The Log *of* Mystic Seaport®

Summer
1999

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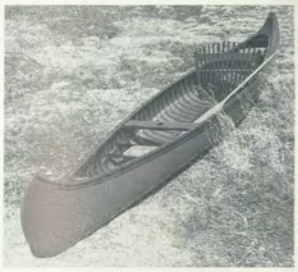
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On the cover: Photographed near Miami, Florida, in 1921, these Seminole children pose in front of two of the Seminoles' characteristic native dugout canoes. Mystic Seaport's upcoming Native Legacy exhibit celebrates the native origins of America's favorite small boats. (Negative 502M, © Mystic Seaport, Rosenfeld Collection, Mystic, Connecticut)

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Mystic Seaport Salutes Institutional Sponsor Mystic Color Lab

Sightings

Like virtually every other location on the globe, Mystic Seaport is preparing to celebrate the dawning of both a new century and the new millennium during the year 2000. A number of significant events at the Museum will mark the transition, three of which have particular importance as we look to the past and to the future at this milestone in time.

The first of these occasions will be the launching and "debut" of the schooner *Amistad*. Since the keel laying in March 1998, the vessel has progressed magnificently in our shipyard, with a quality of materials and workmanship unequaled in recent times. The crew building the vessel is doing a superb job, and visitors have benefited from the rare opportunity to experience the vessel and its story as it takes shape in our shipyard. But the *Amistad* has much work to do at sea, and we will launch her with great celebration on Saturday, 25 March 2000.

This day will mark the beginning of a long life afloat for this new ship, which embodies the hopes and dreams of many, and presents a bold message of remembrance for the African captives of the original *Amistad* and the millions who were enslaved. After launching, our shipyard crew will complete and rig the *Amistad* in preparation for her first major public appearance. On the Fourth of July 2000 the *Amistad* will appear before the nation and the world as part of the Operation Sail 2000 parade of sailing vessels in New York Harbor. This will be a proud moment for Mystic Seaport, for *Amistad* America, the organization that will own and operate the vessel, and for all of the individuals and groups that have made the *Amistad* a reality.

In June of 2000 we will mark another significant point for the Museum with the opening of our long-term exhibition, *America and the Sea.* It is appropriate as we begin the new century that we inaugurate this major exhibition that will convey the essence of the American maritime experience. The exhibit stories are organized around seven principal themes, and in each of the succeeding years the Museum will take one of these themes as a central focus for symposia, publications, events, and exhibits expanding on the core exhibition. This approach should produce a new, fresh Mystic Seaport experience each year, encouraging our members and visitors to return, and fulfilling our mission to create a broad public understanding of the relationship of America and the Sea.

Meticulous preparation has long been underway for the Museum's participation in another millennium event. Captain George Moffett is preparing Mystic Seaport's schooner *Brilliant* to sail in the international "tall ships" race from Halifax to Europe in July 2000. More than half a century ago, in 1933, the *Brilliant* made a remarkably fast trip to Europe in her first year of sailing, and we are proud to send her back in the millennium year as a splendid representative of Mystic Seaport and our renowned sail-training program. We are confident that this transatlantic trip, and subsequent sail-training cruises in European waters, will be testament to the extraordinary qualities of this vessel. She was designed for Walter Barnum by present Mystic Seaport Trustee Emeritus Olin J. Stephens II, built by the Henry B. Nevins Yard, and well cared for by her owners—particularly by Mystic Seaport Trustee Emeritus Briggs S. Cunningham, who donated her to the Museum in 1952. With the careful attention we have accorded the *Brilliant* through almost 50 years of active sail training, her refastened hull is flawless after nearly 70 years of sailing. For those individuals fortunate enough to participate in the transatlantic or European voyages, this will be a most memorable experience, as it will be for Europeans fortunate enough to view the *Brilliant*—Mystic Seaport's elegant example of American design, construction, seamanship, and maritime education.

These and other events, including a second conference on Race, Ethnicity, and Power in Maritime America, will make the year 2000 truly memorable. The year will be one in which vessels built by or owned by Mystic Seaport are presented to the nation and the world as they carry on maritime traditions and convey important stories. It will also be a year in which we make a significant, long-lasting contribution to the understanding of our American maritime past and present through the new exhibition *America and the Sea* and its related programming in subsequent years. With these exciting and important events to come, all who have worked and contributed to create Mystic Seaport can look with pride on their museum on the eve of the new millennium.

J. Revell Carr
DIRECTOR

Colonization or Deportation?

Black American Emigration to Liberia and the American Colonization Society

KELLY S. DRAKE

"I certainly must say that I consider the persons or passengers now on board this ship—as having been the victims of the most bold faced duplicity from the time of their emancipation up to the present."[1] The writer of these lines, Captain Horatio Nelson Gray, was not alone in his opinion of the passengers' sponsor. Many Americans deplored the American Colonization Society and its mission to send free-born and emancipated black Americans to Liberia. Contemporaries such as black American Nationalist Dr. Martin Delany considered Liberian emigration "that most pernicious and impudent of all schemes for the perpetuity of the degradation of our race."

Modern historians regard the Society as a coalition of Southern slave owners and white supremacists dedicated to the deportation of African Americans. Upon closer examination, however, the Society's goals appear much more complex. Their actions, rather than others' opinions, provide a clearer understanding of the Society. Between 1820 and 1861 the Society arranged for the emigration of over ten thousand black Americans on board more than one hundred voyages to Liberia. The records of these voyages detail the expenses and efforts undertaken by the Society to procure emigrants and outfit vessels, and they demonstrate that the American Colonization Society was dedicated to much more than mere deportation.

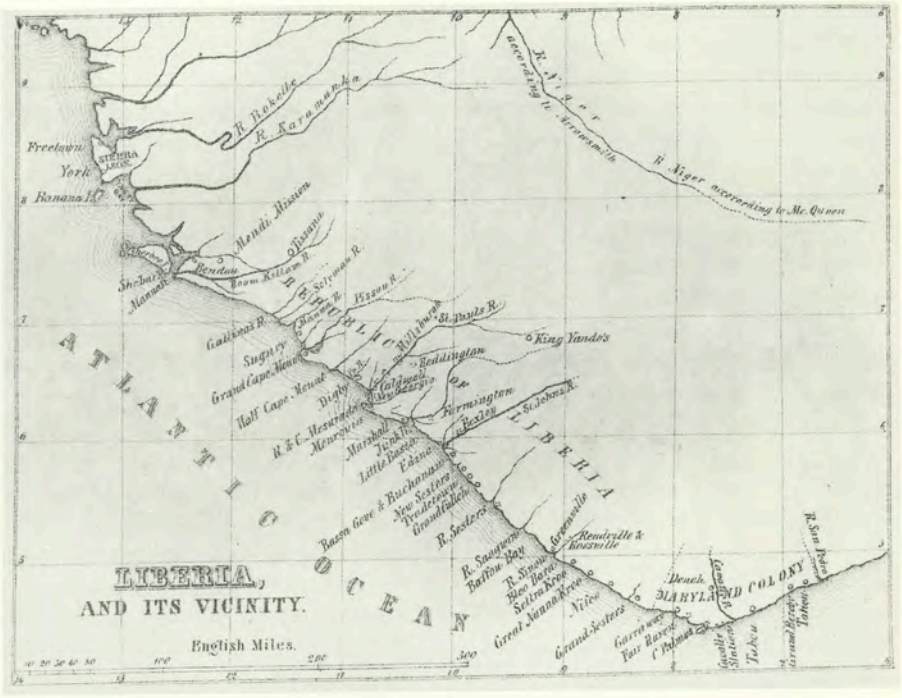
The African colonization movement began in 1816 when black merchant Paul Cuffe sailed with 38 free black Americans to Sierra Leone, a British colony of free blacks that had been established on the west coast of Africa in the 1780s. Upon his return to the United States, Cuffe lobbied for national support of an American colony. Cuffe soon died, but not before his cause was taken up by others. At the end of 1816 a group of primarily white pro-colonists in Washington, D.C., founded "The American Society for Colonizing Free People of Colour of the United States." Representing some of the progressive thinkers of the Upper South, who abhorred slavery but could not accept black and white coexistence in the United States, and anti-slavery activists of the North, the founders included Supreme Court Justice Bushrod Washington (George Washington's nephew), Kentucky Congressman Henry Clay, attorney and *Star Spangled Banner* author Francis Scott Key, former president James Madison, and future president Andrew Jackson. Members would include Boston abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, future president Millard Fillmore, *Amistad* judge Andrew Judson, and New York abolitionists and champions of the *Amistad* captives Arthur and Lewis Tappan. These and other members represented a broad cross section of the American population and included prominent church leaders, government officials, college presidents, tradesmen, farmers, and general laborers.

The Society reflected the general white American belief of the time that people of African descent were morally and intellectually inferior to whites and were unable to achieve economic and political freedom in direct competition with people of European descent. Asserting that Africa was the true homeland of the black race; that Africans were ideally suited to take advantage of its natural resources and economic opportunities; and that having been Christianized, black Americans were the best instruments for enlightening African tribes, the Colonization Society won mass support. In 1821 the Society authorized Lieutenant Robert Field Stockton to purchase a suitable piece of land on which to settle colonists in Africa. For goods totaling less than $300.00 Stockton soon acquired property on the west coast of Africa, south of Sierra Leone. The Society's board of directors assumed control of the colony, and their first acts were to name it Liberia and crown the capital city Monrovia, in honor of President James Monroe, a supporter of the Society.

Following the initial voyage of 86

passengers on board the ship *Elizabeth* in 1820, colonists continued to emigrate. Totals disappointed Society supporters, however. Only 1,412 black Americans emigrated between 1822 and 1830. Between 1831 and 1840, an additional 7,403 people settled in Liberia. In 1839 the Society reorganized, officially incorporating in Maryland as "The American Colonization Society." Emigrant numbers, however, declined. In the next decade only 2,205 settlers left for Liberia. Meanwhile, the colony declared its independence and obtained self-sufficiency. In 1847 the Society's board of directors passed control to the newly established Republic of Liberia. Emigrant numbers in the following decade, 1851-60, doubled to 4,488. The United States Civil War only briefly halted emigration in the following years. The effectiveness of the Society, however, diminished. Decreases in financial contributions, augmented by increases in black American prospects, undermined the Society's usefulness. Although the American Colonization Society continued until 1964, its period of greatest effectiveness was limited to the first half of the nineteenth century.[2]

From 1820 to 1861, the Society developed and refined its methods for collecting, provisioning, and arranging adequate transportation for its emigrants. This procedure was highly detailed, labor intensive, financially draining, and overwhelmingly paternalistic. Gathering emigrants was the first step. The Society offered support to any black, free-born or conditionally emancipated, wishing to settle in Liberia. As part of its service the Society paid all travel expenses to the port of departure, all costs associated with the emigrant's passage, and limited freight for tools and furnishings. Advertisements seeking interested parties were placed in newspapers, or the Society's newsletter, the *African Repository*. Announcements typically read:



The American Colonization Society authorized U.S. Navy Lieutenant Robert F. Stockton to establish a colony for repatriated Africans near the British colony for freed Africans at Sierra Leone. Stockton chose Cape Mesurado as the initial settlement point. By treaty and purchase, the colony of Liberia was established in 1821, followed by several state colonies that were later absorbed into the Republic of Liberia. A number of different cultural groups occupied the area that became Liberia, including Mende people (like the Amistad *captives) to the north and Kru people—skilled watermen who opposed the slave trade—to the south. Liberia became an independent republic in 1847, but the American Colonization Society remained involved for many years.* (The African Repository, *June 1851, Mystic Seaport, G.W. Blunt White Library)*

As before remarked, the Colonization Societies take the emigrant out gratuitously, and a person wishing to go should address the Agent of the Society, expressing his wishes. He will then be informed how soon he can have an opportunity of embarking, and from what port. Vessels sail from New Orleans, Savannah, Charleston, Norfolk, Baltimore, and New York. . . . He would be allowed to take with him the tools of his trade or calling, most compact articles of furniture, bedding, wearing apparel &c., free of cost. If he desired to take merchandize or large furniture, as bureaus or the like, he would be charge freight on the same. . . ."[3]

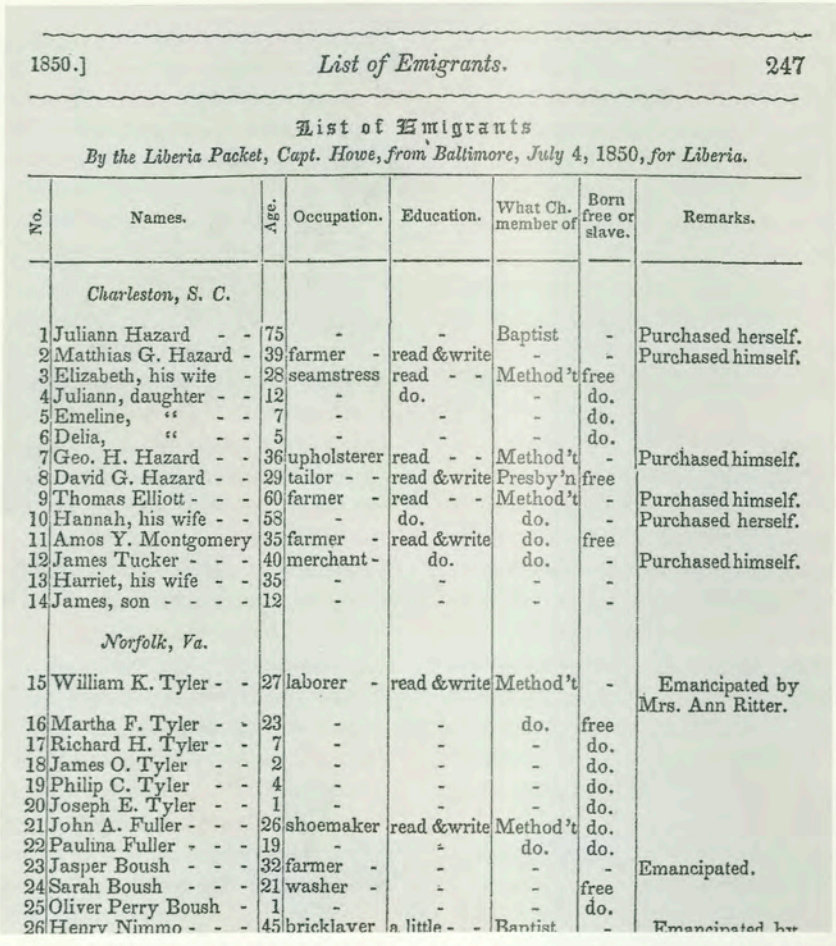
Respondents included free blacks, slave owners wishing to emancipate slaves conditional to their emigration, and estate managers handling emigrants freed by a deceased owner. The application contained several rows for large groups of emigrants, and columns for their names, ages, health, occupations, education, church, etc.[4] Applications were collected by the Society, not for approval purposes, as no person wishing to emigrate was ever denied, but rather to provide statistical information. The Society kept careful track of the beneficiaries of their assistance. The information supplied was often published in the *African Repository*, and used to support funding requests.

