SPRING 1986

THE LOG OF MYSTIC SEAPORT



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The Log of Mystic Seaport (ISSN 0024–5828) is published quarterly by Mystic Seaport Museum, Inc., Mystic, Connecticut 06355–0990. Suscriptions are by membership only, beginning at $25.00. Submissions of previously unpublished articles and pictures are welcome. Editorial guidelines are available from the Publications Department.

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Composed and printed by the Meriden-Stinehour Press and bound by the Mueller Trade Bindery Corp. *The Log of Mystic Seaport* is abstracted in *America: History and Life* and *Historical Abstracts*. It is also available in microform edition from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106.

COVER: Detail from a sailing card for the ship *Enterprise* of Cornelius Comstock's Clipper Line for San Francisco, ca. 1863. Though not built to clipper lines, the 836-ton *Enterprise*, built in 1847, was accorded clipper status for promotion by Comstock. "Neptune's Favorites: The Romance and Reality of America's Clipper Ships" will be displayed in the Museum's R. J. Schaefer Building, 4 July through 13 October 1986. (Coll. 112, G. W. Blunt White Library)

Volume 38, Number 1 / Spring 1986

THE LOG OF MYSTIC SEAPORT

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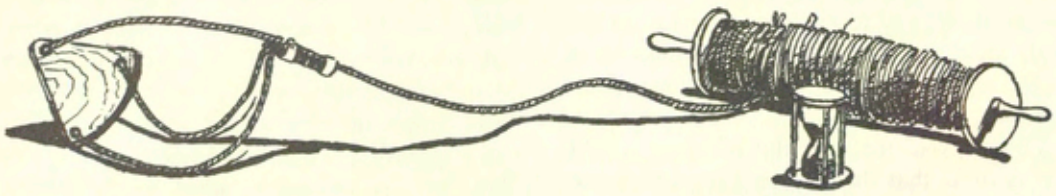
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SIGHTINGS



Mystic, Connecticut, has a higher recognition factor throughout the United States than most communities of its size. In addition to an important film processing company and an aquarium, Mystic is well known nationally, and has become famous in international maritime circles, principally because of Mystic Seaport, its museum and its programs.

Yet, when it was conceived in 1929, the Marine Historical Association was very much a local product. The several Mystic residents who brought it into existence were motivated, if not inspired, by the maritime history of the Mystic River and the surrounding region. While the subjects now featured by the Seaport carry it far beyond its Mystic locale, the Museum must remain a part of the community that nurtured it.

As the Seaport has grown, so has its impact on that community. The volunteer program offers dramatic evidence of the strong bonds between the region and the Seaport, with nearly 30,000 hours of volunteer effort logged each year.

The Museum's economic influence is significant, both directly and indirectly. The combined operating budgets of the Museum and Seaport Stores, exceeding twelve million dollars annually, create business for real estate agencies, grocery stores, pharmacies, banks, and other local businesses. Then, of course, the Museum's visitors, numbering nearly a half million annually, occupy motels and restaurants, and utilize the various stores and shopping centers in Mystic and its environs. One university study has placed the Seaport's economic impact on the region in excess of forty million dollars annually.

Those associated with the Museum would like to think that the Seaport's impact on the community is all positive. Of course it is not. Genuine problems exist, so Mystic, the community, is always an important factor in our planning. For example, in our attempts to improve the visitors' approach to the Museum, we are also trying to alleviate the traffic congestion in front of our gate lanes, hence easing the strain along Route 27.

In our efforts, the Seaport benefits greatly from the assistance of a Community Advisory Council. This group of eighteen men and women, Mystic residents all, meet with us several times a year to discuss their perceptions of the Seaport's role in the town. It is important that we have a continuous dialogue with these representatives so that we can plan for a future which will be of mutual benefit to the Museum and its community. With the Community Advisory Council and the paid and volunteer staff creating the necessary communications conduit between the Museum and the community, the Seaport will continue to help strengthen the region while drawing strength from it for the future.

J. Revell Carr

A Forty-Niner Fourth of July

CHARLES R. SCHULTZ

The Editorial Board of The Log of Mystic Seaport *is pleased to present its* Fifth Annual Prize Article. *Final selection was made by a committee comprising two members of the Editorial Board and three Fellows of the G. W. Blunt White Library. In offering a $500 award the Fellows of the Library hope to stimulate study and publication in American maritime history. This year's selection exemplifies the use of primary source material, which the contest is designed to encourage.*

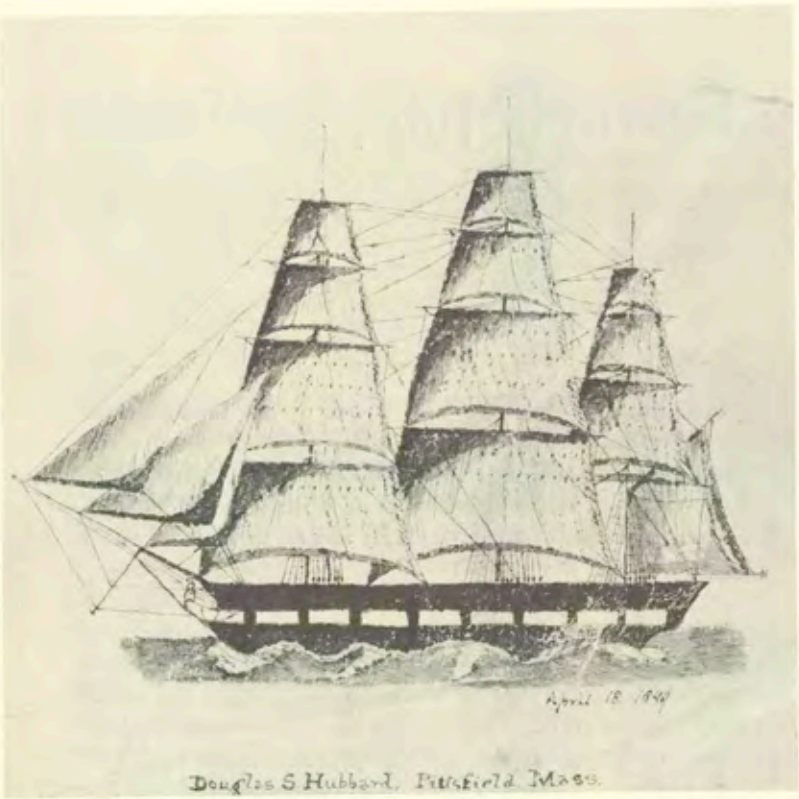
Charles R. Schultz has been University Archivist at Texas A&M University since 1971. From 1963 to 1971 he was Keeper of Manuscripts and later Librarian of the Seaport's G. W. Blunt White Library. He holds a Ph.D. in history from Ohio State University.

During the nineteenth century both passengers and crew members in American sailing ships tended to ignore most of the holidays which were observed ashore and which have been sanctioned in law in the twentieth century. One major divergence from this general trend occurred among the thousands of gold seekers in the hundreds of vessels that sailed from the East Coast around Cape Horn to San Francisco in 1849. The Forty-Niners made strong efforts to live on board ship just as they did ashore, possibly influenced by the fact that very few of these pioneers had ever been to sea before. That many of the passengers in each vessel were friends of long standing and were organized into joint stock companies may well have been another factor.

The seafaring Forty-Niners' celebrations were influenced on a number of occasions by the regions of the country from which many of the passengers came. In numerous vessels, especially those with Southerners on board, they celebrated George Washington's birthday with special meals, firing of salutes, dances, and drinking of toasts. Some groups celebrated the inauguration of Zachary Taylor on 5 March 1849 in similar fashion. In many vessels, and especially those from New England, Thanksgiving was a day for special meals. The major day of celebration at sea by the Forty-Niners, however, was Independence Day, which one passenger referred to as "the day of all days with the whole Yankee Nation."[1] Another referred to the day as "the glory and pride of our native land."[2] Still another referred to it as the anniversary of the "day that speaks our nation's glory."[3]

Although the Forty-Niners bound to California by sea were confined to the boundaries of their sailing vessels, generally less than 150 feet long and 35 feet across, they made every effort to emulate the type of Independence Day celebrations they normally held ashore in their hometowns. The vessels were commonly very crowded with passengers and all of their belongings as well as large quantities of foodstuffs and cargoes, which the passengers expected to sell at handsome profits upon their arrival in San Francisco. The cramped quarters and limited space did not seem to dampen the celebratory spirits of these pioneers, however.

Planning for Independence Day celebrations sometimes began as early as a month before the event. The fact that the vast majority of passengers on nearly all of the ships were members of formally organized joint stock companies greatly facilitated planning for the celebrations. In some vessels planning committees were simply appointed by existing stock company officers; in others a special meeting of the members was called to elect a planning group. Sometimes the group was called simply a committee, while on other occasions the members elected a president, several vice presidents, and a secretary for the



Sketch of the ship *Andalusia*. (HFM 68, G. W. Blunt White Library)

day. The passengers on individual vessels were undoubtedly influenced by the procedures followed in their home area. Typically, a planning group set an agenda for the day, chose an orator or two as well as someone to read the Declaration of Independence, made arrangements for entertainment, and organized special meals. Generally, the celebrations were planned and progressed as planned regardless of the distance, great or small, to a port and despite weather conditions.

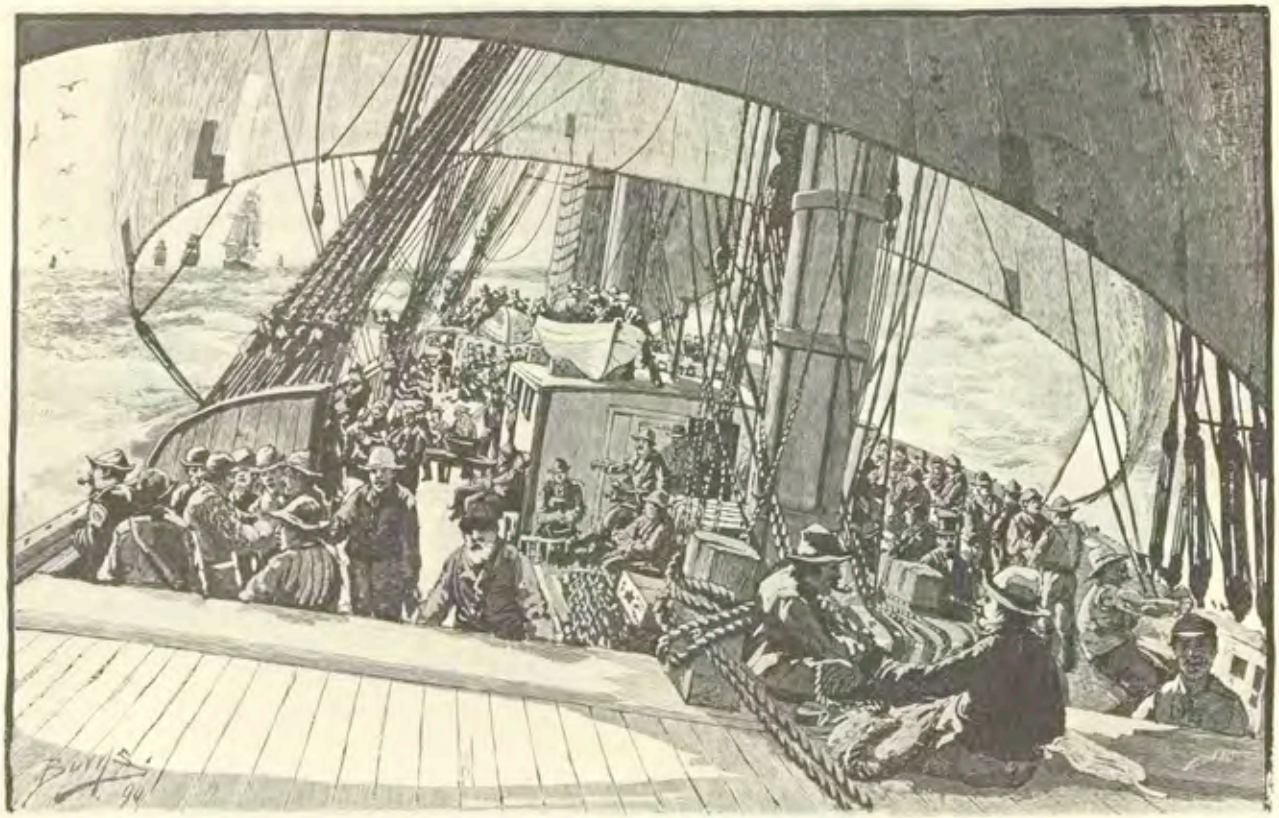
Members of the California Mining Association and other passengers on board the bark *Hannah Sprague* first discussed their Independence Day activities on 6 June when a committee of three people was chosen to select an orator and someone to read the Declaration of Independence and to make other necessary arrangements.[4] The passengers representing several different companies on board the ship *Andalusia* met on 14 June to choose a committee of one representative of each state among the passengers. This committee then nominated a president, vice president, several secretaries, a captain of police, a flag master, and several committees and recommended an agenda for the fourth, all of which was accepted unanimously by the passengers.[5] Members of the Bunker Hill Trading and Mining Association on board the ship *Regulus* began "making preparations a fortnight beforehand," since that is how they had done it at home. They made plans for the celebration even though they were very near Cape Horn and were not certain the weather would be suitable for carrying out those plans.[6] The passengers in the ship *Jane Parker* had hoped to be in San Francisco by Independence Day, but as the end of June approached and they were still some distance away, they too made plans to celebrate the great day at sea.[7] Other groups delayed even longer, with those on board the ship *Arkansas* waiting until the last minute. They apparently did not make any arrangements until the evening before the fourth.[8]

The seagoing Forty-Niners frequently began their Independence Day celebrations early, literally commencing festivities with a bang. Passengers in the ship *Sweden* may well have been

