Monday March the 11th 1844

Comc.t with light S.E. Trades, all Sail set, Topmast & Lower ... ing Sails. Steering N.W. by N. Middle Part much the same. La... Part, Watch Employed repairing the Fore Topsail, saw Porpois... finished the Topsail & bent him. Course N.N.W. West.

Lat by Obs 00°-02 S. Long by Chro 111°-22 We...

Tuesday March the 12th

Comc.t with light airs, steering ~~N.W.~~ N by West. very dull tim... nothing in sight. Middle Part much the same Latter Pa... saw a Breach 6 miles off run for it saw nothing. Thus E... Course W by N. Lat by Obs. 01°-47 N. Long by Lunar 112°-26. by Chro ...

Wednesday March the 13th

Comc.d with fine S.E. Trades, all Sail set, Course N.N.W. Wat... Employed in Ships Duty. Middle & Latter Part thi... weather and Rainy. Steering from N.N.W. to N. Thus E...

Lat by Obs, 02°-37 N. Long by Chro, 113°-28...

Thursday March the 14th

Comc.d with light airs from the S.E. & Rainy, all Sail set To... st & Lower Studing Sails, steering North. Middle & Latter Par... steering from N. to N.W. thick & Squally Weather, Thus E...

No Lat, Sun Obscure.

Friday March the 15th

Comc.d with light S.E. Trades, and Rainy Steering N. Watch... mployed in Ships Duty. Middle & Latter Part Heavy Sq... & Rain from the S.E. Steering N.N.W. Found a Strong East... Current. Lat by Obs. 05°-10 N. Long by Chro 114°-03 West

Saturday March the 16th

Comc.d with light Trades and heavy Squalls of Rain, S... Sail set. Steering N.N.W. Middle & Latter Part fine w...



The Log *of* Mystic Seaport

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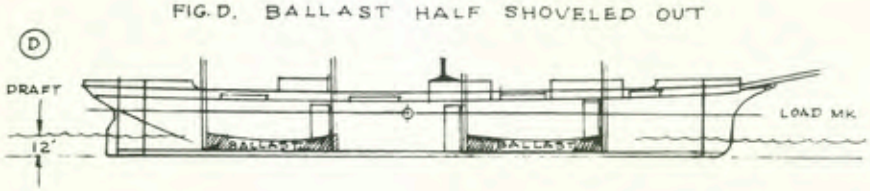
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Sightings



It is gratifying to see an organization evolve while at the same time remaining firmly committed to its original objectives. Over the past twenty-five years, I have watched as Mystic Seaport has matured, has built on its already sound reputation, and has cultivated a broad range of programs that serve many levels of interest in our maritime history. Today, we are on the threshold of yet another phase of our evolution. ❧ Many people believe Mystic Seaport is a museum committed exclusively to nineteenth-century New England maritime history, and it is easy to understand how this impression has developed. Our outdoor exhibits of ships, boats, and village life are indeed intended to interpret representative elements of life in nineteenth-century New England maritime communities. And many of our gallery exhibitions reflect this region and period as well. The nineteenth century was a period of extraordinary activity and great accomplishment, and much of this activity was associated with the New England region. ❧ A closer look at the gallery exhibits we have presented through the years, however, will reveal that the Seaport has in fact addressed a wide variety of topics that are based neither in New England nor in the nineteenth century. The Museum's Statement of Purpose says we should "enhance knowledge and understanding of the sea's influence on American life," and from our earliest days we have worked to develop the resources necessary to conveying this information. To this end, we have in all of our collections material that predates and postdates the nineteenth century, together with material that relates to maritime activity beyond New England. ❧ In an earlier era, the 1970s, the faculty of the Museum's graduate program, the Munson Institute, sought to bring the New England maritime story together in one, solid academic publication that would be lively and appealing to many readers. The result was the book *New England and the Sea* and it was followed by a successful exhibit on the same theme, which was installed in the Stillman Building for more than a decade. ❧ Using that same model, we are now taking significant steps to more actively communicate the sea's influence on American life. Discussions began more than two years ago regarding the merit of publishing a new book, one that would support our efforts now to tell the broader story of the sea's influence on our lives, and today the Munson Institute faculty are at work on this new publication. *America and the Sea* will provide an overview of American maritime history. I am certain it will be of valuable use in any course on the subject, and an indispensable publication for all of us with an interest in the field. ❧ The theme America and the Sea is and has been at the core of our work here at Mystic Seaport, and we are focusing on it now more than ever, as we move toward the turn of the century and millenium. Our telling the story of America and the Sea will result in a number of exhibits here, additional exhibits that will travel, supporting publications, cooperative programs with other museums in this country and internationally, outreach programs in a variety of media, and continued growth and refinement of our library collections and of our holdings of objects, photographs, vessels, films, and plans. And, of course, our educational and academic programs will continue to convey this broad story. This expanded programming, together with museum-sponsored study and fellowships, will encourage new scholarship in the field of maritime history. ❧ This new emphasis will by no means supplant our outdoor exhibits of ships, boats, and village life. We know how effective this approach has been in conveying a sense of life in nineteenth-century maritime New England, and we will continue to focus our efforts on enhancing the visitors' experience here, by giving them even greater opportunity to step back in time, through visits to ships and buildings of the past century, and through interaction with our able staff. ❧ The years ahead for Mystic Seaport hold the promise of better carrying out the objective of our founders. Our outdoor village exhibits and vessels will continue to interpret the nineteenth-century New England that was so critical to this nation's maritime evolution, while the balance of our exhibits, together with our research facilities and programs, will provide the context within which we can effectively tell the story of America and the Sea.

J. Revell Carr

"Our Position is a Most Commanding One"

ERIC ROORDA



The United States and the Caribbean Part 2, 1815-1994

The United States emerged from its damaging and inconclusive war with England in 1815 to a rapidly changing situation in the Caribbean. Though the threat of piracy continued to plague the archipelago, the area was relatively free of privateers and, for the first time in recent memory, from European warships patrolling against "neutral" shipping. American trade boomed throughout the islands and in the mainland ports of South and Central America, as it did elsewhere on the globe, during this period of peace.

Traders exploited new opportunities wherever they were found, especially in the rapidly developing economy of Cuba. This island became increasingly important in supplying the voracious refineries of New York and distilleries of New England with sugar and molasses, gradually displacing Jamaica (where the abolition of slavery cut production) as the major source of cane in the Caribbean. Sugar production in Cuba (where slavery endured) surged in the wake of the hurricane of 1844, when planters replaced their uprooted coffee trees with sugarcane.[1] In 1857, nearly 1,000 vessels arrived in New York from Cuba, and more than 800 more came to the other four major American ports.[2] American investment in land, mills, and railroads followed American ships into Cuba and Puerto Rico, establishing a deep vested interest in the political future of those last Spanish colonies.

Elsewhere, the new Latin American republics bordering the Caribbean welcomed American trade and investment. The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 was pronounced partly out of concern that the new republics of Latin America would be re-colonized by other European powers, which would inhibit United States leadership in the hemisphere. That leadership was slow to develop, but in the early post-colonial period, merchants were the ones to break new ground. G. G. and S. Howland Company, later Howland and Aspinwall, established interests in Venezuela, Mexico, and the Colombian province of Panama, where the Central American isthmus reached its narrowest point. When the United States fulfilled its "manifest destiny" of territorial expansion to the Pacific coast, finding a shortcut across the isthmus became a priority. The United States concluded a treaty with Colombia in 1846 guaranteeing the neutrality of the isthmus as a preliminary to establishing an American route overland across Panama. William Aspinwall established such a transit as part of his Pacific Mail Company, which went into service just before gold was discovered in California in 1848. He opened the Panama Railroad along the transit in 1855.[3] Cornelius Vanderbilt's Accessory Transit Company opened a second route across the isthmus in Nicaragua in 1851, employing steamboats to navigate Lake Managua and United States Navy warships to exact cooperation from the Nicaraguans.[4] These two American inroads into the fledgling republics of Colombia and Nicaragua laid the groundwork for increasing United States influence in the region, and encouraged plans for an isthmian canal.

The Caribbean trade continued to require flexibility and opportunism long after packet shipping had brought regularity to transatlantic traffic, and shippers in the region still dealt in suspect cargoes. Benjamin Stodard of Portersville (Mystic), Connecticut, was part owner of the schooner *LaGrange*, trading between Cuba and the Gulf coast in 1828. He was alert to new sources of profit on that route when he asked his partner, Captain Silas Beebe, for a favor. "If you should meet with this scrawl in New Orleans and should go to Vera Cruz, carry one pound of Opium for me if you can buy it for 4½ or 6 dollars, that will try the market, and if you think it will do and you should make a second trip down the gulph, you may carry what you think prudent."[5]

Even traditional West Indian cargoes like strong drink were received less kindly in the changing social climate of antebellum America. Captain James Lowell, with more than twenty years of experience shipping West Indian rum, must have been surprised at the response elicited by "six casks of liquors" in his hometown of Bath, Maine, in 1846. His agent, who "had no idea of the feeling here on the subject," was prevented from selling the captain's stock when "a large committee of citizens" came to register their "strong opposition" to it.[6]

The Civil War sidetracked Caribbean trade, which was further affected by social and economic turmoil in the islands afterward. The Ten Years War in Cuba (1868–78) took a heavy toll on sugar production there, and the abolition of slavery in the Spanish colonies (Puerto Rico in 1873, Cuba in 1886) disrupted the supply of agricultural labor to the remaining plantations.[7] Trade with Barbados and Trinidad in the British West Indies resurged during this time,

Top: Although Caribbean spas have hosted tourists since the eighteenth century, the trade really began to flourish late in the nineteenth century. The United Fruit Company's "Great White Fleet" of fruit steamers included the 470-foot luxury passenger-freight steamships Pastores, Calamares, *and* Tenedores, *built in 1913-14. Their winter cruise schedule included stops in Jamaica, Panama, and Costa Rica.* (The Story of A La Carte, *ca. 1915)*

Right: From the nineteenth century through the 1950s, Havana remained the principal port in the Caribbean. In this view, ca. 1865, the harbor is jammed with shipping and the products of commercial interchange. (M.S.M. *85.3.3)*

but a deep depression caused by competition from sugar beet products swept the Caribbean in the late nineteenth century, bankrupting estates and merchants throughout the Antilles.[8] Though commerce with the West Indies suffered setbacks, this did not reduce U.S. strategic interest in the area.[9]

Expansionists had long harbored designs for territorial acquisitions in the Antilles or Central America, but after the Civil War these plans came under consideration at the highest levels of government. President Ulysses S. Grant was in favor of annexing the Dominican Republic in 1870, and a proposal to do so fell short of approval in the United States Senate by just one vote.[10] Though annexation schemes failed, proponents of the "outward look" for United States foreign policy argued in favor of a sphere of influence in the Caribbean, supported by a large navy and an isthmian canal.[11]

The "outward look" stressed the need for overseas markets to absorb the industrial and agricultural surplus of the United States, and "sea power" to defend American interests wherever they were defined.[12] This required the construction of a "new" navy of efficient steam-powered steel vessels that would have to operate on both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; the isthmian shortcut was essential to its mobility. A canal would change the strategic orientation of the Caribbean from a placid cul-de-sac to a highway of commerce akin to the English Channel, which would have to be protected with naval bases and stable governments on its fringes.[13]

As this worldview gained currency in influential circles in the United States, dissatisfaction with the weakening Spanish domain over Cuba and Puerto Rico deepened.[14] Cuba was in particularly bad shape, having come through the brutal Ten Years War in 1878 only to plunge back into revolution in 1895. President Grover Cleveland estimated that United States investment in the island was as much as fifty million dollars at the time, and perhaps twice that before the traumas of 1895.[15] This was equal to about a quarter of all American foreign investment. Cuba was also the destination of one-half to two-thirds of all Caribbean traders every year since the Civil War, and single-handedly accounted for about one-tenth of the value of U.S. imports during that period.[16]

Sentiment against the brutal prosecution of the conflict by Spain peaked in 1898 with the explosion of the battleship *Maine*, one of the show pieces of the new navy, in Havana harbor. Though probably the result of combustion in the ship's coal bunkers, the sinking was blamed on the Spanish, and President William McKinley asked Congress for a declaration of war. The Spanish-American War was the turning point in the United States' relationship with the Caribbean.[17] Though Secretary of State Richard Olney had declared that "the United States is practically sovereign on this continent" in 1895, echoing Alexander Hamilton's assessment of the nation's "commanding position" in the region, the war demonstrated that this was no longer a theoretical claim.[18]

The habitual naval weakness of the United States had been replaced by naval



strength sufficient to establish hegemony over its weaker neighbors. The new navy destroyed the Spanish flotillas off Santiago, Cuba, and in the harbor of Manila, the Philippines, forcing a quick end to what Secretary of State John Hay called a "splendid little war." Spain ceded Puerto Rico and the Philippines to the victors, who also established a virtual protectorate over Cuba that lasted until 1933. The United States became an imperial power in the Caribbean.

With a growing navy of world-class might and strategic possessions in the Caribbean and the Pacific, the American need for an isthmian canal increased. This had been dramatized in 1898 by the frantic voyage of the battleship *Oregon,* which had steamed around Cape Horn with the eyes of the country following her progress to the war in Cuba, where she arrived just in time to see action. With "sea power" proponent Theodore Roosevelt in the White House, the debate over where a canal would be built gained new urgency.

Most observers advocated the Nicaraguan route established by Vanderbilt, while Roosevelt increasingly favored the route of Aspinwall's Panama Railroad, which a French company under the leadership of Ferdinand de Lesseps, builder of the Suez Canal, had purchased. De Lesseps had failed in his attempt to dig a sea level route along the railroad line, so the equipment and rights of the French company were for sale.

Roosevelt moved to acquire them and continue the work. The requisite negotiations with the Colombians bogged down, however, prompting the former Rough Rider to declare their government "that Bogota lot of jack rabbits" and proceed unilaterally. He sent the battleship *Nashville* to Panama to aid a nascent revolt against Colombia and to ensure the province's independence. The new Republic of Panama, whose acting ambassador in Washington was a French canal company official, proved more malleable than Colombia, and a treaty granting the United States an expansive Canal Zone at a bargain rate was quickly concluded. The herculean efforts required to dig the Panama Canal, which opened in 1914, consolidated United States influence on the isthmus.[19] The Canal reconfigured the world's sea-lanes, but the increased maritime traffic it brought to the Caribbean did not equal increased prosperity for the nations on its threshold.

The last ingredient in the recipe for an American sphere of influence in the Caribbean was the stability of the republics of the region, which would guarantee a favorable climate for trade and investment. Of particular importance in that regard were the fruit companies that had gained great leverage on the island of Jamaica and in the "banana republics" of Central America (Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua), and the sugar firms in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic. American companies invested heavily in railroads, communications, port facilities, mining, and steamship fleets, while American banks became deeply involved in the finances of the Caribbean nations.[20] Between 1900 and 1930, the United States moved frequently to stabilize the governments of these nations, either through control of customhouses or by outright occupation. During this period of "Gunboat Diplomacy," the United States Navy occupied Haiti, 1915–33, and the Dominican Republic, 1916–24, and also intervened in Cuba and Nicaragua. Puerto Rico continued to be administered as a territory by the Department of Insular Affairs until 1952, when it gained commonwealth status in "association" with the United States.[21] (The debate over Puerto Rico's relationship with the United States continues today. A plebiscite on the island in November 1993 showed nearly 50 percent favoring the status quo, outnumbering statehood advocates by about 5 percent. Less than 5 percent cast ballots for independence, though the issue of cultural identity remained at the center of the debate.)



The fading grandeur of Christiansted, St. Croix, in the 1870s reflects the lessening importance of Caribbean trade to the American maritime economy. One hundred years later, tourism had brought a new form of commerce to these streets. Photo by E.A. Scholfield, ca. 1875. (M.S.M. *77.160.2034)*

When sugar prices soared in the wake of World War I, a period called "The Dance of the Millions" in Cuba, American traders benefited greatly from the new leverage that intervention afforded. More than 5,000 American ships cleared for the Caribbean during 1920, the height of the boom, quadrupling the rate of ten years before. Trade continued at a brisk clip throughout the subsequent decade, though exports of American products to Caribbean markets perpetually lagged behind the sweet, sticky imports from the islands.[22] A National City Bank study from 1920 documented the extent of this economic hegemony: 79 percent of all Caribbean exports went to the United States, which provided 74 percent of the region's imports.[23]

Steamship navigation between the islands and the United States developed gradually after the Civil War, with more than 1,000,000 tons of shipping under steam clearing for Caribbean ports by the turn of the century.[24] The fruit companies constructed fleets of "banana boats" that doubled as passenger liners, and Charles Henry Mallory's line between New York and the Gulf of Mexico added stops in Cuba, Port-au-Prince, and Mexico. The Mallory Line received about 20 percent of the business of carrying troops and supplies to Cuba during the Spanish-American War, but the line was absorbed by "Ice King" Charles Morse's Consolidated Steamship Company in 1906. When Morse's conglomerate failed two years later, most of the vessels were reorganized into the Atlantic, Gulf and West Indies Steamship Lines (AGWI), which provided service to Havana, San Juan, and Santo Domingo.[25] By the 1930s, Bull Insular Line, Lykes Brothers Steamship Company, and AGWI's Ward Line and New York and Porto Rico Line were the dominant American steamship services on the Caribbean routes.