These statistics now provide useful information about the people who relocated to Liberia. Many characteristics of this group remained stable throughout the pre-Civil War period. Most emigrants traveled with extended family. Passenger lists contain average groupings of between four and twelve people with identical

surnames. While an occasional lone name appears on the lists, the majority traveled with children, mothers, fathers, siblings, and grandparents. Emigrant ages ranged from infant to the 110-year-old Minty Nichols. Gender ratios were equally divided throughout these 41 years. Emigrant occupations continued unchanged as well. Roughly 25 percent of all applicants listed an occupation, and emigrants from all three time periods reported between 21 and 23 different types of work. Professions included merchant, school teacher, and doctor. Trades included carpenter, blacksmith, saddler, laundress, barber, and cook. The 1830s saw a large emigration of mantuamakers. The seafaring trades of ship carpenter, seaman, rope maker, and sailor were also represented. Farming, however, was the most regularly noted occupation, with an average 35 percent of emigrants considering farming to be their primary means of employment.

Not all characteristics of the emigrants remained consistent. Important changes occurred in literacy rates, originating states, and the ratio of free-born to emancipated emigrants. The literacy rate among emigrants steadily declined. Forty percent of the original emigrants could either read or write. This fell to 26 percent in the 1830s and plummeted to 11 percent in the 1850s. Simultaneous with this decrease was an increase in emigrants from Southern states. The original settlers came primarily from the Northern and Middle-Atlantic states. By the 1850s emigrants tended to come from the slaveholding states of Georgia, South and North Carolina, Virginia, and Mississippi, as well as Ohio. This change in demographics mirrored the most significant change in emigrant characteristics. While the number of free-born emigrants declined, the number of emancipated emigrants rose. Of the first 220 emigrants to leave the United States, only five were born slaves. Ten years later 16 percent were ex-slaves. Among emigrants on voyages between 1850 and 1854 this ratio had risen to 60 percent.

These shifting figures reflected the changing status of black Americans. Southern whites and slave owners increasingly turned to the Society to solve what they perceived as a growing problem. Rising populations of enslaved peoples raised fears of uprisings and revolt. Slave owners regarded colonization as a means to release this perceived pressure. The numbers of slaves emancipated conditional to their emigration therefore increased. During this same period, free-born blacks increasingly came to distrust the Society. In 1832 William Lloyd Garrison vehemently attacked it's mission. In a publication titled *Thoughts on American Colonization* Garrison forcefully argued that the Society was an institution founded not to help the black population, but rather to rid the states of their presence. Garrison's booklet, and subsequent anti-colonist publishing, effectively turned most Americans against the Society. Black Americans now deplored colonization "as morally bankrupt, reflecting a wish simply to wash white hands of complicity in the enslavement of black persons then living on American soil." The emigration of free-born black Americans slowed in the following



1850.] *List of Emigrants.* 247

List of Emigrants

By the Liberia Packet, Capt. Howe, from Baltimore, July 4, 1850, for Liberia.

No.	Names.	Age.	Occupation.	Education.	What Ch. member of	Born free or slave.	Remarks.
	Charleston, S. C.						
1	Juliann Hazard	75	-	-	Baptist	-	Purchased herself.
2	Matthias G. Hazard	39	farmer	read &write	-	-	Purchased himself.
3	Elizabeth, his wife	28	seamstress	read	Method't	free	
4	Juliann, daughter	12	-	do.	-	do.	
5	Emeline, "	7	-	-	-	do.	
6	Delia, "	5	-	-	-	do.	
7	Geo. H. Hazard	36	upholsterer	read	Method't	-	Purchased himself.
8	David G. Hazard	29	tailor	read &write	Presby'n	free	
9	Thomas Elliott	60	farmer	read	Method't	-	Purchased himself.
10	Hannah, his wife	58	-	do.	do.	-	Purchased herself.
11	Amos Y. Montgomery	35	farmer	read &write	do.	free	
12	James Tucker	40	merchant	do.	do.	-	Purchased himself.
13	Harriet, his wife	35	-	-	-	-	
14	James, son	12	-	-	-	-	
	Norfolk, Va.						
15	William K. Tyler	27	laborer	read &write	Method't	-	Emancipated by Mrs. Ann Ritter.
16	Martha F. Tyler	23	-	-	do.	free	
17	Richard H. Tyler	7	-	-	-	do.	
18	James O. Tyler	2	-	-	-	do.	
19	Philip C. Tyler	4	-	-	-	do.	
20	Joseph E. Tyler	1	-	-	-	do.	
21	John A. Fuller	26	shoemaker	read &write	Method't	do.	
22	Paulina Fuller	19	-	-	do.	do.	
23	Jasper Boush	32	farmer	-	-	-	Emancipated.
24	Sarah Boush	21	washer	-	-	free	
25	Oliver Perry Boush	1	-	-	-	do.	
26	Henry Nimmo	45	bricklayer	a little	Baptist	-	Emancipated by

The American Colonization Society published lists of the passengers it carried to Liberia. This partial list of those who sailed aboard the Liberia Packet *from Baltimore in 1850 is detailed by name, age, occupation, literacy, church affiliation, status at birth, and details about the emancipation of those who were born slaves. Many prominent Southerners freed their slaves and used the American Colonization Society to send them to Liberia, including Colonel and Mrs. Robert E. Lee of Virginia. (*The African Repository, *August 1850, Mystic Seaport, G.W. Blunt White Library)*

"Separation is Death"

Free African American Opposition to the American Colonization Society

Despite the American Colonization Society's intentions, the majority of black Americans found emigration unacceptable. Their opposition to the Society's aims was adamant.

Immediately after the formation of the Society, a meeting of "free people of color" convened in Philadelphia. Chaired by sailmaker and businessman James Forten, the meeting quickly passed a written resolution opposing colonization and declaring that:

Wheras our ancestors (not of choice) were the first successful cultivators of the wilds of America, we their descendants feel ourselves entitled to participate in the blessings of her luxuriant soil, which their blood and sweat manured; and that any measure or system of measures, having a tendency to banish us from her bosom, would not only be cruel, but in direct violations of those principles, which have been the boast of this republic.[1]

"Let no man of us budge one step, and let slaveholders come to beat us from our country," proclaimed the militant black abolitionist David Walker in 1829. "America is more our country, than it is the whites—we have enriched it with our blood and tears." Several meetings held in cities throughout the United States in 1831 further confirmed black American opposition to the American Colonization Society. In Boston "colored citizens" resolved to "look upon the American Colonization Society as a clamorous, abusive and peace-disturbing combination." Washington citizens resolved to "distrust the efforts made by the Colonization Society," and a meeting of similar people in New Haven, Connecticut, decided that the emigration scheme was nothing more than an "absurd and invidious plan of the Colonization Society." Similar resolutions were passed in Middletown and Hartford, Connecticut; Brooklyn, New York; Columbia and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Nantucket, Massachusetts; and Wilmington, Delaware.

Opposition continued unabated in the following decades. *The Proceedings for the Colored National Convention,* held at Cleveland, Ohio, in 1848, concluded:

That among the many oppressive schemes against the colored people in the United States, we view the American Colonization Society as the most deceptive and hypocritical — "clothed with the livery of heaven to serve the devil in," with President Robert of Liberia, a colored man, for its leader.[3]

William Nesbit, a one-time emigrant to Liberia, was especially vocal in his disdain for the American Colonization Society, "which on all occasions, becoming and unbecoming, seeks to impress us with the doctrine that, although natives of the soil, this is not our home; that our presence here is not agreeable to the whites, nor is our condition advantageous to ourselves; that we are morally, mentally, and physically inferior."[4]

It was, however, Frederick Douglass who summarized the majority sentiments of black Americans when he stated:

I do not look for colonization either in or out of the United States. Africa is too far off, even if we desired to go there, which we do not. . . . There is but one destiny, it seems to me, left for us, and that is to make ourselves and be made by others a part of the American people in every sense of the word. Assimilation and not isolation is our true policy and our natural destiny. Unification for us is life: separation is death.[5]

Notes

1. James Forten, "A Voice From Philadelphia," in William Lloyd Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization: or, An Impartial Exhibition of the Doctrines, Principles and Purposes of the American Colonization Society,* 3 parts, (1832; reprint, New York: Arno Press 1968), 2:9.

2. David Walker, *Walker's Appeal in Four Articles* (Boston, 1830; reprint, New York, 1969), 76; "Sentiments of the People of Color," in Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization,* part 2.

3. "Report on the Proceedings of the Colored National Convention, Held at Cleveland, Ohio. . ., September 6, 1848," in Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization,* 2:16.

4. William Nesbit, "Four Months in Liberia: or Colonization Exposed," in Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Liberian Dreams* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 87.

5. Frederick Douglass, "Address by Hon. Frederick Douglass, delivered in the Congregational Church, Washington, D.C., April 16, 1883; on the twenty-first anniversary of emancipation in the District of Columbia," *African American Perspectives: Pamphlets from the Daniel A.P. Murray Collection, 1818-1907,* http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgibin/query/D?aap:9:./temp/~ammem_9kxg:

years. Most likely it would have ceased completely were it not for the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and the Supreme Court's *Dred Scott Decision* of 1857. These anti-black laws confirmed rising suspicions that the United States was becoming a tightly closed society in which the nationalization of slavery loomed as a distinct possibility. In light of these changes some black Americans came to view emigration as the lesser of two evils. The Rev. Samuel Williams, a free black in Pennsylvania, abhorred the daily injustices he faced. "I, however, bore up against this until the Fugitive Slave Bill passed. I then concluded that I would find a new home some place in the world where a black man could be free." Rev. Williams emigrated in 1853. Others also took advantage of the American Colonization Society's offer and booked passage to Liberia.[5]

Financial support for these voyages and the Society's general operating costs came primarily from private sources. The Society originally expected that it would receive federal and state aid, but it was never successful in procuring adequate amounts. During its most active years the Society unsuccessfully appealed to various government sources. An 1828 request presented in the Senate by Maryland's Ezekiel Chambers and supported by Henry Clay was tabled. An 1833 petition was vetoed by President Andrew Jackson. In 1850, the Society returned to the federal legislature for support, this time through a more indirect appeal. Frederick P. Stanton, Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, presented a petition to the House of Representatives requesting funding for three steamships to provide regular service from New Orleans, Savannah, Baltimore, Norfolk, Charleston, and New York to Liberia. In addition to carrying mail and supporting the U.S. Navy's Africa Squadron, Stanton argued that these vessels could partially pay for themselves by carrying Liberian emigrants. The American Colonization Society agreed to pay a fee of $10.00 per emigrant, but active lobbying by supporters of the Society failed to gain passage. Abolitionists and Northern politicians perceived the bill as yet another attempt by the Society to receive federal subsidizes.

The Society's searches for funding on a statewide level were slightly more successful. In 1831, Nat Turner's insurrection in Virginia led to support in the Virginia legislature for a bill granting the Society $35,000 in 1832 and $90,000 for 1833. These funds would be limited to free blacks volunteering to emigrate. Despite wide support this bill failed. In 1833, however, Virginia did approve the expense of $18,000 a year for five years. Other states soon passed similar legislation. These limited contributions were helpful but not sufficient, and the Society quickly realized it could not rely solely on government support.[6]

It was, therefore, the private sector and state colonization societies upon whom the Society depended. Small state colonization societies often donated on a per-emigrant basis. The American Colonization Society ledger records the payment in 1854 of $150.00 by the Missouri Colonial Society "for the passage of Emigrants from that State," while the Kentucky Colonial Society contributed $1,250.00 for the same purpose. Direct donations from private individuals took the form of small gifts as well as impressive legacies. In 1856 the Society received its largest gift when John McDonough of New Orleans bequeathed $83,000.00. Life memberships of $30.00 and annual memberships of $2.00, combined with these large gifts and state contributions, provided adequate operating costs.[7]

Fees associated with specific emigrant voyages were paid from general funds as well as individual campaigns and earmarked donations. Although the Society offered to pay all emigrant expenses, requests were often greater than available financial resources. When the Society found itself unable to cover specific emigrant expenses it would launch a fundraising drive. In 1854 the Reverend James Herdon offered his slaves their freedom providing they emigrated. The Society's funds were inadequate for such a major undertaking. They did, however, adopt the Herdon slaves' cause and advertised for public funding in the *African Repository* and by private circular. Stipulating that it would cost $4,260.00 to send the 63 potential emigrants, the American Colonization Society requested that 426 individuals each donate $10.00. Enthusiastic response raised the sum in the three months between August and November.

The *African Repository* often carried such individual appeals, repeatedly publishing pleas from potential emigrants. Some slaves sought to purchase their own freedom or that of family members expressly for the purpose of emigrating. Free-born emigrants sought funding to cover their additional traveling expenses and freight. Most requests were granted. Often such requests, however, were never public. In many instances concerned parties earmarked contributions to offset the cost of specific emigrants. In the case of slaves freed by the death of their master, payment was often provided for by the estate. Joseph Bunches's will included $30.00 for passage of his emancipated slaves. William D. Jennings's estate provided $2,280.00 to cover the emigration expenses of his 28 slaves, amounting to $82.00 per emigrant. Solomon Inskeep contributed $200.00 for the four adults that he and his wife sent to Liberia. Other seemingly uninterested parties also contributed. "Jas. C. Johnson"

paid $60.00 "for the passage and support of Nancy Wiggin" a 25-year-old emigrant. Free-born emigrants also contributed money for all or part of their expenses. The collection of these designated funds from a wide assortment of donors enabled the Society to outfit voyages to Liberia in a thorough manner.[8]

Vessels for these journeys from the United States were procured by the Society's secretary. The Society did, for a short while, own two ships. The *Liberian Packet* sailed between Maryland and Liberia from 1848 to 1851, carrying mail, colonist supplies, visitors, and emigrants. In 1856 the Society launched its second ship, the *Mary Caroline Stevens*. Built for $36,000.00 at the behest of John Stevens of Talbot, Maryland, the *Mary Caroline Stevens* sailed in the same capacity as her predecessor until 1863. While some emigrants traveled aboard these vessels, most did not. Of the 55 voyages between 1843 and 1863, 45 were aboard privately owned vessels.

