RETURN TO KATIA

The Log *of* Mystic Seaport

Summer
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Mystic Seaport Salutes



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On the cover: Cuban fishing boats–antecedents of the boat in Ernest Hemingway's *Old Man and the Sea*, and of Mystic Seaport's *Analuisa*–lie along Havana Harbor in 1924. (Negative 111802F, © Rosenfeld Collection, Mystic Seaport Museum, Inc.)

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Sightings

Those of us who are preoccupied with the sea sometimes make the broad, positive statement that "the sea connects all things." One may debate the "all things" aspect, but there is no doubt that the sea facilitates connections around the world. However, in an intriguing dichotomy, by its very nature the sea separates as well as connects. Certainly, for the people wishing to emigrate to this country, who are the subjects of the articles in this issue of *The Log*, the sea was a formidable barrier. And it only requires a cursory look at the past to find innumerable examples of the sea as a dividing element.

For thousands of years the primary effort has been to transform the sea from a barrier to an avenue of connection, but in times of war the sea can become a protective barrier. The wide expanse of open sea in the Atlantic and the Pacific protected the mainland of this country from invasion and the serious threat of attack during two world wars, permitting the resources of this country to be marshaled to support the war effort in other parts of the globe. But even here the dichotomy of the sea is clearly evident. Unless a nation can take an entirely isolationist posture and retreat into its own self-sufficiency as an island fortress, it must reach out and use the sea as a means of connection as well as a barrier of protection during war. It is critical to be able to move supplies, equipment and personnel across the seas in support of military efforts while denying or limiting that opportunity to your enemy. This important lesson was clearly articulated by former Munson Institute Director Robert G. Albion, with J.B. Pope, in *Sea Lanes in Wartime: The American Experience 1775-1945.*

If the sea is so clearly a hostile environment that separates, how can we say it connects? The connection comes through maritime ingenuity and enterprise. In earliest human times the sea presented the most formidable of barriers. It took creative, motivated people to devise fragile craft and first venture out to sea. In the millennia from that time to this, generations after generations, all over the world, have refined and improved the vessels used to go to sea and designed them for specific purposes. This is an extraordinary human saga full of genius and failure, triumph and tragedy, courage and cowardice. It is the province of the world's maritime museums to document, preserve, and convey this story of our ability to convert the sea from barrier to boulevard on which world commerce and connection is carried out.

When we reflect on the early European settlement of this country, we likely think of the Pilgrims, who faced religious persecution in their homeland and used the *Mayflower* and her seasoned mariners to cross the ocean and establish a sanctuary on these shores. But whether they came for religious freedom or economic opportunity, the settlers in Massachusetts and all along the eastern seaboard were colonists, who remained tied to their mother country by sea. The success of their endeavors depended upon the continuous support of intrepid, and sometimes exploitive, mariners and their ships. The traffic across the Atlantic brought needed goods and food supplies, as well as new settlers and information. The increasingly complex maritime network of links that grew around the world not only provided for traditional commerce and transportation of people, but until recently was the only route for the exchange of ideas, literature, music, art, invention, and technology.

For many of us, the most compelling stories of the sea tell of our literal and figurative ancestors, who ventured across the barrier of the sea to connect themselves with new possibilities. For the people who risked their lives and struggled to get to the United States in the *Analuisa*, the sea was an intimidating barrier. However, as part of the continuum of maritime innovation and enterprise, a simple fishing boat became the means of converting the sea into an avenue of escape. For nearly one thousand European Mormons, two clipper ships built here in Mystic became the vehicles of deliverance across a cruel sea to a new and better life in a new land. And the Danish boat *Gerda III*, on special exhibit at Mystic Seaport this summer before moving to its permanent berth at New York's Museum of Jewish Heritage, commemorates the seaborne escape of Danish Jews from extermination during World War II.

The stories in this issue of *The Log*, and hundreds of thousands more, represent the maritime activities and adventures of men, women, and children over thousands of years. Those stories are the threads that become the fabric of maritime history.

The sea alone does not connect. People, applying their wit, energy, resources, talent, and courage, use the medium of the sea to create connections. The challenge for Mystic Seaport and the maritime museums of the world is to preserve responsibly and to convey thoroughly and accurately the many aspects of our collective and connective maritime experience, an experience that is central to understanding the history of civilization on this globe.

J. Revell Carr

DIRECTOR

Cuba, America, and the Sea, Part II:

"The Voyage of the *Analuisa*"

ERIC ROORDA

IN AUGUST 1994, the last wave of maritime immigrants to America embarked from Cuba in small boats and improvised rafts. Crossing the Straits of Florida and the turbulent Gulf Stream is always risky, but to attempt the passage in overcrowded small craft, as they did, is to invite disaster (though the same might be said of crossing the Atlantic under sail). Only 90 miles separate Cuba from Key West, but that is "plenty of water," as Ernest Hemingway said in *To Have and Have Not*, and it does not stand still, but flows east, away from land, at a rate of two to five knots. By setting out across it anyway, the Cuban *balseros*, or rafters, of the 1990s followed in a long tradition of maritime immigrants to America, who often came under desperate circumstances, but never let the danger of the voyage stop them.

The patron saint of Cuba is *Nuestra Señora de la Caridad del Cobre*, or "Our Copper Lady of Charity." This is the name of a statue of the Virgin Mary that three men in a boat found floating on a plank in Nipa Bay, on the northeast coast of the island, in 1620. Caridad del Cobre is a familiar image in Cuba, representing both the Madonna of Catholicism and Oshum, one of the "seven African powers" of the religion of Santería. Caridad del Cobre is always shown coming to the aid of three men in an open boat in heavy weather, a scene that evokes the experience of hundreds of thousands of Cuban "boat people" in recent years. Like the terrified mariners depicted in statues and medals of Caridad del Cobre, these newest maritime immigrants to the United States have been in distress on the stormy Gulf Stream, trying to reach these shores. Many drowned, died of thirst, or were killed by gasoline explosions at sea, yet the rate of attempted crossings increased until September 1994. Then U.S. immigration policy changed, prohibiting "boat people" from entering the country.



Like the frightened mariners in pictures of Caridad del Cobre, four Cuban "boat people" drifted on the high seas in August 1994. The engine of their little fishing boat, *Carmencita*, had failed, and they were at the mercy of the Gulf Stream, which was sweeping them away from Key West to die of thirst or to drown. The owner of the boat was a professional fisherman with brothers and sisters in Key West, whose mother back in Mariel was named Caridad, too. Like the men saved by that saint, he and his companions needed a miracle to survive, and found it in the form of an abandoned fishing boat like their own, floating nearby with a working engine and a supply of fuel. They recognized the boat, named *Analuisa*, as belonging to their neighbors back in Mariel. Her 19 passengers had been picked up by a passing cruise liner, leaving the sturdy craft behind. The lucky men in the derelict *Carmencita* made it to Key West in the *Analuisa*, joining the ranks of new immigrants to the United States, rather than the untold number who have died making the attempt.[1]

The *Analuisa*'s home port was Mariel, 50 miles west of Havana. Mariel Bay is the closest harbor to the Cuban metropolis and its busy

Nuestra Señora de la Caridad del Cobre, *or "Our Copper Lady of Charity," representing salvation on the sea, combines both Catholic and African traditions and remains a potent icon for Cuban Catholics. (A. E. Doyle photo)*







port, which provided the market for a fishing village located on a point in the middle of the bay, called "La Puntilla." The Cuban Naval Academy was built on a hill overlooking the village, and the excursion by rail or car along the coast from Havana to picturesque Mariel became a standard feature of the Cuban tourist itinerary. As in fishing communities around the world, the same families worked the sea for generations in Mariel, living in La Puntilla's thatched houses, and building and operating a fleet of boats. Among them were the Cuadras and Fernández families.

Luciano Cuadras Fernández built the *Analuisa* in 1959, and named her for his mother, Analuisa Fernández. The boat was the first in the family to have auxiliary power–a one-horsepower engine–which ended the years of rowing the Cuadras and Fernández men had endured, and simplified the jobs of netting and handlining for fish.

While auxiliary power was transforming the lives of Mariel fishermen, other events were transforming Cuba. On New Year's Day, 1959, the dictator Fulgencio Batista fled the country, giving way to the revolutionary forces that had been fighting in the mountainous eastern region of Cuba since 1956. Their leader, Fidel Castro, took power in Havana within a week, and during the next year, as Luciano Cuadras

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Above: The children of the fishing village at Mariel salute American photographer Fred Hill in the 1950s. (Courtesy The Mariners' Museum, Newport News, Virginia)

Center: In 1995, a few fishing boats still rode at their moorings off La Puntilla, the fishing village at Mariel. (author photo)

Below: Luciano Cuadras Fernández built the powered fishing boat Analuisa *in 1959. He is shown here at Mariel in 1995, beside a similar boat. (author photo)*

Fernández built his boat, went about remaking Cuban society.

Relations between the new regime and the United States grew tense as Castro targeted the country's economic elite, who shared financial interests and yacht club memberships with the wealthiest members of the "American Colony" in Cuba. The sugar industry, foundation of the Cuban economy, was in the hands of these people: Cuban, American, and Cuban-American. Other members of this group ran the steamship lines, distilled the rum, brewed the beer, produced the beef, and ran the casinos and hotels that made Havana famous as a destination for U.S. travelers. The Cuban Revolution's first targets in 1959 were parking meters, long identified with official corruption, and casinos, run by a combination of Cuban military muscle and American organized crime. The Eisenhower administration did not object to the destruction of these hateful institutions, but when Castro began to nationalize sugar plantations, the American-owned sugar refineries in Havana refused to refine sugar from those properties, prompting Castro to nationalize first the refineries, then all foreign-owned sugar lands. The consequences were that elite Cubans and American expatriates began to leave the country; tourists stopped coming; and the U.S. government severed relations, imposed an economic embargo, and suspended air and ocean travel between the nations.[2]

The close ties binding New York, Florida, and New Orleans to Havana unraveled after three centuries of interaction, leaving a tangle of international tensions. The mutual hostility produced two important events in American maritime history, the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Cuban Missile Crisis. A year after Castro rode into Havana, his enemies in exile, and Central Intelligence Agency agents, planned an invasion by sea and air to rally popular resistance and overthrow his government. The operation was one in a long line of *filibuster* projects going back to the 1840s, some of which had received tacit support from the authorities in Washington, D.C., only to be disowned when their landings met disaster. Such was the case with the anti-Castro exile army, who received training, transportation, and arms from the Central Intelligence Agency during both the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations, then hit the beach called Playa Girón in the Bay of Pigs in April 1961, only to be pinned down by Castro's forces. Of the 1,400 commandos who invaded Cuba, more than 1,200 were captured.[3]

The threat of a larger invasion, with greater tactical air support from the U.S. than the Bay of Pigs invaders had received, drove Castro into an alliance with the Soviet Union. The Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, seized the opportunity to base nuclear missiles in Cuba, within easy range of the major U.S. cities, partly to balance the threat posed by U.S. installations in Turkey, bordering the Soviet Union. In October 1962, the Kennedy administration learned about the Soviet missiles in Cuba from photographs taken by U-2 "spy planes" at high altitudes. President Kennedy imposed what might be viewed as the most critical blockade in naval history in order to halt construction of the missile bases. For four days U.S. Navy vessels patrolled Cuban waters as the world waited to see if the U.S. and the Soviet Union would be drawn into nuclear war over the incident. The decisive moment came when a Soviet naval vessel, carrying missiles, approached the blockade line. To the great relief of observers everywhere, the Soviet captain turned back rather than submit to being boarded, averting a cataclysm on the high seas that might have resounded, quite literally, around the world. Instead, Kennedy pledged not to invade Cuba, and Khrushchev withdrew the Soviet missiles.[4]

Neither side consulted Castro or the Cuban exiles about the agreement to end the Cuban Missile Crisis, and their mutual antagonism worsened in its wake. Though the Bay of Pigs captives were eventually released in exchange for an indemnification of $60 million from the U.S., interaction between the exiles and the Castro regime came mainly in two forms: exile commando raids against the island, and government harangues against the "worms" who left Cuba for Miami.[5] The once-busy sea-lanes linking Cuba and the U.S. remained mostly empty in the early 1960s, aside from small numbers of guerrillas, rafters, and, despite the turmoil, fishermen from Mariel. But hard times were coming to the fishing community there, which would find itself at the center of the Cuban exodus by sea in the years to come. Three major "boat lifts," or periods of departure from Cuba, took place in 1965, 1980, and in the early 1990s, bringing a new wave of maritime immigration to the United States.[6] The family of Luciano Cuadras, and the boats he built, are bound up in that history.

