WINTER 1991 THE LOG OF Vol. 42, No. 4

MYSTIC SEAPORT®





Plan Ahead for Summer Day Camp

Rowing a seine boat is just one of the fun and educational activities for children at the Seaport's Summer Day Camp. Children learn about nineteenth-century life through activities such as climbing a ship's rigging, learning knotwork, sewing and sail handling, and taking excursions on the steamboat Sabino. *Games, behind-the-scenes tours, Planetarium shows, and a ride in the breeches buoy are all parts of the campers' activities. Each group of 20 children is supervised at all times by staff members. One- and two-week sessions will be offered this year, beginning 8 July. Two-week sessions are $130 (nonmembers $140) and one-week sessions are $80 (nonmembers $90). For more information, please call the Education Department at ext. 322.*

(Photo by Claire White-Peterson)

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Cover, Past reflections, the Charles W. Morgan *(left) at Chubb's Wharf in 1975, before the Whaleboat Exhibit was added to the wharf. See page D for information on the 150th anniversary celebration of this wooden whaleship.*
(Photo Mary Anne Stets)

SIGHTINGS

American maritime greatness in the nineteenth century was achieved through a combination of factors that propelled this nation into the role of a world leader. The abundant natural resources of this continent provided the raw materials. The entrepreneurial spirit along the East Coast created the financial incentive, while the hard life ashore and sometimes the spirit of adventure motivated men to go to sea. Brilliant minds understood the elements of ship design and conceived of hull forms and rigs that were well suited to their tasks. These designs were translated into great ships by talented shipwrights, riggers, caulkers, and shipsmiths. In support of this maritime effort, industries and businesses ashore supplied the equipment, supplies, and social and financial services needed to sustain this enterprise. The picture that develops is one of intricate interdependence, and most of the elements of this complex structure are represented in exhibits and artifacts at Mystic Seaport. However, in any maritime endeavor the focal point is the ship, since it is here that all these factors coalesce.

Mystic Seaport has several significant ships, but our first major vessel and the one with which we are most often identified is the *Charles W. Morgan*. This year, as we celebrate the 150th year of the *Morgan*, we will be looking at this ship as a reflection of America. This is a broader view than we have taken in the past, when we emphasized the *Morgan* as the successful, last survivor of the American whaling fleet that dominated the industry in the mid-nineteenth century. In this expanded view we will look at the ship as the embodiment of many of the important elements of American social, economic, and technological history in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

The *Morgan*'s hull design evolved from ships of an earlier period, and its full shape made it stable and gave it the carrying capacity it needed. The Massachusetts shipbuilders who created this ship 150 years ago were part of a great American tradition of craftsmanship that began in colonial times, continued through the *Morgan*'s working career, and is alive at Mystic Seaport today.

The ship reflects both the economic forces and the entrepreneurial spirit of this country. Enterprising New England businessmen recognized the need for oil, while the master mariners from this region were up to the challenge of these voyages. The ship's history also reflects the changes that took place in maritime business, with the decline of the whaling industry, and in ship design and construction, with the shift to iron and steel hulls and steam propulsion. The *Morgan* also represents the interlocking structure of the maritime support trades and shoreside industries, which included the businesses that provided her cordage, cooperage, ironwork, blocks, provisions, boats, insurance, and supplies needed for her voyages.

Numerous elements of the structure and changes in American society are reflected by the officers and crews of the *Morgan* during her 80-year working career. Her early crew lists are made up almost exclusively of Anglo-Saxon names so often associated with early New England. Later crew lists reflect the growing racial and ethnic diversity which has added so much texture to American society.

During this year, we will celebrate "The *Charles W. Morgan*, A Reflection of America," with a series of programs, exhibits, and events that take a reflective and inclusive view of this venerable ship. Special interpretive programs will incorporate this broader perspective, and a new exhibit in the Museum's primary exhibit building will elaborate on this theme. Work to further restore and outfit the ship will also be carried out.

Tragically, very, very few ships that represent American maritime enterprise in the nineteenth century still exist. But the *Charles W. Morgan* has survived and, at age 150, has become a symbol for that period of our maritime history. Mystic Seaport will continue to meet its responsibility to keep this ship in fine condition and to convey through the *Morgan* the fascinating story of American maritime endeavors. ■

J. Revell Carr

Twelve Years Away: The Voyage of the Whaleship Nile, *1858–1870*

JOSEPH C. HAFFEY



WHALING SCENE IN THE CALIFORNIA LAGOONS.

In the lagoons of Baja California, female California grey whales give birth to their young during the winter months. Whalemen first invaded these nurseries in 1846. Anchoring their ships, the whalemen would set off daily in their whaleboats to hunt the nursing females. Though they were wary and dangerous, these "devil fish" were easily killed in the shallow, constricted waters of the lagoons. In this view, two boats attack a spouting whale at bottom right. At bottom and top left, dead whales lie "fin out," flagged with waifs left by the killing boats to claim them. At middle left, a frantic whale overturns one of two boats chasing it. Above that, five boats tow a dead whale back to their whaleship.

Lithograph by Britton & Rey. (Charles M. Scammon, *The Marine Mammals of the Northwestern Coast of North America*, 1874)

On a Monday afternoon in May of the year 1858, the citizenry of New London, Connecticut, was treated to an impromptu parade. Eighteen crewmen of the whaling bark *Nile*, evidently well fortified, marched through the principal streets of the city, banging on a damaged drum. It was their last day ashore before their vessel departed on a voyage to the North Pacific.[1]

The high tide of American whaling had begun to ebb a decade before. From the palmy days of 1846, when 736 whalers were registered in the U.S., the number of vessels engaged in the fishery had dropped by a total of 75, or 10 percent, by the time the *Nile* cleared New London Harbor. Yet, those who were actively engaged in the pursuit of the whale, both afloat and ashore, did not recognize a decline, being accustomed to the vagaries of the trade. In fact, though New London's fleet had reached its peak of 81 vessels in 1845, New Bedford's fleet continued to increase, reaching 329 vessels in 1857. Moreover, those who returned with full holds continued to reap handsome profits.[2]

Although the American whaling fleet had standardized killing and processing procedures, its vessels hunted several species of whales, each of which had its own seasonal cycle, distinct migrational

pattern, and specific products – qualities of oil or baleen – for which it was hunted. American whaleships might be found on any of the oceans of the globe, but individual vessels charted their courses according to the habits of the whale species they sought. The hunting pattern of one group led to its becoming known as the northern or Arctic fleet. It might be composed at any given time of a hundred or more vessels that made the long trek out from their home ports in the northeastern United States.

From the 1830s through the 1870s, this fleet developed and followed a predictable cycle around the Pacific basin. After scouring the equatorial Pacific during winter months through the 1830s and '40s, they began to focus on the coast of Baja California late in the 1840s. Typically, the fleet would spend the fall and winter months in the Baja lagoons hunting grey whales, then call at Honolulu or Lahaina in the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands in March to off-load its oil and to reprovision. Mid- to late-April would find the ships departing to cruise the northern waters. Some began the season with a swing along "the line" – the equator – to hunt sperm and right whales before heading north. As more and more right whales were killed, the fleet moved farther and farther north each year, to the Kodiak grounds of the Northwest Coast off present British Columbia in 1835; to the Kamchatka grounds where they discovered the bowhead or polar whale in 1843; into the Sea of Okhtosk between Siberia and Kamchatka in 1847; and, following the lead of the whaleship *Superior*, through the Bering Strait and into the Arctic Ocean after 1848. They would enter the Arctic Ocean in July and August and hunt as long and as far as the limit of the ice permitted. By late August, the fleet would begin to head for Honolulu, again to off-load and resupply. Then, in October or November, it was off again for Baja.

When they sent their vessels forth to join the Arctic fleet, the owners and their captains planned them to be either one-, two-, three-, or four-year ships. A four-year whaler was expected to make eight cruises before departing on the long homeward trip, and her officers were prepared for a long spell away from home.

The crews were a different story. The prospect of four years away in the same vessel appealed to very few foremast hands so, by agreement with the captain or otherwise, there was a steady turnover among the crews. The industry recognized that, after one season in the north, American seamen "disliked to ship again for the North, and preferred shipping on homeward bound vessels. Their places were supplied by natives of these and other Pacific Islands, who were preferred by many captains. They make good whalers and are generally content with smaller lays and advances."[3] Collectively termed "Kanakas" – Hawaiian for "people" – these natives became an essential part of the whaling labor force.

By the 1850s, the Sandwich Island ports of Honolulu and Lahaina had become the *de facto* whaling capital of the world. Though relatively few vessels were actually owned or registered there, the Pacific fleet spent more time there than in the official home ports of its vessels, and much of the business of the vessels – transshipment of oil, resupplying, repairing, and filling out crews – took place there.

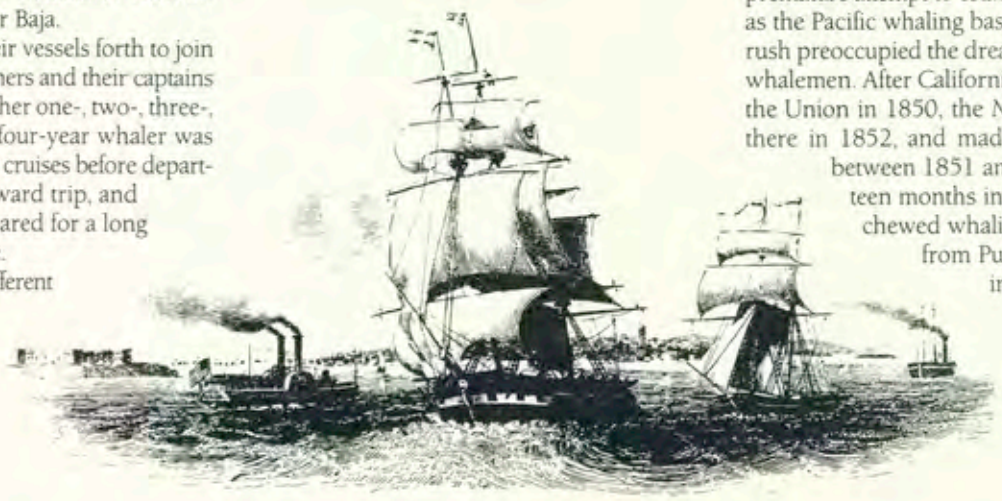
To assist in financing, to aid in dealing with the U.S. Counsul, and to perform the various aspects of recruiting, a ship's agent often entered into a correspondent relationship with an established island firm or made an effort to open an office of his own. As an example, the leading New London whaling agent, Thomas W. Williams, sent his son Charles to Honolulu in the 1850s to manage the firm's fleet during its Pacific cruises.

The process of recruiting at Honolulu was much more complex than merely filling vacancies on a vessel's crew list. To the whaler "recruit" was a much used verb. It referred as well to provisioning the ship with food and water and replacing broken or missing gear from sails to boats. It encompassed all the activities of securing the "outfits" necessary to put the vessel to sea to cruise for whales. A captain did not outfit a whaler, he recruited it with outfits. The verb eventually took on the connotation of making all things right again. It was once even reported that the *Thomas Dickason* sailed "on a short cruise, under charge of the mate, Mr. Manter, Capt. Jernegan remaining on shore for the purpose of recruiting his health."[4]

This was the world into which the *Nile* was heading, but it would be no introduction, since the ship had made six previous Pacific voyages. The vessel at the time was older than most of her crew. She had been built in New York in 1826 as a ship-rigged merchantman of 322 tons burden. Her length was 103 feet, with a breadth of 26 feet, six inches.[5]

The career of the *Nile* is an encapsulated history of American whaling. She came down the ways as the country began its ascendancy in the industry. After six years as a merchant ship carrying cargo on the Atlantic, she was purchased as an addition to the expanding New Bedford whaling fleet. As a surplus merchant ship, she was typical of American whaling vessels, relatively few of which were built specifically for whaling. She made her first two voyages in the dying South Atlantic fishery, then gave up those depleted grounds for the expanding Pacific fishery. Before returning from the third of her Pacific voyages she became a pioneer in the premature attempt to establish San Francisco as the Pacific whaling base even as the gold rush preoccupied the dreams of prospective whalemen. After California was admitted to the Union in 1850, the *Nile* was registered there in 1852, and made several voyages between 1851 and 1853. For fourteen months in 1854–55 she eschewed whaling to haul lumber from Puget Sound, Washington Territory, to Honolulu.[6]

Whaling was New London's principal maritime industry in the mid-nineteenth century. As a reflection of the economic importance of whaling, the Union Bank of New London featured on its $10 banknote this vignette of a whaleship passing Fort Trumbull on its way to sea.
Engraving by Danforth, Spencer & Hufty.
(Courtesy Andrew German)



Then, in 1856, the *Nile* returned to whaling and was purchased as the sixty-fourth vessel then active in the New London whaling fleet. She had joined a hard-driving fleet that frequented the most forbidding whaling grounds. "Oh, they are under-water fellows!" said other whalemen in reference to the stormy seas in which New London whalers hunted, according to whaling captain Charles Scammon. New London had reached its peak as a whaling port a decade earlier, but its fleet remained second only to New Bedford, having surpassed Nantucket in the 1840s. The *Nile* would be one of 14 whalers to depart New London in 1858, compared with 67 from New Bedford and 10 from Nantucket. She was owned by the port's principal whaling firm, Williams & Haven, with partners Thomas W. Williams and Henry P. Haven holding the majority of shares. For economy of operation, they had their new vessel rerigged as a bark.[7]

As they set out on their course for Cape Horn and the Pacific grounds that May morning, neither Captain George Destin, a 19-year veteran commander, nor any of the 29 officers and crew aboard could know that they were embarking on what would prove to be the longest whaling voyage in the history of the industry. The *Nile* would sail the Pacific for twelve years before seeing New London again, and no member of the original ship's company would return home aboard her.[8]

Within a month of leaving port, the *Nile* had come upon sperm whales in the Atlantic and took on board 50 barrels of sperm oil. The following month she was off the coast of Brazil, about 500 miles east of Aracaju. She had then headed east round the Cape of Good Hope, scudded across the Indian Ocean, and by the end of the year had left the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, and was headed north with 80 barrels of sperm oil and 200 barrels of whale oil on board. By October, the *Nile* was hunting in the Okhotsk Sea as reported by the master of another New London whaler, the *General Williams*, who stated that the bark had 500 barrels of whale oil aboard.[9]

A whaler operating for years in the Pacific had several options for the disposal of her cargo. In the case of American vessels, the United States Consul at Honolulu set the prices for oil and bone for those captains who wished to sell to local merchants or wanted to pay off their crews. Then too, British and German firms had agents in Hawaii to whom whaling captains could sell directly, possibly on more favorable terms, especially in the matter of currency conversions. This method would become popular during the Civil War, since British and German vessels were immune from attack by Confederate raiders, thus saving New England whaling agents the expense of costly war risk insurance. Or, one could ship the cargo home. A number of vessels, some of which were extreme clippers, were available to carry the whalers' take to agents in the United States.[10] The final expedient was for the ship to carry its own cargo to its home port and thus conclude the voyage.



Captain George Destin made his debut as a New London whaling master in 1839, when he took command of the ship George, which he subsequently lost on the shores of Amsterdam Island. Between 1840 and 1856 he made seven voyages in the whalers Bingham, North America, Merrimac, *and* John & Elizabeth. *He apparently retired from whaling after his disappointing cruise in the* Nile.
(Courtesy Barnard L. Colby)

Regardless of the method that a captain might choose, the ultimate success of the cruise was determined only after the oil had reached the port of destination and was measured by the gauger. Leakage from wooden casks was a constant problem, especially in the heat of the tropics, so some loss was likely during transit. The standard bill of lading used in the islands contained a blank space in which to enter the items of cargo. Oil was usually enumerated in the following form: "(143) One hundred forty-three packages whale oil gauging 30,628 gallons (more or less)."

Normally, the consignee paid the freight plus primage – the merchant captain's commission – and stood the expense of measuring the oil at its destination. The carrier was not responsible for shrinkage of the casks or leakage of oil from them, but was required to wet down the casks twice a week to help prevent the barrel staves from shrinking and leaking oil.[11]

After arriving at Honolulu late in the fall, Captain Destin decided to ship part of his cargo home. Accordingly, on 7 December 1859 he consigned 18,965 gallons of whale oil and 5,985 pounds of bone to Williams & Haven, whaling agents of New London, to be carried by their ship *Siam*. The vessel arrived safely, with her cargo intact, on 17 April 1860, four months and ten days from Honolulu. Based on the average prices for 1860, the *Nile*'s portion of the *Siam*'s cargo was worth approximately $14,200.[12] Reduced by freight of $400 and primage of $700 the net value of the *Nile*'s first year of whaling was $13,000.

Some indication of the cargo's worth can be had by a comparison with a contemporary industry. At the annual meeting of the Nantucket Boot and Shoe Company, it was reported that their 1859 production was 52,000 pairs of footwear, manufactured by a labor force of 23 females, 42 men, and 41 boys. The year's cost in wages for this entourage was $13,000, an average of a little over two dollars a week per person.[13]

The day following the shipment of oil and bone to New London, the *Nile* left Honolulu to cruise.[14] Already late for the Baja California season, Captain Destin departed from the usual practice and opted for the warm waters of the Southwest Pacific. Although whalers could expect to find whales along the line in winter, this area was not much frequented by American whalers during this period. There were also hazards among the islands. In February of 1860, the *Nile* almost lost her bottom on a submerged reef in the Caroline Islands. She escaped destruction, but had very poor luck at whaling. The skipper's laconic report appeared in the *Whalemen's Shipping List* of 22 January 1861 and speaks for itself.