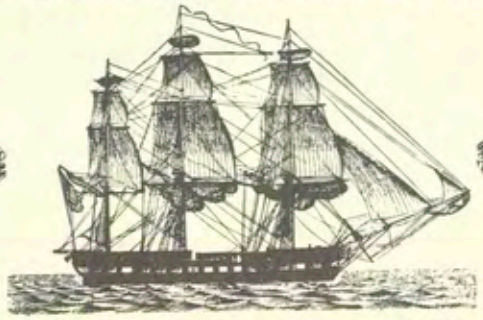
the first to start celebrating as they opened the festivities just after midnight, when somewhere between thirty and fifty of them "with all sorts of instruments,"[9] including "Tin Pans, Dippers, Fish Horns, Post Horns, Clarinets, Fifes, Hand Organs, Bag Pipes, Gong (Watchmans), Rattles, Accordions, Large and Small Bells, and Triangles," marched from one end of the ship to the other playing "those instruments as loud as they could blow the very worst Music I ever heard."[10] They continued to make the rounds of the ship "every fifteen minutes until dawn."[11] Those on board the ship *York* rivaled the *Sweden* passengers for an early start, as one passenger wrote of having had his "rest disturbed by the usual 'Independence' noises" when the "report of guns commenced at twelve o'clock on deck."[12] The men in the bark *Hanna Sprague* were not far behind as "an amateur band of callithumpians consisting of a fife, two dinner bells, a large and a small tin pan" began to serenade the passengers at four o'clock in the morning. The music, accompanied by the firing of guns and pistols, was continued until after breakfast.[13] For passengers in the bark *Anna Reynolds* the day began with a loud bang as they ushered in the fourth by firing thirty guns at sunrise, "one for each state." They repeated the thirty-gun salute at noon and again at sunset.[14] Although those in the ship *Brooklyn* fired only thirteen guns at sunrise when they sent the stars and stripes aloft, they fired thirty-one guns later in the day after they had heard an "excellent Oration."[15] Those in the *Belvedere* fired only ten guns, but they also had a passenger who was "well known for the health and strength of his lungs," and he awoke the others "by a series of yells past all description to define." This was all accompanied by another passenger who produced a "thunderlike noise" by repeatedly dropping a large plank on deck. There was also "bell ringing, cheering, singing, band playing, and firing of pistols."[16] The passengers in the *Arkansas* ushered in the day "with a grand salute of Small arms."[17] All of these noises, however, were overshadowed by the salute fired with a swivel gun on board the ship *Andalusia*.[18]

Following such rousing awakenings, the pas-

A crowd of "Forty Niners" bound for California is depicted in "Fair Weather," drawn by Milton Burns, 1890. (*Century Magazine*, July 1891)



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Sailing card for the ship *Sweden*, bound for San Francisco.
(Courtesy Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley)

sengers generally ate a normal breakfast and soon thereafter moved on to the planned celebration for the day. Events of the day commonly included opening and closing prayers, a reading of the Declaration of Independence, one or more orations, parades around deck, music by bands and choirs, special dinners, and regular and volunteer toasts. On some ships the passengers also had dances and were entertained by such activities as plays and minstrels.

One of the most elaborate celebrations was planned by the members of the Bunker Hill Trading and Mining Association on board the ship *Regulus*. One passenger recorded the events planned for the day:

> 1st. remarks by the President, 2nd. ode writin for the Occasion by J. L. Bufford, 3rd. Prayer by C. E. Smith, 4th. Music, 5th. Reading of the declaration of Independence by Jn° Clark, 6th. Hymn, 7th. Poem by Mr. Bufford, 8th. Music, 9th. Oration by Captain Daniel Bradford, 10th. Hymn, 11th. Benediction. Evening Exercise, 1st. Hymn, 2nd. Prayer by Mr. Smith, 3rd. Music, 4th. Address by Wm. M. Parker, 5th. Hymn, 6th. Regular Toasts, 7th. Volunteer Toasts and Sentiments and remarks from several gentlemen appointed for the purpose, 8th. Volunteer toasts, 9th. Music. [19]

On most other ships, the agenda for the day was considerably less elaborate and recorded in less detail.

Since the passengers in every Gold Rush ship represented a broad spectrum of the population, there was frequently a minister on board. In the absence of a minister, one of the other passengers was chosen to offer prayers. The persons who read the Declaration of Independence and gave the orations were commonly chosen several days in advance to make appropriate preparations. Most often there was only one speaker. Although diarists frequently commented how inspiring the speeches were and how attentively the passengers listened, they seldom gave any indication of what the speakers actually said. One diarist, who was also the orator, even went so far as to note that he was frequently interrupted by cheers, but he never gave any hint about the subject matter.[20] From the limited references to the contents of orations in documents and the very limited number of actual speeches available, it is yet possible to suggest that most orators spoke about the early history of the United States and its struggle for independence, the meaning of independence, and the spread of freedom in the world after American independence. They also would recount the struggles, trials, and tribulations involved in the voyage to California. In addition, they urged fellow passengers to continue the friendships established during the voyage and wished them well in their quest for gold in El Dorado. One orator compared the Forty-Niners with the passengers in the *Mayflower* and hoped that his listeners would be governed by the same motives and principles.[21]

In most cases the music, both band and choral, consisted of the typical patriotic tunes which a number of journalists referred to as "national airs." Only a few journalists actu-

A spirited fourth of July oration aboard a gold rush vessel, drawn by I. W. Taber. (*Century Magazine*, July 1891)



ally gave titles, but those which were listed included, not surprisingly, "Star Spangled Banner," "Yankee Doodle," "Hail Columbia," and "Land of Our Father's Land." In some cases, songs were specially composed. J. N. Sweezey performed such a service on board the ship *Brooklyn*, while an unnamed passenger did the same for the bark *Henry Lee*.[22]

Dinners served on Independence Day commonly consisted of some foods from regular ships stores, some special contributions made by the captain, and contributions by the passengers from their personal supplies. The freshness and variety of food was largely determined by the length of time since the vessel had been in port. Passengers on board the ship *Magnolia* enjoyed beef and veal pies, green corn, green peas, green beans, preserved peach sauce, mince pies, apple pies, English walnuts, apples, and pears. They also had liquors of various kinds.[23] Having sailed from Tulcahuano, Chile, on 18 June, they still had a great variety of vegetables and fruits. The three companies in the ship *Sweden* did not fare as well as those in the *Magnolia*. They had ham, coffee, and hard bread for breakfast; preserved meats, duff, and sauce with almonds and raisins for dinner; and gingerbread and tea for supper. The almonds and raisins were contributed by Captain Cotting.[24] Those on board the ship *Brooklyn* had fresh roast pork, ham, tongue, soda biscuits, sugar crackers, pies, cakes, and coffee.[25] Members of the Narragausett Association on board the bark *Velasco* enjoyed rice pudding and gingerbread in addition to normal shipboard fare.[26] The members of the Cayuga Joint stock Company in the bark *Belvedere* had boiled ham, biscuits, gingerbread, cheese, and other unnamed items classified as an "excellent repast."[27] Passengers in the bark *Canton* were served "five fine boiled hams, pickles, preserves, mince pies, peach and apple pies, . . . plum cakes brought out by some of the company, and saved on purpose for the Fourth, nuts, fine raisins, and . . . nice punch made out of wine, tamarind and brandy—all of which . . . was good and did honor to the day."[28]

The members of the Bunker Hill Trading and Mining Association killed their last two hogs on 2 July to have fresh meat for the fourth and also had "a great many other rarities" preserved for the special day. They enjoyed the meal on the fourth in spite of the very bad weather off Cape Horn, which forced the postponement of their other Independence Day festivities until the tenth.[29] The passengers in the ship *York* apparently were not so fortunate. Although their overall celebration was elaborate, their dinner consisted of two courses of "Soup and boulli" followed by salt junk "somewhat of the consistency of mahogany," salt pork, "petrified biscuits'" and rice pancakes "technically called 'slap jacks.'"[30]

There were at least two different companies as well as other passengers on board the ship *Andalusia*. Usually they ate in separate areas based upon their class of passage or cabin, but on Independence Day everyone ate together except for the women. They had fresh pork, pigs heads made into mock turtle soup, and apple pies.[31] The members of the Hartford Union Mining and Trading Company on board the bark *Henry Lee* had some "choice pieces of Beef and Pork . . . handsomely sliced," as well as a whole apple pie for every person rather than the "miserable eighth or quarter" they were normally served. Some "nice cakes" also had been baked, but the other food was so plentiful that no one ate the cakes. In the *Henry Lee* everyone ate at one sitting on Independence Day, whereas normally they ate in at least two shifts.[32]

Toasts were frequently given after the passengers had enjoyed their Independence Day dinners. Regular toasts were prepared in advance and were offered by a committee chosen specifically for that purpose. There were frequently thirteen such toasts, one for each of the original thirteen states.[33] The regular toasts commonly honored such things as Independence Day, the President of the United States, George Washington, the country, the army, the navy, the flag, and the heroes of 1776. Other prepared toasts honored the ship in which they sailed, the state from which they sailed, California, the company of which they were members, and "the Ladies," or "the Fair Sex."[34]

Regular toasts were followed by volunteer

toasts. Commonly all passengers, and in some cases even the sailors, were given an opportunity to offer toasts. A diarist in the bark *Canton* noted that "we had each to give a toast" and added that the toasts were to be sent to New York to be published. John L. Hall recorded seventeen of the many volunteer toasts given on board the bark *Henry Lee*. A passenger in the brig *Osceola* reported they had "some fifty volunteer toasts, many of which were rich, rare and racy, and called down thunders of applause."[35] On board the *Andalusia* the swivel gun was fired after each regular toast as the "signal for drinking and cheering." They apparently also drank after each volunteer toast. Since personal supplies of alcohol were depleted, the captain gave three gallons of liquor to the passengers and was "highly applauded" for his "liberality." Passengers in other ships also drank alcoholic beverages after each toast, but those on board the bark *Henry Lee* "pledged" their many toasts with "bumpers of cold water."[36] Those on board the brig *Osceola* must also have toasted with water as one passenger noted "everything passed off quietly and soberly. There was no liquor on board."[37] A passenger in the bark *Yeoman* lamented that they had no "licker, except potato whiskey" which he said was "potatoes and molasses fermented. . . . it is vile stuff."[38] Although several diarists reported the consumption of substantial quantities of alcohol on Independence Day, very few of them noted anything about the effects of this drinking upon the passengers.

Parades and exercises by military organizations were a regular feature of Independence Day celebrations ashore. It is not surprising, therefore, to observe the frequency with which such activities were noted at sea by the Forty-Niners. According to one account of the voyage of the ship *Magnolia*, "there was the usual military parade, but on a scale of unusual magnificance. Charley Bainbridge arrayed himself, as the law directs, in knapsack and cartouch box; and shouldering a rusty musket, marched with measured step several times round the ship; looking all the while, over both shoulders to see the admiring crowd that followed at his heels.



The variety of musical instruments taken to sea by passengers is suggested in "The Orchestra." (*Harper's Weekly*, 7 August 1858)

He included in his single person all the varied pomp of captain, lieutenant, private, and musicians; his whistling was indeed extraordinary."[39] On board the bark *Belvedere* a Captain Stuart (or Steward) paraded a company of militia around the deck. Both leader and troops, however, were comically dressed and performed their exercises in a fashion suitable to their attire.[40] A Captain Drew "dressed up in his regimentals, with a huge long sword, a cocked hat, top boots, and looking altogether as green as a country militia" led the procession on board the ship *York*. Captain Drew's company consisted of "a motle group of passengers and sailors mixed,—variously armed, some with horse pistols, some with old-fashioned blunderbusses, some with rusty rapiers, one with a swab, one with a 'squilgee,' one with a slush-bucket, one with a watchtacle, while the carpenter, marching in the knock-kneed style, brought up the rear, shouldering a broom." Captain Drew added to the humor of the event by giving all his orders "in a truly nautical style."[41]

In contrast to these humorous activities, the sailors and the boys on board the ship *Andalusia* were organized into a company all dressed in

scarlet shirts. They "marched and Countermarched with soldier-like precision" and "presented a very interesting sight."[42] Similarly, on board the ship *Sweden* a military company of twenty to thirty "men dressed in different uniforms Paraded on Deck, went through different Exercises accompanied with a Fife and Drum."[43] Another witness of the same event noted "of all the comical looking and acting specimens of humanity I never saw their superiors."[44]

As dances and other forms of entertainment were popular at home, the seafaring Forty-Niners arranged similar activities at sea. Dances were held on board the ships *Sweden* and *Brooklyn* and the barks *Henry Lee* and *Velasco*. The diarist of the *Henry Lee* referred to the event as a "Grand National Ball," which was held on the quarter-deck where illumination was furnished by the moon and lanterns.[45] A dance was also planned on board the ship *Andalusia*, but it was postponed because the musicians were too tired to play.[46] Other forms of entertainment included a boxing match on board the bark *Velasco*, a minstrel on board the ship *Sabina*, and a play on board the ship *Trescott*. The play lasted from seven to ten in the evening and was performed on deck under a tent set up specially for the event. Some of the female passengers provided shawls and dresses for the men who performed female roles.[47]

All of these activities apparently were planned and carried out to rekindle the spirit of 1776 in the hearts of the passengers. The efforts succeeded in an unusual form on board the bark *Yeoman*. On this vessel, the dogs Jacob and Leo, who had previously fought several battles for territorial supremacy and had been separated, "had a regular 'knock down and drag out'" when Jacob escaped from the forecastle. They

Track chart of the passage of the ship *Andalusia*, Baltimore to San Francisco, April–September 1849. The fourth of July is noted off Cape Horn. (HFM 68, G. W. Blunt White Library)



fought a "most desperate and bloody fight" before they could be separated.[48] This was in marked contrast to the relationships between the humans, which seem to have been all peace and tranquility everywhere.

Since the seagoing Forty-Niners attempted to celebrate Independence Day at sea in much the same fashion as they observed it at home, it seems appropriate to ascertain to what extent they felt they had succeeded. At home it was traditional to display the American flag and to decorate speakers' platforms with bunting of patriotic colors. Several diarists reported raising the American colors at sunrise and firing salutes. One diarist recorded fairly extensive decorations on board the ship *Andalusia*. The major portion of the celebration was held below deck, where

> the open berths were all hid by the different flags and ensigns, which were everywhere displayed. A forum was erected immediately under the main hatchway, on either side which was an American flag. Above it hung the Declaration of Independence, handsomely framed, which happened to be in possession of one of the gentlemen. Over it the American eagle was suspended in whose beak was an olive branch of Peace (not very green however).