The first "boat lift" occurred in September 1965, after Castro announced that Cubans with relatives in the U.S. could leave the country, provided that an American vessel pick them up at the port of Camarioca, another port near Havana. Nearly 5,000 people made the nauseating trip in the middle of the hurricane season, mainly aboard Florida pleasure craft. The "boat lift" was replaced by a monthly airlift arranged between the two countries to provide safe passage for several thousand people with relatives in the U.S. The airlift lasted until 1973, bringing more than a quarter million immigrants

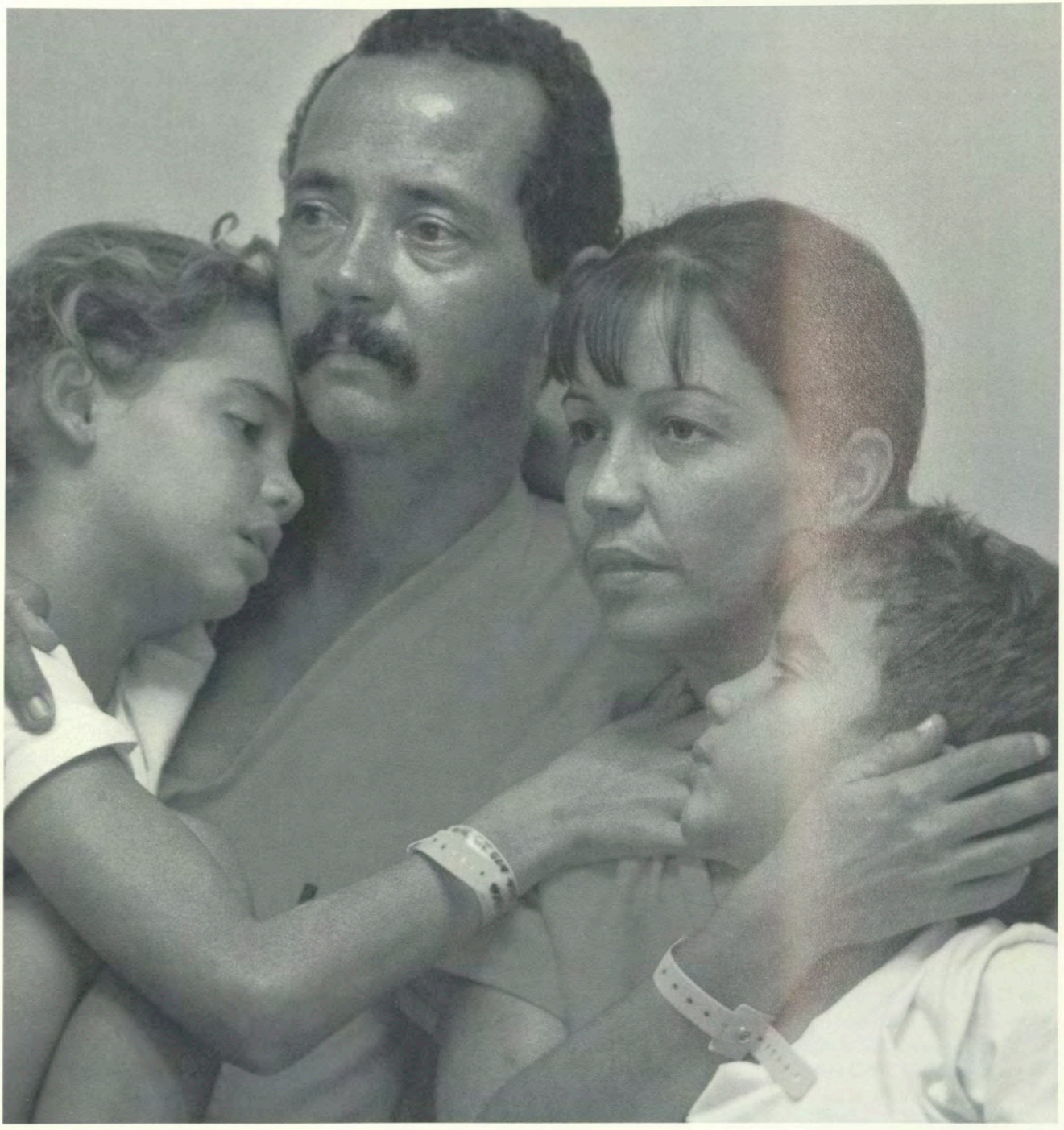


During the Camarioca "boat lift" of September 1965, the U.S. Coast Guard offers aid to anxious Cuban refugees aboard a pleasure boat in the rough Florida Straits. (026-G-10-13-65, Courtesy National Archives)

from Cuba and greatly reducing the number of "boat people" in the Straits of Florida.

The Cuadras family was not affected by the Camarioca "boat lift," which was open mainly to those who already had relatives in the United States, because they did not have the first link in the "chain migration" it encouraged. But like the other families of Mariel, they faced twin traumas: national economic woes like scarcities and inflation (at least in part the result of the U.S. trade embargo), and the depletion of fish species such as snapper and swordfish. So when the next opportunity to leave the country arose right in the port of Mariel, Luciano Cuadras Fernández's oldest son, Pedro, became the first of his five children to go.

The Mariel "boat lift" brought the heaviest migration from Cuba of all time, about 125,000 people between April and September 1980. As he had done 15 years earlier to bring on the Camarioca "boat lift," Castro announced that anyone wanting to leave could be picked up by whoever was willing to come from Florida to get them at the port of Mariel. The opening of Mariel brought hundreds of cabin cruisers from Florida, this time during the calmest months of the year. Vessels leaving Mariel in 1980 were obliged by the Cuban authorities to take on other refugees besides those they had come to pick up. Pedro Cuadras was among those who found a spot on a departing cabin cruiser. The "freedom flotilla" made Key West, Florida, into an immigration boom town, with inflated prices for provisions and fuel, and all available vessels chartered or purchased to make the run to Mariel, returning with scores of immigrants crammed above and below deck. The fact that one thousand of the Mariel immigrants had been inmates of Cuban prisons and asylums gave the *marielitos* a bad reputation in many of the U.S. communities where they settled. The 1983 movie *Scarface* depicted the criminal career of a Mariel immigrant in Miami, spreading the negative image of Cuban immigration and preparing the way for the unfavorable recep-



tion accorded the next wave of Cuban arrivals.

That wave rose in the early 1990s, not as the result of a "boat lift" allowed by the Cuban government and carried out by American watercraft, as before, but because individual Cubans, motivated by economic desperation, decided to embark on their own. The pattern of "chain migration" continued, however, involving many like the Cuadras family, with relatives in the U.S. who could assist in their resettlement. These *balseros*, or rafters, took their chances in whatever small craft they could construct or find, from small open fishing boats to make-shift rafts made of inner tubes, boards, and tarps. All of them hoped to cross the Straits of Florida before exhausting the scant amount of drinking water they could carry. As the rate of clandestine

Luis Cuadras Fernández, his wife Maribel Hernández Montenegro, and their children Yadira Cuadras Hernández, 9, and Luis Cuadras Hernández, 5, wait at Miami's Krome Detention Center 11 days after leaving Cuba in the Analuisa. *Luis Cuadras Fernández spent six weeks in detention, while his wife and children were released after four weeks at Krome Detention Center. (*© The Miami Herald/*Candace Barbot)*

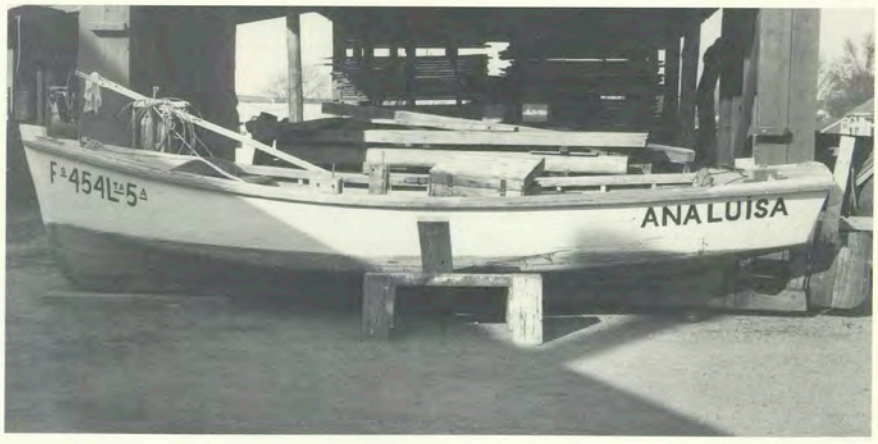
embarkation increased each year beginning in 1989, two more of Luciano Cuadras Fernández's sons made the passage.

José Antonio, called Tony, planned his escape for two years. Next to youngest in the Cuadras family, he finally set out in April 1991 aboard the new fishing boat *Katia*, owned by a friend with whom he often fished. Seventeen passengers crowded on board and the boat slipped out of Mariel Bay at night, bound for Key West. Fitted with a new 80-horsepower engine, the vessel made good time across the Straits of Florida, until her anxious passengers could see the Key West lighthouse. Then the diesel line broke. For five days they drifted eastward on the Gulf Stream. The only vessels they saw were cruise liners, on the first and second day, which they were unable to hail. Then the *Royal Prince* of the Royal Caribbean Line, appeared on the fifth day and rescued them. Despite a close call, none of the immigrants perished. After arriving in Miami, Tony Cuadras Fernández spent three days being processed through the Krome Detention Center of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, before being reunited with his brother Pedro.

Carlos, the youngest child of Luciano Cuadras Fernández, followed his older brothers in September 1991. He and nine other passengers made the crossing in *Oria*, one of three vessels built by his father. Luciano's *Oria*, a traditional Mariel fishing boat about 20 feet long with a small inboard engine, proved more reliable for his son Carlos than the newer *Katia*, with its enormous engine, which had failed his son Tony. But in both cases, knowledge of the sea and access to sturdy fishing boats had helped the brothers to leave Mariel. "Everyone in the family coming in small boats," explained Tony Cuadras Fernández, "everyone fish." But the brothers' departures left no more of the Cuadras Fernández family to fish; Luciano had retired, three of his sons had sailed away, and the fourth son had taken a job at the local power plant. Meanwhile, the depletion of the fisheries and the food shortages in Mariel worsened every year, causing more and more of the fishing families to sacrifice their vessels to emigration attempts.

The Cuban diaspora reached its climax in August 1994, when the Cuban government suspended its efforts to stop "boat people" from leaving. This decision came after a series of ferryboat hijackings in Havana. Cuban naval vessels rammed and sank one ferry, drowning at least 32 of the pirates and those passengers who had opted on the spur of the dramatic moment to go to the United States. Castro had often criticized what he saw as a double standard in American policy, which condemned airplane hijackers who wanted to go to Cuba, but welcomed Cuban boat hijackers as political refugees. His revenge was to open the gates to emigration, as he had in 1980. Thousands of Cubans flocked to the beaches and ports on the northwest coast of the island to launch their floatables for Florida. In all, 36,000 Cubans completed their voyage to the U.S. during 1994. Conservative estimates of the death toll among those taking part in the last flotilla run as high as 25 percent.[7]

The *Analuisa* belongs to this last wave of immigration to America on the sea. When the opportunity





Built in 1959, the 20-foot Analuisa *fished for 35 years before she became an immigrant vessel in 1994. Her original Briggs & Stratton engine was replaced by a Russian-made gasoline engine about 1982. She is shown after her arrival at Mystic Seaport. (Judy Beisler photo)*



Two groups–23 people in all–reached refuge in the U.S. in the Analuisa*'s bare cockpit. When the boat arrived at Mystic Seaport it still contained food, clothing, and other remnants of the passage. (Claire White-Peterson photo)*

came in August 1994, Luciano Cuadras Fernández's two remaining children left: his daughter Amaris, first-born, and son Luis, middle child, now 35 years old. In contrast to his brother Tony, who plotted for two years before slipping out of Cuba, Luis decided suddenly to ask his father to have the *Analuisa* to go away in. He had traveled inland to Las Villas to bring his wife Maribel Hernández Montenegro back from her parents' farm, returning with her to Mariel on 14 August 1994 to find the town thronged with people trying to take advantage of Castro's offer to leave unopposed. The next morning Luis woke up and said to Maribel, "Let's go to Miami. Today." Maribel was reluctant to leave; unlike her husband, she had never been to sea and had no relatives living in the U.S. But Luis went to work on the *Analuisa*. He repainted the name and number on the hull and touched up the orange trim to be certain everything matched her registration papers, in case the Cuban Coast Guard stopped them. More importantly, he repaired the old single-horsepower engine, which had been stored in the house for a year, and reseated the propeller shaft. When the friend who was helping him tested the engine on Luciano's patio, it toppled off its blocks onto the pavement, breaking one of the four anchor screws used to secure it to the boat. Luciano told his son, "That's a problem!" But Luis told his father, "We're going to Miami, with three, four, or two screws!"

By the time the *Analuisa* was ready to go, the docks at La Puntilla were crowded with out-of-towners asking to accompany them, offering money for a place on board. But 19 people, most of them members of the extended Cuadras and Fernández families, were planning to go in the 20-foot boat, and there was no more room. In addition to the families of Luis and his sister Amaris, each with a spouse and two children, a cousin and two friends with their families were coming along; a puppy belonging to one of the children completed the list of passengers. To protect the boat from would-be emigrants, Luis's brother-in-law Leonardo took the *Analuisa* to the middle of Mariel Bay the night before they left, then returned to pick up the others after midnight. Even so, he had to use a knife to fend off desperate strangers as the *Analuisa* pulled away from the dock in Mariel for the last time. Soon after, the last of the boats Luciano Cuadras Fernández built in his life, named *Daiyami*, left the port under the command of his nephew. Towing another boat behind it, the *Daiyami* carried 40 passengers from Mariel to Florida.