Though steamships gained a larger share of the Caribbean carrying trade with each passing year, sailing vessels occupied various maritime niches into the twentieth century. American schooners carried logwood from Haiti and molasses from Puerto Rico, and a fleet of Provincetown whaling schooners prolonged the sperm whale fishery on the coasts of Venezuela and Hispaniola.[26] The Caribbean shipping boom of the 1920s increased the number of steamship clearances more than fourfold, but also fueled a resurgence in sail power: American vessels set sail for the islands nearly 1,000 times during 1920, more than doubling the previous rate. World War II doomed the last of this breed, which had steadily declined with the hard times of the 1930s.[27]



An American brig and two barks lie at anchor in Christiansted harbor on St. Croix, awaiting cargoes of sugar. Photo by E.A. Scholfield, ca. 1875. (M.S.M. *77.160.2019*)

The Good Neighbor Policy of the 1930s renounced the use of military muscle to attain American goals in Latin America, and helped elicit regional cooperation in the wartime effort to erect a "Fortress America" against fascist aggression. This hemispheric alliance was centered in the Caribbean, where the United States asserted control over French and British colonies and concluded military agreements with several independent nations.

After the Second World War, the United States focused on containing Communism in the Caribbean republics. This effort included covert intervention in "trouble spots" like Guatemala, where an invasion planned and coordinated by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) against a leftist regime succeeded in 1954, and Cuba, where an attempt to turn back the Cuban Revolution met with disaster at the Bay of Pigs in 1961. The United States did not gamble with covert action when a revolution began in the Dominican Republic in 1965, but instead sent in 21,000 troops to support the country's military rulers and prevent "another Cuba" from occurring. Similar considerations prompted the 1983 invasion of Grenada.

Economic aid to Caribbean nations was also adopted as a way to address poverty, the root cause of unrest, before it could engender revolutionary movements. Poverty was the chief legacy of sugar and banana cultivation, which consolidated arable land in the hands of a few wealthy individuals or corporations and perpetuated debt peonage in the labor force. The Alliance for Progress, begun during the Kennedy administration, attempted to channel public aid and private investment into the crippled economies of the islands, as did the Caribbean Basin Initiative of the Reagan administration.

But aid programs have been unable to correct the growing disequilibrium between the economies of the United States and its underdeveloped neighbors, and the pressure to migrate from the islands to the mainland has steadily increased. Having gained American citizenship in 1917, residents of Puerto Rico began migrating to the United States in the 1920s. Cuban migration also began during the same time, and boomed after Fidel Castro took power. Castro's regime ended Havana's status as a recreational extension of south Florida, which dated to the era of Prohibition. The influx of Cuban immigrants with refugee status has blurred the transnational lines between Miami and Cuba.

The economic crisis in the Dominican Republic since the 1960s spurred migration to New York and other urban centers in the Northeast, aided by the relaxed guidelines of the Immigration



The U.S. Marines have frequently been sent to enforce this nation's view of its commanding position in the Caribbean. In this 1919 photograph, marine patrol boats lie in the Ozama River at Santo Domingo during the eight-year occupation of the Dominican Republic, 1916-24. (Courtesy Still Photography Division, National Archives, Washington, D.C.)

Law of 1965 and the relative ease of passing through Puerto Rico. Some estimates of the Dominican population around New York approach 500,000.

Haitian immigrants comprise the most recent wave of Caribbean refugees hoping to relocate to the United States, especially since the military coup that forced the elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, from power in September 1991. Without the citizenship of Puerto Ricans, the political refugee status of Cubans, or the San Juan–New York conduit of the Dominicans, the Haitians' high seas passages most closely approximate those of their African ancestors. All told, at least 20,000,000 people have come to the U.S. from the Caribbean since the current surge in immigration began in the 1960s.[28]

The tourism industry is currently reshaping the economies of the Caribbean. Most governments in the region have a ministry to encourage investment in resort construction and to compete for visitors from North America, Europe, and Japan. Cruise ships have also been plying the archipelago in increasing numbers since the 1970s (almost all of them under "flags of convenience"). But tourist development is a double-edged sword. Jobs created by hotel and condominium construction are temporary, while permanent service positions are relatively few. Large numbers of visitors can inflate food, fuel, and utility prices beyond the means of residents, while "all-inclusive" resorts and cruise ships bring little to the local economy. And unrestrained development rapidly alters one of the principal natural resources of the islands: their natural beauty.

In the 1990s, the "commanding position" of the United States in the Caribbean is being challenged on several fronts. The 28-year embargo against Castro's Cuba has destroyed the island's economy but failed to dislodge the dictator. The possibility that Castro's death will precipitate another massive migration to Florida, one that would dwarf the 1979 Mariela "boat lift," is distinct, while the willingness of prosperous Cuban-Americans to undertake the expensive task of rebuilding post-Castro Cuba is uncertain. In the meantime, the development potential of the island diminishes as its infrastructure collapses.

The United States was poised in late 1993 to intervene again in Haiti to reinstate constitutional government and retrain the armed forces, an agenda identical to that of the earlier 18-year Marine occupation there. But the Haitian military regime threatened to violently oppose the United Nations peace effort, and United States forces withdrew to establish a naval blockade of the hemisphere's poorest country.

Despotism in Haiti has proved remarkably resilient in the past, and there is no indication that economic sanctions will destabilize the current rulers, inheritors of the legacy of terror resulting from the Duvalier family's 28 years of dictatorship. The desperation of the Haitian people, crowded on deforested land and in blighted cities, is a grim harbinger of overpopulation in the Caribbean and elsewhere in Latin America.

Drug trafficking through the Antilles and Central America has also withstood massive, expensive American efforts to control it. Interdiction of such a profitable trade is a tall order. Smuggling is ingrained in the relationship between the United States and the Caribbean, with island and coastal geography well suited to contraband commerce by sea or by air, often with the knowledge, if not the outright assistance, of government authorities in the region. This historical pattern (which has its roots in the seventeenth century) is now pitted against the ongoing assertion of United States power in the Caribbean, with the "war on drugs" assuming a central role in the regional agenda for the last decade.

The 1989 invasion of Panama has been the most violent result of this clash of historical forces. The capture and conviction of Manuel Noriega falls into the sequence of twentieth-century interventions in the dependent states of the "American Mediterranean," but not for the usual goals of stability or anti-Communism. Instead, the stated reason for "Operation Just Cause" was the Panamanian president's involvement in drug smuggling. In an area always driven by profits, no matter how illicit, even in wartime, Noriega and his fellow traffickers come from a long tradition of opportunists. In this case, however, two themes of Caribbean history come into conflict: the practice of going for the profit and taking the risk, and the assertion of America's "commanding position" for the sake of its national interests.

Paul Cuffe: Against the Odds in Vienna, Maryland



LAMONT D. THOMAS

African descendants so frequently participated in this nation's seafaring life that for contemporary participants to have recorded the black presence at sea was often considered redundant and, therefore, unnecessary. But today, both an incredulous public dependent upon traditional proof and social critics accustomed to white-washed history rightfully demand to know more. If blacks were so commonly found at sea, where is the evidence?

The issue is historical accuracy, not the current call for "political correctness." Today, intellectual navigation through maritime sources accelerates as scholars, some of whom are recipients of the Paul Cuffe Memorial Fellowship at Mystic Seaport, increasingly pursue access to, and interpretation of, unknown and untried evidence.[1]

This paper examines Paul Cuffe himself through a late-eighteenth-century trading voyage that established his role as a maritime entrepreneur. Here we consider Cuffe, who would eventually pioneer a legitimate triangular "African traffic" between three continents, as he ventured from his native New England into the Chesapeake Bay's eastern shore slave community of Vienna, Maryland, in 1796.[2]

Commonplace occurrences, such as persons of African descent crisscrossing Nantucket Sound, Buzzards Bay, or Chesapeake Bay only became "history" if incidentally recorded by random observers. However, an unusually detailed account of Paul Cuffe's 1796 voyage was published in an antislavery tract, so we know far more about it than contemporary records would normally allow.

In April of 1807, London's *Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature* announced the formation of the African Institution in the wake of Parliament's decision to end the transatlantic slave trade. The directors included luminaries such as William Wilburforce, William Roscoe, Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson, and the Duke of Gloucester. As if to validate the stated lofty goals of those prominent philanthropists, the *Repository* boldly introduced "MEMOIRS OF AN AFRICAN CAPTAIN," noting, "the subject of the following narrative is a FREE NEGRO." Paul Cuffe was then "on passage from Savannah [Georgia] to Liverpool, and the whole of the crew are also FREE NEGROES." The African Institution considered Cuffe a prime example of their contention that

with suitable culture and a fair opening for the exertion of talents, the NEGRO possesses a portion of intellect and energy by which he is enabled to form great designs...and thus to evince that, with equal advantages of education and circumstances, the Negro-race might fairly be compared with their white brethren on any part of the globe.

The "Delaware Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery" authenticated the memoir. Members had recently returned from a meeting of the American Convention of Abolition Societies in Philadelphia. Their account, the "Brief Memoirs of the Life of Capt. Paul Cuffe," provides details for the story to follow.[3]

Evidence of black seafaring in America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries helps to establish the context for Paul Cuffe's exploits. American whaling had commenced in Long Island and Nantucket coastal waters from the skills of Native Americans, who, with imported Africans, either whaled themselves or became the servile class for the dominant European immigrants. In 1628, African slaves manned Dutch West India Company vessels, which embarked from New Amsterdam (now New York City) for the Caribbean. Twenty-five years later, a free black Boston shipmaster owned one-third of a 14-ton vessel. By the early 1700s, black seafarers–some slaves, some free–regularly departed Philadelphia, and their numbers grew throughout American seaports as the century progressed. At the end of the century African Americans were recorded as pilots and fishermen in Chesapeake Bay and, indeed, along the whole Atlantic Coast."[4]

By the late eighteenth century, Paul Cuffe well knew the opportunities and pitfalls within what historian John Hope Franklin calls "the evolving American civilization."[5] Born free to a former slave and his Wampanoag wife, Paul was one of a family of ten children who grew up on Cuttyhunk Island, Martha's Vineyard, and eventually the Westport section of Dartmouth, Massachusetts. He began his ventures into maritime capitalism as a teenager, running the British blockade between Dartmouth and Nantucket during the American Revolution. Thereafter, he shipped out as mate on board a coastal trader to North Carolina from his home along Buzzards Bay. He returned as master. During a decade of modest ventures, he and his Native-American brother-in-law Michael Wainer emerged as accomplished merchants, property owners, and craftsmen within their Westport community.[6]

By the 1790s, the Cuffe-Wainer partnership, which the black shipmaster eventually came to manage, underwrote the construction of a 25-ton schooner, named *Sunfish* for her first catch at sea. Cuffe whaled aboard her during several trips to the Grand Banks, gaining recognition as an independent-minded and resourceful whaler and harpooner. The next vessel to be built on Cuffe's Acoaxet riverfront property was a 40-ton schooner. In her name, *Mary*, the two entrepreneurs recognized the familial bond between them: Paul's sister Mary, now Michael's wife. Coastal voyages ensued for both men, and among the runs were some to Newport, Rhode Island, a short distance westward. United States customs records document two such arrivals: on 26 November 1792, "Sch Sun Fish, Michael Wayner [sic],

coastal," and four months later Paul Cuffe's arrival with the schooner *Mary*.[7]

Mary Wainer and Cuffe's wife Alice, descended from the Pequot nation, raised, between the two families, 13 children. The first four of seven Cuffe offspring were girls. The six Wainer boys would become the core of future Cuffe crews.[8] By late 1795, all hands were prepared for the construction of another hull.

Upon the beachfront property arose a 69-ton "square-sterned schooner" that Cuffe named the *Ranger*. Cuffe's trusted friend Peter Williams, Jr., would later recall that the *Ranger* "enlarged the sphere of his action; trading to more distant places, and in articles requiring a larger capital." To finance their new vessel, Cuffe put the *Sunfish* and *Mary* up for sale. Henceforth, the *Ranger* would carry his maritime fortunes, and her crew would be drawn from his extended family, perpetuating the African identity of Cuffe's enterprises.[9]

Proud of his African background, Cuffe had earlier resolved to adopt his father's African name, an Anglicized form of Kofi, Ashanti for "born on Friday," rather than keeping his father's slave surname, Slocum. And he did not hesitate to test the limits of his rights in the white world. Massachusetts had banned the further importation of slaves in 1788, but only eight years before that Cuffe and several others had disputed the town and state right to tax them if, as blacks and Native Americans, they were not allowed to vote.[10]

Cuffe and his family faced clear social and political limits in Westport as a result of their race, but as individuals they found general acceptance within the white community. Their industrious habits and property ownership, coupled with Westport's commercial and religious habits, earned them approval. The community's dependence upon seafaring fostered respect for those whose strength and ability, not race, marked them as successful. Moreover, the community upheld tenets espoused by the Society of Friends, traditionally the most tolerant of the Protestant sects, which actively espoused the rights of Africans and Native Americans.[11]

Puritan and Quaker values blessed dutiful profit-making in the marketplace, sometimes even within sight of the Africa-bound slaving vessels that took maritime profit-making beyond the pale. Newport, New England's slave-trading hub, and the probable port into which Paul Cuffe's father had been transported nearly 70 years earlier, still saw the departure of occasional slaving vessels. In Newport harbor during 1793, Cuffe and Wainer might have encountered the brig *Hannah* prior to her runs to the Guinea coast of Africa and on to Havana.[12]

That winter of 1793-94, fellow merchants, irrespective of color, perused the New Bedford region's first published newspaper. The *Medley*, or New Bedford *Marine Journal*, became the local conduit for national issues. Outcries against slavery included Philadelphia Friend Warner Mifflin's petition titled "Slaveholding Opposed." Shipping news abounded, including announcements of lost vessels carrying black crew members. And no self-respecting merchant could afford to overlook the following announcement:

William Rotch, jun. Respectfully informs his Customers and Friends he has for sale, Wholesale and Retail, at his store in New Bedford, SAILCLOTH, of an excellent Quality...; large and small Looking Glasses, and Plates unframed; Glass Tumblers; Twine and Cordage; Flour and Shipbread; Pork; Salt; Phila and Russia Bar Iron....

Paul Cuffe would have been well acquainted with William Rotch's store through his construction of the *Sunfish*, *Mary*, and then the *Ranger*. Born the same year of 1759, Rotch and Cuffe would remain acquaintances and admirers throughout their careers, although race would forever differentiate their social roles.[13] Cuffe may well have sought Rotch's advice as he planned his venture in his new schooner *Ranger*.

"To supply his wants he sold his two boats and placed on board his schooner a cargo valued at 2000 dollars,"



George Tobin painted the Norfolk, Virginia, pilot schooner Hamilton *in 1795, the year before Paul Cuffe brought the* Ranger *into Norfolk seeking a cargo. At least one member of the* Hamilton*'s crew is depicted as black. (VFM 965, G.W. Blunt White Library)*



On his voyage to Vienna, Paul Cuffe passed the Virginia Capes, called at Norfolk (lower left), then sailed up Chesapeake Bay and up the Nanticoke River to Vienna (upper middle). Detail from A Chart of the Coast of North America, from New York and Philadelphia to the Strait or Gulf of Florida, 1837. (G.W. Blunt White Library, Claire White-Peterson photo)

continued the Delaware memoir. Poor communication meant that almost any trading venture was a gamble, and Cuffe's proposed voyage was no different. "He had not sufficient information of the commercial condition of the different parts of the United States to direct him on such a course as would yield a certain profit on his cargo, but he supposed some of the Southern States would furnish a market where he could trade without loss." That was essential, for Cuffe's investment represented his total assets, excepting his property ashore.[14]

By the time of the *Ranger*'s maiden voyage, presumably in the spring of 1796, the black shipmaster needed all the friends he could secure. George Washington's administration and Congress had just passed the Fugitive Slave Act, which legalized seizures of all black persons pending proof of their free status. The stigma of their color had relegated African descendants to public perception as slaves. The recent federal legislation clearly put the *Ranger*'s entire ship's company at risk unless they had irrefutable documentation of their free status. Moreover, the *Ranger*'s voyage into federally sanctioned slave-trading waters meant that the ship's company was no more secure at sea than ashore in the South. Most slave states of the Union, except Georgia, had ordered a halt to transatlantic importation of African slaves, but enforcement meant little, and for a free black crew capture and sale into slavery was a possibility.[15] Far more than any white captain had to do, Paul Cuffe was obliged to be certain that he carried all possible documents to verify his status and that of his crew and his cargo.

Cuffe sailed first to Norfolk, Virginia, "and there learned that a very plentiful crop of Indian corn had been gathered that year on the eastern shore of Maryland, and that he could procure a schooner load, for a low price, at Vienna, on the Nanticoke river." The captain plotted a course 80 miles north up the broad Chesapeake Bay, passed round the Tangier Sound islands along the bay's eastern banks, avoided the wide Wicomico River mouth, and steered northeastward into the mouth of the Nanticoke River. At Long Point, some 15 miles inland, the stream narrowed as the *Ranger* moved on past Weston and Lewis landings.