One diarist in the ship *Magnolia* noted simply that the cabin had been "handsomely decorated for the occasion."[49]

It was quite common for the newspapers of the day to publish extensive accounts of events such as Independence Day celebrations. Mention has already been made of the published account of the festivities on board the bark *Hannah Sprague* and the plans to send the toasts offered on board the bark *Canton* to New York for publication. Several passengers sought permission to publish the speech given on board the ship *York*, but the orator refused to grant permission.[50] Several passengers in the ship *Andalusia* prepared a report of the activities on board that ship to forward to Valparaiso for publication "for the express gratification of our beloved friends, to whom, we flatter ourselves, it will be of no little interest."[51]

Several diarists noted their satisfaction with the events on board their vessels. One on board the ship *Sweden* noted that although they were on the sea and "deprived of the many luxuries of life," they still "felt very independent." He also noted that "the day passed off very pleasantly."[52] A passenger in the bark *Selma* noted that they set out to "celebrate the Day with noise and disorder . . . in a purely patriotic way as usual" and concluded that the day "passed with less disorder and more satisfaction to all than was feared by many."[53] A passenger in the ship *Arkansas* was more positive and enthusiastic when he noted "I never remember spending the fourth of July more pleasantly. Everything passed in the most pleasant manner and all seemed to vie with each other to make all happy. I did not expect to pass the fourth in so appropriate a manner."[54] Similar sentiments were expressed by a passenger in the ship *Regulus*, even though the weather off Cape Horn forced postponement of the festivities until 10 July. Even after a delay of six days he reported "it was the best celebration I ever attended, the most lively and spirited of all jubilies I ever witnessed. The toasts and sentiments was very Patriotic and to the purpose. The Oration was the best I ever heard."[55] A diarist on board the ship *Andalusia* reported that "the whole affair throughout reflects honourably upon all concerned. The day, instead of being marked by any of those outbreaks which too generally characterise its observance on land, passed off quietly and calmly without a single incident calculated to mar its pleasure."[56] On board the bark *Henry Lee* a diarist noted that several passengers had expressed in his hearing "that it had been, on the whole, the best celebration of the Fourth we ever participated in."[57]

Though far from home in a constricted little world, the Forty-Niners thoroughly enjoyed their observance of the seventy-third anniversary of American independence and felt very satisfied about the manner in which they had celebrated "the day of all days with the whole Yankee Nation."[58]

NOTES

[1] William Ives Morgan, "Gold Dust: The Log of a Forty-Niner," p. 2, 4 July 1849, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California. This typescript of Morgan's

original journal of the voyage from New Haven to San Francisco in the bark *J. Walls, Jr.* under the command of Captain Sanford, along with footnotes and a forward containing biographical data on Morgan, was prepared by Florence E. (Downs) Muzzy about 1930. Brief excerpts of the journal were published in *Harper's Magazine* 113 (November 1906): 920–26.

[2] Nelson Kingsley, "Diary of Nelson Kingsley," ed. by Frederick Teggart, *Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History* 3 (December 1914): 262. Kingsley made a voyage from New Haven to San Francisco in the bark *Anna Reynolds*.

[3] John Linville Hall, *Around the Horn in '49: The Journal of the Hartford Union Mining and Trading Company* (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1928), p. 97. Reprint of *Journal of the Hartford Union Mining and Trading Company* (J. L. Hall: on board the *Henry Lee*, 1849).

[4] Alfred Wheeler, Journal of a voyage from New York to San Francisco in the bark *Hannah Sprague* under the command of Captain David F. Lansing, 6 June 1849, California Historical Society, San Francisco, California; hereafter cited as Wheeler, *Hannah Sprague* journal.

[5] Anne Willson Booth, Journal of a voyage from Baltimore to San Francisco in the ship *Andalusia* under the command of Captain F. W. Willson, 14 and 15 June 1849, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California; hereafter cited as Booth, *Andalusia* journal.

[6] Thomas Williams, Journal of a voyage from Boston to San Francisco in the ship *Regulus* under the command of Captain Daniel Bradford, ca. 25 June – 10 July 1849, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California; hereafter cited as Williams, *Regulus* journal.

[7] William S. Hull, Journal of a voyage from Baltimore to San Francisco in the ship *Jane Parker* under the command of Captain Gordon, 29 June 1849, Library of Maryland History, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland; hereafter cited as Hull, *Jane Parker* journal.

[8] Benjamin H. Deane, Journal of a voyage from New York to San Francisco in the ship *Arkansas* under the command of Captain P. W. Shepheard, 3 July 1849, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California; hereafter cited as Deane, *Arkansas* journal.

[9] John Tolman, Journal of a voyage from Boston to San Francisco in the ship *Sweden* under the command of Captain Jessie G. Cotting, 5 July 1849, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California; hereafter cited as Tolman, *Sweden* journal.

[10] Benjamin Bailey, Journal of a voyage from Boston to San Francisco in the ship *Sweden* under the command of Captain Jessie G. Cotting, 4 July 1849, G. W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum; hereafter cited as Bailey, *Sweden* journal.

[11] Tolman, *Sweden* journal, 5 July 1849; Bailey, *Sweden* journal, 4 July 1849.

[12] Ferdinand Cartwright Ewer, Journal of a voyage from Boston to San Francisco in the ship *York* under the command of Captain George N. Cheever, 4 July 1849, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California; hereafter cited as Ewer, *York* journal.

[13] Wheeler, *Hannah Sprague* journal, 4 July 1849.

[14] James P. Keeler, Journal of a voyage from New Haven to San Francisco in the bark *Anna Reynolds*, 4 July 1849, California Historical Society, San Francisco, California; hereafter cited as Keeler, *Anna Reynolds* journal; Kingsley, "Diary" p. 262.

[15] Stephen L. and James E. Fowler, Account of the voyage from New York to San Francisco in the ship *Brooklyn* under the command of Captain Richardson, p. 2, typescript copy in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California; hereafter cited as Fowler, account of *Brooklyn* voyage.

[16] Isaac Shepard, Jr., Journal of a voyage from New York to San Francisco in the bark *Belvedere* under the command of Captain Samuel Barney, 4 July 1849, California Historical Society, San Francisco, California. Shepard spelled the name of the vessel *Belvidera*, but it appears to be correctly spelled *Belvedere*. Hereafter cited as Shepard, *Belvedere* journal; H. F. W. Swain, Journal of a voyage from New York to San Francisco in the bark *Belvedere* under the command of Captain Samuel Barney, 4 July 1849, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California; hereafter cited as Swain, *Belvedere* journal.

[17] Deane, *Arkansas* journal, 4 July 1849.

[18] Booth, *Andalusia* journal, 4 July 1849.

[19] Williams, *Regulus* journal, ca. 25 June – 10 July 1849.

[20] Wheeler, *Hannah Sprague* journal, 4 July 1849.

[21] Hall, *Around the Horn in '49*, pp. 98–99; William S. Hull, untitled address delivered on board the ship *Jane Parker* 4 July 1849, Library of Maryland History, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland; *Celebration of the Seventy-Third Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the United States on Board the Barque "Hannah Sprague" July 4, 1849* (New York: Jennings & Co., 1849). The last contains the text of the address of Alfred Wheeler. In his journal, Wheeler noted that the passengers had passed a resolution to publish three thousand copies of his address at Rio de Janeiro, but it appears as though the publishing was actually done in New York. Ferdinand C. Ewer also noted in his journal on board the *York* that his fellow passengers wanted to publish his oration, but he refused to permit it. Harry G. Brown, Journal of a voyage from New York to San Francisco in the bark *Selma* under the command of Captain Orrin Sellow, 4 July 1849, G. W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum; hereafter cited as H. G. Brown, *Selma* journal.

[22] Fowler, account of *Brooklyn* voyage, pp. 2–5; Hall, *Around the Horn in '49*, pp. 97–98; Swain, *Belvedere* journal, 4 July 1849; Ewer, *York* journal, 4 July 1849.

[23] S. Mortimer Collins, Journal of a voyage from New Bedford to San Francisco in the ship *Magnolia* under the command of Captain B. Frank Simmons, 4 July 1849, typescript copy in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California; William F. Reed, Journal of a voyage from New Bedford to San Francisco in the ship *Magnolia* under the command of Captain B. Frank Simmons, 4 July 1849, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California; hereafter referred to as Reed, *Magnolia* journal; [George Payson], *Golden Dreams and Leaden Realities* (New York: G. P. Putnam & Co., 1853; reprint, Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Literature House, 1970), p. 64.

[24] Bailey, *Sweden* journal, 4 July 1849; Tolman, *Sweden* journal, 5 July 1849.

[25] Fowler, Account of the *Brooklyn* voyage, pp. 2–5.

[26] Thomas Reid, Journal of a voyage from Boston to San Francisco in the bark *Velasco*, 4 July 1849, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California; hereafter cited as Reid, *Velasco* journal.

[27] Swain, *Belvedere* journal, 4 July 1849; Shepard, *Belvedere* journal, 4 July 1849.

[28] Joseph Kendall, *A Landsman's Voyage to California*, ed.

by Wilbur Hall, (San Francisco; Privately Published, 1935), pp. 111–112.

[29] Williams, *Regulus* journal, ca. 25 June — 10 July 1849.

[30] Ewer, *York* journal, 4 July 1849.

[31] Booth, *Andalusia* journal, 4 July 1849.

[32] Hall, *Around the Horn in '49*, p. 103.

[33] H. G. Brown, *Selma* journal, 4 July 1849; Booth, *Andalusia* journal, 4 July 1849; Hall, *Around the Horn in '49*, p. 99; and Samuel Curtis Upham, *Notes of a Voyage to California via Cape Horn, together with Scenes in El Dorado, in the Years 1849–'50* (Philadelphia: Published by the Author, 1878; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1973), p. 193.

[34] H. G. Brown, *Selma* journal, 4 July 1849; and Hall, *Around the Horn in '49*, pp. 99–100.

[35] Kendall, *A Landsman's Voyage*, pp. 111–112; Hall, *Around the Horn in '49*, pp. 100–102; and Upham, *Notes of a Voyage*, pp. 193–195.

[36] Booth, *Andalusia* journal, 4 July 1849; and Hall, *Around the Horn in '49*, p. 99.

[37] Upham, *Notes of a Voyage*, p. 195.

[38] Alfred Doten, *The Journals of Alfred Doten, 1849–1903*, 3 vols., ed. by Walter van Tilburg Clark, (Reno: University of Nevada Press), 1: 26–27.

[39] [Payson], *Golden Dreams*, p. 63. According to the list of passengers at the end of S. Mortimer Collins's journal in the *Magnolia*, "Charlie Bainbridge" was actually Charles C. Spalding of Montpelier, Vermont.

[40] Shepard, *Belvedere* journal, 4 July 1849; and Swain, *Belvedere* journal, 4 July 1849.

[41] Ewer, *York* journal, 4 July 1849.

[42] Booth, *Andalusia* journal, 4 July 1849.

[43] Bailey, *Sweden* journal, 4 July 1849.

[44] Tolman, *Sweden* journal, 5 July 1849.

[45] Bailey, *Sweden* journal, 4 July 1849; Tolman, *Sweden* journal, 5 July 1849; Fowler, account of the *Brooklyn* voyage, pp. 2–5; Hall, *Around the Horn in '49*, p. 104; Reid, *Velasco* journal, 4 July 1849.

[46] Booth, *Andalusia* journal, 4 July 1849.

[47] Reid, *Velasco* journal, 4 July 1849; Henry Green, Journal of a voyage from Sag Harbor to San Francisco in the ship *Sabina* under the command of Captain Henry Green, 4 July 1849, G. W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum; William Lord Stevens, journal of a voyage from Mystic to San Francisco in the ship *Trescott*. G. W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum. The Stevens journal is written entirely in rhyming verse and has no dates. The dates of the voyage were 24 January — 7 August 1849.

[48] Doten, *Journal*, 1: 26–27.

[49] Booth, *Andalusia* journal, 4 July 1849; Reed, *Magnolia* journal, 4 July 1849.

[50] Ewer, *York* journal, 5 July 1849.

[51] Booth, *Andalusia* journal, 4 July 1849.

[52] Tolman, *Sweden* journal, 5 July 1849.

[53] Samuel W. Brown, Journal of a voyage from New York to San Francisco in the bark *Selma* under the command of Captain Orrin Sellow, California Historical Society, San Francisco, California.

[54] Deane, *Arkansas* journal, 4 July 1849.

[55] Williams, *Regulus* journal, ca. 25 June — 10 July 1849.

[56] Booth, *Andalusia* journal, 4 July 1849.

[57] Hall, *Around the Horn in '49*, p. 104.

[58] Morgan, "Gold Dust," p. 2.

A History of the Fulton Fish Market

PRISCILLA JENNINGS SLANETZ

With the recent development of South Street Seaport Museum, the Fulton Street area of New York City is again bustling with people as it was during the nineteenth century. By accentuating the maritime vestiges of the area, the Museum reveals why the area played such an important role as a seaport and market place. The Fulton Fish Market, located on the shore of the East River, has been a central focus of life since the 1820s. Originating from the 1822 Fulton Market, which provided not only fish but also cheap finery, books, ice cream, candy, hardware, and dry goods, the Fulton Fish Market exists today as the second largest fish market in the world. It is a "most expensive antique"[1] as a consequence of its limited space, narrow streets, and dilapidated buildings. Yet no other place exists where New York's historical continuity is so evident and where "the city's diurnal rhythms can be felt so powerfully."[2]

In 1822 the fish merchants occupied the east wing of the new E-shaped Fulton Market building on South Street between Fulton and Beekman Streets. Butchers, sausage vendors, fruit and vegetable dealers, and vendors of dairy goods resided in other areas of the building. As a result of high rent and the spread of illness, many of the stalls remained vacant.[3]

The independent Fulton Fish Market, as it is known today, was established in 1831, when the fish dealers moved into their own building located on the East River between present-day Piers 17 and 18. Their new 195-foot one-story wooden shed cost $3,223 to build. The move resulted from overcrowding and a petition circulated in 1830 by the Fulton Market butchers, who had a strong desire to remove the briny "nuisances"[4] that seeped down from the fish dealers' floors to their stands below. In 1843, the butchers petitioned to have the fish dealers move back into Fulton Market to improve business, but the fish dealers opposed the move.[5]

In June 1847, a city committee decided there was a need for another shed to be built "'on the bulkhead where the old fish market stood, fronting the main market, extending nearly the whole length of the same. . . .'"[6] A wooden shed was built with dimensions similar to those of the 1831 building. In addition, the rear platform extended to fish cars, floating wooden cages on the East River in which live fish could be held after delivery from the numerous sloops and schooners that regularly delivered their catch to the market.

In 1869, the Fulton Market Fish Mongers Association was formed. The united fish merchants sought a new market building, one worthy of their trade. Completed in October of that year at a cost of $123,000, the building was a wooden structure of two stories and a loft, with a tin roof. The first floor consisted of a great hall 60 feet deep and 198 feet along the river. Inside, each of the principal dealers had an office, and many firms had stalls. Iron columns formed the divisions between fish firms and supported the second story, which housed the private offices of the fish dealers and also served as a storage space. The river side of the building opened on to eighty fish cars. In 1878, a fire burned the market to the ground, but the City immediately rebuilt the structure in almost exactly the same form.

