

Gc
974.401
Es7esa
v.98
1676788

M. L.

REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
GENEALOGY COLLECTION

↓

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 01103 8517



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016

ESSEX INSTITUTE Historical Collections



Q. 98
VOL. XCVIII — 1962

ISSUED QUARTERLY BY THE ESSEX INSTITUTE
Salem, Massachusetts

Salem, Mass.

Newcomb & Gauss Co., *Printers*

1962

TABLE OF CONTENTS FOR VOLUME XCVIII

JANUARY 1962

ELIAS HASKET DERBY AND THE FOUNDING OF THE EASTERN TRADE (Part I) By Richard H. McKey, Jr.	1
MIDDLETON BURIES ITS DEAD By Lura Woodside Watkins	26
COFFINS AND DR. BENTLEY By Dean A. Fales, Jr.	35
AMERICANS IN ZANZIBAR: 1865-1915 By Norman Robert Bennett	36
MRS. LEE GIVES A PARTY	62

APRIL 1962

ELIAS HASKET DERBY AND THE FOUNDING OF THE EASTERN TRADE (Part II) By Richard H. McKey, Jr.	65
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, THE HISTORIANS, AND THE ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT By David Alan Williams	84
A RECENTLY ACQUIRED EMBROIDERED MEMORIAL PICTURE By Huldah M. Smith	100
FITZ HUGH LANE: <i>Visits to the Maine Coast, 1848-1855</i> By Frederic Alan Sharf	111
CHURCH POLITICS IN MARBLEHEAD, 1715 By Thomas C. Barrow	121

JULY 1962

A PARISH IS FORMED, THE PRECINCT OF SALEM AND BEVERLY By Robert W. Lovett	129
ESSEX COUNTY TRADE CARDS By Mary Means Huber	154
A SALEM MERCHANT AT CAPE PALMAS, LIBERIA By George E. Brooks, Jr.	161
THE LYNN NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY By Ralph W. Dexter	175
ANNUAL REPORT 1961-1962	185

OCTOBER 1962

AHMAD BIN NA'AMAN'S MISSION TO THE UNITED STATES IN 1840, THE VOYAGE OF AL-SULTANAH TO NEW YORK CITY By Hermann Frederick Eilts	219
THE MINIATURE THAT INSPIRED CLIFFORD PYNCHON'S PORTRAIT By David Jaffé	278
THREE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SALEM COFFEE POTS By Martha Gandy Fales	283
THE OLD SALEM THEATRE By Pat M. Ryan	287
INDEX TO VOLUME XCVIII	294

ESSEX INSTITUTE

Historical Collections



JANUARY 1962

ELIAS HASKET DERBY AND THE FOUNDING OF THE EASTERN TRADE (Part I) By Richard H. McKey, Jr.	1
MIDDLETON BURIES ITS DEAD By Lura Woodside Watkins	26
COFFINS AND DR. BENTLEY By Dean A. Fales, Jr.	35
AMERICANS IN ZANZIBAR: 1865-1915 By Norman Robert Bennett	36
MRS. LEE GIVES A PARTY	62

ISSUED QUARTERLY BY THE ESSEX INSTITUTE
Salem, Massachusetts

Essex Institute Historical Collections

Board of Editors

ROBERT G. ALBION

BENJAMIN W. LABAREE

LYMAN H. BUTTERFIELD

NORMAN HOLMES PEARSON

DOUGLAS S. BYERS

KATHARINE S. THOMPSON

ABBOTT L. CUMMINGS

DEAN A. FALES, JR., *Managing Editor*

Library and Publications Committee

W. HAMMOND BOWDEN, *Chairman*

CHARLES H. P. COPELAND

STEPHEN PHILLIPS

ERNEST S. DODGE

ROLLO G. SILVER

RALF P. EMERSON

CHARLES S. TAPLEY

Essex Institute *Historical Collections* is published in January, April, July and October at a yearly rate of \$5.00. Manuscripts and correspondence should be sent to the Managing Editor, Dean A. Fales, Jr., the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts.

Copyright, 1962, by the Essex Institute, 132-134 Essex Street, Salem, Massachusetts. Entered at the Post Office in Salem, as second class matter, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Second class postage paid at Salem, Mass.

Essex Institute Historical Collections

Issued Quarterly

VOL. XCVIII

JANUARY, 1962

NO. I

ELIAS HASKET DERBY
AND THE
FOUNDING OF THE EASTERN TRADE

(Part I)

By RICHARD H. McKEY, JR.

WHEN ELIAS HASKET DERBY'S SHIP *Astrea* returned to Salem from France in April 1783 with the first news of peace, she brought, in addition, a wholly unwanted predicament to the nation. Americans, it would seem, had given little thought to the realities of independence; realities that struck first at the old colonial maritime trades. American merchants faced a future of entirely new business conditions, and their ability to meet these conditions had been sorely hurt. The end of the Revolutionary War ushered in an unfriendly world. It was a world in which American maritime commerce found itself unexpectedly handicapped with little money, no goods, few vessels, and the old markets closed.

Seven years later, in June 1790, the *Astrea* entered port again to tie up, perhaps, at the very same berth on Derby Wharf. But how conditions had changed! The *Astrea*, this time, hailed from China, the East Indies and the Indian Ocean. She brought almost one-third of a million pounds of tea from Canton, and ivory carvings, paper hangings, pictures and chinaware—all listed on a manifest that was seven feet long. Yet even the value of this cargo (probably \$75,000) was not certain enough for Elias Hasket Derby's liking. Thenceforth no Derby vessel ever again

went to China. Instead, he concentrated on other areas more important and profitable to him and to the United States. For the *Astrea's* was only the latest of a series of commercial voyages mounted by Derby over the years since the conclusion of the war.

Through these years he had dispatched twelve vessels to seas unploughed by American ships. Derby's were the first American vessels to visit and trade at St. Helena, the Cape of Good Hope, the Isle of France (Mauritius), the Isle of Bourbon (Reunion), Ceylon, India, and Batavia in the East Indies. Here, in the Indian Ocean, he found commercial opportunities which turned American maritime trade into an entirely new course and made the name of Salem known on all the waters of the world. In the wake of this adventurous intercourse was to come enormous wealth. If these had been seven lean years, they were surely to be followed by seven score full ones for the United States, and to Elias Hasket Derby should go his due.

At the end of the American Revolution the Derby fleet consisted of the two large ships *Grand Turk* and *Astrea*, and the three brigs, *Henry*, *Cato*, and *Three Sisters*. During the next year he bought the ships *Pompey* and *Lighthorse*, and the brig *Active*. It seems likely that of the 8,652 tons of Salem shipping he owned well over one-quarter.¹

The reasons for this Derby pre-eminence are obvious. As one of America's most successful privateer owners, Derby's fortune was many times greater than before the war.² Samuel Curwen, the self-exiled loyalist judge, returning to Salem in 1784, wrote somewhat bitterly that "E.H. Derby's province tax is £11,000, and his neighbors complain that he is not half taxed."³ Derby's fortune was unscathed, but his trade, like that of New England in general, had been ruined. Only through the costly and imaginative development of new routes and markets would prosperity return. Even Derby, at first, did not see it.

With the news of peace, Elias Hasket Derby's fleet was dispatched at once upon the time-honored trade routes. Between

1. James Duncan Phillips, *Salem in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston, 1937), p. 468.

2. Richard H. McKey, Jr., "Elias Hasket Derby and the American Revolution," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* (hereafter cited as E.I.H.C.), XCVII (July 1961), 166-196.

3. Samuel Curwen, *Journal and Letters, 1775-1784* (New York, 1842), p. 234.

April 1783 and the end of 1784, the Derby vessels made no fewer than twenty-five trading voyages. With scant time to refit from their privateering accoutrements, the ships sallied forth in search of a peacetime trade. The general pattern of these initial postwar trading voyages reflect a vigorous, almost frantic search for profitable markets. His captains undoubtedly did the best they could, but the striking aspect of the new trade was its appearance of fumbling for the new rules. The disruption of the colonial triangular trade routes involved not only a search for new markets but also a search for new trade goods.

Closely tied to the problems of new markets and trade goods was the fact that Derby's vessels were larger than before the war. Then his fleet was predominantly made up of small schooners and sloops; now it was ships and brigs. These more sizeable vessels were not only more costly to operate but also involved a proportionately larger cargo. In the nature of the trade, therefore, catch-as-catch-can peddling voyages could hardly pay expenses. The 300 ton ship *Grand Turk*, for example, could lade fully three times as much as any of Derby's prewar vessels. Since he himself customarily bought and owned his entire cargoes, his own risk was just that much greater for each individual voyage. In addition, under the new conditions of trade, it was often extremely difficult to accumulate an initial cargo. The *Grand Turk's* hold, on his first postwar trading voyage to the West Indies, must have looked like a New England general store. She carried fish, flour, onions, potatoes, lumber, brandy, cheese, oil, apples, beef, and fifty men's hats. Even then the ship was not full. Derby sent along \$3000 in cash which he could probably ill afford.⁴ In the West Indies Derby hoped the *Grand Turk's* cargo and specie would bring him £7000,⁵ which shows the size of the final investment involved. Unfortunately, there is no record of the final settlement of this voyage so we do not know how it came out. After one more such voyage, however, Derby never again sent the *Grand Turk* to the Caribbean. Probably, for such a large ship, the island trade was just not profitable. Derby, who was always acutely conscious of operating costs, had to find

4. Manifest of the *Grand Turk*, September 24, 1783, Derby Papers, Essex Institute, XXI.

5. Elias Hasket Derby (hereafter cited as EHD) to Samuel Williams, September 24, 1783, Derby Papers, XXI.

larger fields and more profitable opportunity for his endeavors. Consequently he began to look farther abroad.

As a result Derby initiated a re-invigoration of his old trade with the British Isles and—more exploratory for American commerce—experimented with the first direct voyage to Russia by an American vessel. This voyage by Derby's ship *Lighthorse* to St. Petersburg in 1784 was followed by a series of such enterprises over the next few years.⁶ Nevertheless, while these voyages were significant for American commerce in bursting the self-imposed bonds of colonial custom, they were not very successful trade ventures. American cargoes of sugar and New England goods had small sales value in Russia and Sweden and Derby did well if he broke even⁷—the cargo of the *Lighthorse* in 1784, in fact, sold at a loss. Consequently Derby had to seek elsewhere for his trade. Even as the *Lighthorse* anchored in the Gulf of Finland, back in Salem Derby had his eye peeled farther east, to the Orient itself.

Significantly, the same week that the *Lighthorse* arrived back in Salem from Russia, Derby's *Grand Turk* raised anchor for the Cape of Good Hope upon an epic voyage which would help to alter the whole course of American commerce. Perhaps Derby had an inkling of the future and fame which awaited his trade in the fabled Antipodes. It is more likely, however, that the *Grand Turk's* voyage was very much of a shot in the dark and a good example of the sort of gambles with cargoes of considerable investment which Derby would repeatedly undertake during the next fifteen years. Yet Derby was a man whose knowledge of world trade conditions was exceptionally broad and constantly updated. His fellow merchants called him "lucky" not realizing that while he was willing to take a chance and risk a loss on a first voyage to an unknown port, he seldom—within the confines of his control from Salem—made disastrous voyages twice. His ships' initial voyages to new ports became most important as sounding operations and if they showed a profit so much the better. If not, Derby marked it off to experience. If subsequent business in the

6. For an account of these voyages see James Duncan Phillips, "Salem Opens American Trade with Russia," *New England Quarterly*, XIV (1941).

7. Gale, Hill, and Carazalet Co. to EHD, September 15, 1784, Derby Papers, XIII.

port was unsatisfactory, Derby simply stopped trading there. Thus Derby dropped out of the Baltic business while he expanded more profitable outlets in the East. By such means his trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope would become, by the time of his death in 1799, the greatest single such American enterprise and his house one of the most preeminent in the United States. But all this was ahead of him when the *Grand Turk* departed on Saturday, November 27, 1784.

The *Grand Turk* was not the first American vessel to sail to the Cape of Good Hope. She was, in fact, the second flying the American flag to do so, although the first to put in at the Cape itself. American buccaneers had penetrated the Indian Ocean a century earlier—even setting up a short-lived freebooting colony on the coast of Mozambique—and the notorious William Kidd had cruised the waters. Nor could the commercial opportunities beyond the tip of Africa be considered in any way a doubtful quantity. For two hundred years the English and the Dutch had ranged and fought in the Indies in order to displace their Portuguese predecessors, who had arrived in the wake of Vasco da Gama. The richness of the East was known in America, although the question of how to exploit it was another thing again. For as long as the Thirteen Colonies remained dependencies of Great Britain there was no necessity to embark upon the Far Eastern trade; nor, in fact, was it legal to do so. The British East India Company had a jealously guarded monopoly of all English trade beyond the South Atlantic. Even if the colonists had ships large enough to undertake voyages to the East, which they had not, they would have been considered pirates, trespassing upon protected ground, and they would have faced the guns of John Company backed by those of the Royal Navy. With the Revolution, however, all this was changed.

Within a year of the end of the war, Robert Morris of New York and various associates determined to attempt a flyer in the Chinese trade. Buying a 360 ton former privateer which they renamed the *Empress of China*, they outfitted the ship with \$120,000 worth of mixed cargo. Under Captain Greene and carrying the famous Major Samuel Shaw as supercargo, the vessel left New York on February 22, 1784. Interestingly enough, on the very day that Derby's *Lighthouse* passed Elsinor, the *Empress*

of *China* dropped anchor in the Sunda Straits, the first American ship to reach that treacherous passage between Java and Sumatra. From there the vessel proceeded to China, anchored at Whampoa on August 8, and spent several months as was the custom in collecting a cargo at Canton. The whole voyage was in the manner of an experiment, for its backers hoped, as Morris wrote John Jay, "to encourage others in the adventurous pursuit of commerce."⁸ Elias Hasket Derby needed little encouragement.

Derby, of course, was aware of the *Empress of China's* enterprise, for his New York agents Ludlow and Gould were privy to Morris' plans and kept him informed. Other than being encouraged, and jealous to share in any potential profit, Derby's course could have been little affected by the knowledge. The New York ship was still many months from home while he was planning the *Grand Turk's* voyage; nothing, in fact, was heard from it until long after the *Grand Turk* sailed. And, as shall be seen, the whole manner of Derby's venture into the Indies trade developed on a scale and along a course entirely different from that of the New York group. Where the *Empress of China* had sailed expressly for Canton, Derby thought first to seek a short cut to the Indian market.

Accordingly, Derby's first Eastern venture was the dispatching of the *Grand Turk* in 1784 to the Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope. There, he felt, he might be able to purchase teas and other Eastern goods, without having to go all the way to the Orient for them.

Unfortunately Captain Jonathan Ingersoll's journal is missing, but the *Grand Turk's* passage to the Cape seems to have been uneventful. The vessel arrived at Table Bay in February 1785 and became the first American ship to anchor there. Ingersoll found Cape Town to be a fair-sized town of about 800 houses, "many of which are elegant . . . with wide and commodious streets," neatly laid out in squares. Its chief claim of note was the ease with which vessels took on water, "which is conveyed through pipes from the town, and by means of hoses into casks, without removing them from the boats."⁹ The principal product of the Cape was wine; and for a while it appeared that that was all in which the *Grand Turk* could trade.

8. Foster Rhea Dulles, *The Old China Trade* (New York, 1930), p. 4.

9. Samuel Shaw, *The Life and Journals of Major Samuel Shaw* (Boston, 1847), pp. 205-206.

While Derby's plan had been well considered, he had not known that the Dutch ships were not permitted to break bulk *en route*. It was only through the happy arrival of a British East Indiaman, one of whose officers being anxious to purchase the *Grand Turk's* rum if it were delivered to St. Helena, that a successful voyage could be made. Thus the *Grand Turk* proceeded back to St. Helena, and on to the West Indies where Ingersoll was able to accomplish exceedingly advantageous trade with the tea brought from the John Company man.¹⁰ The net result of the *Grand Turk's* voyage, when she arrived home in July 1785, may easily have been a profit of one hundred per cent, if not more. While Derby's original plan had not worked out, a new course had been set. With the return of the *Grand Turk*, Derby's days of floundering with his colleagues in the spoiled waters of post-Revolutionary commerce were over.

During the next fifteen years there were few ports along the sea routes to Canton which his ships did not search out. Elias Hasket Derby's accomplishment—and to call it *his* accomplishment is only just, for he supervised and masterminded his operations in truly extraordinary detail—was to be enormous. He did not merely pioneer the way. His was to be the United States' first major investment in world trade, an investment amounting close to one million dollars. In the wake of his ships, in all the new markets he found and used, came generations of American commerce.

Derby's vessels were not the first to sail beyond the Cape of Good Hope, but to him nonetheless should belong the credit for the founding of the Far Eastern trade. There is extant portions of a notebook containing a full description of the trade of the Indian Ocean complete to prices, currency exchanges, local weights and measures at various antipodean ports, and sailing routes. It is difficult to fix a date to the information, although it refers certainly to sometime in the 1770's, for mentioned specifically are "prices current in 1772" in one place, and "prices current in 1777" in another.¹¹ Since the emphasis is upon French trade in the Indian Ocean and with China, the assumption is

10. For a more detailed and largely accurate account of the various voyages of the *Grand Turk*, see Robert E. Peabody, *The Log of the Grand Turks* (Boston, 1926).

11. Notebook fragment, undated, Derby Papers, XXIX.

that Derby had made inquiries, perhaps through his privateers in France, sometime during the Revolution. Even if this information had come to hand only casually, it is difficult to believe that Derby's interest would not have been piqued or that he would have forgotten it in ensuing years.

The *Grand Turk's* voyage in 1785 had been an attempt to tap this oriental trade without really becoming involved in it. The voyage, as we have seen, had been a resounding success, but such fortuitous success was not Derby's method. The voyage easily could have been, and almost was, a costly failure due to the difficulty of obtaining eastern ladings at the Cape. Obviously, if Derby was to persist in the trade, he had to penetrate it further.

It is a telling measure of Derby's decisiveness that the *Grand Turk*, which returned from her voyage to the Cape, St. Helena, and the West Indies on the very last day of July 1785, was in port less than four months before weighing anchor on a second, even longer voyage. Unloading, refitting, collecting and lading cargo, and shipping new officers and crew, never a rapid process, must have been carried on at breakneck speed. Quite likely, when Derby had first heard of the poor conditions of trade at Cape Town from Ingersoll, he had decided to send a vessel on to the Isle of France. His biggest ships, other than the *Grand Turk*, were involved at the time in the Baltic trade, so he had to wait upon Ingersoll's return. Quite probably, too, even before the *Grand Turk's* arrival home, he had begun collecting cargo for her next voyage. Certainly, at least, the iron which the ship would carry with her to the Isle of France, was brought from Russia prior to July 1785.¹²

The treaty of 1783 with France included among its other provisions the right of American vessels to touch at the Isle of France (Mauritius), the depot for French operations in the Indian Ocean and stopping place for their ships bound to India. This privilege was extended in 1784 to allow American vessels to land American goods and load a cargo. Derby certainly knew of this and added it to the information he had already. Captain Ingersoll of the *Grand Turk* no doubt was inclined to report that conditions would be more favorable for trade at the Isle of France than at

12. James Duncan Phillips, "Salem Ocean-Borne Commerce from the Close of the Revolution to the Establishment of the Constitution, 1783-1789," E.I.H.C., LXXV (July 1939), 249-274.

Cape Town. Finally, we know that Derby, in the fall and winter of 1785—even after the *Grand Turk* departed on her second voyage to the East—was writing to his agents in Lorient for advice on articles best suited for the Isle of France trade.¹³ Derby rightly suspected that the Isle of France was, or could be, an entrepot of oriental goods, and he determined to send a ship there. John Felt, the early annalist of Salem, says that Derby also intended the *Grand Turk* to visit Canton.¹⁴ Subsequent historians, drawing upon Felt, have repeated and enlarged upon this assertion. We have found, however, no indication that Derby planned anything of the sort: his insuring the vessel only to the Isle of France and back is evidence enough. Captain Ingersoll had visited with Captain Greene and Samuel Shaw on the *Empress of China* at Cape Town in March 1785, making a personal investigation of her Canton cargo of teas, chinaware and silk. No doubt his report to Derby—carried back to America by the *Empress of China*—served as a spur, but that the *Grand Turk* did go on to China from the Isle of France in 1786, was dictated solely by the accidental course of events on the spot.

This voyage of the *Grand Turk*, narrated in detail elsewhere by Robert E. Peabody,¹⁵ provided Derby both its share of glory (the first American ship to the Isle of France, the first through the Straits of Malacca, and the first New England vessel to reach Canton) and its lesson for the future. The China trade, it appeared, did have great possibilities. How profitable it was is difficult to say. We figure that she brought home cargo worth almost \$24,000 in 642 chests of various teas and seventy-five casks of wine from the Cape. Toussaint says she also brought cinnamon,¹⁶ but it is not listed on the manifest. In addition, there was \$5,000 in cash from other transactions. The supercargo, William Vans, says that the *Grand Turk's* voyage brought home "three capitals for the one I carried out."¹⁷ If our figures are accurate this profit must largely have been made on the resales in America and Europe. Knowing Derby's markup practices, this is not at all unlikely.

13. Meier and Company to EHD, June 10, 1786, Derby Papers, XIII.

14. John Felt, *Annals of Salem* (Salem, 1845), II, 291.

15. See Footnote 10 above.

16. A. Toussaint, *Early American Trade with Mauritius* (Port Louis, Mauritius, 1954), p.6.

17. William Vans, *A Short History of the Life of William Vans* (Boston, 1825), p. 6.

The voyage showed too, on the other hand, that the Canton trade could be exceedingly costly—costly enough, in fact, to make a profit uncertain.

The *Grand Turk*, as we have seen, had not been expected to go beyond the Isle of France. Derby had predicated the voyage upon his knowledge of the 1785 law opening the place to American commerce. Unfortunately, for Derby's immediate interests, the boom had not yet begun. Vans wrote, five days after his arrival, that he was "miserable disappointed" in the demand for the *Grand Turk's* cargo.¹⁸ Had the *Grand Turk* cast anchor six months later, the situation would have been quite different. By then, as news of the 1785 law spread in Europe, the Isle of France already began to take on the character of a populous commercial center. French merchants established houses, crowds of the discontented hastened to Port Louis and Port Bourbon, and the country ships began a regular exchange with South Africa, India, and Ceylon. The rush of population, too, soon became too great for the island's resources. Coffee, and potentially enormous sugar crops, were the only domestic commodities produced in quantity; it soon became necessary to import provisions. New England's staple products of fish, meat, butter, lard, flour, and rum came to be in great demand. When Derby's ship *Three Sisters* and the *Lighthorse* were there the following year, for example, they sold their cargoes of these goods at many times their cost. When the *Grand Turk* was at the Isle of France in the spring of 1786, however, this rush of population had hardly started, prices were low, and sales trickled along in a dilatory fashion.

With the cargo gone Captain West and William Vans were approached by a French speculator, M. Sebier de la Chataigneris, who offered to charter the *Grand Turk* for a voyage to Canton. With very little deliberation, Derby's officers, asking and receiving \$1200 a month for the vessel, consummated the agreement and the charter was signed on June 20, 1786. Six weeks later the ship sailed for China, arriving there in April. And at Canton the disadvantages of the China trade became evident.

Back at the Isle of France, having heard that the Chinese duties were exorbitant, Vans and West had insisted that part of Sebier's bargain be to pay all such charges. At Canton, Shaw introduced

18. William Vans to EHD, April 27, 1786, Derby Papers, XXII.

them to the hong merchant Pinqua, with whom they formed for Derby a lasting liaison. Pinqua, however, soon brought them the result of his and the hoppo's deliberations. When calculated and converted to dollars, the "cumshas" (fees) upon the *Grand Turk* amounted to \$3500. Unfortunately for the Frenchman, he had underestimated these charges, miscalculated his opportunity, and had too little capital to expend anyhow, having already borrowed \$5650 from Vans at Port Louis to help pay for his freight and cargo. As a result, he was forced to give up his charter, buying out of it for \$10,039 (\$3800 for his charter, \$5739 on his loan, and \$500 for his own board and lodging).¹⁹ He had, too, still to pay the \$3500 cumsha. How he did it with the \$2000 only he had remaining is problematical. One wonders what became of him.

The immediate result for Derby, however, through this foresight of his officers, was highly advantageous. Vans arranged for his cargo of Bohea and Singlo teas and on January 1, 1787 sailed for home. Free of the Chinese mainland, the *Grand Turk* caught the northeast monsoon down the China Sea to the Banca and Sunda Straits, thence into the Indian Ocean. Early in March 1787 the *Grand Turk* weathered the Cape of Good Hope and cast anchor in Table Bay, where Vans planned to pick up hides ordered the previous June.

Moored near the *Grand Turk* was Derby's ship *Three Sisters*, which Captain Ichabod Nichols had recently brought out from Salem. Two weeks earlier still another Derby vessel, a brig confusingly named the *Three Sisters* also, had left Cape Town for St. Helena under Captain Daniel Saunders. A third ship, the *Lighthorse* under Captain John Tucker, was ninety days at sea already, bound for the Cape. The *Grand Turk* had so far been away from Salem over fifteen months. The dispatch of these vessels to the Cape is proof that Derby's eastern ambitions had not languished in the interim.

Derby must have been disappointed by Van's reports on trade conditions at the Isle of France in 1786, but he surely was informed by his French contacts of the boom that developed after the *Grand Turk* departed Port Louis. In the early summer of 1786 he learned from Meier and Company at Lorient of the needs of the Isle of France and of the articles best suited to the

19. William Vans to EHD, November 28, 1786, Derby Papers, XXII.

trade there.²⁰ He was well informed, for the three vessels which he hastened off to the Indian Ocean in the fall and early winter were loaded down with just such a potpourri of provisions as to tap best the treasure. In any event, once he determined to invade the eastern trade thoroughly, and having learned that there were no very insurmountable navigational or other difficulties, at least as far as the Isle of France, there was no need to await the *Grand Turk's* return.

The first of these new ventures was the brig *Three Sisters*. Loaded with a disparate cargo of lumber, naval stores and assorted provisions, Derby sent her out to sea under Captain Daniel Saunders on September 19, 1786, for Cape Town and the Isle of France. Three weeks later he had the satisfaction of learning that the *Three Sisters* had been spoken on October 2 by a Philadelphia ship well east of Bermuda, with all well on board.²¹ The *Grand Turk*, at this time, was still anchored at Whampoa.

With the brig *Three Sisters* gone, Derby turned his attention to the fitting out and loading of his ship *Three Sisters*, which he proposed to dispatch under Captain Ichabod Nichols. The ship, through the autumn, was loaded with the same type cargo as Saunders' brig, invoiced at \$13,750. Nichols was ordered to take the *Three Sisters* to the Cape, and if the market was good there perhaps next to take a freight to Batavia, or to go to the Isle of France. "Write me every particular," Derby concluded, "by whatever means you find."²² On December 23, 1786, the *Three Sisters* set sail. The *Grand Turk*, meanwhile, left China a week later; Saunders' brig was already at the Cape.

Saunders' *Three Sisters* had had a fair passage for the time of year, arriving in view of Table Mountain on December 11, 1786.²³ It is unfortunate that we know few details about this voyage. Saunders' vessel must, however, have suffered some damage on the way out, for even though he wrote Derby at the beginning of January that markets were dull, he remained fully three months, accumulating a sizeable bill for services rendered his brig.

20. Meier and Company to EHD, June 10, 1786, Derby Papers, XIII.

21. *The Salem Mercury*, October 14, 1786.

22. Sailing Instructions to Ichabod Nichols, December 19, 1786, Derby Papers, XXVII.

23. Daniel Saunders to EHD, January 10, 1787, Derby Papers, XXVI.

In the three-month period, Saunders had plenty of time to have gone on to the Isle of France and return, but there is no indication that he did so. In his January letter, too, there is no intimation of any such move, Saunders merely saying that he planned to go to St. Helena and then to St. Eustatius in the West Indies. Saunders never got to St. Eustatius and had scant time to do any business in St. Helena, so it may be assumed that the outlook improved considerably at the Cape. In any event, his business completed, he shipped aboard a cargo and two live ostriches and weighed anchor for St. Helena and Salem on March 1, 1787.²⁴ Thus he missed the latest news of the *Grand Turk*, brought by the *Empress of China* on March 5; the *Grand Turk* herself, which arrived at Cape Town a week later; Ichabod Nichols' *Three Sisters*, coming in several days after he left; and Derby's famous ship *Lighthorse* which had been dispatched from Salem under Captain Tucker at the end of January.

The *Lighthorse*, her deck laden with lumber to fill out her cargo, invoiced at just short of \$20,000, sailed under broad instructions. Tucker even was given some freedom to lay out money ". . . in anything you judge a curiosity here . . . get me a young elephant if the cost is not more than 50 dollars." Derby noted, nonetheless, that he expected at least a one hundred percent profit on the cargo.²⁵ This understood, the *Lighthorse* raised anchor and after fifteen difficult weeks (nine days out of Salem a heavy gale and ice storm carried away part of the deckload of lumber, and caused a leak) arrived at the Cape at the end of April 1787.²⁶ The *Grand Turk* and Saunders' *Three Sisters*, by this time, were well up into the North Atlantic; Nichols' *Three Sisters* was at the Isle of France.

Saunders' *Three Sisters*, as we have said, had left Cape Town on March 1, 1787. Three weeks later she was at St. Helena, where she could not have remained longer than one day. The *Three Sisters* then ran home to Salem in fifty-two days, arriving on Sunday, May 13, 1787. One of Saunders' ostriches died at sea, but the other, "about three months old and about the bigness of a Turkey," thus became the first such bird to reach America.²⁷

24. *The Salem Mercury*, May 15, 1787.

25. Sailing Instructions to John Tucker, January 26, 1787, Derby Papers, XXVII.

26. John Tucker to EHD, May 15, 1787, Derby Papers, XXVII.

27. *The Salem Mercury*, May 15, 1787.

Sailing north only a few days behind Saunders' brig was the *Grand Turk*, which had left the Cape, where West and Vans had received the latest news from home from Ichabod Nichols, on March 19. Crossing unseen the course of the *Lighthouse*, the *Grand Turk* arrived off George's Bank on May 18. Four days later the ship tied up at Derby Wharf, 129 days out of Canton.²⁸

This same ten-day period that saw the arrival in Salem of Saunders' *Three Sisters* and the *Grand Turk*, was marked too, by the arrival of Nichols' *Three Sisters* at the Isle of France and that of the *Lighthouse* at Cape Town. Nichols had left the Cape the same day as the *Grand Turk* (March 19) and after a very long passage anchored at Port Louis on May 14, 1787, one day before the *Lighthouse* arrived at Cape Town. Nichols' itinerary is not known in detail, nor where exactly he sold his cargo, for he made a side trip to the neighboring Isle of Bourbon in June, arriving back at the Isle of France on July 3. Tucker brought the *Lighthouse* in on July 6, thirty days out from the Cape.²⁹

The outcome of this double-barreled venture into the Isle of France trade was successful beyond Derby's dreams—and close to his one hundred percent profit expectations. By this time the boom at the Isle of France was in full swing. Tucker had sold some of his Salem cargo at the Cape for \$3,700; the remainder he sold at Port Louis for \$23,400. The figures are missing for Nichols' transactions at the Isle of France and Bourbon. If, as we can assume, he did equally well, he probably sold his cargo, invoiced at \$13,750 for about \$19,000. We know Nichols sold the *Three Sisters* herself for an additional \$6,000. With the combined total of over \$52,000, Tucker bought 2,500 bags of Bourbon coffee for \$30,400 and presumably hid the rest of the money away in cash or bills of exchange.³⁰ With Nichols and the crew of the *Three Sisters* as passengers, the *Lighthouse* set sail for Salem around the middle of September, Tucker himself debilitated from a lingering "climate fever." Despite the title of his grandson's account of his voyage,³¹ Tucker had gone no further

28. *Ibid.*, May 29, 1787.

29. Toussaint, *Trade with Mauritius*, p. 9.

30. John Tucker's Account of Sales, November 9, 1787, Derby Papers, XXIII.

31. Jonathan Tucker, "The First Voyage to India from Salem, 1787-1788," E.I.H.C., LXXV (January 1939).

than the Isle of France. Derby, however, was interested in profit first; and the *Lighthouse* brought profit enough.

Picking up an Englishman, who took passage for his health at the Cape on November first, the *Lighthouse* arrived off the Isle of Shoals in eighty-three days, being obliged to set in to Portsmouth, New Hampshire by bad winter weather. There, due to Tucker's extreme illness, Nichols took command and brought the vessel in to Salem on January 22, 1788. The poor English gentleman's health was not improved by the voyage; in fact, he died *en route*. Tucker's condition, too, had steadily worsened. He made his will the day after landing and died three months later.

With the return of the *Lighthouse*, Derby's first round of large-scale investment in the eastern trade was ended. He could certainly feel encouraged. In spite of his miscalculation, the voyage of the *Grand Turk* had been profitable. Those of the other three ships may well have been even more so.

As we have indicated, very little is known about Saunders' brig *Three Sisters*. Saunders himself, however, must have considered his transactions at the Cape profitable enough even for Derby. Since he found it unnecessary to go on from there either to the Isle of France, where he must have known the market had risen, or back to the West Indies, his return may be assumed to have been proportionate to that of the two Derby ships which followed him. Probably, then, sales of Saunders' cargo in Salem brought to Derby a one hundred percent profit. As to the profit accruing to Derby through the activities of Tucker and Nichols, we have seen that they returned to Salem with cargo and cash worth \$52,000. Sales of the *Lighthouse's* coffee could well have doubled even that profit-showing amount. All in all, for the four voyages Derby, on an original investment of about \$70,000, realized in cargo and cash returns, close to \$95,000. If Derby doubled the price, reselling in Salem and abroad, he took in \$190,000. If William Vans is right ("three capitals for the one I carried out"), he did even better than that.

This whole question of exactly how much these voyages brought in may be entirely too academic and unnecessary. What does matter is that Derby's whole effort had been an unquestioned success. Thoroughly encouraged, he had decided even before the return of the *Lighthouse* to invest most of his money in a trade

centering on the Isle of France. Even as that vessel ploughed northwards through the wintry Atlantic, her path was crossed by the *Grand Turk*, off on a third voyage to the East, under the command of Derby's eldest son, Hasket (Elias Hasket Derby, Jr.), who was ordered to organize at the Isle of France an entrepot for future Derby enterprises.

Such an undertaking is another example of Derby's methods. Entrusted to Hasket, then only twenty-one years old, was not only Derby's largest ship and cargo, but also the whole responsibility for organizing the Derby trade from the Isle of France and for searching out the best markets in the Indian Ocean. In addition, young Hasket was given almost unquestioned control over the movements of the next four vessels Derby sent out to the East. There is no indication that Hasket had any experience whatsoever for such cares. Derby, however, would come increasingly to prefer the daring and sometimes careless initiative of young men to best further his interests. More often than not, this policy was successful. In Hasket's case, it was outstandingly so.

Unfortunately, Hasket's sailing orders have not survived, although it is likely, in view of his subsequent actions, that he was instructed to broach the Indian markets. Supporting this view is a September 1787 letter from Derby's Lorient agents recommending a Pondichery contact.³² Whatever Hasket's orders, the *Grand Turk* sailed from Salem on September 7 and, after a three-months passage, arrived at the Isle of France in February 1788, as Derby learned the following October.³³ It is significant that Derby had dispatched the *Grand Turk* without waiting to realize the outcome of his previous Isle of France venture, for the *Light-horse*, in December 1787, was still at sea, homeward bound.

Equally as significant was the departure, on the heels of the *Grand Turk*, of the ship *Juno*, under Henry Elkins, also for the Isle of France. Elkins was instructed to sail first to Cape Town and there sell what he could of his cargo of assorted provisions at twenty to twenty-five per cent profit; and then go on to the Isle of France and, ". . . on your arrival there you are to advise and

³². Meier and Company to EHD, September 3, 1787, Derby Papers, XIII.

³³. William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.* (Salem, 1905-1914), I, 107.

consult with Hasket."³⁴ One month after the *Grand Turk*, the *Juno* sailed on January 8, 1788. Some forty hours later, with scant time to warn the people, the 220 ton ship sank so rapidly that there was only time to launch the smallest boat. All the crew survived but the cargo, of course, was a total loss. Derby too, had had no time to make any insurance. Four hours later the stranded men were picked up by a sloop for Demarara (British Guiana) from whence the news reached Salem in March.³⁵

Hasket Derby, meanwhile, had arrived at the Isle of France in February and was settling well into his job. With the markets still booming at the Isle of France, the *Grand Turk's* cargo (invoiced at \$28,000) sold for almost \$31,000 within a month. In addition, for the astounding price of \$13,500, Hasket sold the *Grand Turk* herself.³⁶ Derby, when he heard of this almost a year later back in Salem, must have felt a little sad to see his famous ship leave his hands. The *Grand Turk*, in the seven years since her launching, had come to rate, both through her war record and her post-war commercial voyages, as one of the outstanding vessels of the period. Hasket's business arrangements, however, could only have been agreeable to his father. Derby had invoiced the *Grand Turk* in 1785 at £2000 (about \$6,000); Hasket's sale of the vessel brought in more than twice her value.

At the Isle of France, Hasket continued his successes by buying "a little copper-bottomed brig of about 140 tons," the *Sultana*, and a larger ship, the *Peggy*. This, too, was duly reported back to Derby in January 1789, through his Baltimore agents, who wrote: "A friend left the Isle of France in July last (1788). He had personal acquaintance with your son there and can assure you for certain that he sold your ship . . . he was loading (the two new vessels) with blackwood and believe he intended for Canton in China; instead of the coast of Malabar . . . and from thence home."³⁷ Hasket was not the best of correspondents and this must have been the first Derby had heard of his plans. He immediately

34. Sailing Instructions to Henry Elkins, January 5, 1788, Derby Papers, XXIII.

35. *The Salem Mercury*, March 25, 1788.

36. Elias Hasket Derby, Jr., Account, February-April, 1788, Derby Papers, XIII.

37. Carey and Tilghman to EHD, January 11, 1789, Derby Papers, XXVII.

made insurance on the *Sultana* and *Peggy* from the Isle of France home.³⁸

Obviously Derby was not fully privy to his son's plans at this time (early 1789), for it appears that Hasket intended that the *Peggy* only return to Salem. There is some confusion about the movements of the *Peggy* (as well as those of Hasket with the *Sultana*) which we can only partially clear up. Most accounts have the ship sailing direct for Salem after her purchase by Hasket. However, since the *Peggy* was bought in August, 1788, and did not leave Port Louis for Salem until the following January, it is quite probable, in view of the cargo she brought home, that she made a voyage to India and back in the fall of 1788, particularly since we know that Hasket was in Bombay in the *Sultana* in October. These were the first American vessels to visit the great subcontinent.

This view is supported by the *Peggy's* invoice of August, 1788, which included \$9,800 in various provision goods and \$6,800 cash "for the coast of Malabar."³⁹ It seems that Hasket sent the *Peggy*, under John Williamson (sailing master of the old *Grand Turk*), to India for cotton in the autumn and that she was back at the Isle of France in December or early January. Certainly the cottons that she brought to Salem could have been obtained much more advantageously in India than second-hand at the Isle of France. At any rate, by the end of January the *Peggy* was back at Port Louis, as Hasket reported to his father: "Captain Williamson . . . returns (to Salem) with the *Peggy*. She has been hove out and is now taking on board her ballast."⁴⁰

On February 21, 1789, the *Peggy* left the Isle of France and, probably after stopping at St. Helena, reached St. Eustatius in the West Indies on May 26. Williamson could have done very little business there, for he was in Salem on June 21, 1789, 122 days out from Port Louis.⁴¹ The *Peggy* brought the first cargo of Indian cotton to America, which proved at first to be a rather unfortunate importation. Derby would have preferred coffee.

While Hasket had been busy in the East, his father was equally

38. Ludlow and Gould to EHD, January 25, 1789, Derby Papers, XIV.

39. Invoice of the *Peggy*, August 9, 1788, Derby Papers, XXVI.

40. Elias Hasket Derby, Jr. to EHD, January 23, 1789, Derby Papers, XIII.

41. *The Salem Mercury*, June 23, 1789.

so in Salem. By the time the *Peggy* tied up to Derby Wharf, Derby had sent out three additional vessels to the Isle of France, and two more to the Dutch East Indies and China. Nothing could illustrate Derby's determination to succeed in the eastern trade better than this, for in early 1789 his seven largest vessels—every ship and brig he owned—were in Far Eastern waters. His total investment beyond the Cape at that time was probably eighty to ninety per cent of his entire assets. One can easily understand his disappointment when the first cargo return from all this was the *Peggy's* poor-selling cotton.

While the *Peggy* had been trading for cotton on the Malabar coast in the fall, Derby had dispatched the *Lighthorse*, the *Atlantic*, and the brig *Henry* from Salem. The veteran *Lighthorse*, which seems to have remained at Salem since her return from the Indian Ocean under Tucker and Nichols in January 1788, was the first to sail.

Commanding the *Lighthorse* was Ichabod Nichols; and with him as supercargo went Jacob Crowninshield, a Derby nephew destined to be a very noted shipmaster both for his uncle and in his own right. Nichols, who was given the general direction over not only his own vessel but also that of the *Atlantic* following him, carried a cargo of provisions worth about \$18,000. Nichols' control, Derby noted, was subject at the Isle of France to Hasket's advice and counsel.⁴²

This understood, the *Lighthorse* set sail in early August for the Isle of France and, it is interesting to note, for Canton.⁴³ On September 14, 1788, the *Lighthorse* was at Port Praya in the Cape Verdes (admiring, no doubt, the "little green monkeys with black faces" that Samuel Shaw had reported seeing there), left St. Jago on the sixteenth, crossed the Equator on October 13, and arrived at Cape Town on December 12, 1788.⁴⁴

The *Lighthorse* was the first vessel Derby had had at the Cape in over a year, since the *Lighthorse's* last visit in November 1787. While Nichols' sailing orders have not survived, it is quite probably that his stop at the Cape was at Derby's insistence to see if the Cape market had improved since Nichols' last sojourn there.

42. EHD to Ichabod Nichols, May 20, 1788, Derby Papers, XXIII.

43. *The Salem Mercury*, August 12, 1788.

44. Jacob Crowninshield to EHD, December 20, 1788, Derby Papers, XIII.

It had not. Nichols wrote on December 21 that there was no demand whatsoever for any part of his cargo. Crowninshield, writing a day earlier, was equally disappointing, but noted for future mariners that "a fine whale fishery might be carried on about this coast and to a very good advantage too." Crowninshield, not knowing of Hasket Derby's activities at the Isle of France, spent his time inquiring of all the ships in from India what they knew of the *Grand Turk*. Nichols, writing that he planned to leave for the Isle of France on December 22, added: "We hear nothing of Captain Elkins (commanding Derby's ship *Atlantic*) who I expected to have found in port."⁴⁵ The *Lighthorse* had made a very slow (128 days) passage out to the Cape, but Elkins in the *Atlantic* was still almost two months behind, having left Salem a month later than Nichols.

Henry Elkins, back from Demarara in the summer of 1788, had been signed up at once by Derby to take the *Atlantic* out to the East. Obviously, Derby did not blame Elkins for the *Juno* disaster. The *Atlantic*, like the other Derby vessels, was loaded with the usual foodstuffs, and insured to the Isle of France and back. Elkins was ordered to Cape Town for advice from Nichols, and if the latter were not there to proceed after two weeks to the Isle of France for advice from Hasket. If Hasket or Nichols were not at Port Louis, Elkins was instructed to either sell the vessel, or to lade coffee and cotton and return to Salem.⁴⁶ Elkins left on September 9, 1788.⁴⁷

Three months later the brig *Henry*, under Benjamin Crowninshield (Jacob's older brother), became the third of these ships for the Isle of France, sailing from Salem on December 16, 1788.⁴⁸ Thus by the time that the *Lighthorse* left the Cape on December 22, the two other Derby vessels were on her tracks at sea. By the time the *Atlantic* got to the Cape on March 9, 1789, the *Lighthorse* had been one day at the Isle of France and seventy-five days out of Cape Town. Nichols, writing on March 23, expected Elkins in ten days:⁴⁹ he came in to Port Louis on April 5. Two

45. Ichabod Nichols to EHD, December 21, 1788, Derby Papers, XIII.

46. Sailing Instructions to Henry Elkins, September 9, 1788, Derby Papers, X.

47. *The Salem Mercury*, September 9, 1788.

48. *Ibid.*, December 16, 1788.

49. Ichabod Nichols to EHD, March 23, 1789, Derby Papers, XIV.

months later, the *Henry* arrived. Hasket, in the meantime, had been busy.

When the *Peggy* had made her trip to India in August 1788, she sailed in company with the brig *Sultana*, the second vessel Hasket had bought at the Isle of France. The two vessels, carrying provisions and blackwood, traded along the Malabar Coast, visited Bombay where the blackwood was left for sale, and in early December was back at the Isle of France. Early in the new year Hasket wrote his father that he daily expected the arrival of the *Lighthorse* which he "was pretty well assured" had left the Cape. He was a bit worried about the ship's cargo, but thought he might take it in the brig to Madras. "If you should have received my letter," he concluded, "her cargo will sell tolerably well."⁵⁰ Unfortunately, whatever letter he refers to, has been lost.

As we have seen, the *Lighthorse* made an unconscionably long passage from the Cape, and when Hasket next wrote to his father in the middle of February, she had still not come in. Hasket reported that he was sending the *Peggy* home and that he himself was going to Madras in the *Sultana*. He had grown tired of waiting for the *Lighthorse*, he said, and he was going to try the Malabar Coast again, or "perhaps I may turn the brig into light goods and freight them here and home—I do not expect any profit on my wines in Madras and may perhaps be obliged to go to Bengal . . . I have been troubled with a disentary," he wrote, "which is now passed."⁵¹ He was still sick, however, when Nichols arrived in early March, and had gone into the country to convalesce.

Nichols, writing Derby on the occasion of the arrival of the *Atlantic*, reported that Hasket's health was better, that he was recuperating at the plantation out of town, and that he was able to take part in the planning for the three vessels under his control. "I fear that he has worried himself too much about his business," Nichols concluded. "It is not possible for us to sell the remainder of our cargo here."⁵² Nevertheless, the two ships had done quite well.

50. Elias Hasket Derby, Jr. to EHD, January 23, 1789, Derby Papers, XIII.

51. Elias Hasket Derby, Jr. to EHD, February 17, 1789, Derby Papers, XIII.

52. Ichabod Nichols to EHD, April 8, 1789, Derby Papers, XIV.

By May the *Lighthouse* and the *Atlantic* had sold as much of their cargo as they could, having taken in \$29,000 in bills of exchange. By Nichols' calculations, there was still over \$4,100 worth of cargo remaining.⁵³ The *Henry*, which arrived on April 9, 1789, had only just begun her trading.

In his April letter, Nichols outlined for Derby the group's future plans. Crowninshield, writing at the same time, added more details for Derby's edification: "You may arrange your business as tho we was assuredly bound to . . . Zelsoni (Ceylon), from there probably to Pondicery . . . Madras . . . Bengal. We had at first thought of going to Batavia but (were advised not to) by good information . . . I think Captain Derby's brig and Captain Elkins' ship will bring you \$20,000 at the Coast of Coromandel . . . we expect to sail in 20 or 25 days in company with . . . the *Sultana* and the ship *Atlantic*."⁵⁴

In the middle of May there was another letter from Nichols from the Isle of France reporting that the *Lighthouse* and the *Atlantic* were ready for sea, waiting for a fair wind for Bombay. There, they proposed to load blackwood—left by Hasket the year before—and cotton, and assay the Canton market. "It is best that both ships go on together," Nichols wrote, "as we shall be a protection for each other against the Marata on this coast and the Malays on the Straits of Malacca." The *Sultana* had already departed (on April 24) under Captain George Smith and mate John Gibaut for Ceylon and the Coromandel Coast. Hasket, apparently, was still laid up in the country. His plans were to go on to India with Benjamin Crowninshield in the *Henry*, settle the affairs of the *Sultana* there, lade a cargo and return to Salem.⁵⁵ Nichols and Elkins left on May 20, 1789. Hasket and Benjamin Crowninshield, after presenting a servant boy to their Isle of France lawyer, departed Port Louis about two months later.

The *Peggy* and the *Sultana* had been on the Malabar Coast the year before, apparently to Hasket's satisfaction. In the year following the departure from the Isle of France of the *Lighthouse* and the *Atlantic*, these ships, with Hasket's *Henry* and *Sultana*, continued to explore the Indian markets as had never before been done for American business purposes. As a result, the India trade

53. Account of Sales, March-May, 1789, Derby Papers, XXIII.

54. Jacob Crowninshield to EHD, April 9, 1789, Derby Papers, XIV.

55. Ichabod Nichols to EHD, May 17, 1789, Derby Papers, XIV.

was to become the great cornerstone of Derby's Far Eastern commercial structure. It became, in fact, far more important to him than the China trade.

While the *Henry* outfitted at Port Louis and the *Sultana* proceeded to Ceylon, Nichols led the *Lighthorse* and the *Atlantic* back along the path of the *Peggy* to the western side of India. Sailing up the coast, Nichols probably stopped in some of the smaller Malabar ports before anchoring at Bombay in the middle of July. There, Nichols found that his best opportunity lay in freighting goods to Canton for Indian merchants. Loading cotton and blackwood, the *Lighthorse* and the *Atlantic* left for Whampoa in late July or early August.⁵⁶ How Hasket heard of all this is a question, for no letters remain. Nichols did not see him again in the East, sailing as he did direct to Canton at the same time that the *Henry* was coming up from the Isle of France. The *Sultana*, too, was on the other side of India.

Smith and Gibaut, in the *Sultana*, had sailed at the end of April directly for Ceylon. They arrived at Colombo on June 2, 1789, becoming the first American ship to anchor in the roadstead. Gibaut sold copper, wine, and brandy for \$1,200 and the *Sultana* proceeded next across to the Coromandel Coast at Negapatam, selling about \$900 more of the same goods; then back to Trincomalee in Ceylon again at the beginning of August. Three weeks later the brig was at Madras selling the remainder of her cargo for \$1,500.⁵⁷ There, she was met by Hasket Derby and Benjamin Crowninshield in the *Henry* on September 11, 1789.

The *Henry* had left Port Louis on July 16, made a pioneering visit to the Seychelles Islands, and then gone straight to Madras. With the dangerous winter season threatening, the *Henry* remained in the open anchorage only two weeks, sailing for Calcutta in company with the *Sultana* on September 29.⁵⁸ In early November the two vessels arrived off the Sand Heads, navigated the eighty treacherous miles of the Hooghly, and flew the first American flags at Calcutta. Hasket wintered there until February, loading with Indian goods. In March he took the two ships back

56. *Lighthorse* and *Atlantic* Freight Contracts, July 24, 1789, Derby Papers, XXIII.

57. *Sultana* Accounts, June-August, 1789, Derby Papers, IX.

58. Elias Hasket Derby, Jr. to EHD, September 28, 1789, Derby Papers, XXVI.

to Madras. The *Sultana* was sold for \$12,000, the *Henry* completed her cargo and on March 19, 1789, sailed for home. Sales in the Indian markets at Madras alone totaled about \$10,000.⁵⁹ Hasket had found a virgin field for American commerce.

Nor were his enterprises over. The *Henry*, loaded down with Madras cotton and assorted cloth goods, returned once more to the Isle of France. Between her arrival there in May 1790, until she left in August, the *Henry* sold well over \$4,000 of these goods. Hasket took in exchange Bourbon coffee.⁶⁰ In doing so he discovered, as he had expected the year before, that this country trade of Indian products at Port Louis was very lucrative. Its particular value to his father's business was that, depending upon the prices current, ships had a choice of returning directly to Salem with Indian goods, or exchanging them at the Isle of France for the island products. Either course, as long as conditions at the Isle of France continued the same, was profitable.

Early in August, with the officers and crew of the *Sultana* aboard, the *Henry* finally left the Isle of France for Salem. It must have been a sociable voyage. Hasket Derby, his cousin Benjamin Crowninshield, and John Gibaut were old boyhood friends of equal years, and their number was swelled when they took aboard Crowninshield's brother, Clifford, at Cape Town. At Cape Town, too, Hasket took aboard 253 ostrich feathers (at one rijk dollar per feather—about sixty cents); selling, at the same time, \$1,500 worth of Calcutta cloth.⁶¹ In another month, the *Henry* was at St. Helena, where Hasket sold coffee for \$2,700, and four of his ostrich feathers for one dollar apiece. In return, Hasket spent six dollars in buying some sheep to present to the governor and bought some provisions.⁶² Sailing next to the West Indies, the *Henry* was reported there in early December. Trade there must have been slight, for on December 30, 1790, the *Henry* arrived at Martha's Vineyard. Hasket returned to Salem overland, and the ship came on a few days later.⁶³ Hasket had been gone just

59. Elias Hasket Derby, Jr. Accounts, July 1789-March 1790, Derby Papers, IX.

60. Elias Hasket Derby, Jr. Accounts, May-August, 1790, Derby Papers, IX.

61. Elias Hasket Derby, Jr. Account, September 1790, Derby Papers, IX.

62. Elias Hasket Derby, Jr. Account, October, 1790, Derby Papers, IX.

63. Bentley, *Diary*, I, 228.

over three years, but during his sojourn he had set the pattern in detail for his father's subsequent successful oriental trade.

Hasket Derby's three years in the East had been at the center of a far-reaching commercial complex. He had had control over the affairs of four vessels out from Salem to the Isle of France and six trading ventures to India, three of which were roundtrips from the Isle of France, and which in turn two vessels had made twice. On each of his vessels' halts at the Isle of France or in one of the major Indian ports, there was a complete turnover of cargo. Each of these was expected to show its profit and there is no reason to suspect that they did not. One historian asserts that "Elias Hasket Derby, Jr's transactions at the Isle of France and India had brought a profit of nearly \$100,000."⁶⁴ We have found no substantiation for such a flat and definite assertion, nor are the available records complete enough to warrant offering any such figure as fact. It would not be surprising, however, if it were about right. To a man of Derby's cogency, the chances for profit by this Isle of France trade appeared far better than might be found in the China trade. The several China voyages had terminated several months before the *Henry* came in. Their outcome, while extraordinarily successful as we shall see, was at the same time cast with costs and problems which threw doubt on the whole guarantee of value of China enterprises. As a result the *Lighthouse*, returning from Canton in June 1790, was the last vessel Derby ever sent to China.

(END OF PART I)

64. Robert E. Peabody, *Merchant Venturers of Old Salem* (New York, 1912), p. 84.

MIDDLETON BURIES ITS DEAD

By LURA WOODSIDE WATKINS

IN COLONIAL DAYS death was a matter of physical horror as well as of mourning. None of the flowers and soft lights of a present-day funeral alleviated the stark and awful fact that the body of the loved one was mere moldering clay. From the moment of death the women of the household performed the heart-rending offices of the preparation for burial. This forced recognition of the perishable nature of the body undoubtedly strengthened our ancestors' belief in the survival of the soul and in life beyond the grave.

Embalming was of course unknown and for this reason funerals followed death as soon as possible. Rev. William Bentley of Salem, in his incomparable diary, speaks of the unpleasant consequences of too long delay. On May 21, 1794, he attended the funeral of Rev. Ariel Parish at Manchester. He says, "The Corpse was left at the door, from the cause which too often renders it necessary, being above ground too long."¹ He also adds that "A Dinner was provided at the house of the deceased, a circumstance which did not please & I dined at a private table." Even the ceremonies of burying a governor of the state were carried on without the remains. According to Bentley, "They were unable to keep the body & privately interred it on Saturday morning."² In small country places like Middleton the funeral was often observed out of doors.

In the seventeenth century the body, accompanied by a procession of friends, relatives, and townspeople, was carried to the burial place and lowered into the ground without sermon or ceremony. This realistic approach to the fact that the body was but dust was perhaps a more spiritual one than today's futile attempts to give it a semblance of life.

We may be sure that in Middleton as elsewhere a funeral was an affair of interest and concern to everyone in town. In the eighteenth century the coffin was carried by six or eight strong young men who were all but hidden under a large cloth or pall.

1. William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.* (Salem, 1905-1914), II, 91.

2. Bentley, II, 70.

If the deceased was a person of importance, this covering was held out by a number of honorary pall bearers or holders marching on each side of the "herse." The bearers were sometimes members of the clergy, who would otherwise lead the procession. The others followed on foot; carriages at a funeral were unknown until nearly 1800.

When Rev. Elias Smith of Middleton was buried in 1792 the custom of a sermon for the occasion was becoming general. Six ministers from neighboring towns were pall holders: Symmes, Holyoke, Stone, French, Prentiss, and Wadsworth. Mr. Symmes offered prayer and Rev. Holyoke preached. This funeral was accompanied by music during the service in the church. According to Bentley, "The two famous masters of Music, Kimball & Holyoke, lead the choir on this occasion."³

There seems to be no question that in Middleton the coffin at this period was a very simple pine box of a shape called to mind by the very word. Such primitive caskets were made by local carpenters whose charges were merely for materials and time. Col. Benjamin Peabody made many in the years just before and after 1800. His fees varied according to the size of the box and the means of the family. In 1790 he asked about three shillings, five pence, or else thirteen shillings for providing the coffin and digging the grave. After 1800, when he reckoned in dollars and cents, the highest price he entered in his accounts was \$3.75 for the coffin of Capt. Andrew Fuller, richest man in town.

The pine box was sometimes covered, although probably not always so in the country. Bentley tells of one covered with black broadcloth and lined with white flannel, with black metal lace around the edge; but this was for the burial of an important divine in Boston. If such elegance were attempted in Middleton, it must have been done at home, for there were no undertakers.

The corpse was wrapped in a shroud or winding sheet—a practice so general that Bentley thought it worth mentioning when a doctor was buried "in his undercloathes & Gown as he usually dressed, without shoes."⁴ The town often provided burial garments for the ministry, as did Middleton upon the death of Elias

3. *Ibid.*, I, 402.

4. Bentley, II, 35.

Smith. In this case mourning raiment was supplied for the family as well. Complete mourning equipment called for black clothing, scarf, gloves, handkerchief, and other accessories. An outfit of the kind added so greatly to the expense of a funeral that the custom went out of fashion in the cities some years before it was abandoned in the country. On May 7, 1798, six years after the death of Rev. Elias Smith, Middleton voted "to provide the Town with Burying Clothes."

In spite of the simplicity of the burial arrangements, a funeral was really a costly affair. This was partly because a collation for all and sundry was expected at the home of the deceased after the funeral, and partly on account of the custom begun in earliest colonial days of presenting rings and gloves to the clergy and to all relatives and important friends who attended. Gold rings, often enameled in black with the name and death date of the deceased, or containing a lock of his hair, were given away in such numbers that hundreds of pounds were spent for them and ministers were overwhelmed with such donations. One Dr. Samuel Buxton, dying in Salem in 1758, left a quart tankard full of rings to his descendants. This practice, as well as that of presenting scarfs and gloves, became such a burden that it was actually forbidden by Province law in 1741 under a penalty of a fifty-pound fine. Gloves for the ministers and pall bearers only were permitted. In spite of regulations, the custom persisted, and once more, in 1788, a law was passed making anyone who gave scarfs, gloves, rings, wine, or rum at a funeral liable to a fine of twenty shillings.

While we are not afforded much information in records about the circumstances of Middleton funerals, we do find occasional estate bills that indicate what was considered proper on such occasions. Elizabeth Wilkins, widow of David, who died in 1741, was billed by Timothy Fuller for sundry items that he had bought for her while attending to her affairs in Salem. The bill reads:

To seven yards of black tafeta at 40s	14— 0— 0
To one pare of black women gloves	1— 10— 0
To one morning harndechef	0— 18— 0
To one Fan	0— 10— 0
To one girdel	0— 4— 0

A bill to the same Widow Wilkins from Benjamin Pickman of Salem under date of January 27, 1741, included these items:

To 3 galo Wine @ 18/ 2 g Rum 9/	£3. 3. 0
To 4 prs Gloves @ 11 a pr Do @ 12/	3. 8. ----
To 2 pr Do @ 7/ 1 pr Silk Gloves 24/	1. 18. ----
To a fan 6/ 12 yd Crape @ 15/	9. 6. 0

It will be seen that Elizabeth Wilkins was not within the law when she provided wine and rum for the funeral guests and gloves of different qualities according to the status of the recipients. The silk gloves undoubtedly went to the minister and the four pairs at eleven shillings to the pall holders.

The widow of Daniel Wilkins, whose death occurred in the following year, received a similar bill from Edward Kitchin on June 7. The purchases included:

7 yds Silke Crape @ 7/ 3 yds allamond at 12/	4. 5. 0
1 yd 1/2 Cyprus @ 11/ 2 yds hatband crape @ 7	1. 10. 6
2 hadnkerchiefs @ 18/ 6 pr gloves @ 6/	3. 12. 0
3 pr gloves @ 7/ 3 pr @6. 1 pr Silk 6	2. 9. 6

Cyprus was a material used for scarfs or for streamers to be attached to men's hats.

Another presentation custom is noted by Martha J. Averill in her "Genealogical Note Books," in the library of the Essex Institute. She relates that Daniel Fuller, Esq., was engaged to marry Lydia, daughter of Dr. Silas Meriam. She died in 1797 at the age of twenty-three. "At her death, as was then the custom, the bereaved lover was presented with a long pair of black silk stockings and a pair of black gloves."

The use of alcoholic refreshment, not only after, but also during a funeral, seems to have been generally prevalent and explains Elizabeth Wilkins's purchase of wine and rum, the favored drinks. Bentley describes a funeral among the Presbyterians in Windham, New Hampshire: "A prayer was made at the house, after which a dram of New England Rum was regularly distributed to each person of every age & of each sex, then another prayer & dram & then the funeral procession."⁵ Since this funeral took place on November first and that of David Wilkins in January, we may assume that the company was glad to be well fortified before the cold walk to the cemetery. William Bentley also

5. Bentley, II, 75.

tells about a funeral in the Church of England in Salem, where the singers, a Marblehead group he called "Bacchanalians," were "entertained with punch in the Organ loft, which gave the true air to their music."⁶

Until the late eighteenth century funeral processions in the country invariably went afoot, even when the distance was a long one. Bentley says that the first funeral in Salem with four-wheel carriages was that of a child named Burrill in 1790. "The corpse was carried in a Chariot, the mourners followed in a Coach, & eight chaises."⁷ He wished that the practice of the mourning coach might be generally introduced. Occasionally in frigid weather the body would be conveyed on a sled, lest the bearers should slip on the ice. The hearse, as we know it today, was not introduced in Middleton until well along in the nineteenth century. On May 10, 1829, the town voted "to have a hearse and building erected providing the expence shall not exceed more than 125 or 30 dollars." There is no clue as to the appearance of Middleton's first vehicle of the kind. It may have resembled the hearse bought by public subscription in the town of Rockport, Massachusetts, in 1836. Of wood frame construction, the body of this vehicle has corner posts with finials and is furnished with black curtains edged with a deep fringe.

The story of Middleton's first hearse house is not without its elements of humor. Daniel Richardson had been chosen as agent "to see to gitting a hearse and building," provided he could do so within the stated financial limit, and he was given six months to complete the job. We next hear from him on March 1, 1830, when the town voted not to allow his bill. A committee of three—Daniel Fuller, Joseph Peabody, 3d, and Dean Fuller—was appointed to examine the hearse and building and make a report. Their findings were presented the following week:

Having examined the hearse which is charged in the bill at \$100 and are of the opinion it is worth the money and that the Town accept of it. We have also examined the hearse house and are of the opinion that it is not finised in a workmanlike manner and that it is necessary that the southeast end of the building should be shingled, also that the doors are too sappey and that said doors ought to be re-

6. Bentley, I, 72.

7. *Ibid.*, I, 205.

built of stuff clear of sap or painted also that there be such other repairs as to make the building tight and if the said Richardson makes the above repairs as stated that the town accept the same at forty dollars including his services and the land under the house or that the town pay him five dollars for his trouble and he take the building away. Report accepted.

The result of this investigation was that Richardson was allowed \$114 for the hearse and his expense, while he was to remove the building. The business of putting up a new house had to be done over again. Bids were asked for and the contract given to Capt. Solomon Richardson at forty-five dollars.

Three years later the town, which owned and regulated this facility, bought a harness for the hearse. A charge of fifty cents was made by the sexton for the use of a horse.

At this period, and for a time still, coffins were made and graves dug by the sextons. They were almost invariably carpenters. Among them were Joseph Fuller in the mid-1700's; Samuel Berry, about 1800; Amos Richardson in 1830; and later, Addison P. Tyler.

After 1850 we come to a new era: the sexton still dug the grave, but the funeral outfitting was in the hands of an undertaker. This change appears in a bill dated March 6, 1855, from Joseph Averill to the estate of Nancy Farnham. Included were "Coffin and Plait" for ten dollars and grave clothes at \$2.75.

The coffin plate considered as a memento and not merely as an identifying mark seems to have been in general favor at this time. The earliest examples I have seen date from the 1820's and belong to the Sandy Bay Historical Society of Rockport. They are two perfectly plain plated silver labels, one inscribed "William Rowe/ Obt Jan'y 23d 1824/ Aged 63 years." As time went on these plates became more elaborate. Some were embossed, others engraved with sprays of flowers or leaves. The lily of the valley, which appears on the coffin marker of Mary Frances Emerson of Middleton, was a favorite design in the mid-nineteenth century. Similar markers, known as escutcheons, and sometimes actually displaying coats-of-arms, were attached to coffins at a very early period—Samuel Sewall mentions them in his diary—but the practice of removing the plates as souvenirs is of later origin. Detached by the sexton after the burial service, these medallions,

often of solid silver, were returned to the family, who kept them as prized possessions. A number that I have seen preserved by Middleton families date from the 1860's and 1870's.