> *Went from this port [Honolulu] to Booka Bay [Buka in the Northern Solomon Islands]. While there saw whales only once; lowered, but there being a heavy thunder storm at the time, was not able to capture any. In Japan Sea saw three whales during the month of April. Went into the Okhotsk in May but saw no whales there previous to the 22nd of July. Saw only three that month. Saw the next September 27th, 28th, and 29th – one each day. Had thick fog most of the season. Left the sea October 1st. Had moderate weather down.*

The Honolulu *Friend* confirmed the bad news: "Arrived [Honolulu] November 1st, 1860, Bark Nile, Destin, from Japan and Okhotsk. Nothing the season."[15]

This could not have endeared Destin to Henry Haven, the *Nile*'s New London agent. The sources are mute, but it requires very little imagination to conjure up a lively correspondence from Haven in New London to the Honolulu firm of C.A. Williams & Company, which was virtually a branch office of Williams & Haven. Young Williams was authorized to dismiss Destin.

Destin's replacement was a relative newcomer who had not sailed for Williams & Haven before. Unfortunate circumstances had brought him into their employ. Once prosperous, the New London whaling firm of Perkins & Smith had been felled by losses on their investments during the panic of 1857, and had filed for bankruptcy. The vessels they controlled were impounded and finally sold on orders from the court, with the exception of the bark *Architect*. This whaler was commanded by Asa W. Fish of New London, who was also 1/8th owner. The trustees had appointed Haven agent of the bark but instructed him to leave the management of the vessel to Fish as part owner.[16] Haven did so and seemingly came to regard Fish as an able master afloat and an effective trader ashore in disposing of whale and bone.

Fish arrived in Honolulu as captain of the bark *Tempest*, 19 October 1860.[17] On 5 November 1860, Fish and C.A. Williams concluded an agreement whereby Fish was to take over the *Nile* for one, two, or three seasons, subject to future arrangements. For his part, Fish was to be paid "one twelfth lay or share in all takings of said ship or bark and one dollar per barrel for all oil other than Devil Fish [California grey whales]. For the latter they promise to pay one half dollar per barrel."[18]

The agreement was put into effect five days later and Captain Destin was ordered to turn the *Nile* over to Asa Fish and take the *Tempest* home to New London. Destin raised New London in 152 days, bringing home 800 barrels of oil taken by Fish. Fish in the meantime had sailed the empty *Nile* on a cruise to California waters, leaving Honolulu 26 November 1860.[19]

Asa Fish proved a good deal luckier than George Destin as master of the *Nile*. On 25 January 1861, the bark was reported in Scammon's Lagoon (Baja) with 480 barrels of oil taken in two months. By 17 April the *Nile* was back in Honolulu after a week's stop at Lahaina on Maui. Twelve days later, Fish had her pointed toward the Arctic.[20] Asa reported on his northern cruise:

> *Went on the Kodiack [sic, Northwest grounds] May 30th. Took the first right whale June 4, lat. 57 N., long. 136 W., and the last whale on the Arctic [grounds], Aug. 25. Found Weather foggy and winds northerly, and whales scarce and shy. Saw most whales Aug. 7, off Icy Cape. Experienced light southerly winds on passage down. Came through the [Bering] Straits Sept. 22 in company with the Fabius, [George A.] Smith, hailing 1200 brls. Henry Terry, 3d officer, a colored man, died Sept. 8, of neuralgia, aged about 45 years, a native of America.*[21]

The *Nile* made landfall at Honolulu 24 October 1861, eleven months after Fish had acceded to command. She brought back a good season's cargo: 13,000 pounds of whalebone (baleen) and at least 1,000 barrels of oil.[22]

"...there never was a time when whaling looked better and we hope that the year will give you 2,000 barrels in the Nile."

The *Whalemen's Shipping List* of 7 January 1862 summarized the 1861 year as "one of unparalled pecuniary hardship in the whaling business." In the editor's opinion, very few realized any appreciable gain. Yet, when the average prices for oil and bone are applied to the *Nile*'s catch, the sum exceeds $25,000. Asa Fish's personal share in this year of "bad whaling fortune" was at least 32 times greater than the income of the individual bootmaker of the Nantucket firm referred to previously.

Late in 1861, the *Nile* apparently embarked on a cargo cruise, being reported at various Australian ports during the next nine months under two different masters. A Captain Eldridge commanded the whaler when she left Honolulu, carrying a cargo of oil for Melbourne. G.S. Keyte was listed as her captain when the bark cleared Newcastle for Adelaide with an unspecified cargo.[23]

It is possible that Fish may have taken the opportunity to make a quick trip home between October 1861 and March 1862. On 10 March 1862 Haven wrote to Fish at Honolulu. The agent reminded the captain that his contract as master had been extended to the fall of 1863 and informed him that the *Nile* would arrive in the Islands in April. But April became May without the appearance of the bark. Her captain fired off a letter to Williams & Haven's correspondents in San Francisco: "Owing to the non arrival of my ship, *Nile*, I would like to hear from Messrs Williams & Haven of New London how long they desire me to wait at this place for her. You will please telegraph these gentlemen immediately on receipt of this to that effect and inform me by the first opportunity."[24]

The *Nile* finally raised Honolulu 27 September 1862, under Captain Eldridge, 16 days from San Francisco.[25] Undoubtedly, Fish saw the vessel before he set eyes on Haven's letter of 8 September, advising him of the impending arrival of the bark. More important for Asa Fish was Haven's agreement to sell Fish a share of the *Nile*: "We have also directed C.A. Williams & Co., to deliver the ship to you as soon as discharged. The price will of course be $9,000 as agreed here. Messrs C.A. Williams will give you Bill/Sale of A/C at that rate. We would not sell the whole vessel for one cent less. Ships are scarce and high, much more so than when you were here."[26]

Fish and the *Nile* now embarked on five cruises with very greasy luck. The letters from home abounded in accolades. In February 1863, Henry Haven, after congratulating Fish for the efficacious manner in which he disbursed the vessel, quoted the then high prices for oil and bone and ventured the opinion that "there never was a time when whaling looked better and we hope that the year will give you 2,000 barrels in the Nile."[27]

The expectation was amply fulfilled. Fish brought in 2,400 barrels of oil and 14,000 pounds of bone from the two cruises of 1863 at an estimated value of $143,000.[28] With his double lays as owner and captain and his per barrel bonus, even though it had been reduced to 50 cents, Fish prospered. His account with Williams & Haven showed a favorable balance of $4,000 after expenses.[29] To this would be added the greater lay of owner when the complete outturn was calculated.

In the midst of her hunting activity, the *Nile* participated in the rescue of another New London whaler, the *Electra*. There was a dense fog on the evening of 10 July 1863, and a hard gale drove the ship aground among the Fox Islands in the Aleutian chain. In spite of the crew's working the pumps all night, the water was up to the

lower deck when the *Nile* arrived and took Captain Sisson and his crew aboard for Honolulu. The *Electra* and her cargo of 180 barrels of oil were lost.[30]

The *Nile* departed Honolulu for the California grounds 23 November 1863. Following the pattern of the year before, Fish made the California cruise, stopped in Honolulu in March, went to the Arctic that summer, and was back in Hawaii 28 October 1864. On the trip south from Bristol Bay, Alaska, the *Nile* suffered storm damage at the 43rd parallel, losing her jibboom and some sails.[31]

Shipment of oil and bone: Bark, Nile *of New London had shipped 900 bbl whale oil to Germany and 600 do. do. per bark,* Helen Mar *for Boston; also 18,000 lbs bone per British ship,* Mary Ann *for New London.*

Fish used the proceeds from the oil shipped to Germany to finance the provisioning of the *Nile* for the California cruise of 1864, rather than drawing drafts on C.A. Williams & Company, or Williams & Haven.

The clipper *Lookout* left Honolulu 21 June 1864 for New Bedford. Her entire cargo was the product of the Northern Fleet, consisting of 2,445 barrels of sperm oil, 6,170 barrels of whale oil, and 2,300 pounds of bone. If the entire cargo were sold at then current prices, it would have brought $470,000. Untouched by Confederate commerce raiders, the *Lookout* raised New Bedford in 101 days. In her hold were 458 barrels from the *Nile* directed to Williams & Haven.[32]

Later that year, three Williams & Haven vessels, *Nile,Catharine*, and *Pearl* loaded oil on the clipper *Dreadnaught* for New Bedford.



In the cold waters of the Sea of Okhotsk and the Arctic Ocean, the northern whaling fleet hunted bowhead whales for their thick blubber and long strips of baleen. In this typical view, the mate in the bow of the nearest whaleboat aims a bomb-lance gun to kill the whale towing the whaleboat at left. In the middle ground a whale destroys a whaleboat. The nearest whaleship is cutting in and trying out a whale. A bowhead jaw full of baleen is suspended from the cutting tackles on the mainmast.

Lithograph by Britton & Rey. (Charles M. Scammon, *The Marine Mammals of the Northwestern Coast of North America*, 1874)

The bark's takings in 1864 did not match the spectacular catch of the prior year. However, the price of oil had increased 23 percent because of the depletion of domestic stocks due to the Civil War. The *Nile* finished the year with 1,200 barrels of oil and 6,000 pounds of bone worth approximately $60,000.

The pages of the *Whalemen's Shipping List* for 1864 contain many reports of the shipment of oil from the Pacific. A summary that appeared 9 February 1864 illustrates activity typical of Fish:

Her 83-day passage would prove to be the shortest passage under sail to that port from Honolulu and was just one day over the record run from Honolulu to any Atlantic port, set by the *Soverign of the Seas* on her 1853 passage to New York.[33]

There was one piece of bad news for Fish in this year. The oil that he had shipped to Germany leaked badly. Almost 14,000 gallons had escaped the casks, a loss that could approach $15,000. The owners of the vessel disclaimed responsibility. The loss was severe enough that Charles A. Williams left

Honolulu, stopped in New London, and sailed 2 July 1864 for Bremen to file suit against the owners. Williams arranged to compensate Waltzen & Company, the German buyers, by agreeing to ship whalebone from the fall catch. The *Nile*'s share was 7,000 Rix dollars. Almost a year later, Julius Shepard commented on the suit, "the prospects not being good for receiving more than 25%."[34]

Throughout 43 months of war, The northern whaling fleet had suffered no damage from Confederate cruisers. True, insurance rates were high as were the costs of most provisions, but the price of oil had risen apace. Southern hopes were at a low point during the winter of 1864–65 and there were rumors in New London that the Confederacy was attempting to get commissioners to the North to negotiate peace.[35]

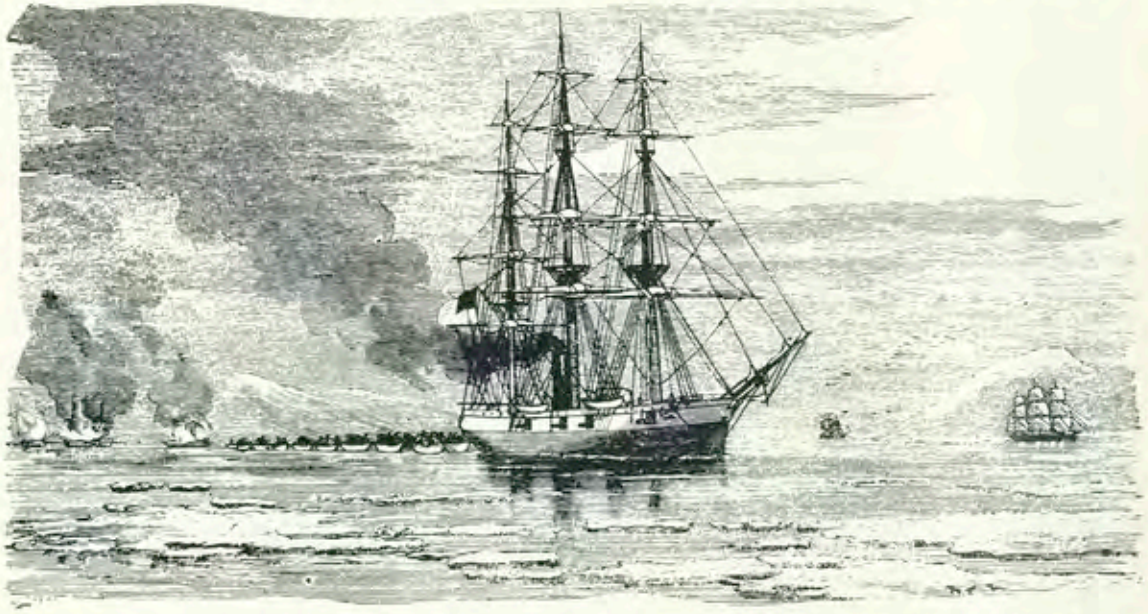
construction – wooden planking over an iron frame – with a full clipper rig as well as a screw propeller driven by 200-horsepower steam engines. At 1,130 tons and 220 feet in length, the ship was twice the size of the *Nile*. She had coaled at Melbourne, Australia, and sailed for the North Pacific, "where not withstanding that the commander was repeatedly told by masters of neutral vessels he met on the high seas that the war between the North and South had terminated, he refused to believe them."[36]

News of Lee's surrender had reached Honolulu on 27 April, but it is unlikely that the news of Confederate President Jefferson Davis's capture and the surrender of the remaining Southern armies in late May had reached the Arctic before the *Shenandoah* came over the horizon.[37]

cisco, before the details were sorted out.[39]

The *Nile* and the *James Maury*, the last two of the four bonded vessels, were taken on 28 June and loaded with the survivors of that day's action. The *James Maury* proceeded to Honolulu, while the *Nile*, bonded for $45,000, headed for San Francisco, arriving on 4 August 1865.[40] In place of oil and bone, the four lucky survivors had brought back at least 550 suddenly homeless whalemen. With his planned season abruptly cut short, Captain Fish left the *Nile* and returned to New London.

But the *Nile* went back to work. She returned to Honolulu 3 September to recruit and get back into the seasonal cycle. She left for a California cruise on 23 November under Dennis Kelly, her first officer, after a complete refit which took almost three months.[41]



The Nile *was one of four lucky whalers ransomed by the CSS* Shenandoah *to carry the crews of the 20 ships she burned. This view depicts the* Shenandoah *towing whaleboats loaded with the crews of the three whalers she burned on 25 June 1865, three days before capturing the* Nile. (Cornelius E. Hunt, *The Shenandoah*, New York, 1867)

The *Nile* left Honolulu four days after General Lee's surrender at Appomattox on 9 April 1865, but Lee's surrender would not be known to the Pacific whalers for a month or more. Toward the end of June, the vessels were working their way through the Bering Strait into the Chukchi Sea and the Arctic Ocean beyond.

On the first day of summer, a foreign visitor appeared off Cape Navarin. It was the CSS *Shenandoah*, come to bring war to the most distant members of the U.S. whaling fleet. The *Shenandoah* had been built at Glasgow in 1863 as an auxiliary merchant ship and was surreptitously purchased by the Confederacy after making one voyage. She was converted to an armed cruiser after she left British waters. The *Shenandoah* was a modern, high-performance ship. She was of composite

The *Shenandoah* came up with the whaling fleet on 22 June, and during the next six days "she captured and either destroyed or ransomed 24 ships. They were taken in couplets, triplets and quartets, and it was necessary to release four of them in order to get rid of the numerous prisoners."[38]

The *Milo* was the first vessel to be bonded as a crew carrier, and she left the area of Cape Navarin on 23 June. She arrived at San Francisco on 20 July to break the news and send shock waves throughout the whaling community. The earliest reports in the New London newspapers were reprints of telegraphic dispatches sent to New Bedford publications. These produced scare headlines and generated much misinformation. It was to be almost a month as letters and survivors trickled east from San Fran-

Fish spent the fall and early winter at home in New London. While there, he executed a will just before returning to sea, leaving his estate to his wife Frances.[42] On 1 February 1866 he left in company with a fellow whaler, William H. Phillips, whose ship *Catharine* had been burned by the *Shenandoah*. They took adavantage of the modern transportation of the day, traveling by steamer from New York to Panama, taking the Panama Railroad across the isthmus, and catching the Pacific Mail steamer to San Francisco.[43]

Fish and Phillips departed San Francisco for Honolulu on the second voyage of the steamship *Ajax*. A fellow passenger was a correspondent for the *Sacramento Union*, who had been commissioned to write a series of dispatches about the Islands. He had just

begun to style himself Mark Twain, and was so listed on the manifest.[44] The writings of the voyage and the subsequent sojourn in Hawaii were to help establish Samuel Clemens's place in American literature.

Fish and Phillips appear in Twain's dispatches sometimes under their real names and elsewhere as pseudonyms, identified by the author as such:

> *Three of our passengers—old sea captains, whalers—Captain Cuttle [James Smith], Captain Phelps [Phillips], and Captain Fitch [Fish] (fictitious names)—had bought eight gallons of whiskey, and their friends sent them eleven gallons more (N.B. Owing to head winds and a rough sea, this outfit did not hold out; the nineteen gallons were ample for the proposed eight-day voyage, but we were out upwards of ten days, you see. The whalers were all dry and unhappy this morning.)*[45]

How much of this is hyperbole, which was Twain's stock in trade, may be judged from Twain's *Notebooks and Journals*. Here he identified Fish and Phillips by their correct names and indicated that the nine gallons were real while the gift of eleven was imaginary.[46]

Fish and Phillips were evidently primary sources for Twain. Several of the letters, such as the ones on the weather and sea conditions of the Pacific, the whalers' distinctive vocabulary, and the nine page dispatch on the whaling industry, probably arose from conversations among Twain and the two captains. The whole pleasant journey from New York to Honolulu took just 46 days, or less than half of the time required for a passage under sail.

The *Nile* returned from California 30 March 1866, under the command of George O. Graves, with 250 barrels of whale oil.[47] He reported the death of Dennis Kelly on 5 December 1865. When the news came out in the New London *Star*, 21 April 1866, it appeared that he had committed suicide by drowning.