There stood the imposing residence and plantation of regional patriarch John Henry. Henry had been schooled by the Presbyterian Samuel Finley, educated at Princeton in New Jersey, and trained for the law at London's Inns of Court. That promising education had led to Henry's election to the Continental Congress, to the governorship of Maryland, and to the United States Senate. Consistent

with his station, John Henry had protested that his slave property was "stolen" by the British in 1780 when the enemy had offered freedom should slaves come aboard British craft. The Weston plantation, six miles south of Vienna, represented the accoutrements of the prosperous, well-bred, landed and slave-owning southern gentry.[16]

In this region, slavery had prevailed for more than a century. Although they shared the racial heritage of Cuffe and his crew on board the *Ranger*, the field hands and skilled workers who labored in slavery on the estates bordering the Nanticoke had little in common with the *Ranger*'s free-born sailors. The *Ranger*'s crew was most likely composed of Michael and Mary Wainer's four oldest sons, who observed the Quaker values espoused by their 37-year-old uncle. Whether reading or quoting from the Edinburgh Bible he had purchased in New York a few years earlier, the shipmaster emphasized the necessity to display exemplary conduct, temperate behavior, and belief in a just God. God would reward those who were strong and faithful in the face of trial.[17] The slaves, too, sought solace in the Bible – as did the masters for self-serving purposes – but the slaves had never experienced the freedom of movement and freedom to make their own economic decisions, which Cuffe and his crew viewed as their own natural rights. That worldview could not coexist in the South, where the agricultural economy depended on a large class of enslaved laborers.

The appearance of a crew of free African Americans in the Nanticoke produced a late-eighteenth-century version of a modern civil rights confrontation. The question was, how could federal protection of maritime commerce be rectified with state and local prohibitions against these practitioners of that commerce? The people of Vienna viewed the outsiders as troublemakers, whose race automatically stigmatized them. Citizens

were filled with astonishment and alarm. A vessel owned and commanded by a person of colour, and manned with a crew of the same complexion, was unprecedented and surprising. The white inhabitants were struck with apprehensions of the injurious effects which such circumstances would have on the minds of their slaves, but perhaps they were still more fearful that, under the veil of commerce, he had arrived among them with hostile intentions.



This silhouette, the only known image of Paul Cuffe (1759-1817), was published 16 years after his Vienna voyage. By that time he was seeking to create a new home for freed slaves in Sierra Leone. (Courtesy New Bedford Whaling Museum)

The slaveholders "probably suspected" a secret intention "to kindle the spirit of rebellion and excite a destructive revolt among their slaves."

Vienna's property holders had ample cause for alarm. Three years earlier Toussaint L'Ouverture had successfully overthrown the French in Haiti, thereby igniting fears that equally destabilizing black revolutionaries were bound toward the southern states. For fear that imported slaves might hail from the rebellious West Indies, the state of Maryland had halted future slave importations. Maryland residents also were frightened by local free persons of color, so much so that in 1796 the state legislature at Annapolis was declaring that free blacks would be enslaved for six years if suspected of possessing stolen property.[18]

Nor would Vienna residents have been comforted to know that the incoming crew shared Indian descent. Combative relations with the nearby Nanticoke Indians dated back to John Smith's early-seventeenth-century encounters. The civilizing colonists had cast the Nanticokes as adversaries, and battles, treaty violations, captured sachems, and pitiful appeals characterized relations between the natives and the Europeans to the end of the eighteenth century. Thomas Jefferson's emissary, William Vans Murray, reported the degraded conditions:

The little town where they live consists of but four genuine wigwams, thatched over with the bark of cedar–very old–and two framed houses....The others of the tribe, which in this century were at least five hundred in number, [have] died or removed towards the frontiers, generally to the Six Nations [Iroquois].[19]

Now the Indian corn, once cultivated in abundance by the Nanticoke, awaited an outward-bound vessel for profitable results. Could Cuffe negotiate the deal?

Initially, fear of the dark-skinned ship's company barred success. "Several persons associated themselves for the purpose of preventing Paul from entering his vessel [at the customhouse] or remaining among them." Whether a gathering crowd or only "several persons" registered a wide range of objections, formidable obstacles remained. The burden of proof depended upon federal Collector of Customs James Frazier, who had been appointed just a year earlier. But Frazier knew his business. The *Ranger*'s impeccable documents "were found to be correct, and the Custom-house officers could not legally refuse" the schooner's entrance.[20]

Thereafter, Cuffe and his crew were even able to achieve a measure of acceptance in the doubting community as the deal for a cargo of corn was struck and the grain was loaded. Drawing on his Quaker values,

Paul combined prudence with resolution. Although his schooner was entered in opposition to the association, he did not assume an air of triumph, or use the language of defiance to his opposers. He conducted himself with candour, modesty and firmness, and all his crew behaved, not only inoffensively, but with a conciliating propriety.

Within a few days, "the inimical association vanished and the inhabitants treated him and his crew with respect

and even kindness." "Respectable" residents boarded the *Ranger* to inspect her condition, and, reportedly, one invited the black captain to his home for a meal.

After three weeks in Vienna, Cuffe had obtained and loaded his intended cargo of corn. Retracing his course down the Nanticoke River and Chesapeake Bay, Cuffe guided his schooner out past the Virginia Capes and steered northeast for New Bedford. Upon his return, the cargo gained Cuffe a profit of $1,000. Based on that success, Cuffe returned to the Nanticoke, with the same lucrative results.

Cuffe never looked back. Federalist maritime conditions favored expansion. Almost immediately, Cuffe negotiated with Friend James Brian of Wilmington, Delaware, to enter the *Ranger* in the lucrative coastal trade between Passamaquoddy Bay, in far eastern Massachusetts (Maine), and the Delaware River ports. First in the Philadelphia press, then in Wilmington's papers, Cuffe's voyages were regularly reported as he landed loads of gypsum. Barrels full of this white mineral powder were spread on Middle Atlantic fields to rejuvenate the soil, some of it depleted during decades of slave agriculture.[21]

Paul combined prudence with resolution... Although his schooner was entered in opposition to the association, he did not assume an air of triumph, or use the language of defiance to his opposers.

Meanwhile, at home, the maritime investments made cash available to expand Cuffe's waterfront operations. He acquired a 140-acre lot from Ebenezer and Rachel Eddy. By the end of the century, Cuffe's real estate amounted to about 200 acres in Westport township. Partnerships with neighbors, both whites and people of color, included cooperative ventures in a gristmill and windmill. Soon Thomas Wainer, his oldest nephew, assumed command of the *Ranger*.[22]

And finally, prosperity enabled Cuffe to promote public education. He sought neighborhood support for a community school that children could attend, regardless of race. But this brought him up against the limits of racial toleration, even in his relatively free-thinking Massachusetts community. Undoubtedly, efforts by Friends to establish their own Quaker school, a common ambition for Friends, deterred Cuffe's petitioning drive. "Perceiving that all efforts to procure a union of sentiment were fruitless," reported the Delaware memoir, "Paul set himself to work in earnest, and had a suitable house built on his own ground." The school remained for years to come, as did Cuffe's financial responsibility to pay the schoolmaster. But some years later a visitor to Westport noted that the school was "tauntingly called Cuffs School by persons who gladly send their children," suggesting that their were some barriers Paul Cuffe could never breach.[23]

Paul Cuffe's late-eighteenth-century episode in the eastern shore community of Vienna, Maryland, amounted to his economic and, perhaps, social thrust into the evolving American civilization. Although he left no record of his own reflections upon the voyages, his subsequent maritime successes suggest a renewed sense of confidence and skill to maneuver within white America, entrepreneurial skills beyond those of his neighbors, and a zeal for economic and social advancement in the new republic.

Cuffe Scholars Broach Diversity Of Maritime New England

The Seaport's Munson Institute was pleased to award three Paul Cuffe Memorial Fellowships in this its sixth year of granting stipends to encourage research into African- and Native-American contributions to New England's rich maritime heritage.

The fellowship – made possible through the generosity of a private foundation – is named in honor of Captain Paul Cuffe. Born in 1759 on Cuttyhunk Island, Massachusetts, to a Pequot Indian mother and a freed black father, Cuffe defied the formidable racial barriers of his time to become a successful sea captain and shipowner, as well as a landed and respected community leader. Cuffe was indeed a remarkable man. He was not, however, alone.

This year's funded research topics represent the very diversity of minority contributions to this region's maritime heritage. A $2,400 stipend was awarded to Dwayne E. Williams to support his research into the collective identity of the Cape Verdean communities in the United States and on the island of Cape Verde. Williams is a graduate student in the History of African Peoples Program at the University of Minnesota, and is working toward his thesis titled "Toward an African Diaspora: The Social Construction of Cape Verdean Identity, 1921-1980." He sought the Cuffe fellowship in the hopes that it would support an exploration into the Cape Verdean communities of southeastern New England. He will use the funded time to research Seaport primary source materials that communicate Cape Verdean maritime activity in the early twentieth century, and to conduct a series of oral history interviews with members of the considerable southeastern New England Cape Verdean community.

A $1,500 award was made to Elaine Weintraub to further her research into the history of African Americans on Martha's Vineyard, and specifically into their contributions to the whaling



Black crew members pose on deck of vessel. The white man in the center back is probably John B. Phillips, captain and owner of the vessel. (M.S.M. *85.67.2.29*)

industry. Weintraub, a teacher on the island, has uncovered and documented the career of Captain William Martin, an African-American whaleman out of Edgartown, and she has described his assimilation as well into the Native-American community of Chappaquiddick Island. Prior to Weintraub's work, Captain Martin was not included in published histories of whaling on Martha's Vineyard. She will apply her stipend toward compiling a thorough history of Captain Martin and the communities in which he lived, and she hopes in the process to uncover additional African-American mariners, "and [to] contribute to a more inclusive maritime history of New England."

The third award – a $1,000 stipend – was presented to David Wright and David Zoby, both of Virginia Commonwealth University, for their continued study of the Pea Island Life-Saving Station in North Carolina. The station was the first to be run by Americans of African descent. From 1880 until the station was closed in 1947, the black crews established for themselves a reputation as one of the best prepared and most daring along the dangerous North Carolina coast. This project brings a new dimension to the Cuffe Fellowship, which traditionally has limited its work to the southeastern New England region. The scholars argued, however, that "the story of the Pea Island lifesavers is so captivating and historically important that it begs attention by maritime scholars." They tell of a particularly daring incident, the 1896 rescue of the seven persons aboard the *E.S. Newman,* which had run aground near the station. The *Newman,* a 393-ton schooner originating in Stonington, Connecticut, and enroute to Norfolk, Virginia, was blown off course and ran aground on a shifting sand bar near Pea Island in the October 1896 hurricane. "The violent surf had rendered all lifesaving equipment useless," the scholars write. "In order to effectuate the save, the Pea Island lifesavers had to tie a line around two surfmen; these men then battled the weather and the surf and, one by one, carried the entire party to safety, including the captain's wife and three-year-old daughter, who were also on board."

Over the course of the Fellowship's six years of encouraging research into African- and Native-American activities in maritime New England, a wide variety of projects have received support, including the Reverend Joy Elizabeth Brown's work on "Black Involvement in the Longshoremen's Union: Seafarer Involvement in either Pan-African Movements or as Subversives in the Various Independence Movements of Africa and the Caribbean"; Mixashawn Rozie and Maisa Tisdale's collaboration on "The Contribution of Native Americans to the Boatbuilding Tradition of Southeastern New England Beginning in 1640"; and Earl F. Mulderink's "Comparison of African-American and Irish-American Community Life in New Bedford, MA, 1840-1880."

The annual application deadline for the Paul Cuffe Memorial Fellowship is 1 July. Applications are judged on the merits of the proposed research project, the applicant's qualifications, and the use to be made of scholarly resources in southeastern New England, including those of the Seaport's G.W. Blunt White Library. For more information, please contact the Munson Institute of American Maritime Studies at Mystic Seaport, 75 Greenmanville Avenue, P.O. Box 6000, Mystic, CT 06355-0990, or call (203) 572-5359.

Rediscovering the Ship Maysville *A New Mystic Seaport Acquisition*

MARIFRANCES TRIVELLI

When French artist Alexander Montardier painted a Kentucky-built ship at Le Havre with black sailors on board, he was merely recording the realities of his day. Today, as we delve into the background of what looks like a prosaic ship portrait, we take a voyage of rediscovery and establish contact with the people and events of America's rich maritime history.

Mystic Seaport recently acquired this important addition to its collection of marine art as the Museum's first example of the work of French marine artist Alexander Montardier. Although he frequently painted American vessels that called at Le Havre, we know little about Montardier except that he was a French naval officer, and his known works date between 1812 and 1848. As a mariner, Montardier was so familiar with shipping that virtually every plank and line of the vessel is clearly delineated in his watercolor and ink rendition.

Philadelphia customhouse documents indicate that the 180-ton full-rigged ship was built at Maysville, Mason County, Kentucky, in 1803-04. As far-fetched as that may sound for an ocean-going ship, at least 35 such vessels were built in Ohio and Kentucky between 1800 and 1810, making use of local stands of white oak and white pine. These vessels were loaded with cargoes of local grain and produce before negotiating the rapids at Louisville and making the nearly 1,000-mile passage down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to the sea. The *Maysville* was among the early vessels launched on the river, being constructed just after President Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase opened the Mississippi to unrestricted American commerce. Once steamboats took to the rivers after 1811, such drastic measures to get Midwest produce to market were no longer necessary.

Written beneath the watercolor is "Ship Maysville of Philadelphia Jacob Baush master/ going from harbour of Havre degrace," and it is signed "Montardier du Havre degrace." Since Bausch commanded the *Maysville* intermittently between 1810 and 1818, the portrait likely dates to about 1815, after peace returned to the North Atlantic. Despite being built so far from the open sea, the *Maysville* seems to have been a typical Atlantic trader of her time, sailing from Philadelphia with grain and other commodities to various ports, including several voyages to the Caribbean island of St. Kitts before the embargo of 1807; Newry, Ireland in 1810; Vigo, Spain, and Plymouth, England, in 1811; Liverpool, England, in 1814; several voyages to Riga, Russia, after 1814; and a voyage to Rio de Janeiro in 1817.

Available crew lists indicate the men who served on board the *Maysville* were as diverse as her ports of destination. Sailing out of Philadelphia with a crew that averaged 10 men, she frequently employed some of the port's free black mariners. Joseph Gab, a 28-year-old free black man from Talbot County, Maryland, shipped as cook in 1805, together with 37-year-old sailor George Harrison, a "free yellow man" from Delaware. Blacks made up a third of the crew for a second 1805 voyage: Isaac Wansey, 43, and John Baptist, 20, "free mulatto men," and James Williams, 30, a free black man. An 1810 voyage to Newry, Ireland, included crewmen James Hazel, 24, a "free mulatto," and Richard Casseau, 22, a yellow-complexioned black man from Charleston, South Carolina. If you look closely at Montardier's portrait of the *Maysville*, it is clear that he drew three of the 11 figures on deck as black men.

Montardier's watercolor of the *Maysville* can be viewed as a significant addition to the Museum's representative collection of marine art. But even more, it is an accurate portrait of an American ship whose varied crews, cargoes, and destinations reflect the nation's maritime commerce and relations in the nineteenth century.

(M.S.M. 93.95.5; Claire White-Peterson photo)



Ballast and Cargo Handling On Board the Bark Passat

THOMAS W. WELLS, A.I.C.H.

A Personal Reminiscence

Have you ever thought about ballast? If you go to sea you can't live without it. It's the pendulum that keeps a ship upright no matter how rough the sea or strong the wind. Growing up in Menominee, on Michigan's Upper Peninsula, I read Alan Villiers's sea stories and dreamed of going to sea as an inspiration for my artwork. I never considered that sailors had anything to do with the tons of deadweight deep in a vessel's hold.

I learned differently in 1938 when, like other adventuresome young Americans, I went seeking experience in square-riggers. To do so I had to go to Finland, where a handful of the great four-masted barks still eked out a living hauling Australian grain, or sometimes guano, back to Europe. I signed aboard the *Passat*, a big steel bark, 322 feet long with four cargo holds 32 feet deep. She was a sister to the *Peking* (now at South Street Seaport in New York), built by Blohm & Voss at Hamburg, Germany, in 1911. She had carried Chilean nitrates for Frederick Laeisz's "Flying P Line" for many years before Gustav Erikson of Mariehamn in Finland's Aland Islands bought her in 1936. When I joined her she had made four annual trips in the grain trade, earning a meager income while providing a seagoing experience under sail for young men planning a career at sea. They too would learn the realities of ballast and cargo handling.

The story really starts before I signed on, in the city of Hull, England, in the summer of 1938. The *Passat* lies alongside the quay. The bags of grain in holds No. 2 and No. 4 have been discharged by the longshoremen, who slit them open right there and send the bulk grain up the conveyors. The ship gets left with burlap, tons of it, which will be used for chafing gear, for wrapping metal stanchions to prevent condensation, for rags, and even for socks for the crew.

With No. 2 and No. 4 holds empty of grain, the *Passat* is starting to ride high. If any more grain is taken out, she will fall over on her side. She needs some ballast to sink her down again, so that the remaining two holds, No. 1 and No. 3, can be discharged of grain.

Holds No. 2 and No. 4 are prepared for ballast. Down goes the starboard watch in hold No. 2, the port watch in hold No. 4. Lining the walls of the hold like Venetian blinds are sweat battens running horizontally. These are two-by-eight- or two-by-ten-inch planks hanging in batten clips about a foot apart along the vessel's frames. The sweat battens keep the bagged grain from touching the outside plates of the ship. The cold outside plates cause condensation, which would wet the grain and cause it to rot.

Crewmen in each hold scale up these planks like monkeys and, starting at the



The four-masted bark Passat *as she looked on the ballast grounds off Port Lincoln, Australia, in 1939. The ship is now preserved at Travemunde, near Lubec, Germany. (Tom Wells photo)*

top, drop them down to the lads below. There is already a floor of planks over the limbered frames on the bottom up to the keelson on each side. These are of heavier lumber and can be lifted to get down in the bilge to clean out the rotten grain that has turned into black, stinky muck.