Though Luis was worried that the Cuban Coast Guard might still detain him and his family and friends, the only patrol boat they encountered as they left took no action. The *Analuisa* motored out of Mariel Bay and onto the high waves of the Straits of Florida, with dark clouds rolling in overhead. The women and children pressed into the bow of the boat beneath the shelter of a tarp, and everyone in the overcrowded craft prepared for the worst as the storm approached. Luckily for them, no deluge ensued to swamp the *Analuisa*, nor did the wind rise to capsize her, though the waves made most of them seasick. After a short rain shower and a cramped night, the passengers watched the sun come up, and found they were still in sight of Cuba. A passing freighter failed to respond to their frantic signals.

The most immediate risk the *Analuisa* passengers faced was refilling the gas tank on the little engine. Because the spark plug and the hot muffler were near the opening to the tank, any spills that occurred while trying to pour in gas could cause an explosion. Another Mariel family who left during August 1994 died that way, with only a baby surviving the blast. But refueling was a success aboard the *Analuisa*, and the little engine propelled her north on a

sunny day, until there was water "north, south, east and west." The seas were still running high, and everyone was vomiting.

At five minutes to six in the evening, they sighted the Carnival Cruise Line ship *Ecstasy* and began waving clothes in a successful effort to signal the luxury liner. Exactly as the *Royal Prince* had done when it rescued Tony Cuadras and his party in April 1991, the *Ecstasy* shielded the small vessel in her lee to transfer the passengers. Maribel Hernández Montenegro began to cry from fright at having to climb the long ladder up the side of the ship, but making the scary ascent was better than remaining on the Gulf Stream without water. When the Cubans were safely on board, the ship continued on to Cancún, Mexico, leaving the *Analuisa* bobbing empty in her wake.

Going to Mexico was "another problem" for Luis Cuadras and his companions, because they knew others in Mariel who had been deported back to Cuba after reaching Mexico. But the ship's captain told him they were on U.S. soil, and would not be turned over to Mexican immigration officials. After a brief visit to Cancún, the *Ecstasy* returned to Miami, arriving on 18 August. Three days after leaving Mariel, Luis Cuadras and his family were in Florida. The *Analuisa* immigrants went first to Key West with U.S. Coast Guard officers, then back to Miami to Krome Detention Center, where Luis expected to stay for a short time before being let out to join the Florida branch of his family. But while they were still being processed in Key West, President Bill Clinton delivered a speech that changed the immigration rules. In response to Floridian opposition to uncontrolled Cuban immigration, he revoked Cuban political refugee status. Thereafter, all "boat people" intercepted at sea were to be taken to camps in Cuba at Guantanamo Bay Naval Base and in the Panama Canal Zone rather than to Miami. All Cubans who managed to land in Florida were sent to Krome Detention Center rather than to their relatives' homes. Complications arising from this shift in policy kept Maribel Hernández Montenegro and her two children, ages nine and five, behind bars at Krome for a month; Luis remained for an additional two weeks. A photograph of the unhappy family appeared on the front page of the *Miami Herald* on 27 August, with a story relating their plight and that of many other recent arrivals from Cuba. Wearing his orange prison uniform, Luis Cuadras waited in limbo in a separate wing of the grim facility, without permission to visit his daughter Yadira, who was ill with a high fever.[8] When the family was released, brother Tony came from his new home in Orlando to pick them up, with TV stations there to cover the story. Luis took one week off to "relax, vacation," then found a job the first day he looked.

Though the Cuadras brothers left the sea and their country to begin different lives, the *Analuisa* continued to touch their existence. The little boat that had been around for as long as they could remember kept coming back, even after being abandoned in the Straits of Florida. First, they saw her in Key West when the Coast Guard took them there after the arrival of the *Ecstasy* in Miami, and they wondered how she had gotten there. Later, at the Krome Detention



Caridad Alvarez Sánchez poses along the waterfront at Mariel in 1995. Seven of her eight children have emigrated to the U.S. by water. (A. E. Doyle photo)

Center, they heard how one of their neighbors, together with his three companions in the stalled *Carmencita*, had been saved by the *Analuisa*'s appearance. This family, like the Cuadras children, taken to the seas one by one to reach the U.S. Their mother Caridad watched seven of her eight children sail away; three in the 1970s, two in the Mariel "boat lift" of 1980, and two in the rush of August 1994. Five siblings continue to fish commercially, operating a boat they own out of Key West. One of them lived in a house close to the Cuban Transit Home in Key West, easing the transition for the later family arrivals from Mariel. The members of the Cuadras family living in Florida see their former Mariel neighbors now and again, but in August 1994 they assumed they'd seen the last of the fishing boats they used to leave Cuba, since it is Coast Guard procedure to destroy the immigrant craft that come into their possession.

But instead of being burned, the *Analuisa* survived to come to Mystic Seaport, becoming the first immigrant vessel in its vast watercraft collection.[9] The Museum had approached the Coast Guard, requesting an example of a Haitian or Cuban refugee boat for its collection, and the Coast Guard chose to spare the *Analuisa*. Her voyage was one of countless passages made over centuries of maritime immigration to America, all with their measure of emotion, danger, and serendipity. It has often been the case that entire communities migrated across the water over the course of years, and this is now true of Mariel, Cuba. The *Analuisa* symbolizes the identity of that endangered fishing community. First, because she is tough; as Luis says, her "engine is small, but the boat is good. Construction is good." Second, because the *Analuisa* is named for a sweet woman and matriarch, remembered fondly by both sides of the Cuadras Fernández clan, and the whole town of Mariel, who died in 1995. The insular, self-sufficient world of the fishing village personified by the *Analuisa* and her namesake was blown apart by the crisis in the fisheries and the hostility between Cuba and the United States, and now, after 20 years of chain migration to Florida, it has become a transnational community divided by the last chasm of the Cold War.

The *Analuisa* also evokes the experience of all immigrants on the sea, which was a literal rite of passage for millions of Americans. Even an experienced fisherman like Luis Cuadras was deeply moved by the expanse of water separating his old life from his new, and he vowed never to make the trip in reverse. He also realized that, had he known the feeling of helplessness inspired by the surging Gulf Stream, he would not have left at all. Whether immigrants came on a square-rigger, on a steamship, or in a 20-foot open boat, they were changed by the spectacle of being out of sight of land. The transition they made in leaving their homes was marked by the sublime blankness of the sea, the hours and days, as Luis Cuadras put it in the language of his adopted country, "when you see water, water, water, water!"

A year after the voyage of *Analuisa*, Luis Cuadras received a letter telling him his father's boat with his grandmother's name was now at a big museum, where she would be appreciated. Taken to mean the boat herself, the spirit of her namesake, or the courage of immigrant "boat people" through the centuries, his reaction to the news was fitting: "She's alive! *Analuisa* is alive!"

[Note: Although the *Analuisa* is currently in storage, the Museum is developing plans to place the boat on exhibit.]

Notes

1. Most of the information in this article is based on interviews with Luciano Cuadras Fernández, Caridad Alvarez Sánchez, and Ariel Hernández Alfaro in Mariel, Cuba, 17 December 1995; and with Luis Cuadras Fernández, José Antonio Cuadras Fernández, and Maribel Hernández Montenegro in Orlando, Florida, 28 December 1996.

2. For U.S. relations with Cuba, see Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba and the United States: Ties of Singular Intimacy* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990); Thomas G. Paterson, *Contesting Castro* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Jules Benjamin, *The United States and the Origins of the Cuban Revolution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Jorge Domínguez, *Cuba: Order and Revolution* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1978).

3. Peter Wyden, *Bay of Pigs: The Untold Story* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979).

4. Graham Allison, *Essence of Decision* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971); Robert F. Kennedy, *Thirteen Days* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969).

5. Thomas G. Smith, "Negotiating with Fidel Castro: The Bay of Pigs Prisoners and a Lost Opportunity," *Diplomatic History* (Winter 1995): 59-86.

6. Felix Roberto Masud-Piloto, *From Welcomed Exiles to Illegal Immigrants: Cuban Migration to the United States, 1959-95* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 1996); Norman Zucker and Naomi Flink Zucker, *Desperate Crossings: Seeking Refuge in America* (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1996).

7. Masud-Piloto, *From Welcomed Exiles to Illegal Immigrants*, xix.

8. *Miami Herald*, 27 August 1994, p. 1; 4 September 1994, p. 4 of "Neighbors" section.

9. The *Analuisa* arrived at Mystic Seaport Museum on 10 November 1994, and ownership transferred from the United States Coast Guard on 2 February 1995. Documentation on the acquisition of the vessel compiled by Marifrances Trivelli is in file 94.130 in the Museum's Registrar's Office.

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Opposite: shrimp boats on the Key West waterfront, 1950. Key West has been a fishing port since southeastern Connecticut fishermen settled there in the 1820s to supply Havana with fish and salvage wrecks in the Keys. As landing point and new home, Key West has been a focal point for the "last wave" of Cuban immigration by sea. (Negative 125993F, © Rosenfeld Collection, Mystic Seaport Museum, Inc.)


AMERICAN KID

When the Saints Came Sailing In

Mormon Immigration in Mystic-Built Clipper Ships

FRED E. WOODS

WHAT do two Mystic- built clipper ships and Salt Lake City, Utah, have in common? They were key elements in the story of the large-scale migration of Latter-day Saints, or Mormons, that first reached the Salt Lake Valley just 150 years ago. While most Americans are aware that the Mormon Trail ended in Salt Lake City, few know where it began. Even today among those of the Mormon faith, not many realize the diverse maritime routes that supplied early immigrant converts to the beckoning westward trail.

Members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints believe that God selected Joseph Smith to restore the early Christian church on earth in Fayette, New York, in 1830. They are unique among Christian faiths in their belief in both the Bible and The Book of Mormon-Another Testament of Jesus Christ. Also distinct to the Latter-day Saints is their belief in modern-day prophets and apostles.

Joseph Smith led his followers first to Kirtland, Ohio, then to Missouri, and on later to Illinois to establish a community at Nauvoo. When a mob killed Smith in 1844, Brigham Young became leader of the church and determined to settle in the Great Basin, far from persecution. He led the first group of Mormon settlers into the valley of the Great Salt Lake in 1847.

The optimistic faith of the Latter-day Saints had strong appeal for northern Europeans in the unsettled social and economic climate after the 1840s. Between 1840 and 1890, more than 90,000 foreign-born converts responded to an invitation by Mormon leaders and missionaries to cross the oceans and gather with the Saints in Zion (America). Between 1840 and 1868, about 50,000 Mormon immigrants were transported across the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Many of the voyages were made in sailing ships, at least 176 of which have been identified. Between 1868 and 1890 almost all of the Mormon immigrants came by steamship, since European steamship companies established a regular business in carrying steerage passengers in their large Atlantic liners. The trek under sail is well represented by the transatlantic passages of two vessels built at Mystic, the clipper ships *Electric* and *Belle Wood*. It is an intriguing chapter in the story of Mormon maritime migration.[1]

Even as the devout were streaming across the plains to the Mormon State of Deseret, fortune-hunters were rushing by land and sea to the newly discovered goldfields of California. East Coast merchants, seeking to profit by rushing goods to the West Coast, commissioned larger and more extreme versions of the sleek, fast clipper ships developed in the 1840s for the trade in China teas. The expanding shipyards of Mystic, Connecticut, launched their first clipper ships in 1851.

Two years later, Irons & Grinnell launched the clipper *Electric*. Although she was of the extreme clipper model, designed for fast passages at the expense of cargo capacity, demand for these vessels was already declining as California's demand for goods stabilized. So, most of the *Electric*'s service was on the Atlantic, sailing between New York and Le Havre, but she did make one voyage around the world on the classic clipper route from New York to San Francisco, to Hong Kong, and on to New York. The *Electric* was sold to German owners in 1860 and entered service as a packet between Hamburg and New York. Throughout her existence she performed many successful voyages until she sank in the North Atlantic in 1872.[2]

Early in 1862 the *Electric* and the ship *Athenia* were chartered to carry a group of more than 800 Scandinavian Mormon converts to America. The group assembled in Sweden, took a steamship to Kiel, Denmark, and then traveled by rail to the main German port of Hamburg. There, 486 passengers were assigned to the *Athenia*, while 336 boarded the *Electric*, which was commanded by Captain H.J. Johansen.[3]

Mormon companies of immigrants developed unique and highly effective organizational procedures, which reflected the structure of Mormon society. Before setting sail, the 336 Saints aboard the *Electric* were divided into nine districts, called wards, of 25 to 40

people each, and each ward had a president. In October of 1839, the Saints at Nauvoo, Illinois, had first been divided into the ecclesiastical geographical subdivisions called wards, with a priesthood leader responsible for the temporal and spiritual needs of the people living within his boundaries. The term *ward* had been used prior to this time in many cities of America to refer to political precincts, and apparently the Saints had this notion of division in mind.