The market building was moved north to cur-

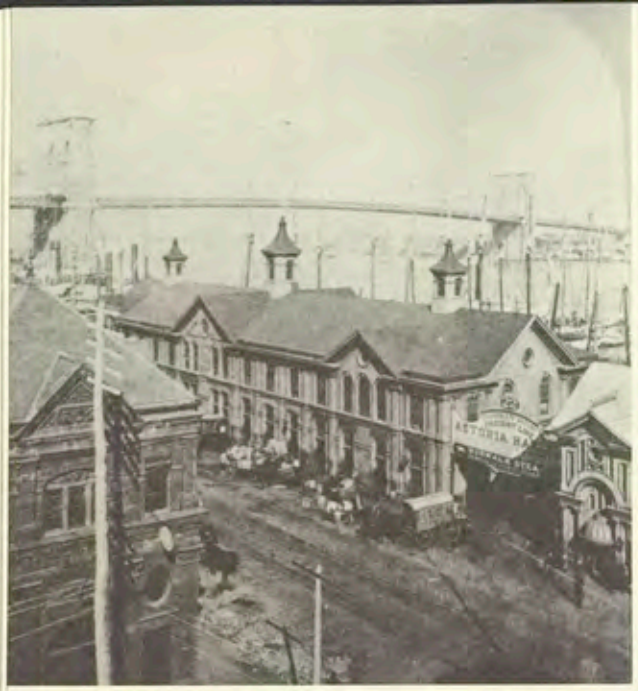
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Looking down Fulton Street, the original Fulton Market of 1822, left center, is surrounded by ramshackle sheds, which disguise its classic architecture. Just north of the elaborate Fulton Ferry terminal lies the Fulton Fish Market shed, with several fishing smacks in the dock and a Black Ball packet beyond. Stereograph photo, ca. 1868. (79.108.64)

This long shed housed the Fulton Fish Market from 1847 to 1869. Here, fish market employees and South Street draymen pose for a long photographic exposure, ca. 1868. Several of the firms had their roots in the Mystic area, including Moon & Lanphear, second stall from left. Note the People's Ice Company barge in the dock at left. (64.47)





Framed by the Brooklyn Bridge, the Fulton Fish Market replacement building of 1878 faces the new Fulton Market building of 1883 across South Street. Stereograph photo, ca. 1885. (Courtesy Lightfoot Collection)

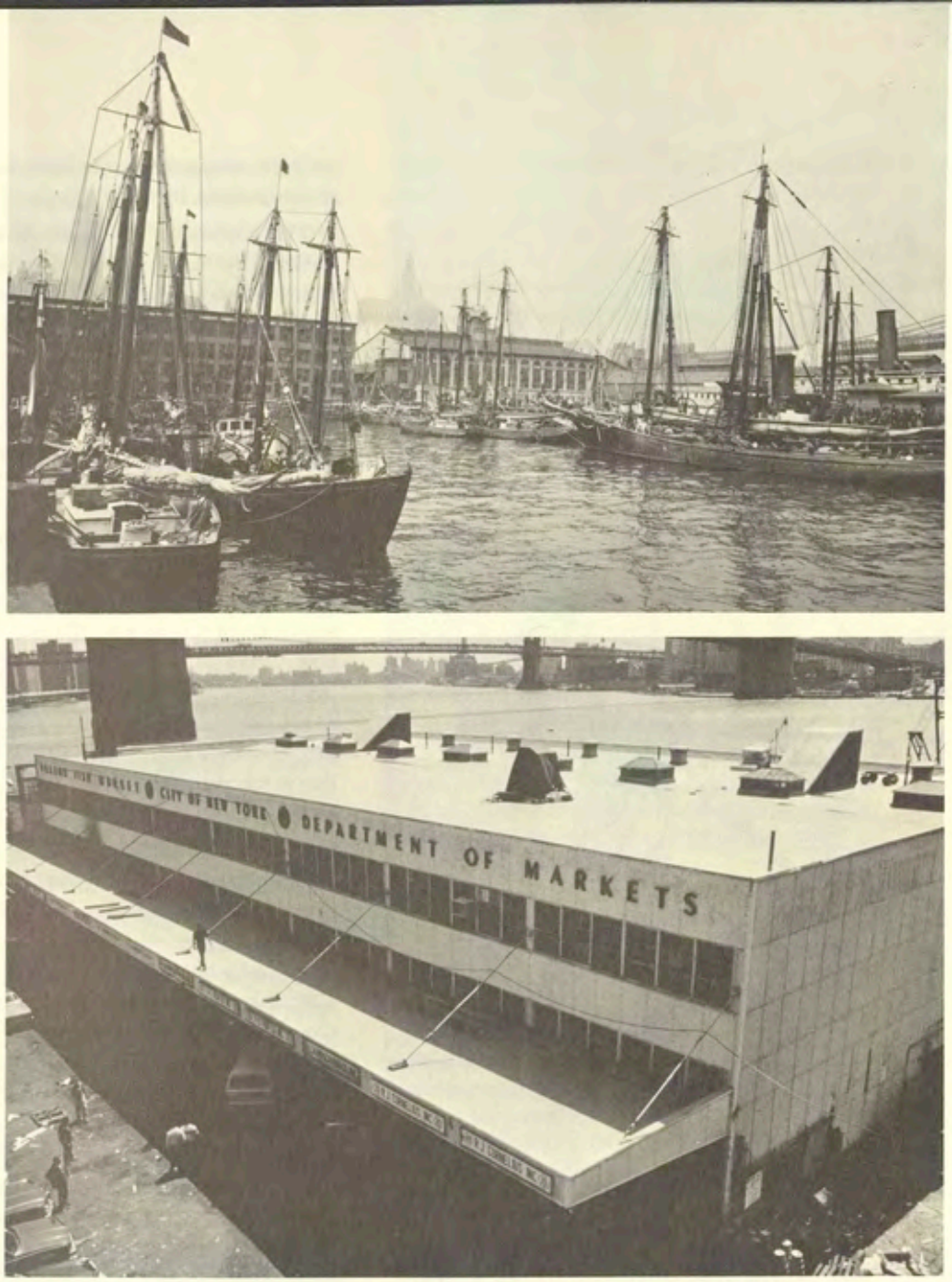
rent Pier 18 in 1904 to allow for construction of a new building for the Fish Mongers Association. Construction of a new market was contingent upon the widening of the street and rebuilding of the bulkheads. By 1906 bulkhead construction was finished, and the design of the Berlin Construction Company of Berlin, Connecticut, was implemented. The Fish Mongers' building opened in March 1907, just in time for the shad season. The new market, 85 feet deep with a 208-foot river frontage, had several unique characteristics. Its steel frame was covered by iron, and it was sheathed in corrugated metal. But its concrete floor, upon which the City insisted for sanitary reasons, impressed the fish dealers most: "It sloped at such a degree that flushing at frequent intervals is exceedingly easy. The water drains off into the East River through sinkholes in that part of the structure that overhangs the stream. . . ."[7] The building housed forty wholesale firms and had a layout similar to the 1869 building. A private power house near the rear of the building supplied heat and electricity. Refrigeration did not replace the fish cars until 1945.

Dealers who could not obtain space in the new building formed the New York Wholesale Fish Dealers' Association and the Independent Wholesale Fish Dealers' Association in 1909 and built their own buildings adjacent to Pier 18. Dealers in freshwater fish congregated around Peck Slip.

In 1936, a 125-foot section of the 1909 market collapsed and fell into the river. With Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia's backing, the first unit of a new, "streamlined" Fulton Fish Market, housing sixteen wholesalers at the foot of Beekman Street, was completed in June 1939 at a cost of $400,000.[8] The fish dealers presented Mayor LaGuardia with a 300-pound halibut at the opening ceremony to display their appreciation for his interest in the much neglected fish industry.[9] Nor was the fish market limited to the 1907 and 1939 buildings. The fish dealers occupied much of the new Fulton Market building of 1883 after the produce dealers moved to the

The day winds down for the fishmongers at the 1907 "tin building." Like its predecessor, the 1907 building had an open floor with iron columns supporting the structure. Note that the weathervane is now a bluefish. Photo by Frederick Lightfoot, 1947. (Courtesy Lightfoot Collection)



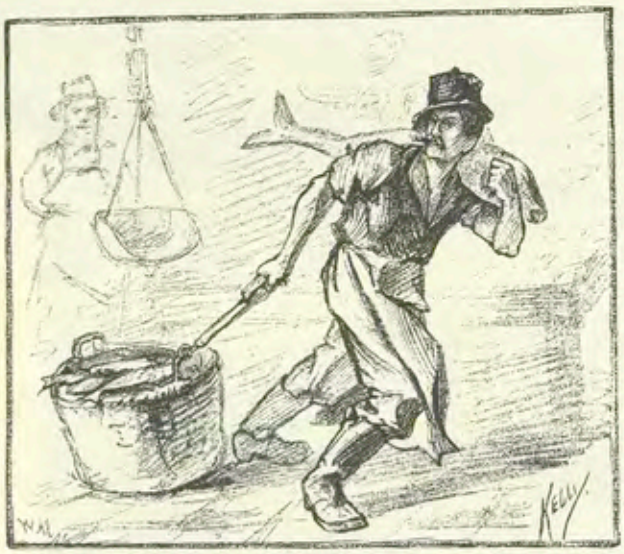


Top: The 1907 "tin building," left, 1909 New York Wholesale Fish Dealers' building, right, and the small Independent Wholesale Fish Dealers' building between them, are seen from Pier 17 on 18 May 1925. A variety of small draggers, mackerel gillnetters, and dory trawlers are in port. The Chesebro Brothers' schooner *Ruth M. Martin* (Essex, Massachusetts, 1892), right, fished from the market for many years and was featured in A. Graham Miles's *A Fisherman's Breeze*. The *Fannie Belle* (East Boothbay, 1903) and *Higco* (Boothbay Harbor, 1910), left, were Gloucester vessels. Photo by Morris Rosenfeld. (22410)

Bottom: The "streamlined" Fulton Fish Market building, on the site of the 1909 wholesalers' building, was opened in 1939. Both the 1907 and 1939 buildings remain in use today. Photo by Richard Lord, 1985. (Courtesy Richard Lord)

Washington Market on the other side of Manhattan. And between these buildings South Street itself became a fish market in the early morning hours.

Until 1850, housekeepers from Brooklyn and nearby areas connected to Fulton Street by ferry came to the market to purchase fish directly. But as the residential areas moved uptown and away from South Street, retail stores, hotels, ferries, peddlers, and passenger steamer stewards became the principal customers of the Fulton



Market hand cart, drawn by James E. Kelly.
(*Scribner's Monthly*, October 1877)

Fish Market for their supplies of fish.[10] The shipment of fish by rail and steamship to points hundreds of miles away during the early twentieth century also provided a market for fish at Fulton. Today restaurants and retail establishments are the main purchasers of fish at the market. Orders for fish are taken from as far away as Miami and Chicago.

Although the fish market has occupied many buildings in its history, it remains an active business 150 years after its founding. The market operates much as it did in the 1840s, and many of its characteristics reflect their nineteenth-century origins. For example, well into the twentieth century prices were talked about in terms of the ancient British shilling.

The wholesale companies are all privately owned; by 1951, there were seventy-five to eighty wholesale firms and even a few women dealers: Hazel Price and Bella Leitman in the saltwater market and Fanny Feinberg in the freshwater market.[11] A dealer considers a sale as a private treaty. Owners and laborers work closely.[12] The old-fashioned hanging scales are still used to weigh fish. For many years salesmen relayed purchases by storekeepers to cashiers in ten letter codes, established to prevent competition between houses. Each house had its own selling code, which usually consisted of a sequence of ten letters that was often unprintable.[13] No auction takes place; an estimated price for each species of fish is set by each dealer at the beginning of each day, but it is a free market, and bargaining with the wholesaler about the price usually occurs. Even beyond price, ongoing relationships between buyers and sellers are significant.

A typical day at the market has changed little throughout the centuries. The fishmongers keep nocturnal hours, with unloading starting at midnight. Sales begin at 3:00 A.M. Monday and 4:00 A.M. Tuesday through Friday, and end about 9:00 A.M. Before the 1930s, the fishmongers gathered at 3:00 A.M. to await the arrival of schooners and smacks bearing fish from ports up and down the Atlantic Coast. Today, nearly all fish arrive by truck. The early morning hours bring the market alive with lights, the honking of truck horns, the gulls screaming off the piers, the thudding of boxes on the pavement, the clatter of dollies, and the flopping of fish as they are dumped into the stands.