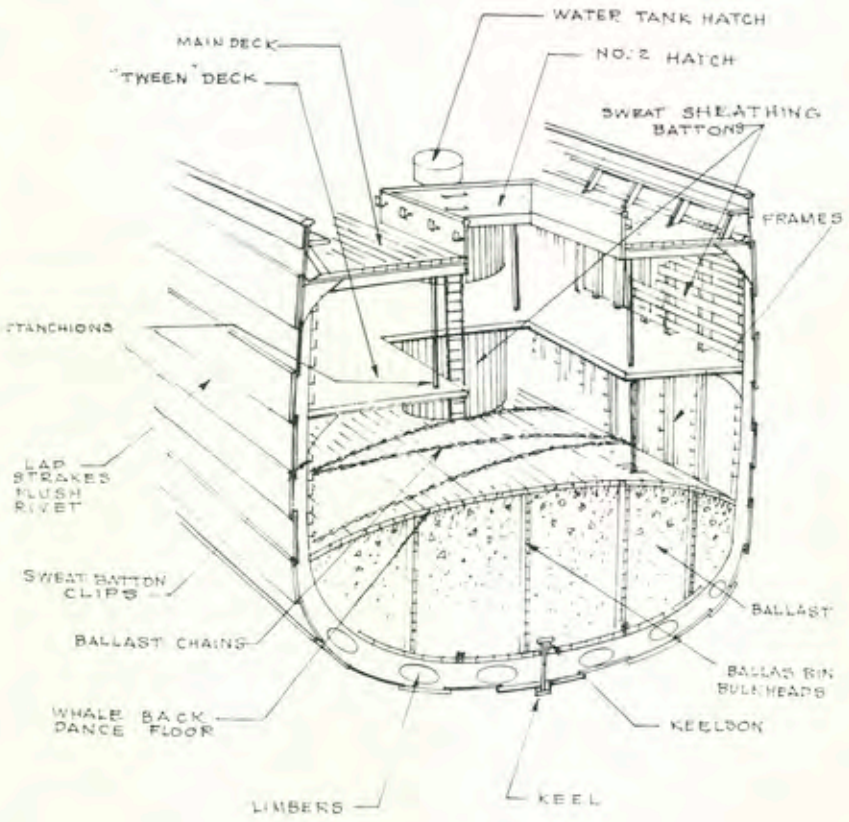
The crew starts constructing square bins out of the lumber used for the sweat battens under the direction of the first mate, who is in charge of ballast and cargo. Ten-foot squares are laid out on the floorboards, with vertical planks braced on the corners. The crew constructs walls out of the piles of sweat battens until 10 or 12 ten-by-ten-foot boxes ten feet high are built, like giant ice trays. With this job completed, the ship is ready to receive a load of ballast in the bins in holds No. 2 and No. 4 so the *Passat* will stand up while the rest of the grain is discharged.

In an example of recycling worthless material into a commodity of value, ballast can be any excavation material that a contractor wants to get rid of. The *Passat* loads with "pit rock"–road fill ballast–mostly clay, sand, and stones, two-thirds sand mixed with stones the size of grapefruit down to golf balls and marbles. It's the cheapest form of ballast one can buy.

With the ballast job completed and the cargo finally discharged from her other holds, the *Passat* sails from Hull to her owner's harbor at Mariehamn in the Baltic Sea. There, Gustav Erikson pays off the crew and everybody takes a little rest and relaxation before outfitting for the next voyage. Half the crew signs on again; half departs. Those who depart have served two years before the mast and, according to Finnish government regulations, are now qualified to enter navigation school. Most want to sit for a mate's ticket and get into steam or motor vessels as junior officers, but a few diehards will return to the sailing ships in an officer's capacity. So goes the cycle.

The *Passat* is hauled out in Copenhagen, Denmark, as she has been every year in the past, and has her bottom cleaned and painted in preparation for a long outward-bound passage. This is when I come on board.

When I join the *Passat* on 20 September 1938, I imagine that I am off on a romantic sail to Australia, bound out round the Cape of Good Hope and returning by way of Cape Horn. Think again, sonny. I will soon learn that I have signed over all my body's energy-making facilities to the ship's officers, and they need those muscles down in the hold.



This cutaway view of hold No. 2 illustrates the way the Passat*'s ballast was secured for the passage to Australia. (Drawn by Tom Wells)*

It takes 30 men to sail a large four-masted bark around the world: ten crewmen in each of the two watches, port and starboard, and a captain and three mates to make sure that they work. A steward, cook, galley boy, carpenter, donkey man to run the hoisting engines, and sailmaker fill out the crew. That's just ten men per hold to shovel ballast and do the work on deck.

One of my first jobs is to go below and plank over the tops of the bins with dunnage lumber, creating a hold-size dance floor with a slight camber like a whale's back. Next comes the chain gang. This has to be some of the toughest sweat work I have ever done.

Forward and aft on the 'tween deck are piled shots–that's 15-fathom, or 90-foot lengths–of three-inch open-link rusty chain–lots of them. The crew is broken up into gangs of four to six. We take a shot of chain by the bight (a loop), pulling it off the pile, next man joining in, then the next, until we are dragging this big chain snake down the 'tween deck to one of the holds with the ballast. The noise of the dragging chain on the steel deck in that resounding empty hold is deafening, like being inside a bass fiddle and a drum together. The red rust kicked up is blinding. The first man dumps his end over into the hold, the next man follows, and then the next. Look out, stand clear! The chain begins to run by gravity. Get your leg caught in it and over you would go in a pile of clattering links, to find that you had already written your last letter home.

Back we go for more chain and more chain. Now there are four or five piles of chain on top of the dunnage covering the ballast in holds 2 and 4. The lads head down the ladders from the 'tween deck and onto the top of the ballast. They drag the chains out athwartships back and forth across the dunnage, zig-zagging across the whale-back dance floor. The bitter ends of the chains are

shackled to the opposite side. With this job completed in both holds, the ballast has finally been put to bed, and the *Passat* is ready to sail. With provisions for more than 100 days at sea she departs to Australia "for orders."

The *Passat* loads in ballast because she cannot contract a cargo outward bound to her destination. General cargoes have not been shipped in sailing ships for years. Occasionally, one gets a cargo of railroad iron, lumber, or fertilizer, but by the 1930s almost all European goods ride to Australia aboard efficient steamships.

Ships such as the *Passat* are called tramp ships, meaning they have no orders for cargo. They simply sail to a destination in search of a cargo. On board the *Passat*, we will sail halfway around the world for 90 days or more and hope that a bumper crop of grain will be awaiting our arrival in Australia. The hope is not always fulfilled. If the owners cannot contract a cargo of grain they must settle for the only other bulk cargo available: guano, which is high-phosphate bird dung used for fertilizer. We're all praying for wheat.

If her ballast is properly stowed, a vessel should be able to heel over until her main yard touches the water without having the ballast shift. We prove it shortly after leaving the Baltic Sea in September 1938. The *Passat* dips her main yard in the water in a hurricane off the coast of Scotland; her day's run is 70 miles–sideways. The ballast holds. The "Old Man," Captain Linus Lindvall, must have talked to the Lord more than ever that stormy day.

Having survived the hurricane, the *Passat* sails down through the North Atlantic and reaches the doldrums. Down comes the heavy winter canvas and up goes the old trade-wind canvas–32 sails of it. This is the kind of work aloft I'd dreamed of. But when the ship hits the steady, dry trade winds, also off come the hatch boards and covers–the hatches on the empty holds, not the ones with ballast. Down we go into holds 1 and 3, all the first-year men and apprentices like me. We clean out the bilges (more rotten black muck). We chip rust and paint red lead from the bottom limber frames up. I sweep as I have never swept before, breathing dust and chipped paint. Fill a bucket full, and a lad takes her from above. The only relief is an hour watch at the wheel. We are preparing these holds for the grain inspector. If they do not pass inspection for cleanliness, no cargo of grain will be allowed.

There are many dirty jobs in the holds. The mate once gives me a dandy. "Go way down into the bilge under the chain locker, way down to the turn of the stem, and clean out the muck that runs down through the chain locker louvers, the mud that did not wash out of the hoisted chain." He sends me down with a bucket, rags (the ubiquitous burlap), and a scoop. "Come up when it's all clean." I descend alone into a black void and make my way forward of the collision bulkhead, my only light a Pet milk can of kerosene with a wick in it. I can hear the sea rushing by below the waterline as the vessel's bow cuts the water. The muck stinks. The footing is slippery. Statistics show more accidents happen below than aloft. If I accidentally wedge my boot into the tight angle between the frames and stem, I'd miss my evening chow before they found me.

These German four-masted barks do not leak. There are no outside orifices in the hull between the collision bulkhead forward and the rudder post bulkhead aft. They are bone-dry, except for air condensation, and we try to keep them that way. A rain squall comes, with all hatches open for light. The bloody mate–steersman we call him–should have known the squall was coming. That's all he's got to do, standing deck watch. He should have had the deck crew cover the hatches before the squall hit. Now we've taken some water below, damn it. We bail it up with a tin can into



Shoveling ballast, a seemingly endless job for the Passat*'s crew. (Drawn by Tom Wells)*

a wooden bucket and sop up the rest with burlap rags. The rats in the hold like the rain. It gives them a drink.

So it goes through the trade winds, with the prevailing winds eastward across the Indian Ocean, and on until the vessel reaches Australia. The young boys in the crew make the two empty holds as clean as they can, planning for a cargo of wheat, not guano.

After sailing for three months, we anchor in international waters eight miles out in Spencer Gulf, South Australia, near a little town named Port Lincoln. There we sit for six weeks, awaiting orders for a cargo of grain. We are anchored in an area known as the ballast grounds. Over the years, grain ships like the *Passat* have dumped thousands of tons of European soil and construction waste here. While we wait, we continue on with the ship's maintenance, chipping rust and painting her outside, first with red lead, then with outside hull black. If we don't get an order soon, we may have to sail back to the Seychelles Islands in the middle of the Indian Ocean for a cargo of guano. And who wants that after we have prepared the hold for an English bakery.

Orders come in the sixth week for loading grain in Port Lincoln. We turn back the hatches and carry pots of sulfur down into the holds and ignite them. Then we close the hatches and seal them tight. The pots smolder and burn in the relatively airtight holds for two days; then we open the hatches again to air out the holds for a day or two. Men now make spears out of bent spikes and swab handles and, with a bucket in hand, descend into the holds to spear dead rats and see who can get the most. Five buckets or more – over 100 dead rats – are taken this way. Unfortunately, I don't get a rat-spearing job. That type of work goes only to a privileged few: the second voyage A.B.s (able-bodied seamen).

Where do the rats come from? They were already in the grain bags when they were stacked in the fields, I was told. That means they have made a round-trip from Australia on board the *Passat*.

Now the discharge of ballast can begin in earnest. Off come the heavy chains stretched and shackled over the dunnage – again hove up and dragged along the 'tween deck forward and aft to the resting places whence they came.

The starboard watch takes No. 2 hatch, the port, No. 4. The donkey man now goes to work. The *Passat* has two 1912-model low-speed gasoline engines on deck, one in the forward well deck between hatches No. 1 and No. 2 and the other aft of the ship's raised midship "island" between hatches No. 3 and 4. From the revolving winch head of the forward engine, a half-inch wire rope leads through a block on the main yard and down to hold No. 2; from the other one the wire rope runs through a block on the mizzenmast and down to hold No. 4. Into each hatch the donkey winch sends down a woven wicker basket about the size used on a hot-air balloon. Two men could ride up in it easily. To move the work along there are four baskets, two for each hold. As one is filled, it is hooked to the wire rope and hoisted out while the other is being filled.

All the dunnage covering the bins is removed and piled up on the 'tween decks. Then the shoveling commences. With ten men in a hold and two thousand tons of "pit rock"–clay, sand, and stone–on board, I know I shoveled over 100 tons of it. It seems like an endless pile, but sometimes there's a surprise buried in it. On the *Moshulu* they once dug up a dead dog in the sand and rock ballast.

The lads below shovel a basketful, signal the hatch tender, and up she goes, up to the top of the hatch, where the third mate and a matross (the European term for an A.B.) grab the basket, set it down on a wheeled cart, roll it out to the gunwale, tip it, and dump the ballast over the side. Back it goes down into the hold to be exchanged for a full basket.

The mates try to set up a race between the starboard watch in hold No. 2 and the port watch in hold No. 4. Not on your tintype! We're too smart for that. In fact, we're smart enough to slow the process down. Rocks are heavier than sand. We are supposed to load the basket at the percent the ballast is already mixed, one-third rocks and two-thirds sand, which the donkey engine can handle. So when we tire of the rate they are feeding us the baskets, we fill one full of rocks camouflaged with a little sand on top.

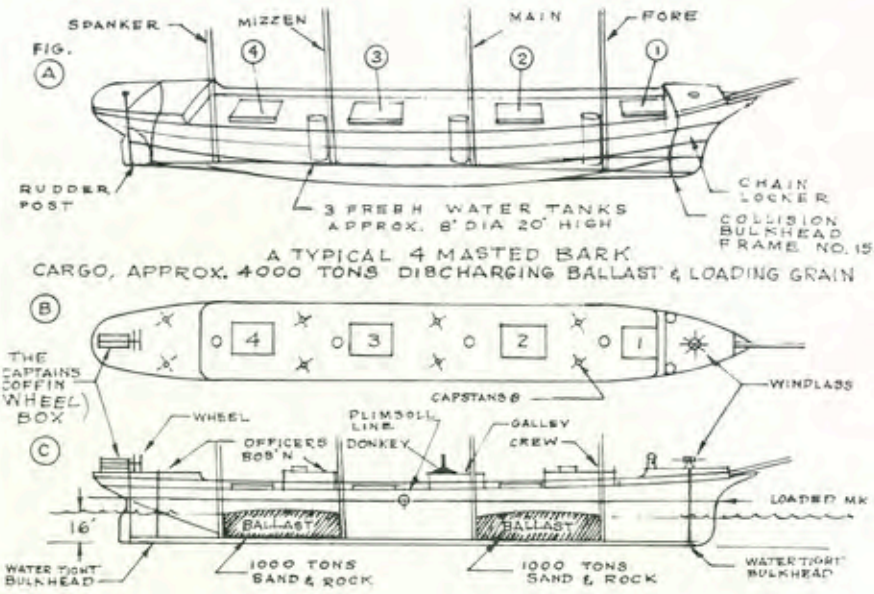
The donkey engine starts to take it up. Chug, chug, chug, up the basket goes.



Unloading ballast. Note the wicker basket, which a mate and seaman will put on a small cart and wheel along a temporary ramp to the rail. At lower left, a hand tends the tackle on the winch head. (Tom Wells photo)

Then "poof," the donkey engine conks out from weight overload, the basket drops, and all the shovelers flop down on the ballast sand until the donkey man can crank up his engine again. Of course, we can't pull this stunt too often or the mates will catch on. They're not that dumb. They shoveled ballast at one time, too.

Meanwhile, holds No. 1 and 3 are inspected. Those are the empty ones we chipped, swept, and painted on the way out to Australia. If they do not pass inspection, we will not be called in to load grain. The inspection verifies that



Figures A, B, and C illustrate the Passat*'s deck layout and her ballasting for the passage to Australia. (Drawn by Tom Wells)*

we are clean of rotten grain in the bilges, with no rats. All metal stanchions and protruding steel are covered with burlap. All the sweat battens are up in the hooks, so the bagged grain cannot touch the frames and there is ventilation between the grain and the ship's outside plating.

The excavation process goes on for a week or so until half the ballast is out of holds No. 2 and 4. Now we are ready to sail the vessel to the jetty eight miles away in Port Lincoln. Built of log pilings, the grain jetties run 800 to 1,000 feet out to sea so that cargo vessels drawing over 30 feet when full can lie alongside. The steam locomotives that bring the flatcars of bagged grain down from the plains outback are too heavy to go out on the jetties, so the cars are towed out with big, heavy draft horses.

The *Passat* can still stand up safely, but she is light and tender. She is only drawing 10 or 12 feet. Steering is precarious because she is so high out of water. She misses the keel effect of a laden craft. We make our way to the weather side of the jetty, 150 or 200 feet out and parallel to it, drop an anchor aft, and let it take the way off her. We let the cable run until she is in a good position in relation to the jetty, make fast, and let the port anchor go. To do this maneuver with no tug to assist, the Old Man has to pick a day with only light airs that are at about a right angle to the jetty.

The small amount of canvas the *Passat* is wearing is clewed up, and messengers (light lines) are taken over to the jetty by small boats. Once the messengers are secured, men on the jetty use them to pull the ship's bow and stern mooring lines across the 200 feet of water that separate us from the jetty.

When the mooring lines are fast to bollards on the jetty, we use them to heave the ship in to the jetty. The first mate handles the bow, fore, and main masts, so his watch works the bow; the second mate handles the stern, mizzen, and spanker masts, so we in his watch work aft. A bunch of boys are winding in the bow cable on the windlass forward—the only windlass on a vessel is at the bow; all the rest are called capstans, and the *Passat* has seven of them. I am on the capstan aft, taking in the stern mooring line with several lads.

A slight breeze to weather comes up. The vessel is approaching the jetty too fast. The anchors have payed off too much or are not holding. We on the capstan aft are running around, taking up slack in the mooring cables; the fellows on the windlass forward are doing the same with the bow cable. We really are not coming in very fast. It's just that an inexorable force is soon going to meet an immovable object.

The *Passat* connects comfortably with the jetty broadside. There's no damage because the energy is dispersed over 300 feet with no single point of impact. But the jetty gives a long surge, enough to knock two teams of horses over on their sides. I have never heard such neighing and screaming before in my life. Great big dray horses down on each other, fouled in harnesses, wagon tongues, horse collars, blinders, and bits, kicking and struggling, try to get back vertical again, all to the tune of the wagon master swearing at our Old Man. Amazingly, in the equestrian pileup none of the four horses breaks a leg or is injured.