In this 1854 French lithograph, the Mystic-built clipper ship Electric *is depicted off Sandy Hook as she approaches New York Bay. Like the Scandinavian Mormon immigrants who would make this arrival eight years later, passengers and sailors watch the passing spectacle in anticipation of their arrival in America. (M.S.M. 49.5200)*

This structured approach was initiated by the American Moses, Brigham Young, who organized with great precision the Perpetual Emigrating Fund (PEF), which helped more than 30,000 Mormon converts emigrate between 1849 and 1887. Maintained with church funds and private donations, the PEF made loans to emigrants who were otherwise unable to pay for their journey to Utah. Recipients were expected to repay the sums as soon as they were able; although this sometimes took years, and a few never fully repaid the debt[4], many did.



With such organization, the Mormons were viewed as the model for emigration in the nineteenth century. In Great Britain, a House of Commons select committee reviewed the topic of emigration under the Passenger Acts in 1854 and reported that no vessels "could be depended upon for comfort and security in the same degree" as those used by the Mormons. Charles Dickens confirmed this when he boarded the *Amazon* at Liverpool in 1863 to observe the Mormon emigrants and praised them as "the pick and flower of England" for their behavior and organization.[5]

Before departure, each vessel was officially blessed by a Mormon elder, wards were organized, and assignments were delegated and monitored by church leaders. Journals of immigrants indicate that passengers were to be up at 5:00 A.M., have morning prayer at 7:00 A.M., and to be anxiously engaged in productive work until concluding their day with prayer at 8:00 P.M.

"It took the ship one day to get ready for sailing during which time we were locating and organizing," reminisced Oluf Christian Larsen, who sailed on the *Electric* as a 26-year-old. He explained:

The ship was divided into two decks with a row of single bunks on each side and a double row along the contour. There, were between three and four hundred passengers, mostly Scandinavians....The young unmarried men were in the forepart and the unmarried ladies in the hind part of the ship. I was chosen as captain of the guard as we found it necessary to have a certain number of men on guard at night in the various parts of the ship.

This was a hard job as all the able bodied men were enrolled and each should have an equal share of the time to stand guard. The guard was divided into four shifts of two hours each. Some of their duties were to prevent stealing and immorality and to look after the kerasin [sic] *lights to prevent fire, to help the sick or disable[d], bury the dead and to awaken their successors. My duty was to see that the guards attend to their duties and to keep strict account of what was done.*

Left: Brigham Young (1801-1877), a native of Vermont, was an itinerant painter and handyman in Upstate New York when he joined the Mormon Church in 1832. An extremely practical man, with a clear sense of mission and organization, Young served as a missionary in England before he was elected president of the church in 1847. Young conceived and engineered the removal of the Mormons to Utah in 1846-47, and he set up the Perpetual Emigrating Fund to finance the migration of converts to populate Zion, as the Latter-day Saints referred to their society in Utah. (Courtesy LDS Historical Department, Archives, Salt Lake City)

The 19th [of April] we were towed down the Elbe river and anchored at the mouth awaiting a favorable wind. A returning missionary, Soren Christopherson from Manti [Utah] was appointed President over the saints. We found that there were several couples in the company who were engaged and it was deemed advisable that they marry considering the long journey before them. Accordingly on the 20th of April, 1862 there were twelve couples [who] presented themselves for marriage among whom Emelia and myself were one....[6]

Ole Nilson Stohl, who was 27 years old, recalled that:

On Friday, the 25th We lifted our anchors and had a good sail wind on Nordsjon [the North Sea]. I was assigned to make a list of all the emigrants on our ship, to be submitted to the Captain. I wrote it even though the sea was rough and many were sea sick. In the evening we held prayer as usual and I was mouth. We sailed all night.[7]

Within three days, contagious disease in the form of measles appeared among the seasick passengers. "On Monday the wind is still good but sickness breaks out among us," noted Ole Stohl, whose grandfather was kept busy attending to the sick.

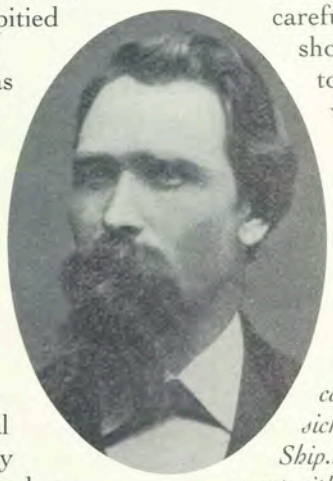
Tuesday–April 29–The first death at sea–a little daughter of Brother H. Andersen. Grandfather was there when she died. He lifted her into another bed.

On Wednesday–the little child was put into the sea in her little casket. Grandfather was to assist but was too ill. On May 1st We were now out on the Atlantic. Had good wind.

On the 2nd and 3rd two women died–one left her husband, the other, a 15 year old girl had a throat disease.

Oluf Larson commented: "We had a spell of sickness on board and I was necessitated to superintend the burial of seventeen persons before we reached New York. As there was no rain we were unable to get fresh water and our supply became very foul before reaching shore."

Larson pointed out that during such a journey, "the character of men and women were brought to the light of day. Some were satisfied under all conditions while others were never satisfied. Some with larger families of small children were to be pitied especially in case of sickness, as there was no dainty food to be had but the sailor's provisions was all."



Nevertheless, the group was unified in faith, and the church members were organized to care for each other's physical and spiritual health. "Sunday, May 4–Grandfather is asked to make a list of all the Priesthood [males ordained to a priesthood office] on board," recorded Ole Stohl.

After evening prayer, Brother Christofferson spoke about sickness that was among the Saints and that he had no doctor on ship and that he felt that someone should be appointed to look after the sick saints and really be a spiritual doctor to them. He nominated Grandfather for the position. He was put in by unanimous votum [vote] to be a spiritual doctor and look after the cleanliness among the Saints. That night he helped with a woman and her daughter from Lolland. The woman died in the night and the daughter in the morning. There are now between 20 and 30 sick. Grandfather is very busy.

His grandfather was following a belief of the Latter-day Saints, both then and in modern times, that their sick should be anointed with a drop of olive oil upon the head, after which two church elders should administer a prayer of faith for them. This church procedure has its roots in a passage in the Bible (James 5:14-15).

Nine days later, after two weeks at sea, the elders called a special meeting that was "very interesting" to Ole Stohl. "The Saints were instructed to walk a lot on deck, wash and comb themselves there and do everything to prevent uncleanliness down in the ship. Admonished the night watchmen to look after this very carefully and president should appoint a brother to see that the Saints were up at 5 A.M...."

John Hansen Hougaard considered their Atlantic passage pleasant and agreeable....

We had no storm of any consequence and but little sickness on board the Ship....While other ships that went with emigrants the same season had out of the same number of people, nearly 4 or 5 hundred had from 20 to 30 deaths [sic]. The main cause of this difference in mortality was said to be that we went in a higher latitude on a account of England....The Saints generally feel well and spend the time while on the ship singing praises to the Lord, playing, dancing.[8]

This was not pointless frivolity. Mormons believed that Brigham Young received revelation at Winter Quarters (Omaha), Nebraska, on 14 January 1847 concerning the Saints' journey to the new gathering place in Salt Lake Valley. In this document the Saints were told that while on their journey to the West, "If thou art merry, praise the Lord with

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Above: Ole Nilson Stohl (1835-1926), a native of Sweden, converted to Mormonism in 1854 and spent six years as a missionary before emigrating on the Electric. *His diary preserves details of that transatlantic passage. (Courtesy LDS Historical Department, Archives, Salt Lake City)*

singing, with music, with dancing, and with a prayer of praise and thanksgiving." Transatlantic passengers celebrated their faith in the same way.[9]

On the forty-second day a New York harbor pilot boarded the *Electric* to guide her into New York Bay. The immigrants rushed to clean up and make a good impression on the inspecting doctors who came on board, but they also had time to stand at the rail to admire the landscape of their new country.[10]

Upon landing in New York City, the immigrants were immediately ushered into Castle Garden near the Battery. Built as a fort in 1807, and opened to the public as a theater in 1822, Castle Garden had been converted to an immigrant depot in 1855.[11] Here the Mormon immigrants were examined by doctors and were pronounced free from contagious diseases. "Tipping was in vogue in 1862," noted Ole Stohl. "We gave the police officers some tips that they would not look into our things."

Oluf Larsen remembered that:

The next day we boarded the train and rolled westward. This was during the Civil War and the railroad companies were not very particular what kind of cars they furnished. All kinds of rolling stock was used for the passengers. There was another trial for grumblers and fault-finders because there were no upholstered seats for our use. When they came into a car they were obliged to stay. Now there were no warm breakfasts nor dinners to be had and there was very little chance to buy anything on the road. We at last reached Quincy, Illinois where we took steamers down the Mississippi to Hannibal where we stopped a day and had a rest. Those who had money could also get a good meal. There was a train patched up to take us to St. Joseph, Missouri where we again took a steamer to Florence, Nebraska. From here we were to begin our tramp across the plains.

Mormon migration–along the Platte River through the Great Plains, and across the Continental Divide to the Great Basin–was well organized, but the 1,000-mile journey by ox team had to be made largely on foot, and it took longer than the 3,000-mile transatlantic crossing. On 13 July "we set out for the journey across the plains," wrote John Hougaard. "We arrived in Salt Lake City

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Like Mormon emigrants who celebrated their passage to America with music and dancing, these Irish emigrants dance in the steerage quarters of an emigrant ship. (Illustrated London News, *6 July 1850)*



Utah September 23rd 1862," after nine weeks on the trail. The large, orderly, and prosperous community of Salt Lake City, spreading out between the mountains and the Great Salt Lake, must have been a welcome sight to these Scandinavian pilgrims.

Three years after the voyage of the *Electric*, the *Belle Wood* made a similar voyage from Liverpool to New York. The *Belle Wood* was built in 1854 by George Greenman & Company, on the site of Mystic Seaport, for New Yorker John McGraw and others, who paid $44,000 for their new ship. She was a "medium" clipper, built with sharp bow and stern sections, but a mid-section fuller than that of an extreme clipper. Mystic shipyards specialized in these fast and capacious medium clippers, building them right through the 1850s. The *Belle Wood* was used for six years to transport Southern cotton to England, but with the coming of the Civil War she, like so many other American merchant vessels, was sold to foreign owners. English investors purchased her in 1863 and rerigged and refitted her as a bark. With the home port of Liverpool she spent another eight years in the Atlantic trades.[12]

Since the 1840s, Liverpool had been the principal emigrant port for the British Isles. Both regular sail and steam packets, as well as chartered vessels like the *Belle Wood*, maintained the flow of Irish, English, Scottish, and Welsh emigrants from Liverpool out to the Americas and Australia. The PEF operated a shipping agency in Liverpool that was responsible for arranging Mormon emigrant passage.[13]

"On April 29, 1865, our family of nine children with father and mother left Liverpool for America on a sailing vessel called the *Belle Wood*," recalled Mary Ann Greenhalgh Mace, who was 17 at the time she boarded the *Belle Wood*. "This ship was in charge of Captain [Thomas W.] Freeman, a large red-headed yankee who said he had crossed the ocean six times." Elder William H. Shearman was in charge of this large company of 636 Mormon emigrants. He was assisted by his counselors Charles B. Taylor and William S.S. Willis. Eleven missionaries, who had just completed their missions in Europe, were numbered among this large group of Mormon converts.[14]

In a letter reprinted in the *Millennial Star*, a Mormon periodical first published in England in 1840, presiding elder W.H. Shearman, and his counselors Taylor and Willis, described the departure of the ship to Daniel H. Wells and Brigham Young, who were leading church officials in England at the time.

Dear Brethren–After the departure of yourselves, and the Elders who accompanied you, from your visit to our vessel in the Mersey, we all stood gazing after you, with emotions only known to Saints who have long enjoyed each other's society, until your forms were no longer distinguishable, when we turned our attention to practical duties before us, and proceeded to get the luggage below, and all made secure for the night. We then held a council meeting, at which the ship was divided into nine wards.[15]

The next morning, according to Robert Pixton, "the tugboat took us in tow, and we set sails and moved past Holy Head. The ship began to leak, and we had to pump her three times a day."[16]

Catherine Hagell Naisbitt of London was just 16 when she set sail. "I was barely 13 years of age when my mother died, leaving a family of eight children ranging in age from one week to 14 years," she wrote.