The ships either owned or chartered by the Society provided seaworthy transportation. The Society took good care of its own ships. The *Mary Caroline Stevens* had her bottom resheathed with copper in 1860, less than four years after construction. A moderately sized vessel she measured 713 tons with two decks. As of 1858 she was still rated A1, First Class, the highest rating given by American Lloyds, the marine insurance underwriters. Other relatively new vessels in the trade were the ship *Rebecca*, which was built in 1849 and sailed to Liberia in April of 1859, and the *Elvira Owen*, which was built in 1852 and sailed in 1856. Lloyds rated them A1+. The lowest-rated vessels in the Liberian emigrant trade, vessels such as the *Mendi*, and the bark *Isla de Cuba*, were rated A2. Lloyds evaluated this class to "imply confidence for the conveyance of dry or perishable cargoes on shorter voyages," which was more than adequate for the average 35- to 40-day passage to Liberia. By choosing sound vessels the Society provided dependable and reliable transportation for its emigrants.[9]



The American Colonization Society issued this one-cent token in 1833. The hopeful imagery includes a rising sun, vigorous young plants, and an African greeting an arriving ship. (Mystic Seaport, 99.65; Judy Beisler photo)

Rates for private charters, and subsequent costs for outfitting voyages varied. It cost $3,000.00 to charter the ship *Roanoke* which sailed in 1845. The *Elvira Owen*'s charter in 1856 amounted to $9,900.00. These were slightly generous rates considering the short duration of the voyage and the fact that the Society assumed all costs directly related to the emigrants. According to the American Colonization Society general ledger entry of 8 July 1854, the Society invested an additional $10,788.24 in outfitting the ship and providing accommodations for the emigrants. These costs included supplies such as food, water, freight, shipboard furnishings, and related services such as loading, constructing the furnishings, and piloting. When this is added to the $5,500.00 fee for chartering the vessel, the total expenditure for this voyage was $16,288.40. With 280 emigrants on board, the Society paid an average of $58.00 per person. The Society invested considerable funds in the chartering and outfitting of their seaworthy vessels.

Some costs were incurred by the Society on behalf of the emigrants' economic success. Society agents purchased and loaded tools, equipment, and supplies necessary for the commercial fortunes of Liberia. Filling orders from settled colonists

as well as present emigrants, the Society purchased and shipped required items including casks of nails, shingles, axes, hoes, spades, garden seeds, clothing, shoes, textiles, and sewing needles. Moses Sheppard, a Quaker supporter of colonization, personally supplied his colonists with seeds, tools, clothing, and books. When an association of emigrants was interested in starting up a sawmill in Liberia, the Pennsylvania Colonization Society lent the necessary money. The American Colonization Society paid the freight. By these and other like activities the Society supplied the basics for success in Liberia.[10]

Having provided for the emigrants' commercial endeavors, the Society also arranged for their personal accommodations on board ship. Accommodations were cramped but livable, as specified by the Society in its charter agreements with shipowners. While Captain Horatio Nelson Gray of the *Sophia Walker* advised "all future Captains in the 'Liberia Emigration Cause' to provide themselves with an extra supply of Patience, an extra pair of Lungs—also a stomach that is proof against all nausea," life on board Liberian emigrant ships could have been considerably worse.[11]

The first act of Congress to seriously legislate passenger trade was passed in 1847, but less than a year later, Congress exempted the American Colonization Society from compliance. On 31 January 1848 Congress approved "An act exempting vessels employed by the American Colonization Society, in transporting colored emigrants from the United States to the coast of Africa, from the provisions of the acts of the twenty-second of February and second of March, eighteen hundred and forty-seven, regulation the carriage of passengers in merchant-vessels." This exemption remained in effect until the passenger act of 3 March 1855. Section 16 of that act reextended federal protection to the Liberian emigrants stating: "That all and every vessel or vessels which shall or may be employed by the American Colonization Society, or the Colonization Society of any State. . . shall be, and the same are hereby, subjected to the operation of the foregoing provisions regulating the carriage of passengers in merchant-vessels."[12]

Surprisingly enough, conditions on board ships for the period in which the Liberian emigrants were exempted from federal protections, do not differ substantially from those in which they were covered. Although the exemption was passed as a money saving method during the Society's most financially challenging period, surviving passenger reports and a comparison of ships' charter parties reveal no resulting disparity in passenger accommodations.

These charters governed not only the arrangement of living quarters but also stipulated other aspects of life on board, ensuring safe passages. They regulated food rations and preparation, water storage and supplies, passenger space, and cleanliness. The Society required that captains: "put up between decks temporary berths for the accommodation of the immigrants & to take down the same at the end of the voyage: also to furnish said emigrants with water, provisions, & stores proper & necessary for said voyage, also fuel & a caboose for cooking: the ship's caboose also to be used if required, where practicable & materials for feeding emigrants to include all provisions & stores requisit."[13]

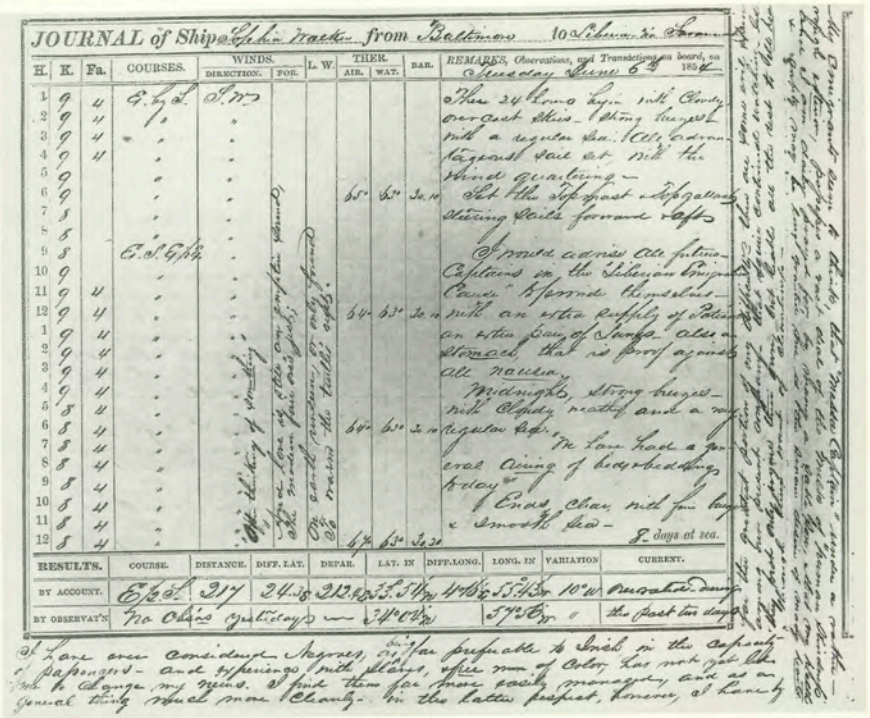
The captain's responsibilities also included allotting goods, and installing appropriate living accommodations. Several charters explicitly charged the captain with overseeing, and reporting on, the Society's provisions. The *Elvira Owen*'s and *Cora*'s charters contain passages directing that "the Captain of said ship shall keep a regular account of the provisions broached and used by the passengers and deliver the same to the agents of the party of the second part in Liberia, together with what is left of their stores." The American Colonization Society further stipulated that "the Captain shall also as far as practicable see that good order is observed by the passengers and that they do not waste their water, and provisions and that they keep their personal bedding and steerage in good order," and that "the passengers shall at all seasonable hours have free use of the main deck for airing, exercise &c." Captain Gray felt the weight of this responsibility for "my fellow beings. Every one of whom (next to their maker) look to me, as their Guide and Protector." Emigrants on board the *Isla de Cuba* passed a written resolution at the end of their voyage commending their captain for having "spared no pains to insure the safety of the ship and comfort of his passengers and crew, attending faithfully to the cleanliness of his vessel, above and below." The stipulations in the American Colonization Society's charters, including those insisting that captains assume paternalistic care of the emigrants, succeeded in providing livable passenger conditions.[14]

Predictably enough, adequate arrangements resulted in relatively healthy passengers. The Society did not require a physician on board every vessel; however, it did supply medicines and expected the captain to attend to medical problems. Under his watchful eye most passengers completed the voyage having suffered nothing more serious than seasickness. Samuel Williams, an emigrant on board the *Isle de Cuba*, noted the women passengers' early attack of seasickness, but rejoiced that "after this we had a very pleasant trip to the coast." In her first letter to the States after arriving in Monrovia, emigrant Mary Mickey notes that the passengers "were

Providentially cared for," and "there was not a death during the passage out."[15]

Not all passengers, however, were thankful. Emigrant Stephen Mitchell complained, "We all had the small-pox on our voyage to this country, and I truly believe that nothing but the merciful hand of God Saved us." Passengers on board the brig *John H. Jones* were also struck with small pox, but repeated fumigation of the vessel by burning tar, and the fortunate attendance of Dr. Roberts, a graduate of the College of Medicine of Edinburgh, contained the outbreak. When the *Liberia Packet* put out for her voyage in 1850 she quickly returned to port after an outbreak of small pox in the crew. Emigrants were vaccinated before the voyage resumed. In 1849 the bark *Laura* "put in at S.W. Pass due to an out break of Cholera." In 1850, Liberian colonist Henry J. Roberts reported that of the emigrants arriving on the *David C. Foster*, "Many of them were quite sick on their passage out, I am informed, and one man died, before their arrival."[16]

In contrast, a few voyages were disastrous. On the *Sophia Walker*'s passage 25 passengers died. Captain Gray and the attending physicians, Dr. Snowden and Dr. Laing, all attributed the tragic loss to rancid water loaded in Savannah. Thirty colonists also died on the brig *Ajax*, but the cause of death was undetermined. These two incidents appear to have been exceptions. Emigrants arriving in Liberia quickly wrote letters home detailing events in their new country. Many of the numerous letters written during these first days detail the death and sickness of friends and family from the African fevers. Only a few mention deaths, or even ill health that occurred during the voyage. This lack of adverse reports testifies to the overall good health of the passengers at sea.[17]



During the 1854 passage of the Sophia Walker *from Baltimore to Liberia, Captain Horatio Nelson Gray annotated his formal log with personal observations. On 6 June 1854, as the* Walker *neared Liberia, Gray commented: "I have ever considered Negroes as being far preferable to Irish in the capacity of passengers—and experience with slaves, & free men of color, has not yet led me to change my views." Like white Americans of his age, Gray felt superior to his passengers, but he respected them and they greatly appreciated him. "My emigrants seem to think that 'Massa Captain' under a rather rough exterior, possesses a vast deal of the milk of 'human kindness' and I am daily prayed for by many a sable son, that my health & safety may be long granted me is the sincere desire of many hearts." (Mystic Seaport, Collection 89, volume 2, G.W. Blunt White Library)*

Healthy, adequately accommodated, the passengers enjoyed relative leisure. Sometimes too much free time resulted in arguments between the crew and passengers. On the *John H. Jones* pistols were drawn. The captain immediately stepped in and successfully arbitrated the situation. The male passengers on the same ship later received the seafarer's customary visit from Father Neptune. While the *Sophia Walker*'s voyage was not so eventful, Captain Gray noted that the passengers were often in "high glee" and "on deck with few exceptions, and devoting themselves to various exercises, in reading, singing, etc." Passengers, such as those on the *Isla de Cuba*, also reported enjoying their passages.[18]

The emigrants life aboard ship, however, was not limited to leisure. Emigrants spent several hours in religious worship, and Society vessels often carried missionaries dedicated to Christianizing African natives. Emigrants themselves were extremely pious. Shipboard life reflected this overtone, and often revolved around religious observances. On 21 May, Captain Gray noted "We had divine service, this morning. One of the Emigrants officiating—Text 1 Chap Isaiah—16 verse. 'Come let us reason together' &c, the ceremonies were conducted in a very sincere manner, appropriate—and I think the discourse was equally as good as many that I have heard from the White Pulpits." Almost daily services followed. Even on the last day "Religious services were held during the morning." Charles Stewart, a white passenger on the voyage of the *John H. Jones*



Established at Cape Mesurado in 1821, Monrovia looked like an American community, with European-style homes, commercial buildings, and churches. A bar at the mouth of the St. Paul's River limited access to the Monrovia waterfront, so large vessels had to anchor offshore, as depicted in this engraving from the 1850s. (The African Repository, *June 1851; Mystic Seaport, G.W. Blunt White Library)*

in 1861, commended the regular Sunday service as "very impressive." Samuel Williams, on a scouting mission to Liberia, recorded that "we had religious worship regularly all the way to Africa." Reverend Daniel H. Peterson, a passenger on the bark *Isla de Cuba* thanked "the Lord that I was able to fulfil all my duties while on board the barque, that is to preach once on the Sabbath, hold prayers every morning and evening, and say grace at every meal." Shipboard life for many emigrants meant religious worship.[19]

The last shipboard service was customarily held upon arrival in Monrovia. Liberian law required captains to register with custom officials in the capital city. As with all emigrant vessels, officials soon came on board to inspect the ship and passengers. Ships arriving with ill passengers were quarantined, but once permission to land was received unloading began. Even as late as 1861 Monrovia had no wharves, making unloading a difficult operation. A large sandbar in the mouth of the St. Paul's River forced ships to anchor out. Both freight and passengers were brought ashore in lighters. Local Kru tribesmen manned the vessels, skillfully guiding longboats and canoes through the often heavy surf on the bar.

Monrovia was the destination port for the majority of emigrants and the first port of call for ships. Passengers destined for other Liberian settlements usually unloaded here and completed their trips overland. Occasionally passengers would remain on the ship and continue on to Bassa Cove, or Cape Palmas. Once all Liberia-bound passengers and freight were safely onshore, the charter between the ship and the American Colonization Society was fulfilled.

The end of a voyage also signaled the end of the Society's yearlong process. The effort by which the American Colonization sent its emigrants to Liberia involved considerable time, effort, and capital. For an organization accused of merely wanting to remove an unwanted population, they certainly exerted themselves beyond the minimal effort required.