Asa Fish resumed command of the *Nile* upon her arrival. He discharged those members of the crew whose contracts had expired, including Graves, in early April. On 14 April, Graves was back on board as second officer. The new chief mate was Asa's brother, James Fish.[48]

The *Nile* sailed for the Arctic on 15 April 1866. She returned to Honolulu with James Fish as master. Again the *Nile* had been a death ship for her captain. Asa Fish had died of heart disease at age 43 on 4 July and his brother, as first officer, had continued the cruise.[49] The *Nile* brought back 70 barrels of sperm oil, 900 barrels of whale oil, and 18,000 pounds of bone. The estimated value, based upon the average 1866 prices, was $65,000.

Captain Thomas Long, an experienced Pacific whaleman who had first sailed as master from New London in 1840, was now given command of the *Nile*. James Fish remained as mate when the bark departed Honolulu for Baja California on 4 December 1866. The *Nile* returned to Honolulu 31 March 1867 with 450 barrels of oil taken on the California grounds.[50]

On 27 April, the bark left Hawaii for the Arctic. The *Nile* and the *Monticello* of New London, commanded by Asa Fish's friend and traveling companion Captain Phillips, left the fleet in the Chukchi Sea and sailed westward, well into the East Siberian Sea. On 4 August the two barks parted company. The *Monticello* continued westward while the *Nile* steered northward for fifty miles. Long turned east 10 August, searching for elusive bowheads. On 14 August 1867 the masthead lookout sighted land, not whales. Long plotted the sighting as 70° 46' N, 178° 30'E and named it Point Thomas, after the man aloft. For two days, still stalking whales, the *Nile* sailed past, sometimes approaching as close as fifteen miles. Long made an elevation sketch of the terrain, but did not attempt to land. He was after whales, not geographic exploration. He suggested that the land be named for Ferdinand Wrangel of the Russian Navy, who had explored the Siberian coast on foot in the years 1820–24. Wrangel Island appears on today's charts, and the hundred-mile stretch of water that separates it from Siberia is known as Long Strait in memory of the *Nile*'s captain.[51]

In place of oil and bone, the four lucky survivors had brought back at least 550 suddenly homeless whalemen.

Long left the *Nile* after her return to Honolulu and 41-year-old William H. Allen of Groton, Connecticut, took command. Allen was noted for his successful voyages in the Sea of Okhotsk. Just six months earlier, as master of the New Bedford ship *Onward*, he had returned from one of the most productive four-year voyages on record. His personal share alone was $39,836.[52] In its 16 April 1867 issue the New Bedford *Whalemen's Shipping List* had commented: "Capt. Allen has been remarkably successful in whaling, always making big voyages, and probably no man understands the Ochotsk [sic] whaling better than him—having been more than twenty years engaged in whaling in that Sea."

Captain Allen signed on a new crew of 34, 19 of whom were kanakas—Pacific islanders—and cleared Honolulu on 4 December 1867 for a southern swing before heading into the Arctic. Captain Loveland of the Hawaiian bark *Eagle*, in a letter dated 31 March, placed the *Nile* at Pleasant Island.[53] The island, then a missionary outpost and a trading station for whalers, is now called Nauru and is just south of the equator near the 166th east meridian.

The *Nile* was spoken in the Okhotsk with 400 barrels of oil on an unreported date. She finally arrived in the Islands, 17 November 1868, after a cruise which appears to have been eleven months long, as there is no mid-point recruiting recorded in the sources. Allen reported 735 barrels aboard, which would have been worth approximately $19,000.[54]

On 26 December 1868, Captain Allen departed Honolulu for a second cruise by way of Ascension Island (Ponape) in the Carolines. In mid-August, The *Nile* was in the Okhotsk Sea, having taken 360 barrels of whale oil. She was back at Honolulu 8 November 1869 with 800 barrels, worth about $26,000.[55]

The *Nile's* Pacific hunting days at last were over. Her sisters in the Pacific fleet would have been home three or four times during the period she had been out. Now she too would round Cape Horn and return to New London. We can only speculate why she was ordered home. Her cruises under Long and Allen, while still profitable, were below the volumes taken by Fish. Then too, prices for oil and bone had fallen substantially from their 1865 heights: sperm whale oil was off 13 percent, whale oil was off 43 percent, and whalebone was off 41 percent. Four years had passed since her refit under Kelly and some decision would have to be made in this regard. In addition, Williams & Haven's Pacific interest seems to have shifted to sealing. With the purchase of Alaska from Russia by the U.S. in 1867, the firm had rushed a vessel north to make a claim on the Pribilof Islands seal rookeries and had become a

partner in the Alaska Commercial Company chartered to exploit the fur seals.[56]

The *Nile* would make the homeward passage as a cargo ship rather than an active whaler. With Captain William Earle and a smaller than normal crew she left Honolulu for New London on 4 December 1869. In addition to 400 barrels of her own oil, the bark carried oil for three other New London whalers: 590 barrels from the *Acors Barns*, 941 barrels from the *J.D. Thompson*, and 119 barrels from the *Monticello*. The *Nile* landed in Connecticut five months and two days later on 6 May 1870, having been away 18 days short of 12 years. During that time it is estimated that she had taken oil and bone worth $1,168,000.[57]

The *Nile* did not rest after her Pacific odyssey. Although she spent another nine years whaling after her monumental voyage, whaling was now clearly a dying enterprise. When the *Nile* sailed away from New London in 1858, 70 whalers had the home port of New London, Mystic, or Stonington. Upon her return in 1870, the *Nile* had but 21 sister ships, all in New London, for whalers sailed no more from Stonington and Mystic. New London now specialized in whaling and sea elephanting at Desolation and Heard Islands in the Indian Ocean and whaling in Hudson Bay and the Eastern Arctic.

The *Nile* completed her whaling career with five more voyages from New London into the Eastern Arctic. The longest, into Hudson Bay, was two weeks less than a year, while the shortest was of five months duration. Then, as New London's fleet dwindled still further, the *Nile* was sold to the Thames Towboat Company in 1879. She spent another 15 years in ignominious service as a barge until, in 1894, she apparently went to the breakers at age 68.[58]

For 53 of her 68 years, the *Nile* had gone awhaling. She had ridden the rising crest of the wave as America surged to dominance in world whaling in the glory years of the 1840s. In the 1850s she had become the second vessel in the San Francisco fleet that died aborning because of the sirens' call of the goldfields, and, ironically, she left the Pacific to return to New England as the center of whaling shifted from the Northeast to the Pacific shore. She had spent the tumultuous decade of the 1860s circling the Pacific without once returning home. When she finally did go back to New London, the industry had contracted, and she ended her whaling service with short voyages into the Eastern Arctic ice. It would have been a routine career save for one thing: she spent twelve years away from her home port, thereby earning a place in whaling annals as the vessel that made the longest whaling voyage. ■

NOTES

1. New London *Weekly Chronicle*, 27 May 1858, hereafter cited as *Weekly Chronicle*. Three New London newspapers of the time bore the name Chronicle: *New London Daily Chronicle*, *New London Weekly Chronicle*, *New London Chronicle*.

2. Honolulu *Friend*, September 1853, hereafter cited as *Friend*, reports the arrival of the *Montreal* at New Bedford after a voyage of 32½ months, with a cargo that sold for $136,000. New Bedford *Whalemen's Shipping List and Merchants' Transcript*, 27 September 1859, hereafter cited as *Shipping List*, reported the brig *Georgiana* arriving at New London 9 December, after an absence of 18 months, showing a profit of $12,000 on an investment of $9,000 (133 percent). *Friend*, August 1866, quoting the *New Bedford Standard*, stated that the *George Howland* and the *Corinthian* settled with their crews in the same week for a total of $500,000, an all-time record.

3. *New London Daily Star*, 9 February 1860, hereafter cited as *Star*, quoting the *Honolulu Advertiser*. An analysis of the crew lists for the *Nile*'s cruises from Hawaii reveals that the majority of the ship's complement were Islanders. William Allen's 1868 crew was 68 percent Hawaiian. Bob Kanaka, a Sandwich Islander in the *Nile*'s original crew out of New London in 1858, was listed as a resident of that city. "Whalers like Kanakas better than any other sailors – temperate, strong, faithful, peaceable & orderly," noted Mark Twain in his notebook, *Mark Twain's Notebooks and Journals*, ed. Frederick Anderson, Michael Frank, and Kenneth M. Sanderson, 3 vols., (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 1:115.

4. *Shipping List*, 18 February 1868.

5. *Ship Registers of New Bedford, Massachusetts*, 3 vols., (Boston: National Archives Project, 1940), 1:231.

6. Ibid. During the New Bedford phase of her career, the *Nile* sailed under the agency of Hathaway & Luce. David Coffin was one of her owners. Lloyd C.M. Hare, *Salted Tories* (Mystic: Marine Historical Association, 1960), p. 12. The *Nile*'s San Francisco agents were Moore & Folger. William J. Darling, a member of the executive committee of the Vigilantees, was an owner, and C.H. Todd personally outfitted the vessel's first voyage. *Friend*, March, July, and November 1854, and March 1855 recorded three round trips of the *Nile* under a Captain Rose between Port Townsend and Honolulu. The only industry in Washington Territory of any importance at the time was lumbering. A large sawmill was then located at Port Townsend.

7. Charles M. Scammon, *The Marine Mammals of the Northwestern Coast of North America* (1874; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1968), p. 273; *Shipping List*, 19 August 1856, cites the *New London Chronicle* as its source for the account of the purchase of four vessels by Charles A. Williams of C. A. Williams & Company, Honolulu. Three of them, the ships *Charles Phelps* and *Delta* and the brig *Agate*, were cruising in the North Pacific, while the *Nile* was in New London. All four were eventually registered in New London and operated by Williams & Haven, with Henry P. Haven and his partner, Thomas W. Williams, the father of Charles, listed as principal owners.

8. Comparison of crew lists of first and last cruise. New London Custom Hourse Records, Box 77 (FRC 32544) National Archives Federal Records Center, Waltham, Massachusetts, hereafter cited as Custom House, New London.

9. *Shipping List*, 10 August, 5 October 1858, 26 April 1859. The slowness of communication is evident here. The last report was contained in a letter written by Destin, 31 December, four months before it was published. *Star*, 7 December 1859. While the barrel of 31½ gallons was the unit used to report a whaler's catch, the oil was stowed on the vessel in wooden casks. These were not standard, as the following tabulation demonstrates. The *Shipping List*, 3 April 1849, reported the arrival of the freighter *Tsar* at Boston, 28 March 1849, with oil from the following North Pacific whalers.

Ship – Port	Casks	Gallons	Ave. Gal. per Cask
Cossak – Sippican	26 sperm	4,059	156
Monmouth – Cold Spring	54 sperm	9,415	174
Richmond – Cold Spring	145 whale	13,523	93
Adeline – New Bedford	89 whale	12,688	142.6
Alert – New London	28 whale	4,755	169.8

Casks were shipped knocked down with the staves numbered to assist the ship's cooper in assembling them as needed. The cost of the shooks, as the cask components were called, as well as the shipping charges, were based on the estimated volumes of the assembled casks on a per gallon basis.

10. *Shipping List*, 17 August 1858, reported that 11 vessels had been engaged to arrive in the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) in time to load the oil of the fall whaling fleet for the United States.

11. Asa W. Fish Papers, Coll. 101, G.W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum, hereafter cited as Fish Papers, contain several examples of these bills of lading.

12. *Shipping List*, 17 April 1860; Robert O. Decker, *Whaling Industry of New London* (York, Pennsylvania: Liberty Cap Books, 1973), Appendix IV, pp 178–79.

13. *Shipping List*, 5 June 1860.

14. Ibid., 14 February 1860.

15. *Friend*, November 1860; see also *Star*, 6, 18 November 1860. The sea was uniformly spelled "Ochotsk" in American sources prior to the 1880s. From then on it has been rendered "Okhotsk."

16. Haven to Fish, 3 April 1858, Fish Papers.

17. *Friend*, November 1860.

18. Agreement, C.A. Williams and Asa W. Fish, 5 November 1860, Fish Papers. The "Devil Fish" is the gray whale, which winters in the lagoons of Baja California. It yielded 24 to 35 barrels of oil and no commercial bone. It had the reputation of being a vicious fighter and was also known as scrag whale, rip sack, and mussel digger. See also John R. Bockstoce and Charles F. Batchelder, *Whales, Ice, and Men* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986), Appendix 5, p. 355; Mary Chipman Lawrence, *The Captain's Best Mate*, ed. Stanton Garner, (Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University Press, 1966), Appendix E, p. 271.



This crude portrait depicts the Nile *laid up near New London in 1877. At 103 feet in length and 26½ feet in breadth, she was nearly the same size as the* Charles W. Morgan.
Oil painting by C.P. French, 1903. (M.S.M. 39.1284)

19. *Friend*, December 1860; *Star*, 11 April 1861. The *Shipping List* dropped Destin's name from the New London tabulation as soon as the *Tempest* made port. This was customary. The captain's name, however, was not to reappear as a whaling master in any fleet reported by this publication. The *Tempest* was carried as being in port for some nine months, when she was dropped with no explanation. Seemingly, both man and ship were no longer engaged in the industry; *Friend*, December 1860.
20. *Shipping List*, 9 April 1861; *Friend*, May 1861; *Shipping List*, 18 June 1861.
21. *Friend*, November 1861.
22. Ibid.; *Shipping List*, 31 December 1861.
23. *Friend*, December 1861, July 1862.
24. Fish to Morgan & Stone, 22 May 1862, Fish Papers.
25. *Friend*, October 1862.
26. Haven to Fish, 8 September 1862, Fish Papers. The remark, "Ships are scarce and high, much more so than when you were here," supports the supposition that Fish visited New London while the *Nile* was in Australia. Except for this period, Fish's whereabouts in the Pacific are fairly well documented from 1857. Haven can't be referring to a time prior to Asa's sailing in 1857, as there was no scarcity of whalers then. In the winter of 1861, however, the federal government purchased 45 whalers and sent them loaded with stone to blockade southern ports.
27. Haven to Fish, 13 February 1863, Fish Papers.
28. *Friend*, April and November 1863.
29. Ledger page for the beginning of 1864, Fish Papers.
30. *Friend*, November 1863, reported the arrival of the *Nile* at Honolulu, 11 October, and concluded the account of the rescue with an expression of thanks from Captain Sisson, his officers and men to Captain Fish and his ship's company for their kind attentions. During the layover in Honolulu, according to the Fish Papers, Asa took on a new mate, Dennis Kelly of Lowell, Massachusetts, who signed on 10 November 1863 and extended his service for another year on 26 November 1864. Ten days after Kelly's arrival, the *Nile*'s cooper, Franklin S. Pierce, whom the *Friend* of December reported as a 23-year-old New Bedford man, succumbed ashore to typhus.
31. *Shipping List*, 26 January 1864; *Friend*, November 1864.
32. *Shipping List*, 16 August, 13 September 1864.
33. Ibid., 14 March 1865.
34. Haven to Fish, 4 August 1864, Fish Papers; Williams & Haven to Fish, 12 August 1864, Fish Papers. Rix dollars were currency units used by various Baltic countries at that time in commerce. Their values varied from country to country, but they were usually within a few cents of the American dollar. Shepard to Fish, 10 August 1865, Fish Papers. Shepard was Fish's personal agent who invested his money and handled his accounts with Williams & Haven and paid Mrs. Fish a monthly stipend.
35. Haven to Fish, 12 January 1865, Fish Papers.
36. *Illustrated London News*, 18 November 1865, p. 493.
37. Robert Lloyd Webb, "Late News too Late: Communicating Civil War to the Whalemen," *The Log of the Mystic Seaport* 36, 1 (Spring 1984): 10–12.
38. J. Thomas Sharf, *The Confederate States Navy* (1877; reprint, New York: Fairfax Press, 1977), p. 810.
39. *Star*, 28 July, 26 August 1865.
40. Ibid., 26 August 1865.
41. *Friend*, October 1865; *Shipping List*, 20 February 1866. For some reason Kelly did not command the vessel from San Francisco. C.S. Chadwick is listed as master on the crew list of 16 August. The second name is "Dennison Kelley." The only rank given is the master's. Chadwick sailed for San Francisco on 27 September, leaving Kelly in charge of a major refit of the bark. In addition to "a complete suit of metal [for coppering] and sails" which had been shipped from New London in 1863 and held in storage, Kelly executed drafts on Williams & Haven for over $12,000 which were duly honored.
42. Asa W. Fish, will, 29 January 1866, Fish Papers. Fish appointed Julius Shepard executor.
43. *Star*, 26 August 1865; Phillips to Fish, 22 January 1866, Fish Papers, for departure, and *Friend*, April 1866, for arrival and passenger list of the *Ajax*.
44. *Friend*, April 1866.
45. Mark Twain, *Letters From Hawaii*, ed. A. Grove Day, (New York: Appleton-Century, 1966), p. 4.
46. *Mark Twain's Notebooks and Journals*, 1: 113.
47. *Friend*, April 1866.
48. Custom House, New London, crew list, 14 April 1866.
49. *Friend*, May 1866; *Star*, 11 December 1866.
50. Custom House, New London, crew list, 4 December 1866; *Shipping List*, 28 May 1867. Long had reported that Fish developed some sort of paralysis in his left leg and was unfit for duty. When the bark returned to Honolulu, Long discharged Fish, who returned to New London. Long promoted John Baker to first officer from the original articles as noted in the supplemental crew list of 13 April 1867.
51. *Friend*, December 1867. Long made the suggestion in a letter to the editor, who proceeded to print the letter in full. The details of the discovery are taken from the letter. See also Bockstoce, *Whales, Ice, and Men*, for chart on page 145 and elevation sketch on page 146.
52. Barnard L. Colby, *New London Whaling Captains* (Mystic: Marine Historical Association, 1936).
53. Custom House, New London, crew list, 5 December 1867, and *Shipping List*, 28 January 1868 for embarkation; *Shipping List*, 28 July 1868.
54. *Shipping List*, 20 October, 29 December 1868.
55. *Shipping List*, 23 November, 20 December 1869.
56. Hare, *Salted Tories*, p. 43; Briton C. Busch, *The War Against the Seals: A History of the North American Seal Fishery* (Kingston, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985), pp. 106–10.
57. Custom House, New London, crew list, 3 December 1869; *Shipping List*, 11 January, 17 May 1870; Decker, *Whaling Industry of New London*, p. 99.
58. Reginald B. Hegarty and Philip F. Purrington, *Returns of Whaling Vessels Sailing From American Ports* (New Bedford: Old Dartmouth Historical Society Whaling Museum, 1959), p. 6.



