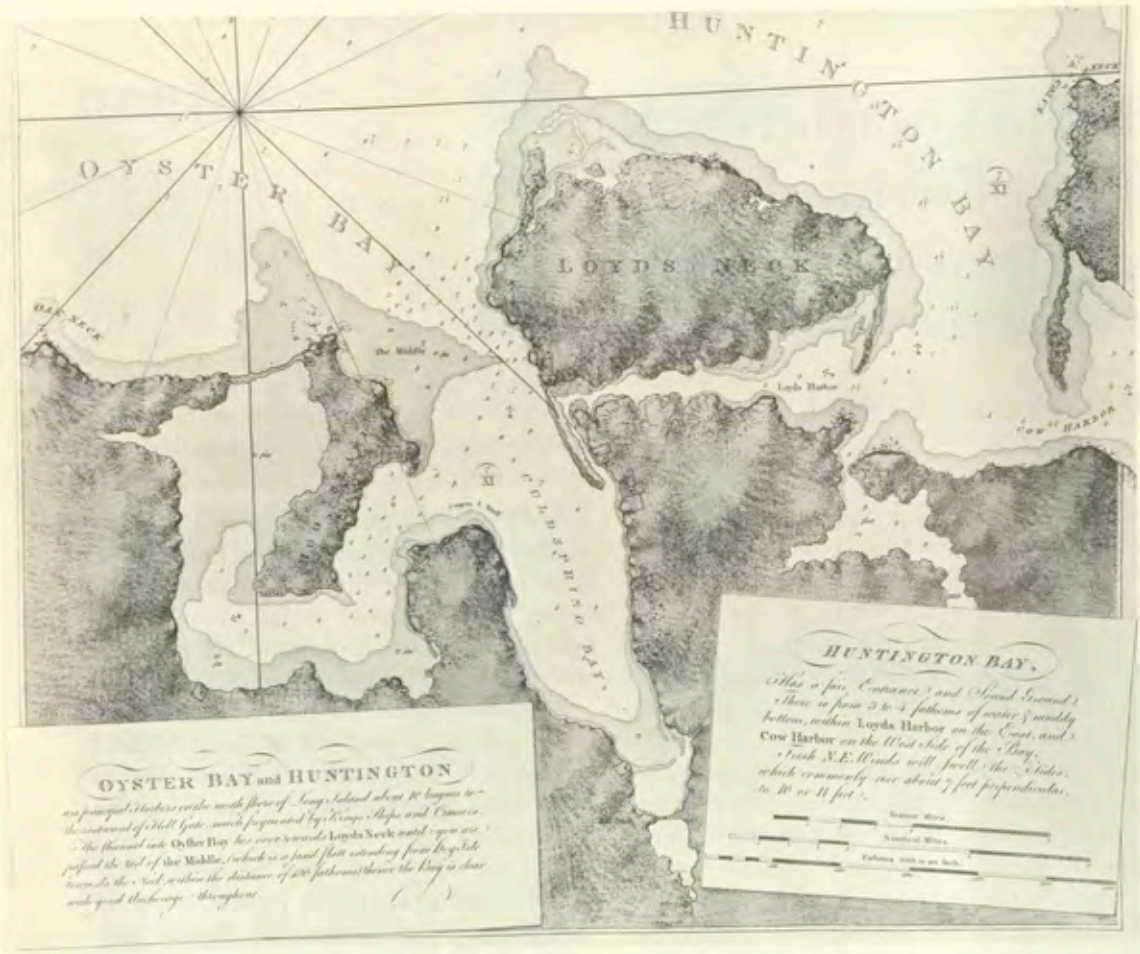
The War for Independence marked a watershed in America economic history. Nowhere was this more evident than in the maritime trade of the northern colonies. An integrated commerical system created after a century of effort dissolved virtually overnight as profitable markets collapsed and shipyards and wharves lay idle. A worldwide network of agents, factors, and business contacts disintegrated. Mercantile houses were bankrupt and scores of successful Loyalist merchants fled the new United States for the safety of Canada and Britain. Many of those who remained turned to other pursuits, especially the infant manufacturing enterprises beginning to dot the coutryside.

The career of Captain Solomon Townsend (1746-1811) of Oyster Bay, New York, spanned this entire turbulent era. As mariner, merchant, and iron manufacturer, the evolution of his business pursuits mirrored the changing currents of national economic life during the Revolutionary period. Master of a small brig before the war, Townsend pursued both the coastal and triangular trade. The outbreak of fighting in 1775 disrupted his normal sailing patterns, and after only two further voyages he returned to New York City where he joined his brother as a merchant. Despite a maritime career spanning nearly twenty years, he did not go to sea again. The postwar collapse of commerce precipitated the dissolution of the brothers' firm and Solomon turned instead to the manufacture and sale of heavy iron goods. He pursued this new course for the remainder of his life.

Solomon Townsend had the good fortune to be born into one of Long Island's preeminent mercantile families. For at least four generations before him the Townsends controlled the politics and commerce of Oyster Bay township. Solomon's great-grandfather James Townsend (1665-1730), rose to become Deputy Surveyor General for the entire province. His grandfather Jacob (1692-1742) owned the largest store in Jericho, Long Island, and also pursued an active career in the coasting trade to Newport, Rhode Island. Solomon's uncles James, Jacob, and Benjamin Townsend were, respectively, a substantial lumber importer, a successful New York City merchant, and a shipowner. Still other cousins and uncles enjoyed marked political success and dominated local government. Solomon's maternal relatives, the Stoddards, were fixtures of the Newport, Rhode Island, mercantile community.[1]

The most successful of the clan, however, was Samuel Townsend (1717-1790), Solomon's father and the leading shipowner and merchant in Oyster Bay. In the early 1740s Samuel Townsend relocated the family's trading business from landlocked Jericho to the coastal settlement of Oyster

Geoffrey Rossano and Joan Baldwin are winners of the fourth annual *Log* Prize Article Contest. See page 75 for more information.




The settlement at Oyster Bay is obscured by the sailing directions for Oyster Bay and Huntington in this engraving from Joseph DesBarres's *Atlantic Neptune*, volume IV, part 2 (London, 1784).

Bay on Long Island Sound about twenty-five miles from New York City. The small village hugged the shore from Hog Island on the west to Cooper's Bluff on the east. Inland, small houses lined Sammis Creek which spilled into the harbor at the center of town. With its well-protected bay and gently sloping waterfront, the site was naturally suited to both trading and shipbuilding.[2]

In 1747 Samuel Townsend built his first coasting sloop, aptly named *Prosperity*, at a cost of £1,100. An active and impressive businessman, he also managed a general store that supplied the majority of the local population. His associates included the wealthiest New York City merchants, and he maintained ties with influential commercial figures throughout the British Empire. In a long and respected political career he served as a militia officer, town clerk, and justice of the peace, and later as a state senator and councilor to the governor. Thus Solomon Townsend, the eldest son of Samuel Townsend and Sarah Stoddard, came by his affinity for the sea naturally. Born in 1746 into a commercial, seafaring family, his earliest education and experiences were dominated by the ocean and the countinghouse.[3]

From the doors of his family's home Solomon could see the harbor and the mast-

heads of his father's ships moored nearby. Just a short walk away at the end of Ship's Point Lane sat Samuel Townsend's wharf and warehouse where such vessels as the sloop *Weymouth* or the *Katherine* from Newport awaited cargoes of beef, pork, shingles, grain, and barrel staves from Long Island's farms. The air rang with the shouts of laborers loading vessels and the raucous squeal of ox carts. Seaman scurried to and fro, repairing rigging and sails, preparing their ships for journeys south to the Caribbean.[4]

Although the family warehouse and wharf exposed Solomon to the hectic world of mercantile trading, the local shipyards were another source of constant wonder and excitement for a young boy. By the time Solomon was eleven years old his father owned four vessels: the *Prosperity,* the *Solomon,* the *Sarah,* and the *Audrey,* the last two named for Solomon's younger sisters. Oyster Bay schoolmaster Zachariah Weekes often toured the busy waterfront and during the summer of 1758 recorded, "last Sunday was launched Captain Townsend's sloop." Weekes also noted the constant dangers involved in the business. "A man, one of the riggers," he wrote, "fell from the top of the snow's mast to the deck, tho' he broke the fall by catching hold of the rope which cut his hands to the bone and hurt him very much." Surrounded by the smell of tar and hemp and the constant thud of ax on wood, Solomon watched local craftsmen like James Whippo, Samuel Fosdick, and John Steal fashion stout brigs and speedy sloops at shipyards owned by John Butler and "Mr. Monell."[5]

In additon to visiting the shipyards and warehouse, Solomon often tarried at his father's general store. In a role distinct but not separate from his activities as an importer/exporter, Samuel Townsend acted as a shopkeeper/retailer. There young Solomon was surrounded by an exotic assortment of goods: tea, molasses, sugar, rum, books, handkerchiefs, stockings, and an amazing variety of fabrics. Open six days per week and serving up to twenty customers each day, the store functioned as a social and economic center for the small village. In Oyster Bay's largely cashless society, townsmen paid what they could, when they could, in whatever commodity they could. In the early 1750s Samuel maintained 270 local accounts, including almost all the Townsend relatives as well as other village residents such as blacksmith George Weekes and Indian Harry and his squaw.[6]

Raynham Hall, the Townsend family seat at Oyster Bay, Long Island, as it appeared about the time of the American Revolution. (Courtesy Raynham Hall Museum)



The family home in the village center also buzzed with activity. Samuel Townsend often conferred with visiting captains like John Jones who commanded the *Solomon* on her 1753 voyage to Honduras Bay, and Effingham Lawrence who returned the *Audrey* safely from a 1759 voyage to Quebec and Newfoundland. Along with the ships' captains came a wide array of merchants, part of Samuel Townsend's ever-expanding circle of trade. Principal among them were the Lloyds of nearby Lloyd Neck, Long Island; Henry Lloyd functioned as Samuel Townsend's Boston banker. Also included among his associates were wealthy Manhattan merchants like John Aspinwall, Gerard Beekman, and John Van Cortland.[7]

Apart from the constant rush of family, friends and business contacts, Solomon must have often witnessed his father laboring at his desk. In an age of slow communications and rudimentary finance, a successful merchant like Samuel Townsend kept constant watch over numerous local and foreign accounts, as well as his ships, their captains and crews. By the mid-1750s Townsend maintained contact with several agents, including William Lloyd and Henry Livingston in Jamaica, and James McCauley in Honduras. Samuel's vigilance produced lengthy account books and voluminous correspondence, as well as frequent trips to New York City, often in the company of his brother Jacob.[8]

Solomon's early exposure to his father's formidable business empire resulted in an education that was both practical and formal, and a mixture of sailing, trading, and shipbuilding formed the parameters of his childhood. Later he attended St. George's Academy in Hempstead, headed by the Rev. Samuel Seabury, where he received a classical education that probably included Latin, Greek, theology, and basic mathematics. Whether his studies encompassed subjects directly applicable to life at sea is not known. One of his father's copybooks survives, however, and his course in trigonometry was devoted to sailing problems, plotting courses, and finding latitude and longitude. If Solomon did not have a similiar course at St. Georges, he had ample opportunity to absorb every aspect of the merchant/shipowner's business through his own experience. Since early childhood he had watched the craftsmen in Oyster Bay's shipyards, listened to captains' tales, and observed his own father at work. At the age of fourteen he was ready to put some of that practical knowledge to the test. Although he was expected to enter the counting house of Templeton and Stuart in New York City, his place there was taken by a younger brother, and Solomon went to sea instead.[9]

Solomon Townsend's time as an apprentice mariner was well spent, and his father's approval came in 1766 in the form of a major promotion. At the age of twenty Solomon received command of the brig *Sally*, the newest vessel in Samuel's fleet. Solomon remained aboard the *Sally* for more than seven years, a period in which he traveled the length and breadth of the Atlantic commercial community. Written in a bold clean hand, his logs and account books are veritable textbooks of colonial Anglo-American trade and the role of the pre-Revolutionary merchant captain.

Rapidly expanding opportunities characterized Solomon's new maritime world. Annual ship clearances from New York Harbor jumped from approximately 250 in 1739 to nearly 800 in 1768. Ever greater quantities of European goods poured into the colonies, while Long Island's farmers aggressively cultivated lucrative markets for their growing commerical surpluses.[10]

As master of the *Sally*, young Solomon assumed weighty responsibilities. Commanding one of Samuel's prized ships, he acted as his father's primary overseas business representative, and the variety and complexity of his tasks was prodigious. He had to cipher and navigate, understand business law, maritime insurance, diplomat-



"A Schooner with a View of New York" depicts a vessel type much favored in colonial America. Townsend's brig *Sally* probably bore similarities to this vessel except in details of rigging. Eighteenth-century painting by Dominick Serres engraved by J. Clark and J. Hamble for *Liber Nauticum*, by J. T. Serres (London, 1805).

ic customs, bills of credit, and currency conversions. Every day he cared for his men and ship, acting as sailing master, ship's doctor, and chief carpenter while passing through a world that was at once English, French, Spanish, Dutch, and Portuguese. So crucial was the role Solomon assumed that one historian recently noted, "The difference between one merchant and the next, the degree of success or failure, turned more upon the relative skills in choosing and managing captains and agents than any other single factor."[11]

Although Solomon Townsend's career as a shipmaster began in 1766, the most complete records of his activities date from the summer of 1768. In September of that year he left Oyster Bay for New York City to deliver a load of provisions in Quebec. He arrived in Canada in November and returned home just before ice closed the St. Lawrence River to further traffic. By January he was back at Oyster Bay, and later that month tied up in Manhattan. Two months later he sailed for London, carrying freight. Also on board during the boisterous early spring crossing were several passengers, among them his uncle Benjamin Townsend and a young seaman named James Farley who would one day command another of Samuel Townsend's vessels and marry one of his daughters.