With the horse problem cleared away, the longshoremen come on board to load the grain. It is almost as if they are in uniform. They are all barefoot. Each one wears dark pants, a white shirt, and a black vest. But the most distinctive part of their garb is the headdress. Each man has a large black cloth wrapped around his head to drape down his back, covering his neck and shoulders. This is designed so grain won't run down the men's necks and scratch them as they carry the heavy sacks on their backs.

On the jetty, down come the side boards on the railroad cars. An endless belt is rigged from the grain cars to the ship's hatch. From there, the bags go down a chute to the bottom of the hold. The shore gang has a tallyman, and we appoint one crewman as our tallyman. Nobody trusts anybody to make a true account. I think the final tally loaded into the *Passat* in 1939 was 59,000 bags at 165 pounds per bag, a total of 4,700 tons of Australian grain.

The bags commence to come on board. The little men in black are professionals and tough. They line up down in the hold at the bottom of the chute. Each takes a sack on his back, and they march along one after another in a line, the first tossing his sack off his back with a flip of the hand, the next the same, flipping his sack exactly next to it, like laying bricks, with no air space between. It's an endless belt of little men, about ten of them, going round and round all day long building up row after row of grain bags till the hold is filled, which takes about two weeks.

With two holds full of grain bags, we wait for a favorable wind, and out again

we sail to the ballast grounds to discharge the remaining sand and rock ballast and clean out the last two holds. After two weeks of work we sail back to the jetty to finish loading the cargo of grain. Next year it will be just the reverse; instead of holds No. 2 and 4 carrying the ballast, it will be holds No. 1 and 3, so the crew can clean, chip rust, and paint in holds No. 2 and 4.

After spending six weeks on the ballast grounds and at the jetty loading grain, the *Passat* is now ready to leave Australia. The hatches are battened down and covered with dunnage planks strapped taut. This time the outside hatches are battened down with chains. There will be no problem with the cargo shifting because the holds are always filled to the top. The cargo can't go anywhere. The danger is that the grain will get wet. If it does, the bagged wheat will expand, burst the ship's riveted plates, and down we'll go, just as we would have if our ballast had shifted during our outward passage.

Aloft, we bend heavy-weather canvas on the yards, and in the well decks we string lifelines and life nets to save us from being washed over the side. We're off into the "roaring fifties"–fifty degrees south latitude–where the wind and seas sweep unobstructed round the globe. We'll surf downwind till we pass Cape Horn, then head north into the Atlantic, bound for Falmouth, England, for orders.



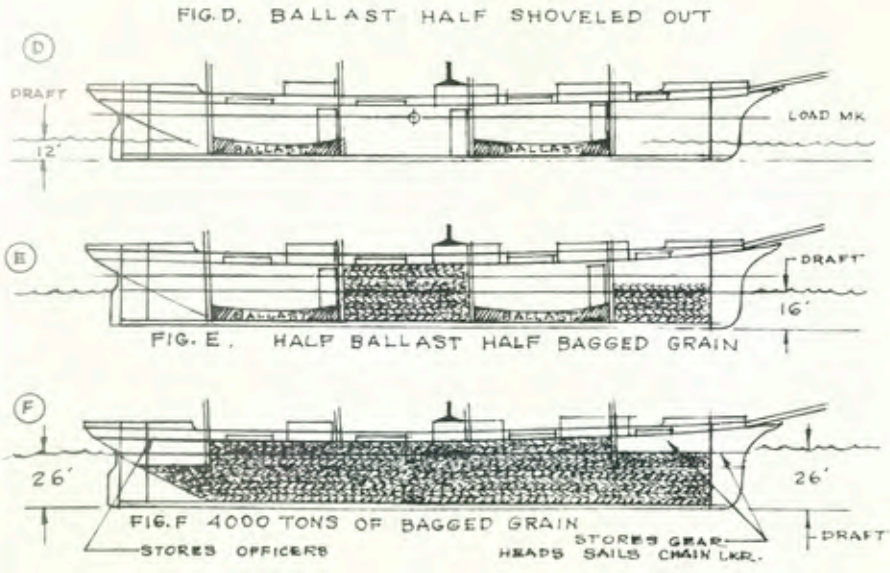
Grain bags coming on board. In the background is one of the horse-drawn railway cars. The ship's tallyman lies on the hatch cover, counting grain bags as they pass. (Tom Wells photo)

Arriving in Falmouth after a passage of 98 days, we get orders to discharge the grain in Belfast, Northern Ireland. There the process should start again: grain out of holds No. 1 and 3, ballast in, then grain out of holds No. 2 and 4 before the return to Mariehamn. But it's different this year. War has broken out in Europe. When I get off I don't realize that I've experienced one of the very last times ballast and cargo are handled this way at sea. As a foreigner in a foreign ship in a foreign port, I am ordered to report to customs and am sent back to the U.S. in the last voyage of the *Statendam*.

After the war, only three ships would return to sail in the grain trade from 1946 until its demise in 1949. They could no longer compete with motor vessels, not with their old-fashioned way of handling ballast and cargo. The *Passat* was one of 13 grain ships sailing from Australia to Europe in 1939, most around Cape Horn and a few by the Cape of Good Hope. The others were the *Pommern, Pamir, Padua* (now the Russian training ship *Kruzenshtern*), *Abraham Rydeburg, Archibald Russell, Olivebank, Winterhude, Killoran, Viking, Moshulu*, and *Commodore Johnson* (the *Penang* sailed a year later, in 1940). The total carried by all 13 ships could be carried in one supercargo motor ship today, with lots of room to spare. The job it took six weeks for us to complete can be done in six hours with today's modern motor ships and grain elevator dockside equipment. High-speed pumps force out the water ballast and blow in the bulk grain cargo, pretty much at the same time. The vessel is ready to depart the next day.

What I experienced was, indeed, the end of an era, the end of hundreds of years of carrying cargo under sail. Despite all the labor and deprivation it required of us sailors before the mast, I consider myself lucky to have lived it.

Figures D, E, and F illustrate the sequence of removing ballast and loading grain. (Drawn by Tom Wells)



So You Think You Want to Do Museum Work...

LESLIE GIFFORD

Well, here's your chance to find out. Each summer, Mystic Seaport's Summer Internship in Museum Studies hosts 13 men and women for 11 weeks of figuring out just what it is about the museum world that interests them. And what does not.

This program provides its participants the unique opportunity to try their hand at just about every aspect of museum work, from exhibit interpretation to fundraising to practicing a traditional craft to staging an exhibit. With its unusual complexity, the Seaport provides the ideal setting for such study.

The internship was established in 1978 by then research associate Stuart Frank, with the intent to provide a broad introduction to the museum experience. Through extensive field trip investigations, seminars, and individual training, interns are exposed to and given the opportunity to concentrate on just about every aspect of museum business. This internship is designed not to indoctrinate, but rather to expose.

The weekly field trips are conducted as topical investigations rather than do-all see-all experiences, and destinations are engaged accordingly. Last summer, the group visited Old Sturbridge Village to study museum education; they went to Plimoth Plantation to learn more about first-person interpretation; the director of the Lyman Allyn Museum discussed with the group the vast array of challenges in running a medium-sized institution. The Peabody Museum of Natural History was the stage for a talk by collections specialists, while the Center for British Arts was the site of a demonstration of state-of-the-art equipment used by that institution's paper conservator.

And there's plenty of expertise right here, every day. The group is supervised by the current research associate, Glenn Gordinier, with support from Director of Museum Education Jan Larson. And interns work closely with staff and administrators at all levels of the Seaport.

The first two of the 11 weeks are spent in interpretation training and general orientation to the activities and priorities of the many departments of Mystic Seaport. Whether or not the interns are interested in museum interpretation, they all are required to spend 1½ to 2½ days a week interpreting assigned exhibits. Gordinier explains: "Unless they end up in [museum] education, this may be their only experience facing the public," he says. "And we feel it's hard to serve elsewise. By the end of the summer, the interns are much more visitor sensitive. They see labelling, lighting, and all, from the visitor perspective."

Last summer's interns, Gordinier notes, were particularly adept at interpretation. And they seemed to enjoy themselves at it as well. Sam Scott, a student at the University of Massachusetts, enjoyed the opportunity to apply his theatrical skills to the museum environment. He also counted himself lucky to draw a spot interpreting the *Charles W. Morgan*, in addition to his posts in the nautical instruments exhibit, the Shipyard Gallery, and as a Museum Teacher responsible for Games on the Green. He counts "those certain times [aboard the *Morgan* when he] really clicked with a visitor" among the most rewarding of his internship experiences, appreciating those particular moments of "instant gratification."

Scott also counts among the high points of the summer those days in the Development Office when he really felt he was contributing to the work of the office: "I was involved in a lot of projects, and I felt I was doing well, like I really wasn't out of my depth." Scott had chosen Development as his intensive study focus because it was an area of museum business about which he knew very little. "I knew it was important, and I wanted to learn why and how," he says. During the two days each week spent working with Development, Scott conducted prospect profiles, scanned the newspapers for applicable information, familiarized himself with the most useful resources, and evaluated a variety of



Intern Sam Scott of Amherst, Massachusetts leads a chalkboard tour of the group's ambitious plans for the Seaport exhibit "Images of a Sailor."



Intern Holly Quirk of Southborough, Massachusetts, clearly at ease during this staged photo shoot, has no problem with publicity. The shoot was arranged by fellow intern Laura Speare, of Providence, Rhode Island, who sent photographs and press releases to her colleagues' hometown newspapers.

grant proposals. While it was his impression that some other interns were "given a project," Scott says he felt he was "assimilated into the office." And he liked it.

Laura Speare was another intern who really enjoyed her elected concentration. Knowing she was interested in public information, and having a strong inclination toward working in the nonprofit world, the former Williams College-Mystic Seaport Maritime Studies Program participant decided to see what her projected career choice would bring her, and signed on for a stint in the Seaport's busy External Affairs Office. She was not disappointed. She spent a good bit of time researching the *L.A. Dunton* in anticipation of the Dunton's 75th anniversary, which the Seaport will celebrate in 1996. She also took responsibility for writing press releases, arranging photo shoots, and securing the necessary release forms from her fellow interns in order to send news of the program and the individuals' participation in it to their hometown newspapers. Justifiably proud of her work, she valued the experience as one she believes she will revisit many times in "the real world."

Which was where she was headed at summer's end. Just graduated from Oberlin College, she was preparing to start her job search, and felt she had gained some good perspective from her experience here at the Seaport.

Scott agrees. The internship did "exactly what I wanted it to do for me," he says. A former theater major at Sarah Lawrence College, Scott spent a year at the University of London combining his theatrical studies with a simultaneous concentration in history. His study there of the history and strategy of the British Royal Navy sparked a broader interest in maritime history, which is the course he currently is pursuing at the University of Massachusetts. Coming into the internship program, he says, he was undecided as to whether he would use his education to pursue a career in teaching or in museum work. "I didn't know museums and I did know teaching," he says, adding that the internship program gave him the practical experience he needed to make his decision. He now plans to pursue a graduate degree in museum studies.

Neither his nor Speare's museum concentration will be exhibit design, however. Each year, the interns are assigned to Seaport Director of Exhibitions and Interpretive Programs Stuart Parnes for an intense 4½ days, during which they carry out the mandate to create an exhibit from start to finish. Last summer's assignment was to come up with a workable plan for the Seaport's upcoming exhibit "Images of a Sailor" (which is no longer upcoming but ongoing, in the Schaefer Building). The group worked en masse and in small groups, and one summer afternoon they presented their design to a group of staff representatives of the Exhibitions and Education departments.

The students walked their audience through their exhibit, describing audio elements, interactives, and an extensive floor plan. A bit too extensive, in fact, judging from staff comments: "You've got too much, with too many audio elements"; "You'd need a space three times the size"; "You've got an activity area for kids – with crayons – but you haven't discussed safeguards for the artifacts"; "Did you give any consideration to adult programming that would arise from the exhibit?" Though both Speare and Scott voiced certain frustrations about this project – which Gordinier says will be addressed before next summer's internship – they did agree that it was a valuable exercise in understanding the many elements that go into designing a provocative exhibit to appeal to a broad audience.

Almost as broad, in fact, as the demographic pool from which the interns come. Gordinier says they range from undergraduate juniors to mid-life career changers to corporate retirees looking to start a new life in the nonprofit world. Their academic interests, he says, are equally broad. The interview process is sufficiently in-depth that both parties know just what they're getting into by making a commitment to the program: Seaport staff gain a reasonable idea of the candidate's potential ability while candidates are apprised of the challenges of the co-op housing provided and are forewarned as well that the internship does not provide for job placement, either at the Museum or elsewhere in the field.

Because it offers such a unique and rewarding opportunity, the Mystic Seaport Summer Internship fills up fast. If you think museum work is something that interests you and you want to learn more about it, act now. The application deadline is 1 May, and you can learn more by calling (203) 572-5359.

The Ballad of Hungry Bill

SANDRA L. OLIVER

A very few words I've got to say
Not meaning any ill
Its about the same old fellow
His name you know tis Bill
About eating I'm going to write
If you had seen the sight
He put under his shirt at noon
It would put you in a fright
Fourteen large potatoes
With fish to make a hash
He eat such awful mouthfuls
I never see his match
Four men would make a dinner
With the vitails on his plate
But instead of knocking off
He kept on at the same rate
He took out seven spoonfuls
Of pudding baked in tin
And he shoved it down his throat
As he would a glass of gin
Now I should think he eat enough
To kill most any man
But when the steward sung out tea
Down to the table he ran
He eat fish and potatoes enough
to burst a man asunder
And doughnuts I can't begin to tell
But he eat them without number
I think he can eat 9 times a day
And 9 pounds at every meal
And just before he goes to bed
He'd eat four quarts of squeal
Come all you hearty eaters
That eats four quarts of swill
Just see him eat his dinner
Then you'll give in to Bill

Fishermen were famous for their prodigious appetites, and the hero of this poetry fragment must rate among the most voracious of all. The poem comes from Log 524 in the manuscripts collection at Mystic Seaport's G.W. Blunt White Library. This logbook seems to have been used by more than one person, for the first half of it is a standard abstract log of an 1863 voyage in the schooner *Exchange* of Beverly, Massachusetts, commanded by P.T. Nickerson. The author of the poem about Bill, whose handwriting differs from that of Captain Nickerson, recorded a mackerel fishing trip in the summer of 1865 from the Cape Cod port of Harwich.

Our poet, who did not record his name, was a bit of a busybody. He often recorded in verse his experiences as well as comments on his fellow fishermen. During the voyage he gave up pipe smoking, retold Bible stories in his own words, and made some caustic remarks about a married crew member who stayed ashore until 3 o'clock in the morning. But the confining nature of a fishing schooner, which increased the likelihood that a man's personal habits would irritate others, such as our poet, decreased each individual's privacy and might even make one's private journal available for public inspection. When the man he had privately accused of philandering read the journal, the poet took him to task for *that* in verse, too.

There is no evidence, though, that Old Bill read the insults about his eating habits in his shipmate's journal. Not content with his initial display of disgust, the poet took pencil in hand a few pages later to write about Bill's propensity for sleeping fifteen hours a day and telling tall tales. Then he got back to Bill's appetite:

But when it comes to use up grub
Go away. Don't talk, No more
He'll stow away more under his shirt
Than mortal man ever did before
He'll turn out in the morning
And eat his regular whack
In the course of an hour an half
He'll start off with a shack
Away he'll go down forward
And he'll begin to talk
O dear, I'm so hungry,
I could eat a pound of chalk
Then he'll set himself to work
Youd ought to see him eat
Cake, codfish, beef & potatoes
Tis hard to find his beat
Two hours is the longest
He generally goes without
Unless he's sound asleep
And hasn't had his nap out.

Neither unconventional spelling and grammar, nor rugged meter, obscure this glimpse of fishing vessel social life. Sailors and fishermen had very little privacy at sea, and while most people did not, and do not now, dine alone, we can often influence the eating habits of family and friends with whom we take meals. Eating with strangers was and still is trickier. With the close quarters aboard a vessel, individual quirks could become major aggravations.

Eating is a bodily function, one of the very few we perform in plain view of others who are not intimates, and we



Like the mackerel fishermen on board the poet's vessel, these handline codfishermen haul their lines from the vessel's rail. (Harper's New Monthly Magazine, *March 1861*)

have personal and social expectations about behavior with food and eating. Revulsion can be as idiosyncratic as taste, though social groups frequently agree on certain points about what is eaten and how. One of those points describes the quantity an individual can select from the group's shared amount.

Old Bill could not have overeaten on a merchant or whaling vessel, where the regular whack reflected prescribed daily rations, measured in ounces, pounds, pints, and quarts, and where the forecastle crew very carefully maintained equal servings. On nineteenth-century fishing vessels, however, the fare was generous, with virtually unlimited snacking allowed from the leftovers. It certainly seems Bill helped himself liberally whenever he wanted; if his messmates tried to exert peer pressure to limit his intake, we'll never know.

The cook prepared three meals a day, or what the poet called the regular whack: breakfast in the morning, dinner at noon, and supper in the late afternoon, usually between 4:00 and 5:00. At mid-century, supper was still sometimes called tea after an earlier fashion. Both at sea and ashore, the largest meal was the noontime dinner. In each case, the crew was served in two sittings or messes, which allowed work to continue on deck–and also doubled the amount of work the cook had to do.