Captain James A.M. Earle and his son Jamie pose on top of the hurricane house at the stern of the Morgan, *ca. 1903. Jamie sits in the port running light board lashed to the mizzen shrouds.* (75.383.34)

Life Aboard the Charles W. Morgan, *1841–1921*

As we celebrate the *Morgan's* hundred and fiftieth anniversary year, it is revealing to look at the experience of those who built her and served aboard her. During the year, we will present appropriate seasonal quotations from the diary of the ship's original owner, Charles W. Morgan, and from journals kept aboard the ship during five of her 37 whaling voyages, to offer a glimpse of the human side of the *Morgan*'s career in a brutal but essential industry.

You will notice an uneven command of English in the journal entries, but remember that during her career the *Morgan* was home to men of many races and nationalities, including New England "Yankees," northern European immigrants, Afro-American and West Indian blacks, Portuguese Azoreans and Cape Verdeans, "Kanakas" (South Pacific island natives), New Zealanders, Philippine island natives, and Japanese. For clarity, we have added punctuation where necessary in the journal entries.

The accompanying photographs of the *Morgan* were made available to the Museum by Mr. and Mrs. John W. McNatt, to whom we are grateful for permission to present them in *The Log*. These photographs are from a collection taken primarily by Honor Matthew Earle, wife of Captain James A.M. Earle and great grandmother of Mrs. McNatt.

The *Charles W. Morgan* was built by Jethro and Zachariah Hillman of New Bedford, Massachusetts, for the prominent Quaker whaling merchant Charles W. Morgan. Construction probably began in December 1840. Morgan recorded the progress in his diary.

Monday, 22 February 1841

commences gloomy and north east – but improves as the day progresses – Feeling that I live too Sedentary I took a long walk this afternoon and visited my new ship building by Mess[rs.] Hillman, in which already considerable progress is made. Found a new Blackwoods [Magazine] & have been engaged all the evening with that Capital tale of "Ten Thousand a Year" which progresses with undiminshed interest.

Tuesday, 2 March 1841

Nothing to record this day. Weather very fine but cooler. – One of my most constant walks is now to Hillman's Ship Yard to witness the progress of the new ship I am building there.

Diary of Charles W. Morgan, Coll. 27, vol. 2. G.W. Blunt White Library)

The *Morgan* departed on her first voyage in September 1841. She rounded Cape Horn in December and was whaling off South America in January 1842.

Off Cape Horn, Monday, 13 December 1841

Begins with moderate breezes from NW. about 6 oclock raised a Shoal of Whales of Deck. Lowered the quarter Boats. the Bow & Waist Boats were over head, put them out and Lowered in chase. The Starboard Boat Struck a small [17 barrel] Cow Whale. the Larboard Boat struck & drawed his iron. took the whale to the ship. Middle finished Cutting. Last part a Gale from N.N.E. and rainy. Caught a Porpoise. Course NW by W.

Cruising off Callao, Wednesday, 12 January 1842

Begins with pleasant weather wind S.E. about 10 oclock saw a large Sperm Whale. Lowered 4 Boats Chased him untill one oclock came on board & got Dinner. Lowered again and chased him untill it was dark. So Ends. heading SW.

Sunday, 6 February 1842

A Laying in Callao the Sea Port of Lima. the S[tarboard] Watch on Liberty, a playing with the Spanyards. It was one of their feast Days.

(Log of the *Morgan's* first voyage, 1841–45, kept by Second Mate James C. Osborn. Log 143, G.W. Blunt White Library)

During the *Morgan*'s seventh voyage, 1863–67, Captain Landers was accompanied by his wife. The captain did not get along with his crew, and Mate Charles Chace recorded one confrontation at the breakfast table in January 1867.

Bound for Cape Horn, Thursday, 17 January 1867

Strong westerly winds & fair. all sail set. steering E by S 1/2 S & at 7 a.m. whilst getting Breakfast the Capt. complained of the Coffees being poor. asked the Steward what was the matter with it. he says nothing that he knew of. the Capt. then told him it was nothing but water and not to give him no words or he would muzzle him. the Steward told him he had done everything he could to please him. the Capt told him to shut up his head. the Steward says I want to know what I have done. the Capt. then jumps up and goes to the Pantry clinches the Steward hauls him out & drives him upon deck. Mrs Landers being at the table gets up & leaves. the Capt. then sits down and says I expect I shall have this ship taken from me yet before we get home you officers will spoil a man if I get one. I then said I thought that he talked to the men as much as I did & had the Steward talking with him in the after cabin. he said he had a right to. I told him I had. he then jumped up and came for me. I got up. he told me to got to my room. I told him that I would finish my breakfast first. he then called me the owners fancy mate that I had been corresponding with them all the voyage and that he ought to have put me on shore, other masters would have done it and that the owners would build me a Silver ship and much more after this style. I told him I would go off duty if he wanted me to. he said I could go to the old harry if I liked called me a liar &c. Saw killers [killer whales ?] lanced one. Lat. 51.23 South

Friday, 18 January 1867

Strong westerly winds & fair. all sail set. steering E 1/2 S. The Steward told the Capt he was sick. the Capt told him he had the sulks & he would take them out of him, sent for Horn the previous Cook put him in Steward & sent the Steward forward [to join the crew in the forecastle]. Saw a ship steering to the eastward. Latitude 53.14 South. Wet [the] hold [to prevent shrinkage of the casks]
(Log of the *Morgan*'s seventh voyage, 1863–67, kept by First Mate Charles W. Chace, Log 146, G.W. Blunt White Library)



The Charles W. Morgan *is hove to, with her fore topsails aback, possibly for a gam with the vessel from which this photograph was taken. A boat's crew on the hurricane house at the stern prepares to lower the larboard (port) boat.* (75.383.16)



Jamie Earle cleans his gun just aft of the smoky tryworks. The whaleman at left minces blubber while the man tending the tryworks in the background bails oil from the trypots into a copper cooling tank beside the tryworks. The tryworks fire is fueled with scraps of rendered blubber, producing thick, greasy smoke. The metal basket between the smokestacks is a cresset, which would be hoisted aloft full of ignited blubber at night to provide illumination during the dark hours of this nonstop process. (75.383.31)

During the *Morgan*'s twelfth and longest voyage, 1881–86, Captain Charles Keith took the *Morgan* to the southwest Pacific, with repeated calls at New Zealand. It was a voyage plagued with sickness, desertion, and poor whaling. Captain Keith's wife and son were aboard for part of the voyage.

Tuesday, 12 January 1886

First part fine weather. wind light from ESE. ship on S[tarboard] tack. at dark shorten sail. Middle part nearly calm. Lattr at daylight breeze sprang up from NW. Ship steering ESE under all sail. broke out Water and Sugar. employed calking the deck in places.
Lat. 36.07, Long. 179.27

Thursday, 28 January 1886

First part weather hazy. strong breeze and heavy swell on. at two P.M. saw a number of whales coming from windward going to the SE. at four loward the boats. about five waist boat went on and struck. Larboard boat went on to strike and got stove. whale run to windward. got two Bombs into him. line parted and he went to leeward spouting good blood. nearly dark. boats returned on board at dark. Middle and Lattr weather cloudy, strong breeze. ship laying aback on two hour tacks until five AM. made sail and kept by the wind undr topsails, course, jib, and spanker until ten then stood off S[outh] Lat 37.21, Long. 178.51

(Log of the *Morgan*'s twelfth voyage, 1881–86, Log 149, G.W. Blunt White Library)

Eighty-seven years ago, the *Morgan* was three months into her twenty-eighth voyage. Since leaving New Bedford in 1886, she had been making one-year voyages through the Pacific and into the Arctic from San Francisco. Captain James Earle brought his wife and young son along on this voyage. The ship's log was kept by First Mate Emanuel F. Morgan, a native of the Seychelle Islands.

Wednesday, 14 January 1903

Commence with strong gale of wind. Bk lay to under [two] stay sail. In the Morning we Bent the fore stay sail. We lost the S.B. [starboard boat] over board the SBB Davis [starboard bow boat davits] are away so we made the Boat fast best we know how. at night blew very hard rain hard. so end

Monday, 19 January 1903

Come in with fine weather. wind from S.E. very light. due the day we put out the new fly jib Boom, set up the rigging. at 4 P.M. we Raised schools sperm Whale. lowered 4 Boat. L.B. [larboard boat] struck. W.B. [waist boat] struck, lost is Whale. B.B. [bow boat] struck, S.B. struck, so we took along side 4 whale. let her lay untill morning. so end
Lat. 11.03 S., Long. 140.34 W.

Saturday, 24 January 1903

Come in with fresh breeze from S.E. Bk steering N.W. by W. running free under all sail. due the morning we finish boiling. We put the Boat down from the top the house for repaired for replace the Starb Boat. at night fine weather. so end.
Lat. 8.58 S., Long. 144.54 W.

(Log of the *Morgan*'s twenty-eighth voyage, 1902–03, kept by First Mate Emanuel F. Morgan, Log 153, G.W. Blunt White Library)

Under command of Captain John Gonsalves, the *Morgan* began her last voyage on 9 September 1920, heading for the West Indies. The crew was entirely of Portuguese origin.

(Off the West Indies) Sunday, 6 February 1921

to day at daylight Rais scull bal whales. mate got one, 2 mate got one. careing to anchoring. So end the day

Monday, 7 February 1921

this day Cutting the whals and leve one Head Reamend out Scuit thing. Strad [start] the [try] Works. So end the day

Thursday, 10 February 1921

this day emploing in schip [duty.] at 9 am Rais long whals going Cuick. donot get them. Came board. going

(Log of the *Morgan*'s thirty-seventh and last voyage, 1920–21, Log 161, G.W. Blunt White Library)

EVENTS

Mystic Seaport's schooner Brilliant *is a model of superlative craftsmanship and maintenance. A sail aboard one of the most beautiful sailing vessels in the world is a truly rewarding experience, in which everyone helps sail the boat and works as a team. What better way to really get to know your family, friends, and business associates than to take them for an unforgettable weekend aboard* Brilliant*? For more information please call ext. 323.*
(Photo by Mary Anne Stets)



Sign Up Now for a Brilliant *Experience*

Mystic Seaport's schooner *Brilliant* is being prepared for another year of sail education. Participants in the *Brilliant* program act as the crew of this remarkable craft, an educational and exhilarating experience. These sailing excursions are a special way to spend time with family, friends, and business associates.

Spring sails for adults aboard *Brilliant* will take place from 17 May through the weekend of 7 June, and fall sails from 6 September through 14 October. Several of the fall weekend sails will include races. Four-day weekends are $490 per person.

This year *Brilliant* will participate in Off Soundings Races on the weekends of 13 June and 12 September, and in the Mystic Seaport Schooner Race the weekend of 6 September. This four-day experience includes a day of preparation before the race, and sailing after the race.

The *WoodenBoat* School in Brooklin, Maine, will offer two programs aboard *Brilliant* for downeast sailing this year, from 28 July to 3 August and from 4 to 9 August. The school will offer a third sail out of Mystic from 27 to 30 September. Please contact the *WoodenBoat* School at (207) 359-4651.

Summer sailing for teens from 15 to 19 aboard *Brilliant* will be from 23 June through the last week of August. These six-day sessions are $575 per student. One special four-day session 24 to 27 May will be offered at the reduced rate of $385. One seven-day session 25 to 31 August, which includes the Classic Yacht Regatta out of Newport, Rhode Island, costs $690 per student. No previous sailing experience is necessary for these hands-on seagoing voyages.

For more information or to register, please call ext. 323.

Sail Education 1991

The 1991 season for the *Joseph Conrad* Program for 12- to 16-year-olds will go from 23 June through 19 August. There will be four six-day sessions for beginning sailors, two for intermediate sailors, and one nine-day session for advanced sailors. Those who complete the intermediate sessions will receive American Red Cross Basic Sailing cards. The beginner session is $395, intermediate is $420, and advanced is $685. For more information please call ext. 323.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

FEBRUARY

Winter hours continue. All exhibits open from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M. until 9 April.

Neptune's Attic: 60 Years of Collecting continues in the Schaefer Building. A celebration of the Museum's 60th anniversary from a curatorial standpoint. Highlights of the Museum's finest collections on display.

John A. Noble: The Rowboat Drawings continues in the P.R. Mallory Building through 3 March. See page 106.

Selections from the Inventory continues at the Mystic Maritime Gallery, Seaport Stores, through 14 April. More than 100 paintings, sculptures, scrimshaw and models of a variety of maritime subjects by leading artists from around the world, all from Gallery inventory. Special commissions of a painting or model can be arranged. For more information, call the Gallery at (800) 344-0675, or in Connecticut 572-8524.

1 ***Fabulous February Frame Sale*** in the Print Shop, Mystic Seaport Museum Stores. As much as ten percent savings on selected frames in stock and custom framing packages. Through 28 February. For more information, call 572-8551.

5 ***Winter Workshops Continue: Getting the Most Out of Your Sails.*** 7 P.M. to 8:30 P.M. in the Youth Training Building. Professional sailor and sailmaker Rick Applin discusses sail theory and use. Each Workshop costs $6 per person (nonmembers $6.50). For more information please call ext. 323.

6 ***Introduction to Coastal Navigation.*** Basic chart work, understanding tides and currents, and aids to navigation. Five Wednesdays from 7:30 P.M. to 9:30 P.M. at the Planetarium. $54 (nonmembers $60). For more information please call ext. 397.

9 to 24 ***The Presidents' Birthday Party and Presidential Scavenger Hunt.*** Youngsters interested in finding out more about U.S. presidents, seeing items that belonged to them and having fun while they're at it will have a chance to do all these things this month. For more information please call ext. 315.

11 to 15 ***Star Tech,*** A week-long workshop during school vacation week featuring experiments, models, arts and crafts, telescope viewing, and chart work for youngsters nine to thirteen. 9 A.M. to 1 P.M. $50 (nonmembers $56). For more information please call ext. 397.

12 ***Whitbread Around the World Race of 1989–1990.*** Winter Workshop movie, 7 P.M. to 9 P.M. in the Youth Training Building. Twenty-three yachts competed in this 33,000-mile, nine-month race through cold, hurricane winds, and doldrums. For more information please call ext. 323.

12 to 15 ***Liberty Days.*** See page D.

15 ***Early Deadline*** for applications to Williams College-Mystic Seaport Maritime Studies Program 1991–1992 academic year. For more information call ext. 359.

19 ***Morning Fun for Kids*** begins. See outside wrapper.

19 ***The 1990 Bermuda Race: Behind the Scenes.*** Winter Workshop, 7 P.M. to 9 P.M. in the Youth Training Building. Professional sailor Alison Weir shares her experiences in the 1990 Bermuda Race, including preparations, safety issues and crew selection, with videotape taken on board. For more information or to register please call ext. 323.

19 ***Basic Celestial Navigation.*** Use of the sextant and *Nautical Almanac*, star identification, plotting, and timekeeping. Twelve Tuesdays from 7:30 P.M. to 9:30 P.M. at the Planetarium. $130 (nonmembers $144). For more information please call the Planetarium, ext. 397.

25 ***Advanced Smithing Class.*** Eight sessions on Mondays and Wednesdays. Instructed by Walter Scadden, a professional blacksmith with 15 years architectural and decorative work. For students with some blacksmithing skills, this class will focus on advanced forge work and decorative techniques. All materials and tools provided. $200 (nonmembers $220). For more information please call ext. 256.

28 ***Wintertide Performance: Forebitter and Josiah Gardner.*** See outside wrapper.

MARCH

4 ***Loran C: North Star 800.*** Introduction to basic theory and use with hands-on instruction using student's own North Star 800. Three Mondays from 7:30 P.M. to 9:30 P.M. at the Planetarium. $67 (nonmembers $75). For more information please call the Planetarium, ext. 397.

5 ***Boatbuilding Classes begin.*** Covers a variety of operations basic to traditional wooden boatbuilding including planking, cutting a stem rabbet, steam bending, solid spar making, edge tool sharpening, caulking, lofting, and more. Separate classes to meet Tuesdays and Thursdays, 7:30 P.M. to 9:30 P.M. Cost is $265 (nonmembers $295). For more information please call ext. 328.

7 ***Applied Meteorology for the Yachtsman.*** Former geology professor Jack MacFadyen will talk about weather patterns, anticipating the weather, and short-term forecasting with simple equipment. Eight Thursdays from 7:30 P.M to 9:30 P.M. at the Planetarium. $79 (nonmembers $88). For more information please call the Planetarium at ext. 397.

9 ***Ninth Annual Victorian Yankee Program.*** See outside wrapper.

15 ***Neptune's Attic II*** opens in the P.R. Mallory Building, featuring textiles, furniture, and domestic arts from the Museum's collection supplementing the 60th anniversary exhibition in the R.J. Schaefer Building. On display through October.

15 & 22 ***Fireplace Cooking Class.*** Two one-session classes offered 6 P.M. to 10 P.M. Each class, held in the Buckingham House kitchen, features hands-on instruction in open-hearth cooking techniques. Participation is limited to eight people per class; early reservations suggested. Minimum age is 14. $40 per person (nonmembers $45). For more information please call ext. 256.