At the same time that black Americans were leaving this country, other settlers, also unwanted in their native countries, were arriving in the United States. Neither the German royalty, following the collapse of the revolutionary movement, nor Irish landlords during the famine years, offered such extensive assistance to the thousands forced to flee their countries. Conditions aboard the Irish "floating coffins," contrast sharply with conditions aboard Liberia-bound ships. Captain Gray's experience caused him to write that he "considered Negroes, as being far preferable to Irish in the capacity of passengers—and experience with slaves, & free men of color, has not yet led me to change my views."[20]

The Irish most likely would have preferred the experience of emigrating on board his ship as well. The experience of black emigrants was often superior to that of the Irish in many respects. Thousands of Irish were sent at the expense of their landlords, just as slave owners supported the emigration of emancipated slaves. Irish landlords, however, paid only an average of $10.00 for passage in a period when slave owners were contributing up to $80.00.

Overcrowding on board U.S.-bound vessels was rampant. Death rates far exceed death rates on Liberian voyages. The "regular airing" required by charter on Liberian voyages was often ignored on board Irish emigrant ships, where it was stipulated by law. Debilitating sickness was taken for granted. Unlike Liberian immigrants, Irish emigrants supplied their own food, but access to the ship's cooking facilities, while

legally required, was seldom obtained on a daily basis. Religious observance also did not occur with any frequency on board Irish emigrant vessels. While Liberian immigrants often worshipped daily, Irish emigrants considered themselves blessed if they were permitted a few solemn words during one of the frequent burials at sea.

Vessels used in the Irish emigration were of lesser quality than those chartered or owned by the American Colonization Society. Numerous vessels coming to the United States from Ireland either foundered or were entirely lost at sea. The American Colonization Society's reliance on highly rated vessels resulted in no Liberia-bound ship ever being lost. If, as the anti-colonists, abolitionists, and modern scholars state, the sole purpose of the American Colonization Society was to rid the United States of the black race, it did not dispose of them in the same manner with which the Irish landowners disposed of the Irish tenants.

The American Colonization Society's intent was obviously more than mere expulsion. Emigrant Augustus Washington praised the Society as having "labored perseveringly and unitedly for the accomplishment of one great purpose . . . the amelioration of the condition of the free colored man and manumitted slave." The extensive actions taken by the Society on behalf of the Liberian emigrants attests to their greater intentions. The choice of sound ships, their overseeing of the living conditions on board those ships, and resulting health of the passengers, as well as the financial support invested in the colonist's commercial ventures, attest to something more than ruthless deportation. The emigrants were well accommodated. Detractors such as William Lloyd Garrison viewed the Society as an institution which "inflicts upon them [emancipated slaves] an aggravated wrong, perpetrated their thraldom, and disregards the claims of everlasting and immutable justice." The evidence presented by the emigrant voyages certainly raises questions regarding these accusations.[21]

Notes

1. Horatio Nelson Gray, Log, ship *Sophia Walker*, 18 June 1854, Hotchkiss Family Collection, Coll. 89, vol. 2, Mystic Seaport, G.W. Blunt White Library.

2. P.J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961).

3. *The African Repository*, 26:11 (November 1850), 337.

4. "Applicants for emigration to Liberia," Series VI, Container Nos. 18 and 19, American Colonization Society Records, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., hereafter cited as ACS Records, LC.

5. Frank G. Kirkpatrick, "Religious Abolitionists in the *Amistad* Era: Diversity in Moral Discourse," in *The Amistad Incident: Four Perspectives* (Middletown: Connecticut Humanities Council, 1992), 45; Samuel Williams, "Four Years in Liberia: A Sketch of the Life of the Rev. Samuel Williams, 1857," in Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *Liberian Dreams* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 131.

6. Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement*, 176-78; "A Bill to Establish a Line of War Steamers to the Coast of Africa," *The African Repository*, 26:11 (November 1850), 326.

7. General Ledger, 8 July 1854, 421, 419, ACS Records, LC.

8. Ibid., 8 July 1854, 421, 419.

9. Staudenraus, *African Colonization Movement*, 243; American Lloyds, *Registry of American and Foreign Shipping* (New York: E. & G.W. Blunt, 1859).

10. Bliss Forbush, *Moses Sheppard: Quaker Philanthropist of Baltimore* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1968), 137; Williams, "Four Years in Liberia," 141.

11. Gray, Log, ship *Sophia Walker*, 6 June 1854, Mystic Seaport.

12. William J. Bromwell, *History of Immigration to the United States, Exhibiting the Number, Sex, Age, Occupation, and Country of Birth of Passengers Arriving in the United States by Sea from Foreign Countries, From September 30, 1819, to December 31, 1855* (Redfield, New York, 1856), 222.

13. *Sophia Walker* Charter, Series VI, "Charter parties, 1843-65" container 4, microfilm roll 303, ACS Records, LC.

14. Gray, Log, ship *Sophia Walker*, 30 May 1854, Mystic Seaport; Daniel H. Peterson, "The Looking-Glass: Being a True Report and narrative of the Life, Travels, and Labors of the Rev. Daniel H. Peterson," in Moses, *Liberian Dreams*, 39.

15. Williams, "Four Years in Liberia," 140; Mary Mickey to Dr. James Minor, 4 February 1857, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia.

16. *The African Repository*, 28:2, (February 1852), 50; Charles Jones Stewart, *Home at Last*, Frederick P. Schmitt ed., (Cold Spring Harbor, New York: Whaling Museum Society, 19), 20 November 1861; Log, bark *Laura*, 7, 22 January 1849, Log 128, Mystic Seaport, G.W. Blunt White Library; *The African Repository*, 26:11 (November 1850), 328.

17. Wicliffe-Preston Family Papers, University of Kentucky Special Collection and Archives; slightly less than 50 percent of all emigrants died within two years of arrival in Liberia. For further information on Liberian death rates see Antonia McDaniel, *Swing Low, Sweet Chariot: The Mortality Cost of Colonizing Liberia in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

18. Stewart, *Home at Last*, 27 November 1861; Gray, Log, ship *Sophia Walker*, 13, 30 May 1854, Mystic Seaport.

19. Gray, Log, ship *Sophia Walker*, 17 July 1854, Mystic Seaport; Stewart, *Home at Last*, 10 November 1861; Williams, "Four Years in Liberia," 132; Peterson, "The Looking-Glass," 31.

20. Gray, Log, ship *Sophia Walker*, 6 June 1854, Mystic Seaport.

21. Augustus Washington, "Thoughts on the American Colonization Society," in Moses, *Liberian Dreams*, 190; William Lloyd Garrison, *Thoughts on African Colonization: or, An Impartial Exhibition of the Doctrines, Principles and Purposes of the American Colonization Society*, 3 parts, (1832; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1968), 122.

Kelly S. Drake works as the manuscripts associate in Mystic Seaport's G.W. Blunt White Library.

Sponsored by the Fellows of the G.W. Blunt White Library, the Gerald E. Morris Prize Article Contest is intended to foster original research and writing in American maritime subjects. The submission deadline is 1 March of each year. For further information and contest guidelines contact Library Director Paul O'Pecko or *Log* Editor Andrew German.

Native Legacy

America's Favorite Small Boats

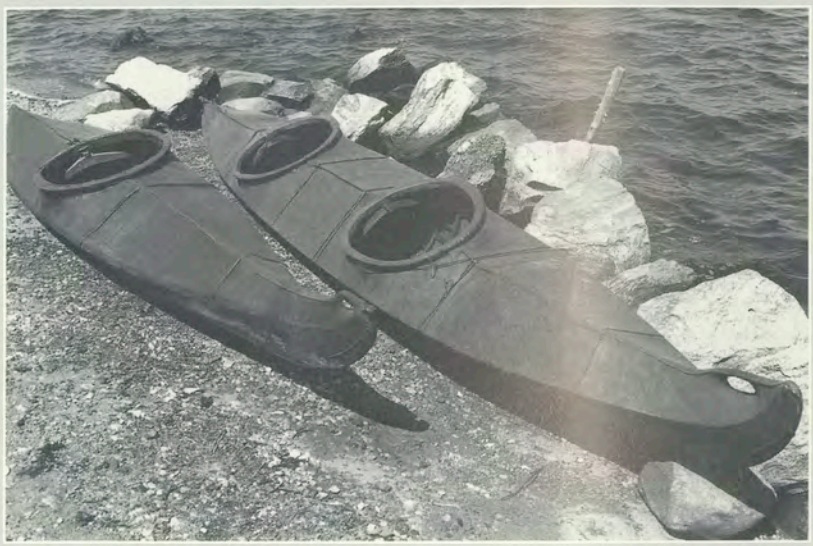
BENJAMIN A.G. FULLER

The boats without motors that we most commonly use today are canoes, kayaks, sailing board boats, sailboards, and multihulls. These are the modest boats, found pulled up on beaches or on docks, tied to roof racks or small trailers, tucked away under trees or hanging in garages. They are light and affordable. They come in many styles and materials. They are both mass-produced and crafted one at a time. Advanced technologies keep costs down or provide superior performance. These boats all have their roots in Native American boat types.

"Native Legacy" will show the origins of our most popular craft. It will show how they were changed by Euro-American builders to reflect the tools, materials, and boating cultures of the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Inuit kayaks became wooden double-paddle canoes, then sailing canoes and folding boats. Bark canoes from Maine gave us wood-canvas canoes. Dugouts from southern Ontario gave us slim, all-wood Canadian canoes. Hawai'ian surfboards became first sailing board boats, with rudders and conventional rigs, then standup sailboards. And the Hawai'ian outriggers inspired beach catamarans.

In the waning years of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, new recreational markets developed. Boatbuilders adapted their craft for the market. Canoes grew sails for cruising and racing. Wood-canvas and all-wood canoes and kayaks came in many shapes and styles to fit varying needs. After World War II, builders seized on new materials to keep costs low and to speed up production for a vastly expanded market. They looked to the "Native Legacy" for new inspiration and found it in the warm-water boats of the Pacific. Plywood, aluminum, then fiberglass transformed the way we think about small boats. In the 1980s, new forms of plastics made small boats easier and quicker to build, and even more affordable.

While the stuff of the exhibit will be boats, it is their creators and



Wood-frame skin boats were built by many native cultures, especially in the Arctic, to use the resources available to them. These two qajags *(kayaks) represent the design and construction methods developed at King Island in the Bering Strait off Alaska. King Island* qajags *were the best made and strongest of the Bering Strait types. They were used to hunt and to travel across the Strait, and they were large enough to carry cargo or even an additional crew member under deck. Driven with either single- or double-bladed paddle, they were very maneuverable and could be rolled if needed. The type became familiar to New England whalemen, who frequented the Bering Strait and Arctic Ocean from the middle years of the nineteenth century.*

The origins of this 15-foot single-hole boat are not certain, but it could have been brought back to New England as part of the cargo of a whaleship. The 18-foot two-hole boat is believed to be one of four similar boats built at King Island for seal hunting in the Aleutians in the 1920s. It was brought back to the United States by a Chicago sportsman who planned to have the Old Town Canoe Company adapt the design for wood-canvas construction. Like the Chicago sportsman, Englishman John MacGregor was inspired to have a native design built of European materials after returning home from a trip to Canada and Alaska in 1859. His Rob Roy canoe began the recreational canoeing craze in Europe and America. (Mystic Seaport, 38.312 (two-hole), 65.902 (one hole); Maynard E. Bray photo)



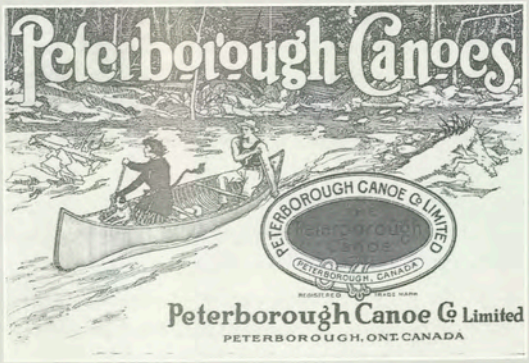
Dugout canoes, hollowed from logs large and small, are among the earliest boats. In North America, native peoples used local timber to produce characteristic designs: large, deep white-pine dugouts in the northeast; graceful, shallow, cypress pirogues in the southeast; and long, highly decorated, steam-spread cedar canoes in the northwest. European settlers adopted several of these types, and their steel tools made it easier for both Native and Euro-Americans to build Native American boat designs. These oyster dugouts, photographed in the Quinnipiac River at Fair Haven, Connecticut, about 1890, make it clear that native designs continued to be used long after the period of initial contact, while materials were available. Because of their durability and ease of operation in shallow water, large dugouts remained in favor among Connecticut oystermen well into the nineteenth century, although builders had to travel to the headwaters of the Connecticut River and into the Finger Lakes area of New York to find large enough white pine trees.

Possibly after their bottoms were worn out through shoveling out oysters, these dugouts were given flat bottoms by nailing short boards across the bottoms. This long, narrow, cross-planked structure may have given rise to the cross-planked skiff and sharpie designs that seem to have originated in the Fair Haven area in the middle years of the nineteenth century. The photograph depicts four dugouts, a cross-planked rowing skiff, and a sailing sharpie. Mystic Seaport Museum has two nineteenth-century oystering dugouts from New Haven in its collection. (Mystic Seaport, 78.152.494)



Euro-Americans used their boatbuilding methods to create recreational canoes for sail and paddle. These boats borrowed the deck and double-bladed paddle from the Inuit. But they were built of boards and metal, not skin and sinew, and they were relatively heavy, wide, and stable without a paddle. They were often equipped with camping gear as well. Englishman John "Rob Roy" MacGregor wrote about his travels in his double-paddle canoe in 1865, and the idea of adventuring in a small, light boat was picked up elsewhere in Europe and in the United States. One of MacGregor's canoes is in the Mystic Seaport collection and will be in the exhibit.