I being the oldest girl naturally felt the loss most keenly. We had planned on emigrating that year, but Mother's death prevented our starting on so perilous a journey, especially with such a young baby. However, the following year, Father sold out his business and we started on what we children thought to be a pleasure trip, but alas, the first night aboard ship was anything but pleasant. We begged Father to take us home, but his reply was "we have no home, we are going to make one in Zion."[17]

Elder Shearman reported:

Most of the people were too sick to attempt to hold meetings the next day, and those who were well were busily occupied in ministering to the comfort of the rest. The number of aged, feeble and sick, rendered it necessary to appoint some persons whose special business it should be to attend to them. Accordingly Elder William Willis, and a Female Sanitary Committee...were appointed to that important labor of love...and faithfully performed the onerous duties devolving upon them, dispensing sago, tapioca, arrowroot, hot tea, coffee, soup, boiled rice, and dried apple sauce, with other little luxuries, which were carefully prepared, and proved very grateful to the invalids. By the kindness of Captain Freeman in permitting these nourishments to be prepared at his own galley, it enabled us to supply the sick with a little light refreshment at an earlier hour than could have been done at our own fire, which was a source of much comfort to many in a debilitated condition....It was really amusing, if not interesting, to watch the variety and number of dishes sent to the galley, and many on board lived better than they had before for many years....To supply the Saints with regular meals, an organization of brethren for cooking was formed....The wards cooked in rotation.

Our first Sunday meeting, May 7th, by the permission of the captain, was held on the quarter deck, where the mate, Mr Graystone, had prepared a sort of pulpit by spreading the union jack on the harness-cask, and had also arranged seats for the accommodation of the Elders. The ship's bell was tolled for half an hour previous to each meeting. The captain, officers, and as many

of the crew as could conveniently do so, favored us with their presence, and paid marked attention.... All the wards had meetings morning and evening, at which prayers were said, and instructing remarks made by their Presidents, and frequent testimony meetings were held.[18]



During the 32-day passage, which was favored with generally calm weather and plenty of rain to replenish the fresh water supplies, the emigrants remained very healthy. A few came down with measles, but only three of the 636 passengers died. One was Catherine Naisbitt's brother. "Shortly after we set sail, the baby, who was only one week old when Mother died, took suddenly sick and died soon afterwards. He was buried in the sea when he was just fourteen months old. We all felt this loss very keenly, especially Father." "It was quite sad to see them put into the ocean," noted Merlin Eastham Kearl, who was in his thirteenth year when he sailed on the *Belle Wood*.[19]

The emigrants paid particular attention to music and literature, as Elder Shearman explained:

Brother Fowler, Palmer and Stonehouse, were appointed a committee to make arrangements for social parties for the recreation of the Saints, at which well selected pieces were recited, and anthems and songs, both spiritual and secular, were executed in a very creditable manner. A small brass band, assisted by one or two good violinists, also by a flute and clarinet, made sweet melody to beguile the leisure hours of the trip, and filled the air with pleasant strains of music. Among the amusements may be classed the publication of a paper, entitled the Belle Wood Gazette ...in which daily appeared sundry communications from different correspondents, telegrams from various parts of the world, poetical contributions, reports of the board of health, advertisements for matrimonial alliances, lost property, essays, editorial instruction, &c.[20]

The group was most impressed with Captain Freeman, whom Shearman described as "gentlemanly, courteous and patient in his intercourse with us, has proved himself a skilful and careful officer, expresses himself as highly pleased with his passengers, and very desirous of carrying our people in [the] future."

With a pilot on board, the *Belle Wood* stood in for New York, and, by custom, the immigrants heaved their bedding and other refuse of the voyage overboard as they entered the bay on 31 May. "The tugboat came for us and we dropped anchor at Castle Garden," Robert Pixton wrote. "At eleven o'clock Brother Taylor came on board to make arrangements to go on shore. The Saints had to do the best they could this night as they had destroyed their beds, expecting to go on shore."[21]

The next day the doctors came aboard to inspect the passengers before they were allowed to disembark. "We experienced no difficulty in passing the doctor and custom house officers, who were very courteous and accommodating," William Shearman explained.[22]

To insure that Mormon immigration flowed smoothly into America, Brigham Young had established Church agents at ports where the Mormon immigrants arrived in the nineteenth century. During the 1860s almost all Saints who crossed the Atlantic came into the port at New York. However, a few vessels landed in Boston. During the entire span of Mormon maritime migration from 1840 to 1890, the Saints used seven ports in North America: New York, Boston, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and Quebec for transatlantic immigrants, and San Pedro and San Francisco for those who crossed the Pacific.

Elder Thomas Taylor, the New York agent, had prepared the travelers for disembarking, but he encountered difficulty in working out the usual railroad arrangements for them. "In consequence of unwillingness on the part of railway contractors to fulfill their engagements...we were detained in Castle Gardens between five and six days," Shearman wrote, explaining that there were certain benefits to the delay: "while detained in New York, we had some excellent meetings at Williamsburgh, in the Adelphi Hall, at which a great number of the Saints from Castle Garden attended....The food [provided there] was very acceptable, and refreshing to the bodies of the fatigued Saints, and the kindness that prompted the movement was still more grateful and invigorating to their [the immigrants'] spirits."[23]

Ann Mace remembered that they "found the country in deep mourning over the tragic death of Abraham Lincoln. Everywhere we saw soldiers who were returning from the Civil War."[24]

"When we arrived in New York, word had been sent from Utah that no wagons would be sent from there as had been the custom in the other years," Catherine Naisbitt recalled. Her father could afford to send only one member of

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Ann Cutcliffe Bertoch of Devonshire, England, emigrated with her mother and sister on the Belle Wood, *arriving in the U.S. shortly before her nineteenth birthday. (Courtesy LDS Historical Department, Archives, Salt Lake City)*



Castle Garden, at the tip of Manhattan, seen here in 1868, served as the nation's principal immigrant portal from 1855 until 1890, after which Ellis Island replaced it. The oldest part of the complex was Castle Clinton, a stone fortification built in 1807, the rounded end of which is visible at right. As Castle Garden, a theater and amusement complex, the site entertained New Yorkers between 1822 and 1855. During the following 35 years, several million immigrants, including thousands of Latter-day Saints, passed through the cramped examination center, offices, and temporary accommodations inside its high wall. (M.S.M. 96.105.8)

the family on to Utah at that time, and his wealthy brother in New Jersey would not assist them unless they renounced Mormonism, so Catherine was chosen to make the trip to Utah. "I will never forget the homesick feeling I experienced when they bade me good-bye," she recalled years later. "We were detained in Castle Garden ten days after this, and I can assure you if it had been possible I would have gone back."[25]

On 7 June the immigrants finally boarded a train and began the railroad portion of their journey, which took them through Albany and Buffalo, New York; Chicago and Quincy, Illinois; and St. Joseph, Missouri. They then boarded a steamboat for a short passage up the Missouri River to Wyoming, Nebraska, where their wagon train would be organized. "There were six hundred of us with no shelter but a storm cellar," wrote Merlin Kearl. "There was not a thing in this cellar and the people made their beds on the dirt floor. We camped there nine weeks and there was thunder storms nearly every day....Some of the men went to Omaha to buy oxen, cows, and wagons for the company to use. This was what took so long."[26]

"When we were about half way across the plains we found ourselves nearly out of rations with a foot of snow covering the

ground," wrote Catherine Naisbitt. "President Young heard of our predicament and sent a train with provisions to meet us...and [we] moved on to Utah." The group reached Salt Lake City on 7 November 1865.[27]

Nearly a year later, in October 1866, Catherine was reunited with her father and brothers when they finally reached Salt Lake City, eighteen months after their family set out from Liverpool on the *Belle Wood*. Members of the Bromley family also completed their westward journey in 1866 after arriving in America on the *Belle Wood*. They spent a year with relatives in St. Joseph, Missouri, before embarking on a steamboat for Omaha in July 1866 to join a wagon train. Earlier parties had little difficulty passing through the lands of the migratory Plains Indians, but conflict increased after 1865. When the Bromleys' company came upon the smoking ruins of a stage station, they prepared to defend themselves, and the children and elderly got into the wagons. Seventeen-year-old Celestia Bromley drove her family's wagon while her father and the other men walked alongside with their guns ready. A party of 50 warriors challenged them: "They would come almost to the train, make a circle with their horses, then get under the horses and point their arrows at us." But after the Mormons camped, the Indians approached and made peace when they were given gifts of food. The Mormons then safely completed their long migration.[28]

These eyewitness accounts of two Mormon immigrant passages aboard Mystic-built clipper ships relate a remarkable story of faith and perseverance that is consistent with other known sailing voyages transporting Mormons in the mid-nineteenth century. Although they called themselves Saints, they expressed their common humanity amidst the hardships of the journey. The immigrants struggled as they were separated from loved ones, suffered from seasickness and disease as they battled winds and waves, and at times were resigned to deliver their loved ones to watery graves. In spite of these challenges, the Saints were drawn to gather together in America at the Mormon settlements in Utah Territory.

What was their purpose in gathering? For some it was to seek refuge from persecution, while for many it was to be strengthened in their faith. For the vast majority it was to be obedient to the leaders of the Mormon faith who had issued the call to build holy temples and partake of the blessings therein. One emigrating convert perhaps best expressed the spirit of the gathering by way of personal testimony: "I believed in the principal of the gathering and felt it my duty to go although it was a severe trial to me, in my feelings to leave my native land and the pleasing associations that I had formed there; but my heart was fixed. I knew in whom I had trusted and with the fire of Israel's God burning in my bosom, I forsook my home."[29]

Their unity, organization, and hygiene were models for seaborne immigration in the nineteenth century. Despite their hardships, together they prayed, worked, sang, and danced their way to Zion. Immigrants poured into Salt Lake City until the close of the nineteenth century, when church leaders encouraged foreign-born converts to remain at home and strengthen Mormonism in their own local areas. However, before the mass migration had subsided, more than 90,000 had traveled over 5,000 rugged miles to Utah. Indeed, prior to the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, there were "few places in the world more difficult to reach than the valley of the Great Salt Lake," claimed American historian Hubert H. Bancroft.[30]

The journals of these voyages blend into a distinct voice characteristic of thousands of converts who journeyed from foreign lands to America prior to their long march along the Mormon Trail to Salt Lake. Some might find it a bit mystical to discover that two small branches of that trail can be traced back to the busy Connecticut shipyards of a place called Mystic.

Notes

1. *Deseret News, 1997-98 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1997), 159-67; B.H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 6 vols., (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 2:86; Conway B. Sonne, *Saints on the Seas: A Maritime History of Mormon Migration 1830-1890* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983), xi; Conway B. Sonne, "Sail to Zion," *Ensign* (July 1991): 7. The author has collected journal entries from more than 450 vessels that transported Latter-day Saint converts across the Atlantic and Pacific in the nineteenth century.

2. William N. Peterson, *Mystic Built: Ships and Shipyards of the Mystic River, Connecticut, 1784-1919* (Mystic: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1989), 181; Octavius T. Howe and Frederick C. Matthews, *American Clipper Ships, 1833-1858*, 2 vols. (1926-27; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1986), 1:153-54.

3. For a manifest of the Saints who crossed the Atlantic aboard the *Electric* in 1862, see the Manuscript History of the Scandinavian Mission ("Skandinaviens Stjerne," 165), under the date of 9 April 1862. This document and several other primary sources that shed light on this study are available in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Historical Department, Library Archives Division, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter cited as LDS Church Archives. See also James B. Allen and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1992), 177.

4. David F. Boone, "Perpetual Emigrating Fund," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 3:1075.

5. See Sonne, *Saints on the Seas*, 138-39; Allen and Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*, 177; Charles Dickens, *The Uncommercial Traveller and Reprinted Pieces Etc.* (reprint, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 224. While the 85,000 Mormon immigrants who crossed the Atlantic in the nineteenth century did have their share of deaths due to sickness, not one of the vessels they traveled on ever sank. This is in sharp contrast to the fact that at least 59 emigrant ships were lost crossing the Atlantic just between 1847 and 1853. However, on the Pacific, the *Julia Ann* was wrecked in 1855 while bound from Sydney, Australia, to San Francisco, carrying 28 Mormons among her 56 passengers. Two

women and three children drowned, while the rest of the passengers spent two months on an uninhabited island, subsisting on coconuts and fish until they were rescued by a passing ship. An archaeological team has recently found the wreckage of the *Julia Ann*.

6. Oluf Christian Larsen, "A Biographical Sketch of the Life of Oluf Christian Larsen," LDS Church Archives, MS 1646, 31-32.

7. Ole Nilson Stohl, Diaries for 1861-64, LDS Church Archives, MS 1426, Books D and E.

8. John Hansen Houggard, Autobiography and Journal, LDS Church Archives, MS 8178, 14-20.

9. *The Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1981), Section 136, verse 28.

10. Stohl, Diary, 5 June 1862.

11. Castle Garden was the New York immigration depot from 1855 to 1890. It was replaced by Ellis Island. For more information on this depot, see George J. Svejda, *Castle Garden As An Immigrant Depot, 1855-1890* (Denver: National Park Service, 1968).

12. Peterson, *Mystic Built*, 168.

13. Gustive O. Larsen, "Story of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company," *Utah Academy Proceedings* 31 (1954):142.