16 ***Introduction to GPS.*** Introduction to theory and use of the Global Positioning Satellite navigational system. One session from 1 P.M. to 5 P.M. at the Planetarium. $45 (nonmembers $50). For more information please call the Planetarium at ext. 397.

16 ***Spring Sailing and Racing Series*** begin. Weekly classes offered for beginner, intermediate, and advanced sailors. For more information please call the Education Department at ext. 323.

21 ***Wintertide Performance: The Cutting Edge of Fashion, circa 1876.*** See outside wrapper.

22 to 24 ***Fourth Annual Yachting History Symposium.*** See outside wrapper.

23 ***Introduction to Radar.*** Basic theory and use, antenna operation and radar navigation. One afternoon from 1 P.M. to 5 P.M. at the Planetarium. $45 (nonmembers $50). For more information please call the Planetarium at ext. 397.

25 ***Introduction to GPS.*** Introduction to basic theory and use of the Global Positioning Satellite navigational system. One session from 7:30 P.M. to 9:30 P.M. at the Planetarium. $22 (nonmembers $25). For more information please call the Planetarium at ext. 397.

30 ***Introduction to Loran.*** Basic theory and use. One Saturday, 1 P.M. to 5 P.M. at the Planetarium. $45 (nonmembers $50). Please call ext. 397.

APRIL

8 ***Outdoor demonstrations*** of maritime activities begin. Whaleboat demonstrations, sail handling, fish splitting, and more. Full schedule available at the gates. Museum open 9 A.M. to 5 P.M.

15 ***Late Application Deadline*** for Williams College-Mystic Seaport Maritime Studies Program's 1991–1992 academic year. For more information call Maritime Studies, ext. 359.

19 to 21 ***Celestial Navigation Seminar.*** Intensive three-day introductory course starting 9:30 A.M. Friday, and ending at 4 P.M. Sunday. $198 (nonmembers $220). For more information call the Planetarium, ext. 397.

21 ***Second Annual Mystic One Hundred*** at the Mystic Maritime Gallery, Seaport Stores, through 16 June. New work by 100 artists selected for their outstanding contribution to the field of contemporary marine art. For more information or a color catalog call the Gallery at (800) 344-0675, or in Connecticut 572-8524.

25 ***Wintertide Performances: Nineteenth-Century Medicine with Dr. Wiley.*** See outside wrapper.

28 ***Family Day*** at Williams College-Mystic Seaport Maritime Studies Program.

MAY

11 & 12 ***Pilot Weekend.*** A working weekend for Pilot members.

17 to 19 ***Lines Taking Workshop.*** Intermediate-level workshop in measuring and drafting boat lines given by Dave Dillion, small craft expert. Begins at 1 P.M. Friday. Cost is $150. For more information call Peter Vermilya, ext. 319.

17 ***Schooner* Brilliant *weekend cruises for adults begin.*** For information on these and other adult weekend cruises in the fall, call the Education Department, ext. 323. See page A.

17 ***S.S.* Sabino *begins 1991 season.*** Half-hour trips daily on the hour, 11 A.M. to 4 P.M. Ninety-minute excursion at 5 P.M. nightly. Individual tickets for all cruises are available at the *Sabino* booth. Group reservations and charters can be made through the Seaport's Travel Development Office, ext. 331.

18 ***The Boathouse opens,*** weekends only 10 A.M. to 5 P.M. until 24 June. A livery program for classic wooden boats to row and sail. For a small fee, members may rent a variety of boats, as well as take a a half-hour sail aboard the Crosby catboat *Breck Marshall.*

20 ***Nineteenth-Century Garden Tours begin.*** Thirty-minute tour contrasting an early nineteenth-century kitchen garden of a coastal farming family with the decorative flower garden of the later Victorian period. From the Buckingham House, 11 A.M. and 3 P.M. daily through 15 October.

25 to 27 ***Lobster Festival.*** Memorial Day Weekend. Lobster dinners sold 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. daily along the waterfront, accompanied by sea music.

27 ***Decoration Day.*** Authentic nineteenth-century observances include parade and wreath ceremony by costumed staff.

JUNE

1 & 2 ***Twenty-second Annual Small Craft Workshop.*** Boat enthusiasts meet to discuss traditional small watercraft and to exhibit, row, and sail boats from their own collections. For more information, please call ext. 328.

7 to 9 ***Twelfth Annual Sea Music Festival.*** A Seaport event that has become famous among enthusiasts of traditional sea music worldwide. Music is played throughout the grounds, and demonstrations and workshops will also be given throughout the weekend. Look for more information in the next issue of *The Log.*

22 ***A Reflection of America*** opens. See page D.

23 **Joseph Conrad *Sail Education Program begins.*** See page A.

23 ***Marine Art from the Society of Illustrators*** at the Mystic Maritime Gallery, Seaport Stores, through 15 September. For more information or a color catalog, please call (800) 344-0675, or in Connecticut, 572-8524.

24 ***"Just for Kids" begins.*** Children's activities offered on the green and in the Children's Museum on a drop-in basis. Nineteenth-century games and special tours and activities for children and family groups. No pre-registration required. Daily through Labor Day.

24 ***Summer schedule begins;*** full activity and demonstration schedule seven days a week.

24 ***Summer Evening Hours*** begin. A variety of activities until dusk, including live entertainment every night, games for children, and food. Through 3 September.

24 ***The Boathouse*** operates seven days a week.

24 ***Munson Institute graduate-level program in American Maritime Studies begins.*** For more information please call the Munson Institute at ext. 359.

JULY

1 ***Application Deadline for Paul Cuffee Memorial Fellowships,*** which offer stipends for study of the role of black and native Americans in American maritime history. For more information please call the director of the Munson Institute of American Maritime Studies, ext. 359.

3 ***Sky Watcher's Guide*** begins. Wednesdays at 8:30 P.M. through Aug. 28. Secrets of the summer sky are revealed in this 45-minute program suitable for family groups, followed by outdoor telescope observations of planets and stars. Adults $2, children (6 to 15) $1. Call the Planetarium, ext. 397.

4 ***Independence Day.*** A celebration in traditional 1870s style. Picnicking, parade by costumed staff, patriotic ceremony with music, and games for children.

An Enriching Graduate Program

Since 1955, hundreds of people have expanded their understanding of America's relationship with the sea at Mystic Seaport's Frank C. Munson Institute of American Maritime Studies. Those interested in broadening their knowledge of maritime history can take advantage of the Institute's three graduate courses this summer from 24 June to 1 August.

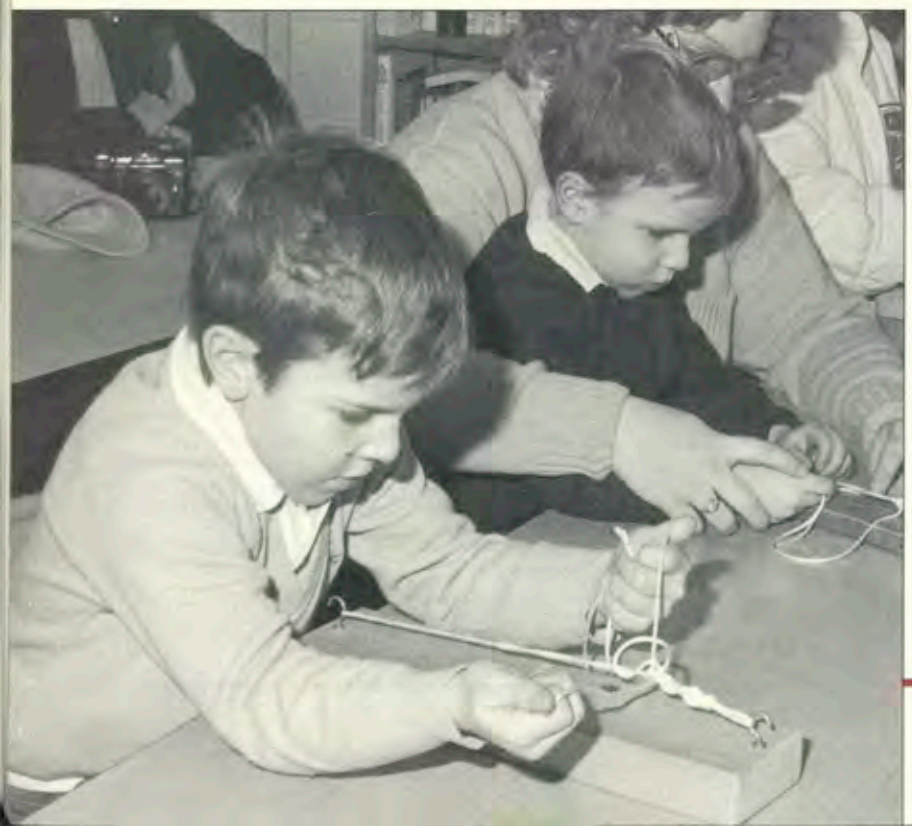
"American Maritime History" traces the development of mercantile enterprise, from colonial times to the present, and its relationship to American political, economic, and cultural history. "Topics in American Maritime Studies" uses reading, research, and discussions to explore themes such as the ship; seaport communities; life on the line; authority and the individual in the world of sail; and the sea voyage as initiation, maturation, and test of character. "Independent Research in American Maritime Studies" involves independent preparation of a major research paper on a topic of the student's choice.

The courses may be taken for credit through Connecticut College, Trinity College, University of Connecticut, or Wesleyan University at $500 per course, or audited at one-half tuition. Continuing education units available by arrangement. Furnished housing also available. Please write by 24 May to Director, Munson Institute, at the Seaport address, or call ext. 359.

Come Ashore for Liberty Days!

Kids ages seven to eleven are on liberty from 12 to 15 February at the Seaport. Special vacation activities will include stories, games, music, and a sailor's snack. Meet in the Visitor Reception Center at 9:30 A.M.; program ends at noon. Cost is $10 (nonmembers $11). Pre-registration required. For more information or to register, please call ext. 322.

(Photo by Elizabeth French)



Summer Internship Offered

This year the Munson Institute will again offer its Summer Internship in Museum Studies. Participants use Seaport facilities to learn about all aspects of museum operation, a valuable experience for students with an interest in a career in museum work or in other fields. This program has attracted a diverse group of participants in recent years, making it an enriching experience for all. There is no tuition for the Internship, and furnished housing is provided by the Museum at minimal expense. Please apply by 1 May. For more information please contact Program Director Glenn S. Gordinier at ext. 389.

Numerous Activities Planned for Morgan's 150th

The upcoming year will see Mystic Seaport come alive with a variety of exhibits, events, programs and special projects to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the *Charles W. Morgan*. These activities will take place in honor of the sesquicentennial of the last survivor of America's wooden whaling fleet, fifty years after her arrival at Mystic Seaport.

The theme of the celebration will be "A Reflection of America." Exhibitions and other projects will offer comparisons and parallels between the ship's history and American life.

An exhibition telling the story of the *Morgan* in a broad context will open 22 June in the Stillman Building. It will focus on four separate generations of Americans, each of which contributed to the ship's history.

The *Morgan* and Chubb's Wharf will be outfitted more completely with the type of equipment that would have been on hand during the age of whaling, including sailors' clothing and sea chests, ironware, trypots and other gear. Increased accessibility and interpretation on the ship is also planned.

After hours in the summer, there will be special programs by lantern light on board the *Morgan*. Chubb's Wharf will also be the site of daily theatrical performances drawing families into the whaler's world.

Two regular events, the *Moby-Dick* Marathon and the Sea Music Festival, will have a special focus on the *Morgan* this year. Forebitter, the chantey-singing quartet, and Josiah Gardner, a character played by Seaport roleplayer Glenn Gordinier, will collaborate on a cassette of stories and music.

A party with music and dancing is planned for July, and a lecture series on the theme "A Reflection of America" will take place in the fall.

The Education Department will prepare a new curriculum packet for schools, which will contain a series of lesson plans focusing on the *Morgan* as a reflection of change in American culture. An interactive computer exhibit on whaling, a video of "Whales, Whaling and Whalemen," and new publications are also planned.

Look for more information on the *Morgan*'s 150th anniversary in the next issue of *The Log*.

Sea Lanes in Wartime

Part 2: Gunrunning in the Revolution

ROBERT G. ALBION & JENNIE B. POPE

(Reprinted with the kind permission of the estate of Robert G. Albion)

The story of our wartime shipping begins in 1775, when for the first time American ships and sailors had to fend for themselves. True, the colonists had had to defend their vessels from armed violence almost from the very beginning, but always before that year the powerful Royal Navy had been their protector. On scores of occasions, the colonial seafarers had taken measures to make the local sea lanes safe from privateers and pirates; from Dutchmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards, and renegade Britons. Even the first product of Boston shipyards, the *Blessing of the Bay*, is said to have been used as a warship against pirates. The Yankee attack and capture of Louisburg in 1745 was undertaken to cripple the French privateers who were preying on their fishing fleet. But behind all such efforts had always stood the formidable bulwark of the Royal Navy.

Now the Americans of 1775 found themselves not only "on their own" but with that same great navy as their foe. By all the rules, the rebellious colonists should have been in a very tight place, if not helpless before the potential pressure of the Royal Navy. British warships should have found it easy to bottle up American harbors and strangle commerce as effectively as they were to do later. The Royal Navy had, in fact, no other fighting on its hands before 1778 to interfere with its concentration upon the strip of coast. Only a few years before, it had shown itself the most powerful navy afloat with its smashing successes in the Seven Years' War. Yet now it seemed able to accomplish little. Not only did it fail to secure sufficient control of the seas to enable British shipping to come and go safely, but it could not keep the Americans from the sea.

To be able to move about at all was a real triumph for the Americans with British naval might on the scene. At the same time, the coastal waters were more a "no man's land" than controlled by either belligerent during the eight years of fighting. Around 1780, both the Tories of New York and the patriots of Philadelphia were paying extraordinarily high insurance premiums to the West Indies and back, but this was an extreme situation. By and large, whether Yankee or pro-British, four vessels out of five reached their ports safely throughout the hostilities.

The lost opportunity of the Royal Navy is all the more impressive in view of the urgency of America's needs from overseas. The Revolution has been the only war in which the United States has stood in desperate straits from lack of strategic materials from beyond the seas. The Confederate states in the Civil War were in a similar position, but that was not the nation, of course. In the Revolution, the Yankee problem involved more than the retention of the normal commercial swapping of fish, flour, and tobacco for textiles, hardware, and sugar. Washington's army in fact faced helpless surrender without the gunpowder and other military supplies that were smuggled in past the king's ships.

Yet not even this was the whole story of the American triumph in the supply lines. England's great masts for its navy came from the tall trees of the primeval forests of northern New England, and in those days of wooden ships, masts were a specialized and essential factor in naval supplies. In few places did pines grow of sufficient height and strength for the navy's hard usage. By withholding this vital strategic material, the Yankees struck an effective blow, and one which became increasingly damaging to the Royal Navy.

The war at sea came on only very gradually, unlike the land fighting that kept up a rapid pace following Lexington and Concord in April 1775. Strange as it seems, that year saw American exports to England heavier than ever before through the action of the Continental Congress, which voted in the fall of 1774 to permit this trade until September 1775. Imports, on the other hand, followed a more normal course for trade between belligerents, as the Congress stopped them after 1 December 1774. Most of the colonies rigidly observed these nonimportation orders, and as a result the imports were the lightest in seventy years.

But war or no war, all the colonies made the most of the last chance to export to England. English merchants, for their part, rushed ships to America to bring back cargoes that would help reduce the debts owed them by the colonists. At the end of the year, Parliament prohibited all trade with the colonies during their rebellion. On 6 April 1775, Congress declared America's independence from the economic side of the British colonial system; and with that, British imperial regulations no longer could bar Americans from several lucrative fields. For the first time, the hitherto forbidden trade with France and northern Europe was opened to them – if the Royal Navy did not prevent it.

Among the men who helped make American independence possible was one whose name is not familiar to us in that connection. He is well known in our daily round as the inventor of that common basis of the quick lunch, the sandwich. As First Lord of the Admiralty during the Revolution, John Montagu, fourth earl of Sandwich, probably did more damage to the navy entrusted to his care than any hostile French admiral was ever able to do. Under his guidance, the splendid fighting machine that had thoroughly smashed the French in the last war was not a ghost of its former self. Its ships were too few and too rotten. Its admirals were incompetent or disgruntled. During the latter part of the Revolution, the French, Spanish, and Dutch fleets threatening home waters were some excuse for the navy's troubles. Perhaps Sandwich does not deserve to be the only scapegoat, but the fact remains that for the first three years of the war the only antagonists facing his fleets were the rebellious colonists who entered the hostilities with no navy at all.

Certainly a rigid naval blockade from the outset would have made it impossible for the Americans to carry on, as they did, a respectable amount of sea-borne trade throughout the war. One of Sandwich's colleagues pointed out at the beginning that the proper way to win the war was to cut the Americans off from the outside world, but it took Sandwich a full three years to come around to that point of view. Not until 1777 did the Royal Navy, stirred out of its lethargy, finally put to sea "everything that would swim," with resulting higher American insurance rates, which suggest it was more risky to escape from port in 1782 than in 1776.

During the intervening years, the Sanwich regime gave a far from vigorous demonstration of sea power. There was almost none of the steady, tedious, grueling blockading, month in and month out, which was to yield such effective results in the War of 1812. Only 30 British warships were on the American station at the time of Bunker Hill. These included a few small two-deckers and a group of little cruisers. One was at New York and one at Portsmouth, while the rest generally hung around Boston. Even if these vessels had kept constantly on the move, they were insufficient in force for a successful blockade of Yankee commerce. Then, and for some time to come, the navy spent most of its time, moreover, tending out on the army–first around Boston, later near New York and Philadelphia. Gradually a few of the scores of ships that had long been lying idle in "Rotten Row" in the British dockyards were refitted for sea. By the summer of 1776, some 70 ships were on the station, and thereafter the number fluctuated between that and 90 until the French entered the war, when it became considerably larger. A few energetic commanders in big frigates, such as Collier in the *Rainbow*, Hamond in the *Roebuck*, and "the demon Wallace" in the *Phoenix*, made things hot for the Americans with their raids, cruises, and occasional harbor vigils; but their activities were spasmodic. Frequent opportunities were available for Yankee vessels to slip out of port with a fair chance of reaching their destination safely.