Captain Townsend's trading voyages frequently brought him to Quebec, seen here ca. 1765 in an engraving by Balth Frederic Leiselt. (Courtesy Mariners' Museum, Newport News, Virginia)

By August the *Sally* had returned to America with a cargo of sundries and fabrics and was quickly overhauled and readied for a new venture. A cargo of rum, wine, rice, ironware, and peas was stowed away for delivery in Quebec. Once more racing ahead of the oncoming winter, Townsend and the *Sally* reached Quebec in early November 1769 and headed south four weeks later.

The following spring, after months of inactivity, Solomon was impatient to depart again, his vessel loaded this time with flaxseed, barrel staves, flour, and oak timber, and bound for Ireland. The transatlantic crossing was swift and safe, and the *Sally* was soon scudding up the Irish Sea headed for Dublin. After paying port duties, Solomon disposed of the cargo for £451, earning his father a profit of £140. In his personal account book, Solomon entered a small commission for himself, a common practice.[12]

While in Dublin Townsend took on stores for another Atlantic crossing, this time bound for Jamaica and the Bay of Honduras. He purchased fresh meat and fowl and engaged two young apprentices to replace seamen who unexpectedly left the ship. Solomon also bought quantities of shoes, soap, and beef tongues on his personal account for later trade in the Caribbean.

Departing the first week of May 1770, the *Sally* reached Jamaica in June and Honduras in July. After long weeks of unappetizing shipboard fare, the men thankfully dined on tropical delicacies, especially fresh turtle meat. In Honduras Townsend contacted family agent James McCauley and disposed of the soap, shoes, and beef tongues he had purchased in Dublin. Pickled beef acquired at thirty-seven shillings a barrel quickly resold at sixty shillings, while thirty-six pairs of shoes costing four shillings, eight pence, now brought six shillings, three pence and eight shillings a pair. All told, Solomon increased his personal trading account by £34 Jamaican or £41 New York currency.

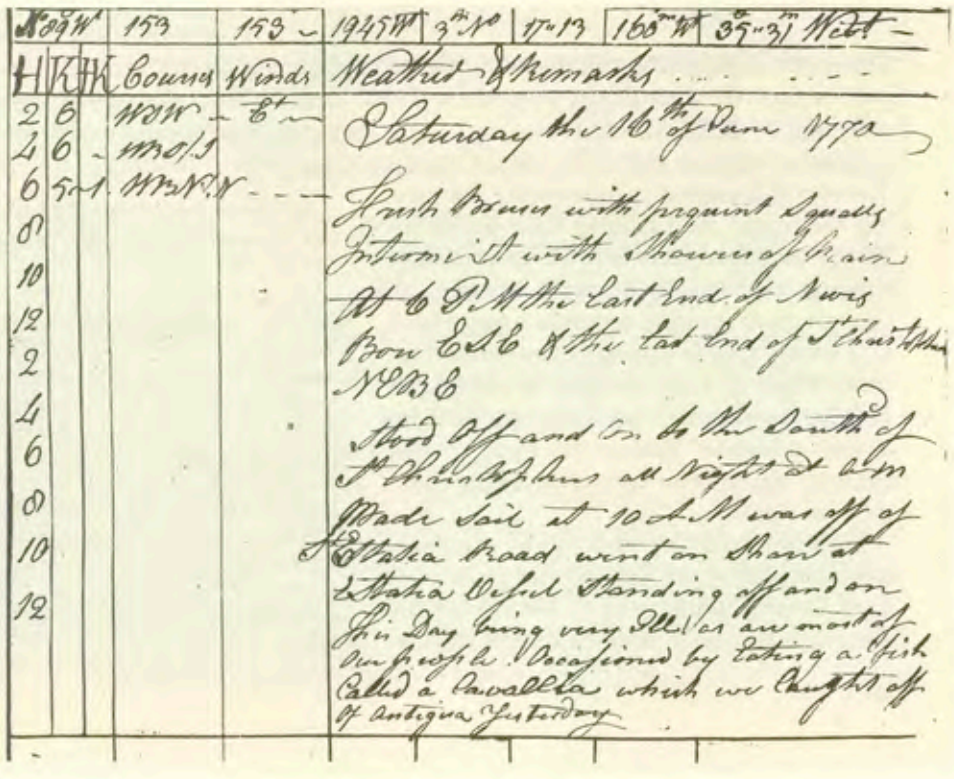
With provisions unloaded and trading completed, the *Sally's* crew spent several days stowing 13,700 feet of mahogany. The Townsends made a specialty of importing mahogany, and had pursued the business for nearly twenty years. When the lumber was safely aboard, the *Sally* left the Caribbean and by late September was moored in Manhattan again.[13]

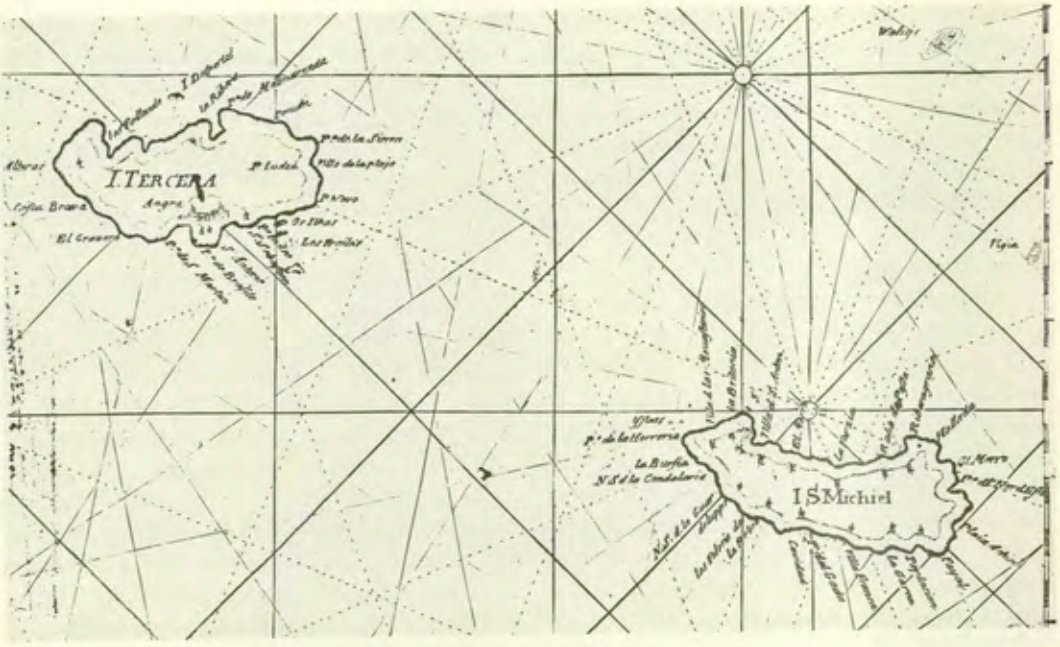
Tropical service was hard on wooden vessels, and during the next few months the *Sally* received a thorough overhaul. Workmen scraped and repaired her bottom, recaulked the planking, and gave her topsides a fresh coat of paint. Townsend also replaced a damaged longboat. By December she was ready to sail again, and Solomon began purchasing provisions, loading a cargo, and assembling a reliable crew for a winter voyage to the Azores.

This last task often proved particularly difficult. Captains usually paid off the seamen at the end of the each voyage and assembled a new complement as another sailing date neared. Sometimes, however, sailors only worked a segment of an extended voyage. Six crewmen manned the *Sally* during her 1769 trip to London. Two jumped ship in England and three replacements signed on for the journey home. When the *Sally* sailed for Quebec later that year, three of the old crew went along as did three new hands. After a winter layover only one sailor remained from either the London or Quebec voyages. Of the group assembled for the Dublin cruise, two were paid off in Ireland, replaced by young apprentices.

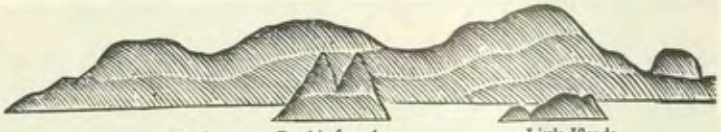
Naturally the quality of men gathered from the New York, Dublin, or London waterfronts varied greatly. Some like Henry Williams and James Farley were steady and dependable. Others were more troublesome. On a 1772 voyage to North Carolina,

On his passage from Dublin to Jamaica in 1770, Townsend stopped at St. Eustatius, noting he was "very ill as are most of our people occasioned by eating a fish called a Cavallia which we caught off of Antigua yesterday." (Log 588, G. W. Blunt White Library)






Terceira and St. Michiel (Sao Miguel) in the "Western Islands," or Azores, as charted by John Seller in *The English Pilot for the Southern Navigation* (London, 1758 edition).




Thus sheweth *Tercera* on the South-side when you sail along by it.

Townsend reluctantly paid the Wilmington jailors eighteen shillings expenses for crewman Peter Thermidy.

Besides locating sufficient men, Captain Townsend assumed responsibility for paying them and maintaining their accounts. Wages averaged between thirty and fifty shillings per month of active service, although a particularly arduous voyage such as a winter trip to Canada commanded increased pay of sixty to eighty shillings per month. Townsend's bookkeeping also included advances against the men's wages for everything from laundry to hospital insurance dues.[14]

With her holds full and a new crew manning the braces, the *Sally* set out from New York in early January 1771, bound for the Azores. Solomon had never been there before, and he must have been filled with anticipation. Terceira was sighted on 2 February, but soon proved an unexpectedly treacherous landfall.

It is a very dangerous place for a vessel to lie at. Got an anchor and cable from the shore and

*Opposite:* Anchors played a significant role in Townsend's career long before he began to manufacture them. Departing London for North Carolina in December 1772, the brig *Sally* parted her cable and lost an anchor in the Thames. Coming to anchor in the Downs, Townsend purchased a new anchor, but the next night "broke our shear," overriding the anchor, and fell afoul of a ship whose catted anchor punctured the brig's side, destroyed the best anchor cable in the cable tier, and "Damaged us considerably." (Log 588, G. W. Blunt White Library)

Journal of a Passage from London towards Cape Fear in North Carolina. In the Brig Sally

Tuesday 15th Decembr 1772

At 10 A.M. Weighd from Gravesend Moderate Brez at 11¾ at Past 5 Came to Anchor in Yarmouth hole

Wednesday the 16th Decembr 1772

At 3 A.M Saw Dungeness from the S.W. Parted our Cable Let go the Best Bower at Day light hoisted Signal for a Boat to Come off at 9 one came off from Whitstable Ordered to take up the Anchor but Broke the Buoy Rope. was Obliged to Leave it at 11 hove up and Came to Sail at 2 Came to an Anchor in Margate Roads

Thursday the 17th Decembr

At 8 A.M Came to Sail Wind at W.S.W Beat Round the N. Foreland at 2 P.M Came to Anchor in the Downs Wind Offshore & Purchased an Anchor and Got on Board in the Evening

Fryday the 18th Decembr

Fresh part Moderate Breezes and Fair Weather. at 6 A.M hove up the Best Bower. to sea him Clear Let go Small Bower. at 8 P.M hove up Small Bower & Let go the Sheet Anchor. Weather looking Dirty at Past 11. Blowing Strong from the South. Broke our Shear And Fell foul of a Ship and Lay Considerable Time. where Anchor Bent Through Our Side In an Our Cable Ties. & Ranged our best Cable Cleard Away our Quarter Rails and Damaged us Considerably

Saturday 19th Decembr

At 1 A.M Got Clear of the Ship by Ours Cutting Our Cable & Let go Sheet Anchor. Let go Small Bower. Hoisted a light for a Boat. at Day light a Boat Came off Employed Them Heaving Up Sheet Anchor. Ship Sent for their Anchor Sent On Shore for Some Boards to Stop over the Hole in the Side At 12 hove up at 3 Came to in the Small Downs in 4 fa

moored the vessel with it and all our anchors which we rode by four or five days when a gale of wind broke us adrift and drove foul of a vessel lying in the broad, but received not much damage and was obliged to set another anchor and cable....

Solomon also found conducting business in a strange land and a foreign tongue more than he had bargained for. He sorely missed the services of a competent and reliable agent. In situations like these the captain truly earned his pay. He wrote home to Oyster Bay:

> As for the consul, he is Portuguese who has learned the English language in Philadelphia, but very unfit for the office as he is incapable of giving any advice in any affair....So that I was destitute of anyone who I could rely on for advice, a stranger to the country and language which rendered my situation very disagreeable....[15]

From Terceira the *Sally* coasted E.S.E. to nearby Sao Miguel, and then in May to Lisbon on the mainland. Though not fully satisfied with the voyage's financial results, Townsend consoled himself with the thought that "though a poor freight, I expect to make about £150." His concerns also eased in the presence of a sizable English community in Portugal, and he had little difficulty assembling a cargo of fruit and wine for the London market. Before departing, however, he procured proper insurance for both vessel and cargo to the value of £600 coverage because the policy issued in New York only extended as far as Portugal. While informing Oyster Bay of the insurance situation, Townsend also remitted £322 to his father's account.[16]

By June the *Sally* was safely docked in London. The wine and fruit were delivered to English consignees and a cargo of cloth, glassware, "cream-colored earthenware," and wine loaded for transport to Cape Fear, North Carolina. Townsend and his weary crew reached Wilmington in October where the cargo sold for £944 against expenses of £780. Once more he remitted the difference to Samuel Townsend in Oyster Bay, this time through an agent in Phildelphia.[17]

Despite the onset of winter, the *Sally* braved the North Atlantic again, sailing eastward in January, and anchoring at Plymouth, England, in February 1772 with her hold full of barrels of tar, hogsheads of tobacco, and bundles of deerskins. In April Solomon journeyed overland to London for some sightseeing and shopping. Always appreciative of life's finer things, he visited the shop of Benjamin Wetherly and Company on Catherine Street near the Tower and purchased plates, bowls, mugs, and "two fine engraved quart grog tumblers."[18]

Solomon and the *Sally* weighed anchor in June 1772, bound for New York, which they reached safely in mid-July after a journey of nearly nineteen months and over 14,000 miles.