Between these meals, and often marking natural breaks in work, were "mug ups," the fishermen's coffee break. By convention, fishermen were free to come below and help themselves to a mug of coffee or tea accompanied by meat, bread, or sweets such as Bill's doughnuts "without number." Cake and doughnuts, cold meat, leftover baked pudding, and anything else that remained after Bill left the table, were put in what fishermen called the shack locker–shack being the fishermen's term for mixed bait taken at sea, and later for a mixed haul of cheap fish–and the locker containing a mixed load of food. Conscientious cooks tried to keep the shack locker amply supplied, both to maintain morale and to keep the hardworking fishermen supplied with calories. No fisherman had to wait long before his next meal. As the poem relates, Bill ate breakfast, then an hour and a half later was in the shack locker: "Two hours is the longest, He generally goes without." Yet, despite the poet's criticism, that was Bill's right, and any of the men could have done so too.



The forecastle of this little mackerel jigger suggests the conditions on board the poet's vessel. (Harper's New Monthly Magazine, *August 1880*)

Beef, codfish, and potatoes were staples along with ham, beans, and fresh bread aboard a mid-century New England fishing schooner. If this was a salt mackerel fishing trip, the men would have had fresh beef for the first few days, then corned or salt beef thereafter. When fishing vessels carried ice to preserve the fish, fresh meat supplies lasted longer. By mid-century schooner owners had realized that good food improved the fishing on their vessels, and fishermen's food improved rapidly thereafter, until fishermen were eating better than any other American mariners. On this vessel, codfish, probably caught by the men themselves while they waited for a school of mackerel to show, provided a bit of variety. One detail–the pudding baked in tin–is interesting because it varies a little from the more usual *boiled* pudding, often called duff.

In 1865, the cook of a fishing schooner needed few recipes. Dinner was frequently plain boiled beef and potatoes or else boiled whole codfish with salt pork fat and scraps poured on it. Leftovers of either meal could be hashed for a supper or breakfast, though in the poem it sounds as if Bill made his hash on his plate.

Leftover fish could also be made into fish cakes, recipes for which are a little more common in landsmen's cookbooks than for the simpler fish hash. Canned codfish cakes were introduced in the 1870s in an early effort to make fish a convenience food, but many people chose to make their own fish cakes. If you'd like to try, Here are some instructions from Mrs. H.W. Beecher's *All Around the House*, published by D. Appleton & Company in 1878.

Fish Cakes.–*Take cold boiled cod, either fresh or salt, add two-thirds as much hot mashed potatoes as fish, a little butter, two or three well-beaten eggs, and enough milk to make a smooth paste, season with pepper, make into nice round cakes, and fry brown in sweet beef-drippings or very clear sweet lard.*

This recipe is straightforward and flexible. If you have more potatoes than fish then by all means use more. Mrs. Beecher suggests a ratio of one cup of fish to two-thirds of a cup of potatoes. One large egg is adequate for every cup of fish; how much milk depends on your potatoes–if mealy, they will require more than if they are a waxy type. Add the milk by the tablespoonful until the whole mixture holds together well enough to handle. If you are squeamish about using beef drippings or lard, then by all means, use vegetable or olive oil. Bill would love these.

Wind Rose,® Calendar of Events & Museum Notes

February

The Seaport is open 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.



"Images of the Sailor" exhibit continues in the R.J. Schaefer Building.

12 KIDS' LIBERTY DAYS. Mystic Seaport makes school vacation a breeze, with family programs, crafts, and a Seaport Search. Through 21 February. Please call 572-5315 for details.

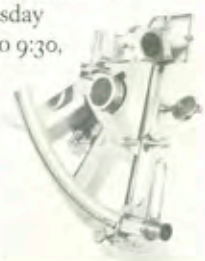
12 INTERPRETER FOR VISITORS WITH HEARING IMPAIRMENTS available at times posted in the Visitor Reception Center.

17 ADVENTURE SERIES! "EXPLORING AFRICA IN A CATALINA FLYING BOAT." Series has begun, but individual tickets may still be available. Please call 572-5339 for details.



22 MORNING FUN FOR KIDS. Special educational fun for parents and preschoolers ages 2½ to 3, Tuesday mornings from 9:00 to 10:00, in the Children's Museum. Series cost is $35, and a second child can attend for an additional $14. Through 29 March. Please call 572-5322 for information and reservations.

23 BASIC CELESTIAL NAVIGATION. Classes meet Wednesday evenings from 7:30 to 9:30, through 27 April. Cost is $126 ($140 for nonmembers). For information and registration, please call 572-5355.



March

5 INTRODUCTION TO RADAR. This single-session seminar meets Saturday afternoon from 1:00 to 5:00 at Dockside Electronics in Noank. The cost is $36 ($40 for nonmembers). Please call 572-5355 for information and registration.

7 LORAN-C NORTH STAR 800. This hands-on course, using your own LORAN, meets Monday evenings at the Seaport Planetarium, through 21 March. Cost is $54 ($60 for nonmembers). Please call 572-5355 for information and registration.

10 INTRODUCTION TO NAVSTAR GPS. This single-session seminar meets Thursday evening from 7:30 to 9:30 in the Seaport Planetarium. Cost is $36 ($40 for nonmembers). Please call 572-5355 for information and registration.

12 INTRODUCTION TO LORAN-C. This single-session seminar meets Saturday afternoon from 1:00 to 5:00 in the Seaport Planetarium. Cost is $36 ($40 for nonmembers). Please call 572-5355 for information and registration.

12 INTERPRETER FOR VISITORS WITH HEARING IMPAIRMENTS available at times posted in the Visitor Reception Center.

12 VICTORIAN YANKEE SYMPOSIUM. Please see back wrap, or call 572-5356 for details.

17 LORAN-C RAYTHEON RECEIVERS. Class meets two consecutive Thursday evenings, from 7:30 to 9:30, in the Seaport Planetarium. Cost is $36 ($40 for nonmembers). Please call 572-5355 for information and registration.

18 YACHTING HISTORY SYMPOSIUM. Please see back wrap, or call 572-5378 for information and registration.

18 "ART OF THE YACHT," a new exhibit, opens in the Mallory Building.

19 INTRODUCTION TO RADAR. This single-session seminar meets Saturday afternoon from 1:00 to 5:00 at Dockside Electronics in Noank. Please call 572-5355 for information and registration.

24 ADVENTURE SERIES! "JOURNEY OF THE ANT." Series has begun, but individual tickets may still be available. Please call 572-5339 for details.

April



4 OUTDOOR DEMONSTRATIONS RESUME. The Seaport will be open daily from 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., with demonstrations as listed on Today program at the gates.

6 SPRING SAILING CLASSES BEGIN FOR JUNIORS. Classes are offered Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, depending on level of experience. Please call 572-5323 for details.

9 INTERPRETER FOR VISITORS WITH HEARING IMPAIRMENTS available at times posted in the Visitor Reception Center.

15 BASIC CELESTIAL NAVIGATION weekend seminar runs Friday through Sunday, 9:30 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., at the Seaport Planetarium. Cost is $220 ($245 for nonmembers). Please call 572-5355 for information and registration.

21 ADVENTURE SERIES! "WORLDWIDE CRUISING." Series has begun, but individual tickets may still be available. Please call 572-5339 for details.

23 MODERN MARINE MASTERS EXHIBITION opens in the Mystic Maritime Gallery, Mystic Seaport Museum Stores. Show runs through 18 September. Please call (800) 344-0675 or (203) 572-8551, for details.

May

8 SPECIAL CHANTEY CONCERT, featuring the Seemans Garn Shanty Choir, on tour from Germany. Concert begins at 5:30 P.M. in the Boat Shed at the Seaport's Lighthouse Point. Admission is $5. Please call 572-0711, ext 5037 for details.

7 PILOT WEEKEND. Working weekend for membership volunteer group.

20 STEAMBOAT *Sabino* BEGINS OPERATION, with daily 30-minute cruises from 11:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., and one 60-minute downriver cruise at 5:00 P.M. Please call 572-5315 for details.

21 BOATHOUSE OPENS, with livery operation weekends only, 10:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., through 27 June.

28-30 LOBSTERFEST. Enjoy a traditional lobster feast, at a good price, while soaking in the sights and sounds of the lovely Mystic River. Feast is sponsored and served by the Mystic Rotary Club. Please call 572-5315 for additional information.

30 DECORATION DAY. Celebrate Memorial Day in a meaningful way, by taking part in this reenactment from the 1870s. Please call 572-5315 for details.



Summer Sign-Up

Summer's coming, and those of you who found out the hard way last year will be sure to know that the time to make your plans for summer at the Seaport is now. Summer Day Camp makes the most of our spectacular setting, our exhibits and demonstrations, and our unique ships and boats. And all our sessions – planned around special interest themes – are designed with kids in mind.



We've got *On the Water Week,* for kids ages 9 through 11. This session is a week on the water spent sailing, rowing, steamboating, learning the rigging, and exploring the lore of ships and boats. Shoretime activities include ropemaking, splicing and tying sailors' knots, chartwork, marine weather, water safety, navigation, and more.

Seaport Science, for kids ages 9 to 10, sold out in no time last year. If you're interested, call us today. We'll explore tides, river and shore life, weather, navigation, and astronomy. We'll work with the weather, learning to record and even predict its patterns. We'll try our hands at navigational tools and charts. We'll use pulleys, block and tackle, windlass, and capstan. We'll travel the galaxies. We'll construct a small aquarium. We'll even make fish prints!

A Seaport Child's Life of Long Ago shows kids ages 8 and 9 just what it was like to be a kid growing up in the nineteenth century. We'll appreciate the quieter, less hectic way of life of long ago. Campers will make old-fashioned toys and play the old games. They'll put together a sampler quilt and dress up in nineteenth-century clothing. Cooking, sewing, weaving, gardening, and home arts are emphasized, but campers will also explore Victorian life outside the home.

A Seaport Girl's Life of Long Ago, for young ladies aged 8 and 9, provides a special look at the feminine side of nineteenth-century childhood. We'll even play hostess, at a formal tea party.

The *Seaport Sampler,* for kids ages 6 to 7, is a fun-filled week that combines play and learning with arts, crafts, music, and games. The fun includes making and eating your own ice cream, using a printing press, carving scrimshaw and tying sailors' knots, making model boats, traveling to the stars, playing old-time games, cooking up some "Silly Stew," taking a ride aboard the steamer *Sabino,* and singing sailors' chanteys.

A Sailor's Life of Long Ago treats busy kids ages 8 and 9 to a week loaded with nautical lore and activities. The fun includes keeping a daily journal, exploring the rigging or trying a whaleman's harpoon, making hardtack and splitting codfish, learning about such sea traditions as "Crossing the Line" and the "Dead Horse Ceremony," carving scrimshaw, sending messages with signal flags, and singing chanteys.



We can't overemphasize the enthusiasm for the Seaport's Summer Day Camp. And we certainly don't want your child to miss out on a great summer experience. So talk it over today, decide which session fits your child's interests and activity level, and call us, at (203) 572-5322. And remember, members get first dibs through 15 March.

Brilliant, *Beyond Sailing*



A teen tour aboard *Brilliant* is so much more than six days spent sailing a fine vessel. In fact, the *Brilliant* experience has just as much to do with learning about life as it does learning about sailing, according to Seaport Director of Museum Education Jan Larson, who says *Brilliant* through the years has proven herself to be a powerful and positive personal growth medium.

And this summer, it can be just that for your son or daughter. Whether or not he or she has ever sailed before, your teen will gain valuable insight into what it's like to be an integral part of a small, self-reliant community. He or she will know both the rewards and challenges of working as a team, of being there when needed, and of asking peers for help.

And what more satisfying venue for such life lessons than aboard a vessel the caliber of *Brilliant*, mastering such skills as handling lines, steering a 61-foot schooner, and experiencing the rite of passage-making and the wonder of entering a harbor for the first time. This experience, says Captain George Moffett, is about being in tune not only with yourself and your peers, but with the sea itself.

Seaport rigger Dean Seder, who spent the summer as part of the *Brilliant* crew, describes the process he observed in participants as one of gaining a greater sense of maturity. He says that in every group, and in many if not all individuals, he clearly saw progress toward an increased willingness to help out when needed, "even if it meant doing something they really weren't sure how to do or something they really didn't want to do."

"This is not education," says Larson. "It's learning. The week at sea provides a solid and uninterrupted matrix for kids to learn how to be with one another, to be themselves in the context of their peers, and to enjoy the unique experience of sailing an exquisite vessel."

Give your teen the *Brilliant* experience. The six-day trips run from late June through early September, and members have first dibs on registration through 15 March. Call us today, at (203) 572-5323, and prepare for the best.

A special addition to this year's teen sailing schedule is being made available on invitation from the Royal Bermuda Yacht Club, which has asked Brilliant *to sail as a guest in the classic boat division of the prestigious Newport-to-Bermuda race. The trip–which will accommodate eight teens and four crew members–will take place 14 through 22 June. A return passage on the classic vessel–which voyage will also accommodate eight teens– will leave Bermuda 25 June, to arrive back in Mystic 1 July.*



The *Joseph Conrad* Mariners Program at Mystic Seaport teaches kids the skills they need to sail and row, and trains them as well to work and live as a community, all within a supportive, caring, and wholesome environment. Six-day sessions begin 3 July and run through 19 August. Members have first dibs on registration through 15 March, so call us today, at (203) 572-5323.

About the Authors

Eric Roorda, the current post-doctoral teaching fellow at Mystic Seaport, attended the College of William and Mary and received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University in 1990. He has taught in China and during a semester aboard the *Spirit of Massachusetts*. His study of U.S. relations with the Dominican Republic has given him a broad perspective, which he shares in this overview of U.S.-Caribbean history.

Lamont Thomas, Assistant Professor of History at the University of Bridgeport, received a Cuffe Memorial Fellowship to investigate images of black and Native-American seafarers. His biography of Paul Cuffe, *Paul Cuffe, Black Entrepreneur and Pan-Africanist*, was originally published as *Rise to Be a People, a Biography of Paul Cuffe*, in 1986. He has prepared the section on seafaring for the forthcoming *Encyclopedia of African American Culture and History*.

Tom Wells is a proud member of the Association of International Cape Horners, the organization of seafarers who have rounded the Horn in commercial sailing vessels. After his voyage he returned to graduate from Yale University, serve in the navy during World War II, and pursue a career as a commercial artist. He writes frequently for *Sea History* magazine, and his paintings, inspired by his voyage on board the *Passat*, are often exhibited at the Seaport Stores' Mystic Maritime Gallery.

Leslie Gifford is Associate Editor of *The Log*.

Sandra Oliver, formerly of the Seaport's Education Department, is a foodways historian and consultant living in Maine. She is completing a book on American maritime foodways for publication by the Museum.

Marifrances Trivelli received her B.A. in political science from the University of Rhode Island and an M.A. in history from the University of Connecticut. She was a research associate in the Museum's Ships Plans Division before becoming cataloguer in the Curatorial Department.

Small Crafters Celebrate 25

This year marks the 25th anniversary of the Small Craft Workshop at Mystic Seaport. This popular gathering - which this year runs 4 and 5 June - provides the unique opportunity for small craft enthusiasts to get together and compare notes. And it's well-attended, by veterans and novices alike. This year's theme will be Small Craft Seamanship, and the weekend will be filled with opportunities to get into the other guy's boat, to feel for yourself the subtleties of handling a variety of boat types. We'll have demonstrations and rides in the larger of the Seaport craft; hands-on demonstrations of such seamanship skills as sculling and splicing; we'll highlight the various restoration projects underway in the Seaport's Shipyard; and we'll spend plenty of time swapping boats. Participants are encouraged but certainly not required to bring their own craft, and registration information can be obtained by calling (203) 572-0711, ext. 5028.

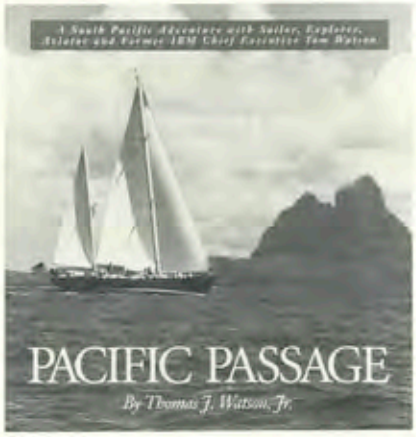
Sea Music Sneak Preview

Looking forward to the Seaport Sea Music Festival? Well, here's your chance to get "in the mood," with a special concert of chanteys from Germany. On Sunday 8 May, the Seemans Garn Shanty Choir from the German island of Sylt will treat us to their own sea music sounds, and the evening promises to be a special one. The group, together since 1977, has attracted a considerable following in their own homeland, appearing on television and radio and along countless waterfronts. Join us in the Boat Shed at 5:30 P.M., and help give a hearty Seaport welcome. Admission is $5. Please call 572-0711, ext 5037 for additional information.



JUDY BERSTER PHOTO

Seaport Publishes Thomas J. Watson's Voyaging Memoir, Pacific Passage



When Seaport Trustee Thomas J. Watson, Jr., enumerated his dream cruises, the Polynesian Islands of the South Pacific figured high upon the list. After his retirement from IBM in 1971, he at last had the opportunity to pursue his dreams.

As head of one of the nation's most successful corporations, Watson had the skills and resources to do things right, beginning with a Sparkman & Stephens-designed 67-foot ketch, *Palawan IV*. Fascinated by the navigating abilities of the ancient Polynesians, who discovered and settled the far-flung archipelagoes of the South Pacific during 3,000 years of open-ocean voyaging by canoe, he charted a course from Panama through the fabled islands of Polynesia–including Easter, Pitcairn, the Gambiers, the Tuamotus, Tahiti, the Cooks, Samoa, and Tonga–ending at Fiji.