14. Mary Ann Greenhalgh Mace, Autobiography, in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, Kate B. Carter, comp., 20 vols., (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1972), 15:126-27. This concise overview of the trip is derived from "Church Emigration," vol. 3, LDS Church Archives, which covers emigration from 1858 to 1881. For a complete manifest of the 636 immigrants, see the "Manuscript History of the British Mission" under the date of 29 April 1865. Both of these sources are housed in the LDS Church Archives; the official passenger list for the 633 passengers who arrived in New York, filed at the National Archives, is reproduced on National Archives film no. 444 on microfilm roll 175,608 of the LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City.

15. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 24 June 1865, 397-99 (hereafter cited as *Millennial Star*). Elder is a title generally used for ordained Mormon male missionaries.

16. Robert Pixton, Journal, in *Chronicles of Courage*, 7 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1990), 1:247.

17. Catherine Hagell Naisbitt, Autobiography, in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 10:10-11. After 1847, the term *Zion* was used by Mormon converts to refer to America, and more specifically to the designated gathering place of Latter-day Saints in the Utah Territory. In modern times Mormons refer to Zion as wherever congregations of Mormons are gathered throughout the world.

18. *Millennial Star*, 24 June 1865, 397-98. Mormons made converts among passengers, captains, and crews during several voyages to America. One notable example was on board the ship *International*, which transported 425 Mormon emigrants from Liverpool to New Orleans in 1853. The Mormon elder who presided among the Saints on this voyage reported: "The good conduct of the saints [has] had a happy result in bringing many to a knowledge of the truth...we have baptized all on board except three persons. We can number the captain [David Brown], first and second mates with eighteen of the crew, most of whom intend going right through to the Valley...the number baptized in all is forty-eight, since we left our native shores," *Millennial Star*, 4 June 1853, 359.

19. *Millennial Star*, 24 June 1865, 397-99, lists the total number of deaths at three. This is in contrast to the "Church Emigration" record, which notes only one death. See note 14 for evidence that the former number is more accurate. Among other things, *The Millennial Star* published records of the Mormon maritime migrations in the nineteenth century. Naisbitt, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 10:10-11; Merlin Eastham Kearl, Autobiographical Sketch, in *Utah Pioneer Biographies*, 44 vols., (Salt Lake City: Family History Library for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), 17:10-12.

20. *Millennial Star*, 24 June 1865, 399.

21. Pixton, *Characters of Courage*, 1:247.

22. *Millennial Star*, 22 July 1865, 461.

23. Ibid.

24. Mace, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 15:126-27.

25. Naisbitt, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 10:111.

26. Wyoming, Nebraska, was six miles north of present Nebraska City; Kearl, *Utah Pioneer Biographies*, 17: 10-11.

27. Naisbitt, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 10:111.

28. Celestia Clarissa Bromley Buys, Autobiography, in *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 10:92.

29. Jane C. Robinson Hindley, Reminiscences and Diaries, LDS Church Archives.

30. *1997-98 Church Almanac*, 159-67; Bancroft is quoted in William G. Hartley, "Coming to Zion: Saga of the Gathering," *Ensign* (July 1975): 16.

Dr. Fred E. Woods, a native of Southern California and a convert to Mormonism, teaches at Ricks College in Rexburg, Idaho. He has brought students to Mystic Seaport in his capacity as director of Mormon-American Travel Studies. He has spent his sabbatical year developing a database that links passenger lists with voyages made by nineteenth-century Mormon immigrants, which is augmented by more than 1,000 immigrant journal accounts.

A Maritime Minute from Mystic Seaport



An immigrant moment on a Mystic-built packet ship

1 June 1846.

The ship *Niagara* approaches New York, completing her first voyage since her launch at Mystic. Four weeks ago the ship left Liverpool with 288 Irish emigrants willing to endure a hazardous sea voyage and uncertain future in hopes of a prosperous new life in America.

In his journal the ship's carpenter, William Ellery Maxson, writes: "It is beautiful almost beyond description this evening. The ship has 20 sails spread to the wind which looks fine in the moon light. . . shining across the ruffled sea makes it look like a field of dimonds. The decks are covered with passengers some singing, others talking, laughing, sparking while the ship is skimming it for New York without even a grunt."

It is a moment of peace in a tumultuous journey; a moment now preserved in the collections at Mystic Seaport.

William Ellery Maxson (1818-1895) helped build the Niagara *at the Greenman shipyard in Mystic before making this voyage as carpenter. He is seen here ca. 1855. His journal is cataloged as Log 863 in the Manuscripts Collection of the Museum's G.W. Blunt White Library. (Mystic Seaport Photo Archives)*

"Mares Eat Oats and Tars Eat Oats...."

Oats at Sea

SANDRA L. OLIVER

"HUNGER setteth his first foot into the manger," says an old proverb. Horses like oats, and so do a good many humans–past and present, ashore and at sea. In hard times, or hard places, food for horses is food for humans, too. One of the most famous comments about oats comes from Dr. Samuel Johnson, who claimed that oats were eaten by horses in England but by people in Scotland. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, horses shared oats with not only Scots, but the Irish, poor English cottagers, and sailors, too.

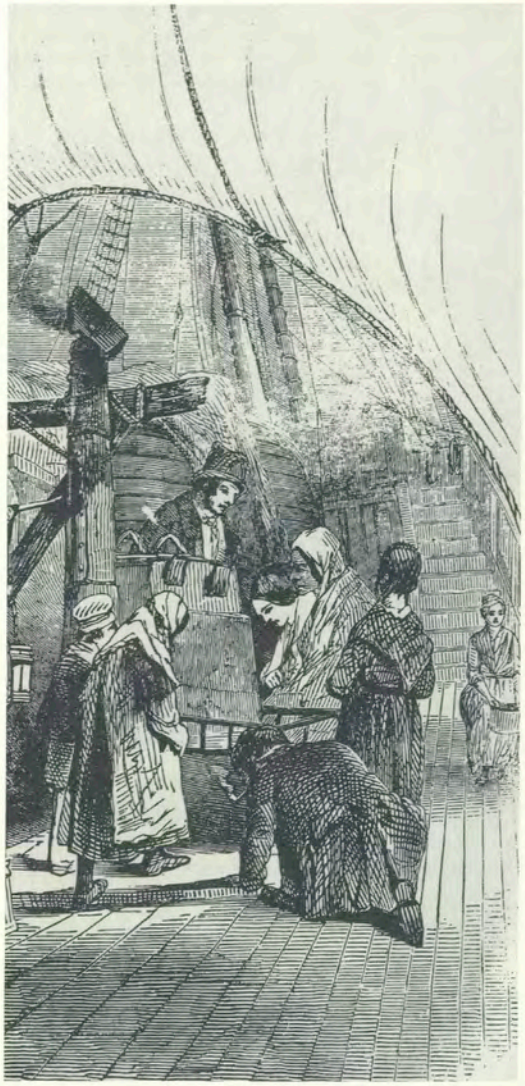
For centuries, most Europeans prized wheat most highly among all grains, while rye, barley, spelt, and oats–used in small amounts by the gentry–served as staple grains for the peasantry and laborers. (Rice, staple grain of half the globe, was much less consumed in Europe or the British Isles.) In truly hard times, legumes were ground into flour and mixed with the lesser grains for bread. When Europeans finally accepted the New World potatoes, they, too, became food for hungry laboring classes, infamously in Ireland. When English settlers discovered New England's climate subjected their favorite wheat to a blight, they turned to maize, which they called Indian corn.

We'd expect that seafaring nations would provide familiar staple grains for their ship's crews. Not surprisingly, we find oatmeal among the rations of British vessels; in the mid-1700s, one pint of oatmeal was served three times a week aboard English naval vessels, on the same day that cheese, but no meat, was allowed. At the turn of the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, the amount dropped to half a pint of oatmeal and, according to one source, was replaced by rice by 1844.[1] Similarly, on American vessels Indian cornmeal was regularly allowed. For example, on the ship *Edward* in 1837, it was served on Thursday and Saturday.[2]

Most of these simpler dishes appeared in many variations, each with a name. But often names did double-duty and it is challenging to distinguish among porridge, milk porridge, gruels, hasty pudding, various pottages, suppans, mushes, burgoos, crowdie, and all their relatives. Occasionally, over time a name shifts to a different dish, especially when a new ingredient resembles an old familiar one. That happened when British settlers met maize. Old oatmeal combinations were transferred to Indian meal, and sometimes the name went with them: hasty pudding and bannock are two early American dishes made with Indian meal that were formerly made with oatmeal.

Tars from the north of England or Scotland knew oatmeal well, stewed up in various pottages–thick soups–often with small pieces of meat in them, and seasoned with onions or leeks, and kale in Scotland.[3] At sea, oatmeal was most often served as burgoo, a thinner porridge or gruel, garnished occasionally with salt meat, as it would have been ashore.[4] To confuse matters slightly, the *Oxford English Dictionary* delights in informing us that this dish was formerly called loblolly. The seventeenth-century cookery writer Gervase Markham confirms this: "nay, if a man be at sea in any long travel, he cannot eat a more wholesome and pleasant meat than these whole grits boiled in water till they burst, and then mixed with butter, and so eaten with spoons; which although seamen call simply by the name of loblolly, yet there is not any meat how significant soever the name be, that is more toothsome or wholesome." Markham applied the term grits here to "the bigger kind of oatmeal." Later "grits" described a bigger kind of *corn*-meal.[5]

Oatmeal succored seafarers into the nineteenth century. In *Redburn*, Herman Melville remarked about the food on an emigrant ship bound from Liverpool to New York, "The staple food of the Irish emigrants was oatmeal and water, boiled



Whether cooking oatmeal, Indian meal, or simply tea and coffee, emigrants on shipboard were restricted to the use of a crude range on deck, which was only available during a limited period each day. (Illustrated London News, *20 January 1849)*

into what is sometimes called mush; by the Dutch is known as supaan; by sailors burgoo; by the New Englanders hasty-pudding."[6]

On the ship *Niagara*, carrying Irish emigrants on the same route in 1846, the Yankee-born carpenter William Ellery Maxson doled out both oatmeal and Indian meal to the steerage passengers. On 19 May he: "Served out Bread, flour and Indian meal...about 180 lb. of meal being all they would take up as the Irish do not know what to do with Indian meal, quite amusing to hear their remarks about it...they could make no use of it but they are great on oat meal and potatoes." Reflecting his own upbringing in Westerly, Rhode Island, he noted, I prefer oat for puddings &c."[7]

The cornmeal was a stumper for the Irish. Maxson reported that some of them thought it would take three hours to cook it enough, "others thought it could not be eat with out milk." Justifiably so. In poorer and remoter parts of the British Isles, oatmeal was frequently boiled with milk, whey, and buttermilk to make porridge.[8] It was a good strategy, for we in our century have learned from science what many people in past times learned by intuition, that grains and dairy products contain complimentary proteins. When mixed in a dish or meal these foods pack extra nutritional punch.

Maxson's own preference for oats in a pudding raises a couple of questions, too. Did he mean the kind of oatmeal pudding Hannah Glasse offered in the *Art of Cookery*'s chapter of recipes for captains at sea? That pudding called for oatmeal, suet, currants, and raisins and was boiled in a cloth.[9] Or was it a simpler porridge, a hasty pudding, easy to make at sea or ashore?

In any event, at sea there were few horses looking for oats to share with humans. According to the sailors, there were more horses salted away in casks than on deck eating the sailor's share of the versatile grain. And besides said James Boswell, Johnson's faithful biographer, that bit about oats, horses, and Scots was a joke. On a boat trip to the Island of Mull during their tour of the Hebrides, Boswell and Johnson sat in the fo'c'sle next to the fire. Boswell wrote: "I ate some dry oatmeal, of which I found a barrel in the cabin. I had not done this since I was a boy. Dr. Johnson owned that he, too, was fond of it as a boy; a circumstance which...gave me an opportunity of observing that not withstanding his joke in the article on OATS, he was himself proof that this kind of food was not peculiar to the people of Scotland."[10]

Notes

1. I.R. Butts, *The Rights of Seamen...* (Boston: I.R. Butts, 1848), 99.

2. Spencer Bonsall, Journal, Ship *Edward*, Log 740, G.W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum.

3. C. Anne Wilson, *Food and Drink in Britain* (Chicago: Academy Publishers, 1991), 199-200.

4. John J. Keevil, *Medicine and the Navy, 1200-1900*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh: E.&S. Livingstone, 1957-63), 3:3.

5. Gervase Markham, *The English Housewife...*, Michael R. Best, ed. (1631; reprint, Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1986), 203.

6. Herman Melville, *Redburn: His First Voyage* (1849; reprint, Evanston & Chicago: Northwestern University Press & the Newberry Library, 1969), 264-65.

7. William Ellery Maxson, Journal, Ship *Niagara*, 1846, Log 863, G.W. Blunt White Library.

8. Wilson, *Food and Drink*, 172.

9. Hannah Glasse, *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy...* (London: Author, 1755), 245.

10. James Boswell, *Journal of a Trip to the Hebrides, 1786*, quoted in F. Marian McNeil, *The Scots Kitchen: Its Lore and Recipes* (London: Panther Books, Granada Publishing Ltd., 1929), 262.

Sandra L. Oliver is a food historian in Maine. Her book, *Saltwater Foodways*, was published by Mystic Seaport in 1995.