The first American builder of these canoes was New York City Whitehall builder James Everson. He constructed it for W.L. Alden, who imported the sport from England about 1871 as one of the founders of the New York Canoe Club. The American Canoe Association was founded in 1880, uniting dozens of clubs. By 1885 American canoe designers and users had developed special sailing canoes for cruising and racing as well as specialized double-paddle canoes. While most clubs restricted their membership to men, this engraving suggests that women also took to the paddle. Harper's Weekly *published this illustration by Milton J. Burns, "Spring Meeting of the Hudson River Canoe Clubs," in its 13 June 1885 issue. (Mystic Seaport, 76.184)*



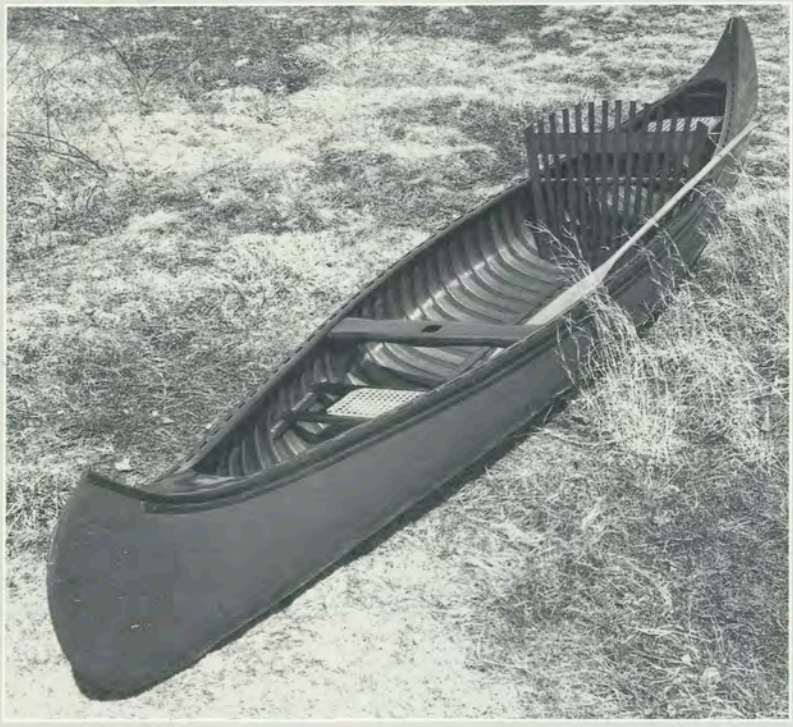
In the Rice Lake area north of Lake Ontario, the Missisauga mastered both birchbark and dugout canoe building. European settlers, arriving in the early 1800s, borrowed and built Missisauga-style dugouts for general use on lake waters. By the 1850s, racing was popular, and settlers strove for lighter and leaner dugouts. In 1857, Peterborough's John Stephenson steam-bent frames over an existing dugout, then nailed wide, thin basswood planks to them. With that, the Canadian canoe and a canoe-building industry was born.

The Peterborough Canoe Company arose from John Stephenson's shop when he and J.Z. Rogers established the Ontario Canoe Company in 1879. After a disastrous fire in 1892, the company was recapitalized and renamed the Peterborough Canoe Company.

Canadians built their slim canoes in many sizes and ways. They exported them to Europe and the United States, marketing them through sales agents, trade expositions, and nicely printed catalogs, like this one from 1922. In the 1980s canoe designers looking for faster alternatives to existing types turned to this legacy of designs to find inspiration for narrow tripping boats, which they then adapted to the latest in building techniques. (Mystic Seaport, G.W. Blunt White Library)



Back in 1908, a brand-new Model 64 Peterborough canoe made a fine present for 16-year-old Roger P. Batchelor of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. He liked the 16-foot canoe so well that he brought it with him to Gibson Island, Maryland, and left it to his son, who later donated it to Mystic Seaport. It is the basic Canadian wide-board model, made by molding frames and boards over a dugout canoe hull. These canoes, built by several companies, came to be called "Peterboroughs," and their export to Europe made "Canadian Canoes" the international name for open canoes. (Mystic Seaport, 81.111; Maynard E. Bray photo)



By the time it built this H.W. Model, Grade AA 16-foot canoe in 1921, the Old Town Canoe Company of Old Town, Maine, had clearly established its ascendancy over its rivals. Many companies active when Old Town was incorporated in 1904 were out of business by 1920, or would not survive the competition of aluminum and fiberglass to come. Old Town was building at a steady rate of 4,000 boats per year in their five-story factory (built in 1912 and 1914 and still in use), a production rate that they kept up until the depths of the Great Depression in 1934.

This canoe was completed in January of 1921, getting her rails and keel at the end of April, and being colored red and shipped in May to a "Wilder" at H.D. Luce Company. This may have been the donor's father, named Walker, as the record is hard to read. Although records don't show it, the canoe seems to have been equipped with sponsons for increased buoyancy, which were removed in 1940 according to Old Town's instructions. Removing them made it easier for the donor's husband to fit the canoe for leeboards and sailing in 1948. The canoe was used summers on Lake Ontario, surfing and sailing. It was taken to Florida in 1976 and was donated to Mystic Seaport by the owner's daughter in 1985. (Mystic Seaport, 85.83; Maynard E. Bray photo)



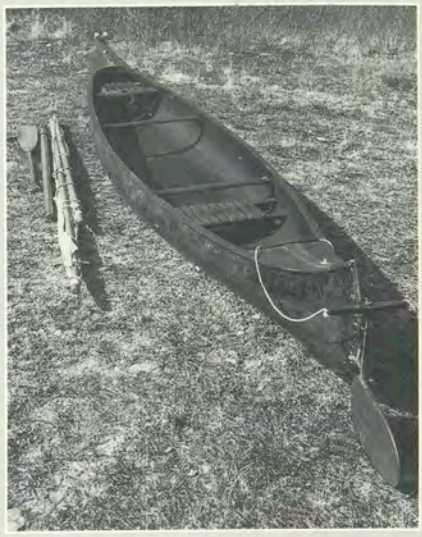
When the Morris Canoe Company issued this catalog in 1917, Maine canoe builders were shipping thousands of recreational canoes each year. The industry had begun modestly along Maine's Penobscot River, north of Bangor, perhaps 60 years earlier. There, both Penobscots and Euro-Americans built bark canoes for lumbering and guiding for recreational fishermen and hunters. By the 1870s scarce birch and increasing canoe demand caused builders to experiment, substituting canvas for bark. This meant reversing the process used in bark construction. Instead of bending frames into a bark hull in Penobscot fashion, builders set up the frames first and used tacks to fasten planks to frames, European fashion, then covered the planks with canvas. By 1878, Bangor's E. H. Gerrish had a "factory" turning out 18 wood-canvas canoes a year. Upstream in Veazie, Bert Morris started on the second floor of his home, soon moving to a real factory. Morris pioneered canoe sales through catalogs and national media exposure; as this catalog shows, his main market was recreation. Morris was to be eclipsed in marketing and in volume by the Grays of Old Town, Maine, whose Old Town Canoe Company (under new ownership) recently celebrated 100 years in business. The shape and size of these canvas-covered canoes has led to the proportions of most modern paddling canoes, whether humble "plastic" (polyethylene) boat or recreational racing machine. (Mystic Seaport, G.W. Blunt White Library)

users, people like us, who will tell the stories. John "Rob Roy" MacGregor cruised his Rob Roy canoes on the rivers and seas of Europe, wrote of his travels, and in doing so created a sport. Frank Havens won the 1956 Olympic 10,000-meter race in an imported canoe. Oliver Lathrop bought a boat as an undergraduate, paddled it on Boston's Charles River, took it to the lakes of New Hampshire and Maine, and left his canoe to his son. Sixteen-year-old Henry Condit was given a sailing canoe to celebrate his recover from typhoid fever in 1888. Karl Staley took his beloved canoe to Florida when he retired and mounted a skateboard



When C. Edgar Blake bought Ne-O-Ga *in 1912, he was buying a highly popular wood-canvas canoe style. Her high ends, while not especially functional, gave her a romantic "Indian" look. The gold-leaf stripe, the decorative name, and the fancy mahogany gunwale added $8.90 to the $40.00 price for this 17-foot Type A 64, Model 1 canoe from the B.N. Morris Canoe Company of Veazie, Maine. Just 35 days after the order was taken, the boat was shipped to Twin Lakes, Connecticut, where she was used for 10 years, then taken over to the Farmington River, where she was used for another four years before being put in storage. It was later donated to Mystic Seaport by the owner's son.*

Perhaps Blake chose the Morris Company because it aimed at the high end of the recreational market and boasted of higher-quality production than the more common Old Town canoes. By 1910, Morris had 35 people working in his factory; when it burned in 1920, 75 people lost their jobs, and all company records were lost. Morris canoes are characterized by higher, more sweeping ends than most canoes of the period, and by the use of cedar stems that splay out where they join the keel. (Mystic Seaport, 84.147.1; Maynard E. Bray photo)



The Willets Brothers of Tacoma, Washington, provided another alternative to wood-canvas canoe construction. In the years between 1919 and 1959 they built up to 25 canoes a year using a technique that featured two layers of planking, with a layer of glue-soaked muslin in between. The inner layer ran athwartships, giving a perfectly smooth surface inside the boat. The brothers standardized their production with just one model, a 17-footer, to "give the customers a better canoe for less money than would otherwise be possible." Their methods allowed for pre-production of planks and parts, and they also could furnish a customer a complete sailing rig and even outriggers and oars. The cost of this durable wooden boat was only a bit more than that of a wood-canvas canoe of the same size. When Willets started, their canoes cost $85; by the time that production ceased the price had risen to $285. A sailing rig and paddles doubled the price.

Karl A. Staley of Ohio bought Skitch *in 1937 and built a lateen-style sailing rig according to the then current American Canoe Association design. The boat often went to the ACA's annual encampment on Sugar Island in the Thousand Islands on the St. Lawrence River to race, and was finally taken to Florida when Mr. Staley retired. When* Skitch *became hard to lift as Staley got older he adapted it with a device never thought of by Native American or Euro-American canoe builders: a skateboard wheel mounted on the bow, which allowed him to turn the canoe over and roll it to the water's edge. When Mrs. Staley donated* Skitch *to Mystic Seaport in his memory, the wheel was still attached. (Mystic Seaport, 86.19; Maynard E. Bray photo)*

wheel on the bow deck so he could roll it to the water when it got too heavy to carry. In Maine, a family named Gray created a canoe company called Old Town that just turned 100. And 40 years ago, a pair of amateur builders named Al and Cort created a simple sailing board boat in their garage that has sold tens of thousands in the well-known form of the Sailfish and Sunfish. These are not stories of great boats and grand boating. These are the stories of people like us who found inspiration in the boats of the Native Americans and gave us boats we can afford and use.

We will also see that Euro-American builders did not necessarily fully embrace or understand the craft they were borrowing. Today's users are rediscovering techniques and models originally bypassed by those who sought to interpret or improve native craft. At the same time, Native American users are rediscovering their own heritage and restoring their canoes and kayaks to a central place in their cultures. And new native types continue to be borrowed.

Thinking about this Native Legacy reminds us that not all of what is commonplace today comes from Euro-American cultures. It is important that we work to preserve hard-won knowledge as it can often form the basis of new knowledge; its time can come again. And we will be reminded that as builders solve the small boat problem using the best tools and materials they have, they sometimes create beauty.

Native American boats were built economically and in profusion, using the highest technologies available. Where lightness and portability were important,



Poised in a 20-foot "Club 4" racing canoe, (left to right) George Ames, Fred Mahern, Charles Hougton, and George E. Merritt of the Dedham Boat Club show the style that won them the New England Amateur Oarsman's four-man canoe race on July Fourth 1910.

Racing provided the impetus for Canadians in the Peterborough area to adapt native dugouts to European design. The first national American canoe meet, in 1880, had both paddling and sailing races, and these soon dominated organized canoeing. Between 1890 and 1910, Boston's Charles River in the Waltham area, around the old Norumbega Ballroom, was a canoeist's paradise. On a hot summer day, Bostonians could take the street car to flee the heat and humidity of downtown and find cooling recreation on the river. They could rent a canoe at one of several liveries or paddle their own canoe from one of the clubs along the Charles. As the photograph suggests, club racing was a popular sport. H. B. Arnold & Co. of Waltham, as well as other U.S. and Canadian companies, built these 20-foot "Club 4s" for paddling with single or double blades. Mystic Seaport owns an Arnold C4, built about the time of this photograph for a Rhode Island canoe club. (Mystic Seaport, 95.51.2)

the boats could be easily carried by hand. In all cases weight was kept low. Stability for open ocean was created by hulls bound together, not by heavy weights. Since these boats depended on muscle and wind, centuries of experience created sophisticated low-drag hull shapes. Today these craft have been transformed from the working craft of Native Americans to recreational craft for us all. This exhibit tells that story.

Suggested Readings

Edwin T. Adney and Howard I. Chapelle, *The Bark and Skin Boats of North America* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964).

Susan T. Audette, with David E. Baker, *The Old Town Canoe Company: Our First Hundred Years* (Gardiner, Maine: Tilbury House, 1998).

John R. Bockstoce, "Arctic Odyssey," *National Geographic* 164:1 (July 1983).

——, *Arctic Passages* (New York: Hearst Marine Books, 1991).

Hallie E. Bond, *Boats and Boating in the Adirondacks* (Blue Mountain Lake and Syracuse, New York: The Adirondack Museum/Syracuse University Press, 1995).

John Gardner, "Native Dugout Canoes," *The Log of Mystic Seaport* 21:2 (June 1969):57-60.

Holly Hughes, "The Willets Brothers Canoes," *WoodenBoat* 55 (November/December 1983): 82-86.

John MacGregor, *A Thousand Miles in a Rob Roy Canoe* (London: Low, Marston and Company, 1866).

John McPhee, *The Survival of the Bark Canoe* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1975).

Kenneth G. Roberts and Philip Shackleton, *Canoe: A History of the Craft from Panama to the Arctic* (Camden, Maine: International Marine Publishing, 1983).

Jerry Stelmok and Rollin Thurlow, *The Wood & Canvas Canoe* (Gardiner, Maine: Harpswell Press, 1987).

Gerald F. Stephenson, "John Stephenson and the Famous 'Peterborough' Canoes," Peterborough Historical Society, *Occasional Paper* 8 (November 1987); reprint, *Wooden Canoe* 51, 15:2 (1992):5-12.

David W. Zimmerly, *Qajaq: Kayaks of Siberia and Alaska* (Juneau, Alaska: Division of State Museum, 1986).

Formerly curator at Mystic Seaport, Benjamin A.G. Fuller is an independent maritime scholar, museum adviser, and canoeing enthusiast living in Cushing, Maine. He is guest curator for the Museum's "Native Legacy" exhibit, scheduled for July-October 1999 in the renovated Stillman Building. Check the July/August *Wind Rose* for Native Legacy activities.