Some of these gaps in the British cordon were plugged by those forgotten vessels, the loyalist privateers. Their exploits have been passed over by history although the deeds of the British Navy, of the American Navy, and of patriot privateers have all been recounted many times. These neglected Americans, who sailed under royal commissions, were particularly active at New York, where Governor Tryon began to grant letters of marque in September 1778. Six months later, he had issued 121 of these to vessels which had already brought in 165 prizes, valued at £1,200.000. Some were simply little whaleboats or similar small craft, but they raised havoc in Delaware and Chesapeake Bays. According to one recruiting advertisement for a 16-gun ship, "Seamen of spirit who would prefer rich French prizes to piddling along-shore in boats, have now an opportunity to make their fortunes." Many of the New York raiders belonged to the Goodrich firm which would later, in 1794, operate privateers against Yankee shipping from Bermuda. A few British privateers raided the Maine coast from Nova Scotia in practice for their more extensive operations in 1812, while a few others operated against southern sea lanes from St. Augustine. Altogether, these privateers did much to make the seas more dangerous for patriot shipping, and in some cases were well rewarded for their pains.

With no navy of their own, the patriots had to improvise one as quickly as possible. It was a pretty sorry affair–in the eyes of those who want glamor in their naval history. There was, to be sure, John Paul Jones and his famous *Bonhomme Richard*, but she never came within three thousand miles of America and had only a handful of Americans among her crew. Yet valuable, if prosaic, service was rendered by that motley navy in maintaining vital commercial contacts. It included 13 built-to-order frigates and 30-odd converted merchantmen, together with the more numerous smaller vessels of the 11 state navies. Of course, the Continental Navy had to spend some of its time chasing prizes as an inducement to sailors to join its crews; otherwise it could not have competed with privateers for competent seamen. Most of its energies, however, were devoted to convoying merchantmen through the danger zone, sometimes even as far as the West Indies and back. Far less orthodox for a navy was its yeoman service in the conveying of government-owned tobacco to exchange for supplies of munitions or specie,



In a dramatic night attack on 16 August 1776, an American flotilla of galleys and fire ships came down the Hudson River against a British Navy squadron composed of HMS Phoenix *(left),* Rose *(right),* Asia, *and* Experiment. *However, until France entered the war, the British Navy on the American station rarely faced such challenges.*
Oil painting by Dominic Serres, 1777, from a sketch by Sir James Wallace, commander of HMS *Experiment*. (M.S.M. 49.804)



Halifax, Nova Scotia, became the Royal Navy's principal North American base during the Revolution. Once Halifax merchants had traded with New England; during the war they outfitted privateers to capture the ships of their former trading partners.
Aquatint engraving. (Joseph DesBarres, *Atlantic Neptune*, vol. 1, no. 35, London, 1781)

deemed too precious to be entrusted to ordinary merchantmen. Many naval vessels were captured or wrecked in the performance of such unusual duties.

In addition, a swarm of vessels, sometimes estimated at two thousand, received letters of marque from Congress or the state governments. Many of them were straight privateers with the sole purpose of capturing fat merchantmen. Their effect on the American shipping situation was only indirect. They brought large quantities of prize goods into port; they forced the Royal Navy to disperse its forces in convoy duty; and they competed for crews. Their terrific toll of captures may also have stung some British shipowners into pressing for an end to the war.

Much as they raised havoc with enemy shipping, these privateers proper are far less pertinent to our story than the letters of marque or armed merchantmen, which probably equaled them in numbers. Virtually every British as well as American merchantman, except the little coaster, carried guns for her defense when sailing laden with cargo. It was worth while to have a letter of marque because the guns might be put to more profitable use than defense and effect the capture of some weaker vessel. The accounts are full of such encounters between embattled merchantmen.

Altogether, chaos ruled the seas during those years when no one was in control. Warships carried freight, and merchantmen hunted prizes – a topsy-turvy state of affairs. Time and again, vessels were recaptured and restored to their original flag. Few cases, though, were as extreme as that of the British ship *Thom*, which was four times seized in the course of five years by three different navies.

As far as the British cruisers and privateers on the Halifax station were concerned, the British tonnage that was recaptured was almost equal to the newly seized Yankee tonnage. An analysis of the Halifax Vice-Admiralty libels indicates that between 1776 and 1783, the British libeled there 178 American merchantmen – 11 ships, 31 brigs, 83 schooners, and 53 sloops. This meant a total of some 15,860 tons, judging from the average sizes for those various classes of vessels at that time. The recaptured British merchantmen totaled about 14,000 tons, but they were only half as numerous. The similarity in tonnage was caused by the greater size of the majority of the latter vessels – 22 ships, 57 brigs, 4 schooners, and 5 sloops. Also libeled at Halifax by the British were 23 American privateers and 3 French vessels, along with 2 of their own recovered cruisers. Of the 201 American vessels, 140 were taken by British naval cruisers or their tenders; 53 by privateers, chiefly from Nova Scotia; 7 by shore forces; and one by a transport.

The main significance of this conflict on the seas lay in the need of each side for strategic materials and the fact that each belligerent was in a position to deprive his foe of these essential needs. The Americans were, as we know, desperate for a good many war materials; the British were well supplied except for masts. Yet the Americans parried the blow and got their materiel through the danger zones from overseas; the British did not.

Ever since 1652, the Royal Navy had relied solely for its larger masts on the supply from Portsmouth and later also from Falmouth (Portland) in New England. No sooner had the news of Lexington passed up the coast than the men – not only of those two ports, but of the lower Kennebec as well – seized all the masts that were awaiting shipment and carried them far out of the reach of the navy. Falmouth was later burned to the ground for its share in this action. The Admiralty lost little sleep over this loss – and Lord Sandwich did nothing at all about it, for the dockyards had a three-year reserve supply. But the war did not end with the exhaustion of this stock pile; and the navy awoke to its plight at the moment when fresh masts were urgently needed to fit out ships to fight the French.

This complacency was to cost the navy dearly and play its part in the loss of victory. "Time and again throughout the war came the tale of squadrons scattered and great ships rendered useless as spars crashed to the deck, while worn-out masts split open and tumbled into the sea. The plans of admirals miscarried more than once at critical stages of the conflict when the rotting pine aloft gave way in the stress of the winds."

Only toward the end did the navy wake up to what it should have done at the first news of the colonial confiscation of the masts; it began to develop the alternate supply that was available in Nova Scotia and was to provide well for future needs.

Military supplies in general and gunpowder in particular were the far more desperate American needs. From the beginning, the colonists had a woefully inadequate stock of supplies for carrying on a war. Not only had British colonial policy deliberately stifled any industrial development, but foreseeing the colonial plight, it had prohibited the export of gunpowder in 1774, at the very moment the colonists were about to look around for what they could find for eventualities. The result was a frantic race at the outbreak of hostilities between the royal authorities and the colonists to the various magazines, with victory sometimes to one side and sometimes to the other. From various sources, domestic and West Indian, a moderate supply was gathered by the patriots, only to have their green soldiers assembled at Boston waste it recklessly. Not enough was left to stop the third British charge at Bunker Hill.

Three weeks after that, Washington ordered an accurate stock-taking. When he saw the appalling report, he was "so struck that he did not utter a word for half an hour." Aside from what the men had in their horns already, only a reserve of nine rounds per man remained, with none for artillery action. Pleading letters were dispatched to the New England governors, urging that "no quantity, however small, is beneath notice." Washington even commissioned a small naval force to try to seize some from British storeships, with scant results. Ways and means were canvassed for gathering saltpeter and for manufacturing a domestic supply. But it was soon clear that only powder from abroad could save the war.

Despite the Royal Navy, this was done – and in good quantities too. A painstaking survey has revealed that by the time of Saratoga in the fall of 1777, 1,454,210 pounds of gunpowder had been imported from abroad, in addition to saltpeter, from which nearly 700,000 pounds more were manufactured. Altogether it was estimated that "well over 90 percent of all the powder available for carrying on the Revolution during the first two and a half years of the struggle for independence was obtained from outside the country." More than half of those total imports arrived at Philadelphia; but into every colony except Georgia came at least as much as Washington's total stock after Bunker Hill. Along with the powder were muskets, artillery, uniforms, blankets, shoes, and other equipment – all welcome, if not so badly needed. Credit for this success belongs to the well-laid plans of the Continental Congress and to the state governments; but also, in a back-handed manner, to Lord Sandwich.

The sources of that invaluable supply lay in the new colonial trade with France, other parts of Europe, and also the West Indies. Aside from the psychological gratification of revenge upon England for the drastic defeat of France in the recent war, the merchants of Nantes, Havre, and Bordeaux were eager to divert the rich colonial trade from London and Bristol. In particular, they had their eyes on the tobacco trade, which came to about half of the total colonial exports. On the eve of the Revolution, America was shipping some 99,000,000 pounds a year to England, which re-exported 83,000,000 to other countries, taking a handsome profit for that service. Obviously, here the Yankees had something with which to pay for the military supplies and general imports that they were bound to need.

Warships carried freight, and merchantmen hunted prizes – a topsy-turvy state of affairs.

By the fall of 1775, two enterprising Nantes merchants had come to Philadelphia and returned with an appointment as agents for Congress in the matter of war materials. Considerable trading in such supplies was done on private account, but there was a resemblance to present-day practices in the government's active participation in the business. Congress established what today would be called a purchasing commission. It was handled chiefly by Arthur Lee and Silas Deane, who worked in anything but friendly co-operation. Congress held title to many of the cargoes of military supplies brought over; and even to the tobacco and other commodities sent in payment. These were in much smaller quantities than the French had expected. Some of the agents drew a very hazy line between the government transactions and the ventures which they handled on their own account.

The French and also the Spanish governments took a hand in the business too, though appearances of neutrality demanded that it be disguised. In the spring of 1776, Vergennes, the French foreign minister, decided to give secret aid to the colonists. A million livres (about $200,000) were made available to them for munitions, some of which was to be allowed to come from regular French military arsenals. Spain put up another million livres, and yet further funds came from private sources. To cover up the transactions, the business was placed in the hands of the playwright Caron de Beaumarchais. He established the commercial house of Rodrique Hortalez & Co. as a blind, with the idea that the American returns of tobacco and the like would make it a self-supporting venture; but again the lines between government and private business were somewhat hazy.

Risks of the gravest sort were involved in bringing the cargoes of contraband to their destination. Even if the British ambassador, well-informed by spies, did not bring pressure upon the French ministers to remember their neutral obligations, a vessel had to evade one vigilant line of British cruisers on the French coast and another in American waters. Mariners prayed for a gale that would scatter the patrols in the Bay of Biscay and for fog to blanket the approach to the United States. On the high seas, the danger of interception was less.

Numerous private cargoes of munitions had run those gauntlets before Beaumarchais went, under an assumed name, to Havre in December 1776, to try to get his first shipments to sea. Stored in neat piles along the waterfront, he had artillery, muskets, and gunpowder from the French arsenals, together with thousands of uniforms and blankets, ready to be lightered aboard the *Amphitrite*, the *Seine*, and the *Romaine* which lay below in the stream. Indiscreetly, the egoist in Beaumarchais could not resist the temptation to rehearse the actors in his popular new *Barber of Seville*; that revealed his identity, and the British ambassador brought instant pressure on the ministry. Beaumarchais, hearing that an order was on the way to forbid the sailings, made frantic efforts to get off at least one ship. A hundred longshoremen worked throughout two whole nights in wild confusion to get whatever they could aboard the big *Amphitrite*. The other two ships were stopped by the port authorities, but she was able to slip out with 15,000 uniforms, 10,000 muskets, some 75 bronze cannon from the Havre forts, a few mortars from the

Havre arsenal, and a group of French Army officers. The Royal Navy failed to catch her and she reached Portsmouth, New Hampshire, safely.

Eight more of those Beaumarchais cargoes are said to have reached Portsmouth that spring. In March, for instance, the *Mercury* arrived in forty days from Nantes. Her cargo, as it appeared in the newspapers, must have cheered the Americans: 1,000 barrels of gunpowder, nearly 12,000 muskets, 11,000 flints, some shoes, and 46 cases of cloth. The local authorities made the most of their luck; the splendid equipment of the New Hampshire troops is said to have made them the envy of the army for some time to come.

Meanwhile the house of Basmarein & Rambeaux at Nantes was plunging heavily into the munitions business. Nantes had for some time been carrying on a clandestine American trade, in vessels which it had permission to arm. The first of the Basmarein ships carried a cargo that had cost $90,000 at Nantes and had sold for $240,000 in Boston! In June, it was another of its ships that safely landed Lafayette and DeKalb in South Carolina – along with a cargo.

Such early shipments of Beaumarchais and of Basmarein were fairly lucky in their passages, with only about one ship in nine caught. But this good fortune did not last. Before long the British intelligence service in France apparently grew more alert, and the naval officers on the American station were evidently reading the newspapers. Whatever the cause, the British frigates began to pick up ample prize money. Between February 1777 and August 1778, of the 65 cargoes Basmarein & Rambeaux dispatched toward America four were wrecked and the British snapped up 38. Of those, 27 were seized while France was still officially neutral. No prize court would have hesitated long about the contraband status of what most of them were carrying. A difference of opinion on the net losses sustained appeared in a conversation between John Adams and a French dinner guest in the spring of 1779. To the guest's complaint, "We have had so many vessels taken, that many houses and individuals are ruined," Adams retorted that "the loss to trade was not so great, because if half their cargoes arrived, they sold for near as much as the whole would have produced, if it had all arrived; besides that, a great deal was insured in England." Seizures were not the sole difficulty of the French merchants; the anticipated return cargoes of tobacco and other produce, which were to pay for the munitions, were pretty meager. The net result was that Beaumarchais and Basmarein were both wrecked financially. A half a century later, their heirs were still appealing to Congress for relief.

As time went on, direct loans from the French government helped relieve the financial situation as far as munitions were concerned. Gradually, too, a more normal commercial exchange developed. American ships entered the trade along with more French ships which began to bring "luxury goods" to the colonies. Some made the passage safely; a few were captured. Only five vessels in the direct French trade were libeled at Halifax. The brigantine *Elizabeth* was caught off Cape Ann in 1778 with wine and brandy from Bordeaux. Four years later, the 150-ton letter-of-marque ship *Janus*, bound from Bordeaux to Boston with "brandy and bale goods," was lured to capture by the French colors flown by a British cruiser off Cape Cod. Most of the others arrived safely, however, and French luxury goods were soon to be had in almost every port along the coast.

A moderate amount of direct trade developed with certain other nations on the Continent. Trade with Spain had been allowed, with certain restrictions, even under the old colonial system. Some merchants in Massachusetts for some time had had relations with the house of Jose Guardoqui & Sons at Bilbao, which carried on a good American business both in military supplies and general articles of commerce during the Revolution. Most of this trade was in vessels from the North Shore of Massachusetts. Five of these were taken as prizes to Halifax. Bilbao was the chief port visited, but a few vessels brought back salt from other Spanish ports and from Portugal. This was perhaps the most seriously needed commodity in America, once the gunpowder supply was assured, for the old source at Turks Island was cut off, and it was essential for preserving meat and fish at that time.



Portsmouth, New Hampshire, near the mouth of the Piscataqua River, had been a major supplier of white pine for Royal Navy masts during the colonial era. During the Revolution, it became a port of entry for French supply ships.
Aquatint engraving. (Joseph DesBarres, *Atlantic Neptune*, vol. 3, no. 18, London, 1780)

With Holland, most of the trade was indirect because of the dangerous sea route past England to Amsterdam. The Dutch goods were usually transshipped from France or the Dutch island of St. Eustatius in the West Indies. The trade was very heavy, and so there was plenty of inducement for a few vessels to risk the direct route. Captain McGee, for instance, successfully brought the letter-of-marque brig *Amsterdam* from that port to Boston in 1779; but two years later a cruiser caught him off Cape Ann, inward bound from Sweden. A few cargoes of Swedish iron came through safely from Gothenburg in Sweden, but such crossings were the exception. ■

(To be continued)

Lafayette Gingerbread

SANDRA L. OLIVER

Many men of many minds and many birds of . . . " written 10 times; a sentimental but incomplete poem entitled "The Blind Child"; labor accounts for cutting brush, digging for water, and putting up a fence; and two recipes – one for mincemeat and one for Lafayette gingerbread are all contained in a small record book amongst the Elam Eldredge Papers at the Seaport's G.W. Blunt White Library. Mariners and shipmasters from Mystic, Elam and his brother Thomas used this little book between 1830 and 1851 for miscellaneous doodling, handwriting practice, and minor accounts, including some for the smack *Energy*. Why two recipes? And what can we possibly learn from them?

It appears from the handwriting to have been Thomas who recorded the gingerbread and mincemeat recipes, who practiced his handwriting, and who carried the little book to Havana where he recorded purchases of sugar, coffee, barrels of bread and beef, cabin furniture, and some potatoes there on 15 January 1831. Later on his older brother Elam, born in 1793, flipped the book over for use, entering items dated 1851.

Thomas, born in 1807, grandly labeled the book "Thos. Eldredge's Book of Mystic Bridge." He sandwiched the recipes between the poem and an account record with George Packer, mostly for hog skins. It was unusual for men to be interested in recording recipes of any sort in the early 1800s, and there is no clue about why Thomas collected Lafayette gingerbread.