The outbreak of the American Revolution in April 1775 plunged the entire Atlantic world into turmoil, and Solomon Townsend could not avoid the upheaval of conflicting loyalties, divisive politics, and armed combat. Confusion was rife within the mercantile community. Many traders shunned opposition politics and instead identified their business interests with the British Empire. As one Philadelphia importer noted, "We consider the merchants here and in England as the links of the chain that binds both countries together."[19]

Prominent members of the New York commercial establishment such as the Townsends were tugged in several directions. Only two days before the fighting at Lexington and Concord, one family agent in Britain wrote to Oyster Bay "...we hope all differences with England will be amicably settled." Solomon's father, by now a respected political figure, became an active patriot. Robert Townsend, Solomon's brother, while playing the role of a loyalist dandy, eventually labored as one of General George Washington's principal spies. Other




The view up New York Bay toward Manhattan, ca. 1776. Engraving from Joseph DesBarres's *Atlantic Neptune*, volume IV, part 2 (London, 1784).

neighbors and associates, however, were less enthusiastic for the rebel cause. Captain James Farley, Solomon's future brother-in-law and a longtime family employee, continued to sail for English and Loyalist merchants. The Lloyds, also important business associates, became active Tories.[20]

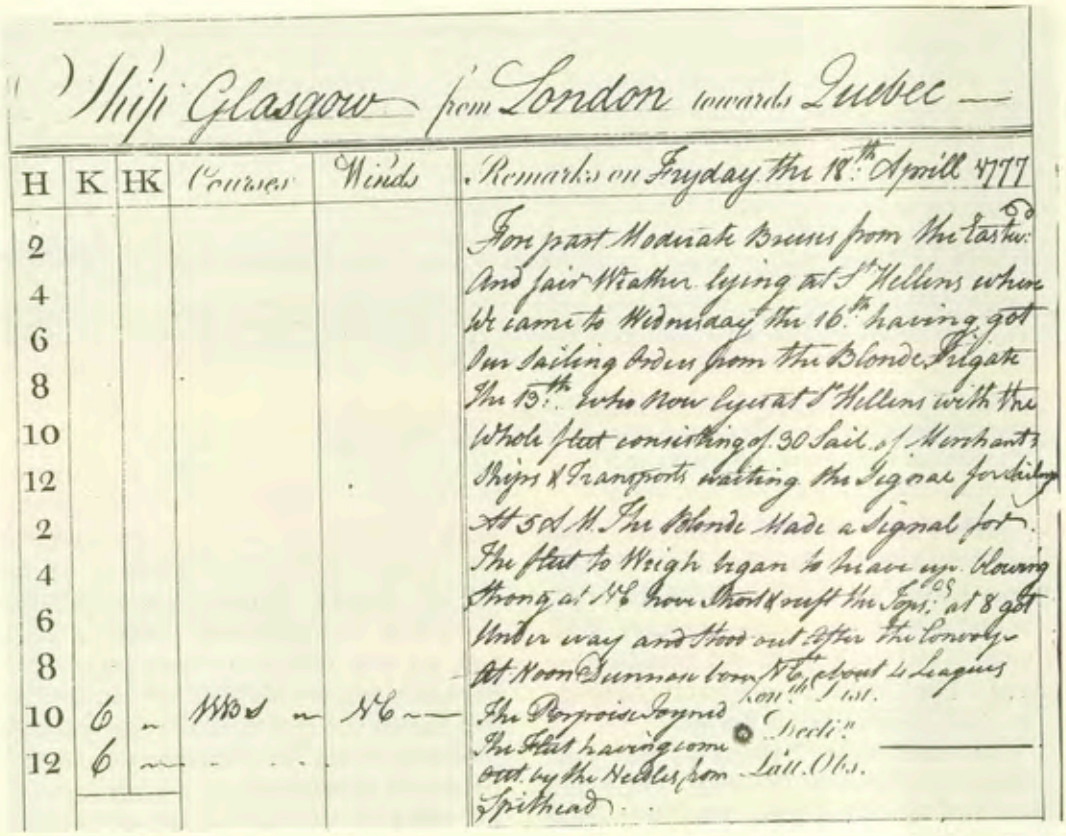
Most important, Solomon's new employers were ardent Royalists. After successful service aboard the *Sally*, the young captain was hired to command the 300-ton ship *Glasgow* owned by the Buchanan family of New York and Scotland. The Buchanans were integral members of the Townsend commercial network, and Thomas Buchanan of Manhattan had only recently wed Almy Townsend, Solomon's first cousin. Not surprisingly, the Buchanans urged Solomon to continue in their employ despite the impending hostilities.[21]

Townsend faced a cruel choice. He could retain his career at the risk of losing his homeland, or he could retire from the Buchanans' service, relinquish his splendid new command, and languish in New York. Not surprisingly, Solomon postponed the decision for as long as possible, but when in the fall of 1775 the *Glasgow* set sail for Boston, Captain Solomon Townsend was in command.

Scheduled to load a cargo of provisions for a voyage to the West Indies, the *Glasgow* made ready for a new year departure, and on a gusty, overcast day in January she cast off for Jamaica. Blustery winter weather prevented the men from landing a small boat at Castle William to obtain proper harbor clearance, provoking noisy but ineffective cannon fire. Thereafter the passage southward was swift and safe; no American privateers interrupted the voyage, nor did unexpected storms cause delays. A masthead lookout spied Antigua on 9 February 1776 and Jamaica ten days later in "hot, sultry weather."

Although the cargo was soon offloaded, Townsend and his crew languished for months, awaiting formation of a British naval convoy to protect them from American raiders infesting local waters. Finally in early August the necessary ships gathered, and at 2 A.M. on the morning of 9 August, the *Glasgow* weighed anchor and departed Montego Bay. Just after sunrise Captain Townsend "saw the fleet lying to . . . joined them and got information from the *Pallas* frigate, Captain Cornwallis." By mid-day the assembled ships were headed east by south "with the fleet consisting of upward of 100 sail. . . ."

The unwieldy convoy sailed eastward for five weeks, then veered north, at which time Captain Cornwallis "thought them out of danger of privateers, and advised them to



Ship Glasgow from London towards Quebec

| H | K | HK | Courses | Winds | Remarks on Fryday the 18th Aprill 1777 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | | | | | For past Moderate Brises from the Eastw: |
| 4 | | | | | And fair Weather lying at St Hellens where |
| 6 | | | | | We came to Wednesday the 16th having got |
| 8 | | | | | Our Sailing Orders from the Blonde Frigate |
| 10 | | | | | The 15th: who now Lyes at St Hellens with the |
| 12 | | | | | Whole fleet consisting of 30 Sail of Merchants |
| 2 | | | | | Ships & Transports waiting the Signal for sailing |
| 4 | | | | | At 5 A.M. The Blonde Made a Signal for |
| 6 | | | | | The fleet to Weigh began to Heave up. blowing |
| 8 | | | | | Strong at S.W. Now Short & ouft the Sqns: at 8 got |
| 10 | 6 | — | WbS | — S6 — | Under way and Stood out after the Convoy |
| 12 | 6 | — | - - - | | At Noon Dunnan bore S.E. about 4 Leagues |
| | | | | | The Porpoise Joyned Com.dr Parker |
| | | | | | The Fleet having come out by the Needles from Spithead |

In April 1777 Townsend began his last voyage, commanding the *Glasgow* in a convoy of 30 merchant ships and troop transports bound for Quebec. (Log 589, G. W. Blunt White Library)

make the best of their way." At the end of September Solomon turned east once again and crossed the Atlantic. Three weeks later the *Glasgow* "came shingly bottom," and on the morning of 18 October 1776 she "made the land [England], being about eight leagues." Within a few days they were safely anchored in Portsmouth Harbor.[22]

Townsend spent the winter of 1776-77 in England, corresponding with the Buchanans, overhauling the ship, and recruiting a new crew for a spring voyage. Wartime conditions hindered his preparations and in a letter to his employers Solomon described the obstacles. The outfitting, he noted, "could not have come at a worst [sic] time.... if at any time I found fault, they [workers] would give insolent language and immediately quit the ship." Competent crewmen were especially scarce as Britain strained to find sailors for the King's warships. To obtain the necessary men, Solomon was forced to promise monthly payment of wages during the course of the voyage, contrary to normal maritime practice.

Townsend also worried about making his ship battleworthy for any possible encounter with rebel "pirates." He told the Buchanans, "the most of the blockmakers' and smiths' bill is for the guns, which you will see." Two weeks later, on 17 April 1777, the *Glasgow* set sail from Spithead, near Portsmouth, and the following morning the ship and company beat their way down the English Channel towards the open sea, car-

rying a load of supplies for British outposts at Quebec and Montreal.

The *Glasgow* entered the mouth of the St. Lawrence River in late May and anchored at Quebec on 11 June. The scene there was one of constant activity, and the river swarmed with men, supplies, and vessels heading south to support General John Burgoyne's invasion of New York. The crush of activity prevented the *Glasgow* from securing the assistance of a pilot boat. Light winds and falling water levels finally forced the crew to unload much of the cargo into a waiting snow, reducing the ship's draft to twelve feet. After two more frustrating weeks, Townsend headed upriver towards Montreal, but he found the passage difficult, and at one point both ship and cargo sustained some damage. In addition to the constant challenge of navigating the treacherous St. Lawrence, Townsend also struggled with the problems of trading in a military zone. He wrote to the Buchanans in June 1777 that seaman Abraham Allonine had been pressed aboard a British warship.[23]

By late August, with his cargo discharged and a new load of supplies taken on board, Solomon's thoughts turned to the upcoming Atlantic crossing, especially the dangers presented by ever-vigilant privateers. He informed the Buchanans, "the *Garland*, a twenty gun ship, is to be our convoy. We shall sail from Quebec about 25 October. I hope you will not be obliged to give a high premium for insurance."

Despite rapidly falling river levels, the *Glasgow* returned to Quebec on 6 October and on 15 October Solomon confidently reported that "the *Warwick*, man-of-war, has arrived with three ships in her convoy.... We will leave on the 25th bound to London."

The *Glasgow* reached England in late November after a stormy crossing which inflicted extensive damage. Nevertheless, Solomon advised his employers "We have brought a very valuable cargo and I hope it will turn out in good order for the ship." He also observed that wartime demand for shipping had pushed prices for available vessels sky high. "Ships are in greater demand here [London] than last winter. Make no doubt that she will sell at a tolerable price or that she might be got into government service...."

From London, Townsend and the *Glasgow* ventured northward to the Clyde, to repair the damage suffered during the Atlantic crossing. Once again he bemoaned the ruinous prices for supplies, the high wages demanded by seamen, and the poor quality of workmanship available in Britain's hard-pressed dockyards.[24]

Solomon remained with his ship until the end of February 1778, when he left Scotland and traveled to London, where he rented quarters at Savage Garden. With great political and military changes in the wind, he began reassessing his future. General John Burgoyne's splendid invasion force had surrendered at Saratoga, New York, and France, England's ancient enemy, had entered the war on America's side. Britain's efforts to crush the rebels had proven unsuccessful, and many in England now doubted the war would ever be won.

Deciding to return home, Townsend spent the spring months settling the *Glasgow's* accounts, collecting money owed to him, and corresponding with friends in France. In late June Captain Solomon Townsend left England for Nantes, France, where he deposited considerable funds with merchant Joshua Johnson to draw upon when necessary. He also purchased trade goods to carry back to the United States. Next Townsend traveled to Paris to meet with Benjamin Franklin, the American ambassador, to swear allegience to the new United States and presumably receive dispensation for his recent service in the British merchant marine.[25]

In early September Solomon returned to Nantes and boarded the frigate *Providence*, Abraham Whipple commanding. Despite a brush with a British man-of-war, the *Provi-*



Captain Solomon Townsend at age 32. This silhouette was cut at London or Paris in 1778, at the time Townsend retired from the sea. (Courtesy Raynham Hall Museum)

*dence* reached Portsmouth, New Hampshire, a month later and Solomon stepped ashore in America for the first time in nearly three years. His journey home, however, had barely begun, and several more years elapsed before he was reunited with his immediate family.[26]

After a short stay at Portsmouth's Marquis of Rockingham Tavern, Townsend rode to Boston. Though occasionally short of cash and forced to borrow money to pay for his lodgings, he finally sold some of the trade goods brought back from Europe. Solomon settled all his accounts by mid-December and quickly set off for Providence, Rhode Island, in unseasonably warm weather.

Soon, however, the mercury plunged and the trip eastward to Stonington, Connecticut, was "a very tedious one, the snow blowing in our faces very much." Townsend pressed on, reaching New London on 22 December, where he took time to visit the wharf and inspect the frigate *Confederacy*, "A fine new ship of 36 guns lately launched and fitting out." To Solomon's experienced eye she seemed "an exceeding fine ship making a very fine appearance."[27]

With the weather still bitterly cold, Captain Townsend traveled toward Hartford, noting the temperature was so low "as almost to freeze hot tea." He continued his journey northwestward through New Hartford, Canaan, and finally Fishkill, New York, where he crossed over the Hudson River on the ice. When he learned that his distant cousin Peter Townsend lived nearby, he hurried to meet him and "after many invitations and being urged very much to tarry," remained with his relatives until early February 1779. Though Solomon had found a temporary home, his wanderings did not cease and during the next two years he visited Morristown, Philadelphia, and conducted another expedition to Boston, this time passing through Norwalk, Connecticut, scene of a recent British raid. He was appalled at the destruction and recorded that the town "makes the most shocking appearance, the stacks of chimnies standing as monument of the wastage of a cruel enemy." Throughout this period Solomon attempted to contact his relatives in occupied New York and Oyster Bay, but family legend states that he was unable to rendezvous with them until early 1783 at a clandestine meeting on Shelter Island at the eastern end of Long Island, New York.[28]

While Townsend wandered back and forth across New England and the mid-Atlantic states, the focus of the War for Independence shifted southward, culminating in the American victory at Yorktown in October 1781, and the peace treaty signed at Paris in 1783. By now Captain Townsend had decided to leave the sea and pursue another career. His wide experience trading throughout Europe, America, and the Caribbean made the role of merchant a natural choice. In the summer of 1783, with

British troops preparing to leave for England, he joined forces with his brother Robert in New York City. Drawing on old family connections where they could, and pursuing new avenues of trade, the brothers formed a small importing partnership with offices in lower Manhattan.