In the 1870s a gong signaled the beginning of sales, and with it, buyers rushed in to make deals with the rubber-booted men wearing white aprons tied around their waists. As a journalist noted in 1874, "the sale of the mutest creatures the Lord has made seemed to invoke the greatest noise."[14] It is at the market that generations of English, Italians, Jews, Spanish, Chinese, Norwegians, and Portuguese have rubbed shoulders.[15] In the 1870s customers

would weave their way between stalls, dodging eels slithering along the floor, men stabbing fish with sharp hooks and flipping them into scales or pitching them into baskets, and men and boys with hooks dragging large crates of live fish over the slimy floor. An undistinguishable vernacular rang throughout the building:

> One hundred and fifty live cod, at four, Smeely; ninety-six haddock, Podgers; ninety-eight smelt, Quiggles; eighty-seving cod, Slurker; sixty-six white fish, Pennyroyal; eighteen mackril, Noses; hundred and thirty-nine Jennie-cod, Fabblers; two hundred and eleving halibut, Blackford.[16]

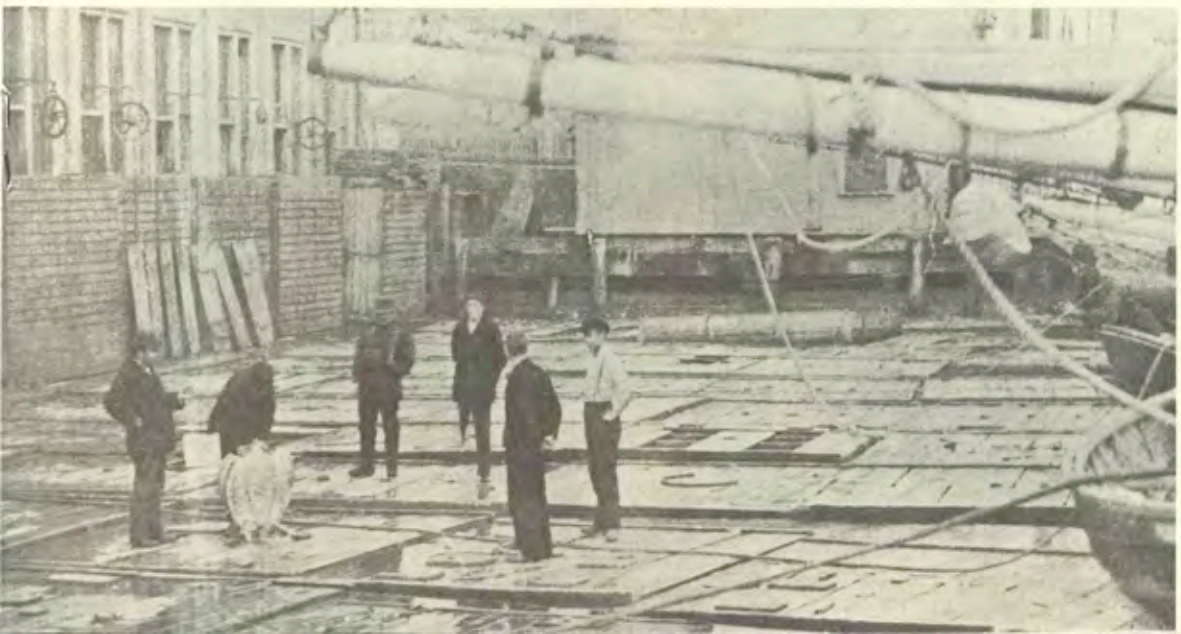
With a final burst of activity, the day's sales are completed, and by about 9:00 A.M. the trade is over. Loaders place the purchased fish onto the trucks; the rigs pull out; the cars in their assigned spaces gradually disperse; the boxes disappear from the narrow streets; the traffic going away from the market eases up. The street and the market is hosed down and prepared for the next market day. Dealers arrange for deliveries of fish for the next day.[17]

When fish came to the market by boat, cooperage firms played an important role, but now the fish arrive in boxes aboard trucks. Today filleting houses are found throughout the neighborhood, reflecting the change in fish preparation since the 1920s. Besides these changes, three other major differences from the nineteenth-century market are apparent. Fish smoking, a popular form of preservation and once a common practice, became illegal in Manhattan in the 1950s because it presented a fire hazard.



The bustle along South Street is evident in this early morning view toward the Fulton Fish Market and Fulton Market buildings. Riggers work on a coaster's jibboom above a fish and oyster wagon and a rank of patient horses. Photo by Albert Bierstadt, ca. 1885. (Courtesy Lightfoot Collection)

Fish cars—"live cars"—for holding live fish, lobsters, and turtles formed a floating pier behind the fish market. Here fishmongers display a green turtle beneath the overhanging booms of fishing schooners. Note the fish cars hoisted up on end to dry against the market building. U.S. Fish Commission photo, ca. 1885. (Charles Stevenson, *The Preservation of Fishery Products for Food*, Washington, D.C., 1899)



Now smoking is done in Brooklyn. Also, pollution in the East River caused the removal of fish cars for live fish in the 1940s. Now the only live fish in the market are shellfish. The change to truck transportation of fish to and from the market made the fishermen "anachronistic shadows" and the truckmen the market's "tough, salty characters."[18] There has also been a change in the volume of fish sold in the market.

One might say that the Fulton Fish Market lives up to its boast, "If it swims, we handle it."[19] In 1871 the average annual business for each of the eighteen existing firms that handled 144 tons of fish daily amounted to $140,000.20. In 1947, with a boost of sales as a result of high meat prices, the market had gross earnings of $85 million, an increase of 20 percent over prewar sales. (See Table 1).

As a journalist noted in 1894, fish remains "the only rich food product within the purchasing power of even the man in humblest conditions."[23] In 1948 a market dealer felt that the level of fish intake must be related to the fact that fish is "the only food that hasn't yet been fouled up by being vitaminized, tenderized, or homogenized."[24]

TABLE 1

Amount of Fish Handled in various years at the Fulton Fish Market

Year	*Pounds*
1881	31 million
1926	394 million
1949	181 million
1959	164 million
1984	140 million

At one time the fishermen delivered their fish directly to the market to be sold on a commission basis. Since all sales were guaranteed, the fishermen were paid for their catch upon delivery at the piers. The fishing sloops and schooners went with the next tides, oblivious to the towering city gradually rising over the market.[25] Today 90 to 95 percent of the fish continues to be sold on a commission basis.[26]

By the late 1850s, Long Island Sound steamers, notably the Stonington Steamship Line, brought fish of the smaller smacks to the market overnight. Many of the larger fishing vessels continued to carry their fish to the Fulton Fish Market, landing them alive in their wells.[27] By 1876, 130 vessels supplied the demand for fish in New York, only 8 of which hailed New York as their home port. The other 122 vessels were divided among Noank, Mystic, New London, Niantic Bay, Plymouth, Greenport, and other Long Island and New Jersey ports.[28]

Today, the market is second only to Tokyo's Tsukiji as a wholesale fish market. It carries over 300 varieties of fish and shellfish and handles 140 million pounds per year. The fish have always come from many places. In the 1870s the South Shore of Long Island provided weakfish, bass, bluefish, sheepshead, Spanish mackerel, flounder, oysters, and eels. The New Jersey coast and bays supplied mackerel, shad, sea bass, bluefish, striped bass, cod, sheepshead, weakfish, king mackerel, and perch. Salmon was obtained from Canada, Maine, and California.[21] Lobsters came from either Cape Cod or Hell Gate, Robins Reef, and Staten Island.[22]

Unloading fish cars, drawn by James E. Kelly. (*Scribner's Monthly*, October 1877)



TABLE 2

Species and Amounts of Fish Delivered to the Fulton Fish Market 1 March 1880 to 1 January 1881

Species	*Pounds*
Cod	5,269,607
Bluefish	4,284,613
Mackerel	3,236,197
Halibut	2,211,712
Haddock	1,643,554
Scups, or porgies	1,565,886
Lobsters	1,311,981
Weakfish	1,213,141
Flounders	1,186,469
Eels	999,248
Shad	923,414
Pollock	611,295
Smelt	575,005
Pickerel and pike	516,317
Striped Bass	478,716
Herring	463,884
Ciscoes	445,988
Small freshwater fish	394,553
Small saltwater fish	393,325
Whitefish	372,144
Spanish mackerel	346,678
Sea bass	284,602
Blackfish	184,171
Yellow pike	151,001
Salmon	150,642
Perch	148,332
Bonets	67,231
Frostfish (whiting)	58,881
Sheepshead	55,586
Sturgeon	46,170
Black bass	36,943
Catfish	36,267
Salmon trout	35,720
Scallops	29,499
Redfish	22,854
Kingfish	13,732
Mullet	11,658
Brook trout	5,995
Buffalo	3,998
Green turtle	2,404
Pompano	1,768
Swordfish	1,285
Terrapin	1,219
Turbot	86
Total	29,795,853

SOURCE: *New York Times*, 1 April 1881.

More recently, Gloucester, New Bedford, and other New England ports have provided most of the codfish and flatfish while swordfish comes from the East Coast, snails from Haiti and Morocco, rock lobster tails from Australia, Florida, and South Africa, and king crab legs and snow crab from Alaska. (See Table 2)

A major step in transportation occurred in 1923 when the Canadian Gottlieb Friedrichs shipped 6,000 pounds of live lake trout from Ontario to Fulton Market in four wooden tanks, with casualties amounting to only 15 percent. The previous year, Friedrichs had successfully shipped 160,000 pounds of live eels by barge down the Hudson River.[29] As time progressed, fewer and fewer inshore fishing schooners visited Fulton Market piers to discharge their cargoes. By 1970 trucks and airplanes delivered over ninety-eight percent of the fish. Only one vessel, the *Felicia*, occasionally delivered fish to the market directly. A few boats now land catches across the East River in Erie Basin, but with improvements in land transport it is quicker for vessels to offload at their home ports, from which trucks can deliver the cargoes to New York within hours.

The market has seen many departed heroes in its 150 years. The New London–Mystic area has long been represented there. In the earliest days of the Fulton Market, Elisha Baker of Waterford and Lathams, Lopers, and Maynards from Noank and Stonington were dealers. Another was Samuel B. Ashbey who, in addition to having an established business in the fish trade, decided to open a ship store at 136 Beekman Street. Many owners of smacks from New London, Noank, and Mystic came to the store for supplies. The store not only sold supplies for vessels, but also served as a marine insurance agency, particularly for Charles Mallory, as well as a bank for Mystic entrepreneurs.[30]

Caleb Haley, born in Groton, Connecticut, in 1838, became a notably successful fish merchant. He and his brother Seabury bought out the poultry and fish business of Crocker & Haley in 1859. During his sixty-five years at the market, Haley presided as dean of fish merchants. The business still runs under the name Caleb



Fishing vessels crowd the dock at the Fulton Fish Market, ca. 1885. This waterside view depicts the 1878 market building, with its ornate cupolas and codfish weathervane. The schooner second from right is the *Sylvan Glen* (New London, 1872), and third from right is the New London schooner *Maria* (Noank, 1851). U.S. Fish Commission photo. (Courtesy Albert M. Barnes)

Haley & Company.[31] The firm of Moon & Lanphear also had Mystic connections. Established in 1838 by George Moon, lifelong resident of Mystic, and George S. Lanphear, the business flourished, as it received fish from various vessels, including George Moon's smack *Empire State*. Under the command of Captain W. F. Griffing, the vessel delivered 23,050 codfish to the Fulton Market from December 1880 to May 1881.[32] (See Table 3)

Despite its honorable traditions and family dominated organization, the Fulton Fish Market has long been plagued by racketeering and extortion. By the early 1900s, oystermen and fishermen from the South Shore of Long Island refused to enter past Sandy Hook without police guard to deliver their catches to the market. One oysterman was almost "gased to death" while sleeping in the cabin of his vessel tied to the Fulton pier as men tried to rob him of the money he had received for his catch.[33]

It was not until 1926 that the City tried to

TABLE 3

Statement of the Smack *Empire State*
of Mystic, Connecticut,
W. F. Griffing, master
December 1880 to May 1881

Date Landed		*Number of Codfish*	*Sale Price*
1880			
Dec.	11	2,300	$ 490.56
	14	1,400	328.33
1881			
Jan.	3	1,700	480.92
	10	500	140.63
	20	1,900	432.66
	31	1,700	459.23
Feb.	20	1,000	301.03
	24	600	155.05
Mch.	7	750	260.60
	17	1,300	426.76
	26	2,000	515.41
Apr.	9	2,300	570.07
	21	2,500	316.77
May	4	3,100	361.63
		23,050	$5,239.65

expose the racketeers. By 1930 it was apparent that a "gang of extortionists had been receiving tribute from captains of fishing smacks for permitting them to unload their vessels without molestation by gangsters"[34] and that some of the racketeers had employed thugs to drive the competitors of favored fish dealers out of the business, leaving "the market men and their employees in a state bordering on terror."[35] Although the witnesses were reluctant to tell about the extortion, by 1933 enough evidence had been gathered to indict Charles Skillen, president of the United Seafood Workers Union, and Joe Lanza, business agent of the Union.

The testimonies of Henry J. Marikle, owner of the Arrow Line Transportation Company of Mystic, Connecticut, and Nathaniel Avery, a truckman of Stonington, Connecticut, charged Skillen with obtaining $50 from each of them "by wrongful use of fear, threats and injury to (their) property," for allowing them to continue to transport fish from Connecticut by truck.[36] A complaint by William Eldridge, an officer of the New Bedford Fish Company, involved the collection of $100 by Skillen and Lanza for transportation rights. By 1931 Skillen and Lanza were receiving $50,000 annually in exchange for industrial peace and insurance against pilfering.[37] Although Lanza was shown to be involved with one of the fish market's major rackets, many of the fish dealers regarded Lanza as the "Robin Hood" of the market: "whether the man was right or wrong, people down here were with him. The guy was honorable."[38]

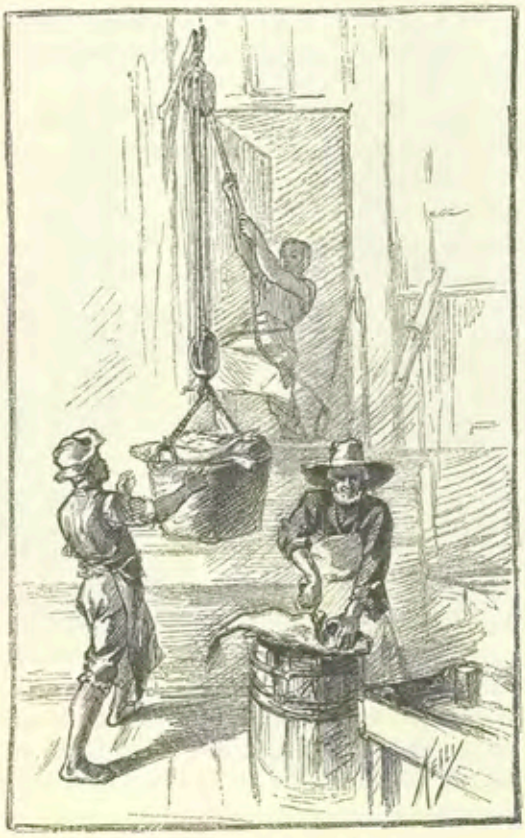
More recently, in the 1980s the Organized Crime Control Bureau investigated the market for extortion, income tax evasion, and tapping, the systematic theft of fish unloaded at the market. In 1982 Carmine and Peter Romano were convicted of receiving payments from the fish dealers that allowed them to rent signs declaring their membership in Local 359 of the United Seafood Workers Union.[39]

Kenneth Gillio, Robert Gillio, John Talerico, Philip Almeraris, and Paul Guglielmo were convicted of tapping in October 1982. Tapping and parking concessions, whereby drivers coming to the market must pay to park on public streets for protection and to ensure that their purchases are delivered, continues at the market today, but the amount has certainly decreased.[40] As a result of pressures from organized crime, many fishermen are looking for alternative markets for their fish. For example, Shinnecock, Long Island, has established its own co-op, partly to bypass New York and its bad trading conditions, but also to secure better prices there.[41]

Of great interest in the early 1970s was the proposed move of the Fulton Fish Market to Hunts Point in the Bronx. By 1969 it seemed probable that "'the only thing that may be left . . . is the smell.' "[42] The Committee for Preser-



Henry J. Marikle advertised his trucking company on a lantern slide shown in the Mystic theater. (Courtesy Robert Marikle)



Dressing codfish, drawn by James E. Kelly. (*Scribner's Monthly*, October 1877)

vation of the Fulton Fish Market, composed of 95 percent of the stand owners, petitioned the City to allow the market to remain in situ. The City desired the move because the Hunts Point site provided refrigerated buildings, truck bays for automated loading, and proximity to interstate highways. With the financial difficulties of New York City, the construction of the Hunts Point site never passed the level of a concrete foundation and bulkheading.[43] In 1984, the Fulton Fish Market signed a fifty year lease with the City of New York, thereby assuring a promising future for the 150-year-old institution of South Street.[44]

As the largest wholesale fish market in the Americas and second largest in the world, Fulton Fish Market dominates the fish industry. The market's success can be linked to New York's early importance as a distributing center and as a commercial gateway, as well as to the demand created by its own vast and diverse population. New York's harbor provided both protection from the sea and access to rich hinterlands via the Hudson River, the New Jersey waterways, Long Island Sound, and the Erie Canal.[45] New York's central position captured the catches of fish from New Orleans to Nova Scotia, as well as from the Great Lakes, and today offers a ready market for the surpluses of any of these areas.