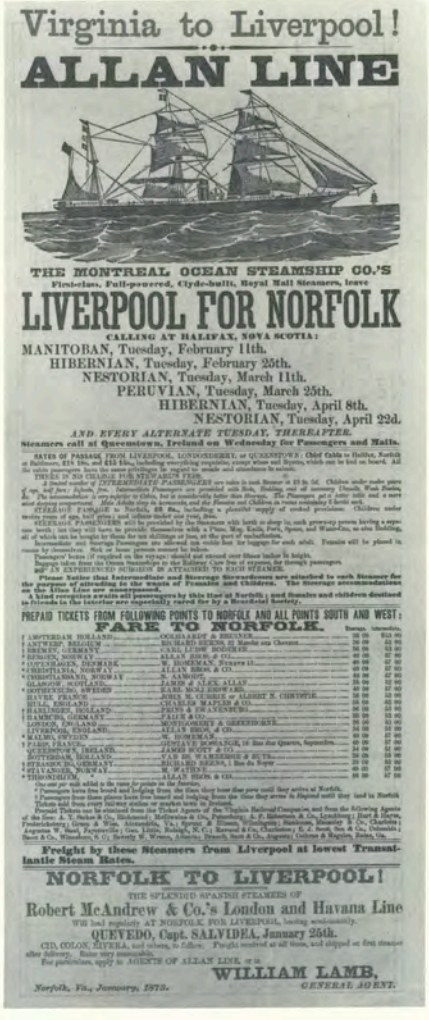
"Building the America and the Sea Collection"

A New World of Collecting

MARIFRANCES TRIVELLI

THE MOST compelling objects in Mystic Seaport's collections carry a personal connection to the stories of America and the Sea. The earliest maritime link for most American families is their ancestors' immigration. Whether sold into bondage or embarking on a voluntary search for economic opportunity and personal freedom, they shared a dangerous sea crossing, serving to separate the Old World from the New, sometimes in terrifying ways. Two of our more recent acquisitions are reminiscent of that journey.

The century from 1820 to 1920 was characterized by mass migration from Europe. Beset by social and economic unrest at home, large numbers sought improved conditions in the expanding United States. The years 1820 through 1890 saw a resettlement of 15 million Europeans, with another 18.2 million to arrive between 1890 and 1920. Indeed, human beings were the most reliable west-bound "cargo" on the Atlantic throughout this period. Steam-powered vessels like those advertised by the Allan Line were designed for the speedy transport of mail, cargo, and passengers across the Atlantic, and cut the traditional sail-powered crossing time in half, to a little over two weeks. Steamship companies competed with one another for this lucrative traffic, and they often employed agents to travel inland,



Virginia to Liverpool!

ALLAN LINE

THE MONTREAL OCEAN STEAMSHIP CO.'S
Fleet-class, Full-powered, Clyde-built, Royal Mail Steamers, leave

LIVERPOOL FOR NORFOLK
CALLING AT HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA:

MANITOBAN, Tuesday, February 11th.
HIBERNIAN, Tuesday, February 25th.
NESTORIAN, Tuesday, March 11th.
PERUVIAN, Tuesday, March 25th.
HIBERNIAN, Tuesday, April 8th.
NESTORIAN, Tuesday, April 22d.
AND EVERY ALTERNATE TUESDAY, THEREAFTER.
Steamers call at Queenstown, Ireland on Wednesday for Passengers and Mails.

PREPAID TICKETS FROM FOLLOWING POINTS TO NORFOLK AND ALL POINTS SOUTH AND WEST:

FARE TO NORFOLK.

Freight by these Steamers from Liverpool at lowest Transatlantic Steam Rates.

NORFOLK TO LIVERPOOL!

THE SPLENDID SPANISH STEAMERS OF
Robert McAndrew & Co.'s London and Havana Line
Will load regularly AT NORFOLK FOR LIVERPOOL, leaving semi-monthly.
QUEVEDO, Capt. SALVIDEA, January 25th.
CID, COLON, RIVERA, and others, to follow.

WILLIAM LAMB,
GENERAL AGENT.
Norfolk, Va., January, 1873.

(M.S.M. 97.13.1; Cindy Ressler photo)

promoting their particular company's fleet.

The broadside was another common method of advertising. These paper flyers were posted outdoors or distributed by the shipping agents. The Museum's broadside was distributed by Canada's Allan Line in January 1873, to announce the Virginia-Liverpool route, and especially the line's passenger service from Liverpool to Norfolk via Halifax, Nova Scotia. Founded in 1854 as the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company, the Allan Line would become the preeminent British steamship line. In 1882 its 22 liners carried 55,000 passengers, the highest of any British company.

As the broadside makes clear, emigrants from almost anywhere in northern Europe could purchase a ticket in their home country that would include both transportation to Liverpool and the transatlantic passage to Norfolk, as well as food and accommodations between passages. Children under twelve traveled half-price, and infants were free. But sick or lame persons were explicitly prohibited, for U.S. immigration authorities would refuse their entry into the country.

The broadside is illustrated with one of the Allan Company steam barks and lists departure dates in alternate weeks for the *Manitoban, Hibernian, Nestorian,* and *Peruvian.* First-class or cabin passengers had private accommodations with everything but liquor and wine included in their fare. Second-class or intermediate passengers were well fed but were quartered in group accommodations, men in hammocks, women in six-person staterooms. Steerage passengers paid one-third of the first-class rate and were transported in the



crowded, lower accommodations called the steerage (a term derived from the lower hull space that originally held the steering gear). This uncomfortable option was also the most popular: almost 95 percent of all immigrants traveled in steerage, and the Allen Line advertised its steerage accommodations as "unsurpassed." Even steerage passengers were supplied with stewardesses to assist women and children.

Nevertheless, the broadside's text gives us an idea of the lack of personal comfort passengers would encounter in steerage. Steerage travelers, "will be provided by the Steamers with [a] berth to sleep in, each grown-up person having a separate berth; but they will have to provide themselves with a Plate, Mug, Knife, Fork, Spoon, and Water-Can, as also Bedding, all of which can be bought for ten shillings or less." Luggage capacity was restricted to ten cubic feet, and "passengers boxes should not exceed over fifteen inches in height."

None of these temporary discomforts, nor the prospect of venturing into the unknown, stemmed the tide of emigration. By the 1890s more than 20 million Americans (32.7 percent of the total population) were either foreign-born or descended from at least one immigrant parent.

In 1891 the Liverpool artist Ernest F. Beckett painted a typical emigration scene at the Liverpool Docks. The port of Liverpool was one of the most popular points of embarkation for those making the journey to America. Possessing a highly organized system of government agents regulating maritime trade, and an important railway link to Britain's interior, Liverpool was the departure point for more than 4.75 million of the 5.5 million Europeans who emigrated between 1860 and 1900. Beckett's scene depicts an emotional crowd of well-wishers waving farewell to passengers on the deck of a departing steamship.

Yet, these acquisitions reflect only a small portion of the immigration story. Mystic Seaport's acquisition of the Cuban refugee boat *Analuisa* (described in this issue) helps to extend the geographical and chronological boundaries of immigration material in the collection. But the Museum desires to obtain much more in order to tell the full story.

Marifrances Trivelli is Cataloger in the Museum's Curatorial Department.

(M.S.M. 95.86.2; Mary Anne Stets photo)

Immigration by sea is a common experience for so many American families that we invite you to help Mystic Seaport develop the story of the immigrant experience by recording your family stories with us. If you would like to share the details of your family's immigrant sea passage, please call the Museum during the month of June at (860) 572-0711 and ask for extension 5071. Leave a brief message and a return number and we will call you back. If you have electronic mail you may direct your message to marifrances@mystic-seaport.org

Please help us tell the great story of immigration by sea!

Gerda III

Danish Freedom Vessel of the Holocaust Moored at Mystic Seaport

SITUATED ON a peninsula that juts north from Germany, and encompassing an archipelago of islands to the east that brush the Swedish coast, Denmark has remained a maritime nation of fishermen and traders for a thousand years since the Vikings began their expeditions on its shores. The *Georg Stage*, now Mystic Seaport's *Joseph Conrad*, was built in 1882 to train Danish youth for sea service, and generations of Danish fishermen have worked the waters in stout, seaworthy boats like the 37-foot *Gerda III*, built in 1928. Denmark's principal city, Copenhagen, has long been one of Europe's prominent ports. Copenhagen faces Sweden across the roughly 20-mile-wide Øresund, one of the passages between the Baltic and the North Sea.

In contrast to the legends of its Viking ancestors, Denmark became one of Europe's most progressive nations. As early as the 1680s, Jews found refuge there, living openly and in close contact with their Protestant neighbors, and holding professional positions, whereas in much of central Europe the Jewish population was confined in ghettos. In the nineteenth century, as other European nations fell victim to agricultural dislocation and poverty, Denmark reformed its agriculture to make its peasants landowners. And as cheap American grain flooded across the Atlantic, Denmark shifted from grain production to the dairy and meat production for which it is still known.

As a small nation on the border of a large, militant one, Denmark faced a difficult course through the world wars of the twentieth century. As a neutral nation during World War I, Denmark sold the Virgin Islands to the U.S. to prevent their falling into German hands. With the rise of Adolf Hitler and a newly militant Germany in the 1930s, Denmark, like England, signed a treaty with Nazi Germany in 1939. The next year, as part of its push into Scandinavia, Germany ignored the treaty and occupied Denmark.



Viewed from the stern, the Gerda III *lies alongside Chubb's Wharf at Mystic Seaport. (Jennifer M. Stich photo)*

Because the Danes did not long resist this sudden invasion, they were allowed to maintain most of their democratic institutions and to continue the national policy of protection of Jews. That changed in 1943, as Germany faced military setbacks elsewhere, and as Danish resistance to occupation grew. In August 1943 German officials decided that the roughly 7,000 Danish Jews, most of whom lived around Copenhagen, should be deported to the death camps. Arrests began on the night of 1 October 1943–the Jewish new year–and immediately a spontaneous Danish effort arose to carry Danish Jews across the Øresund to safety in neutral Sweden.

Thousands of Danes hid their Jewish neighbors from German patrols while others ferried them to Sweden. The *Gerda III* made repeated trips in this humanitarian mission. Designed like a fishing boat, but used as a lighthouse tender to supply Danish light stations along the Øresund, the boat was capable of secreting numerous people, and her presence in those waters was not questioned.

Reportedly, the boat's four-man crew devised the plan with 19-year-old Henny Søndig, daughter of the owner, who persuaded her father to agree. In later years she would argue that her's was not a heroic act, it was simply "what any decent person would have done."

Each night she would lead the refugees, one by one, to a warehouse on the quay in Copenhagen. Then, as many as 20 at a time would be rushed on board and hidden in the hold among the supplies destined for the Drodgen light. Setting out early each morning, the boat crossed to Sweden and delivered the refugees before making its delivery at the lighthouse and returning to Copenhagen. Although German occupation troops patrolled Copenhagen and often boarded the *Gerda III*, they never discovered the living cargo that Henny Søndig and the boat's crew concealed on board.

During a ceremony at the Museum in May, Danish Vice Consul Leif Wasserman recalled hiding in the family's summer home at Gilleleje before being taken on board. "There were people standing in the doorways, telling my father how to get down to the harbor," he said. As a five-year-old, he did not understand what was happening, but he still remembers being

crowded into the hold with his grandparents, parents, and sister. "It was a very crowded condition and it smelled awfully bad of fish."

By the end of October 1943, the *Gerda III* had delivered as many as 300 Danish Jews to safety in Sweden–a small but significant percentage of the nearly 7,200 Jews (and 700 non-Jews) successfully delivered to freedom across the Øresund that month. The Nazis succeeded in capturing 500 Danish Jews, but through the courageous efforts of private citizens, and the use of boats like the *Gerda III*, Denmark was the only nation on the European Continent to save the majority of its Jews from the Holocaust.

Renamed *Gedser-Rev* after the war, the boat remained in service to Danish lighthouses and lightships for another 44 years. When she was retired in 1989, the Danish Parliament presented her as a gift to the Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York, in recognition of her humanitarian service. Restored, refitted with an engine similar to the one that powered her in 1943, and refinished with a wartime paint scheme, the *Gerda III* now looks much as she did during her missions of mercy 54 years ago.

This summer, while the Museum of Jewish Heritage is completed in lower Manhattan's Battery Park City, Mystic Seaport is hosting the *Gerda III* as a special exhibit. And in future winters Mystic Seaport's Henry B. duPont Preservation Shipyard will care for the vessel so that she may continue to convey her message of dignity and human courage, and to offer to coming generations a hopeful vision of the sea as an avenue to freedom.