They could hardly have picked a less auspicious moment to initiate a mercantile venture. The war years were especially hard on New York City and the evacuation of enemy troops did not improve the situation. Along with the departing army went tens of thousands of Loyalists, including many of the city's leading merchants. British exporters, anxious to strangle budding American manufacturers, dumped enormous quantities of inexpensive goods on American markets. Almost from the beginning the small Townsend firm encountered difficulty.[29]

The Townsend brothers acted as general importers, with the bulk of their accounts in rum, sugar, molasses, and salt. They also dealt in tea, claret, spices, lumber, iron, stoneware, and flaxseed. But business trends were unfavorable, and in the first year the firm lost more than £1500. The brothers also began quarreling over personal and financial matters, and in 1785 they parted with some bitterness. Robert complained that Solomon owed him considerable money, while Solomon maintained that his younger brother was unsteady and "conducted himself without temperance or moderation." With Captain Townsend's first postwar attempt at charting a new career a failure, he cast about for an alternative to the seafaring life at which he had excelled.[30]

About the time Solomon Townsend dissolved the business partnership with his brother Robert, he purchased the Augusta Iron Works in Orange County, New York. Financing for the investment came from his own capital and from borrowing against his inheritance. He also received assistance from his new father-in-law, Peter Townsend, owner of the neighboring Sterling Iron Works.

Peter Townsend had been in the iron trade since the early 1760s, when he purchased the Sterling furnace and forge from his own father-in-law, merchant and ironmaster William Hauxhurst. He amassed an estate of over $100,000 and is best known for manufacturing the West Point chain, which was stretched across the lower Hudson River during the American Revolution to prevent British warships from navigating upstream.[31]

Solomon Townsend's Augusta furnace soon grew into a large industrial complex, containing houses, barns, a smithy, an anchor shop, a sawmill, gristmill, carpenter's shop, forge, and blast furnace. The iron and anchor parts produced at Augusta were shipped downriver and sold at Townsend's "ironmongery" shop, located at Queen Street and then for many years at 225 Pearl Street in lower Manhattan. The geographic separation of his business interests caused him to maintain homes in both Orange County and New York City, and he frequently commuted by ferry, river sloop, and stagecoach.[32]

In 1795 he opened an anchor shop on Ferry Street where he sold new anchors and repaired old ones. Townsend's firm expanded quickly and his anchors and iron found ready markets as far afield as Baltimore, Maryland, and Wilmington, North Carolina. His growing wealth and influence also earned him a seat in the New York Assembly and then in the state senate.[33]

During the 1790s the persistent threat to American commerce posed by warring European powers and the Barbary pirates actually brought the mariner-turned-ironmaster enhanced prosperity. In 1794 Congress authorized construction of several new warships, and three years later Townsend's firm received a contract for many of the Navy's anchors. On the strength of this contract he purchased the Peconic Iron Works in eastern Long Island.

# *ANCHORS,*

MADE at STERLING IRON WORKS, in this ſtate, of the beſt Iron, refined from Pig Iron made at Sterling Furnace, which Iron is well known to be of a ſuperior quality, being equal to any kind of Iron without exception,—FOR SALE

## By S. TOWNSEND,

*No. 225, Pearl-ſtreet, near Burling-ſlip,*
Or at his Anchor-yard in Ferry-ſtreet, oppoſite Jacob-ſtreet;

Who generally keeps a ſupply, and has now on hand, upwards of 50 tons, gradually riſing from under one cwt. up to 15 cwt. and a few of 16 to 25 cwt. They will be ſold at reduced prices for caſh, and a conſiderable diſcount will be allowed to ſuch as purchaſe a ton or more for uſe or exportation. Any Anchor failing within a year after delivery will be replaced by another, or firſt coſt refunded.

Bar Iron of various kinds; Rod Iron of different ſizes and qualities; Rolled Iron for making Cut Nails, and for Hoops of different widths; various ſorts of Steel; Nails, very neat Engliſh made 8d. and 10d; American made Nails, 10d 12d. and 20d; Cut Nails; Second-hand Anchors, mended Anchors, and Anchors made of common iron, to be ſold at low and various prices.

S. TOWNSEND, by many years experience, is convinced that many who purchaſe Anchors are not aware of the great difference there is in the qualities of iron, or they would be more particular than to rely merely on the ſmoothneſs of an anchor as a proof of its goodneſs: it being an undeniable fact, that brittle iron commonly dreſſes ſmoother, and is clearer of ſcales on the ſurface, than iron of a tough quality; and many anchors are made of very inferior Bloomery Iron, which look very well. If, therefore, Purchaſers of Anchors were more particular in their choice, the Makers of them would be proportionably attentive to their quality. Nothing requires better iron than Anchors; and, admitting the workmanſhip to be equal, thoſe made of the beſt iron ought undoubtedly to have the preference. April 23. dtf.

Solomon Townsend discussed anchor forging in this advertisement from the *New York Diary*, 11 July 1796. (Courtesy New-York Historical Society, New York City)

Townsend's new forge was located along the banks of the Peconic River near Riverhead. The real estate advertisement that appeared in *Greenleaf's New York Journal and Patriotic Register* described the layout of the iron works: "a large forge shop, two fires for refining, woodland and pasture, dwelling houses, coal houses, coal at cheapest rates, a grist mill on a dam with two run of stores." Bar iron manufactured there was retailed to blacksmiths to be reworked into tools and other implements, while anchors were sold to the Navy and the commercial maritime trade. At its peak the forge employed upwards of fifty men, including woodcutters, master coalers, carters, stokers, and ironmongers.[34]

Unfortunately, Solomon's new success lasted but a decade, and his last years were plagued with financial worries. He continually argued with the Navy about his anchor contract, and the family did not receive final payment until long after his death. President Thomas Jefferson's embargo devastated the shipbuilding and maritime trades and demand for Townsend's anchors collapsed. Within a short time he lost over $70,000, and many other accounts became virtually uncollectable. Just a few months before his death in 1811 Townsend was forced to mortgage the Peconic forge to William Edgar of New York City for $20,000. Despite an extensive estate, when he died in March of that year he was almost penniless.[35]

During his long career at sea, Captain Solomon Townsend made many voyages to distant and exotic ports. He braved storms, dangerous anchorages, and wartime uncertainties. But his most significant journey was the unexpected and uncharted one that transformed him from a colonial mariner into a post-Revolutionary industrialist.

A man of the eighteenth century, Townsend's roots lay deep in the Anglo-American mercantile establishment. His family's long and successful involvement with the practices and institutions of imperial trade smoothed the way for his early success as ship's captain. While still in his early twenties, Solomon's future seemed assured.



"Success to Trade: where Iron's made" reads the inscription on Townsend's creamware jug dated 1795. (Courtesy Raynham Hall Museum)

The War for Independence destroyed the old colonial framework, the economic and social patterns that underlay Solomon's maritime achievements. Townsend was forced to adapt to a radically different environment. Not surprisingly, he first attempted to duplicate the mercantile endeavors of his father and grandfather by entering a trading partnership with his brother. The financial climate in postwar Manhattan was unfavorable, however, and their firm succumbed within a few years.

Townsend then turned to the iron business, a field in which his new father-in-law had achieved considerable fame and success. Until the commercial chaos engendered by Jefferson's embargo precipitated his economic demise, Captain Townsend

prospered as one of America's pioneering industrial capitalists. In a single lifetime he had traveled from quarterdeck to blast furnace, from shipmaster to ironmaster.

NOTES

[1]Printed sources for the Townsend family include William Townsend, *The Townsend Memorial* (New York: 1865); Margaret Townsend, *The Townsend-Townshend Genealogy 1066-1909* (New York: Broadway Publishing Co. 1909), pp. 72-75; Benjamin Thompson, *History of Long Island*, 3 vols. (New York: E. French Publishing Co., 1839), 3:428-30. Among the many manuscript sources the most useful is Peter Townsend, "Analytical and Chronological Genealogy of the Townsend Family in America" (1828) in Townsend Family Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York (hereafter cited as NYHS). See also Charles Church, receipt to Jacob Townsend, 24 March 1725, NYHS; and Jacob Townsend, Diary and Account Book, 1715-41, Long Island Collection, East Hampton Free Library, East Hampton, New York (hereafter cited as EHFL).

[2]Field Horne, ed., *The Diary of Mary Cooper* (Oyster Bay: Oyster Bay Historical Society, 1981). See especially entries for 10 January, 29 August, 9 and 18 September 1769.

[3]Jacob Townsend-Samuel Townsend General Store Day Book, 1740-43, EHFL; *Prosperity* Account Book, 1746-54, Raynham Hall Museum, Oyster Bay, New York; Naval Office Lists, Public Record Office, London, Volumes 1222-28, for 1713-65; Townsend, *Townsend-Townshend Genealogy*, pp. 72-75; Thompson, *History of Long Island*, 3:428-30. The Townsend family papers at Raynham Hall Museum contain a wealth of material, including Samuel's 3 March 1741 militia commission.

[4]The *Prosperity* Account Book indicates that Samuel exported at least 38,000 pounds of pork in both 1751 and 1752. See also receipt, sloop *Morningstar*, 25 May 1748, and bill of goods shipped aboard the sloop *Catherine*, 16 June 1749, Raynham Hall. Also informative is William Wemble, receipt of Samuel Townsend, 12 October 1753, NYHS. The *Morningstar* carried 30 barrels of pork and the *Catherine* took on 83 barrels of flour. An important discussion of intercolonial trade patterns is contained in Richard Pares, "Boston to Barbadoes: The Economics of Interdependence," in Charles Troth, ed., *The American Revolution and the West Indies* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1975).

[5]Zachariah Weekes, Diary, entries for June-August 1758; George Weekes, Blacksmith's Account Book, entries for 1752-60; *Prosperity* Account Book, entries for 1747-48, all at Raynham Hall. Also illuminating is the discussion of colonial shipbuilding in Robert Albion, William Baker, and Benjamin Labaree, *New England and the Sea* (Mystic: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1972), pp.23-25.

[6]Samuel Townsend, General Store Day Books, 1750-51, 1761-62, 1774-87, NYHS; *Prosperity* Account Book, entries for 1748-53.

[7]Dorothy Barck, ed., *The Lloyd Family Papers* (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1927), pp.440, 488, 494, 636. See also Naval Office Lists, 1748-54; Henry Lloyd, receipt to Samuel Townsend, 12 October 1753, and letter to same, 10 August 1754; Effingham Lawrence to Samuel Townsend, 28 September 1759, all at NYHS.

[8]Barck, *Lloyd Papers*, pp. 391, 406, 421-23, 477. See also Henry Livingston to Samuel Townsend, 13 April 1753; William Lloyd to Townsend, 10 May, 5 June 1754; Kortright and Lawrence to Townsend, 16 February 1757; John Lawrence to Townsend, 26 September 1758, all at NYHS.

[9]Peter Townsend, "Chronological and Analytical Genealogy." See also Samuel Townsend Copybook for 1736-37, EHFL. Samuel's copybook contains the log of a simulated voyage to Barbadoes.

[10]Townsend, *Townsend-Townshend Genealogy*, p. 72. See also Stuart Bruchy, *The Colonial Merchant: Sources and Readings* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1966), pp. 169-75. The value of imports and exports passing through New York rose from £480,000 in 1760 to over £653,000 in 1771.

[11]Bruchy, *Colonial Merchant*, p. 170.

[12]*Sally* Account Book, entries for September 1768-April 1770, and Solomon Townsend to Samuel Townsend, 14 April 1770, NYHS.

[13]*Prosperity* Account Book, entries for 23 September 1748 and 20 July 1754; *Sally* Account Book, entries for April-July 1770; Effingham Lawrence to Samuel Townsend, 26 February 1757, NYHS.

[14]*Sally* Account Book, entries for September-December 1770. See also Solomon Townsend Memo Book, April 1770, NYHS. Seamen's wages can be computed fairly easily as Captain Townsend kept accurate lists of crewmen, their wages, and their accounts.

[15]Solomon Townsend to Samuel Townsend, 15 June 1771, NYHS.

[16]Townsend's cargo included 675 chests of fruit and 10 pipes of wine. See *Sally* Account Book, entries for May-July 1771, and Solomon Townsend to Samuel Townsend, 4 May 1771, NYHS.

[17]*Sally* Account Book, entries for September-December 1771.

[18]The *Sally* carried 933 barrels of tar as well as other cargo. See *Sally* Account Book, entries for January-February 1772. See also Benjamin Wetherly, receipt, 24 April 1772, NYHS.

[19]William and John Ogle to Robert Townsend, 17 April, 28 June 1775, and 10 August 1776, Raynham Hall. See also Thomas Doerflinger, "Phildelphia Merchants and the Logic of Moderation," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser. 40 (1983): 213; and Arlene Schwind, "The Ceramic Imports of Frederick Rhinelander, New York Loyalist Merchant," *Winterthur Portfolio* 19:1 (1984): 21-36.

[20]Thompson, *History of Long Island*, 3:428-430; and Morton Pennypacker, *George Washington's Spies* (Brooklyn: Long Island Historical Society, 1939). Robert Townsend's role as a spy was not revealed until Pennypacker employed handwriting analysis to unmask the hitherto unknown Culper Jr.

[21]In 1773 Thomas Buchanan was selected to receive the tea ship *London*. Mob action forced the still-loaded

ship to return to England. See Walter Barrett, *The Old Merchants of New York* (New York: Carleton, 1865), p. 269.