The upward trend in the cost and complexity of funerals had already begun in this period. The estate of Sophia Wilkins was presented with a bill in April 1861, from H. & H. Hubon, a firm of undertakers in Salem. The charges were sixteen dollars for a rosewood coffin with plate glass, satin lined and mounted, and \$4.50 for a cashmere robe, cap, and kerchief. This was a step ahead in elegance from the plain pine coffin, and we learn from the bill that the Hubons also sold coffins of mahogany, black walnut, or stained wood.

Perhaps the best illustration of the prestige value of a coffin plate and other fixings occurs in the expenses for the funeral of Jonathan Shepard of Middleton, a former sea captain, in 1874. The "box" cost but \$3.50, a robe \$5.50, and the services of the sexton, Addison Tyler, \$5.00, but the coffin plate and trimmings cost twenty-three dollars!

Incidental to funeral occasions were the poems written by sympathizing friends and relatives for the consolation of the bereaved family. This custom of literary expression dated from earliest colonial times, when writings of the kind were fastened to the hearse and pall. In Victorian days they were sent to the home and then sometimes read during the funeral ceremonies. When Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Richardson lost their little boy Arthur in 1860 their grief was so acute that many such poems were sent to them. A number have been preserved to this day. To modern ears they overflow with sentimentality, but there is no question of the sincerity of the writers. One poem signed "Solomon W. Richardson" in tiny letters on its envelope, is entitled "Our Little Angel." The first verse shows its trend of thought:

Open the shutters,
Let in the light,
Fold back the drapery
Stainless and white;
Brightly the morning
Is shining abroad —
Our little angel
Has gone home to God.

This was "spoken on the occasion of Arthur Richardson's death."

Another set of verses in childish hand is from a schoolmate. This begins:

A mourning class, a vacant seat
Tell us that one we loved to meet
Will join our youthful throng no more
Till all these changing scenes are o'er.

A longer poem, addressed to Arthur's sisters, has the quality of a folk ballad:

Thy Mother sat beside his bed
And gently soothed his aching head,
And by her side the sisters hear
His parting words while bathed in tears.

It then goes on with verses representing the words of the dying boy to father, mother, sisters, and friends.

Dear Father must I leave thy side
Alone to pass dark Jordan's tide
But I fear not its gloomy crest
For Christ will bear me on his breast.

The last verse reads:

He said no more but laid his head
On his Couch and his spirit fled.
Mild as the sun at close of day
On Seraph wings he passed away.

Until 1861 Middleton had no town cemetery. All burials took place in the little plots reserved by families on their own land. At one time, according to the local historian, David Stiles, there were no fewer than forty-five of these private burying grounds. Today we know of only fifteen or so. One of these is the tomb of Elias Smith, erected by him and his son-in-law Joseph Peabody, the noted financier and ship owner of Salem. Standing on Mont Vernon Street, the structure is of a substantial nature and is surrounded by a sturdy stone wall. This lot is cared for by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

A larger burying ground at Old South Main and Mont Vernon Streets, used by early members of the Fuller family, contains some

forty marked graves and is under the care of the Middleton Historical Society. A number of others, including the Flint cemetery on Boston Street and the Peabody lot on East Street, are well kept, but several of the smaller ones are sadly neglected.

It is noteworthy that many of the earliest graves in Middleton, especially those of slaves, were unmarked except by small boulders at head and foot. Numbers of these nameless interments are to be seen in the Fuller burying ground. One grave there has been entirely covered with rocks, as if to foil the depredations of wild animals. It is clear that country people, so far from the source of supply and with little cash to spend, were obliged to forego the luxury of carved gravestones. The earliest one I have recorded in Middleton—also in the Fuller cemetery—is that of Mrs. Elizabeth Perkins, wife of John; it is dated 1738. A fine carved stone and footstone were also provided for the grave of the first minister, Rev. Andrew Peters, who died in 1756.

The present public cemetery, Oakdale, was purchased by the town from Daniel Richardson on March 18, 1861. It at first included only six acres, but has since been extended.

COFFINS AND DR. BENTLEY

By DEAN A. FALES, JR.

HAVING WITNESSED over one hundred funerals that he noted in his diary, Dr. William Bentley easily qualifies as the prize observer and recorder of funeral customs in this area in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. His observations on the woods for coffins are interesting, since other woods, in addition to the native white pine of country areas, were used in Salem.

The earliest coffin observed by Bentley was that of Sarah Crowninshield who had died in 1779. Her coffin was made of pine, locust, and mahogany and was "all sound" even after an interment of twenty-eight years.¹ The coffin of Richard Derby, the father of Elias Hasket, was made of oak and locust in 1783. Bentley mentions that the locust grew in front of the door of the elder Derby who had it cut down for his own coffin.² Reverend James Diman's coffin, made by Mr. Ward in 1788, was mahogany,³ as was that of Thomas Briggs who died in 1803.

Two exceptional coffins attracted Dr. Bentley's attention. The first was at a Quaker funeral in 1798. Bentley remarked that "A White naked Coffin was among the singularities of the occasion."⁴ This refers to a plain, undraped coffin. The most amazing one, however, was that in which Dr. William Stearns was finally laid to rest in 1819:

The superstitious fears which had accompanied a tale of a man buried alive induced Dr. Stearns to request he might not be buried immediately & the body has been kept for interment the unknown time of four days. To complete the folly of these fears against the common sense of his neighbors the children have not sealed the tomb, but ordered guards till the seventh day is over. I saw the sexton with his lanthorn, rum jug & blanket going to the place of his guard. A thing I never knew or heard of in New England before. The coffin was in the form of my first days. Not with a lid but a place cut over the face, with a shutter. The use of glass over it I do not recollect, tho not now uncommon. The Dr. has been under his screws these five days. He has a wonderful family.⁵

1. William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.* (Salem, 1905-1914), III, 296.

2. *Ibid.*, II, 253.

3. *Ibid.*, I, 107.

4. *Ibid.*, II, 277.

5. *Ibid.*, IV, 589, 590.

AMERICANS IN ZANZIBAR: 1865-1915

By NORMAN ROBERT BENNETT*

DURING THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR the American traders in Zanzibar lost the commanding position in the commerce of the island that they had maintained for many years.¹ Shortages of trading goods and high costs in the United States, plus the presence of Confederate raiders on the routes to East Africa, had placed the Americans there in a difficult position. They had struggled to keep business going, often importing their goods in British ships, but, although their credit remained sound, their trade had seriously declined.

This recession of American interests did not last long, however. By 1867 American trade was on the way to recovery, in spite of heavy competition from Indian, British, German, French and other firms, and the American Consul, E. D. Ropes, thought the United States would soon regain its former place in trade.² The French representative in Zanzibar, writing independently, corroborated this picture of returning American prosperity.³ In 1869, in Salem, a speech by a leading citizen of that city gave additional support to this new prosperity; this Massachusetts center, it was claimed, received a large percentage of the ivory, gums, and hides coming to the United States—all products sought after by Salem men in East Africa.⁴

*The author wishes to thank the African Studies Program of Boston University for a grant that aided him in the research for this study.

1. For the account of Americans in Zanzibar before 1865, see the present writer's studies in the Essex Institute *Historical Collections*, XCV (July 1959), 239-262, and XCVII (January 1961), 31-56.

2. Ropes to State Department, 15 August 1867, Foreign Affairs Section, National Archives, Washington, D.C. [hereafter SDA]. Ropes gives statistics, but as John Kirk said, "It is impossible to obtain accurate and reliable statistics of the trade of Zanzibar, everyone being interested in representing the imports and exports as less than they actually are." From R. Coupland, *The Exploitation of East Africa, 1856-1890* (London, 1939), p. 77. The statistics from American, British and French sources differ; therefore only the relative position of American trade, taken on the average, will usually be given in this study.

3. Jablonski à M.A.E., 31 December 1867, Correspondance Commercial, Zanzibar, t. 2, Archives, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris [hereafter M.A.E.].

4. Robert S. Rantoul, "The Port of Salem," Essex Institute *Historical Collections*, X (1869), 72.

The American traders were able to recover so quickly because of the superiority of their main import into Zanzibar, cotton cloth. It remained, in the words of the future Lord Lugard, "The very best cloth in the market and almost as strong as canvas."⁵ German and Indian merchants had made strong efforts to substitute their own cloth while American goods were in short supply, but the local population considered them of inferior quality and bought them only when there was no alternative.⁶ Apart from their cotton goods, the American traders had no other staples to keep trade flowing after the Civil War and found it necessary to import much specie to buy the exports they desired.⁷

In diplomacy, the American representatives had little to do before the early 1870's. The Consuls, almost always resident merchants were most interested in the renewed efforts of the British to restrict further the slave trading carried on from Zanzibar. A treaty of 1845 between Britain and Zanzibar prohibited the export of slaves from the Sultan's African dominions, but it did allow shipments to Zanzibar and Pemba. Such a treaty was, of course, difficult to enforce, and the success of the efforts of the Royal Navy in preventing the slave trade varied with the numbers and activities of their ships in the East African area.

In 1868 the navy, and the British Consul, Churchill, appeared to the Americans as determined to strike a hard blow against the illegal slave trade—and perhaps even to attempt to abolish slavery itself. All Americans in Zanzibar took the same view regarding any such measures: they had to be carried out gradually or chaos would result in Zanzibar that would threaten the continuance of American trade. In fact, in 1868, F. R. Webb, the American representative, asked the State Department to send a vessel to Zanzibar to protect American interests from the consequences of any harsh British policy. While requesting this, he put in a good word for the slave owners of Zanzibar: "The Arab property in Zanzibar consists largely in slaves who work on the clove and cocoa nut plantations, are kindly treated, and who with their owner and his children form a happy family."⁸ The Arabs

5. *The Diaries of Lord Lugard*, ed. Margery Perham (London, 1959), I, 290.

6. Jablonski à M.A.E., 20 February 1864, Corr. Comm., Zanzibar, t. 2.

7. Ropes to S.D., 15 August 1867, SDA.

8. Webb to Ropes, 20 August 1868, Ropes Papers, Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass. [hereafter P.M.].

did, of course, treat their slaves kindly; this was not the problem. What the British were out to mitigate was the devastation of the African interior caused by the gathering of slaves for Zanzibar and other areas. The State Department realized this and wrote a strong reply to Webb's despatch; he was told that

If it be true as you suppose that the British Government is sedulously engaged in endeavoring to induce the Sultan to abolish slavery in the Island of Zanzibar, neither this country nor any other can have any reason to complain of the proceeding. So far from protesting against it, the influence of this government would be exerted in its favor.⁹

The British did not actually try to abolish slavery in Zanzibar, but when they moved against the slave trade they found, in spite of this official view of the United States, that the Americans resident there were not disposed to cooperate with them.

This American reaction to British efforts against the slave trade appears a bit unusual so soon after the Civil War, particularly since many of the Americans in Zanzibar had served in the armed forces of the North. Their position becomes understandable when an investigation of British methods to combat the slave trade in East African waters is made. Admittedly, the Royal Navy had a difficult task in tracking down slavers in the western Indian Ocean with the few ships at their disposal for this work. The real problem, however, came when an Arab vessel was boarded and an investigation of its business carried out. All Arab vessels had slaves in their crews (this was legal), and thus very careful proceedings were required for all but the most obvious slaving ships. Before 1870 the nature of this investigation was highly unsatisfactory and the results were often unjust. The first difficulty was that of language; native interpreters were necessary, and in this period there were serious doubts of their honesty. Such doubts were justified because prize money was given to the officers and men of the ships concerned for every slave ship that was convicted and condemned. In theory this legal process had to be carried out in a prize court, but until the late 1860's the nearest courts for the East African patrol were in Aden and Cape Town. Distance made conveyance there impracticable, and so if judged unseaworthy, an Arab dhow could be destroyed on the

9. Seward to Webb, 12 November 1868, SDA.

spot. Of course, by British standards, all Arab dhows were unseaworthy. Even if the vessel were brought to court, conviction was almost automatic since the Arabs did not understand the British system and received little help. To this unfortunate picture must be added an occurrence frequently mentioned in the literature of the time: the looting of helpless Arab dhows by British crews whether they were guilty of carrying slaves or not.¹⁰

Thus in 1868 and 1869, whether from hatred of the slave trade or from excess zeal to gain prize money, Arab trading vessels operating from Zanzibar suffered greatly. F. R. Webb estimated that seventy ships had been burned in one year, many of them innocent, and he complained that these ravages would soon ruin all the trade of Zanzibar.¹¹ Fortunately for the Americans and other traders, the British at last took steps to end these violations. A Foreign Office official said of the Royal Navy in East African waters:

in my opinion the system on which our naval officers are now acting in carrying out the Slave Trade suppression duty on the East Coast of Africa, is one which cannot be justified, and which would not be tolerated for a month by any European power if their vessels were seized and condemned without a hearing in the manner in which Zanzibar and other native Dhows have for the last few years been treated by our cruisers.¹²

As a result orders were sent that trials were necessary unless there were very exceptional circumstances, and a Vice-Admiralty Court was set up in Zanzibar to make trials possible.¹³

John Kirk carried out these orders, and innocent dhows were set free. The Americans then quieted down, but their disillusionment with British practices in combatting the slave trade returned a few years later when new measures were attempted. A British historian once said of Britain and the slave trade, "That

10. See W. Cope Devereux, *A Cruise in the "Gorgon"* (London, 1869), especially pp. 128-9, 268; Captain Colomb, *Slave Catching in the Indian Ocean* (London, 1873), pp. 262 ff.

11. Webb to Seward, 10 March 1869, SDA; Webb to Ropes, 13 April 1869, Ropes Papers.

12. Note of W. Wylde, 1 July 1869, F.O. 84/1307, Public Record Office, London.

13. F.O. to Kirk, 25 March 1870, F.O. 84/1325.

her motives were disinterested can scarcely be questioned."¹⁴ In view of the conduct of British crews in East African waters, the Americans understandably had a somewhat skeptical opinion of any disinterested motives on the part of the British. Kirk, who seldom got along well with Americans, added to this mistrust; at the end of 1870 he wrote the Foreign Office that all the other Consuls were upset at his success with the Sultan who now "treated this agency with proper respect and as taking precedence in everything without question."¹⁵ The Americans would find this attitude increasingly hard to live with.

This legacy came prominently into sight in 1873 when the British government decided to take firm action to end the sea-borne slave trade in East African waters. In the previous year, when preparing plans for this end, the British sought to gain the support of other powers with interests in the East African area. The American government was asked to cooperate with Britain in ending the slave trade; the British also thought that legitimate trade in this region would hurt the slave trade, and requested the United States and other interested governments to aid in establishing a line of steamers to East African ports.¹⁶

The Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, was receptive to the British schemes, at least with regard to the slave trade proposals. He told the British ambassador he would instruct the American representative in Zanzibar to support the ending of the sea-borne slave trade and would send an American warship to Zanzibar to help. Fish, however, declined to act on the steamer idea; he said the United States supported private enterprise for such matters and that Congress would not change our traditional policy for distant East Africa.¹⁷ The orders to the Americans concerned in this effort were in line with the Secretary's pledges; Commander Wilson of the *U.S.S. Yantic* soon headed for Zanzibar to aid Webb in cooperating with the British "in any proper manner

14. William L. Mathieson, *Great Britain and the Slave Trade, 1839-1865* (London, 1929), p. 1.

15. Coupland, *Exploitation of East Africa*, p. 99.

16. Granville to Thornton, 16 February 1872, F.O. 84/1386. Sir John Gray, "Early Connections Between the United States and East Africa," *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 22 (1946), 80-83 and Coupland, *Exploitation of East Africa*, pp. 182 ff, deal with this episode.

17. Thornton to Granville, 30 March 1872, enclosing Fish to Thornton, 29 March 1872, F.O. 84/1355.

which may tend towards the success of . . . this mission to Muscat or Zanzibar."¹⁸

When the British mission, headed by Sir Bartle Frere, arrived in Zanzibar in January 1873, they found the *Yantic* already there. Wilson had taken advantage of his early arrival by trying to act "Stanley and Livingstone over again"—by signing the desired treaty before the Frere mission arrived. This effort failed, Frere claimed, due to the machinations of the American Consul, J. F. Webb. His interpreter had taken the "long and strong despatch" prepared by Wilson for the Sultan and robbed it of all its impact when presenting it to that ruler. The interpreter merely asked the Sultan to uphold the provisions of the 1845 treaty, the treaty the British were out to change. The Sultan of course agreed, and Wilson considered his work in Zanzibar accomplished. Webb reported to the State Department that he had carried out his instructions.¹⁹

Webb's proceedings seem strange even for an American trader who resented the character of British influence in Zanzibar. But apparently his great dislike of this nation was the motivation for this failure to carry out his instructions. In a private letter he gave his opinion of the whole affair:

I have this d-----d slave business on my hands. I hate this job . . . I think our Government is made a cat's paw of in this matter—to take out the chestnuts from the fire.

He added in this letter that he accompanied Wilson to the Sultan, but in the talks he became so angry he walked out.²⁰ Here was the crux of the affair; America's representative was a private trader who thought of his position only as a means of aiding trade. When he was ordered to act in a political matter, one he felt might hurt American trading interests, he would not carry out his orders in a way that could aid the British who were already, in his opinion, too powerful in Zanzibar.

Webb therefore maintained his uncooperative attitude when Frere's group arrived. He "declined all cooperation" and even re-

18. Fish to Webb, 26 October 1872, and 2 April 1872, SDA.

19. Frere to Granville, 1 February 1873, F.O. 84/1389; Wilson to the Secretary of War, 16 December 1872, Naval Records Collection, Box 3, Navy Department Section, National Archives, Washington, D.C. [hereafter NDA]; Webb to S.D., 17 December 1872, SDA.

20. Webb to Ropes, 18 December 1872, Ropes Papers.

fused to return the courtesy calls of members of the mission. Webb told the British that his instructions allowed him to do no more than he had already done in presenting Wilson's note to the Sultan. Wilson remained in Zanzibar for a time, but was of little use to Frere; Frere described him as a friend, but "not a very efficient ally, for though a shrewd man his habits and manners did not give much weight to his advice." In less diplomatic language, one of Frere's aides said of Wilson that he had orders "to cooperate cordially, and carries them out literally by visiting H. Majesty's ships and Consul impartially and getting drunk invariably."²¹

Frere soon discovered that Webb was not alone in his opposition; he reported:

one of the best and most respectable foreign merchants said his compatriots had . . . entire hostility to our efforts for repressing it [the slave trade]—not that they approved of it in the abstract . . . They wish it left alone, not from wishing to participate in it or its profits, but because when the slave trade is flourishing other trade flourishes, when the slave trade is depressed or persecuted other trade is dull.²²

This merchant's nationality was not mentioned, but this attitude was the view of all the American traders in Zanzibar.

When these events were reported to the Foreign Office, immediate inquiries were made in Washington about the activities of their Consul. But when questioned about Webb's action, Fish could only say that Webb had written he was carrying out his instructions.²³ This did not satisfy Lord Granville, and he ordered his ambassador to express his dissatisfaction with American aid, although Wilson's efforts were recognized and praised.²⁴ The recriminations apparently went too far since Fish began to uphold Webb in the face of foreign criticism; he brought up the fact, as he had earlier, that the British had only given him general in-

21. Frere to Granville, 1 February 1873, 10 February 1873, enclosing Wilson to Frere, 20 January 1873, Wilson to Sultan of Zanzibar, 11 December 1872, report of Pelly and Kirk, 20 January 1873, F.O. 84/1389; Euan Smith to Mackinnon, 17 January 1873, Mackinnon Papers, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University.

22. Frere to Granville, 7 May 1873, F.O. 84/1391.

23. Thornton to Granville, 3 March 1873, F.O. 84/1392.

24. Granville to Thornton, 17 March 1873, and Thornton to Granville, 7 April 1873, enclosing Thornton to Fish, 5 April 1873, *ibid.*

formation of Frere's plans, and not a full report of his instructions. Therefore, American support had to be in general terms since he did not know the exact British plans for Zanzibar. Fish concluded: "So far as I am aware Mr. Webb has fully and faithfully complied with the instructions sent." This strong reply caused the British Ambassador to retract his strong statements about American cooperation; he said he did not mean to infer Webb had deliberately misinterpreted Wilson's note and that the native interpreter was probably the guilty party.²⁵

When the American ambassador in London followed this matter up by restating Fish's views, and again referred to American ignorance of Frere's instructions, the British withdrew their criticism. The ambassador was told they merely had wished to report Webb's actions and had no desire to indulge in unnecessary recriminations. The ambassador was informed in part of Frere's instructions, and the British ambassador in Washington was soon ordered to inform Fish fully of the details on the mission to Zanzibar.²⁶ This was a wise move on the part of the Foreign Office, since Fish was suspicious of Frere's mission and thought that the British had other motives than the suppression of the slave trade.²⁷ In the end, the British dropped the whole episode and decided to work for American support in the future conduct of Frere's mission.²⁸

This support resulted when J. F. Webb became ill and had to leave Zanzibar "nearly at the point of death."²⁹ The new American representative, F. R. Webb, an experienced Zanzibar trader and a naval veteran of the Civil War,³⁰ took an entirely different view of the Frere mission. He had gained a position of much influence with the Sultan during his years in Zanzibar and was willing to aid the British as much as possible. John Kirk, carrying on the

25. Thornton to Granville, 14 April 1873, enclosing Fish to Thornton, 8 April 1873 and Thornton to Fish, 10 April 1873, and Thornton to Granville, 15 April 1873, enclosing Fish to Thornton, 14 April 1873, F.O. 84/1392.

26. Granville to Thornton, 29 April 1873 and 2 May 1873, F.O. 84/1392 and F.O. 84/1393 respectively.

27. Thornton to Granville, 5 May 1873, F.O. 84/1369.

28. Granville to Thornton, 9 July 1873, *ibid.*

29. F.R. Webb to S.D., 8 April 1873, SDA.

30. For a biographical note on Webb, George B. Putnam, "Salem Vessels and their Voyages," Essex Institute *Historical Collections*, LX (January 1924), 22.

negotiations after the departure of Frere, welcomed this support and worked closely with the American. Webb, in a series of interviews with the Sultan, counseled him to give in to the British demands; he admitted that he felt them rather strong, but wisely pointed out that resistance was futile. The Sultan still delayed acceptance and in the end received a British ultimatum; Webb again advised compliance at once, and the Sultan finally accepted terms. John Kirk praised Webb's role in this settlement—"to which, in great measure, I ascribe the favourable termination of these negotiations." Kirk was exaggerating here since he could have won out without American support, but it was clear that Webb had speeded up the final surrender of the Sultan. Kirk also saw the real motive for Webb's activities; this American trader was wiser than J. F. Webb since he realized the British were determined to act. Thus in the interests of trade, it was best to have the matter settled quickly so that American trading activities would not be unduly disturbed.³¹ Thus an unpleasant incident, caused by the American unprofessional diplomatic service, was mitigated, and the United States, so recently at war over slavery, was not discredited before the world for opposing a move against the slave trade in East Africa.

In the 1870's the American traders in Zanzibar continued their struggles to win a large share of the trade of the island. A new event, however, made their task a much harder one. The Suez Canal, opened in 1869, revolutionized the conditions of trade in East Africa. Regular steamship connections from Zanzibar to Europe now started, and European trading vessels could reach the East African area in much less time than those of the Americans. As F. R. Webb said, this event "raised the old scratch with our markets . . . since every little Hindoo now puts his oar in." Indian merchants no longer had to deal with foreign agents to dispose of their merchandise; they could deal directly with visiting steamers; the risks were small and profits good, so that American interests were bound to suffer.³²

In the year of 1870 an era came to a close. The last vessel from Salem, the *Glide*, left Zanzibar; it arrived in Salem harbor

31. Kirk to F.O. 27 May 1873, 1 June 1873, 5 June 1873, F.O. 84/1374; Webb to S.D. 16 April 1873, Kirk to Webb, 5 June 1873, SDA.

32. Webb to Ropes, 16 October 1870, Ropes Papers.

in May 1870.³³ After that date the Salem firms still operated in Zanzibar, but their sailing vessels were based in other American ports. These sailing vessels continued in use in this age of growing steam transportation since they could carry bulk goods, as hides, very cheaply; other items would increasingly be brought to the United States, after their purchase by American firms, in foreign vessels.³⁴ The present writer has found no record of any American steam vessels trading in Zanzibar during the nineteenth century.

The new conditions following the opening of the Suez Canal were met and overcome by the Americans in Zanzibar. In the early 1870's they were able to secure most of the gum copal and ivory in the Zanzibar market.³⁵ In his report for the year ending in September 1871, the American Consul stated that the losses caused by the Civil War were about done. The only matter to worry American traders was the rising price of their cotton goods.³⁶ As mentioned in the present writer's earlier studies, the Americans in the East African area did not only trade with Zanzibar; they had agents in other areas of the coast, and in the period under discussion here, were receiving valuable help in securing a profit from their trading establishments on the island of Madagascar. In fact, in the early 1870's, American cottons were the one essential import into that island; if foreign merchants wanted to meet American competition, they had to sell American cloth.³⁷

American progress was not continuous, however. In April, 1872 the worst hurricane in the history of Zanzibar struck the island.³⁸ The storm had serious effects upon American trade, since the many local residents in debt to the traders, or delivering them materials on contract, could not meet their obligations. The three

33. Chas. R. Osgood and H. M. Batchelder, *Historical Sketch of Salem* (Salem, 1879), p. 167.

34. A letter of T. Stevens, 24 February 1889, in *New York World*, 14 April 1889.

35. J. F. Webb to Ropes, 20 June 1871, Ropes Papers. Webb provides a good illustration of the American merchant mind in this letter; his comment on a busy social season in Zanzibar was that there was no point in "calling upon people out of whom there is not a dollar to be made."

36. Report of the Commerce of Zanzibar for the Year Ending 30 September 1871, SDA.

37. A. Grandidier, "Le Commerce de Madagascar," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 6^e-III (1872), 210-211.

38. For details, Coupland, *Exploitation of East Africa*, pp. 56-57.

American firms were shaken; one did not recover and went into bankruptcy.³⁹ After the storm Kirk reported that the two remaining firms owed \$200,000 and \$400,000 respectively to creditors in Zanzibar.⁴⁰ This state of affairs brought a rueful comment from one American merchant:

The good old times, when we could run up a \$300,000 debt and think of it only once in six months when we gave a new note have ended, and we have got to have the hard money right on the spot.⁴¹

These setbacks did not hinder the Americans for long. Even though their cottons did become very expensive in 1873, they continued to control the ivory market in Zanzibar, and thus remained a most important factor in the island's economic life. One main reason for the resiliency of the American firms was their close working relationship with some of the leading Indian merchants of Zanzibar. Sir Bartle Frere had noticed the connection of the Indian merchant to foreign interests, remarking that the Indian "sometimes stands to the foreign firm in a relation more like that of a partner than a mere broker, agent, or go-between."⁴² The well-known Taria Topan⁴³ was probably the most important Indian merchant of Zanzibar, and Kirk described him as "American in all his interests."⁴⁴ This American dependence on Indian aid became at times very troublesome to the traders; Topan particularly bothered them because he was able to control the market for their goods. The American traders, however, played the Indians off against one another whenever possible and managed to keep their independence.⁴⁵ The fact that such friction was minor in the 1870's is clear from an American trader's letter to Topan: he requested that Topan hurry back from a visit to India since no

39. Gertrude Ward, *Letter of Bishop Tozer* (London, 1902), p. 271; Guillois à M.A.E., 25 January 1874, Corr. Comm., Zanz., t. 3.

40. Kirk to F.O., 22 May 1872, F.O. 84/1357.

41. J.F. Webb to Ropes, 19 May 1872, Ropes Papers. For the "good old times" referred to, see Bennett, "Americans in Zanzibar, 1845-1865," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XCVII (January 1961), 46.

42. Frere to Granville, 7 May 1873, F.O. 84/1391.

43. See L.W. Hollingsworth, *The Asians of East Africa* (London, 1960), p. 140.

44. Kirk to Mackinnon, 25 May 1879, Mackinnon Papers.

45. Hathorne to Arnold, Hines and Co., 1 June 1877, and Hathorne to Emmerton, 29 June 1877, Hathorne Papers, P.M.

other merchant of Zanzibar knew and treated American interests so well.⁴⁶

Working in this manner, American business improved in the late 1870's. A new factor in this development was the growing use of American kerosene for lighting purposes in the East African area. A trade report of the mid-1860's listed only minor imports of kerosene;⁴⁷ by 1872 imports amounted to 2000 cases a year; by 1878, to 25,000 cases, with the demand well in excess of the supply. A three cent tin lamp was sold for use with the kerosene. Since one cent's worth of this oil would last two nights, the use of vegetable oils for lighting was quickly done away with in Zanzibar and on parts of the coast.⁴⁸ The trade in American cottons also revived. New markets were opened in the interior, where many travellers commented on the spread of American cloth. Joseph Thomson observed that American cottons were "fast hustling England out of the African market;" Keith Johnston commented in the same fashion, and blamed this state of affairs on the "thin, comparatively poor and worthless Manchester cotton."⁴⁹ Some of the statistics available give a rough picture of the American position: in the late 1870's American traders imported on the average goods worth about \$500,000 and exported goods worth between \$500,000 and \$1,000,000. To handle this merchandise from Zanzibar American shipping varied from twenty-five to forty vessels a year.⁵⁰

Conditions remained much the same in the years before 1885 and the European scramble for East Africa. Three American firms, Arnold, Hines and Co. of New York, George Ropes and Co. of Boston, and Ropes, Emmerton and Co. of Salem had regular agents for trade in Zanzibar. The oldest foreign firm in Zanzibar, that of John Bertram of Salem, closed in 1882 when that

46. Hathorne to Topan, 27 July 1877, Hathorne Papers, P.M.

47. Ropes to S.D., 15 July 1867, SDA.

48. Hathorne to Ryder, 19 September 1877, Hathorne Papers.

49. Hathorne to Bertram, 16 October 1878, *ibid.*; Joseph Thomson, *To the Central African Lakes and Back* (London, 1881), I, 36; Keith Johnston, "Native Routes in East Africa . . .," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, I (1879), 545

50. Hathorne to S.D., 30 September 1879, SDA; Thomson to Shufeldt, 24 October 1879, in "Cruise of the Ticonderoga," II, NDA; Charles Courret, *A l'Est et à l'Ouest dans l'Océan Indien* (Paris, 1884), pp. 128-129. Some of the vessels listed called at Zanzibar several times in one year; the figure given here lists each caller as a separate vessel, even though it had been there before.

merchant, with interests in Zanzibar dating from the 1830's, died.⁵¹ Ropes, Emmerton and Co. was organized to carry on his work, and thus the Salem interests in Zanzibar did not suffer from the loss of Bertram. The Americans remained important in trade, but were now lost in the large numbers of Europeans coming to Zanzibar. In 1883 a list of Europeans on the island mentioned forty-seven Englishmen, seventeen French, eleven Germans, and only four Americans.⁵²

In the early 1880's the main competition for the American share of trade came from German merchants; they increased their firms in Zanzibar from two to five in the years between 1881 and 1885.⁵³ The Germans also tried to woo Taria Topan away from his American friends, but failed after almost winning him over.⁵⁴ This Indian trader began to cause the American firms a great deal of trouble; the different American firms competed for his services, and he was not averse to making additional profit from this situation.⁵⁵ Topan caused even more trouble to the Americans, since he started to use his commanding position in Zanzibar to run all trading to his own benefit; he controlled all sales of kerosene to local retailers and brought much cheap Indian cotton in to replace the more expensive American goods.⁵⁶ In the opinion of one Belgian observer, such efforts had been so successful that American cotton had been almost entirely replaced.⁵⁷ In the ivory market, however, the Americans continued to dominate; the various firms had orders for 12,000 pounds of ivory a month and had no difficulty in filling their requirements.⁵⁸ The value of American exports and imports remained much the same as it was in the late 1870's.⁵⁹

51. See the comments on his life in Essex Institute *Historical Collections*, XXI (April-June 1884), 81-96.

52. E. D. Ropes, Jr. to his parents, 20 August 1883, Ropes Papers.

53. Ledoux à M.A.E., 17 January 1885, *Politique, Zanzibar*, t. 7, M.A.E.

54. Ropes, Jr. to parents, 20 September 1884, Ropes Papers.

55. Ropes, Jr. to parents, 23 March 1884, *ibid.*

56. Ropes, Jr. to parents, 27 October 1884, 15 November 1884, 23 November 1884; Ropes, Jr. to Ropes, 25 May 1883; Bachelder to Ropes, 17 February 1882; all in Ropes Papers.

57. "Notes," Storms Papers, Musée Royale de l'Afrique Centrale, Tervuren, Belgium.

58. William H. Beehler, *The Cruise of the Brooklyn*, (Philadelphia, 1885), p. 172.

59. Bachelder to S. D., 9 September 1881; Cheney's Trade Report for the Year Ending 30 June 1884; Cheney to S.D., 18 November 1884; all in SDA.

The American representatives in their diplomatic functions did not have any really serious problems to deal with from 1873 to 1885. Some difficulty arose, however, over that controversial, naturalized American, Henry Morton Stanley. Stanley, on his first trip into East Africa, had had few dealings with the American officials of the island, but he left in Zanzibar a considerable legacy of dislike due to his quarrels with John Kirk.⁶⁰ Thus when he returned to East Africa to start his great trip across the continent (1874-1877), he found no friendly reception from Kirk and most of the British. Once in the interior, Stanley, for perhaps insufficient reasons, engaged in some particularly bloody battles with Africans. Since Stanley travelled under both the American and English flags, Kirk was instructed, due to popular pressure in Britain, to deliver the following message to the American consul:

I have the honour to inform you that in consequence of the painful impression produced in England by Mr. Stanley's recent proceedings in the interior of Africa and of his collisions with native tribes as reported in his letters I have been directed by the Earl of Derby to endeavor to convey to Mr. Stanley if any opportunity of communication should open an intimation that he has no authority to make use of the British flag as giving countenance to his proceedings.

There was of course no way to reach Stanley, but Hathorne, the American consul, promised to do all he could in forwarding this message.⁶¹ There is no indication that Stanley ever received it.

Stanley returned to Zanzibar after he had succeeded in reaching the mouth of the Congo. He became a good friend of Hathorne's, and the Consul has some interesting remarks to make about the reception of the American explorer by Kirk. The British Consul could not control his dislike for Stanley; the British subjects in Zanzibar usually followed his lead, although officers of the Royal Navy in Zanzibar did give Stanley a reception. As Hathorne said, "the air here is so thoroughly impregnated with '*Kirkism*' that his stay here has not been very 'gay and festive.'" Hathorne had sufficient reason of his own to dislike Kirk, even

60. See Sir Reginald Coupland, *Livingstone's Last Journey* (London, 1947), pp. 147 ff.

61. Kirk to Hathorne, 11 December 1876 and Hathorne to Kirk, 13 December 1876, N-23, Zanzibar Archives. See also, Gray, "Early Connections Between the United States and East Africa," 78-79.

without this shabby treatment of Stanley. Kirk often looked down upon the merchant-consuls of the United States from his eminent position in Zanzibar and went out of his way to antagonize them. One rather humorous incident is reported by Hathorne. The American merchants used the roofs of their businesses to dry the hides they were to ship home to the United States; Kirk apparently lost no attempt to demonstrate his contempt for this activity:

then Kirk can't bear the "Americans stinking hides." His aristocratic nose we often see go in the air as he goes under our windows making some remark to whoever may be with him.⁶²

The incident is minor of course, but it does show an attitude on the part of Kirk that explains the continual sniping at him by successive American residents of Zanzibar.

In 1876 the State Department made a change in its management of the Consulate at Zanzibar that upset all the American residents of the island. For the first time in many years a non-trader was made Consul. William Riley of Virginia arrived, and Kirk reported "the American traders here look with undisguised annoyance on the arrival among them of an independent official." Kirk also wondered, in view of the limited American interests in Zanzibar, why such an official had been sent.⁶³ When the British ambassador followed this question up in Washington, he found the answer in one of the inevitable events of the American diplomatic system. There was no renewed State Department interest in Zanzibar; Riley had been appointed to another post, but the Senate had not confirmed the nomination. Thus, he was given the Zanzibar office since it was vacant at that time. After reaching Zanzibar Riley fared as previous non-trading officials; he soon tired of his poorly paid and out-of-the-way post and returned to the United States.⁶⁴ His replacement was a trader.

62. Hathorne to Emmerton, 12 December 1877 and Hathorne to Ropes, 6 February 1879, Hathorne Papers. Hathorne kept in touch with Stanley when the latter was working for Leopold in the Congo. He made this interesting report: "The very night after you sailed the Sultan went to K[irk].s house with only a single lantern, and a soldier following, he spent one and one-half hours there and our mutual friend T. Topan told me the next day that he was *sure* K. knew all the Sultan did about your movements." See Hathorne to Stanley, 29 May 1879, Hathorne Papers. Hathorne made sure no one intercepted his messages to Stanley; he sent him a letter dated 28 June 1879 inside of three envelopes addressed to another person.

63. Kirk to Derby, 4 May 1876, F.O. 84/1453.

64. Lister to Kirk, 18 August 1876, enclosing Thornton to Derby, 13 July 1876; Hathorne to Kirk, 8 May 1876: all in N-23, Zanzibar Archives.

The slavery question, long dormant, returned in 1878 to complicate Anglo-American relations in Zanzibar. At that time the merchants of the island, European and American, had difficulties in securing laborers for their business operations. The many caravans leaving for the interior of Africa had caused an acute labor shortage, with the cost of hire rising one hundred per cent in a year and one-half. The merchants concerned then presented a petition to the Sultan about this situation; they admitted they could make no complaint on free men who wished to work in caravans, but they did feel the Sultan could take some action over the slaves of Zanzibar who took such service. Most of the laborers used by the merchants were slaves who were paid by their owners who arranged the terms of hire. They were the only labor available in Zanzibar. With the increase in caravans for the interior, these slaves began to look for employment in them, and often left without consulting their masters. Thus the merchants in their petition suggested the following: (1) an official to check all caravan hiring to see if individuals were free to sign on; (2) all caravans should leave Zanzibar at a designated point so that they might be checked again; (3) a twenty-four hour notice for the departure of all caravans.⁶⁵

This petition seems innocent enough; it only aimed to regulate conditions in Zanzibar and called for no new measures to make slaves of free men. But Kirk, perhaps motivated by his feeling for Americans, called this petition "a hollow sham to cover a movement in favour of the Slave Trade" and an attempt to put into operation a "most arbitrary law for the protection of a few slave owners with whom the Memorialists have contracts for the employment of slave labor." Kirk added that "these men would be contemptible were it not for the fact that . . . two of my official colleagues . . ." were implicated. The Sultan had at first been receptive to the petition, but he bowed to Kirk's advice, as was usual, and rejected it.⁶⁶

65. Sparhawk, Hathorne, Goldsmith [plus foreign merchants] to Sultan of Zanzibar, 2 January 1878, Sultan's Correspondence, N-23, Zanzibar Archives. For Hathorne's explanations, Hathorne to Arnold, Hines and Co., 5 February 1878, Hathorne Papers.

66. Kirk to Derby, 9 January 1878, 1 February 1878, enclosing Sultan of Zanzibar to Hathorne, 16 January 1878, F.O. 84/1514. Episodes like this motivated this statement by a later American resident of Zanzibar: "I hear that soon Zanzibar is to be honored by the presence again of His

When the Foreign Office received Kirk's reports, they immediately instructed their ambassador in Washington to lodge a complaint. The State Department had no information regarding the petition, but it replied that it opposed the slave trade and thus would investigate the situation.⁶⁷ After learning the details of this action, the authorities in Washington sent Hathorne a strong reprimand for the part he had taken in "a movement having for its apparent object the retention of your fellow men in hopeless bondage."⁶⁸ The State Department's grounds for this reprimand were not sound since most of the slaves who went inland and survived the rigors of their journeys returned later to Zanzibar; their masters took a share of their pay just as they did when the slaves worked on the island. The British had put the case in terms that could not be refused, however, and, as was usual, the Americans in Zanzibar got little support from Washington.⁶⁹

A new quarrel over slavery occurred at the very end of 1878. An American whaler, the *Laconia*, came into Zanzibar harbor for provisions. It was boarded by men from the Royal Navy and searched for slaves; they found two men from the Comoro Islands whom they considered slaves and removed them from the vessel. By right, of course, such an action needed the permission of the American Consul in Zanzibar, but no effort was made to secure it. Hathorne at once sent a strong protest to Kirk, and he also upheld the statements of the captain of the *Laconia* that the men were not slaves as far as his treatment of them was concerned. Kirk, after studying the available information, was convinced that these men were slaves. He went on to allege that he was "aware that American officials and others in these parts are in the habit of buying slaves and that they mention this is not forbidden by their law." Kirk, however, recognized that the British had no jurisdiction over the men from the Comoro Islands, since the American Consul had been bypassed; thus he had them released.⁷⁰ Kirk may have been right in this instance about the two

Highness Sir John Kirk who will reoccupy the position of Sultan of Zanzibar . . ." Quoted from Ropes, Jr. to parents, 30 June 1783, Ropes Papers.

67. Lister to Kirk, 8 July 1878, enclosing Thornton to Salisbury, 10 June 1878, Q-15, Zanzibar Archives.

68. Seward to Hathorne, 26 August 1878, SDA.

69. See Bennett, "Americans in Zanzibar: 1845-1865," 43.

70. Kirk to Salisbury, 28 December 1878, F.O. 84/1514; Kirk to F.O.,

men detained, but he had no proof that "American officials and others" participated in the buying of slaves. There never is a mention of this in his despatches.⁷¹ American whalers were notorious in the nineteenth century for the treatment of their crews; Africans employed shared in this treatment and often were robbed of their wages. This, however, had nothing to do with the slave trade and Kirk was wise to let the matter drop. When the State Department heard of the affair they fully upheld Hathorne's action, while the Foreign Office at once disavowed the right of the navy to act in this instance.⁷² There are no reports of any similar events occurring at Zanzibar.

For the first time in many years, in 1879, an official American mission visited Zanzibar. Commodore Shufeldt of the U.S.S. *Ticonderoga* was sent on a round-Africa trip with instructions to visit places that had no American representation and territories that had longstanding treaties with the United States; the overall aim of the voyage was to increase American trade.⁷³ The knowledge of Zanzibar in the State Department before this trip was made was so limited as to be rather amusing. The officials there noticed, while preparing for Shufeldt's voyage, that certain changes had occurred in the political structure of Zanzibar since the American-Zanzibar treaty of 1833. This query was asked: "What were the political events which led to the change or residence of the sovereign and when did they take place?"⁷⁴ These changes, the division of the hitherto united realm of Zanzibar and Muscat, had occurred in the early 1860's and apparently had not been noticed by the State Department! If they now learned of the changes, they did not show it. Shufeldt wrote from Zanzibar that "Zanzibar is in Africa, and not in Muscat as even the State Department seems to think."⁷⁵ Then, two years later,

2 January 1879, enclosing Hathorne to Kirk, 31 December 1878, Statement of the Captain of the *Laconia*, 28 December 1878, and Kirk to Hathorne, 2 February 1879, Q-22, Zanzibar Archives.

71. The United States occasionally sent a vessel to investigate rumors of American citizens participating in the slave trade; these expeditions never learned of any guilty Americans—and they always checked with the British Consul. For example, Ropes, Jr. to Holmwood, 26 February 1887, E-98, Zanzibar Archives.

72. Evarts to Thompson, 27 March 1879 and Payson to Hathorne, 7 August 1879, SDA.

73. "Cruise of the *Ticonderoga*," I, Instructions.

74. Evarts to Thompson, 9 November 1878, Domestic Letters, SDA.

75. "Journal No. 2," 10 October 1879, Shufeldt Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

the American Consul found it necessary to protest that the Department still addressed his letters to Zanzibar *in* Muscat, and therefore they were much delayed in reaching him.⁷⁶

Returning to Shufeldt, the American naval officer arrived in Zanzibar in October 1879 and remained for fifteen days. Kirk estimated that his mission had no great success, although it could have done much to increase American trade and to raise its prestige, since "Commander Shufeldt although seemingly a man of considerable common sense is devoid of the tact and address needed for the occasion."⁷⁷ Shufeldt's reports give a different impression: the Sultan was cordial to him and satisfactory talks were held on the 1833 treaty. The treaty was left standing in its original form since its terms satisfied both the Sultan and the American community in Zanzibar. Shufeldt did notice, however, the great decline in American influence on the island; he concluded with this: "The American flag is growing smaller and smaller."⁷⁸ An odd bit of information on this visit is supplied by the French representative in Zanzibar; he said Shufeldt told the Sultan that he could count on the United States for aid if Zanzibar's independence were ever threatened.⁷⁹ There seems to be little justification for this assertion, but if Shufeldt did promise this, the Sultan was soon to learn that the United States would never play such a role.

The events of 1885, following the treaties Carl Peters made in present-day Tanganyika at the end of 1884, leading to the establishment of a German protectorate administered by a German company in the area behind the coast opposite Zanzibar, were regarded by the Americans as a serious threat to their position. The Germans were not noted for their liberal views in trade, and the Americans had always been satisfied with the attitude of the Zanzibar government to trade. The Sultan knew of this attitude and tried actively to gain some American support in those

76. Bachelder to S.D., 22 July 1881, SDA.

77. Kirk to F.O., 15 October 1879 and 23 October 1879, Q-22, Zanzibar Archives.

78. "Journal No. 2," 21 October 1878; Shufeldt to Sec. of Navy, 25 October 1879 and 28 October 1879, in "Cruise of the Ticonderoga," II; Charles O. Paullin, *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers, 1778-1883* (Baltimore, 1912), p. 354; Russell M. Smith, "Robert Wilson Shufeldt and the Opening of Korea," (University of Virginia, M.A., 1953), pp. 66-69.

79. Ledoux à M.A.E., 16 October 1880, Polit., Zanzibar, t. 5.

troubled times. He wrote the Secretary of State after the German moves to learn what the United States would do in view of the new situation in East Africa. The answer of Secretary Bayard gave little comfort; he merely said that the United States would not agree to any changes imposed on Zanzibar against its wishes.⁸⁰ This meant the United States would take no steps to aid Zanzibar, where her interests were small; no protest was lodged when the German navy, with the sanction of the British, forced Zanzibar to agree to the new German protectorate in East Africa.⁸¹

With the new political organization in East Africa came a German effort, backed by the British, to modify the old trade treaties of Zanzibar with foreign powers. This was soon done, the British protecting the interests of Zanzibar as much as possible,⁸² and the two European powers then sought to have the United States bring their treaty of 1833 in line with the new agreements. The State Department was informed that the changes would improve conditions at Zanzibar for foreigners and would make the Sultan take an active interest in building the trade of Zanzibar. Britain and Germany emphasized the fact that the State Department must act quickly so that all would be ready for the coming fiscal year in Zanzibar. The State Department was not impressed and the joint request was turned down. Bayard noted that the two powers seemed to be assuming control over aspects of the administration of Zanzibar for the future; the United States could have no part of such an arrangement. This impasse did not last for very long, however. The Department realized that action was necessary, and the American representative, F. M. Cheney, was instructed to bring the United States in line with the new situation. A new treaty was agreed upon in Zanzibar on July 3, 1886 (ratified in 1888) that gave the United States the rights of the most favored nation.⁸³

80. Kirk to Salisbury, 26 August 1885, enclosing Bayard to Sultan of Zanzibar, 25 June 1885, E-88, Zanzibar Archives.

81. For a recent account of these activities, see Fritz Ferdinand Müller, *Deutschland-Zanzibar-Ostafrika* (Berlin, 1959), *passim*.

82. Coupland, *Exploitation of East Africa*, pp. 437 ff.

83. Lister to Kirk, 21 May 1886, enclosing Sackville-West to Rosebery, 29 April 1886; Lister to Kirk, 14 June 1886, enclosing Bayard to Sackville-West, 6 June 1886: both in E-91, Zanzibar Archives; Holmwood to Rosebery, 25 July 1886, E-95, *ibid.*; text in William Malloy, *Treaties . . . Between the United States of America and other Powers* (Washington, 1910), II, 1899-1900.

The new economic system in Zanzibar following these treaties caused the foreign merchants to suffer, particularly those depending on the trade in ivory. The Sultan was now to levy a tax of fifteen per cent of the market price on goods sold on the island. This inaugurated a deliberate policy on the part of the Sultan to force up the price of ivory so that he might have a large return. The old and established Indian firms of Zanzibar would not operate under such conditions, and thus the Sultan appointed a man of his own, Nasser Lilami, to administer the customs of Zanzibar.⁸⁴ In cooperation with Nasser, Indian merchants who feared to oppose the Sultan, acted to bid up the price of ivory in the market to give the Sultan his desired profits. Nasser and the Sultan felt that the Americans depended upon ivory so much that they would have to accept these new conditions. The Americans at first, however, refused to compete on these terms, and consequently could do little business in Zanzibar. When one of the agents, Ropes, discussed this matter with the Sultan, he received this answer: "he didn't want the new treaties and was satisfied with the old state of things but that now he should *follow them to the letter*." The result was that the price of ivory in Zanzibar rose to two dollars more than the selling price of ivory in London.⁸⁵

Ropes and other merchants joined in a protest to the British authorities in Zanzibar over this state of affairs. Ropes claimed that Nasser Lilami by "his partiality, injustice and total inability to fill the position which he occupies" was ruining the trade of Zanzibar.⁸⁶ The British representative, Holmwood, was in agreement with this—he had already reported that the Sultan had appointed "a promiscuous staff of untrained and irresponsible retainers" to office⁸⁷—but no action was possible. The Americans then had to accept the system; Ropes reported that "the whole town stands by to see Pratt [another American trader] and I (through natives) bidding away like mad and running prices up into the skies."⁸⁸ By joint action the Americans did get the

84. Raffray à M.A.E., 8 September 1886, Polit., Zanzibar, t. 5. Hollingsworth, *Asians of East Africa*, p. 21, misses this episode.

85. Ropes, Jr. to parents, 6 January 1887, 31 February 1887, 13 March 1887, Ropes Papers.

86. Ropes, Jr. to Holmwood, 11 February 1887, E-98, Zanzibar Archives.

87. Holmwood to F.O., 23 September 1886, F.O. 84/1775.

88. Ropes, Jr. to parents, 31 July 1887, Ropes Papers.

market somewhat to their interest, but all remained very unsettled at the time of the outbreak of fighting on the mainland in August, 1888, when the trading conditions of Zanzibar were entirely disorganized.⁸⁹

Trade reports available give American trading interests roughly the same volume of business as noted for the late 1870's,⁹⁰ but the traders were not very optimistic about their future. Such statements as, "I am afraid American sheetings are about done here . . .," and "these little lots by steamer have killed large cargoes by sailing vessels forever," are common in the letters of the important agent, Ropes.⁹¹ He recommended that his firm change the entire nature of its activities and turn to retail trade in Zanzibar. The idea was motivated partly by the fact that Taria Topan was shifting his main interests from the Zanzibar trade to commerce with China. The owners, however, did not adopt this course and American trade kept to its old ways, although other Indian traders had to substitute for Topan.⁹² Ropes said in this process that "it looks like the commencement of the afternoon sun for our house," but he kept trying, nevertheless, and soon found aspects of trade in Zanzibar that could help the firm. The Americans turned increasingly to the Benadir ports of the Somali coast and secured large profits in the trade there for hides. Then Ropes looked to the future and decided that a German colony in East Africa might not mean the ruin of his trade; Zanzibar, he thought, would remain a center of importance for years, and if it were necessary in the future, Americans could send agents to the coast under German control to secure the goods needed.⁹³

For a time it looked as though Rope's estimates were correct. The trade to the Benadir and Madagascar gave the mother houses in Zanzibar enough profits to continue operations, in spite of fierce competition by Taria Topan's firm for the hides of the Benadir.⁹⁴

89. Ropes, Jr. to parents, 11 March 1888, 17 June 1888, Ropes Papers.

90. Miles to F.O., 19 December 1887, E-99, Zanzibar Archives; Pratt to S.D., 20 September 1887, SDA.

91. Ropes, Jr. to parents, 26 September 1886, 21 November 1886, Ropes Papers.

92. Ropes, Jr. to parents, 13 March 1887, 8 May 1887, *ibid.*

93. Ropes, Jr. to parents, 26 June 1887, *ibid.* Ropes was right on the future position of Zanzibar; it long remained more important than the Germans desired. See Carl Peters, *Das Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Schutzgebiet* (München und Leipzig, 1895), p. 282.

94. Ropes, Jr. to parents, 1 September 1887, Ropes Papers.

In Zanzibar Topan and the Germans provided the main competition to the Americans. The Germans increased their efforts in the ivory trade; Ropes said of them that they "make ivory a science and a life study and must have an advantage over such green horns as our agents usually are." Topan's main competition was from the sale of kerosene.⁹⁵ Both challenges were met. By the end of 1887 one-half of American business was carried on in the Benadir coast, while in Zanzibar the ivory and kerosene trade remained mainstays of American trade.⁹⁶

Then came the outbreak of hostilities against the Germans on the East African coast. By November 1888, the trade of Zanzibar had dropped to one-tenth of its former volume, and all traders suffered accordingly.⁹⁷ A good picture of conditions in Zanzibar during the period of the war on the coast is given in the despatches of an English-born reporter of the *New York World*, Thomas Stevens. He commented fully on the role of the Americans in the Zanzibar trade, and mirrored exactly the feelings of the American traders in the troubled times they faced:

In spite of the competition of the Bombay mills, and of Russian petroleum and cheap German imitations of American goods, so great is the preference for American articles on the east coast of Africa that the American merchants are well content to stand on their own merits and ask no favors . . . Very naturally the American merchants regard with dismay the process of gobbling up that has been going on about them for the past four years, lessening the area of unrestricted trade that, commercially speaking, belongs to them as much as to the people who have taken possession of it. Already the vast machinery of their splendid trade is half paralysed, and the present state of affairs is believed to be the shadow of American extinction here, unless some action in their behalf is promptly taken by the authorities at Washington . . . A bold stand taken by the United States Government against the gobbling up of this Benadir Coast, or of the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba would be highly acceptable, both to the Sultan of Zanzibar and to the American citizens with such vast interests here. By all means let it be

95. Ropes, Jr. to parents, 29 September 1887, Ropes Papers.

96. Ropes, Jr. to parents, 23 October 1887, 20 November 1887, 18 December 1887, *ibid.* Kerosene aided American traders in other parts of Africa also; for a report referring to this trade in Angola, see "Report on Mossamedes and District," 10 June 1889, F.O. 63/1217.

97. Ropes, Jr. to parents, 18 November 1888, Ropes Papers.

done, both as a matter of common justice to American citizens as well as for the salvation of what prestige and profit remains to us in E. Africa.⁹⁸

This plea for action, and others like it, found no support in Washington. A few American warships were sent on occasion to show the flag, and although the Sultan spared no effort in receiving their commanders, they never had orders for any action in the area.⁹⁹ To Ropes, the American position in Zanzibar had fallen "to a fifth rate, one horse second class show run by a half breed!"¹⁰⁰ The war on the coast only increased this bitterness. Ropes said: "The U.S. Government is no good for commercial people and especially for those who live abroad."¹⁰¹ The State Department attitude always remained clear. When a new Sultan came into office after the death of Sayyid Barghash, the Consul telegraphed this news to Washington. The British Consul reported that the cost of this message was to be deducted from the American's salary since such action was "unnecessary" for an American diplomat in Zanzibar.¹⁰²

This attitude did not prevent the Americans in Zanzibar from attempting to play a larger role than their orders allowed. Seth A. Pratt, an American Consul described by the British representative as "a vulgar pushing fellow anxious to make his position felt in Zanzibar politics," became involved in one interesting scheme. It was said that he talked the Sultan into ceding all of his island but the city of Zanzibar to the United States in order to save it from the European powers.¹⁰³ Needless to say, the plan, if true, was not communicated to the State Department! What Pratt did do was to make a final plea to Washington for aid:

I trust that the Department may see its way clear to call a

98. Stevens' letter of 26 February 1889 in *New York World*, 14 April 1889.

99. *Ibid.*; Ropes, Jr. to parents, 13 March 1887, Ropes Papers. In this letter Ropes gives an interesting description of Stanley, then preparing for his Emin Pasha expedition: "He looks well, dresses well and carries himself with the jaunty swagger of a man who cares for nothing or nobody. He seems to be like a man in a dream, in conversation he never enthuses except over the Congo Country and is the hardest man to talk to I have ever met . . ."

100. Ropes, Jr. to parents, 1 July 1888, *ibid.* The "half breed" was a Portuguese-American agent of a rival firm.

101. Ropes, Jr. to parents, 3 September 1888, *ibid.*

102. Euan Smith Note, ? June 1889, F.O. 84/1999.

103. Portal to Salisbury, 13 June 1889, *ibid.*

halt in the direction of European occupation of this coast; since otherwise Americans engaged in trade will suffer a great loss, and perhaps be compelled to retire altogether from this hitherto profitable field of operations.¹⁰⁴

The State Department, of course, did nothing in an area so far removed from the United States, and of no interest except to a few American traders. All of East Africa passed under European rule and the American merchants had to meet the new conditions as best they could.

The American traders, as usual, reacted vigorously. In the 1890's ivory and hides remained the chief American exports. In 1895 what might have been the biggest ivory shipment ever left Zanzibar for New York; it was made up of 355 tusks, weighing 22,307 pounds and worth £13,300.¹⁰⁵ The trade in American cloth remained important, with a steady outlet for American goods in the interior. In Buganda, for example, only American cloth was acceptable, in spite of British efforts to substitute cloth of their own country.¹⁰⁶ The other American import, kerosene, kept its important position and made up about one-half of the American yearly total.¹⁰⁷ Only one American firm remained at the end of this decade, however, since the mainland ports were replacing Zanzibar as a trading center; the Salem house of Ropes, Emmerton and Company left Zanzibar and one New York firm did all the American business.¹⁰⁸

Conditions remained about the same in the early twentieth century. Americans now took about five per cent of the Zanzibar trade, and in addition sent agents to Mombasa to tap the trade of British East Africa.¹⁰⁹ All this was a very minor American activity, of course, and the State Department became less and less

104. Pratt to S.D., 23 July 1890, SDA. See also an interview of the reporter, Stevens, with the Sultan on the subject of American aid in the *New York World*, 28 April 1889.

105. "Review of the Year in East Africa," *The Gazette for Zanzibar and East Africa*, 4 January 1893; for the ivory shipment, *ibid.*, 30 October 1895.

106. Perham, *Lugard Diaries*, II, 180; statement of Bishop Hanlon, *The Gazette for Zanzibar and East Africa*, 4 December 1895.

107. Piat, "Rapport sur le commerce et le navigation du port de Zanzibar en 1897," 20 February 1898, Corr. Comm. Zanz., t. 8.

108. Billheimer to S.D., 19 April 1898, SDA.

109. H. Brode, *British and German East Africa* (London, 1911), p. 144; Ralph M. Odell, *Cotton Goods in British East Africa, Uganda, Zanzibar, and German East Africa* (Washington, 1914), *passim*; Kenneth Ingham, *The Making of Modern Uganda* (London, 1958), p. 114.

interested in the area. In fact, in 1894 the Consulate in Zanzibar was closed when the quarrels of the American firms there became too much for the Washington officials. The few Americans there needed protection, however, and the Sultan wished it reopened; this was done in 1895.¹¹⁰ Trade was clearly the only function of this office now. When one Consul, R. Dorsey Mohun, reported on a palace revolution, he was told that "British or German motives do not concern you, whose only function is should emergency arise, protection to American interests."¹¹¹

The American position was then gradually closed out. In 1907 the United States agreed to end its extraterritorial rights in Zanzibar.¹¹² Finally, the Consulate was removed. In 1915 the Secretary of State, Bryan, telegraphed: "Close office Zanzibar, ship furniture, as chairs etc. to Mombasa, where you will establish consulate."¹¹³

So ended the long chapter of American interests in Zanzibar. American traders first came in the early nineteenth century; then one of these trading-diplomats concluded a treaty for Zanzibar's first consulate in 1833. Until the Civil War, American traders dominated the markets of Zanzibar; after this war the traders had to meet many difficulties. They overcame most of them until the European occupation of East Africa ended the importance of Zanzibar and shifted the main trading activities to the mainland.

110. Uhl to Allen, 14 September 1894; Allen to Strobel, 14 March 1894, 23 September 1894, 1 December 1894; Mohun to S.D., 12 August 1895: all in SDA.

111. Olney to Mohun, telegram of 12 October 1896, *ibid.* Mohun has an excellent set of photographs of the damage caused by this abortive revolution in SDA.

112. Searle to Wilson, 30 April 1907, *ibid.*

113. Bryan to Hays, 12 February 1915, *ibid.*

MRS. LEE GIVES A PARTY

The directions given below are from a manuscript book of recipes kept by one of the members of the family of John C. Lee at 14 Chestnut Street, Salem. It was given to the Institute by Mrs. Francis H. Lee in 1915. A note in the book indicates it was started in 1837.

After recipes are given for various puddings, jellies, and cakes, four different methods of making gingerbread are shown, followed by this:

Party of 130 people

Ten bushels of Oysters—	plenty
Twelve quarts of Ice cream	enough
Six quarts of Calves feet jelly	ditto
Eleven dozen rolls	sufficient
Six pans of sponge Cake	not enough
Four pans of pound Cake	not enough
Two quarts of cream	not enough
Four men—	sufficient
Four dozen Lemons	enough
Two loaves of Sugar	plenty
Entry 8 candles	quite dark
Twenty four bottles Champagne	plenty
Seventy five cents—	Crackers
Four quires of paper	for billets
Six lbs of Macaroni	sufficient
20 yards of colored cambric	
5 lbs of Bunting	
3 skeins of cotton yarn for divisions	

Special Offer

REDUCTION OF PRICES ON INDICES TO ESSEX INSTITUTE *HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS*

A limited number of the general indices to the *Historical Collections* is available until *December 1, 1962* at the following prices:

Index, Vols. 1-22 (1859-1885), 539 pp. \$15.00
(formerly \$20.00)

Index, Vols. 23-43 (1886-1907), 624 pp. \$15.00
(formerly \$25.00)

Index, Vols. 68-85 (1931-1949), 343 pp. \$15.00

Set of the three above indices \$40.00
(formerly \$60.00)

Individuals and smaller libraries can now take advantage of this opportunity of obtaining these indices at the above reduced prices. Both the time and quantity are limited, however, so we suggest that orders be placed promptly.

ORDER FORM

Essex Institute
Salem, Massachusetts

Please send the following indices to the
Historical Collections

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Vols. 1-22 | \$15.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Vols. 23-43 | \$15.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Vols. 68-85 | \$15.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Set of three, listed above, | \$40.00 |

Name:

Address:

City, State:

ESSEX INSTITUTE

Historical Collections



APRIL 1962

- ELIAS HASKET DERBY AND THE FOUNDING OF THE
EASTERN TRADE (Part II)
By Richard H. McKey, Jr. 65
- WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, THE HISTORIANS, AND THE
ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT
By David Alan Williams 84
- A RECENTLY ACQUIRED EMBROIDERED MEMORIAL
PICTURE
By Huldah M. Smith 100
- FITZ HUGH LANE: *Visits to the Maine Coast, 1848-1855*
By Frederic Alan Sharf 111
- CHURCH POLITICS IN MARBLEHEAD, 1715
By Thomas C. Barrow 121

ISSUED QUARTERLY BY THE ESSEX INSTITUTE
Salem, Massachusetts

Essex Institute Historical Collections

Board of Editors

ROBERT G. ALBION

BENJAMIN W. LABAREE

LYMAN H. BUTTERFIELD

NORMAN HOLMES PEARSON

DOUGLAS S. BYERS

KATHARINE S. THOMPSON

ABBOTT L. CUMMINGS

DEAN A. FALES, JR., *Managing Editor*

Library and Publications Committee

W. HAMMOND BOWDEN, *Chairman*

CHARLES H. P. COPELAND

STEPHEN PHILLIPS

ERNEST S. DODGE

ROLLO G. SILVER

RALF P. EMERSON

CHARLES S. TAPLEY

Essex Institute *Historical Collections* is published in January, April, July and October at a yearly rate of \$5.00. Manuscripts and correspondence should be sent to the Managing Editor, Dean A. Fales, Jr., the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts.

Copyright, 1962, by the Essex Institute, 132-134 Essex Street, Salem, Massachusetts. Entered at the Post Office in Salem, as second class matter, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Second class postage paid at Salem, Mass.

Essex Institute Historical Collections

Issued Quarterly

VOL. XCVIII

APRIL, 1962

NO. 2

ELIAS HASKET DERBY
AND THE
FOUNDING OF THE EASTERN TRADE

(Part II)

By RICHARD H. McKEY, JR.

ELIAS HASKET DERBY did nothing halfway. While he was, on the one hand, a calculating and shrewd—even cunning—businessman, he was, on the other hand, a gambler to the core. Perhaps this was the secret of his success, for just such a combination of characteristics was necessary if one was to be successful in the uncertain world of commerce in the decades following the American Revolution.

Derby was successful, too, because he left no chance untried. If one failed, Derby's efforts in that direction ended. He never persevered where the odds were unprofitable. As a result his trade came to be channeled into the most remunerative courses and Derby's fortunes had few setbacks. Others of his day—no doubt in an envious vein—called him "lucky," and it is true that the man appeared to have the Midas touch. Derby himself scoffed at this (" . . . it requires much more care and trouble to *keep* than to win," he once told a grandson),¹ and he was probably right. His were no lone and dramatic "one-shot" ventures but concerted enterprises in depth arising from preoccupation and no little planning. If the promise of such efforts were slight—even if they

1. John B. Derby, *A Few Reminiscences of Salem, Massachusetts* (Boston, 1847), p. 10.

were individually and momentarily rewarding—he took what profit he could and turned elsewhere. Accordingly he rarely failed and through the years of his active life the Derby business was unmatched in America.