The market has survived the many transitions: from ice cart to refrigerated truck, from wagon to automobile, from ferries to bridges. It continues to provide an outlet for the catches of the fishermen of Portuguese birth or descent, who compose one of the few individualistic enterprises that has largely resisted unionization. The market boasts proud descendants of Italian, Jewish, and Irish immigrants who filled the job opportunities it offered in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It served not only an economic position in society but also a social one. The Fulton Fish Market truly represents one of the few remaining bastions of immigrant culture on the waterfront and one of the City's few remaining connections between its maritime past and the present.

NOTES

[1] Harmon H. Goldstone and Martha Dalrymple, *History Preserved: A Guide to New York City Landmarks and Historic Districts* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974), p. 88; *New York Times*, 24 April 1960, 6:62–63.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

[3] *Fulton Fish Market: Outline*, (New York: South Street Seaport Museum). The outline can be obtained from the Museum's Educational Center.

[4] *South Street Seaport Museum* (New York: South Street Seaport Museum); John H. Matthews, "A History of the Fishery Industry of New York," *Fishing Gazette* (Annual Review 1929): 55.

[5] Matthews, "A History of the Fishery Industries of New York," pp. 55–56; Ellen Rosebruck, *Fulton Fish Market: History of Site and Construction Data*, (New York: South Street Seaport Museum). The paper can be obtained from the Museum's Education Center. All further reference to the dimensions of buildings and occupation of these buildings will have come from this article, unless otherwise noted.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 2; Matthews, "A History of the Fishery Industries of New York," pp. 58–59.

[8] *New York Times*, 17 June 1939, 17:1; Matthews, "A History of the Fishery Industries of New York," pp. 59–60, 61–63.

[9] *New York Times*, 20 June 1939, 44:1.

[10] *Harper's Weekly*, 17 March 1894, p. 254.

[11] *New York Times*, 24 May 1951, 45:1.

[12] *Ibid.*, 24 April 1960, 6:62.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 73–74.

[14] *Ibid.*, 20 December 1874, 2:15.

[15] Leroy Stone, "The Story of the Fulton Fish Market," *The City College Alumnus* 51 (November 1955).

[16] *New York Times*, 20 December 1874, 2:15.

[17] Personal visit to South Street Seaport Museum. Much of the paper is based upon the impressions I formed while watching Leroy Stone's film *Fish Market* at the Educational Center, 171 John Street in New York City. Richard Lord of the Fulton Fish Market Information Services, Inc., also supplied much information on the operation of the market.

[18] Kate Simon, *New York Places and Pleasures* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 380.

[19] *Time*, 15 November 1948, p. 94.

[20] *New York Times*, 31 December 1876, 8:1.

[21] William H. Rideing, "How New York Is Fed," *Scribner's Monthly* 14 (October 1877):738–39.

[22] *New York Times*, 26 June 1875, 12:2.

[23] *Harper's Weekly*, 17 March 1894, p. 254.

[24] *Time*, 15 November 1948, p. 94.

[25] Robert S. Gallagher, "South Street Seaport," *American Heritage* 20 (October 1969): 36.

[26] Personal communication with Joe McMullen of West Sayville, Long Island, New York. He worked at the Long Island Fish Company in Patchogue.

[27] Edward E. Knapp, "The Smacks of Noank," pp. 22–23, Manuscript Collection 171, G. W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum; the Noank smack *Concert* was reported to have delivered the first cargo of fish packed in ice to the Fulton Fish Market in 1848, *New London Day*, 1 October 1904.

[28] *New York Times*, 31 December 1876, 8:1.

[29] *Ibid.*, 24 June 1923, II, 6:5.

[30] James D. Fish, *Memories of Early Business Life and Associates*, (Mystic, ca. 1907); Matthews, "A History of the Fishery Industries of New York," p. 55.

[31] *Fishing Gazette*, 23 February 1923, p. 23; Matthews, "A History of the Fishery Industries of New York," p. 58.

[32] *Mystic Press*, 16 June 1881, 30 August 1888.

[33] Personal communication with John Kochiss of Bridgeport, Connecticut.

[34] *New York Times*, 9 December 1930, 56:2.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] *Ibid.*, 30 June 1933, 6:3.

[37] *Ibid.*, 14 April 1931, 1:1.

[38] Barbara Mensch, *The Last Waterfront: The People of South Street* (New York, Freundlich Books, 1985), p. 22.

[39] "Organized Crime Losing Its Hold on Fulton Market," *National Fisherman*, 19 May 1983.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] Personal communication with Joe McMullen of West Sayville, Long Island.

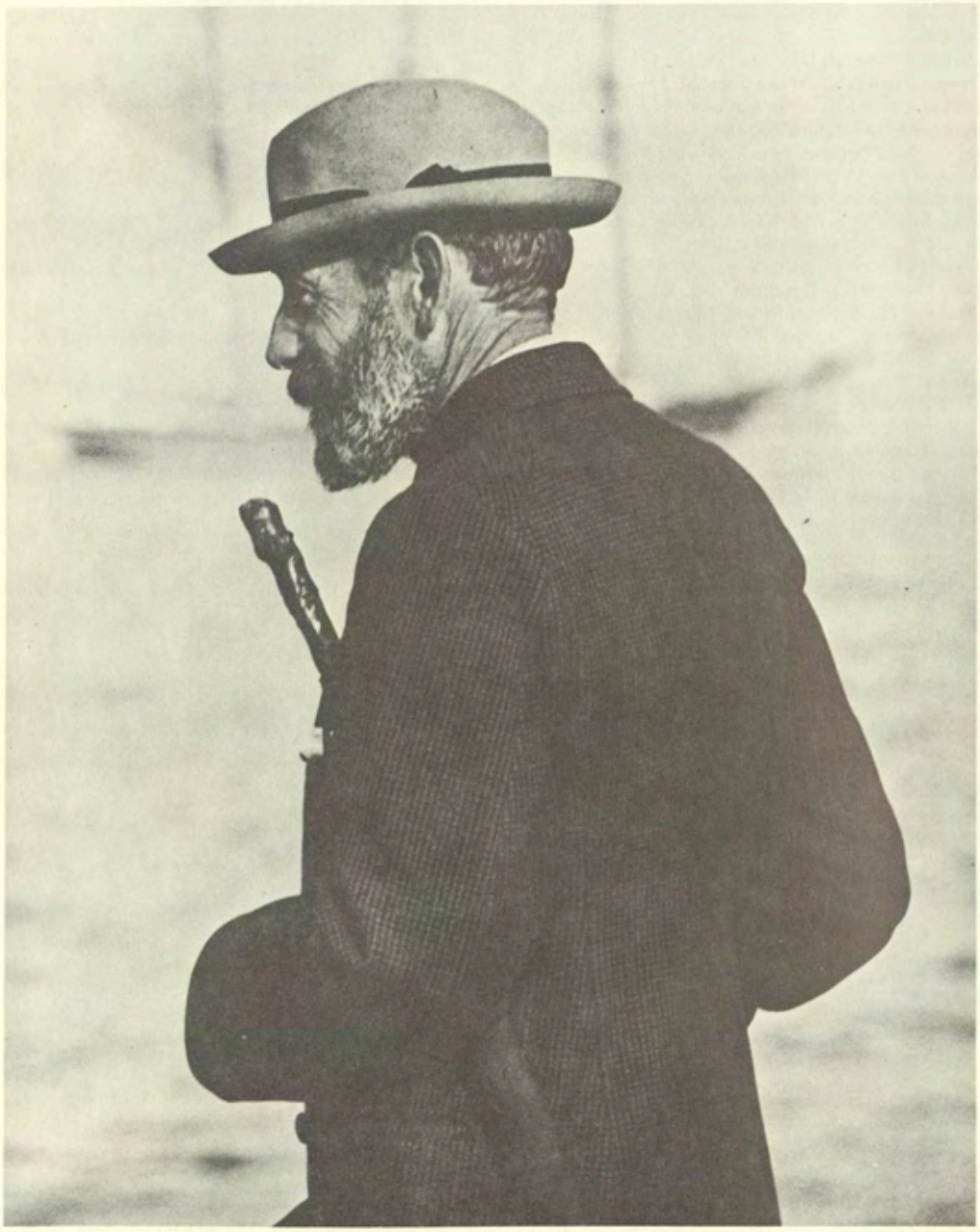
[42] *Newsweek*, 5 May 1969, p. 92.

[43] *Atlantic Monthly* (November 1975):56.

[44] Leslie Lindenauer, "The Fulton Fish Market—On Film and on Foot," *Seaport* (Spring/Summer 1984):9.

[45] Harry Johnson and Frederick S. Lightfoot, *Maritime New York in Nineteenth Century Photographs* (New York: Dover Publications, 1980), pp. ix–xiv.

A View From the Rosenfeld Collection





Opposite:
Cropped photo (443-B)

Right:
Uncropped photo (443)

A year after its acquisition by the Seaport, the Rosenfeld Collection is installed in a renovated, climate-controlled portion of the Rossie Mill. Work progresses in organizing thousands of negatives and prints and processing requests for images from the collection. In order to give Seaport members a glimpse of the quality and variety of photographs in the Rosenfeld Collection, *The Log* will begin featuring select images from the collection.

Here we present a new twist on a portrait of Nathanael Greene Herreshoff well known to devotees of America's Cup history and the great designer's work. The photograph was taken by James R. Burton in 1899, during the defense of the Cup by the Herreshoff-designed sloop *Columbia* against Sir Thomas Lipton's first *Shamrock*. Burton copyrighted the photograph as a portrait of Herreshoff, cropping it to a vertical image, and this is how it has been printed since, left. However, in the interest of research, the mask has been removed, allowing the full view to be presented above. Herreshoff is now shown to have two companions, who are as yet unidentified. Other photos suggest that they are aboard the New York Yacht Club's race committee boat. In the background, numerous coasting schooners lie at anchor in New York Bay.

The Rosenfeld Collection contains slightly over 1,000 8" x 10" glass-plate images by James Burton. Born in London in 1871, he came to the United States in 1894 and was employed as a photographic illustrator for *Harper's Weekly* and other New York and London newspapers. In 1898 he covered the Spanish-American War in Cuba for *Harper's Weekly*. His dated yachting photographs were taken between 1899 and 1909. He covered the America's Cup races of 1899, 1901, and 1903 in detail, and many of his Cup race photographs were published at the time. Later, *Yachting Magazine* often published his yachting photos. He had an ongoing relationship with the New York Yacht Club, photographing its races, station buildings, trophies, and models. He produced numerous sail and steam yacht portraits and a few naval and merchant vessel views. The collection also contains views of sporting events and the wealthy at play in New York, Newport, and England.

Morris Rosenfeld was acquainted with Burton and purchased his work about 1910. The striking images of James R. Burton add depth to the Rosenfeld Collection to this day.

BOOK REVIEWS

Kenneth R. Martin, Nathan R. Lipfert. *Lobstering and the Maine Coast*. Bath: Maine Maritime Museum, 1985. 143 pp., illustrations, photographs, notes, bibliography, index. $16.50 paper.

There is a natural tendency to romanticize the lobstering trade and the men involved in it. Working alone or in pairs, fishermen over the years have pitted themselves against the sometimes deadly forces of nature. Travailing on the ever changing ocean, they punch no time clock and answer to no master.

Lobstering on the Maine Coast is a fascinating book about the history of lobstering in the area and the men who might be thought of as the cowboys of the coast. Without destroying our romantic notions, the authors portray the reality of life as a Maine lobsterman eking out a subsistence hauling pots termed "poverty crates" by some. The political, technological, economic, and social history of lobstering in the region is woven together to form the fabric of these men's lives.

The various conservation laws, reflecting the sometimes opposing opinions of scientists, fishermen, buyers, and dealers, are discussed. These political machinations demonstrate the obstacles in attempting to form a coherent conservation policy. Controversy has characterized legislation, and the independent spirit of Maine lobstermen has made enforcement of rules difficult. The fishermen's sometimes violent enforcement of their own unwritten laws governing territoriality contrasts with their attempts to form cooperatives. The interplay of cooperation and competition among the lobstermen forms a backdrop to their individual and common legal entanglements.

The fishery developed from a coastal, seasonal, locally-marketed enterprise to one that incorporated larger boats under power, significantly higher pot costs, deeper waters, and industrialized methods of transportation and preservation. Descriptions of these technological transitions and the consequent depletion of the once plentiful lobster make for interesting reading.

An entire section is devoted to the advent and methods of canning in the industry. In the early 1820s William Underwood (one of the pioneers in the American canning business) began selling food preserved in hermetically-sealed glass jars and bottles. By the 1830s, his products included lobster meat, and he learned to use cans, cut and soldered by hand. Over the next forty years the canneries flourished, but "despite their busy hubbub, . . . Maine canneries were in trouble by 1880, foredoomed by their very productivity."

The economics of price were inextricably related to the technology and political attempts at conservation. "More and more people fished greater areas with more and more sophisticated gear while average size fell and prices kept rising." In 1898 the catch was millions of pounds below that of 1880, and price had more than tripled.