Collecting for America and the Sea

It's An Odd Duck: Rod Stephens and the Development of the DUKW

CHERYL B. CHAPUT



For those who have been to Boston on a Mystic Seaport Members' "Duck Tour," or are planning to go, you will not soon forget driving through city streets in a very large, cumbersome vehicle that splashed into the water to become a vessel of dubious aesthetics. But as ugly as this duck may be, its origins include design by a prominent yachtsman and essential service during the greatest naval war in history.

With the expansion of World War II, and the British fiasco on the beaches of Dunkirk in 1940, it quickly became apparent that the Allies would need to develop vessels to deliver or retrieve troops and equipment on the beaches of Europe and the Pacific islands. Even before America's entry into the war late in 1941, the U.S. Army had begun to experiment with amphibious vehicles, and the U.S. Navy began to develop the LST (Landing Ship, Tank) and other vessels to transport troops and cargo between ship and shore. Most of these were shallow-draft watercraft that could approach close enough to lay a ramp to the beach, but the army proposed a vehicle that could navigate on both land and water.

During World War II, civilians were essential to the war effort, whether women working on farms or in factories, or children collecting scrap for recycling. The National Defense Research Committee served the armed

Demonstrating the new DUKW's performance to military and civilian observers, Roderick Stephens, Jr., drives his craft along the beach. The small vehicle alongside is the precursor of the DUKW, one of the amphibious "aqua-jeeps" designed by Sparkman & Stephens in 1941. (Mystic Seaport, 95.24.337.48)

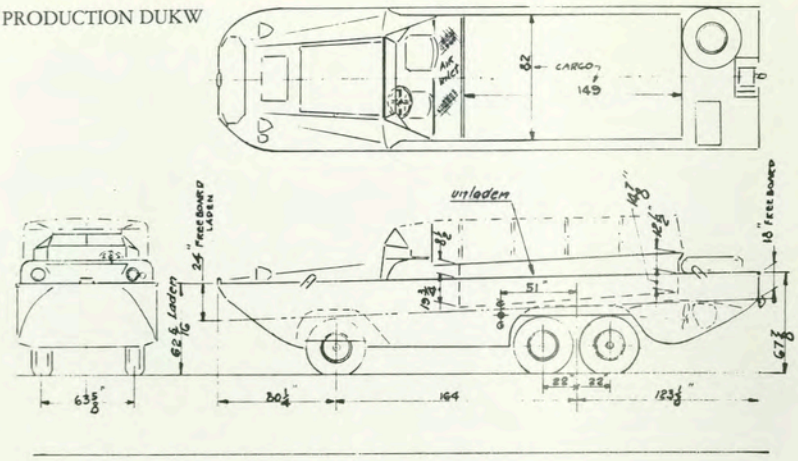
forces by working with civilian firms to develop military products. When the army needed an amphibious vehicle in 1941, the N.D.R.C. engaged the prestigious naval architectural firm, Sparkman & Stephens, to work with the Ford Motor Company.

Sparkman & Stephens had been formed in 1928 by yacht broker Drake H. Sparkman and yacht designer Olin J. Stephens II. (Today, Olin Stephens is a Trustee Emeritus at Mystic Seaport, and the Sparkman & Stephens firm is still successfully based in New York seventy years after its founding.) The firm quickly earned a reputation for excellence and innovation with designs such as *Dorade* in 1931 and Mystic Seaport's own *Brilliant* in 1932. Olin's younger brother, Roderick Stephens, Jr., joined the firm shortly thereafter, specializing in rigging and deck design, and supervising the building of vessels to his brother's specifications.

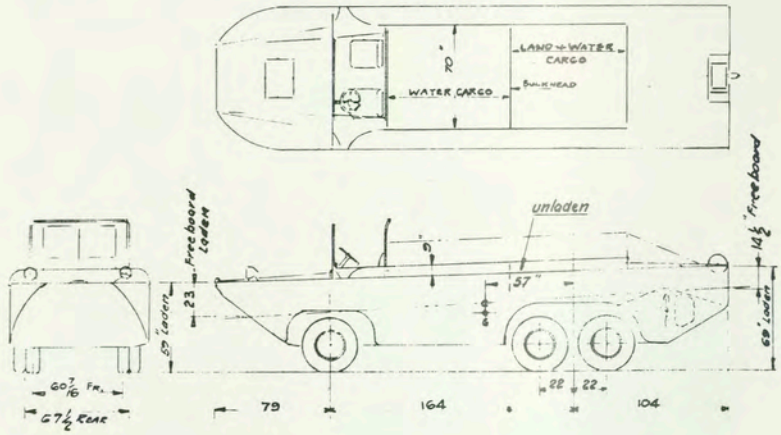
As project and marine engineers for the U.S. Army's 1941 amphibious experiment, Sparkman & Stephens designed a hull and collaborated with Ford to produce an amphibious version of the standard quarter-ton jeep that Ford built for the army. Carrying forward the idea of "amphibianizing" existing vehicles, the National Defense Research Committee engaged Sparkman & Stephens in April 1942 to work with the General Motors Corporation to make the army's 2 1/2-ton truck float.

Sparkman & Stephens assigned Rod Stephens as project engineer. A champion sailor in his own right, he had also supervised the rig of the J-boat *Ranger*, which won an unparalleled string of victories, and the America's Cup, in 1937. His experience in designing, building, and sailing small boats, as well as his broad practical knowledge of rigging, marine engines, and rocky coastlines

PRODUCTION DUKW



ORIGINAL DUKW - C.O.E.



The DUKW as designed through the summer of 1942 was modified slightly during performance testing. For example, the shape of the wheel wells and stern was changed for efficient movement in the water; the foredeck was lengthened; the freeboard was increased slightly; and the cargo compartment was enlarged to accommodate anything from troops to a 105 mm. howitzer. (Mystic Seaport, 95.24.329.87)

more than qualified him to supervise the army's amphibious vehicle design.

Stephens headed a team that included E.T. Todd, E.W. Allen, and William Klein of General Motors, and Palmer Cosslett Putnam and Roger Warner of the N.D.R.C. they preserved the standard CCKW-353 truck's 270-cubic-inch, six-cylinder General Motors engine, it's six-wheel drive train, and its capacity of 5,000 pounds of cargo and artillery, or 25 equipped soldiers. With naval architects from Sparkman & Stephens, they designed a water-tight welded steel hull, complete with bilge pumps, and attached a propeller shaft to the drive train and a rudder to the steering system. The vehicle that these men conceived was 31 feet long, 8 feet 4 inches wide, and 8 feet 11 inches high (picture this on a city street!). By August 1942 Rod Stephens had perfected the hull shape through field testing, and he went on to perform still water and surf tests at Provincetown, Massachusetts, Cape Hatteras, North Carolina, and Fort Ord, California. He tested the vehicle's performance over coral at Key West, Florida.

One of the DUKW's most valuable features was its tire inflation system. An air compressor and tank on board allowed the driver to inflate



With a party of National Defense Research and General Motors engineers and observers on board, Rod Stephens takes the helm of DUKW number 1 to demonstrate its still-water performance. Designed to carry 25 troops in its cargo compartment, this one has nearly twice as many passengers on board. (Mystic Seaport, 95.24.337.25)

or deflate any or all of the tires as conditions dictated. This enabled the DUKW to land on coral or sandy beaches, then shift to hard roads, bringing supplies and munitions directly where needed.

Once the design was accepted, more than 20,000 of these amphibious trucks were built for the U.S. Army, Navy, and Coast Guard by the General Motors Corporation from 1942 to 1945. The acronym for the vehicle—DUKW—was GMC shorthand, D indicating the model year 1942, U meaning amphibian, K indicating all-wheel drive, and W meaning dual rear axles. The vehicle had a top land speed of 50 miles per hour, while its top water speed was 5 knots. As Rod Stephens noted, "she's better in water than any truck, and she'll beat any boat on a highway!"[1]

Sparkman & Stephens's involvement did not stop with production. Rod Stephens, Dennis Puleston, and Hartwell S. Moore spent months perfecting the vehicle in service and training operators in its use. Stephens traveled to England and to the islands of the south and central Pacific when the DUKWs were introduced there.

DUKWs reached the Pacific theater in April 1943 and were employed extensively in the Pacific campaign, from the Solomon Islands to Okinawa, where invading forces and supplies had to be brought in directly from LSTs to coral lagoons or rough, exposed beaches. They also were widely used in the European theater during the amphibious invasions of 1943 and 1944, from Sicily and Anzio to the Normandy beaches on D-Day and the August 1944 invasion in the South of France. As General Dwight Eisenhower remarked: "Prior to the late war it had always been assumed that any major amphibious attack had to gain permanent port facilities within a matter of several days or be abandoned. The development of effective landing gear by the Allies, including LST's, LCT's, ducks, and other craft, did much to lessen immediate dependence upon established port facilities."[2] Indeed, it was found that a flotilla of 50 DUKWs could ferry ashore the entire contents of a 10,000-ton Liberty ship in just 72 hours.

The DUKW's ability to carry supplies quickly and efficiently enabled the army or marines to mount a thorough assault, with infantry supported by artillery, within moments of an amphibious landing. Early on D-Day, Admiral Hall sent in a wave of 123 DUKWs, many of which carried 105-mm. howitzers, to reinforce the troops on the beach. "'Had it not been for the arrival of the [howitzers] 30 minutes before the first counterattack by German tanks,' a 36th Division officer wrote, 'it is probable that the beachhead would have been destroyed.'"[3] Besides delivering troops and artillery during combat, a DUKW was able to carry as many as 12



With its cargo and control compartments covered with tarpaulins, an early DUKW crawls up a stony beach on the Pacific coast. Note the large hand-operated emergency bilge pump stowed on the foredeck. DUKWs had high-volume bilge pumps that ran off the engine, pumping 220 gallons (later 300) per minute. (Mystic Seaport, 95.24.329.1)



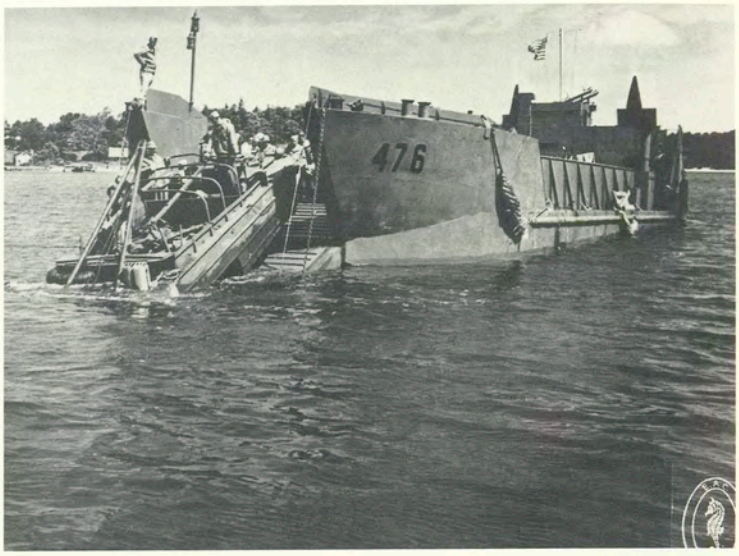
With a burst of spray, DUKW number 1 takes to the surf on North Carolina's outer banks to test its amphibious capabilities. The stern surf board is raised as the DUKW takes the waves head-on as specified. Its fuel capacity allowed the DUKW to operate up to 42 hours straight at sea. A DUKW was seaworthy enough to return to the beach and land in surf up to 15 feet high. (Mystic Seaport, 95.24.329.8)



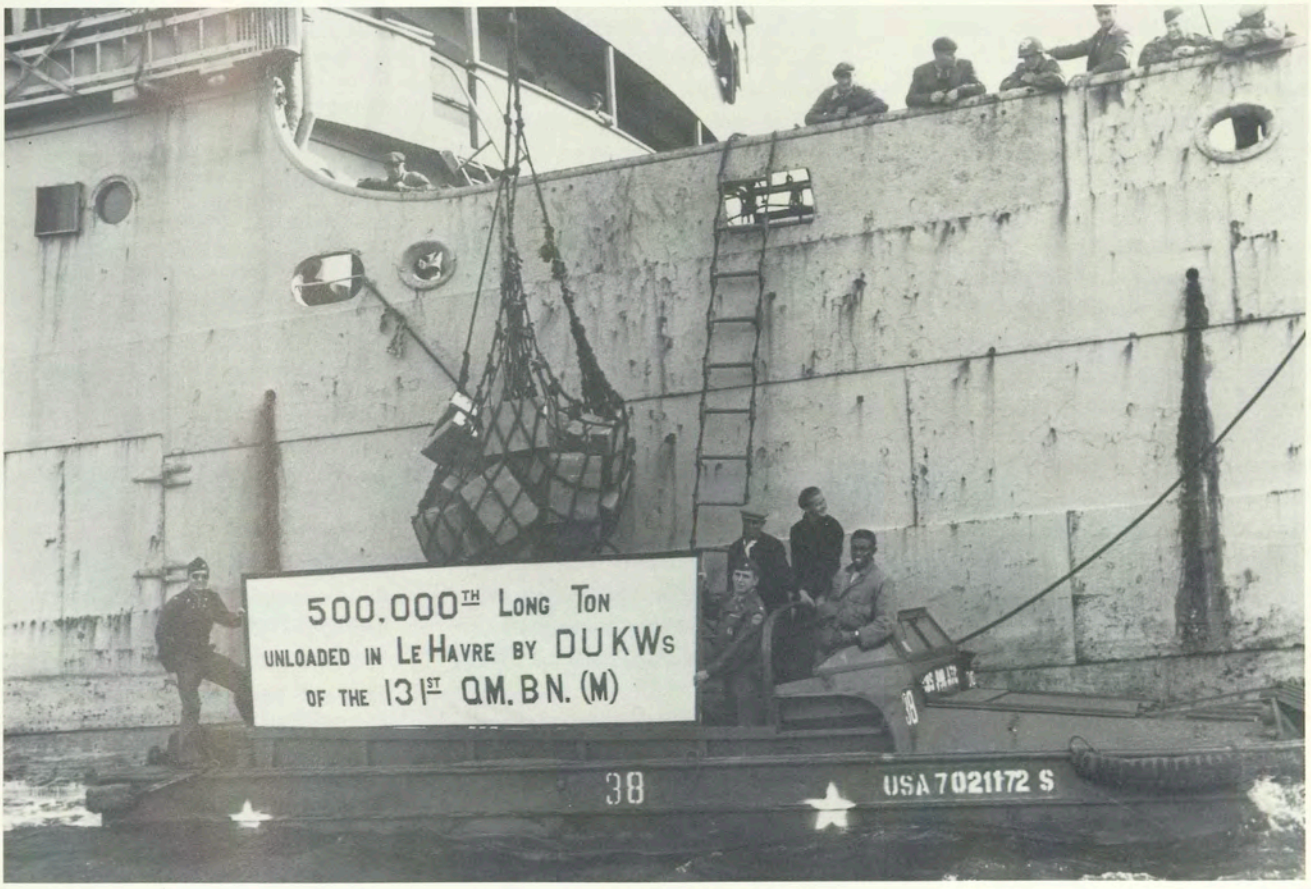
In an early test of its assault performance, DUKW number 1 discharges its complement of 25 fully armed troops as the aqua-jeep powers up the beach. The DUKW's propeller and rudder are in the tunnel under the "stern." If a DUKW stranded in sand the two-man crew could set a sand anchor and pull themselves free with the winch on the stern deck. The same anchor and winch were used in anchoring at sea. (Mystic Seaport, 95.24.337.47)