All these attributes are evident in the post-Revolutionary developing years. After 1783 Derby had found the old Atlantic commerce unprofitable so he opened American trade with Russia. It too failed him. Turning aside, he sent the *Grand Turk* to the Indian Ocean—and on to China. Here, several possible new avenues for trade appeared. Derby, as was his wont, pursued them simultaneously until it became obvious where the best course lay.

At the same time that Hasket Derby was active at the Isle of France and in India, the elder Derby was also investing heavily in the China trade. In 1789, of the fifteen American ships at Canton, no fewer than four belonged to Elias Hasket Derby. He was, as usual, successful in these ventures. Even so, these were the last Derby vessels ever to lie at the famous Whampoa Anchorage.

Derby's developing Isle of France business compared too favorably with that of Canton. The Indian Ocean trade offered limitless possibilities and innumerable alternatives; that of China was too narrow, too costly, and too risky. Derby, after his intensive efforts between 1788 and 1790 to solve the problems of the China trade in a profitable manner, preferred the broader field where success was more assured. In this decision lay the secret of his subsequent domination of the oriental trade. Fantastic profit certainly lay in a lucky China enterprise. Derby discovered this and reaped his share; but profits were accompanied by problems, risk, and expense making a Canton venture always a gamble.

One of the major problems of the China trade was that of finding trade goods with which to do business in Canton. The Chinese had very little need or desire for western products. The foreign goods they consumed were chiefly the ware of British India and the Dutch East Indies to which, of course, American ships had only limited access. Derby, as we have seen, sent the first American ships to India, and his were to be the first to the East Indies. To support an advantageous China trade in such manner, however, was too tortuous and time consuming. Some other means had to be found and other new goods discovered with which to assure the trade.

One such effort, of which Derby certainly knew, was the famous voyage of the *Columbia* and the *Lady Washington* under John Kendrick and Robert Gray between 1787 and 1789. These vessels were fitted out by a group of Boston backers, one of whom was Derby's brother, John,² to approach the China trade from a new angle. Their intent was to trade for furs on the northwest coast of America, proceed to China where the valuable sea otter peltry was in much demand, and so on around the world. The first voyage was not a great success, but it did lead the way for a rash of such enterprises. Derby, who was on very good terms with his brother, no doubt watched the venture with abiding interest; but such a voyage was not his method and he never attempted one. The China trade was questionable enough; the fur trade of the Pacific coast was a complete unknown which Derby would never assay to risk. The impetus for the *Columbia's* voyage was shared between the writings of John Ledyard, who first reported on the fur trade, and Samuel Shaw's accounts of the sales in Canton of the furs carried out by the *Empress of China*. Shaw was an indefatigable propagandist for the China trade. Derby, as we have had occasion to note, had first-hand knowledge of Shaw's reactions. In his subsequent great efforts to master the China trade, he acted accordingly, not only upon the information brought back by Ebenezer West and William Vans, but also upon the advice of Samuel Shaw and the experience of the *Empress of China*.

Other than furs, the bulk of the New York vessel's cargo was made up of about thirty tons of ginseng. This innocuous herb, indigenous in the wild state only to Manchuria and America, was worth its weight in gold in China for its supposed miraculous healing qualities. Known as "the dose for immortality" its value was only imaginary, it being really quite useless. Ginseng, however, was in great demand in China and grew in great abundance in America. Shaw wrote lyrically of "the advantages which America may derive from her ginseng, in the direct commerce with China . . .,"³ and the plant was the more available of the two trade goods America could most easily supply. Derby certainly knew this, and as soon as he determined on further China ventures, began to collect it.

2. *Old South Leaflets*, VI, No. 131.

3. Samuel Shaw, *The Life and Journals of Major Samuel Shaw* (Boston, 1847), p. 233.

It is noteworthy that Derby's activities in the East, two-pronged as they were, were carried on at the same time and were largely separate. During the very same years that Hasket Derby was exploring the commerce of the Indian Ocean, Derby sent out two vessels direct to China and two more went on to Canton from the Isle of France. Even as Derby was outfitting the *Grand Turk* and the *Juno* for the Indian Ocean trade at the end of 1787 and the beginning of 1788, he was starting to collect ginseng in bulk and truly expensive quantity for wholly independent China ventures.

The first indication that Derby was interesting himself in ginseng comes in February 1788, in a letter in which he mentions having ordered some in Wilmington, Delaware.⁴ By spring Derby was ordering and buying ginseng widely. His Baltimore agents hoped to collect a considerable quantity for him by the first of November; and he was inquiring of his agents in New York, where he hinted he would be willing to spend \$10,000.⁵ James Magee, who was to take the *Astrea* out to China, made two trips to New York for Derby just to look after the ginseng purchases. From Alexandria, Virginia, Derby's Captain Very was also procuring ginseng in large amounts; and the agent there notified him that he could get much more if the country people were given due notice.⁶ Most of Derby's ginseng came from either Baltimore or New York, however. In New York alone Derby paid almost four thousand pounds for ten tons of the weed (fifteen hogsheads, seventy-one tierces, two barrels and two boxes).⁷ By the end of 1788 Derby had purchased 35,000 pounds of ginseng, in all paying \$22,300 for it.

It is not to be supposed that Derby was planning to put all his efforts on China alone. Samuel Shaw had suggested that "a profit may sometimes be made on merchandise carried from Batavia to Canton. No doubt, similar advantages would result to the Americans in circuitous voyages . . . by the coast of Malabar and Coromandel and through the Straits of Molacca."⁸ Derby had been anxious ever since 1786 to try the Batavia market; and even

4. EHD to Francis B. Dennis, February 22, 1788, Derby Papers, Essex Institute, XVII.

5. EHD to James Magee, May 27, 1788, Derby Papers, XIII.

6. Shreve and Lawason to EHD, December 23, 1788, Derby Papers, II.

7. Ludlow and Gould to EHD, December 23, 1788, Derby Papers, II.

8. Shaw, *Journals of Samuel Shaw*, p. 233.

as he prepared these China voyages, Ichabod Nichols was at the Isle of France with orders to trade on the Indian coasts. It almost seems as though Derby used Shaw as a guide book for one of the prime Indian markets and opportunities as well as the Canton business.

As early as February 1788, Derby was inquiring about pepper prices in Philadelphia. Later in the year he corresponded with a Dutchman in Baltimore who was conversant with the problems of trade in the Indies. By January 1789, Derby was collecting tobacco for the effort, for he was assured that Batavia supplied all the Dutch settlements as well as Spanish Manila, and that there was a great demand for the commodity.⁹ One of his vessels, the brig *Three Sisters*, had already sailed by then for Batavia. Before the other, the *Astrea*, left, Derby heard from Ludlow and Gould, his New York agents, of civil disorders and famine in China raising prices there, and "that a brig just in from Canton brought 400 bales of pepper from the Indies which commanded top prices."¹⁰ Derby thus had reason to feel encouraged about the whole venture when the *Astrea* departed two weeks later.

The two vessels that Derby sent out were the *Three Sisters* brig, under Benjamin Webb, and the *Astrea*, which had never gone out to the East before, under James Magee. The *Three Sisters* carried a supercargo, Samuel Blanchard; and the *Astrea* carried not only a supercargo, Thomas Handasyd Perkins, but also a clerk, Nathaniel Silsbee. This is an indication of the importance Derby put upon the handling of the cargoes of the two vessels, for the hiring of supercargoes—to say nothing of clerks—still was considered a luxury by most shipowners, since such individuals took no part in navigation, handling the business side of a voyage only. Perkins and Silsbee at least gained valuable experience, for both came to be very prominent shipowners in their own rights. Silsbee, too, went on to a distinguished career in the United States Senate.

Derby planned for the two vessels to work together, and their instructions were very similar. The *Three Sisters*, which departed first, was ordered to stop at the Cape and, if it were possible to get thirty or forty per cent profit, to sell her cargo and take freight

9. EHD to Carey and Tilghman, January 6, 1789, Derby Papers, XIV.

10. Ludlow and Gould to EHD, February 4, 1789, Derby Papers, II.

for Batavia. Otherwise, she was to go on to Batavia and attempt to sell there.¹¹ The *Astrea's* orders were a little more detailed. Magee was instructed to go direct to Batavia, and there Perkins was to "sell a few caskes of the most ordinary ginseng, if you can get a dollar a pound for it." He was to buy sugar and pepper if advantageous; and, like the *Three Sisters*: "At Batavia you must, if possible, get as much freight for Canton as will pay half or more of your charges (there)" The *Astrea* carried iron which Derby reminded Perkins was invoiced in English weight; ". . . you will remember there is 4% that you will gain, if sold Dutch weight," he wrote.¹² The two vessels carried much the same cargo; iron, ginseng, Philadelphia beer which, being "put up quite strong," Derby advised that it be watered down, and the usual wheat, butter, candles and such goods. The *Astrea*, in addition, for her twenty-three men carried eight live pigs and six sheep.

Unfortunately there is no record of the total value of these cargoes. It seems likely that each carried a little over \$20,000 worth of cargo. Even if we do not know the exact amount of cargo, we do have happily a complete record of the day-to-day progress of the two vessels out to the East, for journals kept on each have survived and make most interesting reading.

The *Three Sisters* raised anchor first, leaving Salem in the afternoon of December 4, 1788. Four weeks later she passed the Cape Verdes and in another two weeks crossed the Equator and "went thru the usual ceremonies of crossing the line and at night one of the crew is most intolerably drunk." Otherwise it was an uneventful if slow passage, and the *Three Sisters* arrived at Cape Town on March 14, 1789.¹³ Clerk Silsbee, on his first voyage to the East, was very excited at this initial view of exotic lands and underlined the words "Cape of Good Hope" several times very heavily. There were no American ships in Table Bay at the time, although Derby's *Atlantic* had left for the Isle of France five days

11. Sailing Instructions to Samuel Blanchard, November 29, 1788, Derby Papers, XIX.

12. Sailing Instructions to Thomas Handasyd Perkins, February 12, 1789, Derby Papers, XIX.

13. "Nathaniel Silsbee Journal of a voyage to Batavia on the brig *Three Sisters*, December 4, 1788-July 24, 1789," March 15, 1789, MSS at Essex Institute.

earlier and Benjamin Crowninshield, in his *Henry*, came in on March 20.

The *Three Sisters* could do very little business at Cape Town, much to Blanchard's disgust. After breaking bulk, Blanchard found that the monopolistic Dutch East India Company refused him permission to sell. He formed a very low opinion of the Dutch (" . . . a most indirect, surly tribe . . .") and contracted a pessimism that carried over into his Java dealings. He wrote Derby, "The word 'Company' is of the same import as the word 'Majesty' in a despotic country, but infinitely more contemptible."¹⁴ Webb waited until the *Henry* arrived, gave her some of the *Three Sisters'* fish in return for some wheat to take to the Isle of France, and sailed for Batavia on April 2, accompanying Crowninshield's vessel around the Cape and out to sea.¹⁵ The *Henry* soon left them behind and they proceeded on across the Indian Ocean alone.

The *Three Sisters* made a very long passage, for the old vessel was leaking considerably, sometimes as much as 300 buckets a day. The crew busied themselves in the usual occupations of such voyages. They broke out the flour from the holds, spread it upon the decks to dry, and to remove the "large numbers of weavils and worms in it." They spent several days in picking maggots out of the raisins, and several more in brushing the mold off their chocolate. On June 24, they mounted their single cannon, for they were nearing the pirate-infested Malay waters, and the next day raised Java Head. One week later, after coasting slowly eastward among the Javanese reefs and carrying on a small trade with the Dutch vessels they met and the native villages they passed, the *Three Sisters* came to anchor in the roadstead of Batavia.¹⁶ The *Three Sisters* was certainly the first New England vessel to visit Batavia, and may well have been the first from all America. The second such, too, was Derby's *Astrea*.

The *Astrea*, meanwhile, had left Salem on January 17, 1789, probably having been detained on account of the leak which she had suffered on her last passage home from the Baltic the previous autumn. Her first port of call was St. Jago in the Cape

14. Samuel Blanchard to EHD, March 15, 1789, Derby Papers, XXVI.

15. James Magee to EHD, April 2, 1789, Derby Papers, XXVI.

16. Silsbee, Journal, April 2, 1789-June 31, 1789.

Verdes, which she reached on March 15,¹⁷ one day after the *Three Sisters* had arrived at the Cape. Here supercargo Perkins discharged a large part of the *Astrea's* cargo of Swedish iron, as he heard from a Dutch vessel that sales were slow in Batavia.¹⁸ The iron was freighted to Bombay, where it eventually sold for \$1,300.

The *Astrea* sailed on March 21, 1789, directly for the Indies. Like the *Three Sisters*, she made a very long, slow passage to the Sunda Straits, made even more so by the want of water. "The casks in which a part of our water was contained," Perkins wrote, "had been used in bringing coffee from the Cape of Good Hope; and although burned out and, as was supposed, purified, yet the water put in them was most disgusting. The waters from the cascade on the Java Shore (of the Straits) were, of course, duly appreciated."¹⁹ The *Astrea* arrived at Java Head about August 1, 1789. Understandably, Magee remained in the beautiful bay on Mew Island several days.

This anchorage was a very famous one, having been used by almost every vessel bound through Sunda Straits for centuries. On the island, too, there were several rivulets about one hundred yards up from the shore, with a path cut through the woods convenient for rolling casks. The hunting was good, for turtles, fowls, and small rabbit-sized deer abounded; and seamen could refresh themselves on plantains, pineapples, watermelon, and fresh vegetables.²⁰ The hunting was good, too, for tigers; Perkins was inclined to believe this the reason that there were no inhabitants. Perkins was very interested also in watching large echelons of "bats of great size . . . crossing the narrow strait . . . and returning at night to the Java side."²¹ After several days, Magee weighed anchor and proceeded up the seventy-five mile long strait, past Krakatao's "remarkable peak," and then eastward along the coast of Java. At five in the morning of August 13, 1789, the *Astrea* anchored at Batavia, 147 days out of Salem. Having sailed

17. *The Salem Mercury*, May 26, 1789.

18. Edwin D. Hewes, "Thomas Handasyd Perkins, Supercargo of the *Astrea* in Salem," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* (hereafter cited as E.I.H.C.), LXXI (July, 1935), 203.

19. Thomas G. Cary, *Memoir of Thomas Handasyd Perkins* (Boston, 1856), p. 11.

20. William Milhorn, *Oriental Commerce* (London, 1825), p. 378.

21. Cary, *Perkins*, p. 12.

much faster, and in any case being in much better condition, the *Astrea* was only a week behind the *Three Sisters*—after starting from Salem two months later.

Batavia in 1789 was perhaps one of the most comfortable modern cities in the world, although almost completely unknown in America. The houses were solid, permanent brick structures. The streets were wide and Perkins marvelled in particular at the daily sprinkling of the streets, which he thought was a good idea, although not at the cost of slavery. He felt the canals, which ran next to every street, very picturesque until one day he watched a native child drown in one of them and changed his mind. He was very interested, too, in the Chinese junks crowding the harbor. He decided, quite erroneously, that they were unseaworthy vehicles at best.²² There was little time for sightseeing, however, for within the hour of their anchoring, Magee and Perkins were off to consult with Webb and Blanchard on the *Three Sisters*. They found them very discouraged.

Webb and Blanchard had been in Batavia for a week, but had not yet been able to gain permission to break bulk. They waited vainly with a petition upon the Governor and his Council, but all they could accomplish was to get "the Commodore . . . on board with his carpenter to examine our vessel whether leaky or not as reported."²³ With the arrival of the *Astrea*, things improved.

The four officers, on July 14, presented themselves with their combined petitions to the Director General of the port. Perkins was not too impressed with this functionary, "who was in his shirt-sleeves, and his stockings half down his legs . . .," but they were told to return the next day. The next day they were summoned to the Council and after "being witness to a great deal of pompous parade," were "absolutely denied the liberty of selling a farthing's worth." Perkins decided to take matters further and on July 19 sought, and received, access to the Governor, who heard him out with civility and proffered a dinner invitation. Over the rosewater wash after dining, their friendship was sealed and the permission to sell was made official two days later.²⁴ The *Three Sisters*, whose leaks had become alarming, began to unload her cargo the same day.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

23. Silbee, *Journal*, July 15, 1789.

24. Cary, *Perkins*, pp. 15-16.

Samuel Blanchard's accounts of his sales have been lost. We do know, however, that he sold his entire cargo, but for what amount is not known, although, from the satisfied tone of his letter to Derby, we may infer that he did well.²⁵ The *Astrea*, too, sold sundry merchandise, taking in \$15,000.²⁶ Derby's sailing instructions notwithstanding, it was impossible to buy pepper in quantity. The spice trade at Batavia was a closed monopoly and smuggling was a major crime. The Chinese were willing to do so in necessarily small amounts, but if caught were put to the rack, which Perkins rather deplored.²⁷ Nor could the Americans find a buyer for the brig as Derby had desired, so they scraped and painted her and hoped her leaks were contained.

While the two vessels were preparing to go on with their cash to China a Batavian merchant offered to take a freight on the *Three Sisters* for some Americans at Canton. This being in accord with Derby's original wishes, Webb and Blanchard agreed at once. A Charter was prepared, and by the end of August the *Three Sisters* was loaded with an exotic cargo of rattans, beeswax, arrack, betel nuts, sandalwood (500 piculs of which had been bought for Derby), and some spices covertly brought on board at night.²⁸ Magee in the *Astrea*, in haste to get away from the sickly climate that cost him several men already, took on no cargo that we can find recorded. On September 1, 1789, the two vessels departed in company, proceeded up the shallow and uncharted China Sea, and six weeks later raised the China coast.

In accordance with the law Derby's ships were obliged to stop at Macao to get the official permit, a "Chop," to enter Chinese waters and to take on Chinese pilots. This done, they proceeded to the Lema Islands for a pilot, and up to the mouth of the Pearl River for further examination and tax: then thirty miles past the Bogue Forts, whose guns—firmly anchored in mortar—could fire in only one direction, and thirty more to the foreign anchorage at Whampoa, below Canton, where they dropped anchor on October 7.²⁹ Two of the twelve American vessels whose company they joined flew the blue trailing pennant that was the Derby house

25. Samuel Blanchard to EHD, August 2, 1789, Derby Papers, XXVI.

26. *Astrea* Account, September 1789, Derby Papers, XIX.

27. Cary, *Perkins*, p. 15.

28. Samuel Blanchard to EHD, December 16, 1789, Derby Papers, XXVI.

29. Silsbee, Journal, October 9, 1789.

flag. The *Lighthouse* and the *Atlantic*, from the Isle of France and India, had preceded them by only a very few days. Carrying cargoes of blackwood and cotton, Captains Nichols and Elkins had left Bombay at the beginning of August, crossed the Bay of Bengal, and come by way of the Straits of Malacca—being the second and third American vessels (the first had been the *Grand Turk* in 1786) to take that route. In the season of 1789, therefore, four of the fourteen American vessels at anchor at Canton were Derby-owned.³⁰ For the ships' people, it must have been a grand reunion. For the hong merchants, it must have been impressive.

All mercantile intercourse between the races at Canton (reached from Whampoa by sampans) was limited strictly to these merchants, the "co-hongs," who paid highly for the extraordinarily lucrative monopoly. The "hongs" themselves were the foreign factories, which, strung out in a long line 300 feet back from the river and bounded by Old China and Thirteen Factory Streets and Hog Lane, and the open square in front, were the only areas of Canton open to westerners.³¹

The Derby officers, this year, elected to sell their cargoes through the merchant Houqua. In doing so they became connected with one of the most shrewd and successful businessmen in the entire world in their day. By the time of his death, forty years later, Houqua had probably the largest mercantile fortune in the world, having interest even in American securities.³² Houqua's cleverness notwithstanding, the price of ginseng was low; Derby's hopes of enormous profits on that product alone were to come to nothing.

Blanchard, after the cargo transactions had been accomplished, wrote Derby a warning letter: "Bad sales of ginseng."³³ How bad, Blanchard did not say. Derby would have to wait to find out that his costly ginseng, which he proposed for the major items of his China trade, had sold for less than half its cost. One local historian figures that Derby took a loss of \$20,000. By our calculations this does not appear possible. But whatever the amount, it was considerable. It seems, from the recklessness with which

30. "American Vessels Laying at Whampoa, 1789-1790," E.I.H.C., LXXX (April, 1944), 177-178.

31. Foster Rhea Dulles, *The Old China Trade* (New York, 1930), pp. 17-20.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

33. Samuel Blanchard to EHD, December 16, 1789, Derby Papers, XIX.

Derby had bought ginseng—anywhere and at any price—in 1788, that it had never occurred to him that the price in China could fluctuate so disastrously. His loss was to be an important factor in shaping his future eastern trade. A saving grace, however, was that—surprisingly, in view of the number of American vessels alone at Canton that season—tea prices were low, and as Derby had been forewarned in February, famine and civil war made for a higher demand for western goods other than ginseng. Derby's officers, while not having the amount of money to invest that he had hoped they would have, were able to do very well.

The total amount that Derby's men, with the aid of Houqua, realized on their sales, is surprising in view of the loss on the ginseng, as we shall see. In addition the *Atlantic* itself was sold to a Parsee merchant for \$6,600.³⁴ The *Three Sisters*, too, had been causing increasing worry by her rapidly deteriorating condition. Her leaks, which eight months before had made necessary sixty strokes at the pumps hourly even at anchor, and which three months later allowed in water to stand eight inches deep on the keelson in the forehold,³⁵ had only been quelled temporarily by the Batavian hoving-down. In December as a result, Blanchard wrote Derby from Canton that he had been "strenuously endeavoring to dispose of your brig . . . and have finally accomplished it . . . the brig was on her last legs—the sheathing was eaten to a honeycomb and the worms had made no inconsiderable damage . . . her sails would not have survived her passage home." He sold her to an Armenian for \$4,000 payable in teas.³⁶ With the money brought by the *Three Sisters'* cargo at Batavia, Derby's men had thus a not inconsequential amount to invest. In spite of the ginseng loss, the two Derby ships took home to Salem more tea than was used in three-quarters of an entire year in the United States. The *Astrea* and the *Lighthorse* alone exported over one-quarter of all the tea taken out of China that season by American vessels.³⁷ It is not surprising that the manifest which the *Astrea* entered at the Salem Custom House the following June was seven feet long.

34. Jacob Crowninshield to EHD, May 18, 1790, Derby Papers, XIX.

35. Silsbee, Journal, July 15, 1789.

36. Samuel Blanchard to EHD, December 16, 1789, Derby Papers, XXVI.

37. Dulles, *The Old China Trade*, p. 220.

The two ships completed their lading by the first week of January 1790, as a letter from Jacob Crowninshield put Derby on notice (if he received it before his ships themselves came in) that they had obtained the "Grand Chop," the permit allowing the ships to depart.³⁸ The *Lighthorse* sailed on January 9. So heavily loaded was the *Astrea*, however, that twelve days later Perkins wrote, ". . . we are detained . . . by the fullness of the ship which makes it necessary to knock up, upon deck, a little shelter from the weather for the people."³⁹ Both vessels were, of course, crowded with the officers and men of the *Sultana* and the *Three Sisters*. Magee planned to leave on January 21, but the ship actually departed on January 22, 1790.

The journey home for both vessels was uneventful to the end, and exceptionally rapid. The *Astrea* reached Java Head on February 20, 1790; the *Lighthorse* was a few days ahead of her. The ships proceeded independently directly for the United States, only by chance happening to meet at sea in the northern Horse Latitudes southeast of Bermuda on May 18, 1790.⁴⁰ The *Astrea*, sailing fast, passed the *Lighthorse* and twelve days later anchored in Nantasket Roads off Boston. Perkins went on to Salem overland for orders, and Magee brought the *Astrea* in on June 3, 1790.⁴¹ The *Astrea's* 125 day passage from Canton to Boston, considering the era in which she sailed and her own vintage, deserves comparison with the great clipper ships' records of a half-century later.

The *Lighthorse* was now expected momentarily, and two weeks later on the afternoon of June 15, 1790, she appeared coming up from the southeast. As the ship neared the land the wind died and she was forced to anchor off Marblehead. During the night a very heavy storm broke with an onshore wind from the east. The *Lighthorse* was too near land to beat offshore and so could do nothing as, early in the morning, her anchors began to drag and she moved helplessly in toward the Marblehead rocks. All of the town and much of Salem, including Derby who was roused out of bed and hurriedly driven over, watched from the shore as the

38. Jacob Crowninshield to EHD, January 8, 1790, Derby Papers, XIX.

39. Thomas Handasyd Perkins to EHD, January 20, 1790, Derby Papers, XIX.

40. Jacob Crowninshield to EHD, May 18, 1790, Derby Papers, XIX.

41. William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.* (Salem, 1905-1914), I, 174.

ship drifted inexorably in toward destruction. One can imagine Derby's feelings when, miraculously but a few yards from the rocks, the anchors held. Barely clear, the *Lighthorse* rode out the storm and was brought around to Salem during the next day.⁴² Just such a margin, sometimes, meant fortune or failure.

The return of the two China ships, followed six months later by that of Hasket Derby in the *Henry* from the Isle of France and India, brought Derby to face directly a decision which meant for the future of his trade an even more important fortune or failure.

Sometime around the end of 1787 Derby had decided to stress his eastern trade rather than any other. The question had remained for him nonetheless around what point, China or India, to center his activity. The three subsequent years of experimentation and deliberation provided him the answer. After 1790 Derby gave up the Canton trade never again to re-enter it. He turned instead to the more predictable certainties of the Indian Ocean where there were always alternate markets as Hasket Derby's adventures had illustrated.

Derby's son had staked out for his father a claim to an Indian Ocean trade centered on the Isle of France. Other than this pattern, itself of the utmost importance, the immediate results of Hasket Derby's three years in the East are difficult to assess. Hasket kept very specific account sheets of his receipts and disbursements at the Isle of France and in India, but they show, of course, only part of the story. We know that in his operations in the Indian Ocean he made profits usually of at least ten per cent on all of his business transactions. In addition, he earned for his father a combined profit of almost \$12,000 on the sales of the *Grand Turk* and the *Sultana* alone. What his goods sold for elsewhere is not known.

At Derby's end, too, the facts of his trade are thwarting. Derby's initial reaction to the arrival of the *Peggy* in 1789 had been disappointment. There was no market for Indian cotton, he wrote, due to "our people being unacquainted with the kind." He would

42. Robert E. Peabody, *Merchant Ventures of Old Salem* (New York, 1912), pp. 93-94. The present writer can find no documentary substantiation for this anecdote, although there would not necessarily have been any such evidence. It has the flavor of truth, however, and no less an historian than Samuel Eliot Morison (*The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860*, Boston, 1921, pp. 48-49) has perpetuated it, so it bears repeating.

have much preferred to have seen a ship loaded with coffee, which was then commanding a high price.⁴³ He shipped the cotton to Philadelphia where his agents, unlucky too, reshipped it in December to Liverpool.⁴⁴ Derby no doubt communicated this to his son, for subsequently Hasket sent little more cotton home, preferring to turn a profit on it at the Isle of France and lade coffee. As far as it is possible to judge, Derby's only major loss was that which he suffered on the *Juno*, which was of course, considerable. It is safe to say, however, that this loss, as well as any other, was covered and offset by his gains on any immediate balance sheet during Hasket's three years. Even more profitable were the long-term gains. Hasket had found the way that his father's vessels would follow in the future.

It should not be supposed, however, that Derby's several China ventures in these years were unprofitable. On the contrary, they were vastly successful enterprises. Perhaps this fact—that Derby could turn away from a trade that had shown him great profit—illustrates his business mettle better than anything else.

As in the case of the *Grand Turk* there is no record of the total value of Derby's cargoes out to China on the *Astrea* and the *Three Sisters*. The *Astrea* was insured in London for \$13,300, so probably Derby valued her at about twice that figure. We know, too, that he expected Perkins to lay out about \$43,000 in various China goods at Canton,⁴⁵ which was probably to be accrued from the combined sales from the two vessels.

Samuel Blanchard's accounts of his sales at Batavia from the *Three Sisters* have been lost, and we do not know the amount of his charter from that point to China. If it was proportionate to that of the *Grand Turk* three years before, it brought at the very least \$4,000 in Canton. The *Astrea* sold her cargo in Canton, for a little under \$27,000, thus showing a one hundred percent profit from her assumed Salem lading, for Perkins still had on hand the \$15,000 from cargo sales at Batavia.⁴⁶ In addition, there are the other two Canton ships, which had gone via the Isle of France and India, to be considered. The *Lighthorse's* cargo of

43. EHD to Ludlow and Gould, June 22, 1789, Derby Papers, XIV.

44. Hewes and Anthony to EHD, December 27, 1789, Derby Papers, XIX.

45. EHD to James Magee, January 2, 1789, Derby Papers, XIX.

46. Thomas Handasyd Perkins to EHD, January 22, 1790, Derby Papers, XIX.

cotton and blackwood brought \$22,200 at Canton, and the *Atlantic's* freight of cotton from Bombay brought Elkins \$12,000. The two latter vessels were themselves sold for a combined total of \$10,600. If we may assume that the *Three Sisters'* cargo had brought in about \$30,000 in Batavia, as seems reasonable, therefore the four captains and Houqua had a total amount of about \$121,000 with which to obtain two cargoes at Canton.

This not inconsequential figure, in spite of the ginseng loss, allowed Derby's men to invest a substantial amount of money.

Derby had expected Perkins and Magee to lay out about \$43,000 in China goods; this they were able to do almost to the dollar in teas alone. The *Astrea* loaded 1176 chests (306,000 lbs.) of various teas worth \$43,046.⁴⁷ Not to be outdone, Nichols spent even more money (about \$46,000) and took on even more tea (close to 329,000 pounds) for the *Lighthorse*, for the two vessels combined brought home almost three-quarters of a million pounds of tea—728,871 pounds.⁴⁸

The two China ships brought home to Derby wealth far beyond his expectations. If his final net profit brought him but a relatively meager twenty-five per cent gain on the cost of the goods, he could hope to realize well over \$150,000 at the very least, and by the most conservative estimate. In the immediate offing, however, there were considerations which threw a much more dubious light upon the whole enterprise and contributed no little to the overall doubts Derby must already have harbored about the China trade in general.

To start with, the more than seven hundred thousand pounds of teas, lying in the two ships at Derby Wharf, while of enormous inherent value, was a white elephant of mixed blessings. The entire importation of tea into the United States in 1790 was 2,600,000 pounds—little more than three times the amount that Derby held personally. As a result, the price dropped at once until it barely covered the cost of bringing it from China, if at all. Derby saw that the only way to avoid taking a mammoth loss on the tea was to stockpile it in his warehouses indefinitely. The problem was that the duties on the two vessels, payable within six months under

47. Thomas Handasyd Perkins to EHD, January 14, 1790, Derby Papers, XIX.

48. James Duncan Phillips, *Salem and the Indies* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1947), p. 56.

Alexander Hamilton's newly promulgated Treasury Act, amounted to over \$43,000. Derby was most unwilling to pay, arguing that conditions, rather than improving, were going to get worse. Within the year, he felt, "the teas which will be imported . . . will, on the most accurate calculation, be more than sufficient for the consumption of the United States for three years."⁴⁹ Subsequently, and in no small part due to Derby's agitations, Congress put into effect the bonded warehouse system which allowed a merchant to store his imports under bond and pay the duties as he sold. Upon Derby, who watched these things with a shrewd and calculating eye, the lessons of the situation had not been lost.

Moreover, the China trade was becoming increasingly popular—with threatening aspects for profit. In August 1790, when Robert Gray arrived from Canton in the famous *Columbia*, he found the Boston markets glutted with Derby's China goods. As a result his voyage was a failure. Gray was not a man to be bested, however, and the *Columbia* started right off again the following month. Nor was he alone; in November the brig *Hancock* of Boston departed for the rookeries, and early in 1791 James Magee, in a ship of his own, the *Margaret* out of Boston, followed in her wake. By 1792 the Boston fur trade route to the northwest coast, to Canton, and back to Boston was established and profitable.

Such profits, too, whetted the appetites of every American merchant who could afford to undertake the trade. Derby's had been the third American vessel to reach China; his had been the first three ships to stop at the Isle of France. Five years later, forty American vessels had cast anchor at Whampoa;⁵⁰ eighty-seven at the Isle of France.⁵¹

Competition in the Canton trade, formidable enough since its very beginning, was rapidly increasing the odds against success which was in no way assured even at the outset. In the first two years of the American China trade, only three vessels visited Canton; in the next two the figure had risen to seven; and in 1788 and 1789 there had been eighteen American vessels at Whampoa.⁵² Derby, of course, had no way of knowing that 1789

49. EHD to Benjamin Goodhue, June 10, 1790, Derby Papers, XIX.

50. Dulles, *The Old China Trade*, p. 210.

51. A. Toussaint, *Early American Trade with Mauritius* (Port Louis, Mauritius, 1954), p. 8.

52. Dulles, *The Old China Trade*, p. 210.

was to see the greatest number of American ships in China for a decade. American competition, too, was perhaps the least alarming factor to be considered. The United States could never hope to compete with the British and the Dutch, particularly the former, who could export from India and the Moluccas those goods most desired by the Chinese, opium and birds' nests. Yet Britain paid in specie for most of her Chinese teas and silks, which Derby, in view of the risks involved in a Canton voyage, could not afford to do. The only trade goods, as we have indicated with which America could hope to be successful were sea otter skins from the northwest coast and ginseng. Derby, probably because the method was completely alien to his experience, was never tempted into the fur trade. Ginseng, which could only be procured in comparatively limited amounts and could therefore come to be expensive, he had tried and found wanting. Even if Derby did not lose the \$20,000 that it has been said he did, he lost enough on the herb to make him think twice before investing in it again.

The huge cargoes brought home by Derby's two ships, while promising a high return once the crowded market conditions could be overcome, were nevertheless directly attributable to the social conditions within China at the moment. With no extraordinary demand at Canton, there was no reason to suppose that a future voyage, the ministrations of Houqua notwithstanding, could do nearly as well. As we have seen from the misfortunes of M. Sebiere de la Chataigneris in 1786, a miscalculated voyage could be unhappy indeed. The fact remained that the fixed costs of a China venture ran high. William Vans, supercargo of the *Grand Turk*, had written Derby in November 1786, that it was ". . . very expensive when a vessel of 300 tons pays the same as . . . 1,000 tons."⁵³ Derby, in his several China expeditions, always tried to hedge his bets by making as mandatory as possible the need for his captains to take freight to pay the major part of the Canton charges. This, of course, was not always possible and in any case, the Chinese duties, bribes, and necessary costs were large by any standard. The *Astrea* alone, in 1789, paid \$10,620 for these charges, which included such an item as: "Present for Hoppo . . . \$1,950."⁵⁴ With such expenses, there was not a great deal of margin for speculation.

53. William Vans to EHD, November 28, 1786, Derby Papers, XII.

54. *Astrea* Account, September 1789-January 1790, Derby Papers, XIX.

As a result, and no doubt after a great deal of deliberation over the relative merits of the Isle of France trade versus that of China, Derby gave up the Canton trade in 1790, never again to re-enter it. He could have come to only one conclusion: that there was little sure profit to be made from China. The over-importation of tea, which caused a decline in the China trade for some years after 1789, seems not to have been a deciding condition for Derby. Never again, in the remaining ten years of his life, when he sent vessels to the East Indies or even the Philippine Islands did he ever suggest that they go on to China. Having done well by a fortunate quirk of circumstances, Derby did not press his luck. After 1790, he abandoned the trade altogether, turning instead to the more predictable certainties of the Indian Ocean.

Hasket Derby had staked out for his father a claim to an Indian Ocean trade centered on the Isle of France. For the next decade Derby exploited it, helped considerably for a time by the effects of the wars breaking out in Europe. Unlike China, there was always an alternative market in the Indian Ocean. From 1790 on Derby preferred that his men search out these new areas. At Canton the trade could back the trader inextricably into a corner; not so in Derby's Isle of France center, for one could trade where conditions were best with occasional forays in search of new fields.

Once determined upon the course and form of oriental trade most profitable and best suited to his resources, Elias Hasket Derby never wavered in his pursuit of it. For the ten years after 1790—as long as he lived, in fact—Derby dominated American trade in the Indian Ocean from his Isle of France depot. One-fifth of all American ships to visit the Isle of France in the decade from 1789 to 1799 were Derby's; almost one-third of all the Salem ships to round the Cape of Good Hope were his. The Derby investment and enterprise were phenomenal and never let up. Some of his methods changed but never his fortunes, which only increased. Yet it was cold calculations and not luck that brought Derby pre-eminence, even though to his colleagues he seemed to have the Midas touch. Derby never *hoped* for profits. He planned his operations so that he *expected* them to pay. He rarely miscalculated. Not without reason could William Bentley write of Derby, a few years later: "Wealth with full tide flows in on that successful man."⁵⁵

55. Bentley, *Diary*, II, 177.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, THE HISTORIANS, AND THE ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENT

By DAVID ALAN WILLIAMS

TO HIS CONTEMPORARIES William Lloyd Garrison represented a dichotomy. He was a pacifist, yet his followers proclaimed him a militant abolitionism. He called slavery the one evil which had to be removed from the earth, but professed a determination for making his antislavery organization a sounding board for all reforms of the Jacksonian era. He attacked the orthodox churches for being unrealistic, and then advocated a type of Christian anarchism and nominated Jesus Christ for President of the United States. If to his contemporaries Garrison was an enigma whom some thought a saint, others a fallen angel, and many a little of both, how have historians assessed the role of Garrison within the abolitionist movement? What was he? provocateur? catalyst? the central driving force? Unanimity or even consensus of opinion among historians has been no greater than among Garrison's peers.

In the first flush of emancipation when the moral issue of slavery was very real, when the "bloody flag" waved triumphant, when historians still talked of the "slave-power controversy" and viewed past events without benefit of perspective, William Lloyd Garrison appeared as the originator, the personification, and the force of the movement to rid the nation of its "black sin." Then, as the coming of the Civil War became the subject of an historical debate almost as intense as the original conflict itself, historians talked about economic forces and motivations, the disintegration of the democratic process, and the role of the frontier; "revisionist" and "counter-revisionist" redefined the causes of the war; and the role of Garrison became less certain, the subject of debate itself.

Most historians have agreed that Garrison was the prime mover behind abolitionism. He was not the first to call for abolitionism in some form, but he was the first to demand vociferously immediate freedom for the slaves. It was this demand for sudden, unconditional, immediate release which aroused the nation from its apathy. With immediacy there was no compromising, no looking the other way. Even on this point there have been a few

dissenting voices. Alice Adams maintained that Garrison was the product of his times. The abolitionist doctrine had already been developed by Benjamin Lundy and the Quaker abolitionists in the period from 1808 to 1830 and only awaited the right moment for presentation to the nation.¹ A number of writers have suggested that the whole antislavery movement was merely a late outgrowth and expression of the humanitarian reform spirit. Ralph Harlow, biographer of abolitionist Gerrit Smith, commenting in one of the more widely-read texts in the 1920's, suggested that there was nothing unique about Garrison. His behavior pattern would have made him an extremist wherever he had lived, a view often expressed in the antebellum period. In the Deep South he would have been a Calhoun or a Yancey.² Despite these voices of protest, it would seem that most historians have been willing to join with Allan Nevins, who is very critical of the long-term impact of Garrison, in acknowledging that Garrison was the first of the "new" antislavery leaders.³

Thus, Garrison's basic claim to fame rests with his doctrine of immediacy and with the proclamation "I will be heard," which appeared in the first issue of the *Liberator*, January 1, 1831. Throughout his career that theme and that paper symbolized to friend and foe alike the Garrisonian philosophy. What results have historians attributed to its editorial pages? James Truslow Adams said that through the *Liberator* "Garrison shattered forever the smug complacency of Northerners who were wholly satisfied with 'things as they are.'"⁴ There is virtual agreement with Dwight L. Dumond's contention that Garrison ended the possibility of freeing the slaves by peaceful means and made militant political action and sectional parties a necessity if the true end was to be accomplished.⁵ Certainly the appearance of the paper,

1. Alice Dana Adams, *The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America, 1808-1831* (Boston, 1908); a similar position was taken by Leonard W. Bacon, *Anti-Slavery Before Garrison* (New York, 1903).

2. Ralph V. Harlow, *The Growth of the United States* (New York, 1925), p. 389. This position was left unchanged in the recent revision by Harlow and Nelson Blake, *The United States; From Wilderness to World Power* (New York, 1957), pp. 282-283.

3. Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union* (2 vols., New York, 1947), I, 144-145.

4. James Truslow Adams, *New England in the Republic, 1776-1850* (Boston, 1926), p. 403.

5. Dwight L. Dumond (ed.), *The Letters of James Gillespie Birney* (2 vols., New York, 1938), I, viii.

followed by what southerners thought was the more than coincidental uprising of Nat Turner and his fellow Virginian slaves, destroyed the American Colonization Society and the manumission movements within the South itself, making slavery a sectional question. As to the free state reaction, Theodore Clarke Smith, not overly enthusiastic about Garrisonian influence, observed that the editor had triggered the latent antislavery spirits in the Old Northwest. Until then there had been needed "some stimulus to rouse them to activity. . . That stimulus, this direction was undoubtedly furnished in the years 1831-35 by William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*."⁶ Other writers doubted that after its initial outburst the *Liberator* made many converts. At least there were few subscribers. John Bach McMaster, the nation's "first" social historian, noted that "for a few weeks the anti-slavery press received the new paper with some favor, the anti-slavery people with indifference, and the free negroes with hearty support and subscriptions."⁷ William Birney, son of James Birney, the early western antislavery leader, believed that the majority of subscribers were free Negroes at a time when the "pressing need of another antislavery newspaper would have made the *Liberator* a success from the first if its editor had abstained from sensational personalities and indiscriminate vituperation."⁸

If Garrison was not read widely in the North, he certainly was read widely by newspaper editors and politicians in the South. In fact, his greatest influence and impact was upon the South, as shown by the furious reaction of the South to his violent attacks against the evils of slavery and the sins of the slaveholders. The final result was to consolidate southern defenses against any encroachment upon its now sacrosanct institution, rather than to create further northern opposition to slavery. Furthermore, the South under this bitter onslaught came to identify and to equate all abolitionists with Garrison. This made the southern propaganda task much easier, since "an elementary principle of propaganda is that it is more effective against a man than against an idea. In Garrison the proslavery element found just the sort of

6. Theodore Clarke Smith, *The Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest* (New York, 1897), p. 9.

7. John Bach McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States* (8 vols., New York, 1883-1913), VI, 15.

8. William Birney, *James G. Birney and His Times* (New York, 1890), p. 317.

target it wanted, and proceeded to make him notorious" to the detriment of the gradual emancipationists, the larger force in the North.⁹

To a degree this attack on slavery did aid the growth of anti-slavery and abolitionist groups in the North, although not in the manner anticipated by Garrison and suggested by Garrisonian apologists. As the southerners began to institute "gag" rules, suppress news, and intercept the mails, northerners took alarm. "These efforts at repression by the proslavery elements defeated their own purposes. They involved apparent denials of the constitutional guarantees of freedom of the press and the rights of petition, and thereby caused many northerners, who had remained indifferent to the injustices of the Negro, to be deeply stirred by the assaults of the 'Slave Power' on the rights of white men."¹⁰ Thus, the southern defense "helped greatly to swell the ranks of the Abolitionists and to mollify public opinion in the North against them. . . . (but these) new Abolitionists were naturally of a more moderate type than Garrison and most of them would listen only to regular legal methods for the accomplishment of their purposes."¹¹ By this circuitous route Garrison bolstered the abolitionist movement, at the same time forfeiting effective leadership of these "converts."

The major controversy about Garrison involves the extent to which he and his supporters were instrumental in the growth of abolitionism outside of Massachusetts and the New England Anti-Slavery Society. His early biographers were sympathetic to his position, adulatory of his work, and prone to assign him complete credit without evaluation of other influences. Typical was Oliver Johnson, a former associate on the *Liberator*, who presented an unabashed defense of the editor shortly after his death in 1879.¹² A study by Garrison's sons appeared in four volumes during the

9. Benjamin P. Thomas, *Theodore Weld, Crusader for Freedom* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1950), p. 66.

10. Homer C. Hockett, *Political and Social Growth of the United States, 1492-1852* (New York, 1935), p. 571. This theme has been intensively explored from the same viewpoint by Russel Nye, *Fettered Freedom: Civil Liberties and the Slavery Controversy* (East Lansing, Mich., 1949).

11. John W. Burgess, *The Middle Period, 1817-1858* (New York, 1897), p. 251.

12. Oliver Johnson, *William Lloyd Garrison and His Times* (Boston, 1879).

1880's. In many ways it was little more than a collection of anecdotal material, lacking any unity beyond a condescending attitude toward Garrison's detractors within the abolitionist movement. Yet this miscellaneous collection recorded numerous incidents which, when brought together, were less than flattering toward the authors' father.¹³ But then Garrison was not the type of man people liked. He often chastised his friends for their shortcomings more fiercely than he did southern slaveholders for their actions. Even his most friendly biographers noted those quirks which alienated his closest companions and cost him the respect of his opponents. Nevertheless, Lindsay Swift, mildly critical of Garrisonian methods, concluded that the rise of the fiery-tongued editor could be equated with the success of the abolitionist movement, and John H. Chapman offered as his thesis that when the final judgment of history has been written, William Lloyd Garrison would be the central personality of the pre-Civil War years.¹⁴ Neither Chapman nor Swift engaged in extensive research, and both failed to weigh what findings they did produce, although Chapman came closer to understanding Garrison as a man than did other early biographers.

However, historians, before the appearance of Gilbert Barnes' *The Anti-Slavery Impulse* in 1933, were somewhat puzzled. Garrison was obviously never popular with other abolitionists; he did not accept their methods and programs, nor they his. The attack on the churches, the violence of his invective, his public destruction of the Constitution, the advocacy of secession from a union which permitted the enslavement of fellow humans, and his championing of women's rights and divine government obviously caused men to shun Garrison. The program of the "ultra-abolitionist was without relation to actual events, and could not, in the nature of things attract ordinary people, hence they remained few in number."¹⁵ Claude Fuess remarked that Garrison was

a promiscuous advocate of "every infidel fanaticism afloat."
... Guileless and artless, he had faith in nostrums of all

13. Wendell P. Garrison and F. J. Garrison, *William Lloyd Garrison*, 1805-1879 (4 vols., Boston, 1885-1889).

14. Lindsay Swift, *William Lloyd Garrison* (Philadelphia, 1911); John H. Chapman, *William Lloyd Garrison* (Boston, 1913).

15. Theodore Clarke Smith, *Parties and Slavery* (New York, 1906), p. 282.

varieties, and swallowed uncritically bottle after bottle of pills and patent medicines. So in social affairs he was ready to try all sorts of remedies, some of them effectual, others the product of quackery, without judiciously discriminating between what was beneficial and what was injurious.¹⁶

In large measure Garrison's apparent disregard for legal and constitutional procedures concerned and even alarmed earlier historians, many of whom like John W. Burgess, James Ford Rhodes, and James Schouler were reared in this period of turmoil. Burgess pointedly remarked that northerners were frightened of Garrison, because

his repudiation of vested rights and constitutional agreements, and his fanatical disregard of other men's opinions and feelings, led the people both of the North and the South to believe that his methods were incendiary and his morals loose; that he and his co-workers were planning and plotting slave insurrection, and thereby the wholesale massacre of slaveholders; and that he and they were endeavoring to attain through violence and anarchy, a leadership which they could not otherwise reach.¹⁷

Schouler, with the echoes of Haymarket Square still in his ears, anachronistically called the pacifist editor a "bomb-thrower and an anarchist" for his attack upon the Constitution. But while not happy with Garrison, Schouler, with obvious chagrin, believed that perhaps his methods were the only way to eliminate slavery amidst national apathy. Apparently, Garrison to him was the lesser of two evils.¹⁸

James Ford Rhodes had no such qualms about Garrison, although he himself was no sympathizer with Garrison's racial egalitarian principles. Abolitionism began with the publication of the *Liberator* and had its center in Boston. If Garrison was a radical, it was only because he had an "especial fitness for the task" of "rousing the national conscience from the stupor of great material prosperity." To look for the outward manifestations of Garrisonian success in terms of numbers and overt political influence was to miss the true force of abolitionism. "It was due to Garrison and

16. Claude M. Fuess, *Daniel Webster* (2 vols., Boston, 1930), II, 187.

17. Burgess, *The Middle Period*, p. 248.

18. James Schouler, *History of the United States of America Under the Constitution* (6 vols., New York, 1880-1899), IV, 214-220.

his associates that slavery became a topic of discussion at every Northern fireside."¹⁹

Still the question had to be asked: if one did not give Garrison preeminence in the whole abolitionist movement, how else did one explain its success? With some uncertainty and with a dearth of materials upon which to base their conclusions Burgess, Schouler, McMaster, Rhodes, and other late nineteenth-century historians tended to give Garrison the paramount position within the movement. Textbook writers conveyed the same picture to their collegiate public. In many cases historians believed that he was the leader of the movement on all fronts. Others were a bit doubtful in view of his unpopularity, but resolved this doubt by noting that personal popularity was certainly not a *sine qua non* for success in abolitionist circles. Some writers gave him the role by default, since they could find no apparent alternative to Garrisonian leadership. A few simply recorded the situation without an attempt to analyze how this issue came to dominate all other national issues and reforms.

By the 1920's historians of the Civil War era were shifting emphasis from political narrative, a study of state sovereignty and national power, and the moral crusade of abolitionism to a probing of economic opportunism, the conflict between expanding industrialism and static agrarianism, and sectional cultural differences. Charles and Mary Beard, in their classic statement of the irrepressible conflict between two incompatible economic systems, paid considerable attention to the influence of Garrison and his disciples whose sources of inspiration they felt were sincere, deeply religious, and largely moral. Their influence far outweighed their numbers, although their noise was greater than their effectiveness, since Garrison had no scheme, method of politics, nor organization. Moreover in the final analysis moral suasion and agitation were not important determinants, for "it was not until the middle period when economic struggle between the sections grew tense that the agitation against slavery became relentless and virulent."²⁰ In that same year Vernon Louis Parrington, spokesman of Jeffersonian agrarian liberalism, called Garrison "the flint-

19. James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (7 vols., New York, 1893-1906), I, 53-63.

20. Charles A. and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (2 vols., New York, 1927), I, 696-703.

iest character amongst the New England militants," and a primitive Hebrew or "a spiritual child of the Old Testament," whose "stature cannot be measured by conventional standards." Garrison challenged the comfortable, the orthodox, and the Tory. Then with some melancholy and much bitterness Parrington remarks, "Slavery was not destroyed by the conscience of Massachusetts but by the economics of free labor." The marketplace was triumphant; the laws of man were victorious where the laws of God had failed.²¹ Nevertheless, for all their concern about economic forces and popular misconceptions, neither the Beards nor Parrington doubted that William Lloyd Garrison was the force behind abolitionism. There was never any doubt in the mind of the author of a third important book appearing in 1927. Carl Russell Fish in his volume, *The Rise of the Common Man*, devoted almost his whole section on abolitionism to Garrison, specifically linking Garrison and the *Liberator* to the growth of the moral crusade leading to war.²²

Then in 1933 Gilbert H. Barnes published *The Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844*, in which he explored the early antislavery movement for an explanation as to how the crusade got into the mainstream of politics from the backwaters and eddies of humanitarianism where it was simply one among many attempts to remake society. Relying heavily upon sources relating to midwestern abolitionists, Barnes concluded that Garrison and his associates had been much overrated. They had made much noise, had attracted considerable attention, but were too impractical and impolitic to have convinced the free states of the efficacy of eliminating slavery. The true center of the abolitionist movement, the one which ultimately brought victory, was not around Garrison and New England but around Theodore Dwight Weld, Arthur and Lewis Tappan, James Birney, and other midwestern and New York men who recognized the need for a practical, less radical program. They did not forsake the church as unregenerate, drawing instead from the wellsprings of enthusiasm unleashed by the Great Revival of the Twenties and Thirties to convert church members by the thousands to the message of the new salvation

21. Vernon Louis Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (3 vols., New York, 1927-1930), II, 352-361.

22. Carl R. Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man, 1830-1850* (New York, 1927), pp. 276-290.

for men in bondage. They eschewed extremism and secession and worked within the framework of existing political institutions. While Garrison had already rejected the churches and renounced the Constitution in the Thirties, Weld, Tappan, Birney, and their coterie of ever expanding followers in mercantile as well as religious and political circles were becoming the true abolition movement.²³

Not all that Barnes said was new. Other writers had pointed to non-Garrisonian factors which might have aided a growing antislavery sentiment among northern and western elements. In 1890 William Birney had contended that Garrison was not the founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society, the first national antislavery organization; it had been founded by the Tappan brothers, who, fearful that his name would destroy the Society's chances for success, had tried to keep Garrison out of any official tie with the group.²⁴ Birney, however, was the son of James G. Birney, the Liberty Party candidate for President in 1840 and an outspoken anti-Garrisonian, and so his claims were partially dismissed as special pleading. Theodore Clarke Smith, although conceding the initial importance of Garrison in the West, believed that to be the extent of his usefulness, and in fact turned to Weld and the revival techniques as the key to abolitionism in Ohio and New York.²⁵ William Smith also observed the church influence in western abolitionism, but claimed that the decisive influence in that area came from actual contact with runaway slaves and slavery in the Border States.²⁶ To a lesser extent Jesse Macy and Albert B. Hart recognized the place of religion and the western leaders. And, of course, there were those historians who had tried to keep abolitionism within the context of the whole humanitarian reform spirit.²⁷

These earlier writers, however, failed to have the impact Barnes had. They had been anticipatory and had written with different approaches in mind. More importantly, without the materials

23. Gilbert H. Barnes, *The Anti-Slavery Impulse, 1830-1844* (New York, 1933).

24. Birney, *Birney*, pp. 315-330.

25. Smith, *Liberty and Free Soil Parties*, pp. 12-13.

26. William H. Smith, *A Political History of Slavery* (2 vols., New York, 1903), I, vi-viii.

27. Jesse Macy, *The Anti-Slavery Crusade* (New Haven, 1919), chs. 1-6.

Barnes possessed, they were unable to see the significance of their ideas. Barnes provided the documentation, the enlarged scope, and the solid presentation. His attitude toward the abolitionists themselves was generally unsympathetic, but his downgrading of Garrison was the thesis most historians received from his book.

Has the Barnes thesis been accepted? There seems to be no question that except for some modifications and a recent rejoinder it has found its way into the general interpretations of the period. Dwight Dumond, an associate of Barnes, in his penetrating brief study, *The Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States*, barely mentions Garrison, while building a strong case for western leadership of the emancipation forces.²⁸ If Dumond perhaps has gone too far in denying influence to Garrison, more typical of the altered approach to Garrison, abolitionism, and the coming of the war are the works of James G. Randall and Avery O. Craven. Convinced as they are that the war was primarily the result of extremists or fumbling and hesitant political leaders, both of these "revisionist" historians find Garrison outside the mainstream of abolitionism. Randall views the crusade as a part of the whole reform movement in which "it was not to be expected that the existence of human bondage in fifteen states could be treated with indifference." The crucial year was 1831, and "it happens that in this year William Lloyd Garrison founded the *Liberator* in Boston; but the traditional tendency to refer the American antislavery movement to a New England focus and a Garrisonian leadership does not fit the facts." The focus was in the West. Garrison was "a free lance agitator," impractical, offensive, and without a program.²⁹ To Craven there were two original centers of antislavery—Garrison and New England, Weld and the western revivalists. In both instances he sees the men as emotional extremists, but again Garrison is portrayed as impractical, too antagonistic, too unstable. Emotional as were the westerners' revival tactics, Craven believes that "there was, however, another aspect to the movement in this region—a very hard-headed prac-

28. Dwight L. Dumond, *The Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States* (Ann Arbor, 1939).

29. James G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York, 1937, 1953), pp. 100-107. Thomas J. Pressly in his historiographical essay on Civil War history, *Americans Interpret Their Civil War* (Princeton, 1954), pp. 268-269, also classifies Barnes among the "revisionists."

tical aspect. Its leaders believed in action as well as agitation."³⁰ From these men flowed the basic strength of the movement.

The trend among those who adhere to the view that the war was brought about by extremists, but that Garrison had no sustained influence in the North, can be seen in Arnold Whitridge, *No Compromise: The Story of the Fanatics Who Paved the Way to the Civil War*. The thesis of this book which is self-evident in the title would seem automatically to place Garrison in the forefront. Yet after an analysis of the editor's initial impact, Whitridge breaks off the discussion by noting that Garrison's biographers have been over-complimentary, that Garrison was only one among many, that he could not have been a national leader. The northern fanatics, who in the final analysis brought their section to the brink of war, were not Garrisonians but the disciples of the western prophets.³¹

What has become the standard approach to the question of origins and Garrisonian influences seems to have been set down by Alice Felt Tyler in her study of social problems and forces in ante-bellum America. She traces the evolutionary nature of abolition from the colonial period, places it in the setting of the reform movement, stresses particularly the "neglected period" of Lundy and the Quakers, ties in the triumph of William Wilberforce and the British abolitionists, and then undertakes the study of immediatism. While she is willing to acknowledge the initial stimulus provided by Garrison, she assesses his role as that of arousing the South. Using the familiar pattern of claiming Garrison to have been too radical, too divisive, and *persona non grata* even among northern abolitionists, she draws the main line of the crusade from the religious benevolence preached by Charles Finney to Weld, Birney, the Tappans, and the New York-Northwest axis.³² Basically this same position has been taken by Russel Nye in *Fettered Freedom*, although Nye is concerned with the

30. Avery O. Craven, *The Coming of the Civil War* (New York, 1942), pp. 128-240. Craven has recently reiterated his views in *Civil War in the Making, 1815-1860* (Baton Rouge, 1959).

31. Arnold Whitridge, *No Compromise: The Story of the Fanatics Who Paved the Way to the Civil War* (New York, 1960), pp. 85-146. Another recent study of extremism, Henry H. Simms, *Emotion at High Tide: Abolition as a Controversial Factor, 1830-1845* (Baltimore, 1960), makes no attempt to delineate the sources of abolitionism.

32. Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History to 1860* (Minneapolis, 1944), pp. 463-512.

ultimate importance in the North of Garrison having stung the South into denying freedom of speech, the right of petition, and circulation of the mails. Barnes' position has been further reinforced by the numerous biographical studies and published letters of Weld, Birney, the Tappans, the Grimké sisters, Finney, and other abolitionists appearing after the *Anti-Slavery Impulse*.

A second gauge of altering attitudes toward Garrison can be seen in the text-books. An outstanding example is John Spencer Bassett, who in an earlier edition of his textbook did not specifically mention a western influence, but in his 1939 revision paid equal homage to the western and New England persuasions. The most complete acceptance has been by Leland Baldwin, who entitles his chapter on abolitionism, "The Anti-slavery Impulse." In a somewhat different vein, but with the same result, William Hesselstine and David Smiley, in the recent revision of Hesselstine's textbook on southern history, tend to dismiss Garrison as the somewhat ludicrous spokesman of the free Negroes and fugitive slaves and concentrate almost wholly upon the activities of the Weld group.³³ Within the recent deluge of college textbook surveys of American history, there has been almost complete acceptance of the Barnes view as synthesized by Alice Felt Tyler. Typical are the comparative remarks of Dumas Malone and Basil Rauch about Garrison and Weld:

There was impatience, intolerance, and even cruelty in him because of his excess of devotion to his cause. The fame of the *Liberator* was less owing to its Northern supporters than to its Southern enemies. . . . Theodore Dwight Weld now seems the greatest of the abolitionists, though he was less widely known than Garrison since he worked behind the scenes. Moral reform can have no purer symbol than this self-effacing organizer to whom the cause was everything and personal glory nothing.³⁴

There have been those who have questioned whether or not writers and students have not gone too far in revising downward

33. John S. Bassett, *A Short History of the United States* (New York, 1939), pp. 429-430; Leland Baldwin, *The Stream of American History* (New York, 1952), pp. 656-660; William B. Hesselstine and David Smiley, *The South in American History* (2nd ed., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1960), pp. 151-156.

34. Dumas Malone and Basil Rauch, *Empire For Liberty* (2 vols., New York, 1960), I, 482-483.

Garrisonian influence. In words worthy of Garrison himself, Frank Laurence Owsley, in his presidential address to the Southern Historical Association in 1940, asserted that

one has to seek in the unrestrained and furious invective of the present totalitarians to find a near parallel to the language that the abolitionists and their political fellow travelers used in denouncing the South and its way of life. Indeed, as far as I have been able to ascertain, neither Dr. Goebbels. . . nor Stalin's propaganda agents have as yet been able to plumb the depths of vulgarity and obscenity reached and maintained by George Bourne, Stephen Foster, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, and other abolitionists of note.³⁵

No downgrading of the Garrisonians can be traced to Owsley. Even among recent textbook writers, Garrison has his advocates. Samuel E. Morison and Henry Steele Commager have not substantially altered their views that for all the varieties of abolitionist leaders, it was Garrison and the Garrisonians who came to personify the movement to both northerners and southerners. In a popular and popularly-written text, Thomas A. Bailey views slavery as a basic evil from which the country had to be delivered, but by some reasonable action, most probably through compensated emancipation. Civil disunion was created by northern and southern extremists of whom only Garrison is mentioned by name. Obviously impressed with the editor's influence, Bailey subtitles his discussions, "Garrisonian Hotheads," "Disruptive Influence of Extreme Abolitionism," and the "curse of Emotionalism."³⁶ Philip Foner questions Barnes and staunchly maintains that "the fact remains that the work of Garrison and his associates must still loom large in any analysis of the forces responsible for emancipation. Whatever his shortcomings, Garrison was the most indomitable figure among Abolition forces. . . . His uncompromising stand against slavery struck home with such force that it riveted the attention of all men on his cause."³⁷

35. Frank L. Owsley, "The Fundamental Cause of the Civil War: Ego-centric Sectionalism," *Journal of Southern History*, VII (February 1941), 16.

36. Samuel E. Morison and Henry S. Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic* (2 vols., 4th ed., New York, 1950), I, 524-529; Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pageant* (New York, 1956), pp. 367-373.

37. Philip S. Foner (ed.), *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass* (2 vols., New York, 1950), I, 28.

Perhaps the most judicious evaluation of Garrison's place in history has been made by Russel Nye in *William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers*. In his conclusion Nye points up the dilemma posed by the conflicting historical interpretations, suggesting that much of the early Garrison myth was derived from the fact that "those who admired Garrison gloried in praising him; those who opposed him charitably kept quiet." Abolition was neither created nor organized by him, and it ultimately triumphed through methods he could not condone. "Abolition passed through him, not from him." Yet Garrison was very important as a symbol. "To the South, he represented all that was baleful and dangerous." In the North in order "to disagree with Garrison men had to face up to the problem. . . . When men did this, slavery was doomed Economic and political events that Garrison neither knew nor cared about made slavery a national issue and precipitated the war. But it had its moral causes too, which Garrison's career aptly symbolized to the victorious North."³⁸

Nye believes that Garrison did not desert "the main battle of abolition for minor skirmishes" along the lunatic fringe of reform, suggesting that he was committed to what Parrington called Yankee Perfectionism, a commitment which led him to seek any and all means to redeem the human race. It is at precisely this point of departure that Louis Filler begins the most recent analysis of the slavery controversy, *The Crusade Against Slavery*, the comparable volume in the *New American Nation Series* to A. B. Hart's volume in the original *American Nation Series*. Filler relates the perfectionism theme not to Garrison alone, but to the whole humanitarian reform movement, which he sees as dedicated to the achievement of total human freedom, slavery being only one form of human bondage. The essential quality of this reform movement was its concern with morality and its belief that moral absolutes did exist. Within the abolitionist and antislavery movements, the forces of moral conscience were best represented by Garrison, although he was by no means alone. Filler admits that Garrison often may have been an impractical extremist; however, the crusade needed not realism as much as it needed "the working idealism of the extremists." Furthermore, those abolitionists following

38. Russel Nye, *William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers* (Boston, 1955), pp. 197-206.

traditional constitutional and political means were as devoid of a concrete program as was Garrison, at the same time lacking the moral commitment of Garrison. Filler flatly denies Barnes' position that "the moral crusade had done its work by 1839, and that the antislavery impulse had passed to a junta of organizers, whose center was in Washington." Nor will Filler accept the contention that the westerners took the leadership away from the Garrisonians. Rather he reasserts the older position that the Garrisonians were not only the organizers of abolitionism, but were the central driving force which survived the short-lived activities of Weld, the economic bankruptcy of Arthur Tappan, and the political eclipse of Birney's Liberty Party. In his conclusion Filler attempts to compromise by saying that the abolitionist campaign "could not have triumphed without all of them," and that "it is difficult to assign precedence to any of the protagonists of abolition." Nevertheless, it is quite clear that he has repudiated Barnes, and for that matter the whole school of Civil War "revisionists," in proclaiming the significance of the moral urgency of the slave question in the coming of the war. And wherever slavery as an urgent moral question was found, there one found Garrison and Garrisonians.³⁹ To what extent Filler will find historical acceptance remains to be seen.

In a measure the downward revaluation of Garrison's influence has been accepted not only because it appears to have historical validity, but also because the revision has afforded a partial sense of relief to the historians themselves. American historians like the American people have tended to shy away from those who deviate too far from the middle-of-the-road, or out of the American Political Tradition as they often express it. They applaud liberalism only within the American constitutional and political framework. Concerned with the evolution of trends out of previous patterns, they are often dismayed and confused by men who do not fit the patterns and categories. And Garrison, for all his radicalism, was hardly a liberal in the classic sense, for all his humanitarian compassion was hardly within the American Political Tradition, nor was he possessed of the "proper" reverence for the constitutional methods of achieving reforms. Weld, Birn-

39. Louis Filler, *The Crusade Against Slavery, 1830-1860* (New York, 1960), pp. 137, 155-157, 279-280.

ey, the Tappans, and the other westerners and New Yorkers, as fanatical and radical as they were, chose to work within the established system and not from without. Therefore, historians have been more comfortable with them as historical figures, even if they might not be overly fond of them as individuals.