The authors have used numerous primary sources, and their work is enlivened by local dialect and ample sprinkling of personal anecdotes. This focus on the people involved in lobstering helps to make the book accessible, and by no means should the readership be restricted to historians. For example, a humerous photo of lobsterman Frank Darling with his pet pig is captioned "Darling's pig always went lobstering with him and once, when left ashore, swam out after him."

The book encompasses the period from the first new world settlers to the present. In 1607 the English ship *Mary and John* anchored off Nova Scotia carrying settlers who would establish the Popham Colony. Their reaction to the large and plentiful lobsters is recorded. Modern issues are also discussed, such as the role of women in the currently male dominated fishery. The main emphasis of the work lies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Perhaps the authors are too ambitious in their attempt to cover all of the material relating to Maine lobstering. The section on boatbuilding, for example, is rather sketchy. The entire book however, is meticulously researched and carefully footnoted so that the reader can delve into areas of further interest.

As valuable as the text are the copious photos and illustrations. Included are such diverse elements as illustrations from *Scribner's Monthly* by noted nineteenth-century marine artist Milton Burns, and early lobster can labels. The drawings by Douglas Alvord are of particular merit.

Never stodgy or heavy-handed, the book is a refreshing approach to the subject. The changes that have occurred over the centuries are elucidated in a scholarly manner that is simultaneously entertaining and informative. The result is enjoyable reading.

Jonathan Shay
Assistant Supervisor for Shoreside Industries, M.S.M.

Briton Cooper Busch. *The War Against the Seals: A History of the North American Seal Fishery*. Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985. 374 pp., illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95.

Off Newfoundland, harp seals breed on the pack ice each spring. In Newfoundland, "going to the ice" to kill harp seals was nearly a rite of passage. For Newfoundland and British merchants, going to the ice meant a regular source of oil for confectionery, lubrication, and illumination, and skins for specialty leather. For many conservationists, going to the ice represents the worst of man's callous despoilation of the environment. It is Busch's careful documentation of the interplay of these natural, cultural, economic, and ethical forces over the last two centuries that makes *War Against the Seals* such a valuable addition to published maritime history. For Busch, the William R. Kenan Professor of History at Colgate University, this is an extension of the work he began with the editing of Captain Joseph J. Fuller's journal, *Master of Desolation*, published by Mystic Seaport in 1980.

Although sealing has worldwide traditions, Busch limits himself to the North American hunters, tracing their relentless pursuit of pinnipeds around the world from the late eighteenth century to the present. For those who look at the bottom line, Busch estimates the total kill in excess of 50 million seals in the last 200 years. This is an insignificant number in comparison to the number of cattle butchered in the same period, yet it is significant for its impact on the species and their ecosystems, and for its revelations about man, who at once may anthropomorphize and kill the seal.

Busch points out the importance of sealing to Southern New England, first as an element of the China trade and later as an adjunct of the whaling industry. The slaughter of sea elephants at Desolation Island in the south Indian Ocean was a local specialty. New London whaling agents were prominent members of the Alaska Commercial Company, which obtained a twenty-year lease on the Pribilof Islands in the Bering Sea in 1870. The native Aleuts, employed to kill and skin the fur seals there, became dependent on the company. Sensitive to the cultural implications, as well as the ecological impact, of sealing, Busch traces the plight of the Aleuts as they became virtual wards of the government.

Busch writes with an ironic sense of humor, yet his sentences are so dense, and so laden with parenthetical phrases, that the reader becomes a bit bewildered at times. Nevertheless, the breadth of his work on a neglected subject makes *War Against the Seals* an essential text for the comprehensive maritime library.

Barbara Mensch. *The Last Waterfront: The People of South Street*. New York: Freundlich Books, 1985. 187 pp., photographs. $20.00.

Though its prosperity was born of the sea, Manhattan is now above, rarely a part of, the watery world. The last vestiges of its working waterfront survive at the Fulton Fish Market, and even here, ironically, fish arrive by truck, not boat. However, the market's traditions and its way of life are still linked to their nineteenth-century origins. Only here, in the bustling early morning hours, can one sense the physical effort and the unwritten codes that once flourished on New York's waterfront.

To become truly familiar with the market's individuals and their lives, one must become familiar to them. This is what photographer Barbara Mensch has done, living nearby and mixing with them long enough to gain their trust and confidence. The result is an intimate view of life at the Fulton Fish Market, in the words of those who work at the market and in the author's striking photographs. The volume is almost a portfolio, really two portfolios between the same covers, one of words and then a separate one of seventy-eight photographs.

It is a rather disjointed picture, however, because the author is more interested in the individuals than in what they do. That they handle fish is less important than the fact that their way of life is an anachronistic, though vital, holdover from the last century. Consequently, the reader gets no clear picture of how the market functions. Individuals are identified by their jobs—journeyman, loader, unloader, salesman, wholesaler, and the like—but their jobs are never clearly defined. What does emerge from their discussions is a sense of the market as a place where a poor Italian boy from Cherry Street can become a success; a place with its own unwritten codes and laws based upon honor and dealing man-to-man; a place that thrives during the unreal hours when the rest of the city sleeps; and a place that totally absorbs its workers, despite the hardships of their work.

The author's photographs stand alone from the text, speaking a more visceral language. Striking shots of snowcovered journeymen hauling their handtrucks accompany portraits of smiling or defiant looking young men, filleters, salesmen in action, fishmongers relaxing, details of the marketplace, and a telling shot of loaders eyeing Wall Street businesswomen as they pass the market.

This is a handsome book with very striking images. It is both a social document for today and a view in amber that will certainly be appreciated by future generations.

Joseph E. Garland. *Adventure: Queen of the Windjammers*. Camden: Down East Books, 1985. 178 pp., illustrations, bibliography, index. $24.95.

In robust style, Garland tells the story of the schooner *Adventure*, the last active American dory fishing vessel. From her launch in 1926 to her retirement from fishing in 1953 the *Adventure* was worked as hard as any fishing vessel could be, surviving several strandings and literally hundreds of gales on the unforgiving fishing banks. The payoff was four million dollars worth of fish landed over twenty-seven years, making the *Adventure* highline—biggest earner—of all the American dory trawlers.

The *Adventure* outlived her era, and sails yet today as queen of Maine's fleet of cruise schooners. Her owner and master, Jim Sharp, encouraged this tribute to his stately vessel, and collaborated on it.

Of greatest value in this book are the illustrations and the depictions of the men who commanded and fished aboard the *Adventure*. Between 1949 and 1953 John Clayton made several trips with his camera, producing probably the clearest photographic record of life aboard an American dory trawler. Over sixty of his best photographs have been reproduced here, twenty-two in full color. Clayton's photos capture the character of the last American dorymen, and Garland fills out their tale. He also provides a good account of Captain Jeff Thomas, who had the *Adventure* built and who dropped dead on her deck on Western Bank at age fifty-nine. Captain Leo Hynes, who commanded her for the remaining nineteen years of her fishing career, is now a spry eighty-six-year-old with a sharp memory. His recollections, taped by Garland and Sharp, bring fishing aboard the *Adventure* to life.

Warren S. Darling. *Quahoging out of Rock Harbor, 1890–1930*. Orleans, Massachusetts: Warren S. Darling, 1984. 60 pp., illustrations. $4.95 paper.

What is quahoging and, indeed, what is a quahog? The prosaic fishery for these delectable hard clams, eaten as littlenecks, on the half shell, or in chowder, has received scant notice. Thus we are fortunate that the author of this little work paid such careful attention to the way his father and others pursued it in catboats on Cape Cod Bay.

Using long rakes with handles up to fifty-six feet in length, the fishermen spent long days scratching the clams up from their deepwater beds. The secrets of making the rake poles, of working the beds from an anchored boat, and of playing the tides to work out of "the Crick"—tiny Rock Harbor in Orleans—are explained with loving care and intimate detail. Reed Walker, who worked with the author's father in the 1920s, has added a discussion of the boats and the simple two-cycle engines that had replaced sail to power them by that time. It was a way of life that vanished fifty years ago, when powered dredgers replaced the long rakers on Cape Cod Bay.

This book is a little gem of maritime history, written by a man who both lived and cared very much about the subject. Beyond just the processes, he reveals the values and the human elements of this local fishery. His account is in every desirable way quite complete. (The book can be obtained directly from Mr. Darling for $5.95 postpaid, at Box 1315, Orleans, MA 02653.)

The Wherry Oarsman

Cynthia Owen Philip. *Robert Fulton: A Biography*. New York: Franklin Watts, 1985. 371 pp., illustrations, notes, index. $18.95.

Robert Fulton is believed by millions to have been the inventor of the steamboat, and to have designed, constructed and operated the world's first commercially successful steamer, the *Clermont*, in 1807. No matter that in his lifetime and since, others, including John Fitch, James Rumsey, Jouffroy d'Abbans, William Symington, and John Stevens, have laid claim to the honor of invention, or been credited with it; no matter that Fulton himself called his vessel the *North River Steamboat*, or simply the *Steamboat*; in the popular mind Robert Fulton and the *Clermont* are enshrined forever as inventor and invention.

Fulton recognized the difficulty of establishing novelty. In his battles with the fledgling U.S. Patent Office, headed by his enemy, William Thornton, he used an analogy which he had first drawn in his 1796 *Treatise on the Improvement of Canal Navigation*: ". . . the mechanic should sit down among levers, screws, wedges, wheels etc. like a poet among the letters of the alphabet, considering them as the exhibition of his thoughts; in which a new arrangement transmits a new idea to the world." This contention was not always persuasive; in fact from the time of his first inventions, there has been controversy over whether he was a visionary laboring for the benefit of humanity, as he contended, or "an adventurer armed with fortitude," serving his own ambitions. As his new

biographer, Cynthia Owen Philip, aptly remarks, he was, of course, both.

Fulton was indeed a complex man. Born near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1765, he was apprenticed to a silversmith in Philadelphia at the age of fifteen, and there learned the skill of miniaturist. At age twenty-one he was able to make his way to England to study with Benjamin West, painter to George III.

Fulton did achieve moderate success as a painter, exhibiting at the Royal Academy, and was to retain his interest and proficiency in painting nearly all his life. But he soon exhibited two other characteristics that were to bring him decidedly greater advantages: the ability to attract patrons who materially aided his progress; and a marked mechanical eye which, coupled with his skill as a draftsman, his industry and ingenuity, and his enthusiasm, was to lead to success as inventor, engineer, and developer.

Fulton's patrons included Benjamin West; Viscount William Courtenay, an eccentric Englishman; Joel Barlow, U.S. Minister Plenipotentiary to Algiers in 1797 (and one of the "Hartford Wits"); and supremely, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston of New York, financier and gentleman farmer, who became his partner.

Shortly after moving to Devonshire to paint Courtenay's portrait, Fulton became interested in canal navigation, which at the end of the eighteenth century was spreading rapidly in England, as on the Continent. He developed a system of wheels and inclined planes in lieu of canal locks, and subsequently a canal digging machine. He also designed a machine for making rope, and a panorama, which proved quite successful as a show in Paris.

The best known of Fulton's developments other than his steamboat, however, was his submarine, the *Nautilus*, which he unsuccessfully attempted to sell to both Napoleon and William Pitt. Fulton had had the submarine built and tested, first in Paris, then at Le Havre, but he was never able to demonstrate that his method of submarine warfare was effective, either to the French Ministry of Marine or the British Admiralty.

During most of the first decade of the nineteenth century, Fulton also continued experimenting with a steamboat design. After his unsuccessful (and to many discreditable) attempt to sell his submarine warfare system to the British, he returned to America, and in a very short time built his "steamboat." He entered a partnership with Livingston, who obtained a monopoly on steam navigation within the State of New York. The *Steamboat*'s first voyage was highly successful, and the Livingston-Fulton partnership continued to be successful, despite rammings by sloops, legal efforts to break the monopoly, and rival ship designs and claims. Fulton and Livingston expanded their operations to the Raritan, to Long Island Sound, to double-ended ferries, and eventually to the Mississippi, which had been Fulton's dream from the beginning. He also constructed, for the United States government, the first steam frigate, which was christened *Fulton I*.

Cynthia Owen Philip does an excellent job in delineating the many sides of Fulton's character: his energy and drive; his polish; his resourcefulness and ingenuity; his relations with his patrons and friends, including his long *ménage à trois* with Joel and Ruth Barlow and his later marriage to Livingston's cousin Harriet; his determined and frequently acrimonious business dealings; and his untimely death in 1815. Others, notably James Flexner in *Steamboats Come True*, have sought to untangle the convoluted dealings of Fulton and his rivals in the development of the steamboat, including Stevens, Nicholas Roosevelt, Benjamin Latrobe, and the many Livingstons. Mrs. Philip does not scant this aspect of Fulton's life, but she stands alone in her full, detailed coverage of Fulton's life and character. Her research has been meticulous, her speculations on points in Fulton's early life about which little is known with certainty seem sound, and her exposition is graceful and clear. This is an excellent biography.

Taliaferro Boatwright
Stonington, Connecticut

S. Sturgis Crocker. *Sam Crocker's Boats: A Design Catalog*. Camden: International Marine Publishing Company, 1985. 256 pp., illustrations. $45.00.

Sam Crocker's son Sturgis, builder of a good many of his late father's lovely designs, has written that all of his father's designs "were done with planimeter, adding machine and slide rule. . . . perhaps it is just as well that he did not have access to a computer, because we might not have such pleasing profiles." Sturgis continues "that isn't to say modern technology has not produced some handsome yachts." I tend to disagree with Sturgis in this area. I observe far too many "high-tech" computer-designed International Offshore Rules racing machines and look-alike so-called "cruising yachts." The more I see the more I am convinced of the value of the trained eye of an artist, like the late Sam Crocker and the talented designers of his generation, and I feel that the contem-

porary designers would do well to look astern, to look back at their masters.

As far as speed through the water, the I.O.R.s are excellent under sail. However, from my reading I see no indication that their passages to Bermuda, etc., are made in much faster time than those of traditional yachts. And for passage-making and comfort for those aboard, the "computer" has given very little to be thankful for in yacht design. A computer, straight edge, and a clever mind by which the latest I.O.R. rules can be circumvented, have simply developed horrors—as took place in the last Fastnet Race. Can this be "fun?" Is *Drum* losing her fin keel and trapping twenty-four crew members under the capsized hull to be considered sport? Nor does the forty-foot *Audacious*, or boats of similar ilk, impress me with anything approaching comfortable sailing.