Among the compelling reasons for Watson to make this trip was the desire of his daughter, Helen, to accompany him. With a crew that included his sister, daughter, and old sailing companions, Watson found that the passage became for him an inward voyage of discovery, as he makes clear in his candid and insightful narrative. His book can be read as a tantalizing travelogue, full of lush color photography and discerning detail on exotic islands, but it is much more than that. What sets *Pacific Passage* apart from other South Pacific travel narratives is Watson's commentary–his well-considered approach to designing *Palawan*, his recommendations for preparing to make a long sea passage, his own self-doubts about his navigating skills, his perspectives on interpersonal relations in the world of a vessel at sea, and his diligent efforts to understand the riddles of Polynesian history–all of these offer the reader rare insight into a notable man and behind the dramatic scenery of an exotic region of the world.

Pacific Passage contains 180 oversize pages, with 72 color illustrations, and is priced at $39.95. Order through the Museum's Publications Department or the Seaport Stores bookstore, (203) 572-5347 or (800) 331-2665, to get your members' discount. Don't miss this opportunity to cruise through Polynesia with Tom Watson!

Seaport Sea Music Fest Turns 15

This year marks the 15th anniversary of our Sea Music Festival, and we look forward to a particularly exciting roster of talent. Join us on 9 June for your special Members' Festival Preview, then stay with us throughout the weekend as we hear from such favorites as Louis Killen, Jeff Warner & Jeff Davis, Cliff Haslam, The Morgans, Wickford Express, and Tom Lewis.

Our special international visitors this year will include Philip and Martin Hugill (sons to the legendary Stan Hugill, and fine performers in their own right), and a marvelous group called Liereliet, from Friesland in the Netherlands.

If you've been with us through the past 15 years, we thank you for your participation, and we invite you to bring a friend to this year's musical fun, which of course features the perennial Sea Music favorite, Forebitter. What a great way to kick off the summer. Mark your calendars, then look for details in the next issue of *The Log*.

Kids Corner

Compiled by Elinor DeWire

Lighthouses

Lighthouses are signposts along the shore. They help ships navigate safely. Sailors use them to locate dangerous shoals, reefs, and rocks, but also to find the entrances to important waterways, such as bays, rivers, and canals.

During the day, lighthouses are identified by their color and shape. These are called their daymarks. At night, sailors tell lighthouses apart by their lights, or beacons. Most beacons are white, but some may warn of danger with a red light or mark a channel with a red or green light. The light sometimes has a pattern of flashes to identify it. If a beacon doesn't flash at all, sailors call it a fixed light.

Very early in lighthouse history, candles were used for the beacon. Later came oil lamps that burned all kinds of fuels, including whale oil and kerosene. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, there were gas lamps. Because these lamps had wicks that needed to be trimmed to make them burn clear and bright, lighthouse keepers were nicknamed "wickies."

To make the light brighter, a reflector was sometimes placed behind each lamp. It worked like a mirror and doubled the amount of light. In the 1820s, a French scientist named Augustin Fresnel invented an amazing lens that made lighthouse beacons visible for miles at sea. The Fresnel lens was made of prisms and magnifying glass all held together in a brass frame that looked like a beehive. The lamps were placed inside.

Today, lighthouses use electric lights. Some resemble the headlights on a car, only more powerful. Others use Fresnel lenses that use light bulbs instead of oil lamps. Lighthouses no longer need keepers to tend them every day: they are automated, which means they can operate on their own. Special sensors that detect darkness or fog switch the lights on and off automatically.





The Old Point Loma Lighthouse, which stands guard over San Diego Harbor on the West Coast, shows a decidedly Spanish design, and today is part of Cabrillo National Monument. (Courtesy of the San Diego Convention & Visitors' Bureau)

Now that lighthouses no longer need keepers, people want to preserve the history of lighthouse keeping. Many old lighthouses now belong to museums or have been converted to museums themselves. Mystic Seaport has its own lighthouse, which is a copy of the Brant Point Lighthouse on Nantucket Island. Make a point of visiting it the next time you're here.

Lighthouse Trivia: Do you know why most lighthouses are round, with larger bases than tops? This way, powerful winds and waves slide off the lighthouse tower instead of slamming into it and knocking it down.

Figure it Out! Historians believe Boston Light was the first lighthouse in America. It was put into service in September 1716. How old is it today?

Don't tell Sambo Tonkus cats don't swim. This feisty feline swam from his home in the 1930s at Maine's Cape Neddick Lighthouse – pictured at left – nearly every day, to catch mice and carouse with the mainland cats. (U.S. Coast Guard photo)



The New London Ledge Light is well known to the users of New London Harbor, just a short sail from Mystic Seaport. (U.S. Coast Guard photo)

CLAIRE WHITE-PETERSON PHOTO

Create! Make a lighthouse from simple materials you can find around your house. You'll need a paper cup, a cardboard tube (from toilet paper or a roll of paper towels), construction paper, glue, and markers.

The paper cup, turned upside down, will be your tower. Cover it with colored paper. And don't forget to draw a door and windows. Cut a piece of cardboard tube about 2 inches long, then cover it with yellow paper and sketch a beacon on it. Glue it to the top of the tower. Now you have your lantern windows. Make a roof from a piece of black paper by tracing the open end of the paper cup on it (a circle) and cutting it out. Cut a slit from the edge of the circle to the center, then roll the circle until it becomes a cone and fasten with glue. Use glue to anchor the roof to the lantern.

A nineteenth-century lightkeeper at Highland Lighthouse on Cape Cod is said to have kept three cats he had rescued from a shipwreck. He named them Flotsam, Jetsam, and Lagan. (U.S. Coast Guard Archives photo)



Find the Lighthouse

Lighthouses warn of perils and give guidance to the navigator. Here are some of the places where they stand watch. Find each place in this search.

ledge	cape	point
reef	harbor	bay
shoal	inlet	island
rock	key	headland
sandbar	channel	river
estuary		canal

C A P A C F J R I V E R D
A L E B G E P A C S M O V
N L E D G E Q U T R O C K
A E W C O R Z U N I X R W
L N Y R O C A M A S H Y T
T N I O P R X B G L D E S
S A Q B Y G A W D A L K E
E H U R U Y U I I N L E F
D C M A K Q U N I D A Z E
J G S H O A V L A O H S K
H E A D L A N D K N I O P

We're Having a Party. . . Yours!



Birthdays have always been fun, but now they're better than ever before. Because this year you can bring your party to Mystic Seaport. The Museum Education Department is offering five party themes for birthday kids ages 4-10. Each party runs for 90 minutes, and the birthday child can invite up to 9 young pals and 2 adults to share the fun. We'll have hands-on activities, games, crafts, and special surprises for the birthday kid. And we'll leave plenty of time for you to head out on your own to tour the Seaport, if it suits your fancy. The cost for each party is $125, and party dates are available on weekday afternoons and Saturday mornings.

You may choose your party theme from among the following:

"Be a Star"
For ages 6 - 10

Take a journey to the stars in the Planetarium and see your name written across the sky! Play "Pin the Rings on Saturn," and take home a constellation.

"A Whale of a Birthday"
For ages 6-10

Have a whale of a good time aboard the *Charles W. Morgan.* Listen to sailors' yarns and sing their chanteys, then make some scrimshaw of your own. We'll even wish the birthday kid a happy day with signal flags!

"Something Fishy"
For ages 6-10

Play some fishy games and make fish puppets. You might even catch a special "Birthday Barracuda" from King Neptune! The birthday net is overflowing with fun at the Children's Museum.

"Seaport Girls' Dress-Up"
For ages 6-10

It's a Victorian party for young ladies! Elegant dress and imagination make this a "prim and polite" celebration. Make a hat and play games from long ago. The birthday girl will take home an old-fashioned gift made by her friends.

"A Sailor's Birthday Boat"
For ages 4-5

Calling all tots! Sign on for an unforgettable birthday voyage, and enjoy stories, games, and fun in the Children's Museum. Sail toy boats and dress up like a sailor. Here's a birthday kid's chance to be "Captain for a Day!"

Call today, as we're sure to fill up fast. You may make your reservations with the Education Department, by calling (203) 572-0711, ext. 5079.

BOOK REVIEW

Coast Salish Canoes

LESLIE LINCOLN

Seattle, Washington:
Center For Wooden Boats, 1991. 46 pp., illustrations, bibliography. $10.00

For many, the Native American culture of the Pacific Northwest is typified by its totem poles: weird, gigantic carvings emerging silently out of the somber depths of the surrounding forests. Awesomely spectacular, these strange towering figures have come to exemplify the West Coast Indians and their culture in the popular imagination.

But this is not quite the way it was. These Indians are not to be accounted forest dwellers. The forest served them as a bountiful source of supply for a great diversity of their material needs, but first and foremost they were a maritime people spending much of their lives on the water in their remarkable and ubiquitous dugout canoes. If any one thing is essentially emblematic of this unique culture, it is its dugout canoe.

This is what comes through so vividly and unmistakably from Leslie Lincoln's *Coast Salish Canoes*, which was researched during graduate study at the University of British Columbia and published by the Center For Wooden Boats in Seattle, Washington.

To a greater extent than any other indigenous American population, these Northwest Indians were seafarers. They were forced to live along the coast by the rugged mountainous terrain, densely forested with impenetrable stands of giant conifers and innocent of roads or paths of any sort. Without agriculture or domesticated animals, they were almost wholly dependent for sustenance and the wherewithal to live on the bounty of the sea, which the surrounding waters, tempered by the warmth of the Japanese current, provided in lavish abundance: salmon, halibut, cod, smelt, herring, the giant sturgeon, and the oil-rich olachen, prodigious quantities of edible mollusks, sea fowl of many kinds, seals, sea lions, sea otters, porpoise, and whales. The prodigal offerings of the sea and its riverine tributaries were all but limitless, but only with dugout canoes was this rich harvest accessible. Everything depended on the canoes.

For 200 years after Columbus, before the arrival on the West Coast of European ships bringing guns, alcohol, and deadly epidemics for which the Indians had no immunity, the West Coast Indians remained in secluded isolation while intruders from Europe slaughtered, decimated, and enslaved the more accessible Maya, Aztec, and Inca. It has been estimated that during this extended period of grace the Northwest Coast population stood at nearly 100,000, divided into numerous tribes, clans, villages, and hereditary groupings, speaking six languages with many different dialectical variations. Leslie Lincoln identifies the Coast Salish as composed of 23 different, but related, language groups speaking dialects sharing the same linguistic roots. They lived in the general area of Puget Sound, Admiralty Inlet, the Straits of Juan de Fuca and Georgia, and the estuaries of tributary rivers.

By any measure, a population of 100,000 is not numerous in comparison to today's teeming millions, and when that population number is strung out for nearly 1,500 miles measured in a straight line from southern Alaska to northern California, the distances between the various far-flung tribal groups and villages can be considerable. British Columbia alone accounts for one-third of this distance, with 5,500 inlands and 16,000 miles of jagged coastline. For trade, for routine visitation, for social and ceremonial gatherings in which entire and widely separated villages came together, and, yes, sometimes for war, the canoe, as the only means for travel and transportation, was indispensable.

Developed in geographical isolation and built almost entirely without iron tools in a wide range of shapes and sizes, these Northwest Coast dugouts surpass any other such vessels found elsewhere in the world, both in elegance of form and in functional capability as sea and riverine craft. Indeed, the lines of these svelte yet sturdy boats will bear comparison with the best of modern yacht design.

Among the different tribes within the six linguistic groups were many canoe traditions. How much the diversity in size and shape of these dugouts was purely functional, and how much was culturally determined is not readily apparent. Dugouts of 9 feet for duck hunting, 12 feet for salmon fishing, 16 feet for the sea otter catching, and 20 feet or so for sealing, fishing, and hunting sea fowl were at one end of the scale, with 50-foot Nootkan freight canoes and 70-foot Haida war canoes at the other. Slim, fast Coast Salish dugouts, long, low, and graceful, but of limited ability in rough water, contrasted with their shallow, shovel-nose dugouts for riverine work. The sea-kindly 35-foot seagoing Nootkan whaling canoe, with its flaring sides and flat bottom, differed markedly from other models. North of Vancouver Island the Bella Coola members of the Salishan language formerly built long, stable spoon-ended dugouts of great carrying capacity.

There is no way of accurately determining the number of these dugout canoes in use before the whites arrived, but it has been estimated that there probably would have been enough afloat or ready to launch at any one time to have embarked the entire Indian population and most of their possessions. When a chief died he was frequently interred in his canoe drawn up on land. In 1845, 3,000 such burial canoes were counted at one burial site on the Columbia River downstream from the mouth of the Cowlitz. Somewhat earlier, one Hudson's Bay Company trader had counted 800 of these dugout canoes that had passed his station in one month. Queen Charlotte Island was forested with stands of huge red cedars, from which in winter the Haida built canoes as large as 60 feet, with 7 feet of beam and capable of carrying 40 men and two tons of cargo. A large Haida village, notably Massett, might have had as many as 30 new dugouts ready to launch in the spring.

The Coast Salish dugout canoes, while sharing the general characteristics of all Northwest Coast dugouts, have their own distinctive features, which Leslie Lincoln treats in detail. In focusing on the dugouts of Coast Salish she directs

attention to these primary artifacts, which heretofore have not always received the recognition they deserve, either from ethnologists or from the public at large. What sets this study apart from most ethnographic descriptions of these Indian dugouts is the inclusion of lines plans (missing from most other accounts) of representative examples of a number of these craft, which were drawn, with one exception, by Leslie Lincoln herself. Examination of the lines yields so much more information than can be conveyed by words or derived from photography.

In the text, Lincoln mentions the theory that the Salish canoe form inspired the development of the Northern hull shape, with a sweeping sheer, uprising bow and stern, as well as high sides or freeboard, going on to say that "the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Bella Bella, Haisla and Kwakiutl each crafted their own versions of this style." And on the opposite page we actually see the striking similarity of the two basic hull shapes in the lines plans of a 27-foot, 6-inch classic Coast Salish style canoe and a 37-foot Kwakiutl dugout representing the derivative Northern style canoes. The body plans of the two types show much the same sectional shape, except that the Northern canoes had slightly more round in the bottom, enough as to indicate that these great canoes must have been somewhat "tender," not to say unstable, in a light condition. In use, however, they generally carried loads of one kind or another plus the weight of a large complement of paddlers, and in addition their length would have added stability. With their inverted bell-shaped bottoms and slack, easy bilges, a minimum of force would have been required to drive these canoes, and they would have moved through the water quietly and swiftly.

In contrast, we see something quite different in the lines of 25-foot, 6-inch Nootkan canoe (somewhat small but still typical) that were drawn by Bill Durham. In this dugout the width of its dead flat bottom at the midsection, for all the generous flare of the sides, is half the total beam of the boat. Minus its ornamental ends, the Nootkan dugout with its flaring sides and flat bottom is not entirely dissimilar in its basic shape to a flattened and elongated Banks dory. Perhaps this accounts in some small measure for the paramount rough water ability of these Nootkan canoes, for which they were highly prized, much sought after, and widely traded and used outside of Nootkan territory. Their superiority as sea boats is attested by their choice for the whale hunt on the open ocean. Of all the uses to which these various canoes were put, whaling was the most demanding in its requirements for superior watercraft and the utmost in maritime skill and daring seamanship.

One of the most interesting parts of the book is the author's explanation of dugout canoe construction: how they were fashioned from huge red cedar logs three or four feet in diameter, and for the largest canoes as much as five feet across; how the giant trees that supplied these logs were brought down with stone chisels and wedges of yew and antler horn impacted by hand-held stone mauls, and also by clay-controlled burning; how in bygone time the outside of the canoe was shaped to an elegantly precise symmetry using a few crude, primitive hand tools: adzes with jadeite and nephrite blades and knives made from mussel shells and beavers' incisors; and how, when this had been done, the half-finished canoe was turned over and hollowed out preparatory to steaming and spreading.

Don't imagine that, because they were dugouts, these canoes had thick slab sides. Despite their crude tools, the canoe builders were masters who sculpted their trees down to thin shells. The author cites measurements taken from five old canoes in the Smithsonian's collection. A 25-foot canoe measured 3/4 inches thick along the sides, increasing to 1½ inches on the bottom. A 58-foot Nootkan canoe with a beam of 8 feet was 1½ inches thick along the sides, while a 44-foot Haida canoe increased from ¾ of an inch below the gunwale to 1¼ inches at the turn of the bilge.

The thinness of the shell was essential for the most critical part of the whole operation: spreading the sides by steaming to increase stability and carrying capacity. Water placed in the bottom was brought to a boil by the introduction of heated stones. Mats draped across the boat helped to contain the steam. At the same time, fires built around the boat heated it on the outside and contributed to the softening effect. When the sides were finally pliable enough, they were forced apart very gradually by spreaders applied to the inside of the boat. Care and judgement were required to insure that the spread was symmetrical, and that the sides were not cracked or broken in the process.

The increase in beam that can be obtained in this way is little short of amazing. As examples the author cites one 35-foot Northern style canoe where the spread was from 42 to 60 inches, or 43 percent of the original beam, and a 50-foot Haida canoe with an increase from 54 to 73 inches, or 33 percent.

Finally, after the outside had been given a final fairing and rubbed smooth with abrasives, it was torched over to lightly char and harden the surface, followed by several coats of fish oil which turned the surface black, readying it for the vivid stylized ornamentation that adorned so many of the larger dugouts, and without which they would not have been complete.