Under German artillery fire, DUKWs ferry ashore supplies to support the amphibious invasion at Anzio, Italy, in 1943. In both Europe and the Pacific, these awkward-looking craft provided essential service during the latter stages of World War II. (Mystic Seaport, 95.24.329.80)



In a test, a DUKW is launched stern first from LCT (Landing Craft, Tank) 476. This DUKW is rigged with an A frame on the stern, which could lift 4,500 pounds. In service, these crane DUKWs would be stationed at unloading points to hoist heavy weights, including howitzers, from the cargo compartments of their companion DUKWs. (Mystic Seaport, 95.24.329.65)



Keeping the Allies supplied in Europe after D-Day, the U.S. Army's 131st Quartermaster Battalion celebrated its DUKWs for carrying half a million long tons—1,120,000,000 pounds—of supplies from ship to shore at Le Havre, France. (Mystic Seaport, 95.24.352)



The foredeck of DUKW number 1 demonstrates that it is a true hybrid between truck and surfboat. It carries a shovel and ax for land use, and a bilge pump and rope fenders for use at sea. Wearing their life vests, as required, these men demonstrate the metal guard that was raised to protect the windshield before entering surf more than six feet high. The production DUKW had an additional surf board at bow and stern to break the waves. (The windshield guard and stern board were removed in the second model DUKW.) (Mystic Seaport, 95.24.329.51)

wounded soldiers off the beach in litters. DUKWs were also practical rescue craft for stricken vessels. Because their engines were not cooled by seawater, they could maneuver through flaming oil slicks to take sailors off a burning ship.

Volumes have been written about the many factors that contributed to Allied success in World War II. Though often overlooked among the battleships, aircraft carriers, submarines, and PT boats that played such prominent roles, specialized amphibious vehicles were essential to the amphibious warfare that turned the tide of battle in both Europe and the Pacific. General Eisenhower singled out the DUKW as "one of the most valuable pieces of equipment produced by the United States during the war."[4] For his part in developing the DUKW, and for all of the instruction and training in its use that he contributed, Rod Stephens received the Medal of Freedom, our country's highest award to a civilian.

Mystic Seaport has recently acquired from the estate of Rod Stephens a collection of trophies and several albums containing photographs of famous and beautiful racing and cruising yachts. Included in the collection are two U.S. Army-issue photograph albums of both the pilot models and the final development, testing, and use of the DUKWs in 1942, which contain the images reproduced here. And in the Museum's G.W. Blunt White Library, manuscript collection 163, the Roderick Stephens Collection, includes the final report by Sparkman & Stephens on the development of the DUKW.

So, the next time you see an "odd duck" on the streets or waterways of Boston (and many other cities around the country), you'll recognize its proud heritage and its distant relations with the elegant contenders for the America's Cup, and you'll see in it another significant story of the relationship between America and the Sea.

Notes

1. Sparkman & Stephens, "Final Report, Army 2 1/2 Ton Amphibious Truck 6x6 GMC DUKW-353," 7 November 1944, Coll. 163, Box 5, folder 2, Mystic Seaport, G.W. Blunt White Library; Milton Silverman, "Three Men in a DUKW," *Saturday Evening Post*, 20 April 1946; Francis S. Kinney, *You Are First* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1978), 203; the DUKW's performance and operation can be viewed in the 1943 army training film, *DUKW—The Seagoing Truck*, and the 1944 navy training film, *Amphibious Warfare—The D.U.K.W.*, which have been released in video format by Vintage Video of Greencastle, Pennsylvania.

2. George Carroll Dyer, *The Amphibians Came to Conquer. The Story of Admiral Richard Kelly Turner II* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1972); Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1948), 234; http://normandy.eb.com/normandy/articles/DUKW.html (December 1998).

3. Susan H. Godson, *Viking of Assault. Admiral John Lesslie Hall, Jr., and Amphibious Warfare* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982), 98.

4. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe*, 163.

Cheryl B. Chaput works as a Cataloger in the Registrar's Office of Mystic Seaport's Curatorial Department.

The author would be pleased to hear from anyone who would like to share their experiences with DUKWs in war and peace. She can be reached through the Museum's address or main phone number, 860.572.0711, or by electronic mail at cheryl@mysticseaport.org

Stories of America and the Sea

"On board the 'International,' All joyful and lighthearted"

FRED E. WOODS

Nearly 90,000 known Latter-day Saint immigrants crossed the oceans to gather in America between 1840 and 1890. They had a most unusual success rate, making about 550 voyages and losing no vessels crossing the Atlantic and only one vessel in the Pacific. Each voyage had its own unique story; one especially worth noting was that of the *International*.

This square-rigged ship left Liverpool in February of 1853 with a group of 425 Mormon converts destined for the Salt Lake Valley. The name *International* seemed appropriate, for the passengers comprised a mixture of English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh. Such converts were assisted by the Perpetual Emigration Fund, which was established in the fall of 1849 to aid poor Mormon immigrants with economic assistance. During its duration, 1849-87, this organization provided funding for about one-third of the immigrant converts, who were expected to repay the revolving fund so that other immigrating Saints could gather to Zion.[1]

The 425 Saints aboard the *International* were led by Elder Christopher Arthur, a Welsh baker who stood six and half feet tall and weighed 280 pounds. While still at anchor in the Mersey River waiting for favorable winds, he and his able counselors organized the immigrants into eight wards, or organizational units, which were part of Mormon ecclesiastical structure.[2] They made sure that throughout their voyage religious meetings were held each night, and that those not of their faith were invited to attend.

Two weeks after leaving England's shores, the *International* faced an angry storm, which caused the Saints to cry to the heavens for relief. Two days later the fierce gales finally abated and Captain David Brown had a remarkable dream "that himself, mates, and crew were all baptized in the Mormon faith, and when he awoke he found himself at prayer."[3] For the rest of the voyage, Captain Brown would pay more particular attention to his Latter-day Saint passengers.

On 6 April 1853 a special meeting was held on the Atlantic as the sea-going Saints celebrated the twenty-third anniversary of the establishment of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Elder Arthur captured the joy of this special day of celebration in a letter to Latter-day Saint President Stephen W. Richards, who oversaw the immigration process in Liverpool. "Early in the morning, a goodly number of brethren assembled on the forecastle, and fired six rounds of musketry, to usher in our festivities," Arthur wrote.

At half-past ten we marched in regular procession to the poop deck, in the following order—president and counselors with sashes, and white rosettes on their breast, who took their seats with their backs to the main-mast. After them followed twelve young men appropriately robed, each with a white rod in his hand, with sashes rosettes, &c. Then followed twelve young women mostly dressed in light dresses, each holding in their hand a scroll of white paper, bearing the significant motto, "Utah's rights," adorned with ribands [sic] and white rosettes.[4]

Arthur noted that the day was filled with "songs, speeches and recitations, commemorative of the occasion." One of the songs was composed for this occasion by a Latter-day Saint named Henry Maiben. This delightful song, which highlighted the voyage and was sung to the tune of *Yankee Doodle*, is presented here in its entirety.

On board the "International"
All joyful and lighthearted,
Bound Zionward,
From Liverpool we started.
We'er English, Irish, Scotch, and Welsh
Assembled here together;
Resolved to do the will of God,
What'er the wind and weather.



The 1,003-ton ship International *was built at Kennebunk, Maine, in 1851. Registered in Boston and managed by George Lord, the 175-foot vessel sailed as a regular transatlantic trader and sometime packet during the 1850s. Immigrants—like the 425 Mormons she carried in the spring of 1853—were a likely westbound "cargo" for a large vessel like this. In 1861, William York of Liverpool painted the* International *laboring in a full gale. Her main lower topsail is holding, but the fore-topmast staysail and main spenser have burst with the force of the wind, and the furled crossjack (mizzen course) is blowing to pieces. Though encountered seven years later, these trying circumstances were reminiscent of her 1853 passage with the Latter-day Saints. (Mystic Seaport, 67.75)*

CHORUS
Then, sing aloud, ye Saints of God,
In one united chorus;
Old Babylon we'll leave behind,
For, Zion is before us.

We have a noble President,
You'll scarce find such an one, Sirs,
He stands near six feet six, in height,
And weighs near twenty stone, Sirs.
But, best of all, he's full of love,
He's frank and open-hearted;
And as sincere as any that from
Babylon has departed.

Now, Elder Arthur's, counselors
(I wish you all to know it)
Are, Elder Lyon (from Glasgow),
The celebrated Poet:
And Elder Waddington,
(From London's city)
Who's been sick almost all the way,
Which has drawn forth our pity.

And Elders are appointed to
Take charge of wards and sections,
And do all things according
to the President's direction.
Thus ev'ry regulations made
Which is found to be needed;
So that, there's not a soul on board
Whose welfare is unheeded.

Then of each fact, or incident
That's worthy of remark here;
We have a faithful record kept,
By Elder Sims, our clerk here.
'Mongst which you'll find, two deaths, five births
And twenty-five baptisms.
Likewise (to-day) five marriages,

But not such things as schisms.

The Captain's name is "David Brown,"
My muse cannot refuse its
Verse, in reference to him;
He comes from Massachussets.
Of course, he is "tarnation cute"
Yet, he is honest, "rather,"
And must, ere long, become a Saint,
And serve our Heav'nly Father.

The first mate's name is "Alfred Howes,"
The second mate's "Arch Campbell,"
The third mate's is "John Marston," and
Then, comes a sort of scramble:
That is to say, a motley crew,
Called sailors, or ship-riggers;
Amounting to about eighteen,
Swedes, Germans, Dutch, and Niggers.

The Captain's "Steward, and his wife,"
Next and forth our attention;
Then "Richard Fulton" Captain's cook,
I can't omit to mention
And last (not least) the carpenter,
"Called Westerlind," a Swede, Sirs
The first of the ship's company
T'embrace our Holy Creed, Sirs.

We've been on board five weeks and more,
And have endured much sickness;
We've also had headwinds and storms,
T'impede the vessels quickness.
Yet, we have cause, and do rejoice,
Thanks to the God of Heaven!
For unto us, his blessings have
Abundantly been given.

Today's the 6th of April, and
We now are celebrating
The glorious anniversary,
With gladness unabating.
And who? That could but witness now,
Our festive, happy faces;
But would obey the truth, to share
The joy our faith embraces.[5]

After crossing 5,000 miles of the Atlantic in 54 days, having faced heavy gales and multiple headwinds, the *International* finally came to port in New Orleans, which was the primary port of arrival for Latter-day Saints from 1840 to 1855. Upon reaching America's shores, Elder Arthur reported: "Never I believe since the days of old Captain Noah, until the present emigration, has a more respectable company of Saints crossed the wide deluge of waters, to be freed from Babylon's corruptions, than sailed in the *International.*"

The Saints, without exception have been made to rejoice in the gifts of the blessings of the Holy Ghost . . . and in a flood of intelligence being poured out upon us in rich effusion through the priesthood. These things and the good conduct of the Saints, have had a happy result in bringing many to a knowledge of the truth. And I am now glad to inform you, that we have baptized all on board, except three persons. We can number the captain, first and second mates, with eighteen of the crew, most of whom intend going right through to the [Salt Lake] Valley.[6]

Although the Saints from distant lands continued their journey to their Zion in the west, it is uncertain how many of the sailors actually joined them. The newly arrived saints steamed up the Mississippi River to Keokuk, Iowa, which was in this year the frontier outfitting post. They then crossed the plains in separate groups, and many reached Salt Lake by 30 September 1853, completing their six-month trek to a new life in America.[7]

Notes

1. *Contributor* 13 (August 1892): 463; David F. Boone, "Perpetual Emigration Fund," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., 5 vols., (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 3:1075.

2. T. Edgar Lyon, Jr., *John Lyon: The Life of a Pioneer Poet* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1989), 171. The author also notes here that whereas Arthur was from Wales, one of his counselors (John Lyon) was from Scotland, and his other counselor (Richard Waddington) was from England.

3. John Lyon, *Diary of a Voyage from Liverpool to New Orleans on board the ship International . . .* (Keokuk, 1853), 2. This eight-page document, which highlights the voyage, is located in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Historical Department, Library Archives Divsion, Salt Lake City, Utah. It is interesting to note that the Christopher Arthur Emigration Company Journal in the LDS Church Archives for 20-23 May 1853 reveals that Elders Arthur, Jones, and Henry Maiben joined funds to print hundreds of copies of this inspiring voyage narrative when they reached the frontier outfitting post of Keokuk, Iowa.

4. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star,* 4 June 1853, 359.

5. Lyon, *"Diary of a Voyage,* 7-8.

6. *The Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star,* 4 June 1853, 358.

7. Christopher Arthur, Emigration Journal, 30 September 1853, LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Fred E. Woods is associate professor in the Department of Church History and Doctrine at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah. A scholar of Morman immigration by sea, he is compiling a database of voyages and immigrants. His article on Mormon immigrants on board Mystic-built ships was published in the Summer 1997 *Log*. The *International* story will be featured in the Museum's upcoming America and the Sea exhibit.