In honor of the famous Revolutionary War hero, the Marquis de Lafayette (1757–1834), the name "Lafayette" was attached to a wide range of things during the first quarter or so of the nineteenth century, including articles of clothing and food. Lafayette visited the United States in 1824 on a route that took him through southeastern Connecticut, a mere six to ten years before Thomas recorded the recipe. Lafayette gingerbread appears among printed sources in 1828 in the Philadelphian Eliza Leslie's *Seventy-Five Receipts*, and it was from Miss Leslie's book that Thomas copied the recipe nearly verbatim.

At a time when a plain gingerbread could be made using only ginger, sweetened only with molasses, this recipe calls for four kinds of spice, both brown sugar and molasses, and juice and peel of lemon.

Let's take a closer look at it:

Lafayette Gingerbread

Five eggs
Half a pound of brown sugar
Half a pound of fresh butter
a pint of shugar [sic] *house molasses*
A pound and half of flour
Four tablespoonful of ginger
Two large stiks [sic] *of cinnamon* *Powdered*
Three dozen grain of allspice *and sifted*
Three dozen of cloves
The juice and grated peel of two large lemons
A little pearlash or salratus [sic]





In nineteenth-century Mystic, men like the Eldredge brothers routinely combined agriculture with seafaring. These unidentified scenes suggest the shoreside end of this existence. Photos by Everett A. Scholfield, ca. 1875. (M.S.M. 75.294.103 left, and 77.92.503, above)

Stir the butter to a cream

Beat the eggs very well

Pour the molasses at once into the butter and sugar add the ginger and other spice and stir all well together

Put in the eggs and flour alternately stirring all the time stir the whole very hard and put the lemon in at last

when the whole is mixed stir it till very light

Butter an earthen pan or a thick tin or iron one and put the gingerbread in it

Bake it in a moderate oven an hour or more according to its thickness take care that it does not burn Or you may bake it in small cakes or little tins its lightness will be much improved by a small teaspoonful of pearlash dissolved in a teaspoonful of vinegar and stirred lightly in at the last too much pearlash will give it an unpleasant taste If you use pearlash you must omit the lemon as its tast [sic] will be entirely destroyed by the pearlash you substitute for the lemon some raisins and currants well floured to prevent their sinking

This recipe reveals several characteristics of cooking in the first part of the nineteenth century. First, it says something about the nature of ingredients. Molasses was the cheapest and most common form of sweetening in New England; brown sugar was a bit more costly. White sugar, the most expensive, came in a loaf form at this time and was used only for preserves, to sweeten beverages, and, after scraping or breaking it, for the most elegant sorts of baking. Sugar house molasses is described as a "thin molasses." Our modern molasses has been standardized, but in Eldredge's time there was considerably more variation in the quality and kind of such foodstuffs.



The recipe specifies that the cinnamon, allspice, and cloves be pounded and sifted, but it seems that the ginger came already ground. Pounding and sifting whole spices adds to preparation time in a way modern people rarely experience, underlining the fact that very often what took the most time in early cooking was not the technology of cooking with fire but the preparation of the ingredients.



Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier, the Marquis de Lafayette (1757–1834), made a triumphal visit to the United States in 1824–25, fifty years after his heroic service as a general during the American Revolution. This lithograph depicts him ca. 1825.
(A Complete History of the Marquis de Lafayette, 1855)

Second, we see with this gingerbread part of the shift from raising cakes with eggs or yeasts to chemical leavenings. Pearlash, refined potash, had been in use since the last part of the eighteenth century. It was an alkaline that would react with the molasses, or the vinegar recommended to raise the gingerbread. "Salratus" or saleratus gradually replaced pearlash until both were superseded in the middle of the nineteenth century by baking powder, which combined an alkali and acid in one.

Chemical leavenings were deplored at first by many people. Anyone who grew up with only egg- or yeast-raised cakes would immediately detect the off-flavor of pearlash or saleratus. The recipe's detailed discussion of the possible effects of the pearlash may be a response to this, especially as cooks were still learning how to use such products at this time.

Third, the recipe allows the cook considerable scope in how the batter will be finished into cake. Pan sizes and types are not specified; rather, the cook is instructed to bake it "according to its thickness." The gingerbread could be made up in one large pan, several small ones, or "in cakes," which probably means in the form of what we would call a cookie, yielding in this case a large soft ginger cookie.

Miss Leslie's *Seventy-Five Receipts* had wide circulation and was reprinted regularly through the middle of the nineteenth century. Did Thomas have a piece of Lafayette gingerbread and like it so well that he resolved to take the recipe home? He omitted only one sentence from the original: "This is the finest of all gingerbread, but should not be kept very long, as in a few days, it becomes very hard and stale." Perhaps Thomas figured a batch would be eaten so quickly that he did not have to worry about it getting stale.

This gingerbread is nicely spicy and, I think, has an extraordinary flavor when made with the lemon. Made without any leavening, it is dense, with a texture more like a molasses cookie than cake. Don't be afraid to use the whole amount of ginger specified. The following recipe is one-half the original above and yields a 9-by-9-inch pan of gingerbread. I have made the baking soda optional, and you can add it without omitting the lemon. Or you can omit the lemon and put in raisins and currants as Miss Leslie suggests.

Don't hesitate to experiment with ways of baking it: try, if you like, dropping it on well-greased cookie sheets, keeping in mind it will spread some even though the batter verges on dough in consistency.

Preheat the oven to 350 degrees

1/2 cup butter
1/3 cup brown sugar tightly packed
1 cup molasses
2 tablespoons ginger
2 teaspoons cinnamon
3/4 teaspoon allspice
3/4 teaspoon cloves
2 3/4 cups flour
2 teaspoons baking soda (optional)
2 jumbo or 3 large eggs beaten
juice and grated peel of one large lemon

1. Cream the butter till soft, then add the brown sugar and beat together. Add molasses and mix well.
2. Add the spices and stir well. Sift together flour and baking soda, then add half the flour, beating well. Alternating with beaten eggs, add the rest of the flour. Continue to beat.
3. Mix in lemon juice and peel.
4. Spread in well-greased 9-by-9-inch pan. Bake for 50 minutes before testing. It may take a full hour until a knife inserted comes out clean; about 15 minutes if baked as cookies.

John Noble's "Rowboat Drawings"



The yawl of the Annie C. Ross *with lugsail.*
Pencil on paper, 9½"x11¼". (Courtesy John A. Noble Collection; photo by Claire White-Peterson)

John A. Noble (1913–1983), one of America's most remarkable marine artists, spent much of his career in small craft, documenting the waterfront of the urban Northeast. Noble's work betrays his fascination for the great working vessels, such as schooners, tugs, and barges. His drawings and paintings portray these craft both at work and at rest, sometimes abandoned and decrepit.

Forty-three of Noble's pencil and charcoal drawings are currently on loan to the Seaport from the John A. Noble Collection, a gallery and archive of Noble's art and writings housed in his former home on Staten Island in New York. The drawings will be on display in the P.R. Mallory Building through 3 March.

These "plein air" drawings are part of a series of more than 600 "Rowboat Drawings," called this because they were done from the perspective of a rowboat in which Noble explored New York Harbor and the surrounding waterways. These studies for oil paintings and lithographs were an effort by the artist not only to document in detail the structure of each craft, but also to capture its character and the mood of its surroundings.

"My life's work is to make a rounded picture of American maritime endeavor of modern times," Noble wrote in 1977. He recorded the last of the wooden sailing vessels, but he was "just as interested in drawing the building of a great modern tanker . . . as . . . in the shifting of topsails."

Although he received much recognition as an artist, Noble also worked as a seaman, and remained close to the people who made their living in and around New York Harbor, experiences which lent character to his work. "I'm with factory people, industrial people, the immigrants, the sons of immigrants," he said.

Noble was born in Paris in 1913. His father, John Noble, was a prominent romantic painter in the early part of this century in Paris, London, and New York. Known as "Wichita Bill," John Noble the older was a yarn-spinner who had witnessed the last days of the wild west.

In 1919 Noble's family moved to Provincetown, at the time a gathering place for contemporary artists. "While my father and his artistic contemporaries were discussing the end-significance and/or insignificance of pictures and things," Noble said, "My tendency, as any other child's would be, was to watch the shore and wonder about the great sails rounding Cape Cod."

During his boyhood Noble explored the dunes of the outer Cape, sometimes coming upon wrecks, like the ones he would draw and paint in the years ahead. Noble also made friends with children of Portuguese fishermen, and listened to their stories of the seagoing life.

Noble attended the School of Art of the National Academy of Design in New York City for one year, but learned most of his artistic skills under his father's supervision, and through exposure to many artists as he grew up.

Noble took his first schooner trip along the coast of Maine at age 15. As a schoolboy in the 1920s, he sometimes would spend weekends on McCarren tugs, which held a monopoly on schooner towing in New York Harbor. As a young man Noble served as a seaman aboard a variety of vessels, including a 28-foot schooner that transported tombstones, and as a deckhand aboard a salvage vessel, *The Diver*. He also shipped aboard the *Annie C. Ross*, the last working schooner on the East Coast.

In 1937, Captain Joseph Zuljevic of the *Annie C. Ross* agreed to let Noble use his ship's yawl. Rowing and sailing this craft with a lugsail, Noble explored the surrounding harbors and backwaters, on Whale Creek, Newtown Creek, and the English Kills, made "the back-breaking pull down the East River, across the bay, and up the Kill to Mariner's Harbor" and Perth Amboy, exploring the Arthur Kill and Prall's Island. He sailed the western part of New York Bay to Bedloe's Island, Belmont Island, and Communipaw, and to the Port Johnston coal docks in New Jersey, one of the largest graveyards of wooden ships in the world. Everywhere he collected information about the vessels he found.

The yawl of the *Annie C. Ross* and a rowboat were the craft Noble used to get his waterside perspective of the scenes that interested him. In his journal Noble wrote that his rowboat had been on "rows around the island of Manhattan, rows to Perth Amboy, to Bound Brook, and the Canal. To Bordentown and up the Delaware canals and down the Delaware River. Up the Hudson to Troy, through the Champlain canal to Burlington, Vermont; Spuyten Duyvil, Hellgate, Arthur Kill, Hammond's Flats have been its home. Ice has formed on it – snow has collected in it. It has been tight. It has leaked like a sieve."

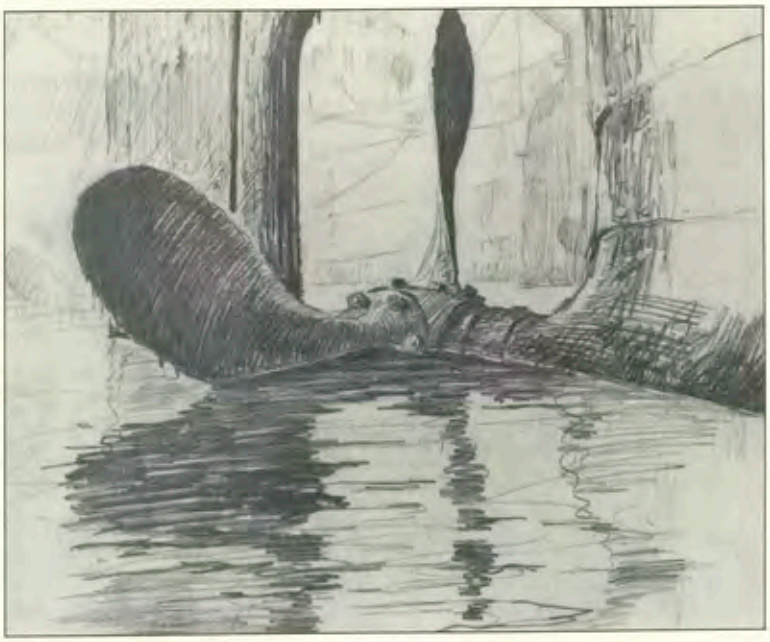
Noble began building a studio on a wharf at Port Johnston in 1941. While working as a watchman there, he salvaged the teak saloon of a transatlantic yacht, which would become his studio. When the collapsing wharf where Noble put it was finally abandoned, Noble fixed the studio to a wooden barge "which enabled me to escape from the boneyard. For years now I have been plagued with 'Oh! the artist with the floating studio, etc., etc.' There is no cuteness nor colour in all this for me – the only small romance was that I did escape." For the next 40 years, Noble launched his yawl from what he called his "little, leaking Monticello."

In his 50-year career Noble did 79 lithographs – some of which are in the Mystic Seaport collection – more than 100 oil paintings, and more than 800 pencil, pen and ink, and charcoal drawings. Noble also took more than 6,000 photographs between 1928 and 1983 of industries, ships, and people of the maritime world. Noble was also a prolific writer, doing formal writing such as essays, which were published in magazines, and personal journals and correspondence.

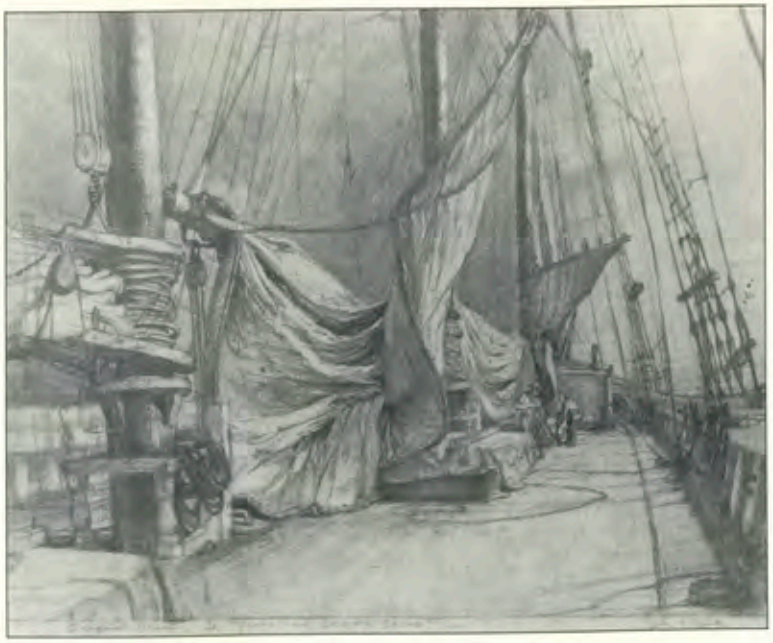
In addition to the gallery and archives in Noble's home overlooking New York Harbor, the John A. Noble Collection maintains an exhibition of Noble's art and writings aboard the Staten Island Ferry named in his honor, the *John A. Noble*.

SOURCES

Information and quotations for this article were gathered from Erin Urban's *John A. Noble: The Rowboat Drawings* (New York: The John A. Noble Collection and South Street Seaport, 1988) and from *Hulls and Hulks in the Tide of Time; A Retrospective of the Paintings, Lithographs and Drawings by John A. Noble*, a pamphlet published by The Mariners' Museum of Newport News, Virginia, in 1965. *The Log* would like to thank Erin Urban, Director of the John A. Noble Collection, for providing additional information on the life and work of John A. Noble.



The propeller of a steamship in the reserve fleet of cargo vessels tied up in the channel behind Prall's Island in the Arthur Kill, ca. 1935.
Pencil on paper, 9¾"x11½". (Courtesy John A. Noble Collection; photo by Claire White-Peterson)



Original drawing for the lithograph "Young and Drying Sails."
Pencil on paper, 12¼"x16". (Courtesy John A. Noble Collection; photo by Claire White-Peterson)

BOOK REVIEWS

William H. Webb, Shipbuilder

Edwin L. Dunbaugh
and William duBarry Thomas.

Glen Cove, New York: Webb Institute of Naval Architecture, 1989. 240 pp., illustrations, plans appendices, bibliography, vessel index. $56.00.

During the early and mid-nineteenth century the construction of wooden ships in the United States was a major industry, vital to the economic health of the nation. Tens of thousands were employed directly or indirectly, making much of the northeastern seaboard a hive of shipbuilding and related activity. The shipyards of New York City and its environs were, perhaps, the most active and intensely employed in the Northeast during that period. It is surprising, therefore, that relatively little attention has been focused by maritime scholars on this subject. John H. Morrison outlined it in his ground-breaking *History of New York Shipyards* (1909), and Hutchins, Albion, Cutler, Fairburn, and Richard C. McKay all make strong reference to this activity in their well-known studies, but none have delved deeply into the topic of the shipyards themselves.

It is, therefore, a happy event when a new book appears to shine much needed light in that direction. The most recent book to do so is a biography of William H. Webb (1816–1899), who operated what was arguably the most famous of the New York shipyards. Webb's father was a Connecticut shipbuilder who, following the trends of his day, moved to New York for a more profitable situation. His son William apprenticed under him and then, at age 23, assumed management of the yard.

While he was well known as a shipbuilder, William H. Webb was even more renowned as a ship designer. He was among the earliest American ship designers to apply scientific principles to his work. He designed many of the famous packets, clippers, and ocean steamships that have entered the pantheon of American maritime history. Here you will find the speedy clipper ships *Challenge*, *Comet*, and *Young America*; the renowned North Atlantic packets *Yorkshire*, *Guy Manwaring*, *Ivanhoe*, and *Caleb Grimshaw*; and some of the notable ocean steamers that eventually made those sailing vessels obsolete.

This book was published by the Webb Institute of Naval Architecture on the occasion of its centenary. It is a fitting tribute to both the man and the institution. Divided into two distinct parts, the book contains a business biography of Webb followed by brief "biographies" of all of the principal vessels he designed or built.

Professor Edwin L. Dunbaugh of the Webb faculty presents the business life of William Webb and in the process chronicles the fortunes of his principal vessels as well as his East River shipyard. Unfortunately, as Dunbaugh points out, "information on the [personal] life of Webb simply does not exist." Yet, this well-written and informative narrative brings to light some fascinating insights into Webb's character as well as his business practices. And he was a businessman, foreshadowing the international efforts of more modern shipbuilding entrepreneurs. His numerous trips abroad, and to Washington, D.C., San Francisco, and elsewhere to solicit contracts were not typical activities for a nineteenth-century American shipbuilder.