The amount of steadfast labor expended in the construction of these dugout canoes was simply prodigious. From a technical standpoint these canoes were an extraordinary achievement. But they were more than that. They were an important art form of an artistic people whose art was an integral part of their daily lives, touching and adorning everything they did. Although their canoes were built within the context of conventional design, they were nonetheless unique artistic creations by builders who were both carpenters and sculptors at the same time.

There is so much more of interest in these all too brief 48 pages: the author's infectious fascination with the long, splinter-thin, super-fast canoes of the Coast Salish, developed in former times to outrun the Haida slave raiders from the north, and still raced; the specially crafted paddles so essential for handling these canoes; and above all, the many fine and informative photographs that add so much, and that must be seen to be appreciated. Published as volume three of the Traditional Smallcraft of the Northwest Series, this monograph is a little gem.

John Gardner M.S.M.

Notes to "Our Position is a Most Commanding One"

1. Robert G. Albion, *The Rise of New York Port* (1939; reprint, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1984), 165-93; for figures on Caribbean and Latin American arrivals in 1835, see 395-96.

2. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860* (1921; reprint, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1979), 396.

3. For Aspinwall's story, see Duncan S. Somerville, *The Aspinwall Empire* (Mystic: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1983).

4. Albion, *New York Port*, 368-71.

5. Silas Beebe Papers, Collection 40, box 1/9, G.W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum (hereafter cited as GWBWL).

6. James Lowell Papers, Collection 35, box 1/5, GWBWL.

7. Manuel Moreno Fraginals, Frank Moya Pons, and Stanley L. Engerman, eds., *Between Slavery and Free Labor: The Spanish-Speaking Caribbean in the 19th Century* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985).

8. R.W. Beachey, *The British West Indies Sugar Industry in the Late 19th Century* (1957; reprint, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978).

9. Trade with the Caribbean–the Greater and Lesser Antilles, and the Caribbean coasts of Venezuela, Columbia, and Central America–engaged between one-fifth and one-third of all American tonnage engaged in foreign trade every year from 1870 to 1940. U.S. Register of the Treasury, Bureau of the Census, *(Foreign) Commerce and Navigation of the United States*, annual volumes, 1870-1940.

10. For Grant's reasoning, see William Appleman Williams, ed., *The Shaping of American Diplomacy: Readings and Documents in American Foreign Relations*, vols., (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1970), 1: 316-17.

11. The total number of American merchant vessels clearing U.S. ports for trade in the Caribbean declined from more that 3,000 in 1870 to about 1,300 in 1910, though the total tonnage these vessels comprised increased from 1,347,000 tons to 1,635,000. This presents a decline from more than one-third of the American blue-water merchant marine to just under one-fifth, *Commerce and Navigation* series.

12. Foreign vessels clearing from U.S. ports for Caribbean destinations increased from about 1,100 (232,000 tons) in 1870 to almost 2,500 (2,750,000 tons) in 1910, *Commerce and Navigation* series.

13. Harold and Margaret Sprout, *The Rise of American Sea Power, 1776-1918* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1944), 283-285.

14. For voices expressing the "outward look," see documents in Williams, *Shaping of American Diplomacy*, 1: 317-33. The political debate over Spanish rule in Cuba came home to Mystic in 1869, when 15 Spanish gunboats were built by Mystic shipyards for use in Cuban waters during the Ten Years War, see Carol W. Kimball, "The Spanish Gunboats," *The Log of Mystic Seaport* (Winter 1980):117-22.

15. Ibid., 334-35.

16. Statistics derived from the *Commerce and Navigation* series, 1870-1900.

17. Howard K. Beale, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Rise of America to World Power* (New York: Collier, 1956) 31-84.

18. For the text of Olney's message on Venezuela, see Thomas G. Patterson, ed., *Major Problems in American Foreign Policy*, vols., (Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath, 1989), : 350-53.

19. David McCullough, *The Path Between the Seas: The Creation of the Panama Canal, 1870-1914* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977), 243-617.

20. David Healy, *Drive to Hegemony: The United States in the Caribbean, 1898-1917* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 9-23. For a case study in how a single old schooner could be parlayed into a giant corporation, see Randolph Bartlett, "Lorenzo Dow Baker: Yankee Entrepreneur in the Caribbean Fruit Trade," *The Log of Mystic Seaport* (Spring 1987): 3-20.

21. Lester Langley, *The United States and the Caribbean in the Twentieth Century* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1989).

22. Caribbean products accounted for 19 percent of the total value of U.S. imports in 1920, 14 percent from Cuba alone. A decade later the Caribbean figure was 13 percent, though the Cuban share had fallen to 4 percent, *Commerce and Navigation* series, 1920-30.

23. National City Bank of New York, Foreign Commerce Series #1, 1920, cited by Healy in *Drive to Hegemony*, 261.

24. *Commerce and Navigation*, 1900.

25. James P. Baughman, *The Mallorys of Mystic: Six Generations in American Maritime Enterprise* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press for Mystic Seaport Museum, 1972).

26. The Haitian logwood trade is described in Robert H. Burgess, *This Was Chesapeake Bay* (Cambridge, Maryland: Cornell Maritime Press, 1963), 43-48, and Captain Francis E. Bowker, *Atlantic Four-Master: The Story of the Schooner* Herbert L. Rawding, *1919-1947* (Mystic: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1986); for Caribbean whaling see the logs of the *Golden City, Nye*, and *Rienzi*, all in the GWBWL: see also Bryan C. Stout, "Charles Alexander Arnaud: Reminiscences of the Last Statian Whaleman," *The Log of Mystic Seaport* (Spring 1989):3-9.

27. *Commerce and Navigation* series, 1910-45.

28. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1992* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1992), 11.

Notes to Paul Cuffe: Against the Odds in Vienna, Maryland

1. See path-breaking work done by Ira Dye, "Early American Merchant Seafarers," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 120:5 (October 1976): 331-60; Martha Putney, *Black Sailors: Afro-American Merchant Seamen and Whalemen Prior to the Civil War* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987); and Jeffrey W. Bolster, "To Feel Like a Man: Black Seamen in the Northern States, 1800-1889," *Journal of American History* 76 (March 1990): 1173-95.

2. Recent studies of Paul Cuffe include George Salvador's *Paul Cuffe, the Black Yankee, 1759-1817* (New Bedford, Massachusetts: author, 1969); Sheldon H. Harris's *Paul Cuffe: Black America and the African Return* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1972); Lamont D. Thomas's *Paul Cuffe, Black Entrepreneur and Pan-Africanist* (reprint of *Rise to Be a People, a Biography of Paul Cuffe*, 1986; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); and Arthur Diamond's *Paul Cuffe, Merchant and Abolitionist* (New York: Chelsea House, 1989).

3. (London) *Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature* 2 (April-June 1808): 16-18, 221. This British publication of the Delaware memoir became the basis for *Memoir of Captain Paul Cuffe, A Man of Color*, which appeared in late 1811 after Cuffe's departure from Liverpool. At that time the publisher erroneously asserted that the memoir had been "written expressly for, and originally printed in The Liverpool Mercury." Subsequently, various versions appeared in England, Sierra Leone, and the United States.

4. Alexander Laing, *Seafaring America* (New York: American Heritage, 1974); James B. Farr, *Black Odyssey: The Seafaring Traditions of Afro-Americans* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989); Daniel F. Vickers, "Maritime Labor in Colonial Massachusetts" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1981); F.B. Cash, "African-American Whalers: Images and Reality," *Long Island Historical Journal* 2 (1989): 41-52.

5. John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Alfred A. Knof, 1980), 108, 113.

6. *Monthly Repository*, 2: 16-17, 221-22, 285-86; Thomas, *Paul Cuffe*, 8-9.

7. Tonnage book, 1790-1802, Newport customs district, Federal Records Center, Waltham, Massachusetts; Newport *Mercury*, 10 December 1792.

8. *Vital Records of Westport, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1918).

9. *Ranger*, permanent certificate of registry, no. 6, French Spoliation Claims, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Reverend Peter Williams, *A Discourse Delivered on the Death of Capt. Paul Cuffe Before the New York African Institution* (New York: A.E. Young, 1817); Thomas, *Paul Cuffe*, 16, 125.

10. Thomas, *Paul Cuffe*, ch. 2. During petitions against taxation without representation, Paul and his brother John appealed to the Bristol County Court of Common Pleas on the basis that they were "Indian men and by law not the subject of Taxation..." But appeals to their mother's Native American roots brought no relief from taxation.

11. David B. Davis, *Slavery in the Age of the Revolution* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1969); Kenneth Boulding, "Economic Life," in John Kavanaugh, ed., *The Quaker Approach to Contemporary Life* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1953) 43-49; Thomas, *Paul Cuffe*, 13-14.

12. Newport *Mercury*, 19 November 1773, 11 November 1794; Elizabeth Donnan, "The New England Slave Trade After the Revolution," *New England Quarterly* 3:2 (April 1930): 251-78; and Elizabeth Donnan, "Agitation Against the Slave Trade in Rhode Island, 1784-1790," in *Persecution and Liberty* (New York: Century Company, 1931), 175-80.

13. Daniel Ricketson, *The History of New Bedford* (New Bedford, Massachusetts: B. Lindsey, 1858), 140; John M. Bullard, *The Ratches* (Milford, New Hampshire: Cabinet Press, 1947), 261-62.

14. *Monthly Repository*, 2:18, 335.

15. Isaac Dookhan, *A Pre-Emancipation History of the West Indies* (London: Collins, 1971), 41; W.E.B. DuBois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade* (1896; reprint, New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 71-74, 86-88; Davis, *Slavery*, 26-29.

16. *Monthly Repository*, 2:18, 335-36; Hulbert Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1944), 135-44; Paul Wilstach, *Tidewater Maryland* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1931); Brice N. Stump, "Between the Blackwater and Nanticoke: History and Legend of Eastern Dorchester County," author's typescript, 56, 93, 102, 217-26; Elias Jones, *Revised History of Dorchester County, Maryland* (Baltimore: Read Taylor Press, 1925), 88; and Jones, *New Revised History*, 334. For republican virtues, see Ronald Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in the Nineteenth Century* (1990).

17. The conditions for Maryland's eastern shore slaves are described in the autobiography of Frederick Douglass, who was born on the eastern shore the year Paul Cuffe died. Paul Cuffe's Bible was discovered in Lebanon, Connecticut, in the fall of 1986. On the inside cover appear the words, "Paul Cuffes Book/1793 Cost £0-16-6/Bought at Newyork by H. Doz–/The Holy Bibel/ The holy Bible/Paul Cuffe." It is part of the Amistad Collection at the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut. Cuffe became a member of the Society of Friends in 1808.

18. Stump, "Between the Blackwater and Nanticoke," 53, 102; Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969), 375-82; DuBois, *Suppression of the Slave Trade*, 70-72; Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 150-52.

19. Footner, *Rivers of the Eastern Shore*, 143.

20. *Monthly Repository*, 2:18, 135-36; Stump, "Between the Blackwater and Nanticoke," 53; Jones, *Revised History*, 88.

21. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860* (1921; reprint, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1979), 173-74; Thomas Sharf, *History of Delaware, 1609-1888*, 2 vols., (Philadelphia: L.J. Richards & Company, 1888), 2: 750; (Philadelphia) *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, 10 April 1799; (Wilmington) *Delaware & Eastern-Shore Advertiser*, 22 July 1799.

22. New Bedford Registry of Deeds, New Bedford, Massachusetts; Thomas, *Paul Cuffe*, 18.

23. While the *Monthly Repository* (2:18, 337) failed to date the school's opening, a subsequent version carried by the Liverpool *Mercury* cited 1797; Bullard, *The Ratches*, 261-62; Parrish letter, 9 August 1807, Cox, Parrish, Wharton Papers, 5:85, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Thomas, *Paul Cuffe*, 21, 128.

SEAPORT SALUTE

Bill and Shelley White



A conversation with Bill and Shelley White is an exchange that engenders an understanding not only of this delightful couple but also of Mystic, its people, and its Seaport. ❧ The Whites are natives to the area, and they have watched and helped to foster the growth of the institution that draws us all together. Bill grew up in Mystic and Shelley in Stonington, and when you ask them how they met you get the sense they never actually went through the formality: "we've always known each other," says Shelley. They did go through the formality, however, of marrying, and were the first couple to do so in the Fishtown Chapel, in its new location on the Seaport grounds. ❧ The White's longstanding affiliation with the Seaport is a matter both of personal choice and of lineage. When family friend Henry B. duPont built the Seaport its library, he asked the White family if they thought it would be fitting to name the structure for Bill's late father, G.W. Blunt White, who had been active in the Seaport when it was young and small and a gathering place for avid sailors like himself. The family agreed, and they have since been more than generous in supporting the growth of the library that bears their name and that today enjoys an international reputation as a critical resource for maritime scholarship. ❧ The Whites appreciate the continuity of community: "It's one family knowing another and then their kids getting to know one another and being on the water together and growing up together," says Bill. They remember fondly those days when the Seaport was younger and smaller, they have nurtured its growth, and they continue today to count the Museum an important part of their community. And of their family. Their son Blunt now serves – as did his father and grandfather before him – on the Seaport's Board of Trustees. And Bill and Shelley have given each of their five grandchildren a Mystic Seaport life membership, an emphatic vote of confidence in the institution and a promise that the family ties to it will continue to be strong. ❧ The Whites' affection for the Seaport is unquestioned: "It's a winner," says Bill. And so, says the Seaport, are the Whites. We thank them.



MARY ANNE STETS PHOTO

Morning Fun for Kids, a special membership program for pre-schoolers and their parents, is a great place to get started – on your day, on your educational career, and on a lasting relationship with Mystic Seaport. Based in the Children's Museum, Morning Fun uses the rich Seaport environment to teach young members to notice and appreciate the world around them. You may call 572-5322 for scheduling information.

Yacht Art

This year's Yachting History Symposium – to be held 18-19 March – will explore yacht design, as fine art in its own right and as artistic inspiration as well.

Join us Friday afternoon, when preregistration begins at 1:00 and the program gets underway at 1:45. We'll start off with a humorous sampling of bad examples; we'll learn about yacht collecting and collectors; and we'll discuss the collecting of yachting art, photography, books, artifacts, and ephemera.

Our Friday evening program begins at 7:00, when Jay Higgins will talk about the recent restoration in Turkey of Mrs. Emily Roebling Cadwalader's 408-foot *Savarona*, the largest yacht ever built. Both the W.A. Baker Award and the W.P. Stephens Award will be presented.

Saturday registration begins at 8:30 A.M., with the program getting underway at 9:00. The day is full, and presentations will include William Collier discussing Charles Nicholson and the artistry of his design work; Roger Taylor on the work of L. Francis Herreshoff; and a look at yacht models, with examples from the New York Yacht Club collection. Tony Peluso will discuss the evolution of yacht photography, while Benjamin Mendlowitz will discuss his own approach to the art; and Russell Jinishian will talk about the history of yacht painting, followed by a description by John Mecray about his personal approach to it.

The evening reception in the Mystic Maritime Gallery will provide delightful reinforcement to the day: the Gallery will be packed with yachting paintings and sketches, sculptures, and models.

The cost for this year's Yachting History Symposium is $100 ($120 for nonmembers). Please call (203) 572-5378 to request registration materials.



MARY ANNE SETS PHOTO

Brilliant *print published by John Mecray Ltd. Editions, and distributed by Mystic Seaport Museum Stores.*

Food For Thought

The Seaport's popular Victorian Yankee Symposium – to be held 12 March – will focus on a topic accessible to all: food. Not just any food, of course, but rather the food and foodways of Victorian New England. And as a special bonus, these Victorian victuals will not just be served up for discussion, they're lunch. Your registration form will describe your dining options. Don't be shy - here's your chance to get a real flavor for the Victorian way of life.

We'll have all the experts here; the following names and topics should be just enough to whet your appetite for the day:

- Barbara Wheaton, honorary curator of the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, and author of *Savoring the Past: The French Kitchen and Table from 1300-1789*, will be our keynote.

- Dr. Kathy Neustadt, folklorist and author of *Clambake*, has titled her presentation "Doing Culinary Research: The Braille Method."

- Nancy Harmon-Jenkins, food writer and Publications Director, Old Ways and Exchange Trust, will speak to the topic "The Ethnic Yankee: Ethnic Foodways and Their Impact on American Cookery."

- Sandra Oliver, food historian and publisher of *Food History News* – and a regular contributor to *The Log* – will lead us through an exploration of nineteenth-century health food movements and vegetarianism.

With everyone's favorite subject – food – as its topic, this program is sure to fill up fast. So call us now, at (203) 572-5356, and let us send your registration materials today.

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Whaling Captains of New London County, Connecticut: For Oil and Buggy Whips

by Barnard L. Colby

Do you know the story of Captain Robert Smith, yanked out of his whaleboat by a whale line as was prophesied? Have you heard of John P. "Bony" Rice, a tough whaleman and commander of a portion of the Civil War "stone fleet"; or of John O. Spicer, more at home in the Arctic than back on his farm in Groton?

Here's a chance to meet these men, and more, in a collection of well-told tales based on documents that in some cases are no longer available. As a cub reporter for the New London *Day*, Barnard Colby compiled biographical sketches of 23 New London County whaling captains, which were published by the Museum in abbreviated form in 1936. Fifty years later, after a distinguished newspaper career, Colby returned to Mystic Seaport with an updated full-length version of his biographies, which were published, with 80 illustrations, in 1990. The book includes an overview of local whaling and lists of the known whaling captains from New London, Mystic, and Stonington.

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Outside wrap: Mystic Seaport Museum Manuscript Collection, Log 143, of the whaleship Charles W. Morgan