Yet Garrison's place in history seems assured. His actions possess great historical importance, even if not to the extent once assumed. He was vivid, fiery, and colorful. The deceptive simplicity and directness of immediatism and the fact that he seems to have been "first" have made his name one easily remembered by the student and the historian, both of whom have an addiction for "firsts" and for reducing men, movements, and ideas into thumbnail sketches and one-line theses. More than this Garrison will survive because of his undeniable concern for the elimination of moral and social evil. In his own generation he refused not to be heard; in the present generation the same call is again being issued. The struggle for social equality and moral righteousness seems to give a renewed meaning and understanding to the problems about which Garrison talked (and shouted), even if there is no greater personal appreciation for the undisciplined, emotional, extremist from Newburyport, Massachusetts.

A RECENTLY ACQUIRED EMBROIDERED
MEMORIAL PICTURE

By HULDAH M. SMITH

It will increase their peace, enlarge their store,
To use their tongues lesse, and their Needles more,
The Needles sharpenesse, profit yeelds, and pleasure,
But sharpenesse of the tongue, bites out of measure.

Here Practise and Invention may be free,
And as a *Squirrel* skips from tree to tree,
So maids may (from their Mistresse, or their Mother)
Learne to leaue one worke, and to learne an other,
For here they may make choyce of which is which,
And skip from worke to worke, from stitch to stitch,
Vntil, in time, delightfull practice shall
(With profit) make them perfect in them all.¹

THESE WORDS were written by John Taylor in seventeenth-century England, at the start of the period when the working of samplers both there and in the American Colonies was one of the chief duties and accomplishments of young girls. For the succeeding two hundred years fine needlework was a mark of a well educated young woman, a popular pastime and occupation, and the twentieth century is seeing a revival of the pleasures to be derived from stitching decorative embroidery.

An embroidered memorial picture,² recently acquired by the Essex Institute, is of particular interest as being an early nineteenth-century example of local work. It was made in Essex County in North Andover (then the north parish of Andover) and has its original frame which was made in Salem. The nineteenth century was still a period of high mortality rate, particularly among women and young children, and the memorial picture, whether painted on paper, canvas, wood panel, or velvet, or embroidered in silk threads on satin, was as much an outward evidence of the preoccupation with death in the midst of life as

1. John Taylor, "The Praise of the Needle," prefix to his *The Needle's Excellency*, 12th ed., 1640. Quoted in Miss Lambert, *The Handbook of Needlework* (New York, 1842), pp. 260-262.

2. E.I. acc. no. 129,922. Framed, H. 17½", W. 16¼". Purchase, 1961. Ill. Fig. 1.

were the mourning rings and gloves given at funerals, the jewelry fashioned from the hair of the deceased, or the development of cemeteries as beautifully landscaped parks—the latter reaching its height later in the century during the Victorian period, each funerary monument characterized by a “belligerent individuality.”³

The Essex Institute's embroidery has an oval design painted and stitched on a rectangular piece of imported satin which has been backed with canvas. The edges at top and bottom have regularly spaced holes which originally served as attachment points for the embroidery frame on which the work was stretched. The needlework is covered with glass, the four corners of which have been painted black on the reverse, each corner containing a stylized gold flower, and the whole rectangular form is enclosed within a moulded and gilded wood frame. The edges of the embroidery are tacked to the wooden panel which closes the back of the frame, on which is pasted the label of the maker of the latter.

Associated with the embroidery itself was the Ingalls family of North Andover. The first settlers of the family had come to the Colonies from Lincolnshire, and had settled in Essex County in Lynn, Andover, and Ipswich in the seventeenth century. By the sixth generation the Andover branch had begun to spread to New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont.⁴ Seven generations of the family lived in the house Inglehurst,⁵ and Sarah Berry Ingalls, the deceased who is mourned in the embroidery, was one of its occupants. The embroidery has been in the possession of descendants of the family until recent times.

The design shows a young woman seated at left under a weeping willow tree, wearing a brown Empire style dress with a darker brown cloak across her knees. She holds a green handkerchief and the end of a garland of roses which is festooned from the classical urn on top of the funerary monument. Her left elbow rests on the tomb, and her cheek rests on her hand. The monument is drawn and painted on the satin and forms the center of the composition. At the right is a linden tree, with four smaller trees in the distance. The face and arms of the mourner are light-

3. Frances Lichten, *Decorative Art of Victoria's Era* (New York, 1950), p. 219.

4. Walter Renton Ingalls, *The Ingalls Family in England and America* (Boxford, 1930), p. 78.

5. *Ibid.*, ill. p. 71.

ly drawn in India ink, and the hair is painted brown. The foreground, painted in bluish and brownish tones, contrasts with the palely tinted sky. The embroidered sections consist of parts of the ground at right and left done in satin-stitch, as is the costume of the seated figure,⁶ both tree trunks done in a flat straight stitching resembling encroaching satin-stitch,⁷ and the leaves of the linden at right embroidered in bullion-knots,⁸ presenting a fine and almost moss-like texture.

On the center of the tomb is appliquéd a rectangular section of satin on which is printed:

Affectionately inscribed to the memory of
MRS. SARAH B., WIFE OF MR. JONA. INGALLS,
OBIT. OCT. 24th A.D. 1816, AGED 53.

Her heart was gentle, and serene her mind;
Her morals pure, in all her actions just;
As a consort dear, and a mother kind,
As such she lies, lamented in the dust.

Often such verses as these were composed by members of the family. These do not appear listed either in *Stories on Stone* by Charles L. Wallis, which contains a large number of funerary verses found on tombstones, or in *American Samplers* by Ethel Stanwood Bolton and Eva Johnston Coe, the latter reproducing many verses found on samplers and memorial embroideries.

Mrs. Ingalls' tombstone in the Old Burying Ground in North Andover has the following inscription:

Ingalls. Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Sarah Ingalls wife of
Mr. Jonathan Ingalls who died Oct 24 1816 AEt 53.⁹

Sarah Berry Ingalls was the daughter of Benjamin Berry, Jr., and his wife, Mary. She was born in Andover on August 6, 1763¹⁰ and in 1792 married Jonathan Ingalls, the fifth of nine children of Francis and Eunice (Jennings) Ingalls.¹¹ Jonathan

6. Mary Thomas, *Mary Thomas's Dictionary of Embroidery Stitches* (New York, 1935), p. 179, fig. 258.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 179, fig. 259.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 16, fig. 23.

9. Essex Institute *Historical Collections*, LXXXIX (January 1953), 71, no. 119 in "Inscriptions on Tombstones in the Old Burying Ground at North Andover, Massachusetts. Copied in October, 1869 by Miss Mary Kittredge, Miss Sarah Kittredge, Mr. Isaac Osgood and Mr. Frank Appleton. Introduction by Walter Muir Whitehill."

10. Andover, Mass. *Vital Records*, p. 66.

11. Charles Burleigh, *The Genealogy and History of the Ingalls Family in America* (Malden, 1903), p. 57.

had been born in Andover on February 25, 1762, and died in North Andover July 9, 1837,¹² outliving his wife by twenty-one years.

The verses on the embroidery extolling Sarah Ingalls' virtues are all we have found concerning the lady herself; but a few more facts are available about her husband, Jonathan. He is listed as having been a Revolutionary soldier for a brief period: "INGALLS, JONATHAN, private, Capt. James Mallon's company, Lieut. Col. Putnam's regiment; enlisted Aug. 18, 1781; discharged Dec. 4, 1781; service 3 mos. 28 days, including 12 days (240 miles) travel home; regiment raised in Essex and Plymouth counties to reinforce Continental Army for three months."¹³ Ten years later, in 1791, there is listed a "Jon^a Ingils of Andover, Shoemaker County of Essex" in *Salem Warnings* of 1791, and one wonders whether it was this same Jonathan who was one of those "who is lately come into this Town (Salem) for the purpose of abiding therein not having obtained the Town's Consent therefor . . ." ¹⁴ Whether or not it was the same Jonathan, the following year our Jonathan Ingalls married Sarah Berry in Andover and the couple had four children: Francis, born in 1793, who later was executor for his father's will and inherited the house and land at Inglehurst, having married Elizabeth B. Foster; a second son, Ira, born in 1795; and two daughters, Sarah, born in 1797, and Mehitable, born in 1800, who married Asa A. Abbot in 1829.¹⁵

Jonathan was a farmer. The family house, Inglehurst, had been built about 1675 and was destroyed by fire in 1942. In 1801 the Assessor's Record of the Kimball School District, taken by Isaac Parker, listed Jonathan Ingalls as owning eight cow "leeces," many acres of tillage, pasture, meadow and wood land, plus bushels of oats and corn, tons of hay, and ten barrels of *cyder*.¹⁶ Jonathan's will describes him as "gentleman," and the inventory of his belongings lists house, land, barns, pastures, oxen, cows, sheep,

12. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

13. *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War*, A Compilation from the Archives, Prepared and Published by the Secretary of the Commonwealth (Boston, 1896-1908), VIII, 613.

14. "Salem Warnings, 1791," E.I.H.C., XLIII (October, 1907), 348, 352.

15. Charles Burleigh, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

16. The author wishes to thank Mrs. Herbert E. McQuesten of North Andover for contributing this information.

lambs, swine, and household furnishings.¹⁷ His wife Sarah had left no will.

We may assume that the mourning embroidery was executed shortly after Sarah Ingalls' death in 1816, and it is tempting to think that it might have been done by one of Sarah's daughters after her death. The two girls were, to be sure, of rather advanced age; young Sarah at nineteen and Mehitable at sixteen would both have been quite elderly to have performed this work, which was generally done by rather younger girls at school. It is not impossible, however, for Mehitable at least might still have been in school. How the children of Jonathan and Sarah Ingalls were educated we do not know, but there were two schools in the vicinity which they may have attended. Franklin Academy in Andover, which had been founded in 1799 by a prosperous farmer and leather currier named Jonathan Stevens, was the first incorporated academy in the Commonwealth to admit girls.¹⁸ In the *Salem Gazette* of April 22, 1817, Franklin Academy placed an advertisement announcing its coming term, and assuring the reader that "Young Ladies will be instructed both in the solid and ornamental branches of Education." Bradford Academy near Haverhill, also founded chiefly by local farmers in 1803, had for its first enrollment thirty-seven girls and fourteen boys. A letter from a Bradford girl describing a young girl's education in 1808 states: " 'Morse's Geography,' 'Murray's Grammar,' Pope's 'Essay on Man' for a parsing book, Blair's 'Rhetoric,' composition, and embroidery on satin, these were my studies and accomplishments."¹⁹

Thus the teaching of the "ornamental branches" was widespread in the boarding-schools, "dame schools," female seminaries, and academies. This was the case all along the eastern seaboard, with particularly fine work in the silk-on-satin technique taught by the Moravian Sisters of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Among the New England schools in which embroidery was taught around the turn of the century were Sarah Knight's and Madame Mansfield's schools in Salem, Miss Polly Balch's Seminary in Providence, Mrs. Rowson's Academy and Mrs. Condy's Embroidery

17. Essex County Registry of Probate, 14530.

18. Claude M. Fuess, *Andover: Symbol of New England, the Evolution of a Town* (The Andover Historical Society and the North Andover Historical Society, 1959), p. 224.

19. Elizabeth A. Barrow, *A Memorial of Bradford Academy* (Boston, 1870), pp. 47-48.

School in Boston.²⁰ In 1802 the Reverend William Bentley of Salem wrote in his *Diary*, "Capt. Gibaut dined with me and assured me that a Mrs. Saunders keeps a school in Gloucester for young ladies, where needle work will bear comparison with any of the work of our Schools not excepting Mrs. (Nathaniel) Rogers of Salem."²¹

A delightful description of the part played by embroidery at school in the early nineteenth century may be found in the writings of Sarah Emery, who described Essex County life, particularly around Newburyport:

At each of the female schools, in addition to knitting and plain sewing, ornamental needlework was taught, and in some, instruction was given in drawing in India ink and painting in water colors; also, every girl was taught to embroider letters in marking stitch. One was considered very poorly educated who could not exhibit a sampler; some of these were large and elaborate specimens of handiwork; framed and glazed, they often formed the chief ornament of the sitting room or the best chamber . . . Pocket-books and cushions worked in crewel, had given place to wrought muslin, and pictures worked in satin. Mourning pieces were in vogue, though some preferred scriptural or classical subjects.

The author then makes the following critical remark:

One could conscientiously pronounce these productions remarkable specimens of art. The needlework was usually very neatly executed, but the false perspective and queerly drawn figures, rendered most of them 'simply ridiculous.'²²

Fortunately Essex Institute's new embroidery does not fall into the category of the "simply ridiculous," but one must admit that the drawing of the face and hands of the seated figure was not done by a very skilled hand. Often the drawing was done on the satin in India ink by a professional draftsman or by the teacher, and the painted faces on some of the embroideries are very beautifully tinted. The Ingalls mourner, however, was probably drawn

20. Georgiana Brown Harbeson, *American Needlework, the History of Decorative Stitchery and Embroidery from the Late 16th to the 20th Century* (New York, 1938), p. 58.

21. William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.* (Salem, 1905-1914), II, 441.

22. Sarah Anna Emery, *Reminiscences of a Nonagenarian* (Newburyport, 1879), pp. 222-223.

by the girl who embroidered the picture, the arms being heavy and lumpish; and although the young lady sits with her left elbow resting on the funerary monument, the foot in its black slipper which peeps from beneath the hem of her gown sets her lower half at an impressive distance of about two yards from the tombstone. In spite of these peculiarities, however, the young artist has achieved a gently melancholy spirit, an air of calm reflection and of grace in the mourning figure. This is enhanced, as is the case in so many of the memorial pictures, by the very lines of the weeping willow tree which droops over the tomb in sympathy with the mourner, and was always a valuable adjunct in both the cemetery itself and the painted or embroidered representation. Missing is the little pond or symbolic lake of tears which often accompanies the willow tree, and also lacking is the distant church steeple which is sometimes one of the symbolic elements. The large linden tree at the right, with four smaller ones in the distance, is a local Essex County tree, with a solid trunk and large oval leaf.²³ Both the willow and linden trees in the embroidery are correctly depicted as to relative size, as well as to the character of trunk and leaves; both trunks are done in two shades of muted golden yellow, shaded with brown at the right, but the textures of the trunks are differentiated by the patterns of the stitches. The willow's drooping leaves are of a bluish green which becomes yellow at the end of each branch, while the linden's large oval leaves are made up of tiny knots of different shades of green.

The exact source of the design has not been identified. Sometimes such pictures were copied from engravings, and at other times the designs were adapted from them by the individual teacher or pupil, with rearrangement of the "stage properties" of the funerary monument, the trees, and the mourning figures. The latter may be standing, seated, or kneeling (as in Essex Institute's beautifully executed embroidery "Sacred to the Memory of Maj. Morse" dated 1803);²⁴ and sometimes the face is covered with a handkerchief. Through the courtesy of the Textile Department of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston the writer has had an opportunity to compare our mourning embroidery with some of the Boston Museum's; but neither those nor illustrations of similar em-

23. The author wishes to thank Daniel J. Foley of Salem for assistance with analysis of the trees in the embroidery and on the frame.

24. E.I. acc. no. 1,466.

broideries in the various books on the subject have provided an exact prototype for this particular design.

In style our picture is neo-classic in the Empire costume of the lady mourner and in the antique vase form which surmounts the tombstone; but its introspective and sorrowful air foretells the future development of romanticism, which was to reach its height during the succeeding decades of the Victorian era. The play of light and shadow achieved through the variety of the direction of the stitches and their length and texture lends a particular charm to these pictures embroidered in silk on satin, and the dark enframement of blackened glass with its gold flower in each corner enhances the pastel tones and delicate small scale stitchery of the design. We do not know where the satin panel, appliquéd to the funerary monument, was printed. Sometimes the inscriptions are lettered on with India ink, sometimes even embroidered with strands of the deceased's hair; but in this case the lines of commemoration are printed, and we do know that there was established in Andover a printing office, started by Flagg and Gould in 1813, which carried on such an extensive business that by 1829 its office was supplied with type for printing in eleven different Oriental languages.²⁵ Whether the small rectangular panel might have been printed there can only be a matter for speculation.

The embroidery has its original frame, on the back panel of which is pasted a printed label:

Joseph Stowers,
GILDER,
Essex Street, Salem
LOOKING-GLASSES, PORTRAITS, PICTURES
AND NEEDLE WORK,
FRAMED TO ANY PATTERN THAT MAY BE REQUIRED.
Old Frames Regilt.
ALSO . . . CONSTANTLY ON HAND, A GOOD ASSORTMENT OF
GILT FRAMED LOOKING-GLASSES
OF THE MOST MODERN PATTERNS.
ORDERS PUNCTUALLY ATTENDED TO.²⁶

For many years the Institute has owned a handsome vertical two-plate gilt-framed looking glass which bears on the back of the

25. Abiel Abbot, A.M., *History of Andover from its Settlement to 1829* (Andover, 1829), p. 196.

26. Ill. fig. 3.

frame a label almost identical in wording.²⁷ The next to last line of the embroidery's label, "of the most modern patterns," becomes on the label of the looking glass "of various sizes and patterns," and the printing type of the assorted lines is not the same on the two labels. The looking glass frame, which dates from about 1825 to 1830, is embellished with alternating bands of half-turned mouldings, and sections carved with grapevines, in a dignified Empire style.

Joseph Stowers, the maker of these two frames, was born in Chelsea, Massachusetts, the son of James Jr. and Abigail [*sic*] Stowers on October 10, 1801.²⁸ The earliest mention found of Joseph in Salem is that of his having joined the Salem Light Infantry on March 22, 1824.²⁹ Five months later we may imagine Joseph Stowers as one of those who escorted the Marquis de Lafayette on his visit to Salem, for from Marblehead "the escort was joined by an elegant battalion of Light Infantry, composed of Capt. Pulsifer's Salem Mechanic Light Infantry, Capt. Sutton's Danvers Light Infantry, and the Salem Light Infantry, under Lt. Hodges."³⁰ At the dinner given for Lafayette in Salem at Hamilton Hall, various toasts were offered, one, according to the *Salem Gazette* of August 31, 1824, proclaiming: "Our elegant Escort—Their brilliant appearance and correct discipline merit the highest of all compliments—that they are worthy of the service they have performed today!"

Six years later, in 1830, Joseph's brother Nathaniel also joined the Salem Light Infantry.³¹ He was eight years younger than Joseph, and the two brothers are later recorded in the *Salem Directory* of 1837 and on as sharing the same business address, Joseph as "gilder" and Nathaniel as "chair painter." The *Salem Vital Records* tell us that Joseph married Mary Carlton Frye in Salem on November 26, 1829, and the births of three children are listed during the 1830's; while Nathaniel married Sarah B. Peirce in 1832.

The earliest newspaper advertisements of Joseph Stowers appear in both the *Salem Gazette* (from December 10, 1824) and

27. E.I. acc. no. 119,840. H. 44½", W. 23¾".

28. Chelsea, Mass. *Vital Records*, pp. 292-293.

29. George M. Whipple, "History of the Salem Light Infantry," E.I.H.C., XXVI (July to December, 1889), 277.

30. *The Salem Gazette*, August 31, 1824.

31. George M. Whipple, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

the *Essex Register* during the same month, announcing him as at the "New Looking-Glass Manufactory At the sign of the Looking-Glass, Old Paved Street, near North Street, Salem."³² Between 1837 and 1851 he is listed in the *Salem Directory* as "Stowers, Joseph, gilder, 296 Essex, h. 315 Essex," his brother Nathaniel listed also as having his business address of "chair painter" at 296 Essex, although his house was at 358 Essex Street. By 1851 Joseph had given up his business address, for although he is still described as "gilder" only his home address at 315 Essex is listed. Joseph died in Salem of consumption on December 21, 1851, at the age of fifty, and was buried in Chelsea.³³ No will nor inventory of his estate appears to exist, but the documents which do refer to him name Nathan Frye, probably a relative of his wife, as trustee.³⁴

Where Joseph and Nathaniel had their training has not as yet been ascertained, but they would probably have been in Salem at least for a short time before joining the Salem Light Infantry in 1824 and 1830 respectively; and Joseph, whose first advertisements in 1824 suggest that he was working independently at the age of twenty-three, must already have worked for several years.

The frame which sets off the needlework panel has already been mentioned above, the corners of the rectangular glass being blackened, with a gilded, stylized tulip-like flower in each corner. A contemporary decorator, Rufus Porter (1792-1884) describes in his *Select Collection of Valuable and Curious Arts* of 1825 exactly how to apply gold leaf to the glass, drawing on it with Brunswick blacking, and then covering the whole with blacking, "while the gold figures will appear to advantage on the opposite side of the glass." He adds that this work may be "elegantly shaded by scratching through the gold with a small steel instrument." The Brunswick blacking itself he made of gum asphaltum and turpentine, melted, mixed, and strained through flannel, and he considered it "probably the most perfect black in nature." However, he adds that oil paints may be used in place of Brunswick

32. Now Essex Street between Washington and North Streets. See end map, James Duncan Phillips, *Salem in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston and New York, 1937).

33. Office of the City Clerk, Salem, certificate no. 449, VI, 89.

34. Essex County Registry of Probate, 54562.

blacking, "but will not dry so quick."³⁵ Only more expert technical knowledge than the writer's could determine whether Joseph Stowers' blacking resembles that described by Rufus Porter in composition; but its effect has a velvety richness, contrasting with the black-detailed gilded floral forms.

Exactly when Stowers framed the embroidery is not known, but it was probably during the 1820's and not long after the embroidery itself had been completed following Sarah Ingalls' death in 1816. Many other questions still remain unanswered; who actually did the embroidery work, and where, has not been determined. If it was made at school, might it have been at Franklin Academy or Bradford near Andover, or farther away, perhaps in Salem or even in Boston? We wonder who decided to have it framed by Joseph Stowers in Salem.

Perhaps in time some of these questions may be answered, and in the meantime we may enjoy this memorial embroidery as an attractive example of needlework typical of its period, in its original, and very suitable, frame. It suggests its time, the second and third decades of the nineteenth century, as well as its locale, the north parish of Andover. It is connected with a truly Essex County family, for by the time the embroidery was made the Ingalls family had been in Andover for seven generations. And the craftsman Joseph Stowers, who came from Chelsea to become an Essex County resident, worked in Salem for a period of twenty-five years. Essex Institute has indeed been fortunate in acquiring this example of local needlework which, aside from its aesthetic and technical qualities, is so rich in its associations with two important Essex County communities, and so distinctively reveals the craftsmanship and customs of its age.

35. Esther Stevens Brazer, *Early American Decoration* (Springfield, 1940). Rufus Porter's methods quoted pp. 258, 261.



Fig. 1. Embroidered picture in memory of Sarah B. Ingalls, who died in the north parish of Andover, Mass., in 1816.



Fig. 2. Lithograph, "CASTINE: From Hospital Island, 1855,
Published by Joseph L. Stevens, Jr. F. H. Lane del.;
L. H. Bradford & Co's. Lith."
Courtesy of the Old Print Shop.

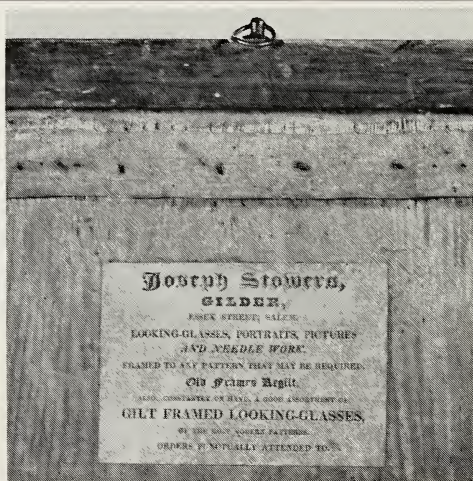


Fig. 3. Label of Joseph Stowers, Salem
gilder, on back of frame of em-
broidered picture (fig. 1).

FITZ HUGH LANE:

Visits to the Maine Coast, 1848-1855

By FREDERIC ALAN SHARF

EVERY ACCOUNT OF FITZ HUGH LANE has emphasized this artist's crippling disease. It is interesting to discover that despite his handicap Lane developed into a prodigious traveler. From 1835 until well into the late 1840's, he made frequent trips from Boston to Gloucester, as well as detailed trips in and around Cape Ann. By the late 1840's, he seems to have become strong enough to undertake a trip down the east coast. Lithographs and paintings of such diverse places as Norwich, Connecticut, New York City, the Jersey Coast, Baltimore, and Puerto Rico provide documentary evidence of such a trip.

Apparently, the effects of his illness were no longer as restricting as has always been believed. Certainly, his many trips along the Maine coast indicate not only the desire to travel, but the ability to do so. It is interesting to focus on these trips, both for the light they shed on his artistic interests, and because they reveal new aspects of the artist's personal life—particularly his friendship with Joseph L. Stevens, Junior.¹

It is inconceivable to think of Lane's trips to Maine without first considering Stevens, for he was Lane's closest friend and constant companion, and it was as the guest of Stevens' parents that Lane made the trips. Stevens came of an old Gloucester family, though his father had settled in Castine, Maine in 1819 as the town physician. While pursuing his medical career, the elder Stevens immersed himself in the life of the town. He was instrumental in establishing public education in Castine, in founding a town library, and he was active in popular movements for public health and temperance. His son settled in Gloucester, and although he assumed the practical responsibility of the family drygoods business, he inherited his father's breadth of intellectual and cultural interests.

1. The basic sources used in the preparation of this article were George A. Wheeler, *History of Castine* (Bangor, 1875); *Gloucester Daily Telegraph*, 1846-1859; and notes made by Joseph L. Stevens, Junior in the margins of the Lane drawings at the Cape Ann Scientific, Literary, and Historical Association. In addition to consulting standard works on the history of Maine, the author spent a week in Maine retracing Lane's travels in that state.

Joseph L. Stevens, Junior was involved in a wide variety of activities in Gloucester. He was the local secretary of both the American Art Union and the Western Art Union. He was one of the leaders of the Lyceum Movement in Gloucester. With the development of the great debate over the extension of slavery into Kansas and Nebraska, Stevens became an active participant in the cause of Free Soil. In 1853, he was a candidate to the Massachusetts Free Soil State Convention. He became so involved that in the summer of 1854 he sold the family store, and in March, 1855 Stevens departed for Kansas to see for himself what was going on.

An important part of Stevens' boundless energy was devoted to historical research. Following his trip to Kansas, Stevens spent the summer of 1855 in Castine recording the reminiscences of an early settler, and preparing a written history of the town. Certain clues to the town's early history were gained from a collection of ancient coins excavated near the town. Stevens preserved this collection of coins for posterity, later giving it to the Maine Historical Society.

Such a man as Stevens must surely have been out of step with the tenor of Gloucester life, where commercial matters occupied the attention of most citizens. Since Lane began to spend most of his time in Gloucester in the later 1840's, it was natural, from both men's point of view, that a close friendship should develop. Stevens became a close collaborator in Lane's artistic efforts. He rowed Lane around the harbor, and sailed with him along the coast from Beverly to Rockport. When Stevens returned home in the summer to visit his family in Castine, Lane went with him. At Castine, Stevens arranged trips for Lane to all the scenic spots in the Penobscot Bay and Mount Desert area. On Lane's death, Stevens was the executor of his estate, and it is to Stevens that we are indebted for the preservation of the Lane drawings now in the Cape Ann Scientific, Literary, and Historical Association, all carefully annotated by Stevens himself.

Unquestionably, the scope of Stevens' interests influenced Lane's intellectual development. After he moved back to Gloucester in 1849 to make it his permanent home, Lane interested himself in various aspects of Gloucester life. He was a director of the Lyceum for many years, and frequently contributed his artistic

talents to raise money for this worthy cause. Lane allowed his paintings to be exhibited from time to time at fairs to raise money for such projects as the library at the Female High School. Occasionally, he used his artistic ability for uninspiring tasks—a banner for the Beverly Temperance Society, or sketches of old Gloucester houses to be used as illustrations in Babson's town history.

Nothing so clearly reflects the influence of Stevens as the conscious role of town historian which Lane began to assume. His paintings recorded the town's changing face: decaying monuments such as the Old Fort, and types of trading vessels that were fast disappearing from the harbor as the town's maritime business slipped. This was a pictorial counterpart for Gloucester of Stevens' Castine writings.

Lane and Stevens probably traveled to Maine together in the summer of 1848. The evidence for such a journey consists of two Lane paintings, "Twilight on the Kennebec" and "View on the Penobscot," purchased by the American Art Union in 1849 for distribution to its members. Both of these paintings must have resulted from a trip to Maine, a trip which gave Lane his first taste of the scenic beauties he was to find so congenial.

The first documented trip was made in September, 1850. Lane and Stevens apparently journeyed directly to Castine. It would have been necessary to travel by train from Gloucester to Salem, then on to Portland, Maine. At Portland, they would board a steamer bound for Rockland and Bangor. Since no boat sailed directly to Castine, it was necessary to take the Bangor steamer as far as Belfast, then cross the Penobscot on a smaller vessel.

At Castine, Lane stayed with the Stevens family. Their home stood on a ridge of land, with a magnificent view over the sloping fields to the shore and bay beyond. From this spot, Lane could see the commercial activity in the harbor, as well as the numerous trading vessels which dotted Penobscot Bay. The town was experiencing a last surge of prosperity in servicing the shipbuilding industry then at its peak along the coast from Rockland to Belfast.

In addition to the maritime activity which Lane would have witnessed in the town itself, the entire Penobscot Bay area was alive with ships. This area was a center for quarrying lime, granite,

ice and brick clay. All were transported by sea, making a colorful proliferation of ships plying the waters south to Portland and Boston. The most numerous and distinctive craft of all were the lumber loaded vessels which descended the Penobscot River from the Bangor area, sailing in long lines past the Camden Mountains southward to Boston, New York, Florida and the Indies.

Lane was fascinated by the entire area. From Castine, he made daily excursions into the surrounding countryside with Stevens, accompanied on at least one occasion by the elder Stevens. They climbed to the tops of neighboring hills to look out over the many coves, islands and necks of land. From such vantage points, intriguing patterns unfolded before Lane's eye, as pieces of landscape were juxtaposed in a way not seen from the ground level. On the western horizon, the Camden Mountains dominated the background; to the east, Blue Hill captured Lane's attention.

Farther to the east, beyond the eye's reach, lay the island of Mount Desert. Stories of its unique beauties had already filtered back to Lane and Stevens: the rugged, picturesque mountains; the fine harbors; the quiet bays and sounds. Such reports prompted Stevens to organize a party of local men to accompany him and Lane on a visit to the island. A sturdy boat was hired, with a reputable pilot. Sailing from Castine, Lane's party cruised through Eggmoggin Reach, a channel cutting through a neck of land, where their progress was slowed by "baffling winds and calms." At Naskeag, the channel's end, they decided to pitch their tents in the field of a local farmer, borrowing some of his hay to make their accommodations more comfortable for the night. In the morning, they were greeted amiably by the farmer, who thought they were a party of fishermen.

The sail across the open bay to Mount Desert proved an exciting event. "It is a grand sight," said Stevens, "approaching Mt. Desert from the westward, to behold the mountains gradually open upon the view." They headed for Southwest Harbor, a spot that Lane would paint many times. Without stopping, they cruised slowly up Somes Sound as the afternoon was growing late. Lane was seated in the rear of the boat sketching. According to Stevens, "the reality exceeded the expectations," and the entire party found themselves "engrossed in the grandness of the

scenery." They pitched their camp at Bar Island off the settlement at Somesville.²

The encampment at Bar Island served as the base of operations while they explored Mount Desert. Lane's party spent time at Somesville talking with the local residents. On one occasion, they attempted to climb one of the surrounding mountains, "a long and laborious scramble up among rocks and fallen trees," only to be stopped by a violent thunder and lightning storm which forced them to take cover on the mountain, and ultimately give up the climb. Such an experience did not dampen Lane's constant urge to seek higher vantage points.

Lane was by no means the first artist to delight in the scenic beauties of Mount Desert, nor was he the only artist sketching on the island in September of 1850. Stevens commented that Benjamin Champney and John Kensett were both sketching on another part of the island, and he knew of other important artists who had just left. Possessed of adventurous spirits, these artists were pioneers in discovering the indigenous beauties of American scenery, as they ventured to remote spots in their search for fresh material. Lane, too, in spite of his physical handicap, had the explorer's instinct.

The 1850 trip had acquainted Lane with Mount Desert, the northern boundary of Penobscot Bay. The next year, Lane and Stevens came to Castine in August. Once again, Lane explored the countryside around Castine, finding new aspects of familiar sights. With Stevens, he visited Fort Treble at the tip of the Castine peninsula. Here Stevens could dwell on the historical connotations, while Lane sketched Castine from a new angle. With Stevens, Lane went over to get a closer look at Blue Hill, anchoring in the little harbor at the foot of the town, and climbing a nearby hill for a panoramic view of the town. But most important, the 1851 trip exposed Lane to the charm of the Maine coast around Rockland, particularly the point of land known as Owls Head, at the southern boundary of Penobscot Bay.

Lane apparently discovered Owls Head while on board the steamer coming from Portland. The route into Rockland runs up a channel shortcut passing between Munroe's Island and Owls

2. Stevens' description of the 1850 trip printed in *Gloucester Daily Telegraph*, September 11, 1850.

Head. Steaming up this channel, Lane was struck by the shapes of the two humps of land at Owls Head. They appeared conical when seen from an angle, changing as the boat moved closer, flattening out as the boat came opposite, and turned conical again as the boat rounded the bend into Rockland harbor. Sketches of the changing shapes, made as the steamer passed through the channel, attest to Lane's method of patient observation. Lane was a student of landscape, and the Maine coast provided aspects of landscape which particularly appealed to his keen eye.

August of 1852 found Lane and Stevens in Castine preparing for new explorations of Penobscot Bay. Stevens arranged a party of local men and hired a single masted sloop with the same pilot who had gone with them in 1850. As before, they set off down the Eggemoggin Reach, spending the first night in a cove along the way. The next day, emerging from the Reach, Lane's party rounded the Stonington Peninsula and headed south toward Isle Au Haut. They landed at Saddleback, off Isle Au Haut, where they anchored in a quiet inlet and spent the night.

At Saddleback, Lane had a chance to sketch Penobscot Bay from still another angle, with familiar landmarks like the Camden Mountains, Long Island, and Cape Rosier dotting the horizon in a new order. At the same time, he had an opportunity to acquaint himself with the life of the islanders, their loneliness, and their dependence on the numerous coasting vessels which came stocked with all sorts of merchandise. In the evening, the group listened to tales of the Bay told by their venerable pilot, everything from local legend to the names of the many small islands. One can sense the influence of Stevens' tastes: his love of history and his desire to know more about the way different people lived.

From Isle Au Haut, the travelers cruised northeast to Southwest Harbor on Mount Desert Island. Here the sloop anchored at the western side of the harbor, to give Lane a view across the bay, with the entrance to Somes Sound on the right, and the mountains next to the entrance forming a prominent backdrop for the sweep of the harbor. It is evident that the planning for these trips took Lane's artistic desires into consideration. For in choosing spots to anchor, they were careful to locate where Lane would be able to get interesting views.

The island cruise lasted one week. The party of six camped in

a tent and lived on basic supplies which they had brought with them, supplemented by the fish they caught. In addition to Lane, Stevens, and the pilot, three of Stevens' Castine friends rounded out the group. Two of these, Samuel Adams Jr. and William H. Witherle, were engaged in family enterprises in Castine. Their fathers, too, were public-spirited citizens, and they had inherited a breadth of interests similar to Stevens. According to Stevens, the group was a convivial one. Certainly, they must have been sympathetic as well as stimulating companions for Lane. The type of trip they arranged for him provided Lane with a wealth of background for his art. He came to know personally the material he sketched (and later painted), not merely geographically, but also historically. He knew the inhabitants and he knew the ships. This intimate knowledge enabled him to probe beneath the mere pictorial aspects of the scenes, and to create pictures that have a lasting significance.

According to the evidence provided by the Gloucester drawings, Lane next visited Castine in September of 1855. There is every reason to believe, however, that Lane was in Castine during at least one of the two intervening summers. In a letter written to the *Boston Courier* by a Castine correspondent in September, 1855, it is noted that "Mr. F. H. Lane of Gloucester . . . visits here nearly every summer . . .," which indicates a continuity in Lane's visits. It further implies that Castine considered Lane a regular member of its summer colony, and that Lane might have had a summer studio here. Certainly, the well documented trip made in 1855 marks the high point in Lane's Maine career.

Stevens apparently arrived in Castine in July, 1855 and spent the balance of the summer engaged in historical research. Beginning on August 1st, the *Gloucester Telegraph* carried a series of letters written by Stevens embodying the fruits of his research. "Few places in New England," wrote Stevens, "are of greater historical interest than this ancient peninsula of Magedbigyduce. . . . holding on its southern slope the picturesque village of Castine." Stevens' letters describe the town's history period by period: The Indian period, followed by the French, then the pre-Revolutionary. Further letters deal with the Revolutionary years, and continue the narrative down to Stevens' own time. These letters, so

scholarly, so thorough, were the basis for later histories of the town, and are a tribute to Stevens' intellect.

Lane did not come to Castine until September. Apparently, he made the journey from Gloucester in the company of Joseph S. Hooper, a young man of 28, who had moved from Manchester to Gloucester, and who would soon settle in Dubuque, Iowa. His presence on the trip and his friendship with Lane remain a mystery. It seems that Lane and Hooper met Stevens in Rockland. There, Stevens had arranged to hire a sailboat, in which Lane could explore certain scenic spots that he had seen many times from the deck of a passing steamboat. This excursion lasted two days.

The first day was devoted entirely to a detailed study of the scenery around Owls Head. Lane's first sketch was a view of Owls Head seen on the approach from Rockland Harbor, made, according to Stevens, "in the early forenoon of a beautiful day."³ They then sailed around to Munroe's Island, where Lane made a series of studies of Owls Head from various points on the island. At the northern tip of the island, he got a close look at the lighthouse standing on its pinnacle of land. The conical aspect of the land formation was most pronounced. A second sketch, made farther down the island, shows a more rolling landscape, while in a third sketch from the southern part of Munroe's Island, Owls Head, with a length of coastline, is seen from a distance. Lane was almost scientific in his method of studying all aspects of a scenic view that intrigued him.

Lane's party probably spent the night in Rockland. They set out the next morning for Camden. The Camden Mountains, because of their isolation and their steep rise directly from the shoreline, are the most distinctive feature of the landscape on the Penobscot Bay coast from Rockland to Castine. In Lane's drawings, they are an ever present background for almost any westerly looking view in the Penobscot Bay, whether taken from Castine or Isle Au Haut. In keeping with his methodical approach to scenery which appealed to his selective taste, the curious and adventurous Lane now wanted to study the Camden Mountains at close range.

The sketches made on the second day's excursion began with

3. Note made by Stevens on Drawing No. 11, dated September, 1855, at the Cape Ann Scientific, Literary, and Historical Association.

a view of the mountains from the southwest, showing the village of Rockport in the foreground. Further sketches were made on approaching Camden Harbor, from Negro Island in the harbor, and from the southern entrance to the harbor as they sailed back to Rockland. As usual, Lane insisted on viewing his subject from a variety of angles, and the excursion was planned around his artistic requirements. A final sketch of the Camden Mountains was made the next day from the deck of the steamer en route to Castine.

The two-day sailing excursion around Rockland was not the only traveling Lane did during his 1855 trip. Lane was now at the height of his artistic powers, and his appetite for sketching seemed bigger than ever that year. From Castine, he journeyed with Stevens and Hooper to Mount Desert. Here he did some sketching around Southwest Harbor, Some Sound, and Northeast Harbor. Though familiar with this scenery from his previous trips, Lane did manage to discover new views, such as his sketches of Bear Island from various angles.

These side trips were of immense artistic importance to Lane, but the major project of the 1855 trip was the preparation of a large lithographic view of the town of Castine. Lane was commissioned by Stevens to undertake such a work, and the fine print which resulted, "Castine From Hospital Island," (Fig. 2) was published by Stevens. This venture could only have been motivated by love. The precarious fortunes of Castine would not have made such a print financially attractive to any of the Boston or New York lithographic firms which specialized in town views.

Lane's familiarity with Castine simplified the task. Yet, a sketch of the town from the heights east of Negro Island indicates the further care with which Lane studied the terrain. This sketch is also indicative of Lane's continuing urge to climb to high places for panoramic views. Castine was not an easy subject. Not only is the town spread out along the length of the peninsula, but in the heart of the town there are no prominent landmarks to catch the eye.

Lane mastered these problems with great skill. He managed to convey the diffused character of the town's layout, while concentrating attention on the central area, with its piers and boats in the harbor. Attention is focused by means of an oval design em-

bracing the rocky foreground, with the arresting figure of a man holding a pole; the boats in the harbor, at either side of the oval; and the town massed behind. This design transformed what might have been an uninteresting view of an uninteresting town into a skillful work of art. If for nothing else, this lithograph would have marked the 1855 trip as a key event in Lane's artistic life.

The 1855 trip was the culmination of Lane's Maine visits. In this one trip, he consolidated the knowledge gained on previous visits of the three areas of Penobscot Bay: the landscape around Rockland, Castine and Mount Desert had now become an integral part of his artistic experience. This trip also marked a fulfillment of his friendship with Stevens, for the Castine lithograph merged Lane's artistic skills with Stevens' attachment to the town of Castine. Lane was now at the height of his career. The trips to Maine had been instrumental in shaping his development both personally and artistically.

CHURCH POLITICS IN MARBLEHEAD, 1715

By THOMAS C. BARROW

THE GRADUAL TRANSFORMATION of the Massachusetts Bay Colony from a staunch citadel of puritan orthodoxy into a more liberal and tolerant religious community is a difficult process to trace historically. As in the case of so many intellectual movements, the alterations in the thought and habits of the citizens of the colony appear only indirectly in the records of the period. The Half-Way Covenant of 1662, which partially liberalized the membership requirements in the Puritan Church, was one indication of the metamorphosis. The activities of Benjamin Colman and his associates in the Brattle Street Church around 1700 were another. From the other side, the writings of the conservative leader, Cotton Mather, give evidence of his increasing anger and desperation in the face of the growing spirit of religious toleration and indifference to the old ways. But concrete documentary evidence of the transformation is difficult to find—and consequently of great value when it is discovered.

Reproduced below is an unusual document recently rediscovered in the manuscript holdings of the Essex Institute. In form it is a notarized copy of an agreement drawn up in 1715 between the established Congregational or Puritan Church in Marblehead and the newly-founded Church of England parish there. The remarkable feature of this document is the arrangement made for the sharing of revenues between the two churches. Even today such an agreement would be unusual; in eighteenth-century Massachusetts it was unique. The explanation of the existence—and the fate—of this document helps to illuminate a dark corner of the history of the Bay Colony.

In its original form regarding capitalization, punctuation, and spelling, but with certain abbreviations and contractions expanded for clarity, the document reads as follows:

Articles of Agreement made & Concluded on in & Between Capt Nathl Norden Esquire Mr John Dixey & Sundry Other Members of the Old Church of one part. And Capt. John Calley, Capt James Calley & Mr. George Jackson with Sundry other Members of the Church of England now Erected in Marblehead—On the Other part Vizt.—

1. We Mutually Agree for the Settling a Sutable Sallary on the reverand Mr. John Barnard for his Comfortable Support and Maintenance he being the Lawfully Chosen Minister of the Old Church & Accepting of the same.
2. It is Agread that what Money Shall be Raised for the Support of the Ministry in this Towne that two thirds Shall be for the Support of the Ministry of ye Old Church and the Other 3d part to the Support of the Church of England in said Towne as Long as there shall be Two Ministers at said Old Church.
3. It is Agread that what money shall be Raised in this Towne for the Old Church, the Church of England & the School, & All other necessary Charges Shall be Raised as formerly.
4. It is agreed that what Charges Shall arise in Maintaining the Rights & previledges of the Old Church or Church of England, against Any party that shall make any Disturbance or Divisions in ye Towne for Destroying of our peace, that we will Bare Our Equal proportion.
5. Its further Agread that if the Subscribers of the new Meeting House Draw off, or are Sett off, So that they do not Bare their proportion in paying the Ministers of the Old Church & the Church of England that these Articles Shall be void & of no Effect.
6. & Lastly, We Mutually Agree that Both the Old Church & Church of England Shall Stand by One Another In Defending Each Others Rights & previledges.
By Gods Assistance Marblehead Sept 24 1715— Nathl Norden, John Dixey, John White, Azor Gale—
A True Copy Examined [by] Nathan Bowen Notary Public.¹

The church of England parish referred to in the document was only the third such erected in Massachusetts, the fourth in all New England. King's Chapel had been forced on the people of Boston in 1687 during the difficult years of the Dominion of New England. In Newbury, as a result of a bitter fight within the Puritan Church there and the timely suggestions of an English official, certain members of the Congregational parish had drawn off and established an Episcopalian church in 1711.² The creation

1. Essex Institute, Miscellaneous Valuable Papers (FP 2), p. 21.

2. Henry W. Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel* (Boston, 1882-1896), I, 252-55, 447. Susan M. Reed, *Church and State in Massachusetts*, 1691-

of the Marblehead parish would seem to have been the personal achievement of Sir Francis Nicholson who, visiting New England in 1713, combined in his person, along with various military and governmental duties entrusted to him by the English government, the role of agent for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.³ That Society, in the absence of a formal administrative organ for the Anglican Church in the colonies, sought to stimulate the growth of the Church, providing ministers and offering financial aid. Under Nicholson's influence a group in Marblehead undertook to construct a church and petitioned the Society for a clergyman. The church building was completed in 1714, and William Shaw was sent from England to minister to the new parish.⁴ Eventually the church took the name of St. Michael's, which it still bears today. The surviving records show forty original "subscribers" or members listed for the church, along with some thirty-four benefactors who contributed financial aid.⁵ It is suggestive that of the thirty-four benefactors twenty-nine were sea captains, indicating that Nicholson's success was largely based on the town's trading elements, who, as a group, were most receptive to outside influences.⁶

1740 (Urbana, 1914), pp. 161-62. The royal surveyor of the woods, then in New England, astutely suggested to the minority group in the divided Puritan church that they could square accounts with their opponents and at the same time avoid contributing financially to the established Congregational church by joining the Church of England.

3. Nicholson's commission as agent for the S.P.G.F.P. appears in Foote, *Annals*, I, 216-17.

4. As St. Michael's is today the oldest standing Episcopalian church in Massachusetts, the description of its original form is particularly valuable. See William S. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (n.p., 1870-73), III, 113-14. The history of the later architectural changes will be found in George F. Marlowe, *Churches of Old New England* (New York, 1947), pp. 188-90.

5. Samuel Roads, "Historical Address," *St. Michael's Church Order of Exercises Commemorating its Renovation April 18, 1888* (Marblehead, 1902), pp. 19-22. Roads prints both lists in full, but he was mistaken in thinking that the existence of the two lists supports an earlier date for the founding of the parish, as the distinction between the lists is clearly that of subscribing members and non-members who gave financial aid.

6. Marblehead at this time had very little locally controlled trade of its own and consequently probably saw many 'outsiders' in its harbor. Few of the twenty-nine captains, for example, are found to have had permanent connections with the town. And John Barnard, as a newcomer to the town in 1714, observed that the town did not possess one foreign trading vessel of its own and that the people were content to "be the slaves that digged in the mines, and left the merchants of Boston, Salem, and Europe, to carry away the gains" See John Barnard, "Autobiography," Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 3rd series, V (Boston, 1836), 240.

The part played in the above agreement by the members of St. Michael's is not open to serious question, as it was obviously wise for the new parish to attempt to reach an accord with the established Congregational church. What is more difficult to explain is why the Congregational parish, entitled by law to claim support from all residents, should voluntarily cede part of its revenues to an upstart rival (article two). Certain of the provisions, indeed, sound oddly like a mutual defense pact, as St. Michael's and the "Old Church" pledge unity against any party disturbing the peace (article four) and promise to defend each other's rights (article six).

The key to this peculiar agreement centers on the person of John Barnard, described in article one as the "Lawfully Chosen Minister of the Old Church." Barnard was a Harvard graduate (class of 1700) and had originally been a protégé of the Mathers, leaders of the staunchly conservative elements in the Puritan Church. As reflected in his autobiography, Barnard was an active and possibly self-indulgent man with a penchant for the "good life" and the ways of polite society. Card playing on a military expedition, for example, brought about a public censure of him by the Mather faction.⁷ The astute leader of the liberal Brattle Street group, Benjamin Colman, worked his wiles on Barnard with such success that Barnard later could write that Colman "became a kind father, and intimate and fast friend to me as long as he lived."⁸ Finally a voyage to England, during which he made the acquaintance of learned and likeable clerics of the Anglican faith, completed the move away from the Mathers and made of Barnard a man who, in his own words, although "bred a Dissenter . . . had read all I could meet with on both sides of the controversy, and was settled in my own judgment, but was no bigot . . ."⁹

Barnard, with his new liberal connections, seems to have had difficulty finding a parish until, at the very moment the Church of England was obtaining a foothold in Marblehead, the aged parson of the Congregational church there required an assistant.

7. John L. Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University* (Cambridge, 1873-1960), IV, 504-05.

8. Barnard, "Autobiography," p. 189.

9. Barnard, "Autobiography," pp. 197, 206, 207. For Barnard the differences between the two faiths became mainly one of form, as represented by the loose Congregational organization as opposed to the hierarchically controlled Anglican Church.

According to Barnard, various men were examined for the post and he was chosen. A considerable minority of the parish, however, preferred another candidate, Edward Holyoke. Barnard reported that, feeling the town was able to support two meeting houses, he suggested a new "house" be set up and that both he and Holyoke go to Marblehead, in this way avoiding the "disadvantages of strife and contention."¹⁰

The new house constructed for Holyoke is the "new Meeting House" referred to in article five. It became the Second Congregational Church of Marblehead. In Barnard's account the division is amicable and due merely to a personal preference for one man over the other. However, there is good reason to question this story. It is reported, for example, that Barnard's "Old" parish protested vigorously and refused to attend the ceremony when Edward Holyoke was ordained in the new meeting house.¹¹ And article five above hinges the fulfillment of its provisions on the contingency of cooperation by the new "House," suggesting that there lay the source of trouble and the "enemy" against whom the mutual defense articles were aimed.

The truth would seem to be that the division in the Congregational church arose from an opposition to Barnard's liberal ways, and possibly because of his willingness to tolerate, and even cooperate with, the introduction of an Anglican parish in the town. That such was Barnard's attitude is shown by the appearance of his name on the list of benefactors to St. Michael's as the personal donor of £3. With the known liberal minister making personal gifts to the struggling Anglican church, while at the same time his parish entered into cooperative, revenue-sharing agreements, it is evident that the split in Marblehead's Congregational church was connected with the coming of the Church of England. Final confirmation of this supposition is found in the testimony of William Shaw, first rector of St. Michael's. Writing home to England to complain of his many difficulties and ordeals, Shaw angrily reported that the new Second Congregational Church had been erected in "Damnable spite and Malice against our Ch[urch]."¹²

10. Barnard, "Autobiography," pp. 217-18.

11. Stephen P. Hathaway, *The Second Congregational Church in Marblehead* (n.p., 1885), p. 4. Holyoke later left Marblehead to assume the post of president of Harvard College.

12. Perry, *Historical Collections*, III, 117.

He had good reason for his bitterness, as the Second Church did "Draw off" and led the opposition to the Anglican parish. Shaw was so discouraged by his problems that he returned to England before three years were out, his place being taken eventually by David Mossom.¹³

The refusal of the Second Congregational Church to cooperate in the arrangement drawn up between Barnard's followers and the members of St. Michael's parish invalidated the agreement printed above, as provided for in article five. Obviously, although Barnard's congregation was willing to aid the new Anglican church, they had no desire to carry the burden alone and so had inserted the proviso that if the Second Church did "not Bare their proportion in paying the Ministers of the Old Church & the Church of England," then the "Articles Shall be void & of no effect." The opposition of the Second Church, and the consequent collapse of the peaceful solution to the problems raised by the coming of the Church of England to Marblehead had serious results for the Anglican parish. From 1715 until 1742 the members of St. Michael's attempted desperately to obtain that equality of treatment outlined in the original agreement made with Barnard's followers. Instead they found themselves taxed for the support of the Congregational churches and had difficulty in providing for their own, leaving their ministers to complain at times that their only financial support came from visiting "strangers."¹⁴ Twice between 1717 and 1722 the governor came to the aid of St. Michael's, ordering the town to stop taxing its members, but twice the town ignored the governor.¹⁵ Partial concessions were gained along the way, but it was not until 1742 that the Anglicans obtained complete and perpetual exemption from such taxes, the last of the major denominations in the colony to achieve this legal toleration.

Despite the fact that, because of the opposition of the Second Church, the agreement printed above never became effective, the document in the Essex Institute is still of great interest, highlighting as it does both the forces working for alterations within the Puritan Commonwealth and those resisting the changes. The

13. Mossom stayed in Marblehead until 1727, when he removed to Virginia and achieved some historical note by officiating at the marriage of Martha Custis to George Washington.

14. Perry, *Historical Collections*, III, 150.

15. Perry, *Historical Collections*, III, 126-27, 134-35; Reed, *Church and State*, pp. 169-70.

growth of trade and the increasing involvement of New England in far-flung commercial enterprises tended to break down some of the provincialism of the past. The establishment of the Church of England in Marblehead owed much to the presence of outsiders in that town, sea captains and others brought to these shores by the currents of trade and the imperial programs of Great Britain. In turn, many in Massachusetts, such as John Barnard himself and those who followed his lead, through contact with the outside world—and particularly with England itself—learned to appreciate both the wisdom and the desirability of greater religious toleration. But others, those who withdrew to form the Second Church, clung to the old ways and refused to grant concessions to the intruders. In Marblehead, in 1715, the latter group was strong enough to decide the issue to their satisfaction, and instead of a friendly reception the new Anglican church was met with open hostility.

St. Michael's parish, however, did survive. Eventually it was joined by other Anglican churches; and finally with the help of those in Massachusetts who, like Barnard, were willing to discard the rigid policies of the past, the legal restrictions were removed and peace was secured. Abortive though it was, the agreement signed in 1715 between the Anglicans and the followers of John Barnard was a signpost of future events and, at the very least, its existence records one early and admirable attempt to achieve that most desirable of goals—toleration and cooperation among all the various religious denominations.

Special Offer

REDUCTION OF PRICES ON INDICES TO ESSEX INSTITUTE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

A limited number of the general indices to the *Historical Collections* is available until *December 1, 1962* at the following prices:

Index, Vols. 1-22 (1859-1885), 539 pp. \$15.00
(formerly \$20.00)

Index, Vols. 23-43 (1886-1907), 624 pp. \$15.00
(formerly \$25.00)

Index, Vols. 68-85 (1931-1949), 343 pp. \$15.00

Set of the three above indices \$40.00
(formerly \$60.00)

Individuals and smaller libraries can now take advantage of this opportunity of obtaining these indices at the above reduced prices. Both the time and quantity are limited, however, so we suggest that orders be placed promptly.

ORDER FORM

Essex Institute
Salem, Massachusetts

Please send the following indices to the
Historical Collections

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Vols. 1-22 | \$15.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Vols. 23-43 | \$15.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Vols. 68-85 | \$15.00 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Set of three, listed above, | \$40.00 |

Name: _____

Address: _____

City, State: _____

ESSEX INSTITUTE

Historical Collections



JULY 1962

- A PARISH IS FORMED, THE PRECINCT OF SALEM AND
BEVERLY
By Robert W. Lovett 129
- ESSEX COUNTY TRADE CARDS
By Mary Means Huber 154
- A SALEM MERCHANT AT CAPE PALMAS, LIBERIA
By George E. Brooks, Jr. 161
- THE LYNN NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY
By Ralph W. Dexter 175
-

ANNUAL REPORT

1961 - 1962

ISSUED QUARTERLY BY THE ESSEX INSTITUTE
Salem, Massachusetts

Essex Institute Historical Collections

Board of Editors

ROBERT G. ALBION

BENJAMIN W. LABAREE

LYMAN H. BUTTERFIELD

NORMAN HOLMES PEARSON

DOUGLAS S. BYERS

KATHARINE S. THOMPSON

ABBOTT L. CUMMINGS

DEAN A. FALES, JR., *Managing Editor*

Library and Publications Committee

W. HAMMOND BOWDEN, *Chairman*

CHARLES H. P. COPELAND

BENJAMIN W. LABAREE

ERNEST S. DODGE

STEPHEN PHILLIPS

RALF P. EMERSON

ROLLO G. SILVER

CHARLES S. TAPLEY

Essex Institute *Historical Collections* is published in January, April, July and October at a yearly rate of \$5.00. Manuscripts and correspondence should be sent to the Managing Editor, Dean A. Fales, Jr., the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts.

Copyright, 1962, by the Essex Institute, 132-134 Essex Street, Salem, Massachusetts. Entered at the Post Office in Salem, as second class matter, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Second class postage paid at Salem, Mass.

Essex Institute Historical Collections

Issued Quarterly

VOL. XCVIII

JULY, 1962

NO. 3

A PARISH IS FORMED,
THE PRECINCT OF SALEM AND BEVERLY, 1713-1753

By ROBERT W. LOVETT

THE SECOND CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF BEVERLY is two hundred and fifty years old in 1963; this is the story of its first forty years, from 1713 to 1753. Beginnings are always interesting, in this case made more significant by the struggles of the founders to maintain a church in a rural community during a time of rapidly depreciating currency. By 1753 the Church was well established (so well that it was making improvements on its building), and the first generation of workers was passing from the scene. Furthermore, in that year the Ryal Side portion of the Precinct of Salem and Beverly (the legal name for the Parish at that time) was taken from Salem and made a part of Beverly. Although this did not affect the fortunes of the Church for some time to come, it is something of a benchmark.

The highlights in the history of the Church have been well known since Edwin M. Stone, its pastor and historian of Beverly, published his sermon in 1835.¹ He naturally emphasized the ecclesiastical aspects, the Covenant, and the leadership of the minister. I propose to consider the early years from the point of view of administration; or, to put it differently, from that of the residents acting as a Precinct rather than as a Church. For it was the Precinct which was responsible for the property and the financial

1. Edwin M. Stone, *A Lecture Comprising the History of the Second Parish in Beverly* . . . July 6, 1834 (Mendon, 1835).

affairs of the Church. The Precinct records, like those of most New England town meetings, are an excellent source for a study of a community in action.² The raising of funds by taxation, the building and repair of the meeting house, the selection and support of the minister, and even the assignment of pews were all the responsibility of the Precinct. How one parish met these problems helps us to understand those of others similarly situated.

The impetus behind the setting up of the Precinct of Salem and Beverly was the familiar one of the spread of a settlement beyond a convenient distance from a central church. All three areas—what is now North Beverly, Ryal Side, and the eastern portion of Salem Village, now Danvers—were a considerable distance from the nearest churches. What is more, certain natural boundaries—Bass River and Brook in Beverly and Frost Fish River and Brook in Danvers—increased the sense of isolation. As early as the winter of 1711-1712 petitions were presented to the respective towns, and then to the Legislature. The petitioners were agreed that the best location for a church was on the Ipswich Road, near Horse Bridge over Bass River Brook, at the foot of what is now known as Cherry Hill. (As it turned out, the spot chosen, at the junction of the Ipswich and Topsfield Roads, was no more than two and a half miles from any part of the Precinct.) The town of Salem approved, but there was opposition from Beverly. Curiously, one of the persons selected to present the town's objection to the General Court, was Captain Joseph Herrick, who was apparently a petitioner for the very object which he was asked to oppose. A resident of what is now Cherry Hill, Herrick was joined in the petition to the General Court for a separate Precinct by Captain John Dodge, who lived near the head of Bass River, and Nathaniel Hayward, a resident of the Salem portion of the area.³ Persuaded

2. The first volume of Precinct records (1713-1753) is on deposit, with other records of the Church, in the Beverly Historical Society. However, it was printed, from copies made by Augustus A. Galloupe, in *The Historical Collections of the Danvers Historical Society*, 23-28 (1935-1940), 30-31 (1942-1943), 33 (1945), and 35 (1947).

3. Stone, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5. The spelling of surnames has been modernized. It may be helpful at this point to state in which part of the new Precinct the families most active in its affairs lived. Ryal Side and Salem families included Batchelder, Brown, Cressy, Green, Hayward, Herrick, Leach, and Rea; while Beverly families numbered Balch, Conant, Dodge, Raymond, Trask, and Woodberry; some had representatives in both parts. The Old Planter families, to whom lands in Beverly were set off in 1635, were Balch, Conant, Palfrey, Trask, and Woodberry. Raymond early ac-

by geography, the Council approved the petition on October 24, 1713, it already having passed the House. The Council stated that "they (the petitioners) are of Power & Ability to build a Meeting House for the publick worship of God & to Maintain & Support the Ministry."⁴ They further directed that Herrick, Hayward, and Jonathan Raymond, "three principal Inhabitants," should summon a meeting "to nominate Choose & Elect a Clerk Assessors & a Collector with other Officers proper & necessary to Direct & Order the Prudential Affairs of the said Precinct." For precincts were by then an old story, and provisions for their management were well worked out.

Messrs. Herrick, Hayward, and Raymond lost no time; the first meeting was held at the home of Captain John Dodge on November 13, 1713. The chief business was the choice of a committee of nine to acquire land and build a meeting house. Only officers necessary to the immediate business at hand were chosen: Hayward as Moderator, Raymond as Clerk, and Edward Raymond as Treasurer. The next meeting, held at the home of Jonathan Raymond on March 9, 1713/14, proved to be the first true annual meeting. Such regular meetings, for the election of officers and the raising of funds for the following year, were held thereafter in March, generally on the first Tuesday or Wednesday. For at that time (and until 1752) the new year began on March 25; and by then, the worst of the winter was past. During this period the meetings were held in the morning, or early afternoon, to take advantage of daylight; and, after the Meeting House was built, usually there. Those taking part in the affairs of the Precinct were the freemen and property owners. They were not necessarily members of the Church, though in time most of them did accept the Covenant and were admitted. Women were not accustomed to attend Precinct meetings; however, as we shall see, there is a tradition of an exception in one case here.

quired lands of Trask, and Dodge of Palfrey. Some discussion of the size of the community appears at the end of this paper, and in the section on taxation. For an account of this part of Beverly, including Ryal Side, in 1700, see articles by Sidney Perley in *E.I.H.C.*, (January and April 1919).

4. Court Records, 9, 329, Massachusetts Archives. In the decade 1710-1720 thirty-eight churches were gathered; see Joseph S. Clark, *A Historical Sketch of the Congregational Churches in Massachusetts from 1620 to 1858* (Boston, 1858).

The officers chosen at this first annual meeting were in accordance with the positions noted in the resolution of the General Court. The first point of business was choice of a Moderator, Captain Thomas Raymond. A new moderator was chosen at each meeting, unless it was an adjourned one. But the same men, generally the older, respected members of the community, filled this office on a number of occasions. Among those who served most often during this period were Joseph Herrick, Jonathan Raymond, Jonathan Dodge, John Balch, and John Conant.⁵ Voting for officers seems to have been by written ballot. At least at the meeting of March 2, 1726/27 there was a controversy over certain votes for Assessors "brought and laid on the table." It was not until 1777 that a hand vote was specified, and the meeting went back to proxies from time to time after that.

At this first annual meeting Jonathan Raymond, Sr. was continued as Clerk for the year ensuing. The Clerk was generally also a member of the three-man Assessors Committee, whose importance will be noted shortly. In accordance with a vote of December 31, 1714, it was made the Clerk's duty to call meetings, at the order of the Committee, by signing and posting a warrant on the Meeting House. Through 1753, ten persons served as Clerk; the two who served the longest (Josiah Batchelder, twelve years, and Joshua Dodge, thirteen) represented the Salem and Beverly portions respectively, and the others were about equally divided also. Lt. Edward Raymond was likewise continued as Treasurer by the annual meeting of 1713/14. The Treasurer was responsible for the monies turned over by the Collectors, and he paid out sums at the direction of the meeting or of the Parish Committee. Often the Committee did not settle a Treasurer's account until two or three years after he had left office. Records of payment to the Treasurer first appeared in 1737, when he was allowed one penny on the pound. Joseph Cressy was paid fourteen shillings in 1737 and eighteen in 1738; his was the longest period of service (six years) before 1752. In the latter half of the century, officers in general served for longer periods of time. Sometimes the same person served, in different years, as Treasurer, Clerk, or in some other capacity. The voters seem to have chosen

5. Lists of Moderators, Clerks, Treasurers, Assessors, and Collectors, to 1753, appear in Appendix A.

more Treasurers from the Beverly section than from the Salem part of the Precinct.

The next officers chosen at the first annual meeting were the Assessors: Jonathan Raymond (who was also Clerk), Ebenezer Woodberry, and Samuel Trask. It soon became evident that, in addition to assessing taxes, this committee was to look after the prudential affairs of the Precinct. For a time, the two duties were mentioned separately at the annual meeting, but it was always the same group to whom they were assigned. In some years, five persons were chosen for this task, but by 1721 the number reverted to three. However, for the next three years the Clerk and Treasurer may have been ex-officio members, but following 1724 there were only three, including the Clerk. Membership on this important committee generally fell to the active older persons, who had served the Precinct in other ways. A man might serve for a few years, drop out, and later be reelected. Among those who served most often were Josiah Batchelder, Sr., Lt. John Balch, John Brown, Daniel and John Conant, Andrew and Joshua Dodge, John Leach, Jonathan Raymond, and Samuel Trask.

The last officers chosen at the first annual meeting in 1714 were the Collectors: Jacob Griggs, for the Salem portion, and Stephen Herrick, for the Beverly part. The Collectors were generally young men, just starting out in the service of the Precinct. They were held strictly accountable, but, as with the Treasurer, their accounts were often not settled for several years. By 1732 there are records of payment for their services; at first, ten shillings a year, later (under the New Tenor) five shillings, and finally, two shillings eight pence. But it became increasingly difficult to obtain Collectors, and sometimes several persons would be designated before one would accept. Very seldom in this period did the same person serve as Collector twice.