[22]The log of the *Glasgow*, located at the NYHS, provides a complete, concise account of Townsend's voyage from Boston to Jamaica to Britain. The threat of privateers was very real. By the end of 1776 insurance rates had climbed 28 percent, and between May 1776 and January 1778 American raiders took over 700 prizes. See Esmond Wright, *The Fire of Liberty* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), p. 137

[23]In many cases seamen were pressed into the Royal Navy as their merchant ships entered English waters. See Wright, *Fire of Liberty*, p. 136.

[24]Solomon Townsend, Letter Book for 1777-78, EHFL. Important letters include two to James Phym, 1 July and 15 October 1777. Most illuminating is Townsend's correspondence with the Buchanans. See letters dated 5 April, 17 April, 27 June, 30 July, 31 August, 6 October, 2 December 1777, and 8 January 1778.

[25]Solomon Townsend, Memo Book, entries for May-August 1778, NYHS. A miscellaneous document in the Raynham Hall archives reads, "Passy, near Paris 28 June 1778. I certify to all whom it may concern that Solomon Townsend, mariner, hath this day appeared voluntarily before me and taken the oath of allegience to the United States of America, according to the resolution of Congress, thereby acknowledging himself a subject of the United States. Benjamin Franklin." See also Solomon Townsend, Diary, 3 February 1780, Raynham Hall.

[26]Another Raynham Hall document, this one undated, reads, "This may certify that Captain Solomon Townsend came over a volunteer passenger in the Continental frigate *Providence* under my command from France to America and during the whole passage behaved himself as a good and faithful citizen of the United States. Abraham Whipple."

[27]Solomon Townsend, Diary, 20, 27 October, 2, 7 November, 10, 12, 14, 18, and 23 December 1778.

[28]Townsend, *Townsend-Townshend Genealogy*, pp. 73-75. Samuel Townsend's home was occupied by British troops for much of the war. See John Simcoe, *Journal of the Queens Rangers* (New York: New York Times, 1968) and Henry Onderdonk, *Documents and Letters Intended to Illustrate the Revolutionary Incidents of Queens County, New York* (1846; reprint Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1970).

[29]Robert Albion, *The Rise of New York Port* (New York: Devon, 1970), pp.6-8. See also Barck, *Lloyd Family Papers*, p. 787; and Robert Townsend to Thomas Stewart, undated (1783), NYHS.

[30]Robert and Solomon Townsend, Partnership Account Book, 1783-85, and Solomon Townsend to Samuel Townsend, 24 August 1787, NYHS. In the immediate postwar period Robert's efforts were often directed towards recovering debts dating back to 1774 and 1775. See especially his voluminous and acrimonious correspondence with the legal firm of Toomes and Nutt, Raynham Hall.

[31]Frederick Dugan, "The Old Townsend Anchor Forge," *Long Island Forum* 12 (May 1949) :87-88, 94. See also David Newton, "The Bloomery at Kumaggon," *Long Island Forum* 44 (November 1981) :234-240. The West Point chain weighed nearly 190 tons, and each link weighed 180 pounds. See Peter Townsend, West Point Chain Contract, 2 February 1778, and Patrick Doyle, receipt, 22 December 1776, NYHS. As early as 1761 William Hauxhurst, a New York merchant, had petitioned the colonial government for a monopoly in the production of anchors and anvils. Solomon Townsend met his future wife, cousin Ann Townsend, when he visited Peter Townsend's home in January 1779. They were married three years later and had eight children. See Townsend, "Chronological and Analytical Genealogy," NYHS.

[32]Advertisement, *New York Diary*, 11 July 1795. See also Solomon Townsend, Receipt Book, 1793-95, Raynham Hall, and Pocket Diaries, 1799-1809, NYHS. Another interesting piece of evidence is a creamware pitcher in the Raynham Hall Museum collection. Dated 1795, it carries the verse "Success to Trade: where Iron's made. When this you see, remember we, Though Fortune proved unkind: When the Ship Ohio she set sail; And we were left behind."

[33]Solomon Townsend, Anchor Shop Account Book, 1795-1806; Account Books 1803-06, 1807-10; and Receipt Books, 1788-96, NYHS. See also Thompson, *Long Island History*, 3:428-30.

[34]Dugan, "Townsend Anchor Forge," pp.86-88, 94; and Newton, "Kumaggon Bloomery," pp. 234-40. Anchors up to 5,200 pounds were made. Prices were based on a sliding scale: twelve cents per pound under 1,500 pounds up to twenty cents per pound for anchors larger than 3,000 pounds. The completed anchors were tested by dropping them on hard ground from a height of twenty feet. If satisfactory, they were hauled to the Brooklyn Navy Yard at government expense.

[35]Solomon Townsend, Account Book, 1807-10, and estate inventory, 25 April 1811, NYHS. At his death Townsend's estate was valued at $57,000, of which $35,000 were bad or doubtful debts. The $20,000 mortgage on the Peconic forge brought the net value of the estate to barely $2,000. See also Dugan, "Townsend Anchor Forge," pp. 87-88, 94.

# Augustus Waldeck Buhler

## The Artist as Historian

JOYCE BUTLER

The historic and picturesque fishing villages of the Cape Ann peninsula in Massachusetts were discovered in the years following the Civil War by artists who were not only looking for subjects to paint, but, like many newly affluent Americans, escape from the summer heat of the cities. The names of those for whom Cape Ann's Gloucester and Annisquam were by the late-nineteenth century either a summer home or a sometimes-retreat is a veritable catalog of American artists: Winslow Homer, Child Hassam, Maxfield Parrish, William Merritt Chase, Edmund Tarbell, Edward Potthast, Frank Duveneck, Joseph De Camp, John Henry Twachtman, John Joseph Enneking, Cecilia Beaux, William Paxton, George De Forest Brush, Hugh Bolton Jones, Walter Dean, and Augustus Buhler.

All painted Cape Ann's landscape, but it was Buhler whose eye for the local scene took him a step further. He painted the fishermen of Gloucester, honestly, just as he saw them, and in accurate detail. By so doing he fulfilled what he believed was in part the role of the artist, that of historian. In 1900 Buhler told a *Boston Globe* reporter,

> Artists are to a great extent historians. They tell the story of their own times. Who are painting the story of this country? Take the native New England fisherman.... The type is rapidly passing away. In a few years the artist may return perhaps and hire a professional model who has a sou'west'r and a pair of Galways and a dudeen, so that future generations may look upon the Gloucester fisherman as he was–not.[1]

Augustus Waldeck Buhler was born in New York City on 30 September 1853. His parents were political refugees from the Prussian province of Silesia, where in 1849, as a result of the uprising in 1848, Buhler's father was imprisoned and sentenced to be shot. He escaped with his wife to England, where they lived for a year before embarking for New York. In America he found what work he could, eventually earning his livelihood by painting decorations and gold striping on carriages. About 1865 the Buhler family moved to Worcester, Massachusetts, and it was there, at the age of twelve, that young Buhler took his first art lessons. His chief pleasure had always been drawing, an interest his father, because of his own artistic bent, must have understood and was willing to encourage.

In 1879 Buhler married Mary Endlick, a native of southern Germany, who had lived in Worcester with a brother since 1872. The young couple moved to Boston. During the early years of his marriage, Buhler studied under Tommaso Juglaris, who taught at the Boston Art Club and the Rhode Island School of Design.

The Buhlers began to summer at Annisquam on Cape Ann in 1885. The earliest known painting by Buhler is a watercolor of the "Custom House," a fishing shack that at one time was used by the fishermen as a hiding place for contraband.

In 1888 Buhler went to France to study painting, a step that was considered imperative by American artists of the period who were serious about their work. Buhler was

Joyce Butler, whose work has previously appeared in *The Log*, wrote the catalog for the Cape Ann Historical Association exhibition of Buhler's work in 1983. She is Manuscript Curator of the Brick Store Museum in Kennebunk, Maine.

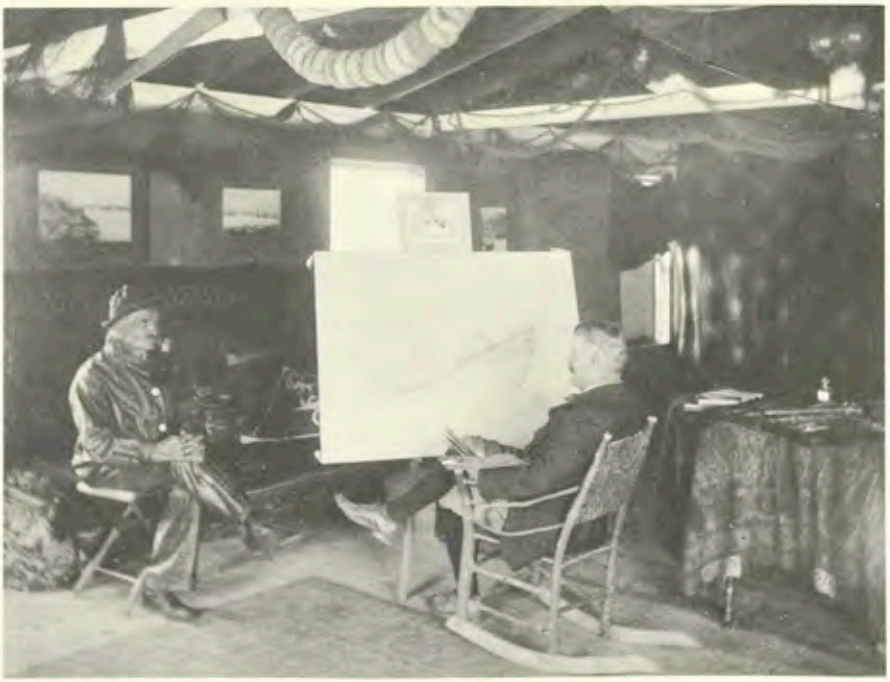
in Europe for two years, spending his winters in Paris studying at the Ecole des Beaux Arts and Academie Julian and his summers in Dordrecht, Holland, and the French town of Etaples. Although most of Buhler's work from this period was lost in a fire in his Boston studio in 1906, it is known that he painted not only the canals and cathedrals he saw, but the people at their work. Years later Buhler would express doubts about the value of American artists painting European scenes. "Take the average American artist," he said. "He goes abroad . . . he sees but he doesn't understand – and he paints, but he doesn't understand – and so he paints bad pictures – for surely in order to do his best work a man ought to know what he is painting."[2] Unfamiliarity with his subject was not to be a handicap for Buhler on Cape Ann.

After his return from Europe in 1890, Buhler again made his winter home in Boston, and summered on Cape Ann at Annisquam. He was an illustrator for *Youth's Companion, Harper's Weekly,* and *Leslie's Magazine,* and sold paintings to the Brown and Bigelow Company for reproduction on calendars. He worked in watercolor and oil, teaching both, along with drawing, at his summer studio. His paintings from this period reflect his early interest in the local people – weatherbeaten fishermen mending their nets and the women of the village standing on a windswept beach looking out to sea.

By 1898 Buhler had begun to teach at Rocky Neck, East Gloucester, in a studio he had set up in an old sail loft on Charlie Fred Wonson's wharf. He moved his studio from Annisquam because he found more to paint in East Gloucester.[3] What he painted was the fishermen, not just occupied with onshore chores like net mending, but actively pursuing their livelihood.

By 1901 Buhler was known as "a Boston artist of repute and wide reputation . . . particularly noted for his successful sea and coast pictures in which he introduces the hardy and rugged fishermen . . . in their picturesque clothing."[4] Not only Buhler's subject matter but the lengths to which he went to study the fishermen at work were

Augustus Buhler in his East Gloucester studio, ca. 1902. The painting on the easel appears to be *Hauling the Trawl,* which was posed for by Joe Lyle. (Courtesy Cape Ann Historical Association, Augustus W. Buhler Collection)



unique. He described his working habits to an interviewer who visited him in 1901 in his winter studio on the fourth floor of the Studio Building, a popular artists' center on Tremont Street in Boston. Said Buhler,

> Many think of artists as inhabitants of finely appointed and luxurious studios and picture the artist standing before the easel with a bright colored jacket and wearing a red Turkish fez on his head, working leisurely at a landscape or some other theme. A very pretty picture, indeed, but true artists do not paint landscapes, or in fact any out of door subjects, in their studio and expect to have them correct....
>
> You know I am a lover of the fisher folk as subjects for painting.... Did I have them come here and pose for me in my studio? Well, I guess not. I... go where they [are], study them on their native heath, and become for a time at least one of them.[5]

Buhler pointed out that he, and his friend and fellow artist Walter Dean, lingered at Cape Ann into the fall, explaining, "Cape Ann and especially Gloucester and its harbor are favorite places for artists in the summer months, but during that season... the business of fishing is at its ebb, so that these enthusiasts do not see the fishermen... in the full rush of fall business. Then is the time to catch them at their best, coming in and going out of the harbor..."

Even this exposure to the work of the fishermen was not considered sufficient by Buhler and Dean.[6] The artists would follow the fishermen out into the bay, their boat, in which they had set up their easels, towed by a line from a fisherman's craft. Calling to his interviewer's attention a painting of a fisherman dressed in oilskins, steering his schooner while nearly blinded by the wind and rain, Buhler explained that he had painted it in the middle of a northeast storm. He laughed at the picture he himself must have made, "a figure clad in a mackintosh with a slouch hat pulled down over his eyes, with a canvas before him and a paint box... rapidly filling with water," his "brushes dripping water." But Buhler exclaimed, "Think of painting a picture like that in a studio and [expecting] to have it

*The Coming Squall* depicts shore fishermen landing their dory in the surf as a squall approaches. Watercolor, signed "A. W. Buhler, 1900," lower left. (Courtesy Cape Ann Historical Association, Augustus W. Buhler Collection)





*Man at the Wheel,* Buhler's most famous work, was posed for by George Roberts. This may be the painting Buhler claimed to have painted outside in the middle of a storm. Owned by Slade-Gorton Company, Gloucester, it has long been the trademark for Gortons' fish products. Oil, signed "A. W. Buhler, E. Gloucester 1901," lower right. (Courtesy Cape Ann Historical Association, Augustus W. Buhler Collection)

correct in relative values." Recognizing the need for accuracy, Buhler "determined if possible to paint it from life, with the elements, wind and rain, and a cold rain it was, too, raging all about me."[7]

Buhler's 1901 *Man At the Wheel* may have been the painting he referred to. It is his best known painting, for it was purchased by the Gloucester fish processing company of Slade Gorton, and reproduced as the company's trademark on their cans of codfish. Walrus-mustached George Roberts, a Gloucester fisherman, stood on the deck of the schooner *James G. Tarr and Son* and posed for *Man At the Wheel.*[8]

The willingness of Roberts and other Gloucester fishermen to pose for Buhler indicates the special relationship he had with them. As Buhler himself knew and explained, "Ordinarily these fishermen object to posing for artists, and it is only after one has become thoroughly acquainted with them that they will consent to have their 'picture painted,' as they term it."[9] Working as he did from his studio on Wonson's wharf, Buhler came to know the fishermen well, and his respect for their calling and wish to paint it accurately must have influenced them to pose for him.