Webb was more fortunate than many shipbuilders of his period in being able to divide his time between the drafting table and business trips, relieved from the day-to-day responsibilities of the busy shipyard. His ability to do so must in large measure have been the result of his trust and confidence in Christian Metzger, his shipyard manager, and Hugh McClellan, his accountant. Reading between the lines, one gets a strong impression that Metzger was more than a highly-skilled and honest mechanic. His contributions must have been significant, considering how often Webb traveled, leaving him in charge with the power of attorney. It is a pity that so little is known about Christian Metzger's activities.

William Webb's other maritime ventures included, most conspicuously, the North American Steamship Company, which in hindsight could not have been more ill-timed. Webb was certainly a man of his times who was so thoroughly caught up in his work that, to a degree, he could not grasp the larger picture. For the American shipbuilding industry after the Civil War, that picture was bleak. Webb had a strong and influential notion that the lack of governmental interest in the shipbuilding industry, partially represented by its burdensome tariffs on shipbuilding materials, was responsible for the general inability of the American shipbuilding industry to revive after 1865. Professor Dunbaugh demonstrates that government neglect was only one factor in the decline. Even had Webb's advice been heeded, governmental action could only have delayed the final result. The development of iron shipbuilding technology, in which Webb flatly refused to participate, the dominance of the progressive British shipbuilding industry on the world scene, and other elements conspired to doom the traditional American wooden shipbuilding industry that Webb represented. Dunbaugh's incisive analysis makes the first part of this book an essential new source on nineteenth-century American shipbuilding.

The second section of *William H. Webb* was written by Thomas duBarry, a graduate of the Webb Insititue and obviously an informed student of ship design. This half of the book provides, in chronological arrangement, biographies of all of Webb's principal vessels. These biographies are liberally sprinkled with contemporary accounts and comments that add interest to the narratives and provide useful information not readily found elsewhere.

Excellent as it is, this volume is not without minor flaws. At $56.00, the book is quite expensive, and one might have expected better reproduction of the illustrations in a book of that price. While there is a useful vessel index, there is no general index, which makes tracking down people, events, and topics very difficult. In the text, our understanding of Webb's career might have been enhanced by a fuller description of the day-to-day operation of the shipyard and the lives of the shipwrights. Some interesting insights into the working conditions are presented, such as in the discussion of the ship carpenters' and caulkers' strike of 1866, which Webb helped suppress; otherwise, there is little discussion of this aspect of Webb's business. In the list of vessels arranged by type at the beginning of the second section, some of the vessel dates seem to be dates of registry rather than of launch, which causes some confusion. The side-wheel steamship *United States*, for example, was launched in 1847, but is listed for 1848, the year she was registered for service. It is also confusing for the reader to find two bibliographies – one for each section, complete with redundancies – in the book. Curiously enough, one source liberally cited in the footnotes – Morrison's *History of New York Shipyards* – does not appear in the bibliographies at all. Nevertheless, such relatively minor problems do not detract from the fine scholarship that characterizes the volume.

William H. Webb is a fine, well-researched study that adds much to our understanding of nineteenth-century shipbuilding trends, particularly as they were manifested in America's premier shipyards at the port of New York.

William N. Peterson
Curator of Collections, M.S.M.

Maiden Voyage

Tania Aebi with Bernadette Brennan

New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989.
302 pp., map, chart, photographs. $19.95.

"There have always been people who called my father crazy. We never thought so. Why walk when you can run? he'd say . . . Why stay home balancing your checkbook when you could be off riding a camel to Timbuktu, or climbing Mont Blanc, or driving a Land Rover across Africa? His dreams for himself and for us were all we wanted to hear when we were growing up. The world through his eyes was full of excitement and promise, of taking risks and landing on your feet, always with another great story to tell."

Maiden Voyage is one of those great stories. It is Tania Aebi's account of her solo circumnavigation of the globe, a journey undertaken because her father was determined to put a stop to her "rapid climb to nowhere." His unlikely solution to the problems of adolescence was to challenge his 18-year-old daughter to sail around the world alone and write of her experiences. As the plan developed, they realized that if she could accomplish the feat in time, she would be not only the first American woman to do so, but also the youngest person ever.

In its bare outlines, the story is appealing, but it becomes gripping as the reader discovers in early chapters that Tania has never even sailed a boat alone before; that she plans to master celestial navigation from a correspondence course in order to find Bermuda, her first destination. Except for some early luck, this quest might have had a very different ending.

As a sea story, *Maiden Voyage* has some familiar elements – unending mechanical failures, two knockdowns, and a collision at sea. Tania describes storms of ferocious intensity, days of nerve-wracking solitude, and the overriding joy of being one with the ocean and its creatures. What makes this story unique is the youthful perspective of its narrator. Her anxieties and insecurities are matched by her high spirits and resourcefulness.

No ordinary childhood preceded this extraordinary trip, and Tania introduces us to an intriguing cast of family and friends left behind. She describes them and the people she encounters along the way with affection and rare insight.

The various ports of call are detailed in vivid prose that may owe something to Bernadette Brennan's editorial assistance. She was assigned by *Cruising World* magazine, sponsor of the voyage, to help Tania "articulate" her feelings.

Whatever the debt to Ms. Brennan's guidance, Tania has proven herself as adept at writing as she became at sailing. This is an inspiring book with appeal for a wide range of readers – armchair sailors and their grandchildren as well.

Terri Roper
Mystic, Connecticut

Over and Back: The History of Ferryboats in New York Harbor

Brian J. Cudahy

New York: Fordham University Press, 1990. 472 pp., illustrations, bibliography, appendices, index. $49.95.

Over and Back is the most handsomely designed maritime book to cross our desk in 1990. By good fortune, it is an equally impressive piece of scholarship, agreeably written by an expert on New York transportation. Cudahy is the author of the recently revised *Under the Sidewalks of New York*, a study of the New York subway system. The way these two subjects, ferryboats and subways, interact is made clear early on. Appendices, drawn from the best possible sources, including National Archives, document the routes and the vessels, covering nearly two centuries. In picture and lively prose, this study advances the story of ferryboats far beyond the kingdom of romance. Limited to New York Harbor, Cudahy has been able to do a thorough job.

Plum Gut

NEWS & NOTES

Where Teachers Can Learn



Inside every successful teacher is a lifelong student. At Mystic Seaport, these perpetually curious people have a chance to put this quality to work for themselves and for their classes.

Last summer Mystic Seaport held its fifth Teachers Institute, a program which immerses teachers in the world of maritime history, literature, art and music, and helps them incorporate this rich field of study into their curricula. The sixth Institute, to take place some time during the 1991–1992 school year, is currently being planned.

Mystic Seaport is committed to providing educational opportunities to its visitors in a variety of ways, from preschoolers in the Children's Museum to graduate students at the Munson Institute. The Education Department does not confine its activities to programs for visitors, but tailors some of them to the needs of area schools.

One example of this is the Museum's In-School Programs, in which a Museum Teacher visits a classroom or school auditorium to present an interpretive program to students. Another example is the Museum's Teacher Institutes.

Seven teachers from elementary, middle, and high schools across the state participated in a three-week institute titled Mystic Voyagers in July and August of 1990. The Connecticut Humanities Council and the state Department of Education funded the Institute, five of which have been offered by the Seaport since 1986. Teachers received 9.2 Continuing Education Units for participating in the program.

The Institutes have a number of different purposes, and can yield many things, depending on what their participants want to get out of them. An enriching summer experience, serious work in each teacher's discipline, and continuing education credits are just some of the benefits.

"When teachers have the commitment to come here and spend part of the summer, that can translate into enthusiasm for studying maritime history, both for the teachers and for the kids they teach," said Jan Larson, the Seaport's supervisor of school services.

The main objective of the Institutes is to familiarize teachers with the many aspects of maritime history the Seaport preserves and makes available to its members and visitors. This intensive exposure to both maritime history and museum educational techniques is designed to illustrate the pervasive influence of the maritime experience on American history and culture, as well as help each teacher incorporate this knowledge into a curriculum that is stimulating to students.

The Institute helps teachers in a number of ways. They learn museum teaching methods such as roleplaying and "reading" objects, which enliven traditional classroom work. They get an opportunity for serious academic study

and intellectual enrichment through contact with leading maritime scholars and their current research. They also learn to use museums and other community resources confidently, and build cooperative partnerships with museum staff.

Each Institute has a theme and a focus. Last summer's Mystic Voyagers Institute was designed to familiarize teachers with the content of America's maritime heritage and give them an opportunity to consider the larger meaning of the "shared symbols" of that heritage, with seminars examining the ship and voyage as metaphors.

Thomas Shea of Wolcott, who attended last summer's Institute, is currently preparing a curriculum for the 50 fifth graders he teaches at the Griffin School in Oakville, part of the Watertown School District. "It's centered on the work choices of children growing up in a coastal community during (the nineteenth century), in comparison to those who grew up in an agricultural area, like Watertown," Shea said.

Shea is planning to incorporate information he gathered at the Seaport into a broad curriculum for his class, including calculating distances at sea for math, celestial navigation for science, note taking and composition writing, historical studies, sea chanties, and the art of the period.

"The Institute was beyond what I expected," Shea said. "It was a dream come true to have all the facts at my fingertips, as well as having interpreters, the research library, and other background material that made all the other exhibits more meaningful."

While the teachers are at the Seaport, Museum staff offer a behind-the-scenes look at the artifactual evidence collected and studied at the Museum, including ships and small craft, historic buildings and period furniture, paintings, ship models, tools, and other objects in the collection. The Mystic Voyagers also did apprenticeships in Seaport exhibits. These experiences complement the teachers' classroom lectures and readings.

This experience helps teachers learn to "read" the objects of the past and become interpreters of history. They also get hands-on workshop experience in maritime skills such as rowing, sailing, and ropework, as well as sea music and the arts of the sailor.

The faculty of the Munson Institute lectures and leads discussions and round-table lunches where teachers and university scholars meet informally to talk about topics in maritime history or education in general.

Last summer, two and a half weeks of intensive work at the Museum were followed by a 20-hour voyage aboard the gaff-rigged schooner *Voyager*, which is chartered for this purpose. During this firsthand experience of life at sea under sail, participants were fully incorporated into the work of the ship: they stood watch, read charts, and handled sails. The ship sailed through the night, remaining at sea the entire time.

Seaport Research Associate Glenn Gordinier went on the voyage to serve as the "scholar at sea," leading discussions on life at sea and the shipboard community.

While aboard the *Voyager* the teachers employed their study of geography, literature, history, economics, and technology. The voyage provides the experience of actually being at sea, for even a brief time, which gives participants an important perspective when assembling their curricula on maritime life.

The final component of the program is the development of curriculum materials by each participant, beginning during the summer Institute and continuing into the following school year. Teachers attend workshops on project design and format during the Institute and are assisted by staff as they focus on a topic or theme they want to develop for their classes. They later share their completed projects with other participants and Museum staff.

Two follow-up sessions take place at the Seaport in October, to work with staff and share ideas, and January, for final presentations. Final projects are made available to other Connecticut teachers through the Connecticut Humanities Council Resource Center.

The projects include a time for the teachers to bring their students to the Seaport on a field trip. Education Department staff also visit each classroom to present a thematic program planned with the teacher. ■



Opposite, *teachers in the Summer 1990 Teacher's Institute help furl the sails of* Voyager, *a gaff-rigged schooner chartered for the Institute's 20-hour excursion on Long Island Sound. Seaport Research Associate Glenn Gordinier, the program's "scholar at sea," is nearest the stern of the boat.*

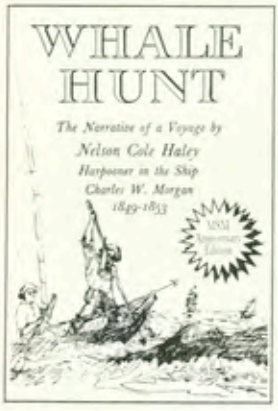
Right, *Patricia Dean, A Seaport member and fourth grade teacher at Moriarty School in Norwich, in a whipping and splicing workshop in the Seaport's sail loft during the Summer 1990 Teacher's Institute.*
(Photos by Judy Beisler)

Whale Hunt *Reissued for* Morgan *Celebration*

Among the crew for the *Charles W. Morgan*'s 1849–53 voyage was 17-year-old Nelson Cole Haley of New Bedford. Already an experienced whaleman, Haley signed aboard as harpooner (boatsteerer) for a voyage that took him around the Cape of Good Hope, east to New Zealand, and on a circuit of the islands and whaling grounds that lie between New Zealand and the equator. It was a voyage filled with the excitement of the chase for whales, near calamity by storm and cannibal attack, and exotic adventures among the natives of the South Pacific islands.

In the 1890s, Haley wrote out a narrative account of the voyage. Though written long after the events, his journal has the freshness and detail of one written on the spot. Within his pages, the *Morgan*'s crew comes alive, and the experience of living aboard a whaleship is presented in clear detail. Like a good whaleman, Haley even yarns for the reader, telling stories he has heard, such as the one about the young woman who disguised herself as a sailor aboard the Nantucket whaler *Christopher Mitchell* for eight months.

When the announcement of the *Morgan*'s arrival at Mystic in 1941 reached Hawaii, Haley's daughter, Mrs. May Rothwell, contacted the Museum's Curator, Carl C. Cutler, and sent a copy of her father's journal. Haley's narrative received such an enthusiastic reception that Mrs. Rothwell donated the journal to the Museum in 1944. Haley's journal, in slightly edited form, was published as *Whale Hunt* by Ives Washburn in 1948 and reprinted in 1967.



As the Seaport celebrates the *Morgan*'s 150th year, and her 50th year at the Museum, we are pleased to publish a memorial edition of Haley's journal, with expanded frontmatter and several new illustrations. At Mystic you can walk the deck of the *Morgan*, see the dark forecastle, even feel the worn spokes of the wheel. But it takes Haley to breathe life into the men who once inhabited the ship. Go aboard after reading his narrative and you will feel them all around you.

Whale Hunt is available in 304-page paperback edition for $17.95 at the Mystic Seaport Museum Stores bookstore. Museum members receive a 10 percent discount on this and other titles at the bookstore.



Seaport Videos' Latest: "Sail to Win"

Mystic Seaport's Film and Video Division is proud to announce the release of "Sail to Win," an 83-minute video that features three documentary segments depicting amateur sailboat racing. "Sail to Win" was aired last summer on Connecticut Public Television, which co-produced the program. It will air this winter and spring on public television stations across the country. Production of "Sail to Win" was funded by a grant from Sperry Top-Sider.

This three-part series is available on one tape costing $22.45 (nonmembers $24.95), plus 8 percent sales tax in Connecticut. For more information or to order please call (800) 445-9236, or in Connecticut 572-0711, ext. 279 or 289.

Can You Help Us?

The Nineteenth-Century Vending Program is looking for several different items to help the new vending programs. Information, documentation or donations of any of these items would be helpful. The program needs:

- Nineteenth-century vending carts for root beer or other kinds of soda.
- Large wooden umbrellas, with or without material for covering.
- Gas stoves from the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries.

If you can provide any information on these items, please call Charles LaFoe at ext. 299.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Joseph C. Haffey completed much of the research and writing for *Twelve Years Away* while enrolled in the Munson Institute's Independent Studies Program at the Seaport. He holds degrees from St. Peter's College and Pace University. Since retiring in 1986, he has been a volunteer in the Museum's Photo Lab.

Robert G. Albion and ***Jennie B. Pope,*** his wife, together wrote *Sea Lanes in Wartime,* which was first published by W.W. Norton in 1942, and which is being serialized in somewhat abridged form in *The Log.* Albion's work in European and maritime history is well known, but the extent of Jennie B. Pope's contributions in both of these fields is not widely recognized. Jennie B. Pope studied economics at Wellesley College. She married Albion in 1923, and during their 53 years together she collaborated with him in researching and writing numerous books. She died in 1976.

Sandra L. Oliver, formerly of the Seaport's Education Department, is a foodways historian and consultant living in Maine.



(Photo by Claire White-Peterson)

Planned Giving Program at
MYSTIC SEAPORT MUSEUM

The development of the Museum – the buildings, ships, and wharves, the exhibits, books, and manuscripts – gives eloquent testimony to the generosity of countless contributors. This personal and generous commitment on the part of our donors fulfills and sustains the legacy and vision handed down by the Museum's founders.

Many of the Seaport's members and friends have chosen to perpetuate the Museum's purpose by taking advantage of the Planned Giving Program.

Several types of Planned Gifts are available. They are designed to benefit the donor as well as the Seaport.

Members and friends of Mystic Seaport are urged to consider the opportunities of Planned Giving as a way of assisting the Museum in a meaningful and tax-wise manner.

For further information about how Planned Giving can help you assure the future of Mystic Seaport Museum, please call

Christopher Cox, *Director of Development,* (203) 572-0711



The nation's leading maritime museum wants your continued support in the vital work it has done for more than six decades.

Members of Mystic Seaport not only have the satisfaction of helping preserve our priceless maritime heritage, but can also join in educational activities for the whole family, experiences found nowhere else in the world.

As a member, the gates of Mystic Seaport are open to you all year long. You may come as often as you like, stroll the grounds, examine new exhibits, and experience the timeless thrill of boarding the oldest existing wooden whaleship. You will also receive advance notice of special events in which you can participate, including annual favorites such as the Sea Music Festival and Members' Day.

But most of all, you help preserve our collective memory, which reminds us every day of the innovation and courage of our forefathers, characteristics that helped forge a great nation.

Memberships begin at $30 for individuals and $50 for families. Gift memberships are also available. Please call the Membership Department at ext. 339, or write to the Membership Office, Mystic Seaport, 50 Greenmanville Ave., P.O. Box 6000, Mystic, CT 06355–0990.

MYSTIC SEAPORT MUSEUM

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