Upon election the various officers were sworn in by a Justice of the Peace. If necessary for the completion of business, there would be adjourned meetings into April or May. By June the Parish Committee would have met in their capacity as Assessors to draw up the rates for the year. They generally met at the local tavern, and there are annual charges for these expenses.⁶ The lists

6. In 1720 Joseph Herrick, Treasurer, was paid £2-2-4; he lived in the former Jabez Baker house, diagonally across from the Church. Then for a few years payments were to Charles Johnson, innholder, or to his widow,

of rates would then be turned over to the Collectors, and around November the Treasurer would be directed to demand the sums due. In time, the order to the Treasurer was issued at the same time as the distribution of the lists to the Collectors. The Parish Committee might meet at any time that business arose, but it almost always met in March, about the time of the annual meeting, to pay Parish bills. They would issue orders on the Treasurer, and after an interval, or when the Treasury changed hands, there would be an accounting. There seems to have been no provision for regular reports, though special committees, chosen from time to time, usually did make report.

The first monies raised by the new Precinct were for the purchase of land and the construction of the Meeting House. At the meeting of March 9, 1713/14 it was voted to raise £350 for the purpose. The Assessors were to apportion this among the inhabitants and estates, "always provided that all persons be allowed for all Labour & service done . . . about building . . . & for all money paid according to Subscription." (The raising of money by assessment will be discussed later, when the subject of taxation is considered.) Some £100 were subscribed by eight people, with Captain Thomas Raymond and Deacon Jonathan Raymond subscribing together nearly half that amount.⁷ The subscription method was tried on a few other occasions. Thus on December 31, 1714 it was voted "to have & keep up a standing Contribution and all persons belonging to said Precinct to paper their money with their Names affixed to said paper & all money not so papered to be accounted as strangers money." It is likely that the assessment system had not yet been put into effect; the strangers money was usually earmarked for the minister. At other times, when the Parish was behind in paying the minister his salary, special contributions were voted him—for instance, in 1727, in 1736/37, and in 1745.

When the Precinct found it difficult to raise all the money needed for the land and building, they resorted to another source of income, the sale of pew privileges. Not all the floor was needed

Miriam. From 1728 they were made to William Trow (after 1746 to his widow) who had acquired the Baker-Herrick property and ran it as a tavern.

7. A list appears in the Precinct record, following an entry for September 27, 1723.

for the common pews, and it was decided on October 19, 1714 to sell space to "such persons as have Contributed most towards the building and meeting house & have done service for the precinct and are Likely to pay Considerable Charge towards the ministry." As we shall see, this was common practice in the churches of that day. And when it is noted that Jacob Griggs paid £5 for a pew privilege in 1717, and that Deacon Joshua Dodge in 1752 agreed to exchange his pew for another, plus payment of £50 Old Tenor by the Parish and the installation of a window near the new pew, one sees how valuable a privilege it was.

Another source of possible income was from rental of excess Parish land. During the period we are considering, this was all turned over to the minister's use; but indirectly it reduced the amount of cash paid to him. In addition to the Parish Pasture and excess land in the vicinity of the Meeting House, the Precinct had the improvement of Bunker's Meadow, in Topsfield, and a portion of the common land on Rubly Hill, in the Centerville section of Beverly.

But the main source of income was by taxation. The first tax list appearing in the records is for the year 1729, but the collecting of rates dates back at least to 1715, the year the minister was settled. The lists were divided into Beverly and Salem districts, with a collector for each. The Beverly list was generally the larger; for instance, in 1729 it totaled £70-2-5, while the Salem list came to £59-8-6. The following taxes were assessed: Polls (at this time, seven shillings for each male of age); Real Estate; Personal; and a so-called Faculty, or special income tax, which amounted to one or two shillings and was assessed on about half the taxpayers.⁸ Widows were assessed for property, and separate assessments were made for holdings of land alone. There are frequent references to abatements, for reasons of sickness or need, or because someone's son or hired man was out of the Parish. Information about households and the comparative worth of individuals may be obtained from these lists. Thus in 1729 the highest taxpayer in the Beverly portion of the Precinct was Jonathan Dodge, who paid £3-11-0; while in the Salem portion it was William Porter (long the wealthiest citizen), who paid £4-18-0.

8. In 1747 the Faculty tax was combined with the Personal tax; and it disappeared from the rates in 1752.

In that year 125 polls were paid (77 in Beverly, 48 in Salem); 83 persons paid a real estate tax; 59 paid a faculty tax. Three widows paid taxes, and thirty-one payments were for land only.

Not all the property owners in the Precinct paid taxes as levied. The resolution of the General Court allowed those persons who wished to continue to support the First Parish in Beverly to do so; and the Second Parish made an effort to bring them in when the minister was to be settled. In 1719 the proprietors of the North Field in Ryal Side refused to pay, and the Collectors were authorized to proceed by law. The proprietors must have won their point, for on March 13, 1720/21 the Collectors were "discharged from payment from persons in North field and having lands in this precinct;" but the matter came up again in 1730/31. In 1735 the meeting considered the problem of absentee owners refusing to pay rates on lands and directed the Parish Committee to assist the Collectors in legal measures against them. In the important area of taxes, the Assessors were careful to follow prescribed forms. Thus in 1743 a notice was posted on the Meeting House door, directing the inhabitants "to bring in a true and perfect list of their polls and rateable estate to the assessors by May 30 as directed by law." And the Collectors were then ordered to collect the sums, as voted by the meeting and assigned by the Assessors, one-half by September, the other half by the following March. Collectors and Treasurer were held strictly accountable for all taxes levied. Support of the Parish by taxes continued until 1833; however, this was no longer all-inclusive, for by the turn of the century the right to support the church of one's choice had been won. It should be remembered that at the same time the inhabitants were paying taxes to Beverly or Salem for the usual town services.⁹

The largest material undertaking of the Precinct was the construction of the Meeting House. It was decided, at the meeting of November 13, 1713 that the building should be 48' x 38' x 22' (later enlarged to 50' x 40' x 22'), that the site should be "by the County Road neare the house of Jabez Baker," and that a committee of nine should oversee the building. Those chosen were: Nathaniel Hayward, Joseph Herrick, Thomas Raymond, John

9. Those who were church members also contributed in Church to the deacons' fund, to communion collections, or sometimes to special collections for the minister.

Trask, Jonathan Raymond, Edward Raymond, John Rea, Jonathan Dodge, and Andrew Dodge. An L-shaped lot of six and one-half acres was purchased from Ebenezer Balch on May 1, 1714; it was bounded on the Southeast by the Boston or Ipswich Road (now Conant Street) and on the west, in part, by the road to Topsfield (now Cabot Street).¹⁰ Enough has been written about Colonial raisings for us to picture the event which took place there on June 8, 1714.¹¹ Construction proceeded through the fall, and on December 27, 1714 the first meeting was held in the new House. The exact placement of the building is a matter of some doubt, but we do know that there was a turret at the west end, and doors at both west and east ends.¹² On entering, those attending the meeting were faced by what would seem to us now a rough interior—no plaster; plain benches, since there were no separate pews as yet; few windows, and those of crude glass set in lead. There were galleries on three sides, east, west, and front, approached by stairs at either end. The elevated pulpit, reached by its own stairs, was a conspicuous feature.

Women were expected to sit on the east side of the main aisle, men on the west; similarly, the east gallery and the eastern half of the front gallery were for women; the west gallery and west half of the front gallery for men. With the sale of pew privileges, changes in this arrangement soon occurred, for families could doubtless then sit together. Some indication of the plan is given by notes on construction and sale of pews, but not as much as we would like. There was generally a shortage of pews; as early as 1715 an additional pew was built at each end, between the gallery stairs and the end doors. Gradually some of the pews were raised on platforms, bannisters and doors added; but the result, though more elegant, must still have been rather haphazard. It was not until the end of the period we are considering that lath and plaster were introduced; and this was over a special pew granted to Robert Hooper, Jr., out of recognition of his gift of a much-needed bell.

10. Calvin P. Pierce, *Ryal Side from Early Days of Salem Colony* (Cambridge, 1931), pp. 153-155; includes an abstract of the record of conveyance.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 156. The event is dated by the diary of Rev. Joseph Green, of Salem Village (Danvers), who attended. A play-pageant, *The Raising*, written by Merton R. Lovett, was presented in June, 1940.

12. For a discussion of the orientation of the building and its changes see Appendix B.

The seating of the congregation was a matter which agitated the Precinct every five or six years.¹³ At the first meeting in the new House a committee was appointed to do the job, being directed to "show respect to aged, to have a special regard for persons that have done service for the benefit of Precinct and contributed high in building . . . and are likely to pay considerable in the charge of the ministry amongst us." It may surprise us to note that they were not to "seat above two thirds so many persons in any seat as the seats will comfortably hold." In churches of that day the most honored seats, assigned to the old guard, were in front of the pulpit; but the next best were in the front of the gallery.¹⁴ The early records of this Church do not mention seats for boys, or for the hard of hearing, or similar special cases. At the meeting of 1737/38 the question was raised as to separate seats for negroes, but it was voted not to build them. It was not until 1769 that special seats were provided for them over the stairs. This was four years after the date (1765) when separate seats were first provided for the singers.

As with all buildings, repairs were very soon a necessity. In the warrant for the meeting of 1722/23 was the proposal "to consider of some way to prevent the waters coming in through the roof of our meeting house;" it was not voted on. But nine shillings nine pence were paid to Captain Edward Raymond on February 28, 1720/21 "for mending the meeting house." Benjamin Cressy was engaged for the same purpose in 1734 and again in 1741; on the latter occasion he was paid £1-3-0 "for laying some clabbords on." Ebenezer Trask was the repairman in 1744, being paid five shillings three pence for "work on meeting house and finding stuff." Windows were a special source of trouble. Hardly a year went by but that there were payments for mending windows or glazing to such persons as Benjamin Rutland, Benjamin Trask, or William Trow. One vote (of March 20, 1722/23) was to the effect that any window or casement broken be-

13. Committees to seat the people were chosen in 1714, 1717/18, 1719, 1722/23, 1729/30, 1736/37, 1741, 1749/50, and 1755, to go only to that point.

14. John Coolidge, "Hingham Builds a Meetinghouse," *New England Quarterly*, XXXIV (December 1961), 435-446. In Hingham the elderly men and widows sat to left and right of the pulpit, the Old Guard in front, followed by the young married couples. Boys, girls, and servants were off on the side.

cause carelessly left open was to be mended at the cost and charge of the owner or owners of the pew. It is likely that leaded glass was still in use, and this was notoriously fragile.¹⁵ The care of the building during this whole period was in the hands of one family; Moses Fluent was Sexton from 1717 until 1746, and his widow, Mary, from that year until 1759. The pay began at £2 a year, reached a high point of £6 (O.T.) in 1743, and ended at £1-1-4. Since there was no bell until 1753, and no mention of heat, it seems likely that the job consisted of an occasional sweeping. In 1718 Fluent wanted to exchange land with the Precinct; and in 1757 John Fluent acquired the acre of land which the Parish had designated for Rev. Chipman's use. A portion of the Wallis homestead on Conant Street is included in this lot.

By 1747 the building, then thirty-three years old, needed considerable repair. On December 21 it was voted to new clapboard the fore side and shingle the fore side of the roof, and to repair the clapboards on the other three sides and mend the shingles on the back side of the roof. Captain John Leach and Ensign John Herrick were asked to find clapboards and shingles, being paid £4 O.T. each for their trouble. They bought 12,000 shingles for £78 O.T., but were unable to get clapboards. Evidently the turret was found to be beyond repair, and the Precinct saw a chance to replace it with a steeple and to acquire a bell. They had tried unsuccessfully to obtain a bell in 1720; and though the records are silent on the subject, other churches in this situation are known to have used a conch shell or drum to call the members to meeting. Robert Hooper, Jr., merchant of Marblehead, who owned a farm in the Precinct, offered to supply all the nails, to subject his farm to a double tax, and to import a bell, which he would let them have without any advance.¹⁶ Many meetings and several committees were necessary before the work was finally completed. First, subscriptions were sought; one group of eighteen persons pledged £21, two-fifths to be paid in money, three-fifths in labor and materials. Caleb Balch gave 800 feet of pine boards. So on September 3, 1750 it was voted to build a steeple at the West end

15. In some churches glass was removed in the winter and the windows boarded up. See Ola E. Winslow, *Meetinghouse Hill, 1630-1783* (New York, 1952).

16. Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 18, quotes Hooper's letter, dated May 8, 1753. The letter is copied into the front of Precinct Record Book B.

and to purchase a bell. There was opposition at the next meeting, led by Joseph Cressy. But the original vote was reaffirmed, and dimensions were set at 12' square for the steeple and 8' for the belfry.

It took longer than expected to procure the lumber and the bell. By June 24, 1751 it was hoped that the work could be done by the end of September. It was decided that Hooper should procure a bell of 400 weight. At the meeting of August 6 the completion date was postponed until May 1. The Committee was to choose a vane, either of copper or brass; as it turned out, Joseph Chipman gave a gilt eagle. By May, 1752, the steeple was completed, and a door was cut through into the men's gallery, thus releasing space where the stairs were for another pew. But still there was no bell. And Hooper now decided, because "the people of the parish have showed me and mine a great deal of civility and kindness since I have had the pleasure of having an estate therein," to present the bell, in lieu of his earlier proposals.¹⁷ He also expected to pay his farm's tax towards the building of the steeple, and asked to be allowed to buy the new pew in the southwest corner. The inhabitants were so pleased that they voted, as we have seen, to "lath and plaister over head over the above said pew upon the parishes cost." On March 9, 1753 Mr. Gott was paid £1-17-4 for hanging the bell; and on the twenty-first John Fluent was paid £1-0-0 for ringing it. To finish the repairs, the Precinct voted to clapboard and glaze the west end, where the steeple went, and to make new window frames and casements on the fore side. Despite many changes, the original building still stands, evidence of the solid workmanship of these early builders.

We now return to 1715 and the choice of a minister; for though the Precinct had a building, it could not have a real church until there was a settled minister. In those days, the minister was chosen to stay; in fact, the relationship of church or parish and minister could be broken only for reasons which would stand up in a Council, chosen by both parties. In approved fashion, the Precinct voted, on February 2, 1714/15, to consult President Leverett of Harvard. Two persons were recommended, John Chipman, of the Class of 1711, and Ames Cheever, of the

17. *Ibid.* Hooper bought land of William Porter in 1750; see Pierce, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

Class of 1707; the Precinct gave both a hearing. Finally, on March 29, 1715, they chose Chipman to be their minister.¹⁸ They offered, and he accepted, a salary of £60 a year, so long as he remained unmarried, to be increased by £5 a year to £80 upon his marriage. As a settlement, or bonus for his taking the job, they offered £100 "money as it passes from man to man in this province." Chipman held out for some land to settle on, the use of a convenient pasture, and the strangers' money. So the Precinct voted to give him an acre, provided they could acquire the land lately belonging to one Captain Osgood, as well as the use of such land, purchased of Balch, as was not needed about the Meeting House. As it happened, Mr. Chipman did not need the Osgood land as a homestead, since he preferred to acquire the house which John Conant built for his son, Exercise.¹⁹ But he did make use of available Precinct land as his pasture. His salary began on July 1, 1715, though his final acceptance of the position was not sent until November 8. After suitable preparations, including a Fast Day on November 24, the Church was finally organized, and Rev. Chipman ordained, on December 28, 1715. Fifteen males, including Chipman, signed the Covenant; thus, after two years and more of labor, the Precinct finally had a Church.

The people were fortunate in their choice of John Chipman, who stayed with them until his death in 1775, or for nearly sixty years. He was born in Barnstable on February 16, 1690/91; thus he was almost twenty-six when ordained.²⁰ He married Rebecca Hale, of Beverly, on February 12, 1718/19, and by agreement his salary was raised £5 a year until it reached £80 in 1722. In all, they had fifteen children; even with a farm, the Chipmans must have had difficulty bringing up such a family. Rebecca died in 1751, and Mr. Chipman married for his second wife Hannah Warren, the aunt of the patriot, Joseph Warren. Rev. Chipman published only two works, and he seems not to have engaged in many outside activities. However, he kept the Church on an even

18. Cheever accepted the church in Manchester, Mass., in 1716. There is a tradition that Mrs. Mary Woodberry was invited, in defiance of custom, to cast the deciding vote for Chipman.

19. The house still stands at 634 Cabot Street, a short distance from the Church; it was marked by a State Tercentenary marker in 1930.

20. For a sketch of Chipman see Clifford K. Shipton, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, V, 1701-1712, (Boston, 1937), 563-568; includes copy of portrait, showing a thick-set man in a white wig.

keel in troublous times, and his influence on Precinct matters (though not stated in the records), to say nothing of Church affairs, must have been considerable. He appears to have supported the patriot cause, though he died just before the start of the Revolution. During the last five years, when his health was poor, he had the help of a colleague, Enos Hitchcock, who succeeded him. Rev. Chipman died on March 23, 1775; he is buried in the Old Cemetery, where his tombstone with its lengthy Latin inscription may be seen.

The formal relations of Precinct and minister were concerned largely with his salary. This was voted each year at the annual meeting, and usually constituted nine-tenths of the budget; it was payable, one-half in September, one-half in March. Unfortunately, it was often in arrears. Even the settlement could not be paid on time; Mr. Chipman generously agreed, "because of the Paucity of your number and Great Expence that you have allredy been at in Setting up and Supporting the publick worship of God," to postpone the payment of one-half (£50) until April 30, 1717. The whole amount was finally receipted for on June 5, 1719. As already noted, his salary reached its maximum of £80 in 1722. But inflation had set in, and in 1724 an extra £20 was voted him. In 1728 this bonus was increased to £40, in 1731 to £50, in 1732 to £60, in 1734 to £70, in 1735 to £80, and in 1738 to £120. Thus, in that year he received £200; but at the rate of £500 to £100 sterling, he was really only being paid £40.²¹ Just the year before, he had complained in the warrant for the annual meeting that his salary was not being paid when due. The Precinct, "being Sensable . . . of the sickness that he hath been vissitted with In his familie and trouble and expence that he hath been at in the year past," voted a quarterly contribution for his benefit. On May 21, 1740, Rev. Chipman released the Parish from any further obligation to him for his salary through March 1, 1739/40, not because he had been paid in full, but "for several other considerations." In 1742 the Parish adopted the New Tenor currency and voted the minister £75. But depreciation of the currency continued, and also delays in payment. In 1745 the

21. William T. Baxter, *The House of Hancock* (Cambridge, 1945), p. 13. In 1749 in Massachusetts £1 lawful money was equal to equal £7-10 s O.T.; after 1750 the rate of exchange was set at £133-13-4 equal to £100 sterling.

Precinct voted to pay some part of his salary by contribution, "each person to name to the money he doth contribute and the Deacons to keep an account of the same." A special meeting on May 23, 1748 decided to base the minister's salary on the value of silver rather than on the necessaries of life. But at the next meeting they reconsidered and voted him £600 O.T. The following year he was voted £150 N.T., plus £20 O.T., provided he sign a receipt for 1747. Thereafter, for the period under review and for the rest of his active ministry, his salary was fixed at £80 N.T., or "lawful money." Thus did minister and Precinct meet the vexing problem of depreciation; it is remarkable that relations were as amicable as they were.

Another minor source of difficulty between Precinct and minister was the fencing of Parish lands. In 1718 there was a vote to fence Rev. Chipman's land at a cost of £80; arrangements were made for parishioners to work out their assessment. By 1734 the fences were in need of repair. Three years later Mr. Chipman complained that the fence was incomplete, and in 1740 the matter was still before the annual meeting. One difficulty was that persons moved away, leaving their portion unfinished; so it was decided that payment would be made for work on these parts. Daniel Conant, Gideon Rea, Joshua and Mark Dodge were paid varying sums for this work. Land owned outside the Precinct also caused problems. In 1730 there was a dispute with the First Parish over Bunker's Meadow in Topsfield. It was not long after this that the Precinct voted to acquire a law book. In 1737 consideration was given to whether to sell or fence the common land allotted to the minister (probably at Rubly Hill, Centerville); it was decided to fence.

A few other matters relating to property of the Precinct are of interest. As early as 1716, provision was made for those who wished to put up stables near the Meeting House. One hundred poles of land, later increased to 160, were set aside for this purpose. In 1717 a school was projected, and permission was given to place the building "upon the Ester (eastern) part of the land left for a conveniency about the meeting house." This was evidently a town rather than a Precinct responsibility; the site is where the Parish House now is. But the town seems to have been willing to provide instruction in the outlying districts only in the

winter, when it was difficult to reach the central school. Thus in 1732 the town voted that a grammar school be kept one-half year in the Upper Parish, provided a house be furnished at no charge to the town. Rev. Chipman visited three districts of the Precinct annually (in addition to the Meeting House itself), to catechise the children; these were at Dodge's Row, Money Lane (Conant Street, the Danvers end), and Ryal Side. If these were schools, they were probably in private homes and were intended for the young children. In addition to law books, the Precinct authorized purchase of a record book in 1724 and of paper from time to time. There is a record of purchase of oil, evidently for lamps, in 1750. A summary of receipts and expenses for a four-year period, 1734-1738, is of special interest. Joseph Cressy, Treasurer, had received from the Collectors a total of £685-03-02 during this period. He had paid the minister £630, and additional bills of £51-0-4, making a total of £681-0-4, and leaving a balance due to the Precinct of £4-2-10.

Relations with the towns of Salem and Beverly—especially Beverly—became somewhat strained from time to time. Mention has already been made of schools; in 1743 the Precinct refused to sell Beverly a quarter acre of land for a workhouse. It is not surprising that the inhabitants had dreams of becoming a separate town. First, in 1725, they appealed to the First Parish for enlargement of the Precinct. They were turned down, so they next considered an appeal to form a separate township. On July 1, 1726 there was a debate of an hour and a half; those in favor of separation were in the majority, but a number, most from the Ryal Side area, were opposed. Nothing seems to have come of it, for the subject was brought up again in 1737. A petition, signed by Andrew and Elisha Dodge, was presented to Beverly; a copy is in the town records.²² The reasons given were that they could not support a school, that they were scattered into four or five military companies, and that the bans of matrimony were published at too great a distance. The town appointed a committee to try "to remove the difficulties they labor under, and to make them easy without their being set off." This committee seems not to have succeeded, and the following year another was appointed. Its report was accepted, but is not on record; however, it was con-

22. Beverly Town Records, City Hall, Book 4, p. 26.

tinued "till such time as the said Parish shall again request some consideration on account of the School or an enlargement of the parish line and no longer." Soon events outside the Precinct affected the situation. In 1742 Salem Village (now Danvers) petitioned to be made a separate township. And in 1753 Ryal Side was taken from Salem and annexed to Beverly.²³ The Precinct decided at this time to try to become a District. They were no more successful in this, so they gave up efforts in this direction. But they did continue the old legal name of the Precinct of Salem and Beverly until after the Revolution.

We have already noted the names of some of those who were active in Precinct business. But it is useful to look more closely at them now, and to note some of the relationships among them. The Church and Precinct were largely supported during these years by the members of just ten or a dozen families, descendants in the third or fourth generation from the first settlers in Beverly. They were mostly farmers and small mill owners and artisans, though some of them had reached the stage of being able to afford hired help. We may consider a few representatives of these families, in alphabetical order.²⁴ The most active member of the First Planter Balch family, so far as Precinct affairs are concerned, was Lt. John Balch, Jr., who was admitted from the First Church, Beverly, in 1722. The three Batchelder brothers, John, Jonathan, and Josiah, lived along what is now Elliott Street at Ryal Side. The last two, who were the most active in the affairs of the Precinct, married Raymond girls. Jonathan served as Collector, Clerk, Treasurer, Moderator, member of the Parish Committee, and of five other committees. Josiah was similarly active, and in addition was a Deacon of the Church. The Conants, another First Planter family, were represented by Lieut. Daniel and John, brothers. John was also a Deacon, and on his death in 1755 left the Church a sum of money, which was added to other gifts to purchase a silver tankard in 1760. The Cressys were a Ryal Side family; John was the first Deacon, chosen in 1716. His sons were active

23. Salem was directed to pay some £13 to Beverly, and Beverly was ordered to pay to Salem one-tenth of the Province tax. Legislative Records, Mass. Archives, 116, 460. In 1857 the western portion of this area was annexed to Danvers.

24. Information about these families was obtained from genealogies, from Pierce (*op. cit.*), and from Alice G. Lapham, *The Old Planters of Beverly in Massachusetts* . . . (Cambridge, 1930).

in Precinct affairs, among them Benjamin, Daniel, Job, Joseph, and Noah; it was Joseph Cressy who set the tune when the Church "sang regularly by note."²⁵

There seem to have been more Dodges than any other family during the early days of the Precinct. Captain John lived near the head of Bass River, and so was where Ryal Side and North Beverly came together. But most of the later ones lived in the vicinity of Dodge's Row; among the most active were Andrew, Jonathan, Joshua, and Robert. Jonathan was the first person admitted to the Church, on January 29, 1715/16; and in 1729 he paid the highest rates in the Beverly portion. He married Jerusha Raymond; and Joshua Dodge, who was a Deacon, married Hannah Raymond. The Leach family, of Ryal Side, was well represented by Captain John and Samuel. William Porter, the highest taxpayer in the community, from 1729 to 1741, and a resident of Ryal Side, was not above serving on the Parish and other Committees. He gave land to the town for a school on Conant Street, near Burley, in 1740. Jonathan Raymond was an able representative of the numerous Raymond family, which still owns some of their ancestral land in the community. He served as Clerk, Assessor, Moderator, Treasurer, member of the Parish Committee and of nine other committees, and was also a Deacon. Captain Ebenezer Raymond, who paid the highest taxes in the Beverly part in 1732, served as Treasurer and as member of the Parish Committee. Edward and Thomas Raymond were also active in the early years, but they died before 1733. Representative of the First Planter Trask family, though by this time living in Ryal Side, was Samuel; others of the family also took part. Josiah was the most active member during this period of the First Planter Woodberry family.

Some of the older men, who were concerned with the start of the Precinct and Church, died not long after. This was the case with the three original petitioners, Captain John Dodge, Nathaniel Hayward, and Joseph Herrick. Others whose contribution to the affairs of the Precinct ended rather early in its history included Ebenezer Dodge, John Leach, Edward Raymond, and John Trask.

25. Church meeting, July 3, 1730; Record Book I, containing Church, not Precinct, records, and kept by Rev. Chipman during his ministry. The arrangement is not chronological; few meetings are recorded, and most of the book is devoted to lists of persons admitted to the Church, of baptisms, marriages, and deaths.

Most of those men whom we noted in the preceding section spent their active lives in the service of the Church and Precinct during the first forty years. Although a few never did become Church members, most of them were admitted, but in some cases not until after they had been concerned with Precinct affairs for several years. Many of this generation died just before or just after 1753, which marks the end of our account. Among them were John Balch, John and Josiah Batchelder, Daniel and John Conant, Andrew and Jonathan Dodge, Ebenezer and Jonathan Raymond, Samuel Trask, and Josiah Woodberry. The Precinct had to look for the younger men to replace them. Already the new generation was coming on, the young men first serving their apprenticeship as Collectors. In the records we note such familiar names as Mark and William Dodge, John Herrick, George Raymond, and Ebenezer Trask; these and others, such as Dr. Benjamin Jones, were to carry on the work of the Precinct and Church. Many, of course, chose wives from among their friends and neighbors, and so the close-knit community continued.

In this list we have omitted the minister, but we may assume that his influence was felt in all the affairs of the community. Second to him in position were the Deacons, who were Church, not Precinct officers. During this whole period there were only five, and one (John Cressy) died in 1735. As we have seen, the Deacons were also active in Precinct affairs; for the Precinct and the Church were substantially the same group of men. As a Precinct they managed the temporal or secular affairs of the Church; and as a Church they were concerned with more spiritual matters. The chief difference was that the women could take part in Church business. We may ask, how many persons were served by the Church at this time? There are a few clues. In 1753 there were 53 houses in Bass River (the Beverly part) and 56 in Ryal Side.²⁶ Allowing five persons to a household, which is probably low, there would have been 545 souls. Another clue, this time to the number of able-bodied men, is found in a report on road work for the town of Beverly in 1743. The town was divided into wards, of which the North Beverly section appears to have included Nos. 9 and 10. In number 9 there were ten teams and

²⁶ *Beverly Citizen*, August 31, 1861. The average church numbered 645 souls or 130 families, and 50 adults or 25 taxable members. (Clark, *op. cit.*)

thirty-three men to man them, and in number 10, ten teams and thirty-one men.²⁷ And in the tax list for 1753 there were 124 polls. We have already noted that in 1729 the polls numbered 125; thus the community stayed remarkably the same during this period. In size and organization it was typical of the small parishes of the time; but, as is the case with any activity involving a number of persons, it had its unique aspects as well.

With the passing of the first generation of its members, the new Precinct may be said to have come of age. When Ryal Side was ceded to Beverly in 1753, another landmark in the larger community was reached. The founders and first generation (really the fourth or fifth in Beverly history) had done their work well. Theirs was a going Church supported by an active Precinct. The refurbished building was ready for many more years of life; how many, they little knew. What matter that there was no heat, scant light, and few comforts; these would come in due time. They were blessed with a healthy and respected minister. They had learned how to carry on Precinct business in a reasonably successful manner, with all the compromises necessary to community effort. They knew one another; they trusted one another; they were ready for whatever problems the future might bring.

APPENDIX A

Lists of Precinct Officers, 1713-1753

Moderators (in the order in which they first served. Where there was more than one meeting in a given year, two or more persons may have served as Moderator.)

	<i>Years in which served</i>
Nathaniel Hayward	1713-1715
Thomas Raymond	1714, 1719, 1721
Joseph Herrick	1714-1716, 1718, 1725-1726
Edward Raymond	1714
Jonathan Raymond, Sr.	1715-1720, 1723-1725, 1730, 1733
Jonathan Dodge	1716, 1723, 1726, 1728, 1730, 1733-1734, 1737, 1739, 1741
John Cressy	1718
Jonathan Batchelder	1728, 1729

27. Beverly Town Records, City Hall, Book 4, pp. 33-35.

John Balch	1728, 1732, 1735-1736, 1740- 1744, 1746-1753
Andrew Dodge	1731, 1734
Joseph Cressy	1745, 1751, 1753
John Conant	1748, 1752, 1753
Josiah Batchelder	1750
Joshua Dodge	1752

Clerks (in the order in which they first served)

Jonathan Raymond	1713-1714, 1726-1727
Edward Raymond	1714 November
Josiah Batchelder	1715-1723, 1734-1738
John Brown	1724
Jonathan Batchelder	1725
Joshua Dodge	1728-1733, 1739, 1741-1742, 1745-1749
Daniel Conant	1740
Benjamin Jones	1743-1744
Robert Meacham	1750-1751
Josiah Batchelder 2nd	1752-1753

Treasurers

Edward Raymond	1713-1716
Joseph Herrick	1717-1721
Jonathan Raymond, Sr.	1722-1724
Ebenezer Raymond	1725
Andrew Dodge	1726-1727
Jonathan Batchelder	1728-1729
Robert Dodge	1730-1731
Jonathan Dodge, Sr.	1732-1733
William Trow	1733 (from June)
Josiah Woodberry	1734
Joseph Cressy	1735-1741
Benjamin Jones	1742
John Conant	1743-1744
Isaac Dodge	1745
George Raymond	1746-1750
Joshua Dodge	1751-1767

<i>Collectors</i>	<i>Section</i>	<i>Year</i>
Jacob Grigs	Salem	1714, 1720, 1721
Stephen Herrick	Beverly	1714
John Cressy	Salem	1714 (December)

<i>Collectors</i>	<i>Section</i>	<i>Year</i>
John Browne	Salem	1716
Samuel Leach	Salem	1716
Ebenezer Dodge	Beverly	1716
Roger Conant	Beverly	1717
Robert Dodge	Beverly	1717, 1734
Rufus Herrick	Salem	1717
Jonathan Dodge	Beverly	1718
Jonathan Batchelder	Salem	1718
John Balch, Jr.	Beverly	1719
Jonathan Green	Salem	1719
Israel Balch	Beverly	1720, 1722
William Trask	Beverly	1721, 1747
Joseph Trask	Salem	1722
Elisha Dodge	Beverly	1722
Joseph Herrick	Salem	1723
Jonathan Dodge, Sr.	Beverly	1723
Andrew Dodge	Beverly	1724
Nehemiah Hayward	Salem	1724
John Rea, Sr.	Salem	1725 (moved away)
Jonathan Hayward	Salem	1725
Freeborn Balch	Beverly	1725, 1733
Thomas Preston	Salem	1726
James Taylor	Beverly	1726
John Conant	Beverly	1727
Abraham Brown	Salem	1727, 1734
John Batchelder	Salem	1728
Nathaniel Wallis	Beverly	1728
Samuel Woodberry	Salem	1729
Josiah Woodberry	Beverly	1729
Josiah Batchelder	Salem	1730
Daniel Conant	Beverly	1730
John Leach	Salem	1731
Joseph Cressy	Beverly	1731
John Batchelder, Jr.	Salem	1732
James Meacham	Beverly	1732
Daniel Cressy	Salem	1733
Benjamin Brown	Salem	1735
Mark Dodge	Beverly	1735
Josiah Trask	Salem	1736
Joshua Dodge	Beverly	1736
Gideon Rea	Salem	1737
Benerges Raymond	Beverly	1737
Job Cressy	Salem	1738
Edward Dodge	Beverly	1738
Robert Baker	Salem	1739
Nathaniel Raymond	Beverly	1739

<i>Collectors</i>	<i>Section</i>	<i>Year</i>
Ebenezer Trask	Salem	1740
Jonathan Dodge, Jr.	Beverly	1740
Samuel Brown	Salem	1741
Nathaniel Brown	Beverly	1741
Benjamin Cressy	Salem	1742
Peter Woodberry	Beverly	1742
Joseph Brown	Salem	1743
William Trow	Beverly	1743
Benjamin Trask	Salem	1744
Isaac Dodge	Beverly	1744
Noah Cressy	Salem	1745
Robert Dodge, Jr.	Beverly	1745
Robert Meacham	Salem	1746
Peter Shaw	Beverly	1746
Jonathan Baker	Salem	1747
Josiah Batchelder, Jr.	Salem	1748
Amos Dodge	Beverly	1748
Josiah Trow	Salem	1749
Joshua Dodge 2nd	Beverly	1749
Jonathan Batchelder	Salem	1750
William Dodge	Beverly	1750
John Cressy	Salem	1751
George Raymond	Beverly	1751
William Green	Salem	1752
Caleb Balch	Beverly	1752
Israel Green	Salem	1753
John Dodge	Beverly	1753

Assessors (These men served also as the Parish or Prudential Committee, so they were an important group. There were five at first, but the number settled at three in 1721. Men might serve on this Committee for several years, drop out, and then return. The Precinct Clerk was usually also a member of this Committee; in the following list he is designated by the letter "C" following his name.)

1714	Samuel Trask		Josiah Woodberry
	Ebenezer Woodberry		Josiah Batchelder (C)
	Jonathan Raymond (C)	1717	Andrew Dodge
1715	John Batchelder		Jonathan Dodge, Sr.
	Jonathan Dodge, Jr.		Stephen Herrick
	Josiah Woodberry		Samuel Trask
	Josiah Batchelder (C)		Josiah Batchelder (C)
1716	Edward Raymond	1718	Same
	Jonathan Raymond	1719	Andrew Dodge
	Samuel Trask		Jonathan Raymond, Sr.

	John Rea, Jr.		Jonathan Dodge, Sr.
	Samuel Trask		Josiah Batchelder (C)
	Josiah Batchelder (C)	1736	Daniel Conant
1720	Jonathan Dodge, Sr.		Ebenezer Raymond
	Joseph Herrick		Josiah Batchelder (C)
	Edward Raymond	1737	Jonathan Dodge, Sr.
	Samuel Trask		John Leach
	Josiah Batchelder (C)		Josiah Batchelder (C)
1721	John Balch, Jr.	1738	Ebenezer Raymond
	John Brown		John Leach
	William Porter		Josiah Batchelder (C)
1722	Same	1739	Andrew Dodge
1723	Same		John Leach
1724	John Balch		Joshua Dodge (C)
	Jonathan Batchelder	1740	Mark Dodge
	John Brown (C)		Gideon Rea
1725	John Balch		Daniel Conant (C)
	William Porter	1741	Mark Dodge
	Jonathan Batchelder (C)		Gideon Rea
1726	Jonathan Dodge, Sr.		Joshua Dodge (C)
	Samuel Trask	1742	Same
	Jonathan Raymond, Sr.	1743	Benerges Raymond
	(C)		Ebenezer Trask
1727	Jonathan Dodge, Sr.		Benjamin Jones (C)
	Joseph Trask	1744	Same
	Jonathan Raymond, Sr.	1745	William Porter
	(C)		Benjamin Raymond
	Josiah Batchelder		Joshua Dodge (C)
	John Brown	1746	Daniel Conant
1728	Rufus Herrick		John Leach
	Ebenezer Raymond		Joshua Dodge (C)
	Joshua Dodge (C)	1747	John Herrick
1729	Elisha Dodge		John Leach
	Rufus Herrick		Joshua Dodge (C)
	Joshua Dodge (C)	1748	John Conant
1730	Same		John Leach
1731	Daniel Conant		Joshua Dodge (C)
	Rufus Herrick	1749	Same
	Joshua Dodge (C)	1750	Nathaniel Brown
1732	Daniel Conant		John Leach
	John Leach		Robert Meacham (C)
	Joshua Dodge (C)	1751	Josiah Batchelder
1733	Same		Nathaniel Brown
1734	John Balch		Robert Meacham (C)
	John Conant	1752	Peter Shaw
	Josiah Batchelder (C)		Peter Woodberry
1735	John Conant	1753	Joshua Batchelder (C)
			Same

APPENDIX B

An anonymous sketch of the building, purporting to be as it was from 1752 to 1837, and now in the Beverly Historical Society, shows the placement at a slight diagonal, but the west or tower end fronts on what is now Cabot Street and the long or south side fronts on what is now Conant Street. There is a door in the center of the front, one in the tower, and, as we know from the records, one at the east end. In the early days, men entered at the west end, women at the east end, so it appears that the center door was not used much.²⁸ The pulpit was evidently also on this south (or Conant Street) side. Among other evidence is the fact that, when Robert Hooper, Jr., presented a bell, and it was desired to honor him, the Precinct voted him a pew in the southerly corner. Though unusual for door and pulpit to be on the same side, it was sometimes the case.²⁹ During renovations in 1837, the building was given a quarter-turn.³⁰ During the recent enlargement, it was given another quarter-turn. At this time evidence of a door frame was found in what is now the north side, facing the cemetery. If we assume the two turns were made in the same direction, then the door would have been originally on the south or Conant Street side, which agrees with the picture described above.

28. See vote of 3/20/1721/22 regarding alteration to back seat in the men's part of the front gallery; of 3/20/1722/23 to hinder seat in women's part of the front gallery, and of 5/17/1723 regarding alteration of three women's seats in the north easterly quarter of house (below).

29. This was the case in Malden; *Bicentennial Book of Malden* (Boston, 1858), p. 126.

30. Edwin M. Stone, *History of Beverly* (Boston, 1843), p. 285. Stone says only that the building "was removed about thirty feet north of its former site;" but we know from later pictures that the narrow end fronted on Conant Street.

ESSEX COUNTY TRADE CARDS

By MARY MEANS HUBER

TRADE CARDS, known as "shop bills" or "shop cards," in the eighteenth century, were a small paper medium of advertisement used by tradesmen and craftsmen in Europe and America. They were circulated to potential customers or accompanied purchased material as a record of retail origin. Some cards had the double function of cards and labels, while others were used for accounts, preserving the marks of a receipt written in ink on the face or the reverse of the printing. Against the setting of an English tradition beginning in the seventeenth century, and a transplanted, slowly evolving Colonial development in the American engraving of currency, certificates, maps, portraits, and silver, this utilitarian business medium assumed a high degree of artistic merit from the 1720's through 1810.

The reasons for this hinge upon the skill and results inherent in the medium of engraving, requiring the work of the most prominent craftsmen: Thomas Johnson, Nathaniel Hurd and Paul Revere in Boston; Henry Dawkins, James Smither, David Tew and James Akin in Philadelphia; and John Hutt, Cornelius Tiebout and Peter Maverick, Jr., in New York. First, Boston's sign-decorated cards with baroque scrolling and then both Boston's and Philadelphia's rococo cartouche designs incorporated with illustrated merchandise assumed the most artistic significance. The engravers, conscious of European styles and the current design vocabulary, decorated the cards accordingly in the Baroque, Rococo, Adamesque and Neo-classical idioms.

Whether naïve or sophisticated, the cards of known and unknown engravers, when documented with biographical data and historical fact, are an enriching study. The cards convey business practices, advertising methods, types of merchandise, shop addresses and locations, names of merchants, engravers and printers, the developing graphic skills, and the English design sources and style trends. The professions most often represented by surviving American cards were importers and merchants, bookbinders and stationers, cabinet and chair makers, carvers and guilders, jewelers, goldsmiths and silversmiths, artists and engravers.

Although there has been one book and several articles written about early American trade cards, the writer has made the first comprehensive study, using hundreds of early engraved cards in many collections. Since the eighteenth century produced the most artistic and unique examples, both in England and America, the concentration of this study has been in that century. Ambrose Heal's valuable book, *London Tradesmen's Cards of the XVIII Century: An Account of Their Origin and Use* (London, 1925), provided the inspiration for a parallel study of American items.

Bella C. Landauer published some examples from her vast collection of trade cards, billheads and related material, now in the New York Historical Society. Most of these date from the late nineteenth century.¹ The American Antiquarian Society owns a substantial collection, much of which dates prior to 1825, which has never been dealt with as a whole. In 1929, Harrold E. Gillingham published a competent study, "Old Business Cards of Philadelphia," for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania;² in 1936, George Francis Dow wrote two brief and well illustrated articles on a representative selection of trade cards from Boston, New York and Philadelphia for *Old-Time New England*.³ In Dow's article, other sources were mentioned: the five thousand cards in the collection of the British Museum, a group at the Oxford University Press in England, the work and private collection of Ambrose Heal, and the book, *Vieux Papiers Vieilles Images* (Paris, 1896), by John Grand-Carteret, a volume representing French attitudes toward publicity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Essex County can be proud of several fine cards made for business people in Salem and Newburyport. The card of Philip Godfred Kast, importer, of Salem, was engraved about 1774 by the famous Boston artisan, Nathaniel Hurd (Fig. 1). This example is at the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts. The use of the shop sign in the illustration can be related to English cards of the same period and to the earliest American cards engraved in Boston by Thomas Johnson from 1727-1767.

1. Bella C. Landauer, *Early American Trade Cards* (New York, 1927).

2. Harrold E. Gillingham, "Old Business Cards of Philadelphia," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LIII (July 1929), 203-29.

3. George Francis Dow, "Trade Cards," *Old-Time New England*, XXVI (April 1936) and XXVII (July 1936).

Kast's sign is unique, with a lion using a mortar and pestle and a fine post combining a Corinthian column mounted on a pedestal. He advertises various medicines by their brand names and surgeons' instruments, flint bottles with glass stoppers, and grocery ware and dye stuffs.

Nathaniel Hurd was born in Boston in 1729 and made his earliest known engraving, a bookplate, for Thomas Dering, in 1749. As son of the noted silversmith, Jacob Hurd, Nathaniel too, was known as a silversmith, and as an engraver, designer, seal and die cutter, and heraldic artist. He died in 1777.⁴

There is a fine card at the American Antiquarian Society designed as a bill of sale by Joseph Callender for John Tracy, a manufacturer and dealer in cordage, "At the Rope Yard Quaker Field," Newburyport (Fig. 2). The print shows an oval frame of rope, the slack coiled at the bottom, around a port scene with a rope walk. Men are shown winding the cordage on a wheel. Outside of the picture are the usual bill of sale words: "Bought of John Tracy." This card evidently dates before 1798.

Joseph Callender was born in Boston in 1751. He was listed in the first directory, published by John Norman in 1789, as an engraver, "Half-square, State-street." He is supposed to have been active in the city until 1798, but did not die until 1821. He studied with Paul Revere and was a die sinker for the Massachusetts Mint.⁵ In addition to work in Boston, Joseph Callender is known to have made trade cards for Samuel Emery, mathematical instrument maker of Salem, and the Danvers & Beverly Iron Works Company.⁶

Samuel Hill, the engraver and copperplate printer of Boston, was listed in the directories from 1789-1803. He did work for magazines and book publishers, in addition to making many trade cards for people in and around Boston.⁷

The card of Robert Brookhouse, goldsmith and jeweller of Salem, is an exquisite example of classical design in precise de-

4. Hollis French, *Jacob Hurd and His Sons: Nathaniel and Benjamin, Silversmiths: 1702-1781* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1939), p. 102.

5. George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America: 1564-1860* (New Haven, 1957), p. 18.

6. David McNeely Stauffer, *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel* (New York, 1907), II, nos. 290, 291, 292.

7. Groce and Wallace, p. 316.

Philip Godfrid Kast,

Has lately Imported from London, A large Assortment
of Drugs & Medicines Chymical & Galenical. which he sells
at His Shop at the Sign of the Lyon & Mortar. in Salem:
Among which are.



Turlington's Balsam of Life. Bateman's
Nectoral Drops. British Oyl. Shughton's Elixir Salutis.
Koeper's female pills. Lockyer's T. & the richest & best
of Drugs & Medicines of all kinds. where Apothecarys
& Doctors. in Town & Country. may be Supply'd with
large or small Quantities at the Cheapest rate. Where
also may be had compleat Sets of Surgeons Pocket
Instruments. Marble Mortars. Double flint Bottles.
from half ounce to a quart with glass Stoppers.
together w.th most Kinds of grocery ware Dye. Stuff &c.

All these Sorts may be as well Supply'd by Letter as if present Themselves.

At His Shop

FIG. 1. PHILIP GODFRID KAST, ENGRAVED BY NATHANIEL HURD, c. 1774. AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.



FIG. 2. JOHN TRACY, ENGRAVED BY JOSEPH CALLENDER, BEFORE 1798. AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.



FIG. 3. ROBERT BROOKHOUSE, ENGRAVED BY SAMUEL HILL, 1789-1803. RESTRIKE FROM THE ORIGINAL PLATE IN PEABODY MUSEUM.



Good but, then, from a sketch by J. Thurston.

FIG. 4. J. BALDWIN, ENGRAVED BY JAMES AKIN, 1804-1808. AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

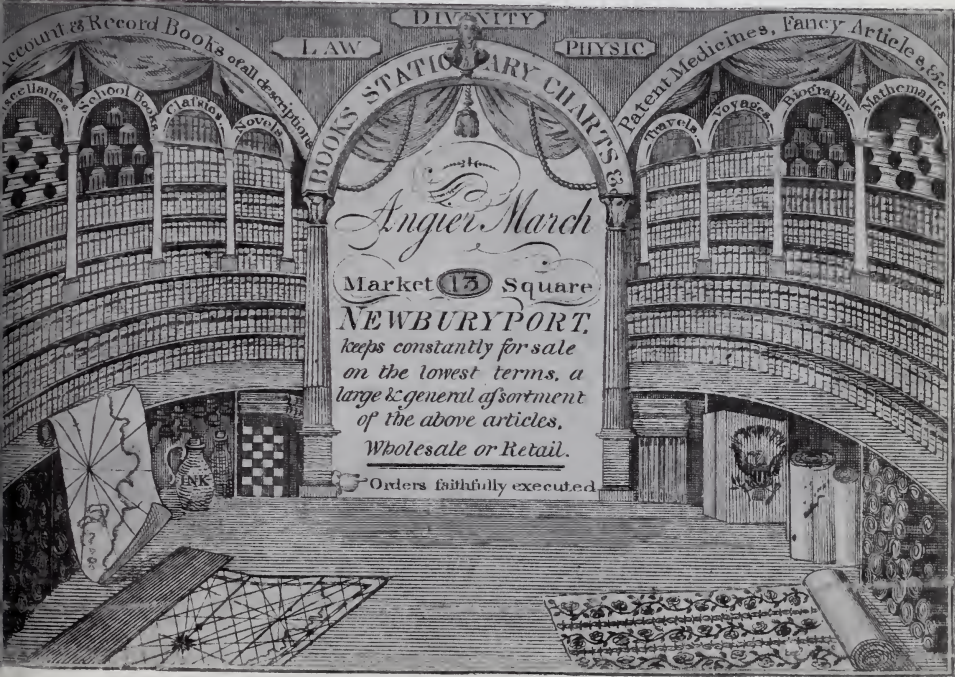


FIG. 5. ANGIER MARCH, PROBABLY ENGRAVED BY JAMES AKIN, 1804-1808. AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.



Prince Stetson & Co.

RESPECTFULLY INFORM THE PUBLIC,

*That they have put in complete repair that well known
TAVERN, Formerly kept by M. DAVENPORT,*

SIGN OF

• *JAMES WOLFE ESQ.^R*

State Street,

NEWBURYPORT.

*Where those who favour them with their custom
shall experience every convenience and
attention which they can command.*

FIG. 6. PRINCE STETSON & COMPANY, ENGRAVED BY WILLIAM HOOKER, C.
1807. AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

lineation (Fig. 3). The original plate is now in the Peabody Museum in Salem and restrikes have been made from it. The background of the card shows a beehive in a landscape on the right, and a seascape with a ship on the left. In the foreground is a graduated tier of steps with three Ionic Masonic columns, each crowned with a symbolic female figure. A coffin with a skull and crossbones rests on the bottom step. The familiar right angle rule and compass is placed below the central column cornice. The sun and crescent moon grace the sky. These infer that Brookhouse belonged to one of the higher orders of his Masonic lodge. The merchant's name and address are written in an oval which is superimposed against this backdrop. In the lower margin is written: "Miniature Setting & Hair Work, done in the neatest manner," signed "S. Hill."

James Akin, 1773-1846, was a prominent copperplate and wood engraver, miniaturist, caricaturist, profilist, and designer. Born in Charleston, South Carolina, he moved to Philadelphia about 1790, remaining there most of his life. He is said to have been a clerk in the State Department under Timothy Pickering. He is listed in the directories of 1799 and 1800 at 14 Carter's Alley, Philadelphia. From 1804-1808 he worked in Salem and Newburyport. His wife also is thought to have done some engraving in Newburyport in 1808. After they returned to Philadelphia, his address was "just above the Upper Ferry, over Schuylkill." His work was later exhibited at the Artists' Fund Society in 1841, and at the Pennsylvania Academy in 1853.⁸

When Akin moved to Salem, he brought with him the copperplate he had engraved for Robert Leslie and Isaac Price, clock and watch makers of Philadelphia between 1793 and 1798. The card from this plate, now at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in the Dreer Collection, is of particular interest as a specific document and design. The general design was made after a sketch by J. Thurston and shows Neptune inquiring the hour from Father Time. There is a round shelf clock surmounted by a finial of Britannia on a workbench strewn with jewellers' tools. There is a tall clock to the right.

Akin used this same plate for Jabez Baldwin in Salem by reworking the area below the bench and substituting "J. Baldwin's

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4; and Gillingham, pp. 115-116.

Store of Clocks, Watches, Silver Plate & Jewelry: Sign of the Watch Salem" (Fig. 4). This card, now at the American Antiquarian Society, shows minor variations only in the labeling which required that many wavy background lines be obliterated. The clock dials still read: "Leslie & Price Philada." In the upper margin, a new line reads: "Willard Patent Clocks: an elegant assortment of Looking Glasses."⁹ The Baldwin address replaces the Leslie & Price one, but the "ers" of the "makers" in the first engraving was not entirely deleted. Heavier background lines have covered the space where the "A" of Philadelphia had been.

Another card dating from the same period was probably made by Akin for Angier March, 13 Market Square, Newburyport (Fig. 5). Also at the American Antiquarian Society, this card illustrates in labeled arches the vast quantity of books and stationery merchandise sold by March, wholesale and retail. The main inscription appears under an arch hung with cord and drapery. The supporting columns are ribbed and have feather capitals, giving a Corinthian effect. A bust, probably representing Washington or Lafayette, crowns the arch. In the two flanking archways, which have colonnades, there are shelves of books, inkwells, and what appear to be small temples, perhaps banks. On the floor below, there are large ink bottles, a checkerboard of floor cloth, charts, wallpaper and account books. March advertised patent medicines and fancy articles as well. The final effect of the design is impressive, if somewhat crowded and poorly proportioned. The delicate classical interior of the shop gives an intriguing idea of the resources and attractiveness of this early Federal style store.

William Hooker made one of the most exceptional nineteenth century cards examined for this paper, now in the American Antiquarian Society (Fig. 5). Hooker, noted for his map and chart engraving, worked in Philadelphia in 1804, and in Newburyport, Massachusetts, from 1805 to 1810. He was associated there with another engraver, Gideon Fairman. He returned to Philadelphia and eventually, in 1815, settled in New York where he was active until 1846.¹⁰

The card of Prince Stetson & Co. is signed "Hooker delt. et Sculpt." It informs the public that "they have put in complete

9. "Willard Patent Clocks" referred to the clock of Simon Willard patented in 1802, later called the banjo clock.

10. Groce and Wallace, p. 325.

repair that well known Tavern, Formerly Kept by Mr. Davenport, Sign of James Wolfe Esqr. State Street, Newburyport." The rectangular view at the top of the page shows in the foreground a street scene with a coach drawn by four horses passing the old-style bracket sign containing the profile of General Wolfe. Another chaise is disappearing from view at the left. In the background, there is the long, seven-bay inn building and a stable where a man mounts his horse. A lady and gentleman also ride by on horseback.

The card is a superior item both in execution and design. The artist has gone beyond the usual selection of symbolic paraphernalia to create a naturalistic scene which must have been as inviting in its day as it is delightfully informative now. The genre view of town life merits a place with book illustration and exemplifies the vogue for landscapes in the period. It portrays architecture, costume, transportation, and a spark of local color, well documented by the written advertisement.

William Davenport made his home into a tavern after his return from the French and Indian Wars. He had been present at Quebec in 1759 when Brigadier General Wolfe was killed, and he appropriately named his inn after the hero. The tavern was standing on the corner of Fish (later State) Street and Threadneedle Alley when the town of Newburyport was incorporated in 1764. Davenport was succeeded by his sons and later by a Thomas Perkins.¹¹

Prince Stetson had charge of the Tavern from 1807 until it was destroyed by fire in 1811. This dates the trade card about 1807. Prince Stetson continued after the fire as a prominent tavern keeper, entertaining President Monroe in 1817 and General Lafayette in 1824. His son, Charles Augustus Stetson, became a famous hotel proprietor.¹²

The importance of trade cards as an art form decreased with the advent of the nineteenth century because of a more widespread use, cheaper and more quantitative production methods, and new styles of the classical and Victorian designs. The personal selection of an appropriate design by a prominent merchant and

11. Worcester Art Museum, *Art in New England: Early New England Printmakers* (Worcester Art Museum and American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, exhibition: July 1939-1940), pp. 62-63.

12. Alvin F. Harlow, "Charles Augustus Stetson," *Dictionary of American Biography*. Edited by Dumas Malone. XVII (1935), 596-97.

the engraver, and the limited distribution of their products as advertisement, bill, receipt, or label was supplanted by the production of quantities of less important printed and engraved items, efficient for the growing American business scene, but lacking the flavor of the earlier craft tradition.

A SALEM MERCHANT AT CAPE PALMAS,
LIBERIA, IN 1840

By GEORGE E. BROOKS, JR.

THE FOLLOWING DESCRIPTION of the Cape Palmas settlement in Liberia was written in 1840 by Captain Edward Harrington, master of the Salem brig *Oregon*. It is taken from a letter book in which he recorded his experiences in West Africa to give his wife on his return.¹

Captain Harrington was in the employ of the Salem merchants Robert Brookhouse and William Hunt, who at this time were engaged in extensive commerce with West Africa. The most important American products traded with West Africa were tobacco and rum; these two commodities usually constituted more than half of the value of a ship's cargo. Other American exports were lumber, shingles, flour, cotton goods, and numerous other items, depending on the parts of the coast to be visited. The return cargoes included peanuts and hides from the Windward Coast, and gold dust, palm oil, ivory, and gum-copal from the Leeward Coast. In most instances captains received a percentage of the profits of the voyage. Brookhouse and Hunt usually paid an agreed wage, plus three per cent commission on the net sales of the return cargo.

On the voyage with which we are concerned Captain Harrington departed from Salem on April 23, 1840, bound for the Gold Coast. His first port of call was Cape Palmas; he arrived on the ninth of June. Cape Palmas marked the end of the Windward Coast. As there was a settlement and a good anchorage American traders often stopped there before proceeding eastward along the Leeward Coast.

Captain Harrington wrote his account after a three-day stop-over, but it is apparent from his narrative that it was not his first visit. He appears to have copied his letter book entries from a rough draft. This recopying, plus recurrent attacks of a fever contracted on the Gold Coast, probably account for his omissions of words and inconsistent spellings. The entries in his journal in-

1. The letter book is in the manuscript collection of the Essex Institute. The author acknowledges his thanks to the Institute and to the Ford Foundation.

dicare that he was barely able to attend to the running of the vessel on the return voyage to Salem.

At noon we came in sight of Cape Palmas and at four P.M. Came to anchor in its Roads. At Cape Palmas is a settlement of American liberated slaves, and such free persons of colour as chused to resort Hither. The Colony was formed by the benevolent efforts of Maryland Colonization Society and it is in a fair way of prosperity. Every liberated individual is provided by the society with a passage out provisions for the same, and for six months after his arrival into the collony. during that time hs is expected to raise on 30 acres of land alloted to him on his arrival al the necessaries of life and a house to live in the Society likewise furnishing to the emigrants the implements of husbandry. &—

As soon as my anchor was down I repaired on shore where I was met and heartilly welcomed by Mr J. Russwarm the Governor of the colony whom I have known on former occasions.

It was to late then for bussiness. We repaired to his house, where he kindly offered me a room for my comfort and convenience while I remained in the Place. I then handed him a file Newspapers and gave him verbally all the News from home as he calls it that I was capable of rendering. After this we sat down with his family, a Wife, and three children to supper and partook of a very frugal meal.

Mr Russwarm is a thorough bred Gentleman, altho he is a man of colour, and as he himself terms it, an unfortunate issue of one of his Fathers slaves. Let be it to the credit to his Father, he bestowed upon him as much care, kindness, and affection, as he could upon a legitimate child. He had him duly educated in Darthmought College N.H. when he grew up provided him with the means to set out in the world in a manner creditable to them both.

But Mr Russwarm's soul abhorred the manner in which he was looked upon in the United States merely on acct. of his colour. Hi Banished him self from the society, which on account of the sin and follies of one of its individuals his father! could not look upon him (notwithstanding his talents) with with a consideration or put him upon equality with one of their meanest of members.

At the time the Maryland colonization Society was formed and for the first time their schemes carried into effect. It afforded Mr Russwarm and many others similarly situated an oportunity to seek that assilum happiness peace and consideration in the Wilds of Africa which through their Par-

ents follies could not obtain in any other place. Mr Russwarm has enjoyed and is enjoying the highest considerations that the society both In the U. States and the society among which he leaves can bestow upon his talents. In addition to these he is enjoying happiness and comfort which many may envy.—

After our repast we repaired into the Piazza in front of the house, entered into conversation on various topicks and ware enjoying the Coolness of the evening breeze The time flow away quiet imperceptibly that ten o clock struck before we ware conscious of the lateness of the hour. at this we arose bid each other good night and retired to rest.

At six in the morning I arose, At 7 we Partook of as hearty a breakfast as we had of supper on the previous evening. After Breakfast we ware met by Rev^d. J. Wilson Rev^d M. D^a. Wilson, and Rev^d Mr Parkins of Salem, the former two Gentlemen of Wesleyan and the latter of Episcopal persuasions. After my delivering some letters to them which I had in my possession, they made some purchases of me cheafly provisions. Mr J. Wilson kindly desired me to come to dine with him to his house situated about two miles from the Cape and Mr Russwarms house, out of courtesy I assented to his request. Ten moments afterwards Mr Parkins Came and desired me to come and partake a dinner with him and his Lady at his house about three miles from the settlement. I mention^d to him my preengagement with Mr Wilson. He insisted then that I should come the next day, and offered himself to come and be my condutor to his abode in Wilderness. I assented to his earnest solicitation and we apointed one O clock the next day to be the time when we should meet— Mr Parkins is a man of Family and one of the right stamp, one in whom a warmth of feeling is not wanting, His solicitations of my comming to his house, ware not so much in behalf of the pleasure he should have in my doing so, But the pleasure his Wife should enjoy in seeing one who came direct from the place of her birth; the place of her earliest associations, The place which holds in her heart interwoven the most endearing memmentoes of her early days. The abode of those who gave her existence, who nourished and cherished her with tenderness and affection through a period of many years And of Whose welfare a Word of verbal assurance from any one latterly arrived from them would be more satisfactory than any satisfaction that Volumes of paper could convey.—

At 12 Oclock I commenced my journey on foot (the only mode of travelling at Cape Palmas.) and at a quarter before

one I arrived at "Fair Hope", the station of Mr Wilson's establishment being called so. His house is built after a Southern fashion, the sight upon which it is situated is beautiful, it is built upon a rising ground or a bluff about 60 feet above the level of the sea, and about sixty yards from it. I should judge its position a healthier in the Collony, on account of its being exposed to the refreshing coolness of the sea breezes—

About 150 yards at the back of the house is a beautiful and romantic, salt water oblong lake, stretching along the margin of the sea shore as far as the eye can reach, and its banks the whole of their extent, are crowned with a most Beautiful and wild scenery of a tropical clime, which captivate the eye to an untiring gaze.—

On my arrival at the establishment Both Messrs Wilsons and their Ladies met me at the door, and led me into a room where the dinner was already smoking and waiting on the Table. It consisted entirely of the produce of the country. The sup made of Palm Oil nuts and fowls. This was the principal dish. The remainder of the dishes contained, sweet Potatoes—Plantains, Beananas, and a Papay, a most delicious fruit. After repast we joined in conversation for about an hour, when I thought it was time for me to return to the Cape and tend to my business. we shook hands bid them adieu and I departed not altogether delighted with my visit. It appeared to me to have been a too great an air of reserve and austerity prevailing in the company. Ladies in particular seemed to be afflicted with this mania. Both Mrs's Wilson's are southern Ladies. I beleave it to be true (altho my inference is not drawn from this instance but from constant observation) that we rarely meet with southern Ladies who are possessed with that becomming freedom and a bewitching chat that we find in Generality of our New England Girls! Both Mrss Wilson's are childles and consequently deprived of those joys which a tender Parent can enjoy in his ofsprings!—

Next day at the appointed time I met my little man. For Mr Parkins is very small in stature and as stought in proportion. I thought that Nature slighted me most emazingly and cut me off from the very but end of the stick, after all the rest ware cut; but when I got Mr Parkins along side of me, I thought that he must have been next to the but.— However in regard to Mr Parkinson the old saying I beleave to be true . . viz "that the most valuable goods are generally packed in small parcels" For he is an agreeable Gentilmanly and very intelligent man.—

We commenced our journey at One o'clock, and after a walk on a very pleasant road overshadowed for the most part of the way with the tall majestic trees of an african forest. In three quarters of an hour we arrived at the foot of an imense and almost conical hill on top of this hill was situated Mr Parkinson's Mission House overlooking and extent of country for miles around haveing a perfect view of the settlement at the Cape and the Shipping on its Roads. The hill is cultivated all around from to top to its base with Indian Corn, Rice, Plantain, and Bennana plants, and a few coffee trees, and every here and there a place is overshadowed by tall coco nut trees. At the foot of the hill or in the valey are hundreths of huts of the Native negroes who cultivate this Ground under Mr Parkinsons own Superintendance. In fact the situation of his house, the extensive Plantation or estate surrounding it, The hamlets of his dependants In the Valley beneath his towering mansion, The extensive view of surrounding scenery. This combination put altogether can scarcely fail of reminding one, of one of those Establishments of Feudal times in Europe, and fanceing Mr. and Mrs. Parkins personations of a Lord, and Lady of the Manor.

By steps dug into the soil we ascended this steep hill but we ware obliged to rest twice before we reached its sumit for want of breath. As we approached the house we met Rev^d Mr. & Mrs Coen assistant missionaries with Mr Parkins, and met Mrs Parkins with a sweet and Interesting little Boy in her arms about the size of our little Ed. I forgot all the complements but took the Boy from his mothers arms (who seemed willing to come) Ressed and pressed him to my bosom with a fathers tenderness. I felt so interested in the child on acct of it emage in size to my own Beloved Edward that I quiet forgot myself, and all the rest of the company and so much so that I must have appeared rederculous to the company for such unaccountable fondness for the child. When I came to this consciousness I felt considerably embarased. When Mrs Perkinson perceived it and with the quick perception of her kind guessed the cause of my conduct, and releaved me from my embarrassment by saying That I must have left behind a tender one behind who was intensely dear to my bosom, and whom the presence of her Boy Brought before me with all its found and affectionate endearments. Upon this I assured her that her surmisses were but too true.

Their little Boy is an african by birth and as white as snow! *a wonderful phenomenon* Mrs P. is one of our Plain,

Neath, and lively N.E. Girls, who could make a heaven of a solitude in the African Wilderness, her house is as neath as herself it is built after the fashion of one of our farm houses with the exception of a piazza in front of the house which protects them from the suns burning rays and enables them to enjoy the cool breezes which circulate under it.—

After many questions from Mrs Perkins and as many answers from me, regarding her Father, Mother, the Old Salem, Steamboats, Rail Roads and other improvements, we sat down to a very inviting dinner, but entirely composed of the product of their farm—I have done it ample justice as a walk of three miles created in me quiet good appetite.