Painting the fishermen carried with it the responsibility for pleasing not only his subjects but their friends. When George Roberts and Billy Rackliff posed for *The Latest News,* word got out "that the two old



*The Latest News* was posed for by George Roberts and Billy Rackliff. Oil, signed "A. W. Buhler, E. Gloucester, Oct. 1900," lower left. (Courtesy Cape Ann Historical Association, Augustus W. Buhler Collection)

*Hauling the Trawl* shows dorymates underrunning their trawl. Using nippers on his hands, the man in the bow hauls the trawl while the man aft rebaits the hooks and lets the trawl go to the bottom again. This was painted from sketches made during a fishing trip. Joe Lyle posed for the man in the bow. Oil, signed "A. W. Buhler, E. Gloucester, 1902," lower left, "Copyrighted by A. W. Buhler," lower right. (Courtesy Cape Ann Historical Association, Augustus W. Buhler Collection)





*The Checker Players* suggests a leisure-time activity of fishermen ashore. It was posed for by (standing) Mel Trefry, George Roberts, (seated) a salt-bark captain, Captain George Sayward, and Dan Barbour Tarr. Oil, signed "A. W. Buhler, E. Gloucester, 1902," lower left. (Courtesy Cape Ann Historical Association, Augustus W. Buhler Collection)

shipmates were going to sit for their picture." Buhler had hardly gotten his subjects into position "before the younger element began to line up to watch the performance and gently guy their aged shipmates.

"'Say,' said one, 'why didn't you put on your Sunday clothes?' And another, 'You've got that paper upside down.'" But, remembered Buhler, "with all the chaffing the men were anxious that I should do the old fellows justice in their picture and made it a business to watch at the various sittings and see what the completed picture looked like."[10]

The gibe about the Sunday suit was perhaps based on a real incident. On one occasion one of the old skippers Buhler had arranged to paint arrived for his sitting with his beard trimmed and wearing his Sunday suit. Buhler was dismayed. "Gad, man, I can't paint you like that," he exclaimed. It took a month for the man's beard to grow out sufficiently for Buhler to be interested in painting him.

In 1902 Buhler painted *Hauling the Trawl* from sketches he had made when he accompanied some of the local fishermen on a fishing expedition off the Grand Banks. In 1905 *Hauling the Trawl* won first prize at the New York State Art Exhibition and the Osborn Prize, which was given annually by the Osborn Company of New York, manufacturers of art calendars. One critic described it as a "heroic marine . . . , marked by strength and truth."[11]

*The Checker Players,* another oil painted in 1902, like *The Latest News* shows another aspect of the fishermen's lives – the hours

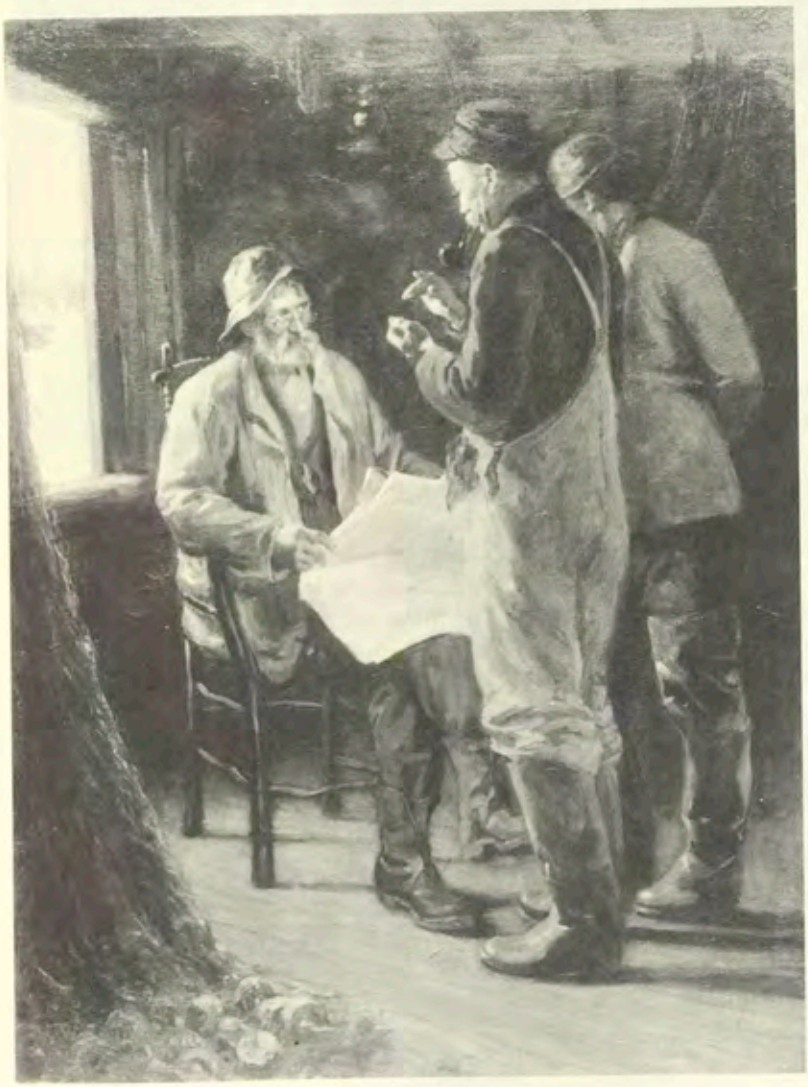
they shared in their fish houses on shore. Two men are seated playing checkers, three others stand watching, and no doubt kibitzing. One of the watchers is George Roberts. It was one of the last times he posed for Buhler, for he was lost at sea in 1902.

Jeremiah Hopkins, who posed for *A Good Haul* (1908) and *Sighting a Mackerel School* (1909) was a favorite subject for Buhler. In 1911, the year of his death, he was one of three local men who posed for *The Politicians*. Hopkins was a "true friend" to Buhler, who served as a pallbearer at his funeral.

Perhaps because he saw in Hopkins's passing the inexorable truth in his own statement that the Yankee fisherman was a passing breed, Buhler wrote a commentary on *The Politicians*. It included brief biographies of the three men who had posed for him.

The figure seated in the picture is Captain Jeremiah Hopkins, descended from Cape Cod Pilgrim stock. Before he was born his father was lost at sea in a terrible gale which completely destroyed a Truro fishing fleet and all of its crew. Brought up by his grandfather, Captain Hopkins followed the sea to the closing days of his life.

He was Captain of the *Caleb Eaton*, the first Gloucester fisherman to make the hazardous but sucessful trip to Greenland in quest of halibut,



*The Politicians*, discussing the situation in a waterfront fish house, was posed for by three men Buhler considered old-line Yankee patrician fishermen: (seated) Jeremiah Hopkins, (standing) Dan Barbour Tarr, and Mel Trefry. Oil, signed "A. W. Buhler," lower left, 1911. (Courtesy Cape Ann Historical Association, Augustus W. Buhler Collection)

returning with an $18,000 cargo. Although of limited education, he was an excellent raconteur of his many sea adventures. A man of exemplary character, genial and generous as most of his class,–I shall always cherish his memory as a true friend.

Of the other two men who posed for *The Politicians,* Buhler noted that both were descended from old Gloucester families that for generations had followed the sea. "These people of New England stock," he added, "will in the next generation be superseded by other races, mostly Greeks, Italians, and Portuguese. Very few of the young men of New England stock are engaged in the fisheries, preferring other vocations. This picture is a record of vanishing days."

Augustus Buhler died in 1920 at the age of sixth-seven. He is buried in the Mount Adnah Cemetery in Annisquam. The outline of an artist's palette on his gravestone, a tracing of an actual palette that he used, reminds the passerby that here lies an artist. Through the years there has been no such simple and lasting reminder of Buhler's purpose and achievement in leaving a record of the American-born fishermen of Cape Ann. In the years following his death, his paintings, scattered in private collections, were, although prized by their owners, gradually lost sight of in the art world.

In 1968, however, with the cooperation of his daughter, a major exhibit of his paintings was held at the Childs Gallery in Boston, an event that brought him once again to the attention of art historians, dealers, and collectors. In the catalog for that exhibit, his role as a historian was noted. "The men in Buhler's paintings were all fishermen whom he had known who were the last group of heroic figures representing the Gloucester fishing industry in the late nineteenth century. These paintings are a vital link with the last period of a great industry before it became mechanized, and reveal the character and force of the men who made it."[12]



*The Mackerel Seiners* shows Simeon McLeod (seated) and Harry Whalen relaxed at the wheel while their schooner runs before the wind. Oil, signed "A. W. Buhler, 1916," lower left. (Courtesy Cape Ann Historical Association, Augustus W. Buhler Collection)

NOTES

[1]"With the Artists at 'Squam," *The Boston Globe,* 6 August 1900.

[2]*Ibid.*

[3]*A. W. Buhler, 1853-1920* (Boston: Childs Gallery, Inc., 1968). Catalog for exhibition and sale of paintings and watercolors relating to Gloucester.

[4]*The Boston Post,* 27 January 1901.

[5]"Painting Under Difficulties," *The Boston Globe,* 8 January 1901.

[6]Although Dean shared Buhler's interest in the fishermen, he is best known for his paintings of the sailing vessels that plied Gloucester Harbor before the advent of the motorized draggers that replaced them.

[7]"Painting Under Difficulties."

[8]"A Show to See," *Gloucester Times,* 16 August 1969.

[9]"Painting Under Difficulties."

[10]*Ibid.*

[11]*The Springfield Republican,* 18 February 1905.

[12]*A. W. Buhler, 1853-1920.*

# BOOK REVIEWS

Roger F. Duncan. *Friendship Sloops.* Camden: International Marine Publishing Company, 1985. 194 pp., photographs, illustrations, maps, appendices, bibliography, index. $35.00.
Mary Lou Smith, ed. *Woods Hole Reflections,* Woods Hole, Massachusetts: Woods Hole Historical Collection, 1983. 301 pp., photographs, maps, bibliography. $22.95.
Richard E. Winslow III. *The Piscataqua Gundalow, Workhorse for a Tidal Basin Empire.* Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Portsmouth Marine Society, 1983. 164 pp., photographs, map, notes, bibliography, index. $17.95.

Each of these volumes tells the tale of a small area of coastal New England. Two focus on a type of watercraft indigenous to its area, while the third is a classic local history (which, however, does not neglect its own local boat type). Although written for different audiences, they will probably often appear together on bookshelves.

Duncan's *Friendship Sloops* is a celebration of a boat type, written for those interested in its history and its revival as a pleasure boat. He begins with a survey of the Muscongus Bay area of Maine and the economic circumstances that gave birth to the type. A discussion of prices, income, and expenses of a lobster fisherman in the 1890s (the era of the Friendship) and in 1983 is especially interesting, and a bit sobering to both the romantic and the person wedded to modern technology. The discussion goes on to the development of the design, construction methods, and builders. Here Duncan's personal experience as a Friendship sloop owner and sailor begins to show. Exceptionally clear and handsome illustrations by Kathy Bray elucidate the finer points of hull shape and fabrication.

Discussion of the original builders reveals the links between them, and to the outside world of fishing boat design. It is enlivened by correspondence that shows how the Morse brothers' yard did business. At the height of operation, this yard turned out a boat in sailaway condition every two weeks, with a twenty-eight-foot boat selling for $375 (about $12,000 today). Gasoline engines, which began to be used on the Maine Coast in the early 1900s, put the Friendships rapidly out of business as workboats.

From the 1920s to about 1960, a small but loyal following kept the Friendship design alive as a pleasure craft, and a small number of wooden boats continued to be built in the Muscongus region and elsewhere. The type influenced such designers as John Alden, Ralph Winslow, and Murray Peterson, who designed the author's *Eastward* in 1954.

The organization of the Friendship Sloop Society in 1961 inspired broader interest in the type, encouraging home builders and restoration projects. Duncan also credits revival of the type to Jarvis Newman and others who pioneered Friendship sloop fabrication in fiberglass.

Duncan finishes his chronicle with examples of notable "Exploits and Disasters," and instructions on Friendship sloop sailing. The latter is born of almost thirty years of sailing his *Eastward* into harbors from Newport to Saint John, and includes the use of a polar diagram, which allows Friendship performance to be compared to other types.

Duncan is an experienced writer with an easy style, and International Marine has done his work justice. Maps on the end papers make the narrative easy to follow. The bibliography is adequate for further reading, but notes on some of the more obscure sources would have been useful, as would a checklist of known sets of working Friendship lines and half models.

The Woods Hole Historical Collection's local history is a model of how these things ought to be done. To start with, it is an extremely handsome volume, with a truly outstanding job of photographic reproduction, on which this type of book depends. It starts with the dust jacket, where a Woods Hole spritsail boat with sail furled sits reflected in the water, neatly positioned under the title, *Woods Hole Reflections.*

The book is the work of a number of authors, combining commissioned essays with reprinted articles, first person reminiscences, a few bits of poetry, and several photo essays.