They Came by Sea

Peopling the American Nation

A Chronology

ca. 30,000 - 12,000 BC, during Ice Age time of lower sea level, tribes migrate from Asia to North America via land bridge through Alaska

ca. 750, Polynesian voyagers discover and settle Hawai'i

1509, Spanish subjugate and settle Puerto Rico

1565, Spanish establish permanent settlement at St. Augustine, Florida, driving out earlier French settlers in the area

1607, permanent English settlement established at Jamestown, Virginia

1619, first Africans in North America brought to Jamestown

1620, English Puritans settle at Plymouth, Massachusetts

1624, first permanent Dutch settlement at New York

1634, English Catholics settle at St. Mary's in new colony of Maryland

1638, Swedish settlement established at site of Wilmington, Delaware

1654, first Jews settle in New York

1682, Welsh Quakers settle in new colony of Pennsylvania

1683, German Quakers arrive in Pennsylvania

1685, French Hugenots settle in North America

1689, Scottish and Irish emigration begins

1690, beginning of large-scale African slave trade to North America

1714-20, large-scale Scotch-Irish immigration

1727-75, large-scale German and Swiss immigration

1755, French Acadians evicted from Nova Scotia, some being resettled in Louisiana, becoming "Cajuns"

1768, a party of Italian and Greek settlers arrive in Florida

1783-1807, heaviest traffic in the African slave trade, totaling nearly 300,000, ends with federal prohibition of slave trade after 1 January 1808, but perhaps 250,000 Africans brought in illegally between 1808 and 1861

1784, U.S. opens commercial relations with China

1825, Scandinavian immigration begins, heaviest after 1840

1827, Irish and German immigration increases, Irish accounting for 44 percent of total, 1830-40, and 49 percent of total, 1841-50; Germans accounting for 30 percent, 1830-40

ca. 1840, beginnings of Cape Verdean immigration as a consequence of employment in New England whaling industry

1842, annual immigration first exceeds 100,000

1849, annual immigration first exceeds 250,000

1854, Chinese laborers begin arriving in significant numbers, most intending to return to China after accumulating wealth

1854, U.S. establishes commercial relations with Japan

1855, Castle Garden at New York established as principal East Coast immigrant processing depot, operates until 1890

1881, annual immigration first exceeds 500,000

1882, U.S. establishes commercial relations with Korea

1882, Chinese Exclusion Act limits entry of Chinese laborers

ca. 1885, increase in immigration

from Russia, Poland, Italy, and other eastern and southern European countries

1891, Japanese immigration begins

1892, Ellis Island opens as principal East Coast immigrant processing station

1898, U.S. annexes Hawaii; Spain cedes the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico to the U.S. to settle Spanish-American War

1900-10, Austrian-Hungarian, Italian, and Russian immigrants predominate

1900-07, "Gentlemen's Agreements" restrict Japanese immigration

1905, annual immigration first exceeds 1,000,000; one of six times, 1905-14, that more than a million immigrants arrive

1907, peak immigration year: 1,285,349 persons arrive

1910, Angel Island opens as Asian immigrant processing center at San Francisco

1924, National Origins Act establishes quotas and severely restricts immigration

1940, Angel Island closes

1945, immigration of "displaced persons" permitted in aftermath of World War II

1954, Ellis Island closes after processing 12,000,000 immigrants during 62 years of operation

ca. 1960, air transportation supersedes sea travel for most immigrants

1965, Immigration Act abolishes national quotas among immigrants

1965, Camarioca "boat lift" brings Cuban refugees to U.S. by water

1972, first Haitian "boat people" arrive in Florida

1980, Mariel boat lift brings additional Cubans by sea

1980-94, thousands of Haitians seek refuge in U.S. by sea

1989-94, "last wave" of seaborne immigrants arrive from Cuba

Letters

I have greatly enjoyed your article about W.P. Stephens (Cheryl Chaput, "An Internship in Ships Plans," in the Spring 1997 issue of *The Log*). In particular it was so nice to read about, and see the picture of, the schooner *America* Lines, since I did most of the design work for the *replica* of her, in 1966, when I was with Sparkman & Stephens in New York. The replica was built for Rudie Schaefer (the old F.&M. Schaefer Brewing Co., Brooklyn, NY) by Goudy & Stevens, East Boothbay, Maine.

As a reference and basis for my design I used two lines drawings that had been made by the British Admiralty (albeit somewhat crude) during the time they had her drydocked in England. Those drawings that I used (and still have) are remarkably similar to the one you pictured. Rudie Schaefer had acquired them and gave them to me. She was a remarkably fast vessel. I still have a print of *my* lines drawing of the 1966 replica. [Editor's Note: as Mr. Uhle suggests, Mystic Seaport's "Northfleet" plan is not the earliest extant plan of the *America*, though it is the earliest in the Museum's collection.]

Stage I of her design and construction was with the original style exterior. Stage II was outfitted on the exterior as a yacht (of her original era), particularly the addition of a deckhouse aft, some skylights, etc. She was, of course fully outfitted below with complete accommodations as well as a real engine room. Stage I was used in the TV presentation at that time that Rudie Schaefer had produced.

The strange thing is that prior to all of this I was with the Annapolis Yacht Yard during WWII, where the *original* 1851 *America* was stored! She was destroyed when a heavy snowfall collapsed the roof over her. She had been in pretty bad shape and could not withstand that heavy load...

The cover of this issue attracted me, as I immediately recognized an ELCO "Cruisette" circa 1924. Prior to WWII I was with ELCO and designed their last production yacht, the 1940 32 ft. "Elcoette." We built 14. I was also, during WWII, Naval Architect at the Annapolis Yacht Yard, re-designing the British Vosper PT boat for U.S. production. During the Korean War I was Project Engineer on the U.S. Navy's Minesweeper Program. Many were built throughout the U.S. I also designed many sail and power yachts plus commercial vessels.

Enough of all this–I just wanted to thank you for your article.

Best wishes,
Henry W. Uhle

***The Log* welcomes your comments. If you have an opinion or information to share, write or e-mail us at the address on the inside front cover.**

A Look at Books

PAUL O'PECKO

The *Log of Mystic Seaport*'s book review section has been absent for some time. We hope to remedy that in the future with more regular coverage of books and videos that may be of interest to *Log* readers.

In the not-too-distant past, readers of *The Log* would have been hard pressed to find any mention of naval history between the covers. But as with any organization that wants to move forward, change becomes necessary. Mystic Seaport has plotted a course into the future as the Museum of America and the Sea, and as every casual observer of American history knows, the United States Navy has played not an inconsiderable part in the development of America's trade and relationship with the sea. We will become a bit more aggressive in telling the naval story that is shared by so many of America's families.

A number of interesting books relating to the U.S. Navy in the nineteenth century have been published in the last couple years. The following are just a few worth noting.

William M. Fowler, Jr.'s *Silas Talbot: Captain of Old Ironsides* (Mystic: Mystic Seaport, 1995. $29.95), tells the life story of a farm boy who grew to be an influential force in the American navy in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The story of his private life is as fascinating as his militia, naval, and privateer exploits. Another approachable volume about America's infant navy is James Tertius de Kay's *Chronicles of the Frigate Macedonian: 1809-1922* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1995. $25.00). The biography of this British ship captured during the War of 1812 is interwoven with the people who sailed aboard her and the events that made her such an interesting vessel.

Probably the most popular time period for American naval history is the Civil War. For good reason, as the conflict between the states is filled with well-documented, interesting stories. Ivan Muscant's *Divided Waters: The Naval History of the Civil War* (New York: Harper Collins, 1995. $30.00) summarizes the main events of the war and offers Muscant's often colorful opinions on the main players. Eric Mills's *Chesapeake Bay in the Civil War* (Centerville, Maryland: Tidewater, 1995. $29.95) relates both well-known and less familiar activities on the Bay during the Civil War. Baltimore is an obvious focus of this very readable work. Skipping over to the center of the country, Gene Eric Salecker's *Disaster on the Mississippi: The Sultana Explosion, April 27, 1865* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996) is the second recent book on this military debacle on the Mississippi in which nearly 1,800 men, mostly Union prisoners of war returning home, died in America's worst marine disaster ever.

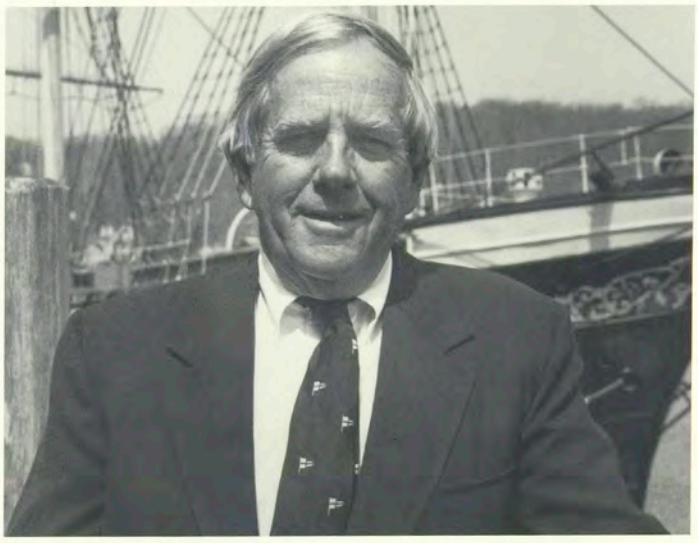
The Confederate Navy is recently chronicled in at least three separate books. The focus of the first is on the story of the notorious CSS *Alabama*. Charles M. Robinson's *Shark of the Confederacy* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1994. $26.95), adds a new dimension to the story as it relates information on the the discovery of the *Alabama*'s remains off Cherbourg, France, in 1984 and the international difficulties that find has generated. Both Thomas R. Campbell and Raimondo Luraghi have produced broader works on the Confederate Navy. Campbell's *Gray Thunder: Exploits of the Confederate States Navy* (Shippensburg, Pennsylvania: White Mane, 1996. $18.95) is an interesting telling of familiar encounters, whereas Luraghi explores new research in international archives in his more detailed *A History of the Confederate Navy* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996. $39.95).

Another service that deserves a mention is the U.S. Coast Guard. Irving King has taken on the task of chronicling the history of the Coast Guard, and his newest work, *The Coast Guard Expands: 1865-1915* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996. $37.95), is the third book in a series that is strongly based on primary resources. The history of the various duties of this branch of government service is enlightening to those familiar only with the Coast Guard's seemingly traditional roles. Donald Canney's *U.S. Coast Guard and Revenue Cutters, 1790-1935* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1995. $49.95) is a good companion volume, listing more than 1,000 vessels with dimensions, rig, etc. He has followed up his valuable reference works on the U.S. steam navy with this comparable work on the Coast Guard.

American naval history obviously expands beyond the boundaries of the nineteenth century, making more recent history an obvious candidate for inclusion in a future issue.

You may find these volumes at your local library or bookstore, or call the Bookstore at Mystic Seaport Museum Stores, and take advantage of your 10 percent member's discount.

Paul J. O'Pecko is Director of Mystic Seaport's G.W. Blunt White Library.



Mystic Seaport Salutes!

ANTHONY P. HALSEY

When it comes to Mystic Seaport, Tony Halsey wears many hats. Most recently, he tossed one of them into the casting ring for a part in Steven Spielberg's film *Amistad*, currently in production with a portion of it being filmed at the Museum. While he copped the coveted role of "Harbor Man," he had to turn down the offer, due to pressing business obligations. Still active as Director of the Norwich Savings Society and 41 years in the banking industry, it is easy to see why he is busier than ever when one learns of the many ways he is involved at Mystic Seaport.

Tony and his wife, Sandy, have been members of the Museum since 1980, active Pilots since 1987, and Gallery Patrons since 1991. Tony was elected to the Board of Trustees in 1989. He currently serves on the Executive Committee and the Audit Committee and was a member of the Campaign Committee for The Campaign for Mystic Seaport in the leadership phase of the campaign. In addition, he chairs the Pilot Steering Committee and is also Chairman of the Watercraft Endowment Fund Steering Committee, using his considerable fund-raising expertise and experience on behalf of the Museum's collection of small boats.

Tony is dedicated and committed to many causes. He has worked on behalf of the Mystic Art Association, Lawrence & Memorial Hospital, and the Community Foundation of Southeastern Connecticut. He was the driving force behind the founding of the Bank of Mystic, and his and Sandy's love of golf prompted him to take a leadership role when a group of local residents set about building a new 18-hole course in Stonington. His passion, however, is sailing and a lifetime on the water began in small boats on Fishers Island Sound and continues today on *Patriot*, a Baltic 39. As well as visiting most of the East Coast cruising grounds from Newfoundland to Venezuela, Tony and Sandy have sailed extensively in Scandinavia and other European waters.

Tony's numerous business and sailing contacts have proven invaluable, and Mystic Seaport is fortunate to have such a hard-working ambassador. Today, Tony is turning his considerable talents to the completion of the Watercraft Endowment Fund, a one million dollar effort that seeks to provide operating funds for the preservation, maintenance, security, and documentation activities of the Museum's world-renowned collection of nearly 500 vessels. The symbol of this campaign is the sandbagger racing sloop *Annie*, the first boat ever donated to Mystic Seaport. Donors to this campaign receive a handsome yachting cap bearing the name and the silhouette of *Annie* in blue and "Mystic Seaport" emblazoned on the back. This is the hat that you will see Tony wearing these days. It is mighty becoming and it fits him to a "T."

(Mary Anne Stets photo)



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