After dinner we sat down and engaged in conversation on various topics and amused ourselves in such a lively manner that nearly night came on before we ware conscious of it. as I had far to go, I arose left with them my hearty good wishes, gave a kiss to their beautiful boy, bid them adieu, and departed with a regret that I had no more time to enjoy their pleasant and agreeable company.

I reached the cape just at sun down took tea at Mr^s Rushwarm's after that I took walk with Doctor M^cGill the colonial Surgeon a Melato young man whose parens are residing in the colony, but he was regularly educated in the United States and there aquired the diploma of his profession.

Alto there ar only 300 collonist in the whole Settlemen yet this small number is divided unto six different religious sects Baptist, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Wesleyans Orthodox and Jumping Methodist! the Ritual performances of the latter denomination puts the Religion fairly to the Blush—as I was strolling allong with the Doctor about the town we were arrested by a noise of jumping, Dancing, and screeching proceeding from a little building about the size of our farm^s school house. My curiosity was excited I entered the Building which proved to be a methodes meeting house I squized myself through the croud towards te centre of the scene of action, where the whole congregation ware shouting at the top of their unanemous voices "O Lovely Jesus Come Glory allelujah" and locked in each others hands Male, and Female without discrimination and keepe step to the tune (it was realy as good as a play if not better) after a 10 minutes of this performance, One of the famales was moved by holy spirit, and dropt down in a holy fit and desplay'd such anticks and muscular contortions that I never have seen before and hope for decency sake never to witness again. Trowing her arms and legs in all derections and instead of comming properly prepared for such spirit moving occasions four

great darkies were obliged to step for'ward two to hold her hand and prevent them from doing harm, and two to hold her feet, legs, and clothes in proper position, in order to prevent her from displaying to the congregation all her delicate and natural attainments. She rested in this position for about 15 minutes when she emitted a groan then a screech "I have seen the Jesus Glory Allelujah to which the congregation responded—

The Lovely Jesus's come
To our Sister Ann
In all his glory allelujah

Then the Lady got up drenched in perspiration caused by her extraordinary contortions. those that attended upon her were similarly situated combining them together they imited such an efluvia which had such an effect on my digestive organs and created such a deseness in my head that I was obliged to retire with out delay.

The next day I had an occassion to witness a Native Funeral a simple plant borne by four Natives with the deceased upon it, served as a coffin and a Hearse, this was carried in front of the procession of about 100 people. Next in order came, eatables of all description that the country could produce contained in wooden platters and carried by half dozen men, next to these came borne by as many more men, empty dishes plates cups and saucers spoons and tumblers (these latter articles ware of cours of foreing manufacture and importation, and seldom ussed by the Natives excepts on these occasions) Next came borne by as many more men a Numerous and most curious set of implements of War, Next in order came the mourners, firing muskets, Dancing, and chanting in their way the deceaseds Requiem.

They moved along in this way until they came to the Point of the Cape opposite which lies a little Island about 50 yards from the main land and thither they conveied the corps in a small canue on their arrival there they lied the corps on the Middle of the Island without any other covering over it than a grass which grows from four to five feet in hight, besides it they lied all the provissons, dishes, plates, mugs cups and saucers knives forks tumblers and all the implements of war they carried after the coarse, firmly believing that the deceased will have as much occasion to feast upon one, and use the other as hi had in this world. After the canue returned from the Island, the mourners returned shooting yelling and danding with a great degree of hilarity.

About two hours afterwards I saw passing a great number of natives dancing Shouting and cutting all sorts of Capers,

with an occasional unanimous but most horrid yell. I asked Mr Russwarm who was standing by me the cause of all this commotion, he smiled and said if I wished to see old times come again, something what they used to be in former times in old Salem, or rather if I wished to see a Negro trial for Witchcraft to proceed along with the crowd. My curiosity was excited, Doctor McGill was standing by I asked him if he would bear me company which he freely assented and we went along, until we came to one of the out skirts of the native town about a mile from the settlement and to a place over shadowed by tall Cocoa nut trees, and under these trees a high thick under brush wood through this wood a foot path was cut, which led us to a place cut into this wood, and the roof of it was formed and interwoven by the branches of the tallest of the Brush wood trees and done in such a manner that the place resembled a hermits cell in the wilderness. This place was made and dedicated by the Natives to his sable highness the Prince of Infernal regions. This singular place was over hung in the inside with all sorts of fruits, and on the floor half filled with eatables of all kinds that the land could produce and the Natives could prepare, and brought hire for his devil ship to feast upon in order to propitiate him in their favours and escape his torments while living and dead; the Natives believe in two supreme agencies a good, and a bad one, but they think them to be entirely Independent of each other. The Good one does not engage scarcely any of their notice at all while the fear makes them bestow all their attention upon the Devil to conciliate his favour; But to our present occasion. When ever any of the Natives die they think that the cause of his death must have been effected by some Human supernatural agency, they go on and guess who the person among them may be possessed with such a power. The suspicion generally falls upon some unfortunate ugly and aged relation, whom the family of the deceased wishes to get relieved of from supporting him or her any longer. In order to do this they must bring him or her to the Public trial. But it is hundred chances to one if these poor victims of superstition do not perish under the Ordeal.

We remained before his devilships mansion for about 10 minuts, when the whole company set up a most hellish yell, then a Fetish Man or a disciple and a high Priest to his Satanic Majesty appeared leading an old man about fifty or sixty years of age. He led him three times round the devils house then they entered into it. By this time two Boys brought in an earthen ware pot or jar containing about two

gallons of saucy wood as the Natives call it in broken English, it is a decoction of a Bark of Poisonous tree, which operates when drank as a powerful Emetic, of this decoction the Priest administered to the poor old man the whole contents of the earthen Pot, holding about two gallons; fortunately and almost incredibly, the whole contents was thrown of the mans stomach in an instant with out doing him apparently but very little injury. Doctor McGill informed me that it generally happens on such occassions, that the person under the trial before he is able to swallow half of a similar contents, is seased with spasmodic fits and convulsions and expires on the spot. Nothing saved the victim from perishing in the present Truly deabolical trial but a strong constitution and a powerful Phisical formation of his Stomac.

After the trial was over he was borne in inounce with the Shouts of triumph to his home by his wild and deluded companions, upon whom the collonial influence and missionairy efforts have hitherto proved unavailing.

The Sittlement of Cape Palmas is situated on a small promontory or a high bluff the Cape, stretching out to sea. It is considered very healthy position, on accout of its elevation, nearness to the sea and free access of its cool and refreshing breezes, the settle ment is composed of about eighty houses build of wood shingle roofed and in various forms & ways, but mostly comfortable habitations. And under Mr. Russwarm's Parental care and imediate superendence the settlement is in a fair way to wealth and prosperity.

About $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile back from the colonial settlement is the Native town of the Cape, and of about two thousand inhabitants their huts, are built of Bamboo cane, grass tatched roof, with a door 3 feet wide, and four feet high, in order to obtain entrance into the house, or hut. the person is obliged stup down and croul in almost on all fours. nothing could resenble better the form of their huts, than one of our light Infantry tents. thy occupy just about as much ground, this small space of room is occupied sometimes by a family of eight or ten people, their dress is in common with all the tribes inhabiting a long ————— extent of African coast from Cape Verd to the Bight of Bennin, Viz the poor wear a waist cloth just wide enough to hide the delicate gifts of nature. these cloths are manufactured amon themselves, out of cotton produce of their country, or of a pliable bark of a tree. the Middle classes use a cloth of foreing manufacture and importation reaching from their waist down to their knees. the head men use a robe of imported clothe, two or

three breaths sewed together, and generally reaching from their shoulder to their heills, their heads and feet are invariably bare. It is Hoped that there nearness to their better informed and more inteligent Neighbours, in some future day will enable them to adopt more industrious and comfortable livelihood and enjoy the blessings of Christianity and Civilization.

By one O clock I settled all my business wished Mr Russwarm all the happiness hi was capable of enjoying bid him adieu repaired on board, and set sail for Dix Cove

Maryland in Liberia was founded by the Maryland Colonization Society in 1834, six years before Captain Harrington's visit. Of particular interest in his account are his descriptions of John B. Russwurm, the first colored governor of the colony, and of the Episcopal missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. George A. Perkins, fellow Salem residents. Governor Russwurm was born in Jamaica in 1799; his mother was a Negro, and his father an American white. He was befriended by his father's wife in Maine, who assisted him to attend Bowdoin College. He was graduated in 1826, probably the first person of acknowledged African descent to graduate from an American college.² Before being appointed governor in 1836, he was a merchant at Monrovia, as well as a government official and a newspaper publisher.

Contemporary opinion of Russwurm's abilities was very high, as is the case in Harrington's account. The following entry from the log of the brig *Neptune*, Captain Israel Howe, conveys a similar impression of the man, though it is inaccurate on the founding of the colony and in the spelling of Russwurm's name.

We came to anchor today [April 1, 1841] at Cape Palmas, where there is a settlement commenced by the American Botanical Society five years since. I went on shore to sign and was introduced to Mr. Rushman the Governor and his lady. He is a mulatto and so is his wife, very light and good looking, however. Mr Rushman was educated at Dartmouth College and is a very intelligent man. He prefers living on this coast as he feels very keenly the distinctions made between people of his color and whites in the United States.³

2. See W. E. B. DuBois' article on Russwurm in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI (1935). For some unknown reason Russwurm told Harrington and other Salem captains that he was a graduate of Dartmouth College.

3. The *Neptune's* log is in the possession of the Peabody Museum.

When he returned to Baltimore for a visit in 1847, Governor Russwurm was feted by the Colonization Society. The following account is given of the occasion:

The members of the Board of Managers took advantage of Governor Russwurm's presence in Baltimore to make his personal acquaintance. They gave him a dinner at the principal hotel in the city, at which there were no absentees; and there was not one present who was not impressed by the grave, courteous and dignified conduct of the agent whose wise and prudent conduct of the Society's affairs in Africa had given such satisfaction.

Footnote to the above:

One, with difficulty recalls, now-a-days, [1885] the sensation that the idea of this dinner to a colored man in 1847, produced in Baltimore. It was ludicrous to see the astonishment of the Irish waiters, who surrounded the table at "Page's Hotel", when they were called upon to render the same service to a colored man that they were in the habit of rendering to the many socially prominent citizens who were his hosts.⁴

Mr. and Mrs. Perkins first went to Cape Palmas as "Lay Assistants" to the Episcopal Mission in 1839.⁵ As the Perkinses are from Salem, I quote here several passages from Mr. Perkins' letters home on his first visit to Cape Palmas. They show something of the motivations and inner conflicts of a young missionary. The first was written three months after his arrival.

Whatever may be the opinion of friends as to duty in coming here, my own views remain the same, or, if possible, clearer than before. I think I shall never feel in my place till qualified to preach the Gospel, and actually engaged in so doing in some interior town, . . .⁶

A year later

One planteth and another reapeth, and it may not be until

4. John H. B. Latrobe, "Maryland in Liberia," *Maryland Historical Society*, Fund Publication No. 21.

5. An even earlier Massachusetts missionary to Liberia was the Rev. Mr. Crocker (Baptist) of Newburyport. He is mentioned as being in Monrovia in November, 1835, by A. H. Beckett in the log of the brig *Gleaner*, Thomas D. Hunt, master. While in Monrovia Mr. Beckett dined several times with Mr. Russwurm. The log of the *Gleaner* is at the Essex Institute.

6. Quoted from *The Spirit of Missions*: Edited for the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America (New York, 1839), p. 332.

we who are now here have gone to our long homes, that they, who succeed us, shall see the work of the Lord fully prospering this place. . . .

It is doubtful if I ever see my native land again, yet I hope to. . . . No person who has not himself resided in a heathen country can tell or imagine our situation; and yet we are happy, and do not wish to quit the field. I feel more than ever, that Africa is my home for this transient life. I do not feel the desire to die here, that many manifest. If I can spend the most useful part of my life here, I should have no objection to lay my bones in my native land.⁷

Captain Harrington's account shows some of the isolation of the missionaries, and their interest in news from home. It is amusing to note that the Wilsons built their home on the Southern style, while the Perkinses adapted the traditional New England farm house. Both families persisted in having a heavy cooked meal at midday, though the menu was "palm-oil chop" and other local dishes. One cannot fail to compare Captain Harrington's description of the reserved and "feudal" ways of the white missionaries with the contrasting exuberance and enthusiasm of the settlers' own "Jumping Methodist" sect.

Relations between merchants and missionaries in West Africa were often strained. In practice, "Christianity and Commerce" did not always go hand in hand. Each missionary who sailed to West Africa shared his passage with large quantities of the "Noxious Weed" and the "Demon Rum." Once landed in Africa these unlikely shipmates often came into conflict. The early history of Liberia offers numerous instances. At the founding of the Monrovia colony, the American Colonization Society—after much soul searching—paid part of the price of their land in rum, as this was the currency most acceptable to the local chief. Soon after the founding of the Cape Palmas Colony, the colonists were subjected to a boycott of food by the local Africans in an unsuccessful attempt to force them to trade in spirits. It was for this reason that one of Perkins' fellow missionaries, the Rev. Mr. Miner, was opposed in his attempt to establish a branch mission station at Garraway.

The Bushmen, who were present, and who appeared to exercise controlling influence, bitterly opposed my coming, say-

7. *Ibid.*, 1840, p. 320.

ing that learning was of no use, since it did not enable a man to acquire money; that if I came, other Americans would come and form a colony, and that when a vessel came, I would send a book on board and stop the trade in rum, as Dr. Hall had done at Cape Palmas.⁸

A successful, if bizarre, cooperation between merchants and missionaries was recorded by Mr. Perkins' supervisor, the Rev. Dr. Savage, who sailed down the coast in 1841 on the Salem brig *Cipher*, Captain James Dayley. In his report on prospects for missionary undertakings on the coast east of Cape Palmas he wrote—with unwitting irony—as follows:

The inhabitants of the Druins and Cape St. Andrew, are said to be the most treacherous of any between Cape De Verd and the Bight of Biafra. Vessels have been plundered and the crews murdered at both points. It had been my intention to begin my inquiries at the latter. It is represented by traders as an inviting field in many respects for missionary effort.⁹

In 1842, the Perkinses returned home on sick leave. Mr. Perkins studied medicine in Boston, and returned as a fully qualified medical missionary. The family remained at Cape Palmas until 1849, when they were again forced home by ill health. On his first visit Mr. Perkins made the accompanying sketch (fig. 7) of the missionary settlement, with which Captain Harrington's description tallies so accurately.

Captain Harrington's narrative is the more valuable for its not being limited to the immigrant population of the colony. He was fortunate in having the opportunity of viewing an African funeral and a sasswood trial. Unlike the rest of his account this description is not based on personal observation alone. In addition to the remarks of Dr. McGill who accompanied him, Harrington probably included information from Russwurm and the American missionaries. It is noteworthy that Harrington records Russwurm's pregnant observation that the ceremony he was about to witness would be not unlike "former times in old Salem." Apparently Harring-

8. *Ibid.*, 1839, p. 330. Dr. James Hall founded the Cape Palmas Colony. He was a friend and schoolmate of Russwurm's.

9. *Ibid.*, 1842, p. 12. Reverend Savage would have been shocked to learn that some months later the *Cipher* was sold to a slave dealer at Cabinda, Angola. Letter of Dr. McIlroy, H. M. Ship *Persian*, July 1, 1841, Greenwich (England) Maritime Museum, MSS, 53/063.

ton missed the point, for he draws no parallels in his narrative—not even the obvious one that suspicion generally falls on the “ugle and aged.”

Of Captain Harrington himself not much is known other than his association with Brookhouse and Hunt in a number of voyages to West Africa. It is recorded that he joined the Marine Society in September, 1841. The only other available information is his date of birth, 1812, and a brief note to the effect that he died on August 31, 1844 while on another voyage to Africa.¹⁰

10. I am indebted to Mr. William Bushby for this information.

THE LYNN NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY
(1842-1855)

By RALPH W. DEXTER

ON 3 AUGUST 1842, a group of Lynn residents formed the Lynn Natural History Society "to encourage the study of natural history."¹ Many of the founding fathers were local physicians, either at that time or later in life. These included Drs. William Prescott, James M. Nye, Daniel Perley, Joseph B. Holder, Charles O. Barker, Edward L. Coffin, and Asa T. Newhall. Other charter members included Thomas B. Newhall, James R. Newhall, Benjamin F. Mudge, and William B. Oliver, the latter a prominent shoe manufacturer. Later, Cyrus M. Tracy and Charles S. Newhall were among the leading members who joined. Regular meetings were held on Friday afternoon of each week. Members presented lectures to the group based on their studies and observations of natural history. Rooms were rented on the second floor of a building located on Market Street. These rooms, which served as a meeting place, for exhibition of specimens acquired by the society, and for its library, were open to the public one afternoon each month.² When a constitution was drafted, the name Lynn Natural History Society was selected. Members elected by the Society were required to sign the constitution and pay the annual dues of \$1.00 in advance. A special life membership was available at the cost of \$10.00. The annual meeting was held on the first Wednesday in June each year. Officers consisted of a President; two Vice-Presidents; a Secretary-Treasurer; and a Librarian, who also acted as Keeper of the Cabinet. These officers, with two elected members, constituted a Board of Curators for managing the Society and its collections.

A manuscript book entitled "Lynn Natural History Society, Members 1842," now in the possession of the Lynn Public Library, gives a list of all names signed to the constitution. Dates

1. Acknowledgment is made to Mrs. Charles F. Haywood, Chief Librarian, and her staff at the Lynn Public Library, and the library staff of the Essex Institute for their helpful assistance in preparing this study. Mrs. Haywood also gave the manuscript a critical reading and made many improvements.

2. A line drawing of the rooms of the Lynn Natural History Society is shown on page 8 of *Lynn—One Hundred Years a City*, published by the Lynn Public Library and Lynn Historical Society, 1950.

of signing are not included, but 94 names were recorded by August of 1847, and 122 names were added following that date.

In December of 1846 the Society published issue No. 1 of *Publications of the Lynn Natural History Society*. It was entitled "Catalogue of Birds Noted in the Vicinity of Lynn, Massachusetts, During the Years 1844-45-46" and was written by J. B. Holder. This was an eight-page bulletin which listed 185 species of birds. It was noted that specimens on which the records were based were preserved, and for the most part deposited in the cabinet of the Society. Apparently this was the only issue ever published in the projected series.

The first public library in Lynn, known as the Social Library, was organized in 1815 by Alonzo Lewis, "the bard of Lynn" and local historian, and Dr. Richard Hazeltine. In 1850 the property of the Social Library, consisting of books and furniture, was transferred to the Natural History Society which then continued to operate the library of some 2,000 books until 1855 when this Society in turn donated the collection of books and specimens to the Lynn Library Association founded at that time.

The collection of books which the Lynn Natural History Society inherited from the Social Library consisted of a wide variety of titles. Some of those in the field of science available to the members of the Natural History Society for their studies are as follows: (titles are neither necessarily complete nor correct, but are recorded in the following manner in the records of the Society):

Geology by Buckland	Invertebrates of Massachusetts
Elements of Conchology by Burroughs	Geology of Massachusetts by Hitchcock
Animated Nature by Goldsmith	Audubon's Birds (two volumes)
Elements of Geology by Lyell	Physical Geography of the Sea by M. F. Maury
Cuvier's Animal Kingdom	Common Object of the Seashore
Plants of Boston and Vicinity by Bigelow	Origin of Species by Darwin (last entry in the catalogue)

Undoubtedly these and some three dozen others of a similar nature were welcomed and much used by members of the Natural History Society. Altogether, there were about 50 volumes devoted to natural history.

At this time (1850) the 50-some members of the Social Library combined with the Natural History Society to form a single organization with a broadened scope. Lynn had a population of between 13,000 and 14,000 at that date, and there was an upsurge of cultural organizations during this period. In this same year of 1850, citizens in West Lynn formed a group known as the Exploring Circle. This included some of the members of the Natural History Society and it had somewhat the same objectives, but ranged more widely in its interests. In addition to scientific matter this group also pursued studies in local history, social conditions, politics, education, religion, etc. Meetings were held semi-monthly. One of the leading founders, and undoubtedly the best naturalist, was Cyrus Mason Tracy who authored a book entitled *Studies of the Essex Flora* published in 1858.

The relationship of the two groups is not clear from records now extant. Apparently the Exploring Circle was activated at a time when the Natural History Society was waning and becoming more interested in literary matters. Possibly it was a split-off group under leaders who were not satisfied with the older Society.

The Exploring Circle was organized by Cyrus M. Tracy, John C. Houghton, Stephen D. Poole, and Joseph M. Rowell.³ The group made an annual excursion to some local point of interest. Historical sites and local features of natural history were visited. Tracy, Houghton, and Rowell were all students of botany and served as guides for the field study of plant life. The greatest accomplishment of the Exploring Circle was the formation of a plan to preserve the Lynn Woods under the guidance of Cyrus Tracy in 1882. A trust was formed by the City of Lynn, and the Trustees of Public Forests acquired 160 acres as a nature preserve. This has been perpetuated as a public reservation, being administered by a Board of Park Commissioners, to the present day, and has become widely known as the largest natural park maintained within the city limits of any community in the United States.

Tracy, an editor of the *Lynn Transcript* among other occupations, was the leading botanist in the Lynn area during his lifetime. In addition to his flora, he published frequent articles in

3. See D. N. Johnson, *Sketches of Lynn, or the Changes of Fifty Years* (Lynn, 1880).

newspapers. Four installments of "Notes of a Naturalist" were published in the *Everett Monthly*, and he wrote a column "Flowers at Home" for the *Lynn Weekly Reporter*. He prepared one of the first articles published in *The American Naturalist* ("The Royal Families of Plants," Vol. 1). This journal, still being issued, was founded at the Peabody Academy of Science in Salem in 1867. Tracy wrote many articles about the Lynn Woods which was his favorite haunt for botanical study, and for the preservation of which he played the leading role. He eventually became known as the "Father of the Lynn Public Forests."⁴ He was a lecturer on botany for the Essex Institute in Salem (1848-1849). For six years he was professor of Botany and Materia Medica at the Massachusetts College of Pharmacy (1849-1855). He was one of the founders of the Houghton Horticultural Society. In 1869 he worked on the herbarium of the Peabody Academy of Science, naming, cataloguing, and mounting the plants of Essex County.

A second organization which could trace its beginning to the old Lynn Natural History Society was formed on 9 January 1875, as the Lynn Horticultural Society. Cyrus M. Tracy and Charles W. Lewis, a Lynn florist, with eighteen other charter members organized the Society. Meetings were held in Mr. Tracy's rooms at 173 Market Street. At the time the group drew up a constitution it was agreed to change its name to the Houghton Horticultural Society in honor of Abel Houghton, Jr., a local shoemaker who was an amateur horticulturalist. He had built a greenhouse at his residence on Pearl Street, which was among the first to be erected in this area. The Houghton Daliah was named in recognition of Mr. Houghton's work as a florist and in honor of the Society which bore his name. An unpublished account of the Houghton Horticultural Society was written by Ruth S. Wood in 1910. Her manuscript is deposited in the Lynn Public Library. One of the members of the Society, Louis A. Wentworth, became well known as an amateur botanist, holding the office of "Botanist" in the Society. An unpublished manuscript of his entitled "Commercial Food Plants and Their Uses" has also been deposited in the Lynn Public Library. Like his predecessor, Cyrus Tracy, Mr. Wentworth wrote many nature articles about the Lynn Woods.

4. See N. M. Hawkes, *Hearths and Homes of Old Lynn* (Lynn, 1907).

The first president of the Houghton Horticultural Society was Hon. Peter M. Neal; the first secretary was Henry H. Downing. In the year of organization (1875) the Society held its first public exhibition. One of its members, Edward A. Haven, became noted as a member of Capt. Zeigler's Arctic Expedition in 1902. Haven reported to the Society on his experiences in the field.

Three of the founding fathers of the Lynn Natural History Society were lawyers. These were James R. Newhall, Thomas B. Newhall, and Benjamin F. Mudge. Mr. Mudge was particularly interested in the geological and biological formation of marshes. At a meeting of the Essex Institute 13 February 1857, he read a paper he had prepared on "The Salt Marsh Formations of Lynn." This was later published in the *Proceedings of the Essex Institute* (1857). He became the second Mayor of Lynn. While he was trained in law, his interest in natural history, perhaps stimulated by the Lynn Natural History Society, eventually attracted him away from law and he became a professional naturalist. In 1863 he was appointed the State Geologist in Kansas. Two years later he was elected Prof. of Geology and Associated Sciences at the State Agricultural College at Manhattan, Kansas. He served that Institution for eight years and eventually gave to it his lifelong collection of rocks and minerals. In 1876 he published a research study entitled "Notes on the Tertiary and Cretaceous Periods of Kansas" in the *Bulletin of the Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories*. He discovered the first American fossil bird containing teeth. (An account of it was published by the famous paleontologist O. C. Marsh in Volume IV of the *American Journal of Science*.) Mudge was one of the founders and was the first president of the Kansas Academy of Science.

Dr. Daniel Perley, one of the physician-founders, made a special study of local wild flowers and trees. Joseph W. Rowell, a founder of the Exploring Circle, made a special study of the geology of the Lynn area and wrote articles based on his study.

One of the most active and productive members of the Lynn Natural History Society was Dr. Joseph B. Holder. He was only eighteen years of age when the Society was founded, but he took a most active part in the organization and undoubtedly this contact influenced him in his later career as a scientist. He served the society as one of its presidents. He became widely known as

a physician, naturalist, and author. In his early career as a naturalist, young Holder published in the *Lynn Weekly Reporter* five installments on the "Wild Flowers of Lynn" (1854). He compiled the first list of plants and birds of Essex County. A pond on Pine Hill was named "Holder's Pond," to honor this local naturalist. He went on collecting trips with Louis Agassiz for the purpose of dredging marine life off the shores of Nahant. Both Louis Agassiz and Spencer Fullerton Baird urged him in 1859 to accept a position as Surgeon-in-Chief to the government engineers stationed on the Florida Reef. This gave Dr. Holder an opportunity to study the biological features of a coral reef.

While engaged in his Florida studies, he became the first to establish proof of the rapid growth of corals which had not been previously realized. During the Civil War and later years he served as Health Officer and Surgeon at the military prison on Dry Tortugas over a period of seven years. This enabled him to continue his research on marine biology in general and on coral reefs in particular. He sent specimens and notes to Agassiz and the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. In 1871 he became assistant to A. S. Bickmore who was at that time founding the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. After serving as Assistant Director for ten years, Dr. Holder became Curator of Vertebrate Zoology at the museum. During the last three years of his career he specialized in marine zoology at that Institution. In 1873 he aided Dr. A. E. Verrill of Yale University in the study of collections from the "Explorations of Casco Bay by the U. S. Fish Commission." He was one of the founders of the American Ornithologists' Union, a member of the Society of Naturalists of Eastern U. S., and a Fellow of the New York Academy of Science. Among his many publications the following may be noted: "The Florida Reef," "History of the American Fauna" (1877), "The Atlantic Right Whales" (1883), and a revised edition of J. G. Wood's three volume encyclopedia entitled *Our Living World* (1885). This British masterpiece by the Rev. J. G. Wood was rewritten and adapted to American zoology by Dr. Holder.

Dr. Holder's son, Charles Frederick Holder, became as famous as his father, both as naturalist and author. Charles F. Holder, LL.D., was born only four years before the Natural History Society was dissolved, but the accomplishments of the Society undoubtedly

exerted an influence on the son through his father and other members of the Society, leading him to follow in his father's footsteps as a naturalist. In 1884 he and his father published jointly a text-book entitled *Elements of Zoology*. He became, also, a Fellow of the New York Academy of Science, was elected as a corresponding member of the Linnaean Society, and became associated with his father as Assistant Curator of Zoology at the American Museum of Natural History (1871-75). The younger Dr. Holder moved to Pasadena, California, where he became a leading citizen and a national figure as naturalist, sportsman, and author. He wrote many articles and books on fishing and hunting.

Among the many publications of C. F. Holder are the following volumes: *Marvels of Animal Life* (1885); *Charles Darwin, His Life and Work* (1891); *Louis Agassiz, His Life and Work* (1893); *The Big Game Fishes of the United States* (1903); *Big Game of the Sea* (1908); and, *The Game Fishes of the World* (1913). He served as President of the Pasadena Conservation Society and was the founder and first President of the Tuna Club. He was also President of the Pasadena Academy of Science. He was elected to the Chair of Zoology at Throop College of Technology and later became an Honorary Curator of its Museum. He received an honorary degree of LL.D.

In 1854 interest in the Natural History Society was dwindling, but a new public enterprise took shape. In the 10 June 1854 issue of the *Lynn Weekly Reporter* Dr. J. B. Holder made a plea for a free public library for Lynn. He wrote,

It is thought that the present time offers peculiar advantages towards such an enterprise, from the fact that some change is called for in the affairs of the Natural History Society which might, therefore, be induced to make such disposition of its property as to form a nucleus for an institution on a larger and more liberal scale. Connected with that Society is a valuable collection of books in various departments of literature, amounting to 1,200 to 1,500 volumes, besides many curiosities in which interest is felt by those belonging to that Society.

In the next issue of the *Reporter*, progress on this matter was given as follows: "At a meeting held at the Savings Bank Room, on Tuesday, Alonzo Lewis, Amos Rhodes, J. B. Holder, Joseph W. Nye, and B. J. Philips were chosen a committee to effect the estab-

lishment of a public library." They agreed "To endeavor to make arrangements with the Natural History Society for obtaining the library attached to the institution as a foundation for a more extensive collection."

On 24 March 1855, the Lynn Library Association was organized. A manuscript in the Lynn Public Library gives the following account of the event:

Aided and encouraged by the Natural History Society which generously offered to present the new Association with its valuable cabinet of birds and curiosities and also its library containing at that time about 1,300 volumes of good books — a special meeting of the Natural History Society was now called and a committee appointed to draft suitable articles for transfer of their cabinets, curiosities, and books to the new Association.

Restrictions established at the time of transfer assured public use of the property. It was agreed that the "Lynn Library Association shall preserve in good order said property and shall allow it to be accessible to all the city of Lynn under such restrictions and by the payment of such fees as shall be found necessary to promote the purposes of the Association." In 1862 the Lynn Library Association in turn donated its books to the Lynn city government to form a "Free Public Library." This transfer was effected on 14 April 1862, which marks the beginning of the Lynn Public Library.

The specimens of natural history were shortly afterwards given to the public schools. Records of the Lynn Public Library for October, 1862, mention "the transfer to the care of the Lynn School Committee, the case of stuffed birds and the cabinet of curios of the Lynn Natural History Society to be used in the Lynn High School."

In time the cabinets of Natural History were placed on deposit in the old Cobbet School. This building was totally destroyed by fire in the evening of 23-24 March, 1927. With the loss of this school building, all that remained of the collections from the Lynn Natural History Society was also destroyed.

From such a small, local natural history society which had a brief existence of 13 years, the contributions made to society in general and to professional natural history were substantial and

far-reaching. At least three professional naturalists stemmed from this group and undoubtedly had been greatly influenced by the activities of the Lynn Natural History Society. The publications of the members of this Society far outweigh those of many organizations of much greater size and with a longer period of existence. Important scientific contributions and publications can be traced to the stimulation of interest in natural history fostered by the Lynn Natural History Society.





FIG. 7. WOODCUT FROM SKETCH MADE OF THE MISSIONARY SETTLEMENT AT CAPE PALMAS, LIBERIA, IN 1839 BY GEORGE A. PERKINS OF SALEM.



FIG. 8. SIDEBOARD, SHERATON, MAHOGANY AND MAPLE, ATTRIBUTED TO THE SEYMOURS OF BOSTON, EARLY 19TH CENTURY. GIFT OF MRS. LOUIS A. SHAW.

An Old-Time Sportsmans Show



FIG. 9. VIEW OF AN OLD-TIME SPORTSMAN'S SHOW AT ESSEX INSTITUTE, 1961-1962.



FIG. 10. SNUFFBOX, HORN WITH GOLD MOUNTS, PROBABLY FRENCH, LATE 18TH CENTURY. OWNED IN WATERS FAMILY. GIFT OF WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD WATERS.



FIG. 11. COMBINATION SMALL DRESSING CHEST AND LAP DESK, MAHOGANY, SALEM, 1815-18. GIFT OF FREDERICK J. BRADLEE.

ESSEX INSTITUTE ANNUAL REPORT
1961-1962

OFFICERS

ALBERT GOODHUE, JR.
President

STEPHEN PHILLIPS
CHARLES S. TAPLEY
Vice-Presidents

ROBERT W. HILL
Treasurer

CHARLES H. P. COPELAND
Secretary

COUNCIL

Term expires 1963:
CHARLES H. P. COPELAND
HAROLD D. HODGKINSON
JOHN PICKERING

Term expires 1965:
J. SANGER ATTWILL
ERNEST S. DODGE
PAUL T. HASKELL
ROLLO G. SILVER

Term expires 1964:
W. HAMMOND BOWDEN
FREDERICK J. BRADLEE
AUGUSTUS P. LORING
STEPHEN PHILLIPS

Term expires 1966:
ALBERT GOODHUE, JR.
WILLIAM B. OSGOOD
CHARLES S. TAPLEY
MRS. BERTRAM K. LITTLE

STANDING COMMITTEES

FINANCE COMMITTEE

PAUL T. HASKELL, *Chairman* ROBERT W. HILL, *Treasurer*
AUGUSTUS P. LORING STEPHEN PHILLIPS
HAROLD G. MACOMBER JOHN PICKERING
 CHESTER F. VOORHEES

LIBRARY AND PUBLICATIONS

W. HAMMOND BOWDEN, RALF P. EMERSON
 Chairman
CHARLES H. P. COPELAND STEPHEN PHILLIPS
ERNEST S. DODGE ROLLO G. SILVER
 CHARLES S. TAPLEY

MUSEUM COMMITTEE

FREDERICK J. BRADLEE, MRS. BERTRAM K. LITTLE
 Chairman
J. SANGER ATTWILL WILLIAM B. OSGOOD
HAROLD D. HODGKINSON JOHN PICKERING

HONORARY CURATORS

Honorary Curators of Arms: ALBERT GOODHUE, JR.
 RICHARD K. SPRAGUE
Honorary Curator of Clocks: FRANCIS B. REMON
Honorary Curator of Coins: LEA S. LUQUER
Honorary Curator of Industrial
Manuscripts: PROF. ABBOTT P. USHER

STAFF

DEAN A. FALES, JR.

Director

MRS. RUTH C. BOYD

Administrative Secretary

Library & Publications

MISS HARRIET S. TAPLEY

Librarian Emeritus

DEAN A. FALES, JR.

Managing Editor

MRS. JULIA P. BARROW¹

Associate Librarian

MRS. DOROTHY M. POTTER

Reference Librarian

MRS. ANDREA H. BURNS²

Library Assistant

MRS. LOIS W. MARTIN³

Library Assistant

MRS. ANN H. BERRY⁴

Library Assistant

Museum

MISS HULDAH M. SMITH

Curator

MISS MARION C. THOMAS

Museum Assistant

Office

MISS BESSOM S. HARRIS

Office Manager

MISS KATHRYN BURKE

Bookkeeper

Maintenance

RAY K. MOORE

Custodian

MRS. SARAH E. BEECHEY

Housekeeper

1. Resigned Aug. 12, 1961

2. Resigned Aug. 31, 1961

3. Appointed Sept. 19, 1961

4. Appointed Nov. 7, 1961

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

One short year has passed since Mr. Bowden retired as President, and I use the word short advisedly, as it is but a brief period of time in our long history. It is now 114 years since the Essex Institute was formed as a union of the Essex Historical Society founded in 1821 and the Essex County Natural History Society which had its inception in 1833.

The leadership of many outstanding men and the generosity of several generations have made possible our substantial endowment and the superb and priceless collections of the Institute. Our houses and their fine furniture are the showcases of the Institute, and we are all aware of our great good fortune in owning them. The completion of the Crowninshield-Bentley House restoration this past winter is a monument to the devotion and determination of Mr. Frederick Bradlee, who has given generously of his time and resources, and whose fund raising ability is awesome and wonderful. Starting with the Ward House through the Crowninshield-Bentley, Peirce-Nichols, Pingree, Safford and Daland houses we now have a unique chronological cross section of the finest in Salem architecture and furniture.

Less well known, but of very great importance, is the wealth of our manuscript and other library material. To many this material does not have the popular appeal of our houses, paintings, and furniture, but it should be considered the heart of the Institute, as these collections are irreplaceable and priceless. The true measure of our holdings has been summed up well by Mr. Walter Whitehill, Director of the Boston Athenaeum, who has written in his book, *Independent Historical Societies*, now in press, that "Among county historical societies in the United States, the Essex Institute in Salem, Massachusetts, unquestionably takes first place for the extent and richness of its library and manuscripts and its century-long record of continuous scholarly publication. Although its field is Essex County, many of its possessions, particularly in manuscripts and unique broadsides, are of national significance."

This very brief summary of our history and holdings is possibly a pertinent and timely reminder of past accomplishments and the

great importance of our collections. But what of the present and the future?

The adequate preservation of our possessions is our greatest responsibility, and the outstanding work of our small staff under trying conditions resulting from limited time and space is ample evidence of their dedication—to them goes our sincere gratitude.

We have, however, reached the point where we cannot care for our collections and serve the public adequately without increasing our staff, and at the last meeting of the Council it was voted to obtain more assistance in the Museum and Library. With additional competent people working on our problems we can continue more quickly to put our house in order, consolidate our resources, and thus be able to evaluate possible future capital requirements for physical expansion. In essence this has been the procedure followed at the Peabody Museum, and we can look with affectionate envy at the results of their efforts.

The needs of the Institute which range from cleaning up the cellar of Plummer Hall to obtaining endowments for our houses (with the exception of the Pingree house endowment, for which we all are grateful to the Phillipses and Wheatlands) can be classified generally as essential short term projects or long range programs. To coordinate our requirements and establish priorities we have set up a Planning Committee, headed by William Osgood. His enthusiasm and hard work give ample assurance that we shall proceed carefully along a well defined and logical path.

No report by an Institute President has ever been given that did not consider our finances, and this one is no exception. It is obvious that without our endowment income, contributions, and membership dues we could not exist. And our needs in the coming year will be greater than ever. We have made sorely needed salary adjustments, and, as I mentioned before, will have two additions to the staff. We believe that this increased burden of costs is essential. It is never pleasant to budget a deficit, but if we are to carry out the work that so urgently needs to be done we have no alternative. The responsibility for minimizing our deficit must rest with the Council and our members. By means of an annual appeal and a concerted effort to obtain new members we hope that the projected \$8,300 deficit may be reduced materially.

We recently have received a substantial contribution from Mr. Osborne White for painting the trim on the Safford house. Gen-

erous as was the gift, an additional amount will be required to do this badly needed painting in 1962.

Also for the first time we have received a most welcome grant of \$500 from the Salem Marine Society for the preservation of our marine material.

In closing, I want to say that the most essential, although intangible, quality that must be maintained is a feeling of trust and confidence in the Institute. Support in the present and material gifts in the future will be forthcoming only if those concerned are *certain* that their efforts are performing a useful service, or that contributions to our library, museum or endowment will be properly preserved and truly appreciated.

Substantial contributions to the funds and collections of the Institute in the past year and the enthusiasm of our Ladies' Committee and Volunteers are, I am sure, evidence of this confidence. It is most sincerely appreciated, as is the self-effacing and unrewarded work of Mrs. Fales who has won our universal affection and respect.

In the past few years much has been done to make the Institute more attractive to the public and the large increase last year in the number of visitors to our houses is most encouraging.

I believe that for the first time in the Institute's long history we have a Director and Museum Curator who have been trained professionally in Museum work. We are most fortunate (and this is a gross understatement) to have both Dean Fales and Huldah Smith with us. My almost daily conversations with Dean Fales have solidified my great respect for his administrative competence and professional knowledge. His good cheer and light-hearted but serious enthusiasm is a bright hope for the future.

To the staff and Council I express my sincere thanks for their cooperation, help and advice.

With a constant awareness of our responsibilities we must make plans for the future that will most effectively make available for present and future generations the inheritance that has been entrusted to our care. By so doing we will fulfill the objectives of those who, with such rare foresight, founded the Essex Institute more than one hundred years ago.

Respectfully submitted,

ALBERT GOODHUE, JR.

President.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

Last fall I received a form letter addressed to "Head Coach, Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.," offering football shoulder pads. It started off "Are you getting the pep and performance out of your team that you should?" I never finished reading the letter, but I trust the following report on the activities of the Institute from April 1, 1961 to March 31, 1962 will give a strongly affirmative answer to the question set forth in the letter.

Since the Institute is responsible for twelve buildings, ranging from the minute crannies of the Lye-Tapley Shoe Shop to the primeval caverns of Plummer Hall, an important part of any annual report should dwell on improvements and major repairs to these structures.

An appeal was sent out to our members for the rehabilitation of the Ward House. Built in 1684, and moved to the Institute's grounds and restored in 1911, the house is important not only as a good example of a late seventeenth century dwelling, but also as one of the first of these early houses ever moved and restored by an Institution. The generous response of 181 persons to our appeal, in addition to the generous contribution of Mr. Stephen Phillips, enabled the Institute to refurbish the exterior of the house, as well as making the structural repairs needed. When completed, the house was cleaned, new installations were made in the early rooms, and on August 9 a reception was held in the Institute garden for our members to celebrate the reopening of the house. Now, with the Ward, Crowninshield-Bentley, and Pingree houses all open in the summer, it is possible for visitors to see important Salem houses of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries without leaving the main grounds of the Institute.

Three major operations were performed in the Pingree House. The first was the installation in the third floor hall of four large panels of wallpaper painted by Michele Felice Corné at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This wallpaper, which had been removed from the Lindall-Barnard house, 393 Essex Street, is the most complete of a very few specimens of Corné paper—and

for that matter, American wallpaper of that period—in existence today. The second major job was that of completely modernizing the kitchen in the back part of the house where the Moores live. While the general public does not see this vital room, the smiles on the faces of the Moores attest to the success of the project. Finally, the installation of window shutters on the Washington Square side of the house dresses the recently exposed east wall of the building in a more decorous and decorative manner.

During the winter the Pingree Barn has been cleared out, and after a certain amount of cleaning up is done inside, we hope to use this large area for the display of wagons, sleighs, the stage-coach, and other objects pertaining to this type of structure.

The back two rooms of the Crowninshield-Bentley House which were added by Captain Benjamin Crowninshield in 1794 have been restored during the winter. They are being furnished now, and the entire house will be ready and settled for its June opening.

At the Peirce-Nichols House, major repairs and repainting were done to the fence and to the carriage shed behind the house. We hope that this year we will be able to start certain interior improvements, such as the hanging of a proper sort of reproduction wallpaper in the entrance hall.

Besides more normal work on the main buildings, the house next to Peirce-Nichols at 78 Federal Street was painted last fall, and work was done on the Doll House in the garden.

While the progress of the past year has been significant, there is—and always will be—much to be done in the fields of maintenance, repairs, and improvements. It is hoped that this year will see the trim of Safford House repainted, the Cupola from the Pickman-Derby-Brookhouse house and its marvellous Corné painting refurbished, and the start of a series of improvements in the exhibition areas of the main buildings.

One major innovation that occurred was the installation of fluorescent lights throughout the second floor of Daland House. These lights, the generous gift of Sylvania Electric Products, Inc., are located in the main reading rooms and in the cataloguing room of the library. Their brilliance is as astonishing as it is desirable, and for the first time, both visitors and staff are able to use our holdings with a discernment and pleasure that formerly were

left mostly to the imagination—especially at 3 o'clock on a dull winter's day.

All has not been joy in the library, however, since three of its best friends have died during the year. Miss Florence Osborn, former Reference Librarian, and a staff member for twenty-seven years until her retirement in 1955, passed away in December. Mr. Frederic Augustus Gannon, one of the library's most constant users, and a member of the Institute Council from 1945 to 1954, died in February. Finally, the passing away of Mr. William Bushby, scholar, genealogist, and friend to all, has deprived the library and the Institute of one of the staunchest allies we have ever had.

Many changes have also occurred in the library staff. Mrs. Julia Barrow, Associate Librarian, left last August to accompany her husband to the Far East in Missouri, and Mrs. Andrea Burns retired at the same time for reasons more maternal. For several months, Mrs. Dorothy Potter, our Reference Librarian, was our sole staff member attending the library, and not only was she able to hold down the fort, but, as we shall see, an amazing amount of progress was also made during the year under her direction. Mrs. Lois Martin became a part-time assistant in September, and in November, Mrs. Ann Berry joined the staff as fulltime Library Assistant. Messrs. Leo Freeman and Donald Nutting continued their valuable Saturday work.

Among the accomplishments of the year in the library were, first of all, the handling and processing of 2,055 accessions, a prodigious amount! The Essex County collection of printed material has been cleaned and rearranged, as have been the holdings on two floors of the fireproof stacks. Our log book collection has been cleaned, relabeled, rechecked, and boxed properly. A start has been made in the remounting and preserving of the broadside collection. The family manuscripts are now all housed together, with the catalogue cards for them revised. The listings of these and all other manuscript holdings have been consolidated and brought up to date. We are doing all we can to cooperate with the Library of Congress Union Catalogue of Manuscripts, which will be the most extensive and exhaustive (and I am sure exhausting) project ever undertaken for the listing of American manuscript holdings. A manuscript shelf list has also been started,

and countless smaller areas in the library have been cleaned and rearranged. Microfilming of the *Salem Evening News* has moved ahead, with four years now done, and with current editions being received quarterly on microfilm.

Among the important gifts of the past year, the Institute received on deposit the records of the First Congregational Church of Essex. These important records, extending from 1676 to 1930, comprise records of the church, the town, schools, and several societies in Chebacco Parish. Mr. Albert Goodhue has deposited a manuscript account book of H. A. Potter of Marblehead, showing the allowances paid to the families of military men during the early years of the Civil War. Winterthur Museum donated the microfilm of the account book of Joseph Lindsey, an important Marblehead cabinet maker and lumber surveyor, covering the years 1739-1764. Mrs. Samuel Hammond donated one of the most fascinating items imaginable—a letter written from Salem Gaol by Richard Crowninshield to his father and brother while he was under indictment for the murder of Captain Joseph White.

Another important gift to the library from the Pingree heirs is a vast amount of Pingree family papers, consisting of sixty-three ledgers, account books, timberland records, etc., and fifty-one boxes of records dealing with the Pingree family interests in Maine from around 1850 to 1900. These records tie in very well with the earlier Pingree papers the Institute already has, and shed much light on one of the most engaging enterprises of this important Salem family.

Since our collection of Essex County imprints is tantalizingly complete, most of our additions have been in the manuscript field. We have acquired manuscripts of John Pickering the lexicographer, Caleb Cushing, Colonel Timothy Pickering, Bartholomew Gedney, one of the witchcraft judges, Jeremiah Dummer, and a group of seventeen important letters written in the early part of this century by Henry Cabot Lodge. We also acquired the articles of a fire society in Salem organized in 1744, one of the earliest dates for this type of group, and a manuscript history of Deare Island in the Merrimac River by Sidney Perley. Several Whittier pieces have been accessioned, and to our Hawthorne collection we have added ten items, including a contemporary unknown photograph, a letter from George Lathrop to Hawthorne in 1872

about *Fanshawe*, and a letter of Julian Hawthorne telling about his father's writings.

The variety of library accessions is vast indeed. An effort has been made to gather all the works of contemporary Essex County authors, so that our acquisitions run the gamut from Philip English to John Updike, and from John Adams to Mrs. Janet Erickson. Mrs. Potter and the entire library staff deserve great credit for these accomplishments during a busy and difficult year.

The *Historical Collections* contained many articles of interest. A special issue on the Crowninshield-Bentley house contained, for the first time, an article by Julia Barrow describing the many facets of Dr. Bentley and showing the importance of this fascinating individual both in his own time and ours. Richard H. McKey, Jr. started a series of articles on Elias Hasket Derby, and Dr. Norman Bennet concluded his series on American trade with Zanzibar. Other articles dealt with Augustus Peabody Gardner, the early town records of Ipswich, and funeral customs in Middleton, as well as Philip Chadwick Foster Smith's enjoyable, cool article on the ice trade from Wenham Lake.

During the year, the Institute brought out a reproduction of our unique engraving of the "North East View of the Great Town of Boston," done in the 1720's by William Burgis. Our publication sales of the past year have been higher than any of the preceding twenty-five, excepting those when special books were published. Since we are no longer able to supply complete runs of the *Historical Collections*, this means that a very large amount of single publications have been sold. When Miss Harris fractured her wrist late in the winter, most people assumed it was from a fall on the ice, while a few of us wondered if it were not more likely due to the unbelievable amount of packaging and wrapping she has done during this record year.

During this time there have been eight excellent lectures at the Institute. Special members' lectures were given by Mrs. Dean A. Fales, Jr. on early American silver, and by Mrs. J. Clifford Ross on the great English Georgian houses. During October the lecture series consisted of talks by Miss Eleanor Broadhead on late nineteenth-century Salem trade cards, Mr. Roland B. Hammond on the Parson Barnard house in North Andover, Mrs. Richard Merrill on old dolls, and Mr. W. Hammond Bowden on the part played by

Salem and Essex County in the early stages of the Civil War. In addition, Historic Salem, Inc. sponsored two lectures given at the Institute by Mrs. William Slater Allen and Abbott Lowell Cummings. For this year, we plan to spread our lectures out more over the year, as well as having a course in the fall on the restoration and preservation of old houses for private individuals.

In addition to the Ward House reopening, a dazzling reception was held at the opening of The Old Time Sportsman's Show in November. At this, and at all Institute functions, the Ladies' Committee proved the measure of success, and to each member of this Committee go our deepest thanks. Aably co-captained by Mrs. Philip W. Bourne and Mrs. Paul T. Haskell, the Committee has been platooned into various divisions, with Mrs. Howard Wheeler and Mrs. Henry J. Burns handling publicity, Mrs. Philip H. Lord in charge of flowers, Mrs. Alfred P. Putnam in charge of refreshments, and Mrs. Carlyle H. Holt in charge of hostesses. Mrs. Franklin A. Hebard was also in charge of hostesses, and her loss has deprived the Institute of one of its dearest and most knowledgeable friends.

Volunteers have long been the mainstay of both of Salem's large institutions. While people in faraway museums cannot understand how our volunteers are so faithful and help us produce so much, we in Salem revel in them! Last year a total of thirty-one volunteers—or three times our fulltime staff—helped us tremendously. Mrs. Ralf P. Emerson has aided us on innumerable occasions in the library. Mr. Andrew Heath rejoined us as a volunteer in the library and office, and Mr. Ross Whittier has added his knowledge and talents to the museum. My favorite volunteer of all, however, is my wife, and her five-weeks course in the American decorative arts was attended by twenty-one of our guides, and their faithfulness and enthusiasm enabled the Institute to provide what I feel is the best guiding in the entire area. This year, another course specializing in the Federal period has just been concluded, and this will swell our ranks by ten more. To all volunteers and honorary curators go our deepest thanks—and to my favorite goes much more!

Extra-curricular staff activities during the year have been varied. Mrs. Potter spoke on the library at a local meeting. Marion Thomas, Museum Assistant, visited the major historic houses in

Virginia. Huldah Smith spoke in Salem, at the Antique Collectors' weekend at Sturbridge, and to the Antique Club of New Jersey, as well as cataloguing the Dutch and English ceramics at the Van Courtlandt Mansion in New York City. Both Faleses were invited to be on the faculty of the Seminars on American Culture, sponsored by the New York State Historical Association at Coopers-town, where we taught a joint course on American silver and pewter. We also spoke at Sturbridge, and I spoke four times in Essex County, as well as orating on the Institute and Salem in Maine and in Richmond, Virginia. We also visited twenty-three other museums, historical societies, and libraries; and I attended six professional meetings during the year. I also had the honor of being elected to the Council of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts and was appointed a member of the Salem Historic District Study Committee.

Our attendance for 1961-1962 was over 20,000, a slight drop from the previous year, our all time high. However, the attendance in our houses increased from 3,000 to almost 3,500.

During the summer, Miss Paula P. Prescott joined the staff, showing the Crowninshield-Bentley and Ward houses, and Miss Louise Alpers and Mrs. Deborah Burnham were part-time assistants in the museum. In spite of the changes—especially in the library—the staff has nobly attended to their work. There have been more requests for information and research on all fronts, activities have increased, and the entire pace of our work has grown more demanding. The staff has kept up with this. Mrs. Beechey and Mrs. Cook have more to clean and do it better than ever. Kathryn Burke's financial reports have become monumental. Ray Moore's projects multiply in geometrical, rather than arithmetical, progression. Edward Leonard's talents now comprise assisting in all departments—sometimes in two at once! And Ruth Boyd's work in the museum, on our publication, and in keeping me on the right track has been invaluable.

This pace has also been accelerated in the museum, where Huldah Smith and Marion Thomas have worked hard indeed. An emphasis has been placed on both the straightening out of the myriad of object records, and in the checking and bringing order to many of the important large storage areas. The attic, with the help of Sargent Bradlee and Ross Whittier, has been both cleaned

and checked, and the records on our paintings brought up to date. Many new installations have been made both in the museum and in our houses, including the assembling of our best pieces of local pottery in a new exhibit on the museum balcony.

In the field of exhibitions, a special exhibit on Salem's one hundred twenty-fifth anniversary as a city was put on last summer. This, a featuring of our Civil War collections, and a small Christmas show comprised the smaller exhibits. A major show, the Old Time Sportsman's Show (Fig. 9), opened in November and will continue through this fall. This exhibition, concerned with fishing, hunting, and the out-of-doors, featured objects from our own collections, as well as those generously lent by private collectors and other institutions. This show was Huldah Smith's brainchild, and its success attests to her imagination and perseverance.

As the library has sent out many books on inter-library loan, so has the museum provided important material for other exhibitions. In addition to the lending of objects to several local institutions, Institute material was loaned to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston for their Civil War Show, to the Boston Arts Festival, and to the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Company for their exhibition of objects owned by John and Dorothy Hancock.

Three hundred and forty-two new accessions were processed during the year for the museum and our houses. The quality of these objects is exceptional, and it is difficult indeed to select only a few to mention in this report. Among the furniture given the Institute, Mrs. Louis A. Shaw donated one of the finest Sheraton sideboards known attributed to John and Thomas Seymour of Boston (Fig. 8); Mr. Frederick J. Bradlee gave a unique small Salem combination lady's dressing chest and lap desk of the early nineteenth century (Fig. 11); and Mr. John H. Ricketson gave an important Chippendale side chair with carved claw-and-ball feet made in Salem in the 1770's. Two important Charles Osgood portraits were also received: one a portrait of James Endicott Curwen given by Mr. and Mrs. Moses Alpers, the other a portrait of Ruth Gleason Reed in a highly elaborate gilt frame, given by Mrs. Robert Skinner. In silver, Mr. Sargent Bradlee gave a spoon made by Edward Lang of Salem for the Widow Hannah Crowninshield; and Mr. Everett H. Black gave a fascinating ladle possibly made in China and owned originally by Captain Thomas Cheever.

Other gifts include a large group of over fifty china children's mugs of the early nineteenth century given by Mrs. Clarence L. Hay, Mr. Francis A. Wendell, and Mr. Francis R. Appleton, Jr. in memory of their mother, Fanny Lanier Appleton; a four piece set of japanned papier-mâché furniture of the mid-nineteenth century given by Mr. and Mrs. Sumner Pingree in memory of Mrs. Larz Anderson; in our coin collection, a rare 1818 U. S. quarter purchased from a gift of Stack's of New York; an extremely fine snuffbox of horn and gold with miniature portraits on the cover given by Mr. William Crowninshield Waters (Fig. 10); and a fine set of silver buckles owned by Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke given by Mrs. Edward H. Osgood.

In addition to the Lang spoon, other gifts were received for the Crowninshield-Bentley house. Mr. and Mrs. Willard C. Cousins donated a large, important group of textiles, wrought iron kitchen wares, and miniature pewter. Mr. Frederick J. Bradlee gave a mid-eighteenth century brass door knocker, and Roland B. Hammond gave a very fine early strip carpet. The Peabody Museum deposited Bentley's Persian Library and a group of Crowninshield family domestic memorabilia in the house. Other acquisitions by our Museum have ranged from a nineteenth century decorated surf casting rod owned by Edward Bass of Newburyport to a slant-top cherry desk labeled by Edmund Johnson, one of the most important of the Salem Federal cabinetmakers; and have ranged from a man's leather pocketbook inscribed "Richard Derby, Jr. Apr. 7, 1751" to a slatback maple armchair owned originally by Judge Samuel Holten of Danvers. As with the library accessions, the acquisitions of the museum are representative of the entire county in their scope.

Over fifty student and adult groups, numbering over 2300 persons, were also conducted through the museum on special tours. While they were largely local, some groups came from such distant places as New York, Delaware, and the District of Columbia.

These, then, are the accomplishments of the past year. While the Council, committee members, and officers of the Institute have not been mentioned, it should be obvious that their planning, interest, and help are responsible for most of the progress that has been—and will be—made. While great thought is being given to

future plans by the Council, it is through their direction, and through the devoted work of the staff and our volunteers, combined with a deep interest on the part of all of our members, that we are enabled to accomplish all we do.

One last crucial topic remains—and that is to thank our President for his patience, willingness, good judgment, and hard work in behalf of us all. His energy and enthusiasm are remarkable and will mean much to the future development of the Institute.

It has always been my feeling that a Director of a historical society and a radiator cap of an old automobile have much in common. The radiator cap indicated the pressure of the cooling system and helped occasionally sell a car. Both are highly decorative, and while they are of some value to the general operation, it is actually the motor that does the work and the chassis and body that do the carrying. Therefore, to our Council, to our members, and especially to the staff go my thanks for a year of devotion and accomplishment.

The reason I never finished the letter to the Head Coach was that I felt we could do what we had to without shoulder pads. I am sure it was the right decision!

Respectfully submitted,

DEAN A. FALES, JR.

Director.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

I have the honor of presenting to you my sixth annual report as your Treasurer for the fiscal year which ended on March 31, 1962. This is the report of a live and constructively functioning organization, worthy in its present operation of its great traditions and its past history.

In my last report, I expressed the hope that careful management, coupled with the expected increased income from our permanent funds, would enable us this year to balance the budget. Unfortunately, we did not quite reach that goal, but closed the year with an operating deficit which was actually only \$935.74, the smallest during the last few years.

Again this year, we have benefited from the generosity of our members and friends. Seven have taken out life memberships. Donations in response to our appeal for the Ward House Fund totalled \$3,434.50, which, with \$1,235.62 from a prior gift by Stephen Phillips, enabled the house to be restored and preserved for many years to come. Legacies totalling \$8,330.60 were received under the wills of Mary S. Rouse (\$7,830.64 final payment) and of Sally A. Bowen (\$500.00) and from the Trustees under the will of Joan U. Newhall (\$200.00 added to the Turner and Newhall Memorial Funds). Additional sums were received, as donations, from Stephen Phillips (\$1,143.59), Mrs. James Duncan Phillips (\$426.96), various members (\$369.99, of which \$110.00 was for specific work to be done and which work was done for the amount of the gifts) and from Stephen Wheatland (\$2,091.86) which was added to the Pingree House Endowment Fund.

During the year the interest of our members and friends in the Crowninshield-Bentley House was again displayed by contributions totalling \$7,381.89. This makes a grand total received for this purpose of \$54,877.67, plus \$8,000.00 contributed by the Institute from its Preservation and Expansion Fund. We hope that this \$8,000.00 will be the beginning of an endowment fund for the support and maintenance of this house, similar to that protecting the Pingree House. Our members may hear more about

this endowment after the restoration and furnishing of the house are completed.

Under the direction of the Finance Committee, \$10,000.00 U. S. Treasury 2¼'s were sold for \$9,903.13, and stocks having a market value of \$90,933.12 were sold. The profit from these sales added \$51,314.51 to our principal surplus, making the grand total at the close of our fiscal year, \$225,499.30.

During the year, bonds having a face value of \$15,000.00 matured and were paid at par. Bonds having a face value of \$120,000.00 were purchased for \$100,038.33. At maturity these bonds should show a substantial gain to the Institute.

Stock splits were as follows: Philadelphia Electric issued 515 new shares on a two for one split; Commonwealth Edison 249 shares on a two for one split; Pacific Gas and Electric 596 shares on a three for one split; International Business Machines Corp. 5 ½ shares on a three for two split (one-half share having been purchased to make the total six shares).

In addition to the stock splits, Pacific Gas and Electric issued rights and we bought 15 shares. Standard Oil Company of Indiana issued 7 shares of Standard Oil Company (N.J.) as a special dividend and Standard Oil Company of California 45 shares as a 5% common dividend.

In our current operations, the highlights of our income were from the following sources: Invested Funds \$64,202.60 (an increase of \$2,175.87 over last year); Sales \$6,803.35 (an increase of \$2,523.19); Admissions \$1,561.65 (up \$213.90); Donations \$1,830.54 (off \$275.36); Annual Dues \$7,030.00 (up \$136.00); the total from all sources available for operations being \$68,414.62 (an increase of \$4,470.85 over last year).

The expenses of this year's operation totalled \$69,350.36 (an increase of \$3,577.83) and being only \$935.74 in excess of the income.

The Finance Committee, realizing that the operating deficits of the last few years prior to this year had reached a combined total of \$11,674.48, charged off this sum against the accumulated principal surplus and transferred it to Income Cash to balance that account.

Our bonds this last year earned 4.008% on their book value of \$621,425.66 and 4.157% on their market value of

\$599,116.25. Our stocks earned 9.958% on their book value of \$377,394.73, but only 3.136% on their market value of \$1,198,004.27.

With our savings and commercial bank deposits, the book value of all our invested funds totalled \$1,044,622.37 but their market value amounted to \$1,842,922.50. If we add to these values the real estate owned by the Institute, even at its book value, it would produce a total of \$2,234,564.07. In addition, we also have on hand at least \$50,000.00 worth of books, merchandise and supplies for sale, but which are not scheduled on our balance sheet. The Institute owes no bills other than current operational expenses.

I acknowledge with appreciation the cooperation I have received from the President, Director and members of the Finance Committee and especially from Bessom Harris and Kathryn Burke of the Financial Department of the Institute. Incidentally, as I understand, at the next annual meeting in 1963, Miss Harris will be celebrating her fiftieth consecutive year of faithful and devoted service to the Institute. I assume the event will then be suitably recognized.

Our books, records, insurance policies and securities have been examined and carefully audited by Harris S. Knight, C.P.A. of Salem, and his report has been duly submitted to the President and the Finance Committee.

Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT W. HILL,

Treasurer.