The first section covers the settlement of the area, and recounts the town's early days as a fishing-farming community. The primary nineteenth-century activities are then covered: whaling, the U.S. Light House Service (later Coast Guard), and a major guano factory. This industry attracted a railroad, which in turn made possible a thriving fresh fish business. The various village institutions are discussed, as well as

the next major industry: summer people, which the railroad began to bring in the 1890s, after the guano company failed. Its property was purchased by a real estate developer who proceeded to make it the fashionable place for the Boston banking set. More modest summer homes soon followed.

It was, however, the development of three major institutions that set Woods Hole apart from the usual small New England port whose economy has moved from fishing and commerce to recreation. The first was "Fisheries": the government fisheries research laboratory first established in the 1870s. This was followed in 1888 by the independent Marine Biological Laboratory, as scientists became aware of the area's unique marine research potential: warm Gulf Stream waters meeting colder northern currents, coupled with nearby beach, island, and estuarine environments, create many research opportunities close together. In the 1920s, interest in deep ocean work led to the founding of the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution. These three institutions have given the town a cosmopolitan flare, making it a college town without the students. *Reflections* ends with a number of short pieces reflecting life in the town today.

Overall, the volume is an admirable job of local history, capturing the flavor of the past along with the facts. The anthology format allows the reader to be selective. The penalty is a bit more work, for essays may refer to facts outlined more fully in later pieces. The major thematic essays all have bibliographies, and reprints of source material are fully cited, making this volume useful to the scholar.

The Woods Hole Historical Commission should be commended for a unique and interesting approach to writing an introductory book about their town. Its light tone, quality design, and numerous photographs should make it popular with residents and visitors, while the subject matter and information make it a worthwhile addition to a specialist's library.

*The Piscataqua Gundalow* is also a fine product of a local historical society. In this cas the book is a monograph focusing on a particular type of local vessel, through which the reader gets a picture of a regional economy.

The author first details the history of the gundalow, touching on the peculiar geography of the Piscataqua River basin in New Hampshire. Here the narrow, swift-flowing river mouth is fed by the tidal Great Bay into which a number of rivers run, each with a town at the fall line. Using wind and the considerable current of the river, cargoes were transported to and from the harbor town of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Cargoes changed from products of saltmarsh, farm, and forest, to bricks, raw cotton, finished textiles, and shoes as the region industrialized in the mid-nineteenth century.

While flat-bottomed barge-like vessels are common the world over for such service, in the Portsmouth area they took on a distinctive local flavor. After the 1860s their most striking characteristic was a lateen rig, set up so that it could be easily struck to run under the bridges that had begun to be built over the region's rivers before the Revolution (despite protests of the gundalowmen). Construction was idiosyncratic, with a sophisticated bow and stern shape that was dependent on the local abundance of curved knees. The railroad made heavy inroads into the gundalow business in the late years of the century, and tugs sealed their fate, so that by 1900 only one gundalow was in operation.

Through research into contemporary accounts, Winslow gives a picture of the life of a gundalowman. The second chapter concentrates on Captain E. H. Adams, the last of the gundalowmen. During the 1930s the captain was discovered by professional historians employed by the government, and he actively participated in documenting the gundalow through interviews, models, and construction of a gundalow. The latter was begun in 1931, in the captain's seventieth year, and launched in 1950. Although Adams's gundalow rapidly became a derelict after his death, her building had been well documented, not only photographically but with several local builders paying close attention. This was to prove crucial for building a gundalow reproduction, the *Captain Edward H. Adams.*

The story of financing, building, and launching the *Adams* is Winslow's final chapter. It is worthwhile reading for anyone contemplating building a reproduction of a historic vessel, for this was a modest project, of a scale possible in other smaller cities, unlike most of these projects, which have had the resources of a major city or state behind them. The educational programs for the vessel are of particular interest, for the gundalow, like the Hudson River's *Clearwater,* will become a mobile classroom drawing attention to the region's history and ecology. Indeed,

the author could have waited a year to write this account, for the project would have had a year of experience. Information on gundalow sailing and handling could then have been added.

The book is extremely well documented, as the author is a professional historian. It could only have been improved by including a better regional map and set of technical drawings of the *Adams* or of the *Fanny M.*, last of the gundalows.

*Seabag*

John Gardner. *Building Classic Small Craft.* Camden Maine: International Marine Publishing Company, 1985. 416 pp., line illustrations, photographs. $35.00.

There is no question but that John Gardner is a well qualified small boat builder. He is, in addition, capable of putting together instructive writings in a clear, uncluttered manner.

*Building Classic Small Craft* is a collection of twenty-three designs, all well illustrated by his clear drawings and numerous photographs of boats built by folks who have never before experienced the reward and satisfaction of building a boat.

I am particularly impressed by Mr. Gardner's adaptation of the late L. Francis Herreshoff's designs–slightly modified to make building easier for the neophyte. Lawley's round bilge yacht tenders are a delight, as they always have been. However, I am not enthusiastically impressed by the "boxiness" of many of Gardner's "native craft."

The highly practical New Jersey Garvey, for example, need not be quite so unattractive as Gardner's. His are slab sided, lacking graceful sheers. It is understandable why these boats are often referred to as "scows," but they can be handsome as well. They may well have been crudely designed, but the examples I have seen on the Barnegat are entirely attractive boats. While I do not belittle Gardner's mechanical ability, I do feel he has literally "missed the boat" for what is essential in designing an attractive boat.

The small craft range from eight-foot modified Herreshoff prams to flat bottom canoes also modified from the Master, L. Francis Herreshoff; a proper duck boat, which is very difficult to find; a Maine peapod; Swampscott dories; and various garveys.

John Gardner does not hesitate to use such modern materials as marine plywood and various epoxy glues where a better boat will result. I have long believed that accumulating the best designs and construction techniques that have been proven in the past for use in the present is valid.

This is much more than a catalog. Each design is complete, with table of offsets. There are no additional plans to buy. While the book's price of $35.00 reflects inflation, it is really quite a bargain for the designs of twenty-three practical and proven boats. In the last chapter Gardner writes of the building of wood boatbuilding planes of the past and carefully describes these. Building one will be a challenge to anyone who enjoys creating with his own hands. All in all Gardner's book is a treasure for the amateur boatbuilder's library. I am delighted to have it in mine.

*John Atkin*

John Burke. *Pete Culler's Boats: The Complete Design Catalog.* Camden, Maine: International Marine Publishing Company, 1984. 322 pp., illustrations, bibliography, appendices. $47.50.

John Burke has done a most creditable piece of work in gathering the late Pete Culler's designs. Despite the fact that many of the wherries, pulling boats, and shallops are very similar in design and form, Burke deserves a lot of support. It is most evident that he held Pete Culler in high regard–justifiably, as I read the book. In his preface he has written, "the pillars of design philosophy were simplicity, economy of operation and ease of use": principles I have long advocated.

"Few can claim the depth and breadth he mastered in the field," Burke has written. Nothing could be more true. Few designers, indeed, have had the firsthand designing and building experience from their own work. Offhand I find a single parallel–my friend Bud McIntosh at Dover, New Hampshire.

Pete Culler set forth his design principles in an essay which originally appeared in *The National Fisherman.* His excellent observations are most intelligent in the present age of complexities, high-tech designs, and great material and labor costs. Anyone wanting to be enlightened in the practical aspects of boats will do well to heed them. He writes, for example, of the owner of a sophisticated inboard powerboat, "next week, although he does not know it yet, his

stern drive will fold up, so he can join the ranks of those hauled up with a gaping hole in the transom. Boatyards seem full of them in mid season." Pete continues, "any boat should fit the intended use: otherwise, there is disappointment in her performance, even though the craft may not be basically poor." In relation to present day methods of obtaining weather information, Pete writes disparagingly of "some black box that, if you are off in the semiwilds in a tiny craft, will be a clutter. Besides, if a box is along, you listen to the news, which is usually bad, and why spoil the day?" Space prevents writing too many of these pearls of wisdom. They are all well worth reading, absorbing, and considering.

John Burke divides the book into six parts by vessel type. There are some thirteen designs, lines, and sail plans of round bottom boats for rowing and sailing. All are graceful and designed for efficient operation. My favorite of these is the Concordia Sloop, a seventeen-foot eight-inch beauty. And there are a dozen or more designs of V- and flat-bottomed pulling boats. Sixteen designs of both inboard and outboard powered boats of traditional appearance are included. Many of the designs are proposals that were never built, but are nice to dream about: ten designs of handsome cutters, sloops, and yawls, including a lovely version of Joshua Slocum's famous *Spray*. There have always been replicas of *Spray* showing up, though her design was never recorded, to my knowledge. Pete's version is based on the lines provided by Captain Slocum's son Victor. Some twenty-nine further Culler designs grace the pages of the book, including the ill-fated schooners *Integrity* and *John F. Leavitt*.

In closing, I see my old shipmate Robin Laggermann, at Duxbury, Massachusetts, had Pete design him a schooner. Robin wanted me to meet Pete, whose work I have always admired. Again it does not pay to put things off as the years pile up.

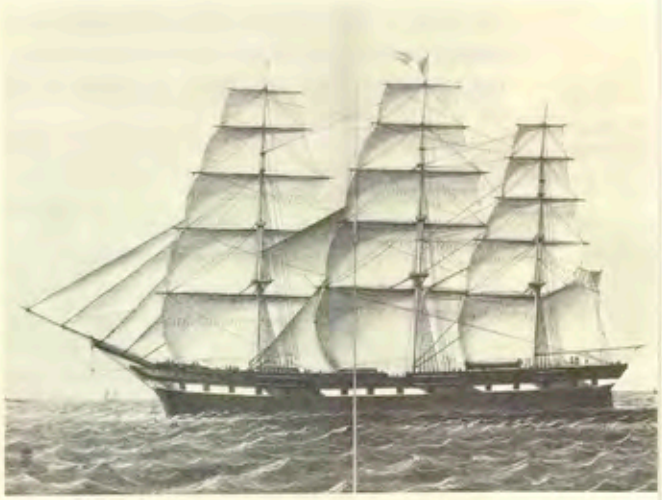
Complete working drawings of Pete Culler's designs are available from his wife, Mrs. R. D. Culler, 88 Cedar Street, Hyannis, Massachusetts, 02601. Include a self-addressed, stamped envelope. The fee for working drawings includes first-class postage.

John Atkin
*Noroton, Connecticut*

# LETTERS

In the winter 1985 *Log*, the story "Stunsails and Reefing Gear" mentions sources for information on the Forbes, Cunningham, and Howes reefing systems. One source not mentioned is *China Tea Clippers* by George F. Campbell, published by David McKay & Co. (1974). This book has quite a detailed description of the several systems including Colling & Pinkney's variation of the rolling spar system.

R. Bottum
*Van Nuys, California*



A revised Forbes double topsail rig was installed in the New York-to-Liverpool packet *Aurora*, 1639 tons, 201 x 42 x 29, built by William H. Webb for Cornelius Grinnell in 1854. Note the elongated doublings of her masts, allowing the lower topsail yard to be raised and lowered. (Forbes's original design had the topmasts fidded *behind* the lower mastheads). As in Forbes's original rig the *Aurora*'s sail plan allowed interchanging of yards and sails between masts. The Forbes rig was well conceived, but the benefits did not outweigh the simplicity and lesser expense of the Howes rig. Lithograph by Endicott & Company, New York, published in *The Monthly Nautical Magazine and Quarterly Review*, May 1855.

The Colling and Pinkney roller reefing system was patented in Great Britain by John Colling and David G. Pinkney in 1863. Colling had patented a similar system the previous year.

Colling and Pinkney's rig was a true roller-reefing/roller-furling system, somewhat like a window shade in operation. The sail was bent to a light, revolving spar mounted on the forward side of a topsail or topgallant yard. At either end of the light spar was a metal drum on which was wound a furling halyard that ran through a fair-lead to a lead block aloft, then down to the deck. When the sail was furled (completely rolled around the spar) there were three turns of the furling halyard on each drum.

The sail was set in the conventional manner with sheets and a halyard for the yard. As the sail was sheeted home and the yard hoisted, the light spar and drums revolved, unwinding the sail while winding more turns of the furling halyards onto the drums. To reef or furl, the yard halyard was slacked off while the furling halyards were hauled, rolling the sail up to the desired degree. For extra security, a reef band was provided at the level of a close reef.

The Colling and Pinkney system was mainly used in Great Britain. It was particularly suited for auxiliary steamships, as well as small, lightly-manned brigs and schooners in British coastal waters. Some of the large tea clippers also uesd the rig for topgallants or mizzen topsails. The *Leander* (1867) and *Thermopylae* (1868) were so rigged. Other sources on the rig are Harold Underhill's *Masting and Rigging the Clipper Ship and Ocean Carrier*, and David R. MacGregor's *Fast Sailing Ships, 1775-1875* (1973). An additional source on the Cunningham rig is Col. R. St. J. Gillespie, "Cunningham's Self-Reefing Topsails," *The Mariner's Mirror* 31:1 (1945) :7-12.

*Editor*

CORRECTION

Twelve Meter sloop number one, illustrated on the spring *Log* cover, has been correctly identified by several alert readers as *Cotton Blossom* III, not *Cotton Blossom* II as stated. Built by Abeking & Rasmussen in 1928 to a design by Burgess & Morgan, Twelve Meter number one was originally named *Waiandance*, later *Clytie*, *Night Wind*, and finally *Cotton Blossom* III when acquired by Walter H. Wheeler, Jr., about 1941. Wheeler's previous boat, *Cotton Blossom* II, was a smaller Anker & Jensen sloop built in 1925.