Book Marks

Susan T. Audette, with David E. Baker, *The Old Town Canoe Company: Our First Hundred Years* (Gardiner, Maine: Tilbury House, 1998), 176 pages, illustrations, bibliography, index. $50.00, $30.00 paper.

When you travel in the world's watery places and you say "Old Town," people are likely to finish your words by saying "canoe." The story of how a Maine family named Gray turned "Old Town Canoe" into a phrase is the subject of Sue Audette's new book. In it she does much more than produce a company history. Her tale clearly shows the Native American roots of the wood-canvas canoe, and how Old Town continued to return to Native American values to help grow the sport. It's a century-long story, and not one of unmigated success: the company almost closed under the onslaught of aluminum canoes and fiberglass boats. Sue Audette reaches beyond the Old Town story to include many of Maine's other wood-canvas producers as well as the role of the Penobscots in the start of the company (originally named Indian Old Town Canoe Company). She shows Old Town's links to the general interest in outdoor recreation that began in the 1870s, and she makes clear that Old Town's continued success has been due to its ability to foster the separate skills of management and production, and to change the product to meet new markets and take advantage of new technologies, all the while maintaining an underlying reputation for quality. Tilbury House's editor Jennifer Elliot insured that the book flows well and managed a magnificent design and production. The book is handsomely illustrated using work from Old Town catalogs and archives as well as photographs from the Gray family collection. Canoe historian David Baker's Old Town *Legacy* graces the books cover, and his technical expertise helped guide the text. Reading it shows clearly how the legacy of the Penobscots has become a gift to us all.

Benjamin A.G. Fuller
Cushing, Maine

Stuart M. Frank, *The Book of Pirate Songs* (Sharon, Massachusetts: Kendall Whaling Museum, 1998), 132 pages, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, indices, $25.00.

Stuart Frank has managed to do something that many scholars never seem able to attain. He has published a scholarly work on a topic about which he is truly passionate: Music; specifically sea music. And while it is indeed a learned piece of work, it also aims at being enjoyable as well as instructional.

Dr. Frank has rummaged high and low to turn up songs that fit the category of "Pirate songs." His dogged determination in plowing through a myriad of sources, both published and unpublished, is commendable, seeing that he was able to locate 62 different candidate songs. Each section of the book is introduced by a description of the particular genre that is laid out in the following pages, and then each song is presented along with some historical context and commentary, and a musical score if one is available. He even includes a "transposition chart and capo guide" for any reader who would like to try his hand at performing any of the works that are accompanied by music.

Works are broken down into "Old Ballads"; "Broadside Ballads"; "Women in Buccaneers' Clothing"; "Victorian Parlor Songs"; "Lyrics from the Popular Songsters"; and "Related Ballads." While Dr. Frank acknowledges that no known pirate songs were actually penned by pirates, the impressions put forth by the composers do tend to give the reader a flavor of the thought process of the period in which they were written. Anyone with an interest in pirates or the history of music of the sea should include this book in their collection.

Irving H. King, *The Coast Guard Expands, 1865-1915: New Roles, New Frontiers* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1996), 312 pages, photographs, tables, map, appendices, notes, bibliography, index, $37.95.

Irving King continues his ongoing saga of the Coast Guard and its predecessors in his 1996 publication of *The Coast Guard Expands*. His two earlier works on the subject, *George Washington's Coast Guard* and *The Coast Guard Under Sail*, span the time period from 1790 to the end of the Civil War. This book is the story of the Revenue Cutter Service from the end of the Civil War to approximately the beginning of World War I, when it was combined with the U.S. Life-Saving Service to become the U.S. Coast Guard.

Dr. King follows the varying services of, and modernization of, the Revenue Cutter Service/Life-Saving Service/Coast Guard through the years and in doing so

highlights a number of crucial events and characters within its ranks, including Sumner Kimball, the man probably most responsible for reorganizing the service in the late nineteenth century and establishing a training academy; and Michael Healy, the son of a slave who rose to the level of Revenue Cutter captain only to sink to the depths and face court martial because of drunkenness and abusive behavior. The role of the Revenue Cutter Service in assisting U.S. Naval operations is well documented, as is the Service's part in rescuing ice-bound whalers in Alaska in 1897, and other civilian aid endeavors. The determination and resourcefulness of Lieutenant David Jarvis in the overland rescue of the whalers is detailed, as is his eventual success in reaching the whalers and his ability to keep them fed and occupied through such diversions as hunting and baseball!

Anyone interested in studying the history of the U.S. Coast Guard should use Dr. King's works as the starting point. They cover most of the major themes of the service, as well as many of the interesting details. His notes and bibliographies can send the serious student off in search of the pertinent material needed for an in- depth study of any aspect of the Service's history.

Paul O'Pecko
Director, G.W. Blunt White Library

Oxford University Press has published an extremely attractive and informative series on the immigrant groups that make us a people. Written by Dorothy and Thomas Hoobler with young readers in mind, these "Family Albums" combine personal narrative and oral history quotations with wonderfully engaging illustrations to outline the typical course of immigration for the major racial and ethnic groups that have become American. The volumes that represent immigration by sea include Irish Americans, Scandinavian Americans, German Americans, Jewish Americans, African Americans, Cuban Americans, Chinese Americans, and Japanese Americans. With variations depending on the nature of the group's experience, each volume contains chapters on life in the homeland, the trip to America, employment in the new land, religious and cultural institutions that maintained group identity, and the group's present status in American society. Full of personal stories, and supported by a group chronology and a useful bibliography, these inexpensive, large-format 130-page books are both a celebration of our origins and strong reminders of the role of the sea in delivering so many of our ancestors to these shores. Published over the course of several years, the details are similar to the following: Dorothy and Thomas Hoobler, *The African American Family Album*, introduction by Phylicia Rashad, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 128 pages, illustrations, timeline, bibliography, notes, index. $12.95 paper.

Maritime enthusiasts will applaud the long-awaited publication of Ralph Linwood Snow's and Captain Douglas K. Lee's *A Shipyard in Maine: Percy & Small and the Great Schooners* (Gardiner and Bath, Maine: Tilbury House and Maine Maritime Museum, 1999), xvi plus 391 pages, illustrations, foldout plans, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. $49.95. By the 1890s, Bath, Maine, was the reigning capital of American wooden shipbuilding, but the era of wooden ships was clearly in decline, not helped by the economic depression of the mid-1890s. Nevertheless, a brisk business generally flourished in delivering schooner-loads of coal from Middle Atlantic ports to the urban centers of the northeast for steam and electric power generation.

In the uncertain economic climate of 1893 Captain Samuel R. Percy and businessman Frank A. Small formed a partnership to build and operate coal schooners. In 1896 they purchased a defunct shipyard and in 1898 launched the first of a stream of large schooners that flowed from the site (now the site of the Maine Maritime Museum), until the collapse of wooden shipbuilding in 1920. The firm is best known for its 19 four-masted schooners, 15 five-masters, and 7 six-masters—particularly the six-master *Wyoming* of 1909, the largest wooden sailing vessel built in the U.S.

With wonderful photographs and occasionally quirky language, the authors provide a thorough lesson in wooden shipbuilding as performed at its height of development by the Percy & Small yard. The technical detail is excellent, but of equal value is the amount of information on the shipwrights themselves, their foibles, and the conditions they faced in constructing these wooden monsters.

Although the title suggests this is simply a "shipbuilding" book, it actually provides a great deal of insight on the financing and operation of the great wooden coastal schooners. Since Percy & Small owned many of the coal schooners they built, this side of the operation is an essential part of the story. Fully illustrated with on-board and at-sea photos, this part of the book includes well-detailed discussions of shipboard conditions and schooner management, including the use of African American seamen to break union efforts to dictate wages.

Based on his long and detailed study of the construction and

details of the large schooners, Doug Lee has contributed excellent complete plans of the five-master *Cora F. Cressy*; sail, deck, and profile plans of the four-master *Charles P. Notman*, and six-masters *Eleanor A. Percy* and *Wyoming;* as well as an essay on half models and wooden construction, all of which will be much appreciated by model makers. In all, this handsome, heavily laden book is a great contribution to American maritime scholarship.

Andrew W. German
Editor

You may find these titles at your local library or bookstore, or call the Bookstore at Mystic Seaport Museum Stores—860.572.5386 or 800.331.2665—and take advantage of your 10 percent member's discount.

Letters

The cause and effect of the African slave trade is drawn into clearer perspective when viewed through the lens of Calvin Lane's "The African Squadron," *The Log of Mystic Seaport*, Spring 1999.

He masterfully combined historical record, official documents, and first-person narrative to more clearly define and hold up for closer scrutiny this unique chapter in world history providing a fitting perspective for events ongoing at Mystic with the recreation of the *Amistad* and related activities.

The value of one's Mystic membership soars to new heights with the bonus of such articles in *The Log of Mystic Seaport*. Thank you.

Jack Authelet
Foxboro, Massachusetts

Just a line to tell you I really enjoyed reading your article, "Coordinated Collections Information Access," in the most recent issue of *The Log of Mystic Seaport*.

My wife and I volunteer in the Mystic Seaport research library each summer when we are in Connecticut and for the last several years have been involved in various aspects of the automation process. I have also been one of the Library Fellows for several years. Your article was not only beautifully written, but was very, very clear about what is happening. It helped us pull together bits of information which we had but which until now weren't connected to the big picture.

Thank you.

Tom Zane
Daytona Beach, Florida

A Maritime Minute from Mystic Seaport

Seafaring Traditions Survive in Stonington, Connecticut

July 1999, Stonington Harbor.

One by one, fishing vessels parade away from the Town Dock, flags flying, horns blaring, and cheers ringing across the water.

Rich in Portuguese cultural and religious tradition, this annual blessing of the fleet focuses attention on Connecticut's last deep-water fishing fleet.

The fishermen and their families gather to seek a blessing for a bountiful year and commemorate those who have lost their lives at sea, but with rising costs and alarming declines in fish stocks, Stonington fishermen are hard pressed to maintain their independent, self-reliant way of life.

Yet, a legacy of hope and centuries of local tradition help these families seek their fortunes at sea, carrying the region's maritime ties into the next century.

Mystic Seaport Salutes!

THE ANDERSON FAMILY

CELEBRATING THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF THE PAUL CUFFE MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIPS

Since the early days of Mystic Seaport, the Robert Palmer Anderson family has been associated with the Museum. U.S. Circuit Court Judge Robert P. Anderson served as Legal Counsel and a Trustee from 1946 until 1976. For a number of those years, Mrs. Anderson, the former Elizabeth "Libby" Paffard, was active as well, chairing the Greenman House Committee and serving on the Committee of Local Directors' Wives. Their sons, Robert Palmer "Chip" Anderson, Jr., and Frederic Paffard Anderson, M.D., have been members of the Museum since 1957. Chip's wife Mary is a graduate of the challenging Frank C. Munson Institute of American Maritime Studies, the Museum's six-week summer program in maritime history.

Chip and Mary's three sons, Robert, Charles, and Ashby, Life Members of Mystic Seaport since 1984, each spent several summers working for the Museum's Education Department as members of the Demonstration Squad. Their oldest son, Rob, who died tragically in 1990, had been engaged in an extensive program researching his great-great-grandfather's Palmer Shipyard in Noank. This study has been continued by scholars in the Museum's G.W. Blunt White Library and is funded by donations in Rob's memory.

In 1988 the second son, Charles, with an appreciation for his own connection to local maritime history, approached Mystic Seaport administrators with an idea to encourage the study of



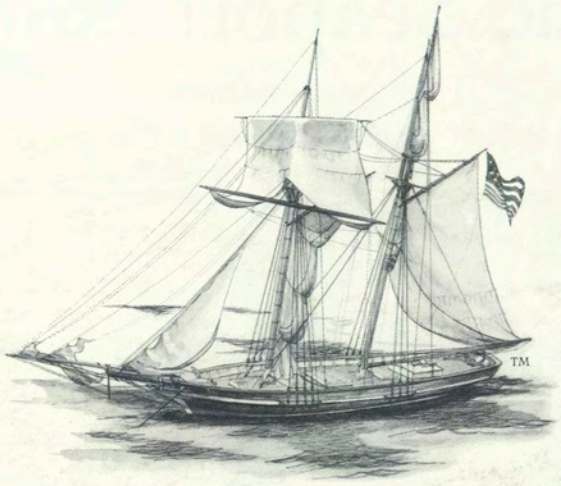
African American and Native American contributions to New England's maritime history. With funding from a local private charitable foundation, Mystic Seaport established the Paul Cuffe Memorial Fellowships. In Charles's words, "The purpose of the fellowship is to identify and interpret the Black and Native American contribution to New England's maritime commerce, particularly in the whaling and shipping industries, but also in maritime arts and culture."

Early in 1989 the first applications were submitted and, in May, three scholars were awarded stipends for summer study. The new fellowships were named in honor of Paul Cuffe, who was born on Cuttyhunk Island, Massachusetts, in 1759 to a Wampanoag Indian mother and a former African slave father. Cuffe, who lived in Westport, Massachusetts, until his death in 1817, was a sea captain, shipowner, landowner, and respected community leader. He is known for having forged, despite the formidable racial barriers of his time, an honored place for himself in maritime history.

Thirty-four fellowships have been awarded in the program's ten years. The recipients have included university professors, scholars of Cape Verdean descent, museum curators, and graduate and undergraduate students from a wide variety of institutions throughout the country. The program is administered through the Museum's Munson Institute. In 1995 the first director, Benjamin W. Labaree, wrote to Charles Anderson: "the Cuffe awards have had an important role in the resurgence of interest in the subject of the maritime activities of minorities in this region." J. Revell Carr echoed Labaree's sentiment: "The Cuffe Fellowships are helping Mystic Seaport add immeasurably to the body of scholarship on maritime activities."

This resurgence of interest was further borne out in the very successful national conference, "Race, Ethnicity, and Power in Maritime America," held at Mystic Seaport in the fall of 1995. Cosponsored with the New England American Studies Association and the Connecticut Afro-American Historical Society, the goal of the conference was to develop new programming in the area of minority education and set a new standard for the interpretation of history at cultural institutions nationwide. A further benefit has been the broad interest in the story of the freedom schooner *Amistad* and the many new programming initiatives that interest has inspired.

Mystic Seaport is proud to salute the Anderson family for their years of participation in the life of this Museum and for providing the inspiration for the Paul Cuffe Memorial Fellowships for the Study of Minorities in American Maritime History.



See *Amistad* Come to Life

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