May 15, 1962

CONDENSED BALANCE SHEET

March 31, 1962

Cash	\$ 19,915.75	
Savings Bank Deposits	55,617.09	
Bonds—Book Value	621,425.66	
Stocks—Book Value	377,394.73	
Real Estate	404,534.57	
Overexpended Income Accounts	1,257.88	
	<hr/>	
Total		\$1,480,145.68

FUNDS

Funds—Principal and Income Restricted	6,520.36	
Funds—Principal Invested Income Restricted	290,118.25	
Funds—"Margaret Duncan Phillips Fund"	20,749.51	
Funds—Principal Invested Income Unrestricted	328,603.96	
Funds—Principal and Income Unrestricted	582,228.67	
Surplus Principal	225,499.30	
Income Accounts	26,425.63	
	<hr/>	
Total		\$1,480,145.68

CONDENSED INCOME ACCOUNT

Investments	64,384.05	
Dues	7,030.00	
Other Income	10,206.55	
	<hr/>	
TOTAL INCOME		\$81,620.60
Deduct:		
Miscellaneous Income Credited to		
Restricted Income Accounts	2,610.33	
Restricted Income from Investments	13,972.17	
	<hr/>	
		16,582.50
		<hr/>
		65,038.10
Add:		
Restricted Income available for		
General Operations		3,376.52
		<hr/>
NET INCOME AVAILABLE FOR GENERAL PURPOSES		\$68,414.62

EXPENDITURES:

Corporation	7,136.33	
Salaries	44,477.62	
Buildings and Grounds Expense	6,208.65	
Publication	5,474.06	
Houses	3,789.53	
Miscellaneous	2,264.17	
	<hr/>	
		69,350.36
		<hr/>
INCOME OVEREXPENDED		(\$935.74)

FUNDS—PRINCIPAL AND INCOME RESTRICTED

March 31, 1962

China Library Room Fund—"To be applied to Providing suitable room for China Library"—Est. 1902	\$938.55
John James Currier Fund—Accumulation from sale of histories, to be disposed of by Directors—Est. 1914	566.26
Building Fund—Est. 1929	3,297.17
Stephen Phillips Funds	1,718.38
	<hr/>
	\$6,520.36

THE MARGARET DUNCAN PHILLIPS FUND—

Income for Publication Dept. after 10% of income is added to Principal

Balance April 1, 1961	\$20,586.29
Income 1961-1962—\$1,632.15—\$1,468.93 to Publication Dept.—10% or \$163.22 to Principal	163.22
	<hr/>
	\$20,749.51

FUNDS—PRINCIPAL INVESTED—INCOME RESTRICTED

March 31, 1962

NANCY D. COLE—"Ichabod Tucker Fund"	
"Historical Department and purchase of books and binding"	5,000.00
NANCY D. COLE—"Thomas Cole Fund"	
"Purchase of books and apparatus for the Microscopical Department and for the Library"	5,000.00
ESSEX HISTORICAL SOCIETY	
"Historical Purposes"	700.00
ESSEX COUNTY NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY	
"Natural History or Horticulture"	700.00
AUGUSTUS STORY	
"Purchase, Preservation and Publication of historical material, proceedings and memoirs"	10,000.00
JAMES A. EMMERTON	
"Support of Historical Collections"	10,000.00
MARTHA G. WHEATLAND	
"Purchase of books for Library"	10,800.00
SALEM LYCEUM	
"Support of Free Lectures"	3,000.00
WM. MACK, M. D.	
"Purchase of rare and expensive works of merit in medicine and surgery"	5,000.00
HARRIET P. FOWLER	
"Salary of an assistant librarian who shall have charge of donations made by Miss Fowler"	3,000.00
FREDERICK LAMSON	
"Purchase of objects for museum, illustrating early New England life and customs"	1,000.00
ELIZABETH C. WARD	
"Purchase of books and pictures relating to China and the Chinese"	9,000.00

LYDIA A. VERY—"Jones and Washington Very Memorial Fund"		
"Acquisition, care and preservation of books and manuscripts of Essex County authors, also care and maintenance of cemetery lot."		17,342.80
CAROLINE R. DERBY		
"Care of Derby Tomb, balance to be used for general purposes"		500.00
ALDEN PERLEY WHITE		
"Purchase of books"		1,136.11
WM. GRAY BROOKS		
"Purchase of books for Library"		500.00
HENRY W. BELKNAP		
"Purchase of objects for Museum"		1,000.00
ELIZABETH R. VAUGHAN		
"Care of Doll House"		3,000.00
CROWNINSHIELD-BENTLEY HOUSE FUND		
Established April 1959		
Total Donations prior years	55,495.78	
<i>Donors current year:</i>		
Edward L. Bigelow	Caspar C. deGersdorff	
Mr. and Mrs. Alfred E. Bissell	Mr. and Mrs. E. duPont Irving	
Frederick J. Bradlee	Harold D. Hodgkinson	
Edith W. Burbeck Trust	Mrs. Robert Homans	
Mrs. T. Jefferson Coolidge	Augustus P. Loring	
Mrs. Lamont duPont Copeland	Mrs. J. Clifford Ross	
Total Current year	7,381.89	
	<hr/>	
TOTAL FUND		62,877.67
JOHN WARD HOUSE FUND		
Established May 1961		
Gift of Stephen Phillips	1,235.62	
Donations from Members' Appeal	3,434.50	
(See p. 211)		
	<hr/>	
TOTAL FUND		4,670.12
PEIRCE-NICHOLS HOUSE MEMORIAL		
80 Federal Street, Salem	34,173.31	
Gift of Stephen Phillips	4,152.07	
	<hr/>	
TOTAL FUND		38,325.38
PINGREE HOUSE		
Gift of Anna P. Phillips, Richard Wheatland, Stephen Wheatland, David P. Wheatland, Lucia P. Fulton, Anna Ordway, Martha Ingraham, and Stephen Phillips		30,000.00
PINGREE HOUSE ENDOWMENT FUND		
Gift of Anna W. Ordway, Stephen Phillips, David P. Wheatland, Lucia P. Fulton, Stephen Wheatland, Mary K. Wheatland, and Martha Ingraham		64,566.17
STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS BEQUEST		
"Purchase of books and manuscripts and preservation of same"		3,000.00
		<hr/>
		\$290,118.25

FUNDS—PRINCIPAL AND INCOME UNRESTRICTED

March 31, 1962

Benefactors:

George L. Ames	\$122,224.65
Sally A. Bowen	500.00
Francis B. C. Bradlee	1,000.00
Mary Endicott Carnegie	10,000.00
Sarah A. Cheever	500.00
William J. Cheever	20,000.00
Mary S. Cleveland	3,828.14
Walter Scott Dickson	35,393.11
Abby W. Ditmore	1,500.00
Luis F. Emilio	12,201.95
William C. Endicott	50,000.00
Frank P. Fabens	2,000.00
Esther Files	1,000.00
Mary Eliza Gould	11,512.24
George Wilbur Hooper	5,000.00
William B. Howes	25,000.00
J. Frederick Hussey	2,000.00
Susan S. Kimball	1,000.00
Annie F. King	500.00
Helen D. Lander	1,000.00
Lucy A. Lander	2,500.00
Elizabeth L. Lathrop	15,457.50
Augustus Peabody Loring, Jr.	1,000.00
Esther C. Mack	4,000.00
Fanny P. Mason	10,000.00
Harriet G. McMullan	3,000.00
Edward S. Morse	5,000.00
Seth W. Morse	9,929.24
Isabel S. Newcomb	1,000.00
Elizabeth S. Osgood	1,000.00
Robert Osgood	15,000.00
William B. Osgood	100.00
Charles L. Peirson	1,100.00
Stephen Willard Phillips	5,000.00
Dudley L. Pickman	2,500.00
David Pingree	35,000.00
Abel H. Proctor	5,000.00
Neal Rantoul	10,300.00
Mary S. Rouse	32,830.64
Mary T. Saunders	1,000.00
George Plummer Smith	4,770.00
Annie G. Spinney	1,000.00
Lucy W. Stickney	30,158.25
J. Henry Stickney	1,000.00
Annie S. Symonds	778.70
Elizabeth C. Ward	6,973.22
Abbie C. West	4,075.00
Elizabeth Wheatland	7,626.66
Abigail O. and Mary E. Williams	500.00

Funds:

Essex Institute Preservation and Expansion	24,521.80
Safford House	33,947.57

Total

\$582,228.67

FUNDS—PRINCIPAL INVESTED—INCOME UNRESTRICTED

March 31, 1962

*General Endowment Funds**Benefactors:*

William Agge	100.00
William Gardner Barker	400.00
Charles Hastings Brown	200.00
Charles Davis	5,000.00
George B. Farrington	25,129.86
Jennie K. Hyde	5,000.00
Clement Stevens Houghton	500.00
Harriet Rose Lee	2,000.00
Dr. Edward D. Lovejoy	10,000.00
John Peabody Monks, M. D.	1,000.00
Harold Peabody	500.00
Robert Peele and Elizabeth R. Peele	2,120.00
Margaret D. Phillips	1,000.00
Stephen Phillips	2,000.00
David Pingree	5,000.00
Arthur W. West	5,000.00

Memorial Endowments

<i>Benefactors:</i>	<i>In Memory of:</i>	
Mrs. William Page Andrews	WILLIAM PAGE ANDREWS	1,000.00
Miss Caroline O. Emmerton, Mrs. David Mason Little, Mrs. George Hodges Shattuck, Mr. David Kimball, Mrs. Katherine Kimball Baker, Mrs. Talbot Aldrich, Mrs. Rosamond de Laitre	JOHN BERTRAM	4,150.00
Mrs. Franklin Green Balch, Mrs. Charles Pickering Bowditch, Miss Cornelia Bowditch, Ingersoll Bowditch, Mrs. Ernest Amory Codman	NATHANIEL BOWDITCH 1773-1838	1,000.00
Miss Jenny Brooks	HENRY MASON BROOKS	54,789.62
Mrs. Francis Ward Chandler	HENRY TUCKER DALAND	100.00
Frances D. Higgins	MERIAN FISKE DONOGHUE	1,000.00
James V. Eagleston	CAPT. JOHN H. EAGLESTON	1,600.00
Mary C. Ellis	MARY CROWNINSHIELD (WHITTRIDGE) ELLIS	25.00
Miss Sarah Tucker Franks	REV. JAMES POTTER FRANKS	25.00
From his descendants	NATHANIEL FROTHINGHAM	1,000.00
Mrs. Robert Wales Emmons	THOMAS GARDNER	750.00

<i>Benefactors:</i>	<i>In Memory of:</i>	
Francis Gray, Miss Hope Gray, Mrs. John Chipman Gray, Ralph Weld Gray, Mrs. Reginald Gray, Mrs. Russell Gray, Stephen M. W. Gray	WILLIAM GRAY	700.00
Mrs. Ella Harrington Harris	RICHARD AND ELLEN URSULA HARRINGTON	50.00
Eleanor Hassam	HASSAM FUND	82,239.48
Mrs. James Jackson Higginson, Mrs. Charles Jackson	DR. JAMES JACKSON HIGGINSON	200.00
Mrs. Richard Spofford Russell	THOMAS FRANKLIN HUNT (1814-1898)	5,000.00
Mrs. Alpheus Hyatt	ALPHEUS HYATT	1,000.00
Miss Alice B. Willson	FRANCIS HENRY LEE	5,000.00
Joan U. Newhall	JOAN AND MILO NEWHALL	600.00
Charles Stuart Osgood	CHARLES STUART OSGOOD	3,000.00
George Swinnerton Parker	BRADSTREET PARKER (1897-1918) RICHARD PERKINS PARKER (1900-1921)	5,000.00
Mrs. Morton Prince, formerly Fanny Lithgow Payson	CLARA ENDICOTT PEABODY (wife of Arthur Lithgow Payson) 1828-1856	5,000.00
William Crowninshield Endicott	ELLEN PEABODY (wife of William Crowninshield Endicott) 1833-1927	5,000.00
George Peabody Gardner, Mrs. Augustus Peabody Loring, formerly Ellen Gardner; Mrs. George Howard Monks, formerly Olga Eliza Gardner; John Lowell Gardner	ELIZA ENDICOTT PEABODY (wife of George Augustus Gardner) 1834-1876	5,000.00
Miss Fanny Peabody Mason	FANNY PEABODY (wife of William Powell Mason) 1840-1895	5,000.00
Joseph A. Peabody	JOSEPH AUGUSTUS PEABODY	500.00
Francis Welles Hunnewell	WILLARD SILSBEE PEELE	1,000.00
James Duncan Phillips	STEPHEN H. PHILLIPS	5,000.00

<i>Benefactors:</i>	<i>In Memory of:</i>	
Hon. Robert Walcott	HON. BENJAMIN PICKMAN (1763-1843)	
	AUSTIN DERBY PICKMAN (1769-1836)	100.00
Arthur Proctor Pousland	DAVID N. POUSLAND	25.00
From his children	ROBERT SAMUEL RANTOUL	6,000.00
Mrs. Robert Rantoul	ROBERT RANTOUL	100.00
Miss Miriam Shaw	MISS CLARA ENDICOTT SEARS	5,000.00
Mrs. William Sutton	WILLIAM SUTTON (1800-1882)	5,000.00
Jacob Bancroft	MARY ANN SEAVER	500.00
Miss Jane Francis Tuckerman	DR. J. FRANCIS TUCKERMAN	25.00
Miss Jane Francis Tuckerman	LUCY SALTONSTALL TUCKERMAN	25.00
Joan U. Newhall	JAMES H. TURNER	600.00
Mrs. Ira Vaughan	IRA VAUGHAN (1864-1927)	10,000.00
Miss Mary Devereux Waters	WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD WATERS (1830-1911)	25.00
Mrs. Arthur W. West	ARTHUR W. WEST	2,000.00
Mrs. Stephen Willard Phillips	HON. STEPHEN GOODHUE WHEATLAND (1824-1892)	20,000.00
Mary C. White	DANIEL APPLETON WHITE	1,000.00
Arthur Foote, Mrs. John Bois Tileston, Mrs. Eliza Orne White, Miss Mary Wilder Tileston, Jr.	DANIEL APPLETON WHITE	300.00
From his children and grandchildren	EDMUND B. WILLSON	500.00
Thought and Work Club	KATE TANNATT WOODS	25.00
Life Membership Fund		16,200.00
Manuscript Preservation		1,000.00
Original Account		500.00
Total		\$328,603.96

JOHN WARD HOUSE FUND

Member Donors

Mrs. Harriet L. Abbott	Edwin Gittleman
Norman T. Allen	Albert Goodhue
Moses Alpers	George T. Goodspeed
Mrs. Francis M. Babson	Mrs. Roscoe W. Gould
W. A. Backofen	Mrs. Samuel H. Hallowell
Edgar M. Batchelder	Roland B. Hammond
Lucy S. Bell	Mrs. George H. Haraden
Mary E. Bell	Amelia M. Harper
Mrs. John W. Bethel	Dr. Winthrop P. Haynes
Edgar M. Bingham, Jr.	Robert W. Herrick
Mrs. George K. Blair	Adams S. Hill
Arthur F. Blanchard	Frederick W. Hixon
James H. Boulger, Jr.	Mrs. J. Frederick Hussey
Mrs. Philip W. Bourne	Esther Jackson
W. Hammond Bowden	Mrs. Oscar E. Jackson
Dr. Harold Bowditch	Erick Kauders
Cyrus T. Brady, Jr.	Gertrude B. Kent
Eleanor Broadhead	Mrs. Alfred Kidder, II
Elizabeth Broadhead	Nelson M. Knowlton
Chester A. Brown	M. Bruce Kolman
Mrs. Yves H. Buhler	Mrs. David H. Kuell, Jr.
William H. Carroll	Ellen B. Laight
Mrs. John L. Carten	Helene G. Lee
Benjamin R. Chadwick	Mrs. Edgar L. Lefavour
Alice Cleves	Babette M. Levy
Arthur L. Collier	Mrs. Thomas P. Lindsay
Mrs. John J. Collins	Bertram K. Little
John P. Conklin, Jr.	Mrs. Bertram K. Little
Mrs. Wallace C. Cook	Catherine G. Little
Usher P. Coolidge	David M. Livingston
Charles H. P. Copeland	Elma Loines
E. Hyde Cox	Mrs. George G. Loring
Florence B. Cruttenden	Francis B. Lothrop
Stanley Cunningham	Mrs. Francis B. Lothrop
Margaret M. Curran	Robert W. Lovett
Stilman G. Davis, Jr. (Dr.)	Seth P. Low
Walter G. Davis	Eben P. Lufkin
Gertrude W. Dexter	Daniel B. Lunt
Mrs. Lewis Doane	Mrs. Daniel B. Lunt
Robert G. Dodge	Michael F. McGrath
Steward Dow	Edward F. MacNichol
Charles E. Fabens	Harold G. Macomber
Dean A. Fales	Dorothea L. Mann
Mrs. Dean A. Fales	Mrs. Jasper Marsh
Elizabeth R. Farnham	E. Gertrude Merrill
Ruth R. Farnham	Mrs. Montgomery Merrill
Arthur D. Fay	Richard Merrill
Joseph E. Fellows, Jr.	Mrs. George A. Morison
William S. Follett	Mrs. Charles W. Morris
Esther Forbes (Hoskins)	Louise A. Moser
Roger A. Fowler	Kenneth B. Murdock
Mrs. John F. Fulton	Charles B. Newhall, Esq.
Mrs. Preston B. Gandy	Esther Odell
C. Peabody Gardner	Mrs. Raymond H. Odell

Mrs. Edward H. Osgood
Mary E. Osgood
Stuart Osgood
Mrs. Stuart Osgood
William B. Osgood
Mrs. Herbert W. Owen
Edward C. Park, Jr.
Mrs. George S. Parker
Winnifred C. Parkhurst
Hon. Roy K. Patch
Lawton M. Patten
Mrs. Edward L. Peirson
Eleanor S. Perley
Mrs. Richard B. Philbrick
Mrs. Carroll F. Philbrook
Edward H. Phillips
George W. Pickering Company
John Pickering, Jr.
Frederick P. Pond
Mrs. George R. Poor
Mrs. L. Mortimer Pratt, Jr.
Oliver G. Pratt
Eric F. Pritzlaff
Richard L. Purinton
Elizabeth W. Putnam
Eleanor Rantoul
Harriet C. Rantoul
Wardwell Ratcliff
Marion E. Remon
William H. Robinson, Jr.
Bertha F. Rogers
Martin D. Rosenfield
Katherine W. Ross
Hon. Leverett Saltonstall
Mrs. Richard Saltonstall
Mrs. Thomas Sanders
Page Sanderson

Mrs. Wm. Denny Sargent
Elizabeth B. Sawyer
Mrs. Ellery Sedgwick
Josephine Setze
Alfred I. Shatswell
Henry Lee Shattuck
Mrs. John Glover Shaw
Frederick J. Shepard, Jr.
Mrs. Frederick J. Shepard, Jr.
Huldah M. Smith
Mildred B. Stone
Charles P. Swan
Charles S. Tapley
Harriet S. Tapley
Mrs. Margaret G. L. Thomas
Dr. Richard H. Thompson
Mrs. Walter P. Tobey
Sarah M. Todd
Coles F. Thompkins, Jr.
Dr. H. L. Tonkin
S. Morton Vose
Mrs. Charles H. Watkins
Mrs. Edwin S. Webster
Raynor G. Wellington
Mrs. Henry O. Wendt
Richard S. West
H. Wade White
Mrs. William Whitman
Mrs. Richard L. F. Wiggin
Mrs. Stillman P. Williams
Mrs. Percival W. Wilson
William H. Winship
Alice C. Woodbury
Mrs. Nicholas Xanthaky
Mrs. Charles M. Young
Mary F. Zecchini

DONORS TO THE MUSEUM AND HISTORIC HOUSES

Alpers, Mr. and Mrs. Moses	Haskell, Mr. and Mrs. Paul T.
Appleton, Francis R., Jr.	Hay, Mrs. Clarence L.
Attwill, J. Sanger	Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio
Baldwin, Mrs. Arthur D.	Kernan, John Devereux, Jr.
Barnes, Anna A.	Kipper, Katrina
Black, Everett H.	Luquer, Lea S.
Bradlee, Frederick J.	Morse, Sadie May
Bradlee, Sargent	New Hampshire Historical Society
Brandon, William P.	Osgood, Mrs. Edward H.
Broadhead, Eleanor	Pingree, Mr. and Mrs. Sumner
Brooks, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Mansfield	Porter, Mrs. O. V.
Brown, Mrs. Beatrice A.	Pratt, Elliott C.
Browne, Ralph C., Estate of	Putnam, Mrs. A. L.
Cogswell, Frances D.	Ricketson, John H.
Cook, Sherman	Ropes, Ruth Robinson
Cousins, Mr. and Mrs. Willard C.	Roundy, Mrs. Harold J.
Denham, Mrs. Elwood Lewis	Schnurr, Mrs. William
Emerson, Mr. and Mrs. Ralf P.	Shaw, Florence M.
Hagar, Helen C.	Sheehan, Mrs. William F.
Hamlin, Mrs. Lot M.	Skinner, Mrs. Robert
Hammond, Mr. and Mrs. Roland B.	Waters, William C.
Hammond, Mrs. Samuel	Wendell, Francis A.

DONORS TO THE LIBRARY

A. C. Lawrence Leather Co.	Cooley, Duane S.
American Antiquarian Society	Cooley, LaVerne, Estate of
Andrews, Percy L.	Colonial Williamsburg
Apthorp, Mrs. John W.	Commonwealth of Massachusetts
Atkinson, Mrs. Gary	Congregational Church, Essex, Mass.
Attwill, J. Sanger	Connecticut College Library
Augell, George N.	Copeland, Charles H. P.
Babson, George J.	Cornell University Library
Barnes and Noble	Davis, Eva
Beane, Mrs. Samuel C.	Day, Agnes F.
Benson, Mrs. Grace Freeman	Day, Mrs. Louis J.
Bethell, Mrs. John	Doane, Richard
Blair, Mrs. George K.	Dodge, Louis A.
Boston University Library	Dorman, Mrs. Florence M. S.
Boynton, Dalton	Dowdell, Vincent
Bradlee, Mr. and Mrs. Frederick J.	Dunne, Gerald T.
Brandon, William P.	Eleutherian Mills Historical Library
Broadhead, Eleanor	Emerson, Mr. and Mrs. Ralf P.
Bulkeley, Capt. John D., U. S. N.	Essex Lodge, Salem, Mass.
Bushby, William	Ewan, Prof. Joseph
Cate, Mildred R.	Fales, Mr. and Mrs. Dean A., Jr.
Cogswell, Frances D.	Ferleger, Henry

- First Church, Salem, Mass.
Fortune Magazine
 Foster, Mrs. C. H.
 Gannon, Fred A.
 Gardner, John
 Gerould, Edward
 Goldsmith, Harold I.
 Goodhue, Albert, Jr.
 Goodspeed's Book Shop
 Gordon, Mr. and Mrs. Albert
 Hamilton
 Hagar, Helen
 Hammond, Mr. and Mrs. Roland B.
 Hammond, Mrs. Samuel
 Harvard University
 Haskell, Paul T.
 Heaton, Ronald E.
 Higgins, John W.
 Holt, Mrs. Carlyle H.
 Humelsine, Carlisle H.
 Hunkins, Mr. Hazen H.
 Jamestown Museum
 Jenkins, Lawrence W., Estate of
 Johnson, Mrs. Walter S.
 Kean, Charles C.
 Kelleher, Mrs. John C.
 Kingsbury, Forrest A.
 Leonard, Edward J.
 Lynn Historical Society
 Merchant-Warren National Bank,
 Salem, Mass.
 Michigan State University Press
 Moreland, Helen F.
 Mowrer, Lillian
 Nelson, Truman
 New York Public Library
 Newcomen Society
 Newell, Robert R.
 Otis, Mary
 Oxford University Press
 Parker, Franklin
 Parker Brothers, Inc.
 Patterson, Norman G.
 Peabody Museum
 Pickering, John
 Pingree heirs
 Pollard, Maurice J.
 Pope, Mrs. Roger W.
 Porter, Mr. and Mrs. O. V.
 Potter, Mrs. Charles A.
 Pratt, Mrs. Elliot C.
 Pratt, Ernest F.
 Prescott, Mortimer M.
 Prichard, John A.
 Prindle, P. W.
 Randolph, Oris H. F.
 Rantoul, Harriet C.
 Raymond, Sumner Low
 Rupright, C. Rebecca
 Salem, Mass. City Clerk
 Sampson, Edward C.
 School of Journalism, University
 of Iowa
 Sears, Roebuck and Co.
 Silver, Rollo G.
 Suffrage Archives
 Sylvania Electrical Products, Inc.
 Tankard, Mrs. John E.
 Tapley, Harriet S.
 University of Illinois
 Weiss, Walter A.
 Wheatland, David P.
 Whitehill, Walter Muir
 Williams, Charles
 Winterthur Museum
 Wolcott, John G.
 Women's City Club of Boston
 Wood, Robert Fellows
 Wrege, Charles D.
 Yale University

NECROLOGY

	<i>Date Elected</i>	<i>Date Deceased</i>
Ronald Bridges	Dec. 13, 1955	May 1959
Charles V. Broadley	June 8, 1948	Apr. 21, 1961
William Bushby	Sept. 14, 1948	Mar. 1, 1962
W. Endicott Dexter	Apr. 3, 1916	Sept. 23, 1961
Fred A. Gannon	Apr. 6, 1908	Feb. 24, 1962
Henry Appleton Hale	Mar. 13, 1956	Feb. 6, 1962
Charles C. Handy	May 11, 1937	Aug. 4, 1961
Mrs. Franklin A. Hebard	Jan. 10, 1950	Dec. 2, 1961
Mrs. J. Frederick Hussey	June 12, 1934	Sept. 2, 1961
Stephen Waters Jenkins	Apr. 5, 1926	Nov. 23, 1961
Miss Nellie Stearns Messer	June 7, 1920	Oct. 19, 1961
Mrs. Herbert B. Morrill	Jan. 14, 1947	Dec. 5, 1961
Mrs. William Ezra Northey	July 17, 1922	Feb. 10, 1962
Miss Florence M. Osborne	Feb. 4, 1929	Dec. 8, 1961
Harold Peabody	Nov. 6, 1922	Sept. 1961
Edward Motley Pickman	Dec. 1, 1919	May 19, 1959
Thomas Temple Pond	Mar. 13, 1956	Apr. 23, 1961
Mrs. Russell Robb	May 3, 1920	Feb. 18, 1962
Mrs. Richard M. Saltonstall	Apr. 7, 1930	Oct. 22, 1961
Mrs. Wm. Denny Sargent	Oct. 2, 1922	Feb. 20, 1962
Mrs. Myles Standish	Feb. 8, 1955	Nov. 21, 1961
George E. Stephenson	Sept. 10, 1957	Sept. 16, 1961
Henry J. Stevenson	Sept. 10, 1946	Jan. 1962
Clarence Almon Torrey	Sept. 14, 1937	Feb. 5, 1962
Sargent H. Wellman	Sept. 6, 1927	Sept. 5, 1961
Daniel E. Whitford	Sept. 12, 1950	May 22, 1961

Special Offer

REDUCTION OF PRICES ON INDICES TO ESSEX INSTITUTE *HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS*

A limited number of the general indices to the *Historical Collections* is available until *December 1, 1962* at the following prices:

- Index, Vols. 1-22 (1859-1885), 539 pp. \$15.00
(formerly \$20.00)
- Index, Vols. 23-43 (1886-1907), 624 pp. \$15.00
(formerly \$25.00)
- Index, Vols. 68-85 (1931-1949), 343 pp. \$15.00
- Set of the three above indices \$40.00
(formerly \$60.00)

Individuals and smaller libraries can now take advantage of this opportunity of obtaining these indices at the above reduced prices. Both the time and quantity are limited, however, so we suggest that orders be placed promptly.

ORDER FORM

Essex Institute
Salem, Massachusetts

Please send the following indices to the
Historical Collections

- Vols. 1-22 \$15.00
- Vols. 23-43 \$15.00
- Vols. 68-85 \$15.00
- Set of three, listed above, \$40.00

Name:

Address:

City, State:

ESSEX INSTITUTE

Historical Collections



OCTOBER 1962

- AHMAD BIN NA'AMAN'S MISSION TO THE UNITED STATES IN 1840, THE VOYAGE OF AL-SULTANAH TO NEW YORK CITY
By Hermann Frederick Eilts 219
- THE MINIATURE THAT INSPIRED CLIFFORD PYNCHION'S PORTRAIT
By David Jaffé 278
- THREE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SALEM COFFEE POTS
By Martha Gandy Fales 283
- THE OLD SALEM THEATRE
By Pat M. Ryan 287
- INDEX TO VOLUME XCVIII 294

ISSUED QUARTERLY BY THE ESSEX INSTITUTE
Salem, Massachusetts

Essex Institute Historical Collections

Board of Editors

ROBERT G. ALBION

BENJAMIN W. LABAREE

LYMAN H. BUTTERFIELD

NORMAN HOLMES PEARSON

DOUGLAS S. BYERS

KATHARINE S. THOMPSON

ABBOTT L. CUMMINGS

DEAN A. FALES, JR., *Managing Editor*

Library and Publications Committee

W. HAMMOND BOWDEN, *Chairman*

CHARLES H. P. COPELAND

BENJAMIN W. LABAREE

ERNEST S. DODGE

STEPHEN PHILLIPS

RALF P. EMERSON

ROLLO G. SILVER

CHARLES S. TAPLEY

Essex Institute *Historical Collections* is published in January, April, July and October at a yearly rate of \$5.00. Manuscripts and correspondence should be sent to the Managing Editor, Dean A. Fales, Jr., the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts.

Copyright, 1962, by the Essex Institute, 132-134 Essex Street, Salem, Massachusetts. Entered at the Post Office in Salem, as second class matter, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Second class postage paid at Salem, Mass.

Essex Institute Historical Collections

Issued Quarterly

VOL. XCVIII

OCTOBER, 1962

NO. 4

For some time, the Council of the Essex Institute has sought a fitting means of imparting information on Institute activities to members more often than once a year in the Annual Report. Since the Historical Collections is the Institute's quarterly publication dealing with Essex County history, it was felt that news of activities both of the Institute itself and of its publications could be appropriately included in each issue. Therefore, the first two pages of this and subsequent issues will contain information on these activities and will supplement the Annual Report through brief quarterly summaries to readers of the Historical Collections.

The vagaries of New England weather produced an indoor summer this year. Attendance during July and August was almost double that of last year, producing a lively summer for the staff. Two more rooms were opened in the Crowninshield-Bentley House, and the furnishing of the house was practically completed, save for the never ceasing improvements and minor changes that always should be made in an historic house. The trim and shutters of the Andrew-Safford House were repainted, this being the most needed and most striking of a group of maintenance and repair projects. A new exhibition of old vehicles was opened in the Pingree Barn, and the unsung but vital work of cataloguing and rearranging went on in both the Library and the Museum.

In July, the Institute lost one of its most devoted supporters, Miss Harriet Silvester Tapley. A staff member from 1902 until her retirement in 1955, through her work as both Librarian and Editor, Miss Tapley was one of the most highly respected scholars ever to have worked in the field of Essex County history.

The facets of local history are indeed numerous, and each issue of the Historical Collections presents a variety of articles concentrating on different aspects of the past. Since Salem's ties with Zanzibar were strong ones, and since they have been fully recounted in a recent series of articles by Norman Robert Bennett in the Historical Collections, it is fitting that the feature article in this issue by Hermann F. Eilts deals with one of the most vivid particulars of the American relationship with Zanzibar. Martha Gandy Fales investigates an intriguing Anglo-American influence in the field of silver. An interesting Hawthorne source is discussed by David Jaffé, and Pat M. Ryan's article on the Salem Theatre treats a segment of local history that has been too long overlooked.

Dean A. Fales, Jr.

AHMAD BIN NA'AMAN'S MISSION TO THE
UNITED STATES IN 1840,
THE VOYAGE OF AL-SULTANAH
TO NEW YORK CITY

By HERMANN FREDERICK EILTS

I

THURSDAY, APRIL 30, 1840, dawned slightly overcast in New York City. Sometime after daybreak a bark hove to just off Sandy Hook, where a revolving light marked the promontory of New York harbor, there to take on a pilot. Under his helm, close-hauled before a moderate southwest breeze, without benefit of steam tug, she tacked slowly through the Narrows and into the bay beyond. Here, in the quarantine ground, she dropped anchor and waited to discharge necessary port formalities. The bark was *al-Sultanah*,* 305 tons burden, eighty-seven days out of Zanzibar.¹

*Variant transliterations from the Arabic encountered are *Sultana*, *Sultany*, *Sultani*, *Sultane*, *Sultanee* and, gender-wise incorrectly, *Sultan*. The form, *al-Sultanah*, is used in these pages, except that the article, "al," is omitted after the first reference. *Sultani* is the common Arabic nautical colloquialism.

1. The sole identifiable representation of *al-Sultanah* known to the writer is a front view engraving which appeared in *The London Illustrated News* for the week ending June 18, 1842. Though not specifically named in the picture, caption evidence supports the identification. The writer acknowledges with thanks the kindness of the Curator of the National Maritime Museum of London in drawing his attention to it. Possibly the three-masted ship in the background seascape of Mooney's portrait of Ahmad was intended to represent *Sultanah*, but there is no corroborating evidence.

Records of the Register's Office, Treasury Department, list the vessel as being of 320 tons burden. United States Treasury Department, *United States Reports 1840-41, Annual Statement of Commerce and Navigation to 26th Congress, 2nd Session* (Washington, 1841), p. 257. Captain Guillain of the French Navy, who visited Zanzibar and East Africa several times in the late 1830's and 1840's, wrote that the vessel had been built in Matrah, Oman. M. Guillain, *Documents sur l'histoire, la geographie et le commerce de l'Afrique Orientale* (Paris, 1856), II, 241. *Sultanah* was built in Bombay, but subsequent refitting did take place at Matrah.

The name was not uncommon for ships of the period. A schooner built in England in 1768 and used in the North American trade was so named. Howard I. Chapelle, *The History of American Sailing Ships* (New York, 1935), pp. 40-42; Elias Hasket Derby of Salem, Mass., bought a vessel of this name in 1788 at Isle de France for use in the trade with India, but sold her a year later. James Duncan Phillips, *Salem and the Indies* (Boston, 1947), p. 53; An English-flag contemporary namesake was

At first glance, there was little distinctive about the vessel. Her lines were European, though in fact she had been built in Bombay seven years earlier. Poop-decked, her hull was of teak, neither splendid nor handsome. Small, tapering and low spars and masts accentuated her trimness, yet seemed slightly disproportionate to her hull. Port officials observed her cabins were plain, "like those or worse of our commonest vessels." They were painted white or cream. Her bulwarks stood about seven feet high. Fourteen gun ports attested to her sometime naval utility. Now, she was on a mission of peace and carried but four guns.² Heavily laden with cargo, she lay low in the water. On deck, constrained in a crude wooden enclosure, were two slightly jaded horses.

Signs of a long sea voyage were everywhere apparent. The vessel's sails, save for the main royal, were badly worn. They had been new when the present voyage began five months earlier. Indifferent handling and furling while still wet had rendered them virtually unseaworthy.³ Her crew, fifty-six strong on arrival, were an awesome sight. Apparitions, not human beings, some called them; others likened them to scarecrows. Gaunt, be-whiskered, Cassius-looking men, they showed the effects of months of frugal ship's fare. Normally, this had consisted of but a single meal a day. For the hands, a heaping pile of curried rice was placed on a huge platter, into which all thrust their fingers to help themselves.⁴ Meat was not included, unless it could be gotten by stealth from the officers' board. Food was washed down with draughts of water, often fetid from algae, decomposing roaches and even rodents. Such wildlife had crept into the wooden casks, when carelessly left uncovered, only to drown for want of a way out.

wrecked off the coast of Borneo early in 1842. *The Times* (London), January 8 and 10, 1842; In 1886 Sayyid Barghash bin Said, Ruler of Zanzibar, owned a steamship named *Sultanah* which he presented to his half-brother, Sayyid Turki bin Said, Ruler of Muscat. Later, in 1895, the then Sultan of Zanzibar, Sayyid Hamid bin Thuwaini, had a small petroleum launch which bore this name.

2. *Morning Herald* (New York), June 25, 1840.

3. National Archives, Naval Records Section MS. (hereafter cited as N.A., N.R. MS.), Ltr., (Commodore) James Renshaw to the Honorable James K. Paulding, Secretary of the Navy, Navy Yard, New York, June 29, 1840. Bound in Navy Department, *Captains' Letters*, June, 1840.

4. *The North American and Daily Advertiser* (New York), May 16, 1840, cf. the *New York Evening Signal* of an unspecified date.

The officers fared slightly more sumptuously. For them, a mat was spread on the poop deck, on which two copper waiters were placed. One contained a pilaf during the early weeks of the voyage when mutton was still available, curried rice once meat supplies were gone; the other had dates, pickled mangoes, spices and the like. Sitting cross-legged around these waiters, they too reached in with their hands. Only the right hand was used. After dinner, freshly ground Mokha coffee, rich and strong, was served to the officers in thimble-sized cups. A turn on the *hooka*, or hubble bubble pipe, completed the proceedings. On hand was a boy to light the tobacco, mixed with molasses to a pasty consistency. The pipe's single hose stem served the common weal.⁵ As the voyage lengthened and provisions became scarce, piles of rice diminished for all.

Except for two unknown Frenchmen, all of the real sailors among the crew were *lascars*, Muslim seamen from the lower Konkan and Malabar coasts of western India. A few were good men; most were "the very gleanings of the tough-scurff of India." They had been shipped at Bombay, where the vessel had been refitted for this, her first trans-Atlantic crossing. At Bombay, an unscrupulous Indian shipping master had taken advantage of an habitually intoxicated sailing master to palm off some of his most undesirable clients.

A large portion of the crew were dark, showing African origins. They were slaves and belonged to the ship's officers. By signing them on as able-bodied seamen, their masters could collect their wages. Most of the slaves had been bought in Zanzibar. Though not worked hard, they also received little care. They were last to be permitted to dip into the common platter and had to content themselves with meager leftovers. Their garments of coarse, cotton cloth—called *mericani*, after the country of its manufacture—were tattered and filthy. Each had two such garments. Seldom

5. Data on life aboard *Sultanah* and on her officers and men are taken in part from Captain Sandwith Drinker's unpublished account of the vessel's homeward voyage entitled, "A Private Journal of Events and Scenes at Sea, at the Cape and in Zanzibar," 133 pp. (hereafter cited as Drinker MS., *Sultanah* Journal). A copy of the manuscript Journal is in the possession of Captain Drinker's grandson, Henry S. Drinker, Esquire, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, who very generously lent it to the writer and has authorized him to cite from it.

were they changed, however, until, ultimately, they virtually rotted off their wearers.

Clinging to ship and crew was an all-pervasive stench which even the raw salt air could not expunge. It was compounded of the pungent vapors of cloves, gum copal and coffee (from the ship's cargo), of tar and pitch, of open-hearth cooking in deep, acrid sheep tail's fat, called *ghee*, of primitive shipboard sanitation and of coconut oil. The last was a particular favorite of the crew. Regularly, on Saturdays, they rubbed their bodies with it, believing it to be an antidote against cold and rheumatism. Vermin infested ship and crew alike. Indeed, the hands spent off duty hours—in common with other seamen of the time—in picking lice from one another.

When not so engaged, they had whiled away the long, monotonous, idle hours at sea in sleeping or in the seemingly endless telling off of strung prayer beads. With each such bead, one of the ninety-nine attributes of 'Allah was softly repeated. The advent of evening enlivened forecastle diversions. Then, to the throbbing beat of a tabor, Africans danced the rhythmic, often ecstatic steps of their distant homelands, or an Arab or an Indian sailor might sing the eerily vibrant, microtonic melodies of his people. No less congenial a pastime was story-telling. Graphically, were harrowing, personal experiences on storm-tossed seas related to ever credulous listeners. Time and again, too, did the well-worn tales of Sindbad and other legendary Eastern merchant-mariners lend vicarious pleasure to rapt hearers.

William Sleeman, an Englishman, was the ship's sailing master and had brought her to New York by way of St. Helena. Formerly of the Royal Navy, he had most recently sailed the Omani frigate, *Prince Regent*. Sleeman was a good navigator, but highly intemperate. It was recounted, for example, that after buying a large quantity of spirits at St. Helena, he had drunk himself into a state of stupor, just as the vessel was getting underway and before a course had been set. For eight days he had continued thus in his bed and would probably have remained so longer, had not his remaining supply of gin judiciously been thrown overboard. Only good fortune and the fortuitous recollection by a ship's officer of a chance conversation overheard ashore had prevented calamity. At St. Helena, two American ship captains had been heard to

conclude that a due northwest course was best suited for the voyage to New York. Inexpertly, the distraught ship's officers now sought to steer such a course; *insha'allah*, God willing, they would make their destination. Happily, no hidden shoals or islands were encountered and the wind held moderate and favorable during the sailing master's incapacitation. When sober, Sleeman was an ineffective martinet.⁶ His frequent outbursts of temper evoked only sullen insolence and neglect of duty on the part of the crew. The ship's wretched condition on arrival in New York was the result.

One Muhammad Abdallah was the first officer. Short of stature and bearded, he was an Arab of unusually fine-looking Caucasian appearance, withal indolent, often indisposed and of little help in overseeing the proper performance of ship's chores. The second officer was Muhammad Juma'a. "A big black-nosed chap," of mixed Afro-Arab descent, with a deeply pock-marked face, he was cheerful and well liked by all. His unimpressive appearance belied a considerable native intelligence and a keen desire to broaden his heretofore limited horizons. For a brief span at least, he was to have an opportunity to do so. An Arab midshipman, whose name has not survived, completed the roster of ship's officers. One other European, Portuguese John, Sleeman's cook and messboy, graced the ship's company. He was a drifter, dirty in dress and habit, and light-fingered. Rounding off the bizarre scene were two young Englishwomen. Mrs. Robert B. Norsworthy, wife of an English trader at Muscat and Zanzibar, and Miss Charlotte Thompson, her maid, had taken passage five months earlier at Muscat and were homeward bound to England.⁷ Now, exhausted from the tedium and anxieties of the long sea voyage, visibly relieved to be in port, they eagerly waited to disembark. Two weeks later they would resume their voyage to London aboard a British vessel, among more congenial surroundings than those experienced thus far.

One figure stood out amongst this incongruous company. He was a small, slightly corpulent, bearded Arab gentleman, to whom all paid deference. His complexion was tawny, his eyes

6. Drinker MS., *Sultanah* Journal, Entry of September 9, 1840.

7. National Archives, Fiscal Records Section MS. (hereafter cited as N.A., F.R. MS.), District of New York, Port of New York, "Passenger Manifest of Arabian Ship *Sultanee*, May 1, 1840," which incorrectly records Mrs. Norsworthy as "Mrs. Norsby." Mrs. Norsworthy was 35 years of age at the time; Miss Thompson was 21.

were black and piercing. Some were to describe him as fierce-looking; others thought him handsome.⁸ A magnificent, gaily colored turban was on his head. Around his waist was tied a cashmere shawl of equally bright colors. Over a long white undergarment, he wore a beautiful black robe, or *qaftan*, trimmed with gold and splendidly embroidered at the shoulders.⁹ About his person hung an air of natural dignity.

To the surprise of gaping port officials, he addressed them in tolerable English. Quietly, but firmly, he announced that he, not Sleeman, was in command (*rais*) of the vessel; his name, not that of Sleeman, should appear on the port documents. It was done; Sleeman's name was stricken. The arresting figure was Ahmad bin Na'aman, special representative of Sayyid Said bin Sultan, Ruler of Muscat, Zanzibar and their dependencies, in whose behalf he had journeyed to the United States, halfway round the world, on a mission of good will and trade. *Sultanah*, the vessel which had brought him, flew the unadorned, crimson ensign of his princely master and was the pride of the Omani fleet. No sooner had she dropped anchor when a boat from the 74 gun United States ship of the line *North Carolina*, then in ordinary at the New York (Brooklyn) Navy Yard, drew alongside. A trim, wide-eyed naval lieutenant boarded to tender the services of his superior, Commodore James Renshaw, commanding the Yard.¹⁰ The Commodore's courtesy was gratefully acknowledged. Two days later, on May 2, with port formalities completed, *Sultanah* tied up to a wharf at the foot of Rector Street in the North River. The first Arab emissary and the first Arab vessel to visit American shores had arrived!

II

Ahmad's voyage grew out of the nascent American trade with Sayyid Said's dominions. In 1840, this trade was barely fifteen

8. New York Historical Society MS., "Journal of Philip Hone," 17, Entry of June 13, 1840, describes Ahmad as "a fierce looking little fellow." The entry is not contained in either Allan Nevins' or Bayard Tuckerman's earlier published excerpts from Hone's voluminous diaries. Drinker's wife thought Ahmad good looking. Drinker MS., *Sultanah* Journal, Entry of December 14, 1840.

9. *Morning Herald* (New York), May 20, 1840. This is the robe worn by Ahmad for the Mooney portrait sittings.

10. N.A., N.R. MS., Ltr., Renshaw to Paulding, Navy Yard, New York, May 11, 1840. Navy Department, *Captains' Letters*, May, 1840.

years old. Enterprising merchantmen from Salem, Massachusetts, had largely pioneered it, but it was Edmund Roberts of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, who succeeded in placing it on a sound, treaty basis. To be sure, a few American trading vessels had touched at south Arabian ports in the early years of the nineteenth century. Usually, however, they had been bound to or from India or the East Indies. Then, for a number of years, President Jefferson's Embargo and the War of 1812 had virtually cleared American shipping from the western Indian Ocean. By the early 1820's, it reappeared in East African waters, first touching at Mozambique, then Madagascar, creeping ever northwards. In July, 1825, the first American vessel called at Zanzibar. She was the Salem brig, *Laurel*, Captain Bryant. Four American vessels visited there in 1826; a year later, the number had doubled.¹

This emergent American interest in Zanzibar and East Africa coincided quite by chance with Sayyid Said's own increased preoccupation with his East African domains. Commonly known as the Sultan or, incorrectly, as the Imam of Muscat by American and European contemporaries, called *as-Sayyid* by his subjects, and with deceptive humility signing himself, "Said, the Unworthy, the Needy; Protector (*hami*) of Muscat and its dependencies," this remarkable man had ascended the Al Bu Said throne in 1804 under somewhat cloudy circumstances. Complicity in the assassination of his predecessor, a cousin, was suspected. Yet despite these grim beginnings, his long reign, lasting over half a century to 1856, was to make him one of the most famed of Arab rulers.² Nominally, his extensive domains stretched from Ras el-Hadd to Dhofar Province in southeastern Arabia and from Cape Guardafui to Cape Delgado, marking the northernmost

1. The development of American trade with Zanzibar is excellently told in: Norman Robert Bennett, "Americans in Zanzibar, 1825-1915," Essex Institute *Historical Collections*, XCV (July, 1959), 239-262; XCVII (January, 1961), 31-56; and XCVIII (January, 1962), 36-61. See also Philip E. Northway, "Salem and the Zanzibar—East African Trade, 1825-1845," Essex Institute *Historical Collections* XC (April, 1954), 123-153; XC (July, 1954), 261-273; XC (October, 1954), 361-388, and Charles Townsend Brady, Jr.'s engaging volume, *Commerce and Conquest in East Africa* (Salem, 1950), especially pp. 68-126.

2. Rudolph Said-Reute, *Said bin Sultan (1791-1856), Ruler of Oman and Zanzibar* (London, 1929), 200 pp., contains a cursory account of Sayyid Said's life. Said-Reute was Sayyid Said's grandson. Sayyid Said still stands in need of a competent, critical biographer.

limits of Portuguese Mozambique, on the East African littoral. In fact, his writ ran loosely over these far flung and diverse territories. Indeed, contumacy and rebellion were the hallmarks of his patrimony. Added to this chronic internal problem, Sayyid Said found himself a pawn in the bitter Anglo-French struggle for political hegemony in the Indian Ocean, which had raged intermittently since the demise of Portuguese power there just a century earlier. Prudence soon dictated cooperation with Britain, whose active pursuit of its dual objectives of safeguarding the imperial lifeline to India and curbing the slave trade made its influence increasingly felt in the lands laved by the Indian Ocean. In 1822, he concluded a Slave Trade Convention with Britain—the Moresby Treaty—supplementing earlier agreements with that country entered into by his predecessors.³

On ascending the Al Bu Said throne, Sayyid Said set himself the task of reasserting his authority throughout his wide realm. Almost two decades were spent in seeking to right the troubled affairs of Oman proper, in fending off Wahhabi incursions from inner Arabia and in attempting to assert his primacy among the rulers of the Persian Gulf. At best, his success was transient, and rebellion in turbulent Oman was to plague the *Sayyid* to the end of his days.⁴ Still, woven as these efforts were into the suppression of piracy in the Gulf, they won for him a substantial measure of British sympathy, an uncertain but at times highly useful asset in the pursuit of his ambitions elsewhere.

In the 1820's, Sayyid Said turned his attention to East Africa, where disruptive political fermentation had long been at work. A sense of urgency was lent to this geographical shift of emphasis by the disquieting behavior of a British naval officer, Captain William Owen, who in 1824, had provisionally declared a protectorate over Mombasa and threatened to do likewise to Pemba Island. The Captain did so in response to an invitation from the Mazrui shaikhs, the dominant Arab clan of Mombasa, who had

3. For a comprehensive account of this Anglo-French rivalry and Sayyid Said's role in it, see Reginald Coupland, *East Africa and its Invaders* (Oxford, 1938), especially pp. 73-523. Also useful is Mabel V. Jackson, *European Powers and South-East Africa* (London, 1942), pp. 19-41, 64-83, 101-180.

4. See Salil ibn Razik, *History of the Imams and Sayyids of Oman*, translated by George Percy Badger (London, 1871), pp. 258-371.

renounced Omani suzerainty on Sayyid Said's accession.⁵ Acting without official sanction, he was promptly disavowed by the British and Indian governments when apprised of what he had done. To the *Sayyid*, however, the lesson of the incident was ineradicable. Unless the anarchical political vacuum in East Africa could be filled by effective occupation and rule, these territories would soon be lost by default to one or another of the European powers.

Zanzibar and Mombasa were the keys to East Africa; they, above all, had to be firmly secured. A kinsman ruled in Zanzibar as governor. In Mombasa, the Mazrui remained intransigent and protracted negotiations proved inconclusive. Accordingly, in the latter part of 1827, Sayyid Said set sail from Muscat for East Africa at the head of a sizeable military and naval force. At Mombasa, through a combination of bombardment and stratagem, he succeeded in installing a garrison in Fort Jesus, whose redoubts dominated the town, and for the moment at least appeared to have bested the insurgents. His mission at Mombasa seemingly accomplished, he set sail for nearby Zanzibar where he arrived in late January, 1828. This was his first visit to the island which would soon become the co-capital of his realm and his principal seat of residence.

At Zanzibar, Sayyid Said encountered an irate Roberts. The American had arrived at the island in October, 1827, aboard the New Bedford brig, *Mary Ann*, Captain Stevens, bent on recouping a fortune lost in an earlier unsuccessful South American venture. Vexations of every sort had beset his trading activities. Seven and one-half percent import and export duties had been levied on him, in contrast to the five percent paid by British subjects; a prominent government official had arbitrarily sought to preempt his cargo; exorbitant commissions and anchorage fees had been charged; payment on his cargo had been deferred and when finally proffered, had been on terms different from those initially agreed upon—these loomed large in his catalogue of exasperations. Other American traders visiting Zanzibar suffered similar exactions; Roberts, however, resolved to do something about them.

Scarcely had Sayyid Said installed himself at Mtoni Palace, when, on January 27, 1828, Roberts addressed a written protest

5. Coupland, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-70; Owen's account of the incident is recorded in Captain W. F. Owen, *Narrative of Voyages to Explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar* (London, 1833), I, 367-69.

to him inveighing against the treatment he and his countrymen received on the island. Representing himself as an American Consul,⁶ he complained that “. . . American vessels labor under such disadvantages that they are unwilling to come here a second time.” Closer relations with the United States, he argued, were in Sayyid Said's own interest. Unlike Britain and France, his country had no political designs on the *Sayyid's* territories; its sole concern was the pursuit of legitimate trade. Perhaps, he suggested, Sayyid Said might wish to charge him with bearing despatches to the Government of the United States stipulating the conditions on which American trade would be received in the ruler's ports and even submitting a commercial treaty for negotiation. In the latter case, he could promise that the next season would bring an American warship with ratifications for such a treaty.⁷

Sayyid Said's knowledge of the United States was distinctly hazy. Still, Roberts' representations were arresting. They offered a possible means of supplementing his perennially hard pressed exchequer. The pursuit of his extensive ambitions had become an increasingly costly affair. Money was needed to maintain his sizeable fleet, to equip and pay his soldiery, to buy presents for sub-rulers and to meet a host of other fiscal responsibilities. The revenues of his domains, deriving mainly from customs farming, seldom exceeded (at that time) 250,000 German Crowns, or about \$249,000, per annum. Somehow, they had to be augmented. Already, therefore, Sayyid Said had become the leading entrepreneur of his realm, ever in quest of new and promising markets. Such trade might also open a source of needed war materiel, especially shot, bombs and other types of ammunition, which he was anxious to acquire without British cognizance. His ambitions, he admitted privately, went beyond the subjugation of his rebellious vassals; ultimately, they envisaged driving the Portuguese from Mozambique.⁸

After ordering Roberts paid forthwith, Sayyid Said received him

6. Roberts apparently never took up an earlier appointment as American Consul at Demerara, British Guiana. E. Wilder] S[paulding], "Edmund Roberts," in Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1935), XVI, 4-5.

7. Library of Congress MS. (Hereafter cited as L/C MS.), Ltr., Roberts to Sayyid Said, Zanzibar, July 27, 1828. Copy bound in *Roberts Papers*, I, 1808-1832.

8. L/C MS., Ltr., Roberts to the Honorable Levi Woodbury, New York, December 26, 1828. *Roberts Papers*, I, 1808-1832.

in audience a few days later. The astute ruler now seized the initiative, taxing his American interlocutor on the indifference of his Government to the trade of Muscat and Zanzibar. Why, he asked, had the United States “. . . never attempted to enter into a commercial treaty with him as the English Government had done . . .?”⁹ Thus, Roberts' earlier suggestion had been parlayed into a counter-proposal. He could convey to the Government of the United States Sayyid Said's readiness to conclude a commercial treaty and enthusiastically set about to do so.

On his return to the United States later in the year, Roberts solicited the aid of his kinsman by marriage, Senator Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire, to further the design. The Senator attempted to interest some of his mercantile colleagues, but without significant success. Muscat and Zanzibar were virtually unknown to most Americans of the period. “I cannot find readily in books what I wish to learn (about Muscat and Zanzibar),” complained Woodbury, “They are very barren on them.”¹⁰ Some of the Salem men might have provided elucidation, but they prudently held their tongues. Why encourage competitors for the Zanzibar trade? In any event, more promising trading opportunities beckoned to Americans—in the East Indies, the Far East, yes, possibly even in Japan. Not until Woodbury became Secretary of the Navy late in 1831 and laid plans for the visit of a small American naval squadron to the Indian Ocean could the design mature. Even then it was tacked on, almost as an afterthought, to a mission to be sent to Siam, Cochin China (and, if possible, Japan) and “. . . the powers of Arabia on the Red Sea” to conclude commercial treaties with these states.¹¹ Roberts, through Woodbury's influence, was commissioned confidential agent for this purpose and saw to it that he had letters of credence addressed to Sayyid Said. The latter had meanwhile used the occasion of a passing American vessel to send a message to President Jackson

9. L/C MS., Ltr., Roberts to Woodbury, New York, December 19, 1928. *Roberts Papers*, I, 1808-1832.

10. L/C MS., Ltr., Woodbury to Roberts, Washington, December 22, 1828. *Roberts Papers*, I, 1808-1832.

11. National Archives, Foreign Affairs Section MS. (hereafter cited as N.A., F.A. MS.), Instructions, (Secretary of State) E. Livingston to Roberts, Department of State, Washington, January 27, 1832. Bound in *DS-1, Special Missions, December 15, 1823 to November 13, 1852*.

reiterating his interest in concluding a trade treaty with the United States.¹²

In March, 1832, Roberts sailed aboard the United States sloop of war *Peacock*, Captain David Geisinger, for the Indian Ocean. Lest unfriendly powers seek to thwart his mission, it was deemed prudent to conceal his purpose by listing him as captain's clerk. In September, 1833, after completing the rest of his mission, he arrived at Muscat where he found Sayyid Said. Agreement could quickly be reached on the text of a Treaty of Amity and Commerce based on an only slightly modified draft furnished him by the Department of State prior to his departure.¹³ Dated September 21, 1833, the treaty stipulated *inter alia* that the sole charge which American traders would henceforth be required to pay at Sayyid Said's ports was a five per cent import duty. Other advantages were also accorded to American merchantmen. Said bin Khalfan, a one-time captain in the Sayyid's navy, now summoned to act as interpreter, was charged with producing an Arabic version of the document and betimes did so. Long afterwards, it was discovered that the Arabic text, whether through inadvertence or by design may never be known, differed in several significant respects from the English version.¹⁴ The discrepancies were to ac-

12. N.A., F.A. MS., Instructions, Livingston to Roberts, Department of State, Washington, July 23, 1832. Sayyid Said's second letter to President Jackson has disappeared, but is mentioned in the above cited instruction. This is no doubt the letter given by Sayyid Said to Captain Burnham of Salem, Mass., who chanced to visit Mombasa aboard *Complex* on February 9, 1832, where he found the ruler once again besieging that rebellious port. See Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 245. DS-1, *Special Mission, December 15, 1823 to November 13, 1852.*

13. Roberts' posthumously published account of his first mission to Muscat is contained in Edmund Roberts, *Embassy to the Eastern Courts of Cochinchina, Siam, and Muscat in the United States Sloop of War, "Peacock" 1832-1834* (New York, 1837), p. 361. His official report to the Department of State is in N.A., F.A. MS., "Journal of Edmund Roberts on Board the U.S. Ships of War *Peacock* and *Lexington* During the Years 1832, 1833, 1834," Entry of October 7, 1833. Bound in DS-10, *Reports of Special Agents, Edmund Roberts*. Following his return to the United States in 1834, Roberts submitted a supplementary report to the Department of State on Muscat and the significance of the recently concluded treaty with Sayyid Said. See L/C MS., Ltr., Roberts to the Honorable Louis McLane, Secretary of State, Washington, May 14, 1834. *Roberts Papers*, III, 1834-1835.

14. A careful comparison of the English and Arabic texts of the treaty was made later by the Dutch orientalist, Professor C. Snouck Hurgronje of Leiden, at the request of the United States Government, the results of which were published in (David) Hunter Miller, ed., *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America* (Washington, D.C., 1933), III, Document no. 77, pp. 789-810.

count for some misunderstandings in future years. Now, however, all was harmony and on his departure from Muscat, Roberts, in addition to the signed treaty, carried with him a friendly letter from Sayyid Said to ". . . the most high and mighty Andrew Jackson, President of the United States of America, whose name shines with so much splendor throughout the world." The epistle expressed the *Sayyid's* pleasure at the successful outcome of the treaty negotiations and his determination that the treaty ". . . shall be faithfully observed . . . as long as the world endures."¹⁵ An offer of gifts for President Jackson was politely declined on the grounds that the Chief Executive was constitutionally prohibited from receiving them.

The treaty was ratified by the United States on June 30, 1834. Thereupon, Roberts was again sent as special agent aboard *Peacock*, Commander C. K. Stribling (under Commodore Edmund Kennedy), to exchange instruments of ratification. After a harrowing experience involving grounding of *Peacock* off Masira Island and a four day sail in a small, open cutter, Roberts arrived at Muscat.¹⁶ Ratifications were exchanged on September 30, 1835. Graciously, Sayyid Said now asked Roberts to name the date on which the treaty should go into effect and, after some hesitation, he suggested June 30, 1834, the date on which United States' ratification had taken place. Sayyid Said acquiesced, and letters of notification, written by Roberts at the ruler's behest, were sent to masters and supercargoes of American vessels touching at Zanzibar as well as to the appropriate official of the *Sayyid's* government there. Sixteen American vessels had paid higher dues

15. Text in Roberts', *op. cit.*, p. 430.

16. A published account of the Masira incident may be found in W.S.W. Ruschenberger, *A Voyage Round the World, Including an Embassy to Muscat and Siam in 1835, 1836 and 1837* (Philadelphia, 1838), pp. 52-64. Ruschenberger was ship's surgeon aboard the U.S. *Peacock*. Commodore Kennedy's official report of the incident, including high praise for Roberts' bravery, is contained in N.A., N.R. MS., Ltr., (Commodore) Edm. P. Kennedy to the Honorable Mahlon Dickerson, Secretary of the Navy, Bombay, December 1, 1835. Navy Department, *Captains' Letters, December, 1835*. A day by day record of the incident, as well as of *Peacock's* subsequent meeting with *Sultanah*, is contained in N.A., N.R. MS., "Journal of U. S. Sloop of War *Peacock*, March 19, 1835 to December 23, 1836," Entries of September 21 through September 29, 1835, inclusive.

The *Roberts Papers*, IV, 1835-1842 in the L/C contain a draft letter from Roberts to his children, dated Muscat, September 28, 1835, which gives a vivid account of *Peacock's* grounding and his own subsequent sail in the ship's cutter to Muscat.

since June, 1834, and could claim refunds;¹⁷ none, so far as is known, did so. Thanks to Edmund Roberts, American commerce with Muscat and Zanzibar now stood on a most favored nation basis. He, alas, was not to reap the benefits of his prodigious efforts. He died on June 12, 1836, at Macao of dysentery contracted in Siam, whither he had gone from Muscat also to exchange treaty ratifications.

By then, American trade with Zanzibar was already pre-eminent. Between September, 1832, and May, 1834, for example, 32 out of 41 foreign vessels visiting the port had been of American registry. They totalled 5,497 tons. Twenty of these vessels had hailed from Salem, three each from New York and Boston and the remainder from unspecified American ports. In contrast, seven British vessels had called during this period and one each from France and Spain.¹⁸ Muscat fared more poorly; in the seven years before 1835, a solitary American merchant vessel had touched there.¹⁹

Now, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, American consuls—merchant consuls—were named for Zanzibar and Muscat. Richard Palmer Waters of Salem, Massachusetts, then an associate of the Salem firm of Bertram and Shepard, assumed his duties at Zanzibar in March, 1837.²⁰ Henry P. Marshall of New York, a member of the counting-room of the firm of Scoville and Britton of that city, arrived at Muscat in October, 1838. A few months later he had left, largely for personal reasons, recommending that Said bin Khalfan, the translator of the United States-Muscat treaty, be charged with handling such consular matters as might arise. Though Said bin Khalfan was commissioned

17. N.A., F.A. MS., Ltr., Roberts to the Honorable J. Forsyth, Secretary of State, Bombay, October 23, 1835. Bound in DS-10, *Reports of Special Agents, Edmund Roberts*.

18. *Ibid.* Captain Hunt, RN, who was sent by the British Government in 1834 to visit Zanzibar in order to investigate alleged American activities there in the wake of the signing of the 1833 treaty, wrote that out of 13 vessels which had visited the island between January, 1833, and January, 1834, nine were American and four British flag vessels. Captain H. Hunt, "Extract from Brief Notes of a Visit to Zanzibar (belonging to His Highness the Imaum of Muskat), in H.M.'s Ship *Imogene*, in the months of January and February, 1834," in *Selections From the Records of the Bombay Government* (Bombay, 1856), XXIV-N.S., 280.

19. Ruschenberger, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

20. A brief biographic sketch of Waters may be found in Anonymous, "Richard Palmer Waters—A Sketch," *Bulletin of the Essex Institute* (Salem, Mass.), XX (1888), 174-91.



FIG. 1. LANDING HORSES FROM *Sultanah*, LONDON, 1842.
FROM *The London Illustrated News*, JUNE 18, 1842.



FIG. 2. AL-HAJ AHMAD BIN NA'AMAN (AFTER A POR-
TRAIT BY EDWARD MOONEY). COURTESY OF THE
PEABODY MUSEUM.



FIG. 3. SAYYID SAID BIN SULTAN, RULER OF MUSCAT, ZANZIBAR AND THEIR DEPENDENCIES, 1804-1856. (AFTER A PORTRAIT BY LT. HENRY BLOSSE LYNCH, RN) COURTESY OF THE PEABODY MUSEUM.



FIG. 4. CAPTAIN SANDWITH DRINKER. COURTESY OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

United States Consul at Muscat in 1843, it was Waters who exercised consular jurisdiction for most of this period throughout Sayyid's Said realm.

Concurrently acting as broker for visiting American ship captains and supercargoes, Waters soon came to transact most of his business (nine-tenths, he wrote to his brother)²¹ through Jeram bin Sewji, the *banyan* (Indian) customs farmer of Zanzibar. Various American traders frequenting Zanzibar chafed under what they regarded as the monopolistic practices of Waters and were later formally, though unsuccessfully, to complain of them to the Department of State. Whatever the merits of their charge, Waters' presence in Zanzibar helped quicken the trade with the United States. Cotton sheeting, crockery, muskets, gunpowder, ships stores, clocks, shoes and specie were brought from America. Return cargoes consisted of gum copal, copra, cloves and ivory.

III

As one of its principal beneficiaries, Sayyid Said could be generally content with the growing trade with the United States. Granted, the ascetic, sternly puritan, uncompromising character of Waters was a bit trying at first, but a mutual regard soon developed between the two men. Waters' journals suggest that the *Sayyid* was one of the largest customers of imports from America. Sales statistics for the period are not extant in detail, but some impression of the size of Sayyid Said's purchases may be gleaned from a \$35,000.00 order of March, 1845—when the trade was already slackening—described by Waters' assistant as “. . . rather small business for the Sultan.”¹ He was indeed the chief wholesaler of his domains. His system of selling goods imported on his vessels was simple, but highly effective. As described by an American observer, Sayyid Said would require the various *banyan* merchants to buy his imports in proportion to the size of their businesses, irrespective of the state of the local market, and at prices ranging from

21. Peabody Museum of Salem, Mass., MS. (hereafter cited as P.M.S. MS.), Ltr., R. P. Waters to William Waters, Zanzibar, December 17, 1839. In *Waters Papers*, Box no. 7. Waters was under no illusions about Jeram bin Sewji's trustworthiness and in the same letter cautioned his brother that the *banyan* customs' farmer needed close watching.

1. P.M.S. MS., Ltr., Wm. H. Jelly to R. P. Waters, Zanzibar, March 8, 1845. *Waters Papers*, Box no. 6.

20% to 25% of current rates.² Arbitrary though this might be, it was consonant with the prevailing mercantile practices of the East.

Sayyid Said had long nurtured the thought of adding a new dimension to the trade by sending a vessel of his own to the United States. Might not such direct trade contacts be more profitable, he pondered, than relying exclusively on American shipping? His fleet of twenty odd vessels, when operative and not in use for military purposes, plied the Indian Ocean in search of trade. At least twice before he had evinced an interest in sending one of his vessels to America. On the occasion of his first meetings with Roberts in January, 1828, in Zanzibar, he had proposed that one of his frigates, momentarily expected at Zanzibar, might be sent to the United States to purchase munitions and other stores. There was a serious drawback, however; he had no suitable navigator for such a trip, none indeed who had ever doubled the Cape! He suggested, therefore, that Roberts sail on the ship. The delayed arrival of the vessel and Roberts' own anxiety to be underway, once his business was completed, caused the proposal to lapse.³ Again, on the occasion of *Peacock's* seeming misfortune off Masira Island in 1835, he had told Roberts he would send not one, but two of his vessels to the United States. The first would transport *Peacock's* crew back to their country. The second would be at Roberts' disposal to complete his mission, after which it would convey him to the United States.⁴ It in no way detracts from Sayyid Said's generous gesture to recall that both vessels would have sailed and returned laden with cargo. Events outpaced this design when a leaky *Peacock* arrived at Muscat and could subsequently proceed to Bombay for repairs.

With Waters' arrival at Zanzibar, the project remained shelved for a while longer. There is no evidence that Waters sought to dissuade Sayyid Said from sending one of his ships to the United States or, for that matter, that the subject was discussed between them in the early years of Waters' incumbency. Clearly, however, Waters' association with the Salem shipping interests would not have caused him to urge any such design.

2. Drinker MS., *Sultanah Journal*, Entry of December 18, 1840.

3. L/C MS., Roberts to Woodbury, New York, December 19, 1828. In *Roberts Papers*, I, 1808-1832.

4. N.A., F.A. MS., Ltr., Roberts to Forsyth, Bombay, October 23, 1835. DS-10, *Reports of Special Agents, Edmund Roberts*.