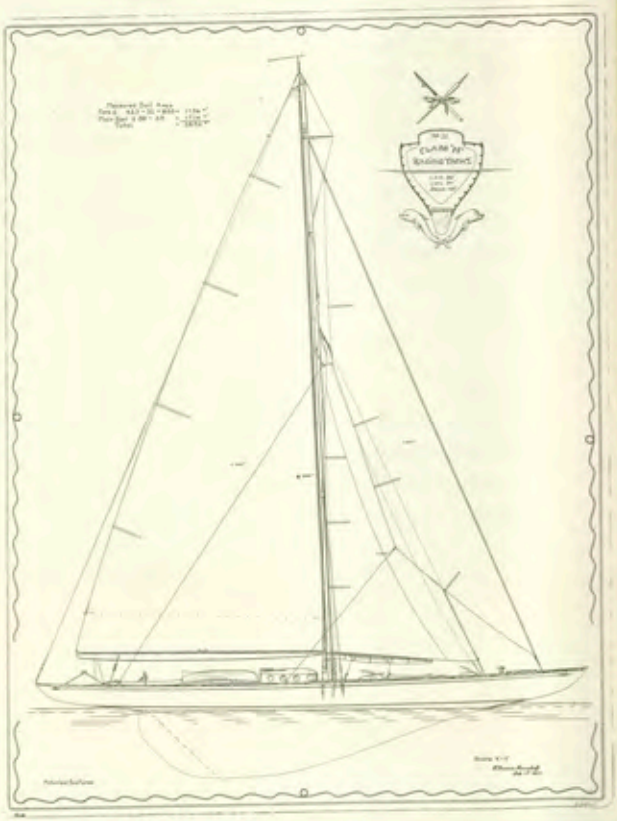
The photo was printed in reverse (as pointed out by several sharp-eyed readers) in accordance with Stanley Rosenfeld's use of it in *A Century Under Sail: Selected Photographs by Morris and Stanley Rosenfeld* (1984).

# ACQUISITION

One of the Museum's less-visible assets is its magnificent collection of ship and boat plans. Numbering some 15,000 sheets, this collection represents more than 4,000 watercraft, of which about two-thirds are pleasure craft. It is an actively growing collection. After more than twenty years in the G. W. Blunt White Library, it has outgrown its storage area, and a move to expanded quarters is planned in the near future.

Recently, the original plans of yacht designer and author L. Francis Herreshoff (1890-1972), son of Nathanael G. Herreshoff, have begun to come to the Museum through the generosity of Mrs. Muriel Vaughn. The collection is designated for study and display, and joins the donor's previous gift of L. F. Herreshoff's voluminous correspondence.

Design #22 (illustrated here), dated 1 February 1927, is a proposal for an M Class that was never built. It is an outstanding example



of the designer's rare combination of technical skill and artistic ability.

The yacht's main features, a tall, narrow mainsail and quadrilateral jib, were about ten years ahead of their time. The combination appeared again in the mid-to-late 1930s on the larger J Class sloops used for America's Cup competition. Another noteworthy feature of this design is the patented luff spar on the staysail, used to stiffen it and improve its airflow. This produced the cleanest, most aerodynamic rig of its time. Today's wing sails on advanced multihulls and luff foils on modern offshore racers use the same principle. It was used by L. Francis on his highly successful R Class sloop *Live Yankee* (also 1927)–perhaps too successfully, for it was subsequently banned from competitive sailing! Note also the folding boom crutch and the forward-angled wheel.

The 31-by-24-inch drawing is a masterpiece of drafting skill, with careful attention given to line weight, texture, and shading. The title block is enlivened by crossed drafting pens and a pair of dolphins, while the legend is enclosed by a construction midsection of the boat. This section indicates that the designer intended to use diagonal planking over longitudinal stringers and web frames like aircraft wings, a framing scheme still used on the fastest aluminum racers.

At eighty-six feet overall, fifty-four on the waterline, the boat has the subtle, elegant sheer characteristic of Herreshoff's designs, as well as his favorite long double ends. Although Design #22 was not built, two years later Herreshoff designed the similar M Class sloop *Istalena*. She proved unbeatable, and resulted in Herreshoff's commission for the notable J Class sloop *Whirlwind* in 1930.

Visitors to the Seaport this summer and fall will be able to see plans, photographs, and memorabilia from L. Francis Herreshoff's career in a special exhibit in the Mallory Building.

## *Log* Prize Article Contest

The *Log* Prize Article Contest was instituted in 1980 to encourage scholarship and publication on the historic influence of the sea upon the economic, social, and political culture of the American people. Original research and the use of primary sources are stressed.



Beneath the portrait of Edmund March Blunt, Geoffrey Rossano and Joan Baldwin pose between Fellows President Frank Bohlen and Vice President Virginia Coope. (Photo by Claire White-Peterson)

Winning subjects have ranged from the architecture of life-saving stations to the effects of Civil War commerce raiders; from the reaction to the wreck of the steamship *Central America* to the career of an eighteenth-century shipmaster and industrialist. Runners-up have frequently added further variety and interest to *The Log*.

The contest is sponsored by the Editorial Board of *The Log* and the Fellowsof the G. W. Blunt White Library. The Fellows are a special grouporganized to foster the activities of the library and to further research in American maritime history. The Fellows provide the $500 cash prize and assist as contest judges with representatives from the *Log*'s Editorial Board.

This year's winners are Geoffrey Rossano and Joan Baldwin (Mrs. Rossano), for their account of the career of Captain Solomon Townsend. A native of Brooklyn, New York, Geoffrey Rossano graduated from Tufts University in 1970 and received his M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Having spent several years in New York State government, he currently teaches at Salisbury School.

Joan Baldwin, from Bethesda, Maryland, graduated from Kenyon College in 1975 and received her M.A. from Western Reserve University. She has directed several museums, including Raynham Hall, the Townsend home at Oyster Bay, New York. She is now a museum consultant in the Berkshire region.

HISTORIC SHIPS

# The *Meteor*

A revolutionary, though short-lived, phenomenon in naval architecture was the whaleback freighter of the Great Lakes. These unusual vessels were forerunners of the fleet of great bulk carriers that traverse the Lakes today.

The whaleback design was conceived by Scottish-born Alexander MacDougall (1845-1923), a sailor, blacksmith, and shipbuilder who settled in Duluth, Minnesota. He first patented the idea in 1881. With a flat bottom, round sides, and conoidal bow and stern, the whaleback design was economical to build, fast, inexpensive to operate, efficient as a bulk cargo container, and, with little freeboard, less subject to buffeting in a storm than was a conventional freighter.



The *Meteor* on display. (Courtesy Head of the Lakes Maritime Society, Ltd.)

MacDougall launched his prototype, a steel barge, in 1888 at Duluth. Colgate Hoyt, an associate of John D. Rockefeller who was developing Minnesota's Mesabi Iron Range, recognized the potential of the design as an ore carrier and organized financing for MacDougall's American Steel Barge Company. The company located at Superior, Wisconsin, opposite Duluth, in 1890. Of the forty-three whalebacks built between 1888 and 1898, thirty-nine were built for Great Lakes use by American Steel Barge (the others were built on salt water). Fifteen were steamships and twenty-four were barges. As Mesabi iron production expanded, ten whalebacks were built in 1892 alone, construction of each requiring about ninety days.

The whaleback design had several drawbacks, despite its utility. The conoidal spoon bow, which gained the name "pigboat" for the type, tended to pound in head seas. The low freeboard and lack of bulwarks left the hatch covers exposed and difficult to repair in heavy seas. The camber of the hull made the vessels inconvenient at dockside. By 1900 the whaleback design was considered obsolete due to size limitations of the hull and hatch design.

The only survivor of the once-renowned fleet of whalebacks is the *Meteor*, on display at Superior, Wisconsin. Launched as the *Frank Rockefeller* (reflecting John D. Rockefeller's consolidation of Mesabi iron production) in 1896 by American Steel Barge, the 366-foot steamer was the thirty-fifth of the Lakes whalebacks. Operated by a crew of twenty-one, she was powered by a 1,200-horsepower triple-expansion engine. With a 5,200-ton capacity, she carried iron ore between Duluth and the steel plants around the Lakes until 1925. Converted to a sand carrier in 1925, she helped fill the site of the 1933 Chicago World's Fair.

Renamed *South Park* in 1929, she carried grain, and was modified to take automobiles on deck. Damaged when she ran aground in 1942, she was converted to an oil tanker and renamed *Meteor* in 1943. When she was laid up after being damaged in 1969, she was the oldest active tanker afloat. In 1972 her owners, Cleveland Tankers, presented her to the City of Superior and she was brought back to her birthplace as a maritime museum.

Permanently beached on Barker's Island in Superior Harbor, she is operated as a museum by the Head of the Lakes Maritime Society between Memorial Day and October. The admission fee helps this nonprofit organization maintain its unusual vessel.




PLANNED GIVING TO MYSTIC SEAPORT

## Call me Codicil

"It may seem strange," said Ishmael in *Moby Dick*, "that of all men sailors should be tinkering at their last wills and testaments, but there are no people in the world more fond of that diversion. This was the fourth time in my nautical life that I had done the same thing. After the ceremony was concluded upon the present occasion, I felt all the easier; a stone was rolled away from my heart. Besides, all the days I should now live would be as good as the days that Lazarus lived . . . I survived myself. . . ."

Most of us – who are not involved in chasing white whales – don't relish drawing or reviewing our wills. And there never is a convenient time. Other matters are more pressing. Yet, those who draw wills and plan their estates feel – as Ishmael did – all the easier.

We work so hard to acquire our assets; it makes sense to take the time to assure that they are distributed as we – not the state's intestacy laws – direct.

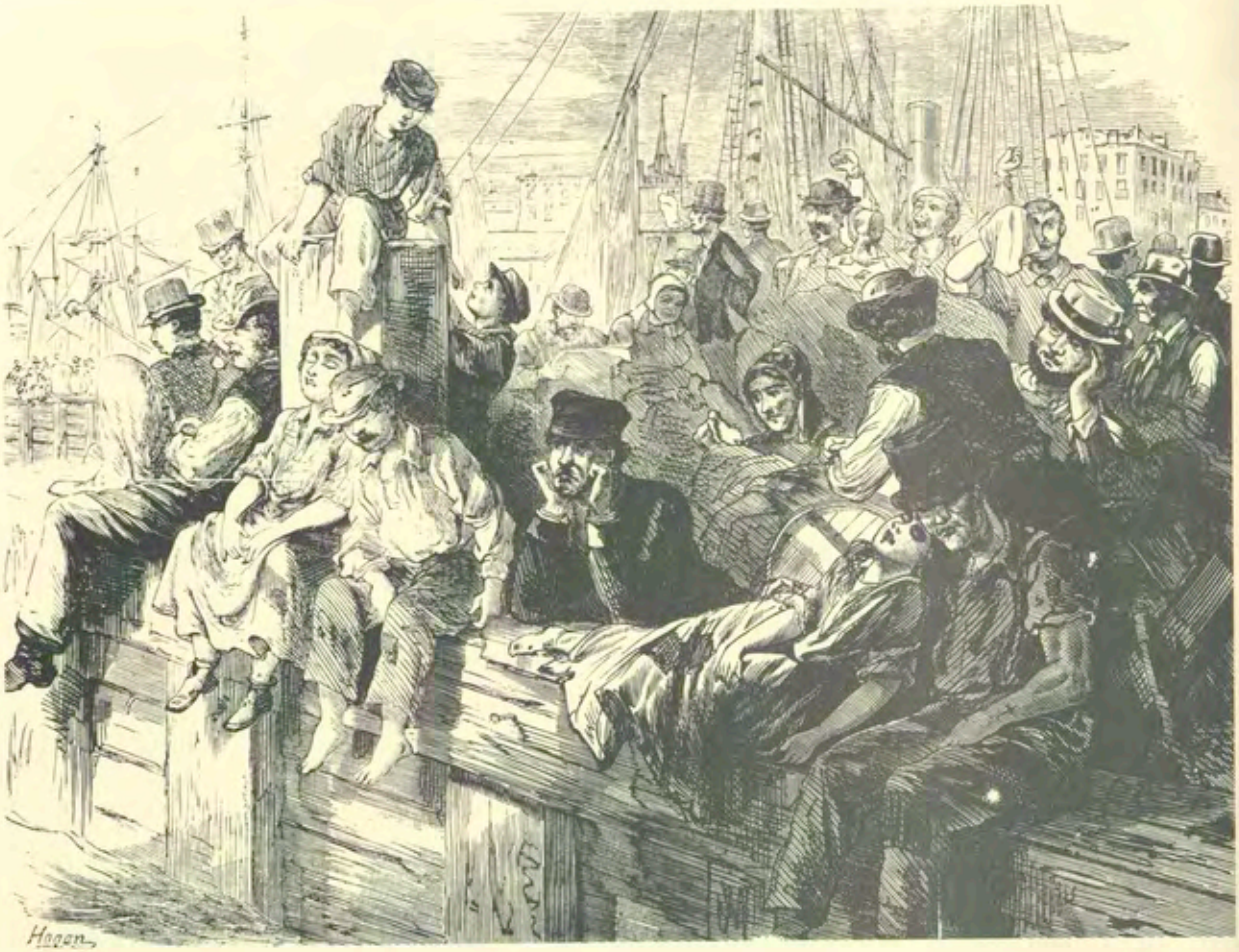
A will can save taxes for your estate – and for the estates of survivors. Trusts created by will protect assets so that they will be there when needed to provide for family members or others incapable of managing sizable funds. Trusts can also save income taxes for your beneficiaries.

With a will you – rather than a court – decide who will administer your estate. You – rather than the law – determine whose share of your estate will pay any estate taxes. A will can reduce probate costs. Those with young children can designate a guardian who will raise the children if both parents die.

© Conrad Tietell 1985

Many members name the Museum in their wills. We would like to talk to you about including Mystic Seaport in your will. Generations who follow you will greatly benefit and – to quote Ishmael again – you can survive yourself.

For more information please write or telephone the Museum's Development Office (203-572-0711).




THE LOG OF MYSTIC SEAPORT

*Mystic, Connecticut 06355*

*Non-Profit Organization*
*U.S. Postage Paid*
*Mystic, Connecticut*
*Permit No. 1*