Obviously, I belong to a generation gradually passing from the yachting scene. I am a traditionalist because I firmly believe that the yachts of Crocker, Alden, and Rhodes are far better sea boats than the FRP racing/cruising yacht. I do appreciate "hi-tech" knowledge in airplane engineering and other sophisticated products. But proper application of such knowledge has yet to be learned by the present yacht designer as I see the matter. The results may be somewhat faster than a traditional boat, but "is that all there is in sailing?"

As Joel White has written in the foreword, Crocker's designs are "visual testimony to one man's thinking about his work for forty-five years." Further, Joel writes, "Sam Crocker found little that he wanted to change four decades later." Surely there were refinements and improvement in his work over the years, as indicated in the numerous lines drawings, but his concept of what constitutes a proper, fast, and comfortable design did not measurably change. Nor did the sea!

I have always envied the designer who could produce a raised deck yacht, attractive to my eye. Though the talent is rare, Sam Crocker had that eye. Some of his raised deck yachts, both power and sail, such as the famous Stonehorse, are among the most handsome raised deck yachts I have seen.

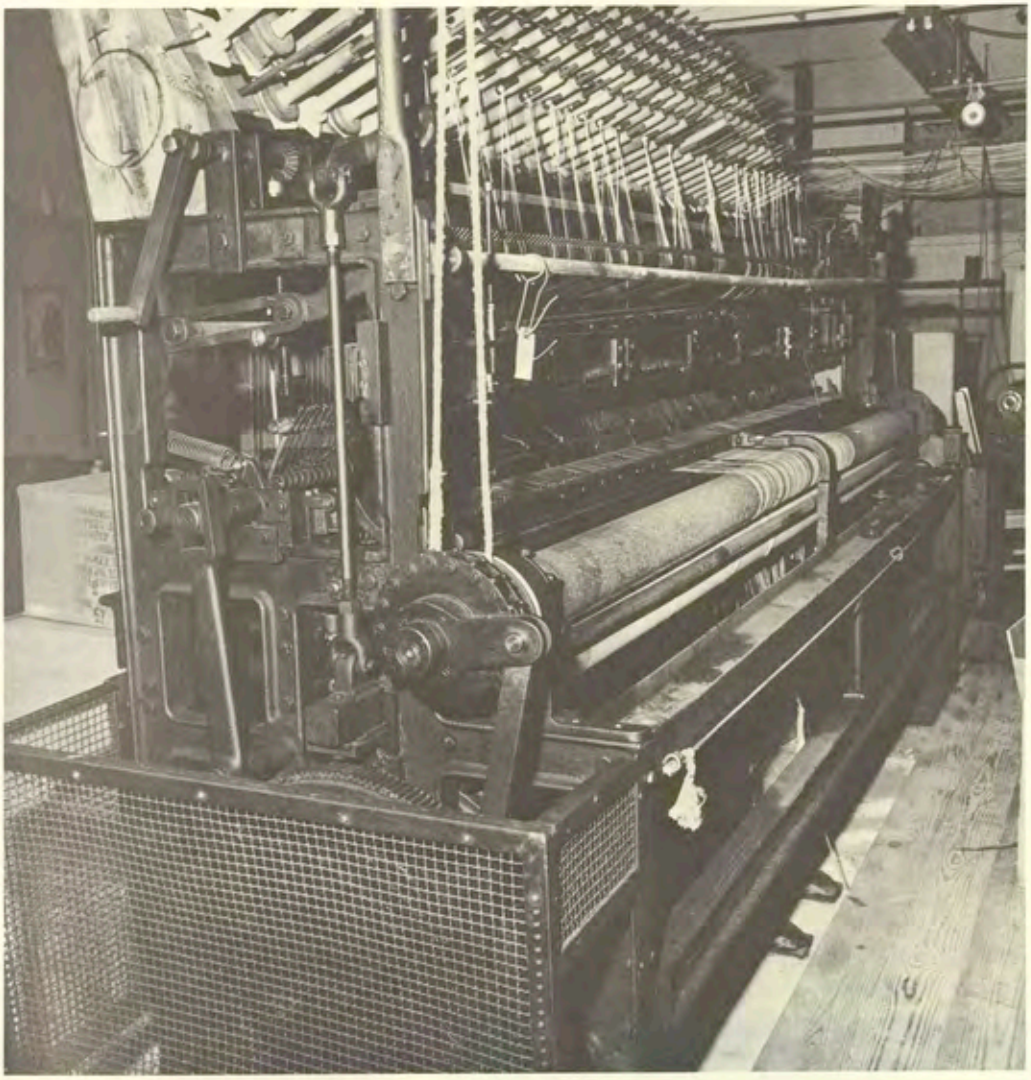
Among Crocker's more lovely designs of power and sailing yachts are those of the ketch *Sea Crest*, aboard which Dr. Paul Sheldon cruised for sixteen years. He was awarded the coveted Blue Water Medal for his many successful voyages. Not to belabor the matter, but I would like to see one of the present I.O.R. concepts provide such safety and comfort for over sixteen years. Computer, indeed!

As I look through the designs in this fine book I think of the yacht named *Topaz*. She is not included in the book but is very similar to Crocker design no. 180: a pinky in profile, but with pure Crocker sections. I had the good fortune to undertake a survey of *Topaz* at Old Saybrook some years ago. She is a thirty-nine-foot-overall cutter built by Herbert Baum at Kennebunkport, Maine, in 1960. Then there is *Pole Star* with the highly refined Crocker sections, and so many more, it's like selecting the loveliest girl at a dance.

My very favorite—and we all have the right to choose one—is the thirty-foot schooner *Grey Gull*. The first of these particularly handsome schooners was designed for Pop Turner and was built in 1927 by H. E. Ellsworth. A long time neighbor, Mrs. Ruth Binns, here in Darien, Connecticut, has owned *Grey Gull* for many years. The yacht was immaculately maintained by Don Grant, master boatbuilder and manager of the old Scofield's Yard formerly at Stamford, Connecticut. As the clock on the bulkhead strikes the hours *Grey Gull* lies quietly off the dooryard of Mrs. Binns on the Five Mile River. I feel the yacht is quite beyond restoration, but Mrs. Binns continues her affection for *Grey Gull* and perhaps lives in the days when the little schooner was, indeed, the belle of the ball, her program filled with the most handsome young swains of the area.

No computer will ever produce such a belle as *Grey Gull* in my opinion, as well as the opinion of any yachtsman with a sincere appreciation for a yacht approaching "perfection," the Sam Crocker design *Grey Gull*. May she sail in the memories of all those who sailed aboard her, or observed her under sail—those who have danced with her, the belle of the ball.

John Atkin
Yacht Designer and Surveyor
Noroton, Connecticut



Net-making machine in place at Moodus, Connecticut, before the move to storage at Mystic. (Photo by Claire White-Peterson)

ACQUISITION

During the late nineteenth century the area of the Connecticut River Valley around East Haddam and Moodus, Connecticut, came to specialize in the manufacture of commercial fish netting. Special net-making machines were developed around 1880 by the practical mechanics of this area. The designs of these machines were kept secret, even between the small, family-run local companies, and were never patented. Over the years the machines were altered to accommodate changes in nets and particularly the move to nylon line following the Second World War.

Cofish International of East Haddam recently donated two of their early net-making machines to the Museum. This firm, which began in the netting business, has been in continuous operation since 1900. Their machines could, with adjustments, turn out various sizes of netting. Gill nets for the Connecticut River shad fishery were a specialty, but they also produced large quantities of netting for coastal fisheries in New England, Chesapeake Bay, and the Great Lakes. [85.123]

HISTORIC SHIPS

The *Cutty Sark*

Perhaps the most famous merchant sailing ship still in existence is the British tea clipper *Cutty Sark*. Her sharp bow and lofty rig, her romantic name, and the exotic trade for which she was built epitomize the sailing ship era to many people.

The trade in Chinese tea contributed to the development of the clipper ship, for the first cargo of each year's crop to arrive could be sold at premium prices. As early as the 1840s several clipper-like vessels were built for the trade. Like America's gold rush clippers of the 1850s, Britain's tea clippers of the 1860s represented the latest in sailing vessel technology and were as well known as racehorses. Perhaps the most successful was the *Thermopylae* of 1868.

To beat the *Thermopylae*, John "White Hat" Willis had Hercules Linton design a 963-ton clipper, launched by Scott and Linton at Dumbarton, Scotland, in November 1869. She was a composite vessel, with iron frames and elm and teak planking, measuring 212 feet between perpendiculars, 36 in beam, with a 22-foot depth of hold. Her name, *Cutty Sark*, is Scots for the chemise worn by her figurehead, the witch Nannie of Robert Burns's "Tam O'Shanter."

The *Cutty Sark* on display. (Courtesy "Cutty Sark" Society, photo by Brian A. Tremain)



Ironically, the *Cutty Sark* was launched the very year that the Suez Canal was opened. Thereafter, steamships could make the run from China faster than the tea clippers, and the clippers' days were numbered. The *Cutty Sark* carried tea for eight seasons, through 1877, and never did beat the *Thermopylae*. Her capacity was about 1,325,000 pounds of tea, and her best run was 107 days home from Shanghai. An excellent design, she could make 17½ knots with a crew of only twenty-eight officers and seamen.

Driven from the tea trade, the *Cutty Sark* joined the hundreds of British sailing freighters that wandered the oceans of the world. She might carry manufactured goods to Australia, coal to China, jaggerey (palm sugar) from Madras to London, or "case oil" (kerosene) from New York to the Orient. Speed was now less important than economy, so her rig was cut down in 1880. In the Orient that year her mate killed a sailor and her captain jumped overboard.

In 1883 she became a regular wool carrier, sailing out to Australia with general cargo past the Cape of Good Hope and returning to England with Australian wool 'round the Horn. Under Captain Woodget she became the queen of the wool fleet, making the fastest passage home ten years in a row and routinely beating her old rival *Thermopylae*.

Sold to Portuguese owners in 1895, she was renamed *Ferreira* and remained a full-rigged ocean carrier until dismasted in 1915. Rerigged as a barkentine, and renamed *Maria do Amparo* in 1920, she remained under the Portuguese flag until 1922.

Purchased by nostalgic British Captain Wilfred Dowman, she had her original name and rig restored. She was given by his family to the Incorporated Thames Nautical Training College in 1936, and made her last sea voyage in 1938. Retired by the college in 1949, she was ultimately taken over by the *Cutty Sark* Preservation Society, with the assistance of the Duke of Edinburgh. In 1954 she was moved to Greenwich, and placed in the drydock in which she is now displayed. After a thorough restoration, she was opened to the public in 1957.

Once again under her lofty rig, this classic vessel is maintained by the *Cutty Sark* Society as a memorial to the once-preeminent British sailing merchant marine.

AN INVITATION
TO JOIN MYSTIC SEAPORT MUSEUM

Are you a Seaport member? As a member, you will be supporting the Museum's goals of preservation and education in our nation's maritime history. You will receive, in addition, the following benefits:

Unlimited free admission. At the Family level and above, this privilege is extended to the spouse of the member, their children 18 and under, or grandchildren 18 and under.

Subscription to THE LOG OF MYSTIC SEAPORT, a quarterly magazine devoted to articles on maritime subjects.

Subscription to THE WIND ROSE, the Seaport's bimonthly newsletter and calendar of events.

A discount on boat dockage for Individual, Family, and Participating members. Sustaining and above receive one night free dockage each visit, in addition.

A ten percent discount on purchases at the Mystic Seaport Museum Stores, Inc. You will also receive a catalog for shopping at home.

Purchase of guest ticket books at half the admission value.

Discounts on Museum sponsored classes and special events. A free member's window decal. Special member's ties, burgees, and scarves may be purchased.

Memberships, which also make welcomed gifts, are available in the following categories:

Individual (annual)	$ 25.00	Associate	$ 250.00
Family	40.00	Benefactor	500.00
Participating	50.00	Life (single payment)	2500.00
Sustaining	125.00		

Contributions to Mystic Seaport Museum are deductible within legal limits for U.S. income tax purposes. Please make your check payable to Mystic Seaport Museum, Inc., and send to Membership Office, Mystic Seaport Museum, Mystic, CT 06355.



PLANNED GIVING TO MYSTIC SEAPORT

During the half century since the Museum's establishment, the consistent and generous commitment of members through membership dues, annual and capital gifts, and volunteer service has provided the resources required for Mystic Seaport's extensive maritime preservation and education programs. In the years ahead the Museum's base of support must be broadened further if it is to sustain the high level and quality of its work. We therefore urge members and friends to consider the opportunities of planned giving as a way of assisting the Museum in a meaningful and tax-wise manner.

The principal vehicles of planned giving are bequests, charitable remainder unitrusts, charitable remainder annuity trusts, lead trusts, and pooled income funds. In this and subsequent issues of *The Log* we will explore the benefits of planned giving and outline alternative methods for making these gifts.

BEQUESTS

A planned gift by bequest, large or small, represents the easiest and perhaps most thoughtful gift an individual can make. A will is a valuable property right that should be exercised. It can help provide for the future security and happiness of those people and institutions an individual cares most about; moreover, it perpetuates the donor's interest in an institution's purposes. While an attorney should draft a will, Seaport staff are prepared to assist in the process and to answer questions about the tax advantages of making charitable gifts through bequest.

Unrestricted bequests are most welcome since the income can be used immediately and wherever needed within the Museum. However, there are many opportunities for individuals wishing to assign their bequest to a particular area of interest. For example, a bequest may be given to the Curatorial or Education Departments, or to the Library. It may be further designated to support a specific purpose such as conservation, exhibits preparation, mariner training, interpretation, or publication. Bequests may also be given for staff salaries, scholarship funds, equipment purchase, or maintenance of buildings or grounds. Whatever form your bequest takes, it would be helpful for us to know when you include Mystic Seaport in your will, or if you have already done so.

Further information about bequests and assistance in making planned gifts may be obtained from the Museum's Development Office (203–572–0711).

Prize Article Contest

The Fellows of the G. W. Blunt White Library and the Editorial Board of *The Log of Mystic Seaport* are pleased to announce the sixth annual prize article contest.

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

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

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

Manuscripts No more than 6,000 words in length (excluding footnotes and bibliography). Entries must not have been previously published. Editorial Guidelines and Contest Entry Forms are available from: The Editor, *The Log of Mystic Seaport*, Mystic Seaport Museum, Mystic, Connecticut 06355–0990.

Deadline Manuscripts must be submitted prior to 1 December 1986.

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



THE LOG OF MYSTIC SEAPORT

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