The arrival at Zanzibar in April, 1839, of the New York brig, *Archibald Gracie*, Captain Sagary, revived the idea. *Archibald Gracie*, sailing in behalf of the newly established New York firm of Scoville and Britton, had aboard Edgar Botsford as supercargo and R. Starr Parker, Consul-designate to Bombay, both of the New York firm. New York shippers had heretofore shown only sporadic interest in the Zanzibar-Muscat trade. Scoville and Britton, however, focussed particular attention on it. The senior partners of the firm professed a close personal knowledge of data collected by Edmund Roberts on the commercial possibilities of Sayyid Said's domains.⁵ Roberts' daughter, Harriet, had married Congressman (later Judge) Amasa J. Parker of New York, a friend of both Scoville and Britton. Through this connection, they may well have had access to Roberts' extensive journals of Muscat and Zanzibar. Roberts had kept these journals among his personal papers, sending only copies to the Department of State. On his death, his papers had gone to his children.

Botsford's cargo of about \$20,000.00 in dry goods sold well, and the enterprising New Yorker now sought to persuade Sayyid Said to open direct trade with New York. Though initially professing some reluctance, partly no doubt as a tactical measure, partly perhaps to avoid affronting Waters, the gift of a new eight-shot Colt repeating rifle smoothed the way with the *Sayyid*. At a subsequent meeting with Botsford, he consented to establishing direct trade with New York.⁶ Scoville and Britton, unlike most Salem merchants, could afford to encourage the ruler to send one of his vessels to the United States. With limited shipping resources to engage in the East African trade, they welcomed commission business as a useful adjunct. By May, 1839, when *Archibald Gracie* sailed for Muscat and Bombay, Sayyid Said had been persuaded to send one of his own vessels to New York. Instructions were sent to *Sultanah*, then in Bombay, to refit for the voyage.

Of Sayyid Said's numerous vessels, *Sultanah* was best suited for such a venture. Named after the ruler's first consort, the *Sultanah*

5. Walter Barrett (pseudonym for Joseph A. Scoville), *The Old Merchants of New York City* (New York, 1885), I, 129; II, 103.

6. *Morning Herald* (New York), May 5, 1840. See also Robert Albion, *The Rise of the New York Port (1815-1860)* (New York, 1939), p. 210. Professor Albion errs slightly in suggesting that Sayyid Said's gifts were for President Jackson. They were for Jackson's successor, President Martin Van Buren.

Azze binti Saif, a daughter of the Prince-Governor of Shiraz of Persia, she was one of the newest and swiftest vessels of the Omani fleet. She possessed superb sailing qualities. "Close hauled to the wind," her American sailing master later wrote of her, "she is as wet as a pump box, and appears to be under water half of the time, being so very low in the water [that] every sea comes aboard, but with any wind, she walks away from anything spreading canvass [*sic*]."7 She was a symbol, moreover, of Sayyid Said's claim to American gratitude which might now be redeemed. On receiving news of the grounding of *Peacock* off Masira Island in 1835, the *Sayyid* had at once ordered *Sultanah*, then in Muscat, to sail to the assistance of the stricken American vessel. Fifty miles out of port, *Sultanah* had fallen in with *Peacock*, whose captain had successfully extricated her by jettisoning everything possible. Dramatically, the two vessels had returned to Muscat together.

Early in August of 1839, Sayyid Said cautiously apprised Waters of his intention of sending *Sultanah* to the United States. Knowing that the Consul hoped to return to the United States later in the year on leave, he politely invited Waters to take passage on his ship.⁸ His courteous gesture also had an ulterior motive, for he was still without a suitable navigator. Several times during the ensuing month—before he himself sailed for Muscat in September, 1839—he bespoke Waters' help in engaging a mate from one of the American vessels visiting Zanzibar, who might sail his ship across the Atlantic. Waters professed inability to do so. Hence, ultimately, Sleeman, who had been in Sayyid Said's employ for two years, was designated to sail the vessel. At one time Waters had agreed to take passage on *Sultanah*, but the uncertainty of her date of departure, the Consul's deep misgivings about Sleeman's intemperance and the arrival of his brother's vessel, *Cavalier*, bound for Salem, moved him to sail on the latter ship in January, 1840. When leaving Zanzibar, however, Waters firmly expected to handle Sayyid Said's business in the United

7. Drinker MS., *Sultanah* Journal, Entry of September 14, 1840: "I am much pleased with the ship and officers," Passed Midshipman William Rogers Taylor, USN, had written of *Sultanah* five years earlier while sailing aboard her. L/C MS., Ltr., Taylor to Roberts, "Sultani, Tuesday Morning," (September 29, 1835). *Roberts Papers* V. Undated—Miscellaneous.

8. P.M.S. MS., "Richard Palmer Waters' Journals," Journal no. 3, Entry of August 5, 1839. *Waters Papers*.

States and to present the princely presents to the President.⁹ This, it transpired, was not to be.

The selection of a suitable emissary to represent him in the United States was a more difficult task for Sayyid Said. Understandably, he was anxious that his mission make as impressive a display as possible. His first choice fell on his kinsman, Sayyid Hassan bin Ibrahim, whom he sounded out on accepting the charge. Well-educated in India, speaking good English, highly personable and intelligent, Sayyid Hassan was greatly admired by Americans and Europeans who knew him. Waters considered him the best qualified person to undertake the mission and strongly urged him to go. Sayyid Hassan, however, perceiving the risks inherent in so uncertain a venture and reluctant to endure the discomforts of the long sea voyage, pleaded ill health.¹⁰ Sayyid Said's choice then fell on his confidential private secretary, Ahmad bin Na'aman.

Ahmad, or to cite his full name, *al-Haj* Ahmad bin Na'aman bin Muhsin bin Abdallah al-Ka'abi al-Bahrani, was born in 1784 in Basra, where he received a rudimentary, classical Islamic education. Patrilineally, he was Arab, descended from the renowned Bani Ka'ab (pronounced Cha'ab) tribe of the Persian Gulf littoral. His mother was Persian. Ahmad's early history is obscure. He is said to have started as a lowly cabin boy and, by dint of sheer ability, to have made his way upwards. Ample evidence exists attesting to his Muslim piety, though his detractors sometimes attributed Sabeian origins to him. At a later date they were to pillory him with the sobriquet *Wajhain*, or two faces.¹¹

Ahmad joined Sayyid Said's service in Muscat early in the 1820's. He is said to have travelled to China, Cairo and Europe in his princely master's behalf, usually most likely as supercargo on one of the ruler's trading vessels.¹² At some unspecified date,

9. P.M.S. MS., Ltr., R. P. Waters to William Waters, Zanzibar, December 17, 1839. *Waters Papers*, Box no. 7.

10. *Ibid.* Captain Drinker thus described Sayyid Hassan bin Ibrahim: "He is upwards of fifty, lively, and possesses a great deal of unaffected dignity. At his house, all foreigners resort as a sort of Exchange and receptacle for the news of the day." Drinker MS., *Sultanah Journal*, Entry of December 14, 1840. See also Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

11. Richard F. Burton, *Zanzibar; City, Island and Coast* (London, 1872), I, 262-63.

12. "Ahmad bin Na'aman" (in Arabic), *Supplement to the Official Gazette of the Zanzibar Government*, XXXII, no. 1624, March 12, 1923.

he made the prescribed Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca, possibly on the occasion of Sayyid Said's own grand pilgrimage in 1824. In 1833, he was entrusted with the delicate mission of visiting Queen Ranavolana Manjaka at Antanarive in Madagascar, there to seek the hand of the royal lady for his master, as well as 2,000 Malagasy mercenaries. En route back to Muscat, he met Sayyid Said at Lamu in December, 1833, bound for Mombasa, and reported the results of his mission. It had been only partially successful. The soldiers could be had, provided each was given a gun; the Queen's hand was not available, though a Malagasy princess might be provided for connubial alliance purposes. The Queen's written reply was in English. Although Ahmad spoke English, he could neither read nor write the language; hence, the royal missive had to be read for Sayyid Said by a passing English sea captain, with Ahmad translating the spoken English into Arabic.¹³ In 1834, at the behest of his princely master, he sailed to England on a vessel belonging to the British firm of Newman, Hunt and Christopher, to "ascertain the climate" as a prelude to a more formal Omani mission to the United Kingdom. On that occasion, he paid a courtesy call on Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary.¹⁴ In 1835, Ahmad became private secretary to Sayyid Said, a position he retained throughout the latter's lifetime. He was frequently employed in contacts with Waters. Though Waters in 1840 did not have too high a regard for Ahmad, their friendship was to grow with the years.

With ship and agent decided upon, the mission could proceed. From December 16 to 23, 1839, *Sultanah* loaded cargo at Muscat. She then sailed for Zanzibar, where additional cargo was taken on. Early in February, 1840, she was ready to begin her transatlantic journey. Her one port of call before New York was St. Helena. There, Ahmad paid a formal call on the Governor presenting him, as a gift from his princely master, with a bottle

The Zanzibar Museum contains china sent to Sayyid Said as a gift by the Emperor of China. R. H. Crofton, *Zanzibar Affairs 1914-1933* (London, 1933), p. 49.

13. Hunt, *op. cit.*, p. 277, published the account. Ahmad is the unnamed envoy mentioned in it. For another member of the Omani mission to Madagascar, Khamis bin Uthman, see Burton, *op. cit.*, I, 301.

14. Public Record Office MS. (hereafter cited as P.R.O. MS.), FO 54/1, Ltr., Newman, Hunt and Christopher to Palmerston, London July 10, 1834. The document refers to Sayyid Said's emissary as "Armeia Bin Hafman."

of locally purchased perfume.¹⁵ *Sultanah's* 87 day sailing time to New York compared favorably with that of similar American vessels of the period. Waters, for example, sailing from Zanzibar aboard the Salem bark, *Cavalier*, took 116 days to reach Salem.

IV

Virile, buoyant, bustling and boisterous, such was the rapidly growing New York City of 1840. Its population had doubled in the preceding decade, now stood at 312,000 and still skyrocketed. Its port was thriving, and 185 vessels of all types were to follow *Sultanah* into it during May. Already the city could boast of ten newspapers. Their pages offered abbreviated accounts of local developments, domestic politics, problems of Texan independence, Indian outrages in Florida and, on the arrival of each mail packet from abroad, foreign news culled from the European press. President Martin Van Buren's controversial term was about ended, and a new Presidential election was imminent. Meeting at Baltimore on May 5, just a few days after Ahmad's arrival, the Democrat-Republican party, as it henceforth styled itself, did the expected and nominated Van Buren to stand for a second term. Shortly thereafter, equally anticipated, William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe, would become the Whig candidate. Democrats and Whigs alike girded their loins to join political battle. New York revelled in its lusty vigor, as the "fabulous forties" were being ushered in.

"What a remarkable city this is!" exulted the *Morning Herald*, "So full of excitement, fun, curiosities and wonders. They never cease. When one goes, two or three more appear." Into this expectant atmosphere, Ahmad arrived and, for a time at least, was to afford sensation-hungry New Yorkers one more opportunity to gratify their insatiable quest for the novel. Sophisticated Knickerbockers might find the polished performances of Fanny Ellsler, the celebrated Viennese danseuse, then beginning a triumphal tour of the United States, more captivating; New York's rank and file found Ahmad and his colorful companions infinitely more entertaining.

15. Shaiban (Arabic) MS., "Ahmad bin Na'aman's Account Book for his North American Journey," 23 pp.; Photostat in the Peabody Museum of Salem, Mass. (hereafter cited as Shaiban MS., Ahmad's Account Book, P.M.S.).

With James Gordon Bennett's *Herald* in the van, the New York press quickly spread the news of the extraordinary arrival, "a perfect wonder to us Americans." Ahmad's princely master was extolled by the *Herald* as ". . . a remarkable man; as ambitious and as enterprising as Mehemet Ali of Egypt."¹ The comparison was apt. While warily eyeing each other from afar, the two rulers, whose reigns were roughly concurrent, several times exchanged courteous correspondence on common problems. Both were hostile to the Wahhabis of inner Arabia, and Mehemet Ali's successes against them had for a time at least afforded Sayyid Said the needed respite to pursue his East African designs. By 1839, however, there were growing signs of strain as the Pasha of Egypt's south Arabian aims became clearer. Recounting the *Sayyid's* aid to the stranded *Peacock*, the *Evening Post* eulogized, "There is not a monarch in Christendom whose character would not have been elevated in the eyes of the world by conduct like this."² "It is to be hoped," added the *New York American*, "that every facility will be given by our Government to the first commercial enterprize [*sic*] of the Sultan with the New World, that the *Sultane* and her officers may be greeted with the courtesies approaching in some degree to those (of which she has been the instrument) extended by the hospitable Arabs to our people."³

New York responded with gusto. On learning of Ahmad's identity, Commodore Renshaw at once notified the Board of Aldermen of the Common Council of New York of the rank and purpose of the distinguished visitor aboard *Sultanah* and expressed his own readiness to cooperate in formally greeting Sayyid Said's envoy.⁴ Thus advised, the Aldermen met on May 4 to enact a welcoming resolution. Recognizing *Sultanah's* arrival as the "first step towards the establishment of a friendly commercial intercourse with that interesting country" and "influenced by the desire to reciprocate the kind feelings which have prompted the act," the Board resolved to "extend to Ahamet Ben Aman,* the Commander of the

1. *Morning Herald* (New York), May 5, 1840.

2. *The Evening Post* (New York), May 9, 1840.

3. *New York American*, May 6, 1840.

4. N.A., N.R. MS., Ltr., Renshaw to Paulding, Navy Yard, New York, May 11, 1840. Navy Department, *Captains' Letters*, May, 1840.

*This was to be but the first of numerous mutations of Ahmad's name, some altering it almost beyond recognition. The complexities of Arabic sounding and transliteration eluded most Americans. Variations encountered include: Achmet Ben Aman, Achmed Ben Hamed, Ahmet Ben

ship *Sultane*, the right hand of fellowship (and) . . . cordially welcome him to our shores. . . ." The Board of Assistant Aldermen concurring on the same day, a joint committee of five members of each of the two Boards waited on Ahmad and solemnly extended to him, "the civilities and accustomed hospitalities of the city."⁵

Rumors spread apace that among the princely presents for the President were "two or three Circassian slaves of outstanding beauty." Glimpses of the two English ladies aboard *Sultanah*, visibly closely guarded in their cabin to insure privacy, lent credence to the tale. Whig newspapers seized upon it to lampoon "His serene Mightiness, Sultan Martin I," some good humoredly, others with a touch of acerbity, and to speculate with tongue in cheek on what might be done with such beauties. ". . . There must be a centre [*sic*] wing built to the White House;" suggested the weekly *Brother Jonathan*, "unless, as in the case of other presents, these girls must be deposited in the Office of the Secretary of State."⁶ Though apocryphal, the story enlivened public interest in the singular visitor. Crowds of New Yorkers flocked to dockside to view the vessel and her unusual crew. Not content with seeing them, they pressed aboard in droves. On May 8, in desperation, City Marshall Frederick Leeds had to be summoned to save the crew from being overrun by the milling crowd.⁷ Thereafter, until the vessel was taken to the Navy Yard later that month, two policemen were at all times kept aboard *Sultanah* to discourage the uncontrolled curious from attempting to board the ship.

The crew attracted much public attention. Ashore, dressed in their picturesque national costume, they were followed by throngs of people. Some shouted inanities at them, a few of the more unruly occasionally tugged at the beard of a seaman to determine its realness. To this expression of public curiosity, the *Herald* ob-

Hamen, Hamed Ben Hamed, Ahmad bin Ahman, Ahmed Ben Aman, Ahamet Ben Haman, "Ben," Ben Aman, Ahamet Bendeman (Stokes' *Iconography*), Achmet Ben Ahmin, Achmet Ben Amar, "Hamet Something" (Hone), Ahmad Abdurrahman (Rigby), Armeia Bin Hafman, Ahamed bin Namen, and Ben Nauman.

5. Text in New York City, *Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen* (New York, 1841), XVIII, 539. See also *The Evening Post* (New York), May 5, 1840; *New York Daily Express*, May 5, 1840.

6. *Brother Jonathan* (New York), May 9, 1840.

7. *Ibid.*; Shaiban MS., Ahmad's Account Book, P.M.S., records Leeds phonetically in Arabic as "L-y-s."

served, "The Arabs look around, curl up their mustaches, look at each other, and wonder at the depravity of the natives."⁸ But this public interest was far from hostile in intent. More often it was convivially hospitable as members of *Sultanah's* crew had thrust at them at every corner drinks and other refreshments. Not accustomed to alcoholic beverages, the results were sometimes disastrous. One crewman thus inveigled, the *New York Signal* reported, returned to the ship capering wildly. Seeing his state, a grave old Muslim mariner, with long white beard, berated the delinquent, "Wretch, if you go on at that rate, you will soon be as low and degraded as a Christian."⁹

Ahmad and his two principal officers were equally widely feted. On Wednesday, May 13, members of the New York Common Council conducted them about New York and its environs. Between visits to the Institution for the Blind and the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, the party lunched at the home of ex-Council President Williams in Bloomingdale (now Morningside Heights). A short ride on the Harlem Railroad came next, a momentous first for Ahmad and his friends. Never before had they seen or ridden on a railroad. Boats then transported the party to the penitentiary at Blackwell's Island to see ". . . the loafers and philosophers thereon," which was followed in turn by an inspection of Bellevue. Capping the tour was a formal dinner at City Hall. So tiring and often cheerless an itinerary had evidently dulled Ahmad's appetite. It was noted he ate and drank very little.¹⁰

On May 8, Secretary of the Navy Paulding instructed Renshaw, ". . . to pay every attention to the Commander and officers of the (Omani) vessel laterly arrived . . ."¹¹ Accordingly, Renshaw

8. *Morning Herald* (New York), May 5, 1840; British Consul Hamerton later reported that an annoyed Sayyid Said had told him of the beard pulling allegedly experienced by some members of *Sultanah's* crew. P.R.O. MS., FO 54/1, Ltr., Hamerton to Palmerston, February 10, 1842, cf. in Coupland, *op. cit.*, pp. 371-72, f. 2. There is no indication that Sayyid Said made any representations to Waters about this.

9. Cf. in *The North American and Daily Advertiser* (New York), May 16, 1840. The *Brooklyn Daily News*, May 22, 1840, reported the errant seaman had been flogged on orders of the ship's captain. Such chastisement while *Sultanah* lay in New York harbor hardly seems credible and there is no corroborating evidence.

10. *Morning Herald* (New York), May 15, 1840; *The Long-Island Star* (Brooklyn, N.Y.), May 18, 1840, carried a briefer report of the tour.

11. N.A., N.R. MS., Ltr., Paulding to Renshaw, Washington, May 8, 1840. Bound in Navy Department, *Letters to Officers Ships of War*, 29, April 11, 1840 to October 19, 1840.

invited Ahmad and his officers to pay a formal visit to the Navy Yard. At eleven o'clock on Monday, May 18, four trim navy launches, each manned by twelve white-uniformed oarsmen, crossed the East River to pick up the Arab guests and convey them to the Yard. In the lead yawl, the Stars and Stripes at the stern, his blue pennant at the bow, was the Commodore, resplendent in full dress uniform. Mooring at the steps of Castle Garden, the designated rendezvous at the Battery, Renshaw disembarked to greet Ahmad and his officers and to present them to the mayor and members of the Brooklyn Common Council, who had been asked to participate. The Arabs were dressed in long robes of deep green color, buttoned up the front. Ahmad and Abdallah, it was noted, had on Arab footgear, curved slightly upwards at the toes; Juma'a wore Lynn shoes, a Salem export to Zanzibar. Ahmad, unhappily, was afflicted with a severe swelling of the feet and legs, the aftermath of his exertions of a few days earlier. Nevertheless, both he and First Officer Abdallah displayed great animation. Juma'a proved more shy.

The party now re-embarked in the boats which, on command, moved off in column toward the Yard. On entering the open bay, a thirteen gun salute, normally reserved for ministers resident, boomed from the guns of *North Carolina*, the Yard's receiving vessel, whose yardarms were manned for the occasion. At ship's side, oars were tossed, and the Arab dignitaries were piped aboard. Bidden to inspect the vessel, Ahmad dutifully limped about the lower deck, the ship's hospital and the dispensary. Thereafter, he was conducted to a cabin for a brief, but sorely needed, rest. Shortly after one o'clock, the party left the ship, amidst another gun salute, and proceeded to the Yard's landing platform. Awaiting them on shore was Commander Silas Stringham, Renshaw's second in command, as the guns of the 54-gun razee frigate *Independence*, also in ordinary at the Yard, fired yet another salute. Navy Yard drummers beat three ruffles and, on barked command, a drawn up Marine honor guard smartly presented arms in honor of Sayyid Said's representative. After being introduced to the officers of the Navy Yard, all in full dress uniform, the Arabs were escorted about the installation. They were shown the new steam frigate under construction, the two 74-gun ships of war, *Franklin* and *Washington*, the mast houses, the rope walks and, finally, the Naval Lyceum with its portraits of the Presidents.

All could then repair to the beautiful home of the Commodore, where Ahmad and his officers met the ladies and other guests invited to be present. To the music of a band, a splendid meal was served replete with "iced punches, liquors and other luxuries." Among those attending was Gilbert Davis, Governor of Coney Island, who invited the Arabs to visit his domains. The first and second officers spoke little English, and efforts to engage them in conversation met with limited success; "Very good," was the extent of their responses. Ahmad, on his part, charmed the guests. Those who conversed with him ". . . were much pleased with his naivette and intelligence." Ahmad was asked whether he thought Arab or American women were more attractive? Gallantly, but courteously, he rose to the defense of his own countrywomen.¹² (His more humble countryman, known only as Rajab, who visited the United States two years later as a groom for some horses sent here, proved less inhibited on the subject. When asked later about American women, he exclaimed to an American acquaintance, "Eyes! *Bismilla!* When dey look at me, I feel all ober drunk. I no sabby nothing!"¹³) At prayer times, mid-afternoon and sunset, the Arabs retired briefly to perform their devotions in private. Arrangements had been made for them to overnight at the Commodore's home, hence the reception could continue into the evening. All acclaimed it a memorable success.

A few days later Alderman Fiske, President of the Long Island Railroad, invited Ahmad and his officers to travel by train to the line's easternmost terminal at Hicksville. Asked to join the party were Mayor G. Furman, members of the Brooklyn Corporation, Commodore Renshaw, the press and others. On Saturday morning, May 23, the Arab visitors drove up to the Long Island Railroad station at Clinton and Atlantic streets in Brooklyn in a barouche, especially hired for the occasion, accompanied by the Commodore and Mr. George Barclay, Ahmad's broker. Ahmad was dressed in a plain, open *abaya*, or cassock. Included in the crowd at the station were a considerable number of ladies, come

12. *Brooklyn Daily News*, May 19, 1840; *Morning Herald* (New York), May 20, 1840; N.A., N.R. MS., "Log Book, U.S. Navy Yard, New York, January 1-June 30, 1840," (bound), 14, Entry of May 18, 1840, speaks of the salute fired by *Independence*. Though the receiving ship for the Navy Yard, no log book for *North Carolina* has been found for this period.

13. J. Ross Browne, *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise, with Notes of a Sojourn on the Island of Zanzibar* (New York, 1846), p. 345.

to see the wondrous visitors. Already, two scheduled trains ran regularly each day to Hicksville, but a special train had been laid on for the occasion and was waiting. Its Baldwin-built locomotive, with four drive wheels and a huge smokestack almost equal in diameter to its boiler, had steam up. Water and wood reserves were carried on a flat car coupled to the engine. Behind this were the passenger coaches, painted bright yellow. As the Arabs alighted, they bowed formally to all around and were escorted into the first of the coaches. Once all were aboard, the train got underway on its twenty-seven mile, two-hour run. Rickety and noisy, it soon reached its maximum speed—slightly over ten miles per hour!¹⁴

Word of the excursion had preceded the event. All along the line villagers waited, craning their necks to catch a glimpse of the Arabs. At Jamaica, where the train arrived shortly after mid-morning, a huge crowd had gathered. Amidst incredible bustle and confusion, Ahmad and his officers were taken to the Village Hotel, where they held a kind of levee. A drive down Jamaica's Main Street followed to the magnificent estate of Depeyster Oden, whose spacious lawns Ahmad much admired.¹⁵ Here, a gardener gave First Officer Abdallah a bouquet of flowers. Earlier, when boarding the train, one of the ladies had presented Abdallah with a bouquet of roses. Now, when Renshaw jokingly suggested he throw away the old bouquet, Abdallah, to the delight of the assembled company (except perhaps the gardener), gallantly declined to do so. Instead, he discarded the new bouquet, pressing the old, fading flowers to his bosom.

Shortly after leaving Jamaica, the train halted. "We stopped to water the horse," said Renshaw. As Ahmad smiled doubtfully, the Commodore explained the need to keep the engine's boiler filled. Ahmad nodded comprehendingly. A mile from Hicksville the train was again stopped to allow Ahmad and his officers to accompany Alderman Fiske to the engine. Riding in its cab, they were shown how to operate the huge locomotive. The intense heat of the firebox they found disagreeable. They were then put on

14. Anonymous, *Hicksville's Story, 300 Years of History 1648-1948* (Hicksville, N.Y., 1948), p. 17, has a brief account of the extension of the Long Island Railroad to Hicksville.

15. *Long-Island Farmer and Queens' County Advertiser* (Jamaica, N.Y.), May 26, 1840.

the roadside, and the train was driven past to demonstrate its speed. "Can your horses go as fast?," asked Renshaw. "Yes," replied Ahmad with a twinkle, "for one or two minutes—no more." At Hicksville, another sizeable crowd was on hand to see the Arabs. A lavish banquet had been arranged at the Grand Central Hotel, Mr. Jackson's establishment, to which all did full justice. Though abstaining from wine, the Arabs enjoyed the good food and the friendly company. "Their countenances beamed with intelligence and veracity," wrote the *Long-Island Star*. Complimentary toasts, including one to Sayyid Said, were drunk, and Ahmad was promised a model of the train to take back with him. At five o'clock in the afternoon, after a brief lemonade stop at Jamaica, the party returned to Brooklyn.¹⁶ For Ahmad and his friends, the day had been exhilarative and gratifying. Strewn in their wake were numbers of bouquets—perforce discarded.

Summing up the Arab visitors' reactions to the spate of attention shown them, the *Herald* recounted early in August:

Since these Arabs have been in this country they have received every attention and kindness. They have seen everything, visited everywhere, and had all kinds of present showered upon them . . . What they have seen has not apparently astonished them. It does not seem to be in their nature to be surprised at anything. They have been pleased with the attention shown them, and that is all. They would talk and smile, show their white teeth, and turn up the white of their brilliant eyes.¹⁷

As early as May 5, Commander Stribling, in rendezvous at Norfolk, wrote to Secretary Paulding expressing ". . . the hope that a suitable return will be made to him (Sayyid Said) through his officers on board the *Sultana*. . ."¹⁸ The vessel's condition on arrival soon gave rise to the suggestion that, as a tangible gesture of appreciation for the aid rendered *Peacock*, the Omani ship ought to be overhauled at United States Government expense. On May 19, Secretary Paulding directed Renshaw to furnish an estimate of the costs of repairs that *Sultanah* might require.¹⁹ The

16. *Morning Herald* (New York), May 25, 1840; *The Long-Island Star* (Brooklyn, N.Y.), May 25, 1840; *Brooklyn Daily News*, May 25, 1840.

17. *Morning Herald* (New York), August 3, 1840.

18. N.A., N.R. MS., Ltr. (Private), C. K. Stribling to the Honorable James K. Paulding, Secretary of the Navy, Norfolk, Virginia, May 5, 1840. Navy Department, *Commanders' Letters, Jan. to June Inclusive*, 1840.

19. N.A., N.R. MS., Ltr., Paulding to Renshaw, Washington, May 19, 1840. Bound in Navy Department, *Letters to Officers Ships of War*, 29, April 11, 1840 to October 19, 1840.

Commodore did so, but believing that the vessel could best be refitted at the Navy Yard, also sought discretionary authority to bring her there for that purpose. Authority was granted, and on the morning of May 27, the steam tug *Wave* towed *Sultanah* to the Yard.²⁰ Ahmad and his officers now became guests of Renshaw, while the crew were billeted aboard one of the ships in ordinary at the Yard. Intermittently, during the ensuing two months, Navy Yard workmen were employed in refitting *Sultanah* for her homeward voyage. Her own crewmen assisted in the task, and their skill evoked favorable comment.

The ship was repainted, her rigging repaired, her hull recaulked, her boats overhauled and a new carpet was laid. Last but not least, a bowl and castings for a new water closet were installed. Here was surely the height of modernity in Sayyid Said's fleet. Arrangements were also made to build a new boat for the vessel. Altogether, about \$5,000.00 were spent on repairs.²¹ Unsatisfactory refitting was later charged by the American sea captain who sailed *Sultanah* back to Zanzibar.²² Available evidence hardly supports any such blanket indictment. A great deal of work was done on the vessel. Belated discovery that the initial Navy Yard survey had underestimated the extent and costs of needed repairs, and that a special appropriation would not be obtained, may indeed have caused some things to be left undone. The records attest, however, that every effort was made to correct essentials.

Ahmad's retirement to the Navy Yard, across the river, removed him for a time from the glare of the public spotlight. He

20. N.A., N.R. MS., "Log Book, U.S. Navy Yard, New York, January 1-June 30, 1840" (bound), 14, Entry of May 27, 1840; A somewhat misleading account of the move, based on a faulty reading of Ahmad's Account Book, is contained in Abdurrahim Mohamed Jiddawi, "Extracts From an Arab Account Book, 1840-1854," *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 31 (July, 1951), 25-31. This account suggests *Sultanah* was towed up the Hudson River to Newburgh, there to take on some special, though unidentified cargo. The Arabic text of Ahmad's Account Book is unmistakable on this point and reads "N-w-y-r-d."

21. N.A., N.R. MS., "Return for Month of June and July, 1840 of Material Used in Repairing Arabian Ship *Sultanee*—June 1-August 8, 1840, at U.S. Navy Yard at New York;" Figures contained in this return do not tally entirely with those subsequently submitted to the Navy Department, which pare the earlier total by just over \$100. N.A., N.R. MS., Ltr., Renshaw to Navy Department, Navy Yard, New York, August 12, 1840. Navy Department, *Captains' Letters, August, 1840.*

22. Drinker MS., *Sultanah Journal*, Entry of August 17, 1840.

and his officers were but guests at the Commodore's gala receptions for Governor William Seward of New York on June 13 and for Vice-President Richard Johnson on July 10. On the occasion of Seward's visit, Ahmad met the ex-Mayor of New York, Philip Hone, who found "Hamet Something," the best he could recall for his diary, only mildly interesting. Ahmad's impressions of Hone are not recorded. Towards the end of June, the *Herald* reported that Ahmad ". . . looks quite cool and contented. He strokes his beard—watches the movements in the Navy Yard—says his prayers morning, noon and night and takes a siesta every day."²³ During his Navy Yard sojourn, Ahmad sat for Edward Mooney, the eminent New York portraitist, whose portrait of Ahmad was purchased for \$500.00 by the New York Common Council in September, 1840, shortly after *Sultanah's* departure.²⁴

There was frequent speculation that Ahmad might travel outside of New York City. On May 18, the New York Board of Aldermen voted to appoint a Committee of Three to "conduct and present (Ahmad) to the Government of the United States."²⁵ Late in May the *Herald* reported that Ahmad and Abdallah would shortly call on the President in Washington.²⁶ Nothing came of these designs. Ahmad had no formal accreditation and did not seek a personal meeting with the President or the Secretary of State. Instead, he conducted his business with them by correspondence. They, on their part, saw no need to suggest a visit. By then, Van Buren was engrossed in his campaign for re-election. Moreover, the continuing uncertainty as to Congressional action on the disposition of the princely presents (see below) was deeply embarrassing to the Administration and militated against any initiatives to arrange a meeting. A visit to Salem was also mooted,²⁷ but failed to materialize. Indeed, it is uncertain whether Consul Waters, then on leave in Salem, was in touch with Ahmad during

23. *Morning Herald* (New York), June 25, 1840.

24. Text of resolution authorizing purchase may be found in New York City, *Journal and Documents of the Board of Assistants of the City of New York* (New York, 1841), XVI, 190-91; A description of the Mooney portrait of Ahmad is in Art Commission of the City of New York, *The Catalogue of the Works of Art Belonging to the City of New York* (New York, 1909), p. 24.

25. Text in New York City, *Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen* (New York, 1841), XIX, 13.

26. *Morning Herald* (New York), May 29, 1840.

27. *The Salem Gazette*, May 22, 1840.

his New York stay. If not, we can only speculate on the reasons for this. At the time, Waters was in the midst of changing his business association, an act attended by some acrimony. In the circumstances, a visit by Ahmad would hardly have been opportune. Added to this personal preoccupation, Waters may have been piqued by Ahmad's use of a New York firm to transact Sayyid Said's business when, as indicated earlier, the Consul had expected to do so. Whatever the reason, it did not mar the friendly relations between the two men which were to continue in Zanzibar.

The fleshpots of New York cost money, and Ahmad's Account Book shows frequent advances to his officers and crew against their meager salaries. It is satisfying to recall, however, that at least one of Ahmad's close colleagues used the time to real advantage. This was Second Officer Muhammad Juma'a. During his frequent visits to the Commodore's home, Mrs. Renshaw, the thoughtful wife of the Commodore, was struck by his earnest desire to improve himself. She provided him with books and spent considerable time instructing him. His progress was rapid. By the time *Sultanah* sailed in August, Juma'a could read English fluently and write it with a fair hand.²⁸

V

The social whirl in which he found himself notwithstanding, Ahmad was mindful of the commercial charge entrusted to him by his princely master. Happily, his account book for the voyage has survived. The original manuscript is in the possession of Shaikh Sulaiman Abdallah Shaiban of Zanzibar, but a photostat copy is on deposit at the Peabody Museum of Salem, Massachusetts. Made out at sea on the return voyage, the document is diffuse and at times somewhat baffling. Its postings appear to be based partly on memory, partly on records provided by Ahmad's New York brokers. Items for which Arabic equivalents could not be adduced are entered phonetically in English. A cost accountant might well throw up his hands in dismay at the ledger, for it does not balance—although it comes close to it. Whatever its shortcomings, it is an illuminating economic document on certain contemporary commercial practices, prices and tastes incident

28. Drinker MS., *Sultanah* Journal, Entry of September 9, 1840.

to the Zanzibar trade of a century or more ago. Further, replete as it is with a plethora of those simple arithmetical errors of addition and subtraction which so often plague all of us, it is a very human document.

The American sea captain who navigated *Sultanah* on her return voyage, and who witnessed the preparation of at least parts of the account book, believed that some personal expenses of Ahmad and his officers may have been wrongly concealed in various cargo charges, such as wharfage, storage, etc.¹ Though not conclusive, the weight of the evidence does not bear out this suggestion. Ahmad's accounts show total wharfage fees at \$37.70, an amount scarcely large enough to conceal any significant extraneous charges. No storage fees are recorded. Still more to the point, two sizeable lump sum board items are posted, one for \$271.30, the other for \$300.00. These no doubt encompassed board costs for Ahmad and his officers as well, at least for the almost eight weeks when they were not guests of the Navy Yard but lived aboard *Sultanah*. Both items were set down for Sayyid Said's scrutiny. It is difficult to imagine any gross irregularity escaping the ruler's watchful eye. Such adjustments as were made on this and other ventures were minor and, in accord with the prevailing economic practice, expected and accepted by the *Sayyid*. His secretaries were notoriously ill-paid. Ahmad amassed no personal wealth from his voyage to America. On the contrary, his account book credits him with \$242.00, his total emoluments for a ten month trip.² A few years later, the meager sum of \$70.00 threatened to stand between him and the purchase of a small plantation of his own.

Shipped aboard *Sultanah* at Muscat were 1,300 bags of dates, 21 bales of Persian wool carpets and 100 bales of Mokha coffee. Added at Zanzibar were 108 prime ivory tusks, 81 cases of gum copal—partly cleaned, partly "jackass" copal, i.e. uncleaned and in bulk—135 bags of cloves and 1,000 dry, salted hides. They were Pemba hides rather than the superior Bravu variety. The cargo was to be sold in the United States for Sayyid Said's account, and proceeds were to be invested in American manufactures suitable for the Zanzibar emporium or wanted by the ruler

1. *Ibid.*, Entry of December 18, 1840.

2. Shaiban MS., Ahmad's Account Book, P.M.S.

and his son, Sayyid Khalid, for their personal use. Except for the Persian carpets, still a relative novelty on the American market, the cargo was similar to that shipped aboard most American merchantmen in the Zanzibar trade. The cloves came from Sayyid Said's plantations, he having been responsible for introducing their large scale cultivation into Zanzibar and Pemba. In addition to the princely cargo, Sayyid Khalid had authorized the carriage of small amounts of merchandise for several prominent Muscati and Zanzibari merchants, among them Said bin Khalfan and Jeram bin Sewji.³

Responsive to Botsford's earlier urgings, the cargo was consigned to Scoville and Britton of New York, who were to act as commission agents for the venture. On arriving in New York, however, Ahmad found an unexpected problem confronting him. Scoville and Britton had gone into bankruptcy and were in the hands of receivers.⁴ A new agent had to be found and quickly. With the consent of Lloyd Britton, the sole senior partner of the now defunct firm in New York, Ahmad turned to the firm of Barclay and Livingston to handle his business. Though without previous experience in the Zanzibar trade, Barclay and Livingston were a highly respected New York business house which, among other things, acted as agents for Lloyd's of London.⁵ Agreement was reached that the firm handle sales on a 5% and purchase on a 2½% commission basis. *Sultanah's* cargo was carried to the firm's offices at 26 Broadway where, the press announced on May 8, it was available for inspection and purchase.⁶ George Barclay, one of the senior partners, personally took charge of the matter.

The cargo moved reasonably well, and most of it had been disposed of by late June. The cloves sold for between 19¢ and 20¢ per pound. The gum copal, used in the manufacture of varnishes and lacquers, brought 23¢ and 26¢ per pound for the cleaned variety, 15¢ for the uncleaned type. Dates were purveyed at between 3¢ and 4½¢ per pound. Small quantities were bought by Philadelphia and Boston buyers and had to be repacked for overland shipment. Ivory fetched \$75.00 per tusk. Sales of Persian

3. *Ibid.*

4. Barrett, *op. cit.*, I, 130.

5. *Ibid.*, I, 80; II, 103-104.

6. *New York Commercial Advertiser*, May 8, 1840; See also the same newspaper's issue of June 26, 1840.

carpets, coffee (of which two bags were distributed as gratuities) and hides proved more sluggish. A quantity of each was still on hand when *Sultanah* prepared to sail for Zanzibar in August. The carpets, mainly of an inferior quality, eventually brought \$5.50 to \$7.00 apiece. The hides averaged \$1.30 each. Initial coffee lots sold for 20¢ per pound; the final lot, consisting of almost one quarter of the total coffee consignment, brought no more than 14½¢ per pound. In sum, *Sultanah's* cargo grossed \$26,157.00.⁷

At Ahmad's behest, Barclay and Livingston now purchased goods for the return cargo. These fell into three categories. First was a selection of general merchandise for sale on the Zanzibar market. In accordance with the customs farming contract between Sayyid Said and Jeram bin Sewji, all such princely imports were to be passed through the latter, since a portion of the ultimate sales price would become his due. Included in this category were 125 bales of gray sheeting—*mericani*—bought at prices ranging from 6¼¢ to 8½¢ per square yard; 24 bolts of scarlet cloth bought for 87½¢ and, for a slightly superior quality, \$1.20 per square yard; 13 cases of red, white and blue beads at \$1.00 per pound; 20 dozen prints at prices varying between \$1.05 and \$4.50 per dozen; 300 muskets at \$3.43 each; 300 twenty-five pound bags of gunpowder at \$2.75 per bag; and a quantity of china plates varying in price from 62½¢ to \$2.00 per dozen. Total purchases in this category amounted to \$11,177.56.

Next was a selection of items bought for the personal use of Sayyid Said and Sayyid Khalid respectively. For Sayyid Said, four decorated rifles (costing \$70.00 each), a large quantity of sperm candles, several boxes of gold thread, 20 reams of paper, fifty boxes of refined sugar, two boxes of vases and one of perfume, ten shell music boxes, some red soap, a quantity of glass and china plates, and several mirrors were bought. Also, catering to the sweet tooth of the ruler and his numerous household, there were several boxes of almond, pineapple and orange extract and a case of candies. Sayyid Said's purchases cost \$3,681.25. Those for Sayyid Khalid were more modest and consisted of a few mirrors, chandeliers, glass plates and lamps. They totalled \$505.08 in value.

Finally, some chandeliers and mirrors were bought for Said

7. Shaiban MS., Ahmad's Account Book, P.M.S.

bin Khalfan and for one other Zanzibari merchant. Since the merchandise they had been permitted to ship aboard *Sultanah* had not realized enough to defray costs of purchases for them, Ahmad advanced \$473.27 from Sayyid Said's funds to make up the difference. The balance between sales and purchases, \$4,000.00, Ahmad took in silver specie, probably mainly pillored Spanish silver dollars—*riyals maghrib*, i.e. Western dollars, he recorded them—which (along with French five franc pieces) were the bulk of contemporary American silver reserves. An arbitrage charge of \$116.00 had to be paid for them and a strong box purchased.

Expenses of the voyage were high and had to be debited against receipts. Portage, weighing and packing charges, together with other expenses incident to the sale of the ship's cargo, totalled \$2,238.29. Included herein were Barclay and Livingston's commission charges. Scoville later cavilled that the rival firm had made a tidy profit of between \$5-6,000.00 on the handling of *Sultanah*.⁸ This is refuted by Ahmad's Account Book, which shows that total commission payments to the firm did not exceed \$1,755.00. Additionally, there was a formidable array of ship's expenses. Wharfage fees, towing and pilotage charges, police guard costs, advances to officers and crew, Sleeman's severance payment, food costs, etc.; all had to be paid. Also, shortly before departure, Barclay, now in his guise as the persuasive agent of Lloyd's, induced Ahmad to purchase a marine insurance policy for the return voyage—an uncommon practice in Sayyid Said's usually more complacently fatalistic fleet. Total ship's expenses came to \$3,062.76. Ironically, at least some of the charges which Ahmad was required to pay in New York were for services which American traders visiting Zanzibar adamantly insisted should be defrayed by Sayyid Said's government in accordance with their interpretation of the United States-Muscat treaty of 1833, such as pilotage, weighing, etc.

A summary of Ahmad's Account Book may be useful in illustrating cost aspects of the venture:

Receipts:

Sale of Sayyid Said's merchandise	\$26,157.21	
Total		\$26,157.21

8. Barrett, *op. cit.*, II, 103.

Expenditures:

Expenses on sale of merchandise	\$ 2,238.47	
General purchases for Sayyid Said	11,177.56	
Personal purchase for Sayyid Said	3,681.25	
Personal purchase for Sayyid Khalid	505.08	
Purchases for Sulaiman Hamid	73.00	
Purchase for Said bin Khalfan	473.27	
Ship's expenses in New York	3,062.76	
Outgoing towage charges	62.00	
Expenses at St. Helena and Capetown	557.00	
Specie (\$4,000.00 in silver dollars)	4,116.44	
Ahmad's salary at end of voyage	142.00	
Total		\$26,088.83 ⁹

There is thus a discrepancy of just over \$68.00. Sayyid Said does not appear to have been troubled by this. David Pingree of Salem, with whom Waters was later associated, subsequently suggested that Barclay and Livingston had not done as well by Ahmad as the New York firm should have done.¹⁰ The charge is difficult to substantiate at this late date, all the more so since New York City was at the time suffering a temporary business recession. Nor can its ring of commercial rivalry be entirely dismissed. In any event, Ahmad appears to have been satisfied, as was Sayyid Said. The latter continued a desultory business relationship with the firm, primarily for the purchase of fowling pieces.

VI

Complementing his commercial tasks, Ahmad had been charged with the performance of an official mission while in the United States. This consisted of delivering two communications from Sayyid Said, both dated Muscat, December 25, 1839, to Presi-

9. Data on sales and purchases taken from Shaiban MS., Ahmad's Account Book, P.M.S.

10. P.M.S. MS., Ltr., D. Pingree to R. P. Waters, Salem, Mass., December 31, 1841. In *Waters Papers*, Box no. 6.

dent Van Buren. Both letters had been written in English by Said bin Khalfan. The first briefly reiterated the *Sayyid's* friendly feelings for the President.¹ The second sent certain presents to the President. Sayyid Said had apparently forgotten Roberts' earlier refusal of gifts for the President, if indeed he had ever really understood the reasons for it. The gifts included two fine Najd stud horses, a string of pearls, two separate large, pear-shaped pearls, some 120 assorted brilliants (totalling 18.25 karats), a small gold bar, a silk Persian carpet, a jar of attar of roses, some rose-water, six cashmere shawls and a beautiful gold-mounted sword.

At Ahmad's request, Barclay and Livingston, on May 2, forwarded Sayyid Said's letters to the President and sought instructions anent the disposition of the gifts. Three days later, in a second letter to the President, the firm wrote that if the Chief Executive could not receive the presents for his own use, Ahmad would feel compelled to return them to Sayyid Said. Meanwhile, the horses were landed and taken to Tattersall's stable, on Broadway, where they were much admired. Writing to the President on May 5 to apprise him of *Sultanah's* arrival and the gifts, Jesse Hoyt, the spoilsman Collector of Customs of the port of New York, made free with a thought on what might be done with the horses. "Smyth (Smith Thompson) would like to have them for the farm," he ventured, "but I suppose he can't be accommodated."² He was right; so cavalier a handling of the gifts could not commend itself to the Administration.

The White House now referred the correspondence to the Department of State where, on May 7, Secretary of State John Forsyth wrote to Barclay and Livingston pointing out that the President was constitutionally precluded from accepting the gifts "for his own use." The Secretary requested that Ahmad be apprised of this prohibition to enable him to dispose of the gifts in some other manner consonant with the wishes of his master. The President, he added, planned to avail himself of *Sultanah's* return to reply to Sayyid Said's friendly communications.

1. All correspondence between Sayyid Said and President Van Buren and between Barclay and Livingston—acting for Ahmad—and both the President and the Secretary of State was submitted to the Congress and was subsequently published as Document no. 488 in United States Senate, *Public Documents Printed by Order of the Senate of the United States During the First Session of the Twenty Sixth Congress* (Washington, 1840), VII, 2-5.

2. N.A., F.A. MS., Ltr., J. Hoyt to President Van Buren, New York, May 5, 1840. DS, *Miscellaneous Papers, April-May-June, 1840.*

Three days later, Secretary Forsyth transmitted the President's formal reply to Sayyid Said. "It has been a source of lively satisfaction to me in my desire that frequent and beneficial intercourse should be established between our respective countries," the President wrote in a letter, dated May 8, "to behold a vessel bearing your highness' flag enter a port of the United States, to testify, I hope, that such relations will be reciprocal and lasting." The President went on to explain that, as a public servant, he could not accept the presents so generously offered and concluded his message, "Wishing health and prosperity to your highness, power and stability to your government, and to your people tranquility and happiness."

Despite his earlier bold words, it was patently impractical for Ahmad to take back to Zanzibar most of the presents, especially the horses. Realizing this, Ahmad (through Barclay and Livingston) again wrote to Secretary Forsyth, on May 14, saying he would present the President's letter to his princely master on his return and explaining that Sayyid Said had not been aware of the obstacle to the acceptance of the presents. "I feel assured," he added, "that I can now carry out the Imaum's [*sic*] instructions only by requesting that they be considered as intended for the Government of the United States, and that you will have the goodness to take such measures for the acceptance of them as you deem proper." He would be in the United States for about another month, Ahmad advised, and hoped that during this period he might be authorized to turn over the gifts to a duly designated representative.

Thus, the President was faced squarely with the issue of how to handle the gifts. A touch of ferocity was added to the problem since even then two lions, gifts to the President from the Emperor of Morocco, were aboard ship bound for the United States. Accordingly, the President, on May 21, submitted the entire correspondence to the Congress, suggesting that legislation be adopted, ". . . pointing out the course which it (Congress) may deem proper for the Executive to pursue in future instances where offers of presents by foreign states, either to the Government, its legislative or executive branches, or its agents abroad, may be made in circumstances precluding a refusal without the risk of giving offense." Actually, precedent already existed for the disposi-

tion of gifts by foreign governments to executive agents of lower rank. Though long reluctant to legislate on the subject, Congress had in 1835 formally authorized the sale by public auction of certain horses given to the American Consul in Tangier by the Emperor of Morocco. Proceeds derived from their sale were to be deposited in the Treasury. Still nebulous, however, was the issue of how such gifts designated for the President of the United States should be handled.

Vice-President Johnson presented the President's message to the Senate on May 25, and that body at once referred the matter to its Foreign Relations Committee for consideration. A few days later, Senator James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, chairman of the Committee, reported out a simple resolution authorizing the President to accept the presents, to dispose of them, and to place the proceeds in the Treasury of the United States. The Senate passed this resolution on June 1 and instructed its secretary to obtain the concurrence of the House of Representatives.³

Passage through the House proved to be considerably more stormy. Here, too, the correspondence was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which a few days later also had before it a copy of the Senate resolution. On June 9, the Committee reported out a slightly amended resolution, deleting placing the proceeds in the Treasury and substituting language requiring they be distributed equally between the (two) charitable orphan institutions of Washington. The sword might be deposited in the Department of State. The change was made to avoid offending Constitutional strict constructionists who, it was feared, might object to the deposit in the Treasury of funds raised by other than taxation. The amendment was approved, and early House passage of the revised resolution seemed assured.⁴

Now, however, a new and formidable opponent unexpectedly entered the lists. John Quincy Adams, former President, since representing a Massachusetts constituency in the House, already 74 years of age and in considerable discomfort from a dislocated

3. United States Senate, *Journal of the Senate of the United States of America, 1st Session, 26 Congress* (Washington, 1839[sic]), pp. 399, 403-404.

4. United States House of Representatives, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States of America, 1st Session, 26th Congress* (Washington, 1840), (hereafter cited as *House Journal, 1st Sess., 26th Cong.*), pp. 1025, 1063, 1075, 1095; *Niles' National Register* (Baltimore), June 13, 1840.

right shoulder, rose just as the Speaker was putting the question of engrossment and demanded to be heard. Never before, he insisted, had Congress authorized the acceptance of such gifts from foreign powers. Indeed, Thomas Pinckney, when negotiating the treaty with Spain in 1798, had been refused permission to receive certain proffered presents.⁵ The resolution before the House should not be passed. Rallying around the doughty old warrior, opponents of the measure succeeded in recommitting it to Committee.

Almost a month passed as supporters of the resolution cautiously mapped their strategy. Adams was consulted to probe his objections. Though strongly opposed to the Van Buren Administration, his objections in the present instance centered in his belief that an undesirable precedent would be established if the acceptance of these gifts were sanctioned. In an effort to meet his objection, the Committee, on July 7, reported out a resolution so worded as to omit any reference to the acceptance of the gifts and merely authorizing their disposal.⁶ Adams remained unmollified. For three days, from July 7 to July 9, an intricate parliamentary battle raged over the question of Sayyid Said's gifts.

Proponents of the resolution, led by Congressman Francis Pickins of South Carolina, argued that Adams exaggerated the significance of the issue. Normally, they agreed, gifts from foreign potentates to executive agents should be declined. In this instance, however, the presents ". . . were intended as a mark of attachment and respect to the people and Government of the United States and not to individuals." Sayyid Said's generous assistance to the distressed *Peacock* would be ill-requited if his gifts were now rejected. Adequate precedent existed for the acceptance of such gifts; had not Congress itself previously authorized the President to receive a medal from the President of the Republic of Columbia?⁷

Opponents, led by Adams, rejected these arguments. Congress

5. Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (Philadelphia, 1876), X, 305-306.

6. *House Journal*, 1st Sess., 26th Cong., p. 1238.

7. The debate is nowhere carried *in extenso*. It has been pieced together from: *House Journal*, 1st Sess., 26th Cong., pp. 1227, 1235, 1250; Blair and Ives, eds., *The United States Congressional Globe* (hereafter cited as *Congressional Globe*) (Washington, 1840), VIII, 454-55, 512, 514, 519; *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington), July 10, 1840; *Niles' National Register* (Baltimore), July 18, 1840.

had never authorized the Executive to receive presents from a foreign State. From 1798 to 1834 there had been consistent refusal to authorize the acceptance of such gifts. The Columbian medal precedent was inapplicable to the present instance. To authorize acceptance of the gifts would set a new and highly undesirable precedent. The suggestion that the gifts simply be sold without formally accepting them was "indecent." Such a procedure would most certainly give even more serious umbrage to Sayyid Said.

On July 8 the Adams forces, through adroit parliamentary maneuvering, succeeded in defeating the resolution. Theirs was a Pyrrhic victory, and even Adams acknowledged that the House might shortly be expected to reverse itself. He was right. Even before the Senate could be informed of the defeat of the measure, Congressman Nathan Clifford of Maine retrieved it from the clerk of the House in order to reintroduce it on the floor the very next day. Rail as he might at the clerk's failure to send the defeated measure to the Senate at once, as House rules required, and threaten to censure him, Adams was forced to accept the inevitable. "All the screws of the party machinery were now used," he recorded in his diary, "until the Administration succeeded in smothering debate."⁸ The resolution was reamended to require deposit with the Treasury of the proceeds realized from the sale of those gifts which could not conveniently be deposited in the Department of State and was passed. In a final, bitter parting shot, opponents of the measure sought to retitle it "A joint resolution to replenish the exhausted Treasury of the United States by the sale of certain horses, otto [*sic*] of roses, rosewater, Cashmere shawls, etc., being a donation to the United States by the Imaum of Muscat and the Emperor of Morocco." They were defeated.⁹ Senate concurrence in the amended resolution could quickly be obtained, and the President signed it on July 20.¹⁰

It is unlikely that Ahmad, in New York, understood the complexities of the debate which had been touched off by the gifts he had brought. In any event, it connoted no disrespect or lack of esteem for Sayyid Said. On the contrary, during the debate Con-

8. Adams, *op. cit.*, X, 330.

9. *House Journal*, 1st Sess., 26th Cong., pp. 1261, 1324, 1337; *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington), July 11, 1840.

10. Richard Peters, ed., *United States Statutes at Large*, 24th-28th Congress, 1835-1845 (Boston, 1846), V, 409, has the final text of the joint resolution.

gressman Horace Everett of Vermont proposed, albeit unsuccessfully, that an appropriation be voted for the refitting of *Sultanah* and for presents for Sayyid Said, that "noble minded Prince."¹¹ Moreover, on the final day of the Congressional session, July 21, Congressman Alexander Duncan of Ohio announced that he would, at the next session of the Congress, introduce a bill authorizing and requiring the President to present the ruler of Muscat with a sloop of war.¹² There is no record of any such bill having been introduced, but the gesture was indicative of the high regard in which Sayyid Said was held.

The gifts could now be received by the Government of the United States. They were brought to Washington where most of the items were deposited in the Department of State, then located at the old Patent Office. Arrangements were made to sell the horses at public auction on August 4. Each morning before that date, they were taken to the Capitol for the inspection of "gentlemen of the turf, and those desirous of improving the breed in this country."¹³ Edward Dwyer, the celebrated Washington auctioneer, sold them on the appointed day. One, a light gray, was bought for \$650.00 by L. M. Powell of Virginia; the other, a darker gray, was bought for \$675.00 by General John Eaton of Tennessee, of controversial "Peggy Eaton" fame, just recalled by the President from Spain where he had been United States Minister.¹⁴ After deductions for expenses and auctioneer's fees, \$993.28 remained for deposit in the United States Treasury.¹⁵

VII

As June passed into July, his commissions about finished and work on *Sultanah* nearing completion, Ahmad could begin to plan for the homeward voyage. Needed above all was a new sailing master. Relations with Sleeman, never harmonious, had steadily worsened following the ship's arrival at New York. In a fit of

11. *Congressional Globe*, VIII, 517; *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington), July 10, 1840.

12. *House Journal*, 1st Sess., 26th Cong., p. 1356; *Congressional Globe*, VIII, 547.

13. *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington), July 21, 1840.

14. *The Evening Post* (New York), August 7, 1840.

15. United States National Museum MS., Ltr., Department of State to Treasury Department, Washington, September 24, 1840, cf. in personal communication to the writer from Dr. Remington Kellogg, Director of the United States National Museum, Washington, February 21, 1957.

temper and without consulting Ahmad, the sailing master had discharged the two French sailors for insubordination. The crew despised him. Any attempt to return with him would court mutiny or worse. In late May, the *Herald* learned that Sleeman—"one very bad man," Ahmad termed him—would soon leave, and that Ahmad was anxious to engage an American sailing master for the return voyage.¹ A few days later Sleeman permanently left Sayyid Said's employ, and his passage money from New York to England was advanced to him.²

Through Barclay and Livingston, Ahmad now approached Captain Sandwith Drinker of 101 North 10th Street, Philadelphia, in the hope of engaging him for the voyage. Drinker was 32 years old at the time, but already had a distinguished sailing record. Only a few months earlier, in February, he had returned from a long sea voyage.³ Sayyid Said, he was told, wished to make arrangements for a regular trade with New York.⁴ To this end, the *Sayyid* hoped to put a 600 ton vessel in the trade which Captain Drinker might command.⁵ The offer was attractive, all the more so since the Captain had recently married and now had a family to support. He agreed to sail *Sultanah* back to Muscat.

On July 15, even though refitting was not yet fully completed, the steam tug *Rufus King* was engaged to tow *Sultanah* from the Navy Yard to a new mooring in the stream of the North River

1. *Morning Herald* (New York), May 27, 1840.

2. Sleeman reportedly was paid \$40 a month as *Sultanah's* sailing master. *Ibid.*; He was given \$100 for his return passage from New York to England. Shaiban MS., Ahmad's Account Book, P.M.S.

Coincidentally, when written phonetically in Arabic, the name Sleeman bears close similarity to the Arab name, Sulaiman, which probably prompted Jiddawi to read it thus in Ahmad's Account Book. Jiddawi, *op. cit.*, p. 27. Such a reading has given rise to occasional suggestions that an Arab sailing master navigated *Sultanah* on her North American journey. Also latent in the identification confusion is the fact that the officer in charge of *Sultanah* when sent to succor *Peacock* in 1835 was (Sayyid) Sulaiman bin Hamid, a kinsman of Sayyid Said. Ruschenberger reverses Sulaiman's name in his account of the Masira incident. Ruschenberger, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

3. Sandwith Drinker was born on November 19, 1808, in Philadelphia. He died on January 18, 1857, at Macao where he had opened a commercial house on leaving the sea. Henry D. Biddle, *The Drinker Family in America* (Philadelphia, 1893), p. 27. Drinker was a close friend of Townsend Harris of Japanese fame.

4. Drinker MS., *Sultanah* Journal, Entry of July 11, 1840.

5. *The North American and Daily Advertiser* (New York), June 17, 1840; *The Long-Island Star* (Brooklyn, N.Y.), June 22, 1840, cf. the *Philadelphia North American* of an unspecified date.

some distance below the Rector Street wharf. Abolitionist activity at the Yard among the slave members of Ahmad's crew impelled the move. By then, seven such crewmen had already been induced to desert and were believed to be concealed somewhere in the city. Only one of this number was later retaken.⁶ Surprisingly, New York's abolitionist press had largely ignored the vessel's presence, despite her sizeable slave crew.⁷ Most likely, therefore, such defections were encouraged by individual antislavery zealots employed at the Yard and in touch with *Sultanah's* crew. Impetus may also have been given by the flurry of excitement attending the arrival at the Yard on June 1 of the schooner, *Sarah Ann*, a slaver brought in for condemnation proceedings. Whatever the cause, extra precautions were clearly required to prevent further desertions, the danger of which increased as the date for departure approached. Hence, two policemen were again engaged and remained aboard ship from July 15 to August 1 to watch the crew. On the very day the vessel was to depart, after the police guard had been discontinued, two sailors jumped ship and had to be brought back by the police.⁸ Under existing legislation, police assistance to apprehend deserters from a public vessel belonging to a friendly state with which the United States enjoyed treaty relations was mandatory on request.

As the time for *Sultanah's* departure drew near, public attention turned to the array of gifts which the President would send aboard her to Sayyid Said. Despite the failure to obtain a specific Congressional appropriation for this purpose, \$15,000.00 had been allotted by the Government of the United States for costs of refitting *Sultanah* and for the purchase of presents for the *Sayyid*. The source of these funds remains unclear, but it is likely that they came from unexpended naval appropriations of the preceding year which the Secretaries of the Navy and Treasury could, under certain conditions, transfer to other, related purposes involving the public interest. Most striking was a

6. *New York Daily Express*, August 6, 1840; *New York Commercial Advertiser*, August 5, 1840; *Brother Jonathan* (New York), August 8, 1840; (*Hazard's*) *United States Commercial and Statistical Register* (Philadelphia), August 12, 1840, cf. the *New York Sun* of an unspecified date.

7. Thus, for example, *The National Anti-Slavery Standard* (New York) did not even mention *Sultanah's* presence in New York until July 30, 1840, a full three months after the vessel's arrival, and then only to laud the treatment that colored crew members had received from New York's citizenry.

8. Shaiban MS., Ahmad's Account Book, P.M.S.

magnificent pleasure barge—31 feet long, 4 feet 8 inches wide and 21 inches deep—especially built by W. and J. Crolius of New York under the personal direction of Navy Agent J. R. Livingston. Exhibited late in July at 7 Wall Street, it was seen to be clinker built of the finest cedar, with enamelled and polished out-sides. Gunwales, rowlocks, tiller and stanchion supports for the awning were silver plated. A Wilton carpet covered the floor from stem to stern, while the awning, fitted to cover the entire boat, was of fine linen lined with blue silk. Tiller ropes and tassels were likewise of blue silk, and blue satin cushions covered the seats.⁹ The barge reportedly cost \$2,000.00 and was widely admired.¹⁰ Presciently, however, *Brother Jonathan* mused that a Francis life-boat might be more suitable.¹¹ Since the barge would have to be freighted aboard *Sultanah* as deck cargo, it was encased in a tin box, closely soldered to prevent any water seepage.¹²

Apprised of Sayyid Said's penchant for weapons, the President had directed that various types of firearms also be included among the gifts. From mid-July onwards, Colt's shop at 155 Broadway displayed four splendid mahogany cases containing four five-chamber rotary repeating pistols and two eight-chamber repeating rifles. Double twisted, the pistol barrels were from eight to twelve inches in length, beautifully figured and richly inlaid with silver. Butts were of mother of pearl, secured by steel and mounted and riveted with silver. Rifle stocks were of dark veined mahogany. Weapons and cases alike were inscribed in Arabic, "From the President of the United States of America to the Imam of Muscat." Bullet molds and cutters, cap fitters and holders, charges, hammers and rammers all were included.¹³ Two large and elegant mirrors and a magnificent chandelier, bought from S. Underwood of 186 Fulton Street, rounded out the official presents. The mirrors measured 100 inches by 72 inches, the largest size then manufactured in the United States.¹⁴ They would be installed in one or another of Sayyid Said's numerous palaces.

9. *New York American*, July 25, 1840.

10. *Morning Herald* (New York), July 28, 1840; Osgood wrote that the barge cost \$3,000. (J. B. F. Osgood), *Notes of Travel, or Recollections of Majunga, Zanzibar, and Other Eastern Ports* (Salem, Mass., 1854), p. 66.

11. *Brother Jonathan* (New York), August 1, 1840.

12. *Morning Herald* (New York), August 3, 1840.

13. *Morning Herald* (New York), July 15, 1840.

14. *New York Commercial Advertiser*, July 25, 1840; *The Morning Herald* (New York), July 20, 1840, charged that the mirrors were not of American manufacture.

A few private Americans offered their gifts. The New York Bible Society sent an Arabic translation of the Scriptures for Sayyid Said.¹⁵ (He already had one, given him by Captain Owen in 1824—shortly before the Captain had attempted to divest him of Mombasa.) A copy was also presented to Ahmad. Austin Sherman, M.D., of 106 Nassau Street, sent a large metal case containing about fifty different sorts of his “inestimable lozenges.” Their bumptious apothecary advertised their remedial virtues against worms, nervous headaches, heartburn, colds and sundry other ailments. “If his Highness does not get renovated by their use,” reflected *Brother Jonathan*, “he is past cure, or not in need of it.”¹⁶

Late in July, preparations were made to sail. On July 25, *Sultanah's* boats were towed from the Navy Yard to her mooring. Loading of cargo began a few days later. But now an unexpected mishap occurred. On August 3, an unusually violent storm was experienced—the worst, the *Herald* wrote, “. . . ever seen in New York within the memory of the oldest inhabitant.”¹⁷ For ten hours, it raged without letup. About six o'clock that afternoon, a bolt of lightning struck the vessel. Shivering the main and mizzen top gallant masts, it passed down the poop deck, splitting the forward beam immediately under the barge case and tearing off the iron mast casings, before passing over the side. First Officer Muhammad Abdallah and two or three crewmen were injured by the bolt, fortunately none seriously.¹⁸ Happily, too, the gun powder had not yet been loaded; otherwise there might have been something of an explosion! At least half a dozen other vessels at anchor in the harbor and much property ashore, including St. Paul's Church, suffered damage in the storm. Commodore Renshaw, on learning of the incident, at once sent a detachment of men from the Navy Yard to assist in repairing the damage. With their help, the vessel was again ready to sail two days later.¹⁹

15. Drinker MS., *Sultanah* Journal, Entry of August 17, 1840.

16. *Brother Jonathan* (New York), August 8, 1840; *Morning Herald* (New York), July 29, 1840.

17. *Morning Herald* (New York), August 4, 1840.

18. *New York Daily Express*, August 6, 1840; *The Evening Post* (New York), August 5, 1840; *Morning Herald* (New York), August 5, 1840; *New York Commercial Advertiser*, August 5, 1840; *Brother Jonathan* (New York), August 8, 1840, reported that the barge case had been split from end to end by the lightning bolt. There is no corroborating evidence for this report.

19. N.A., N.R. MS., “Log Book, U. S. Navy Yard, New York, July 1-December 31, 1840” (bound), 15, Entry of August 3, 1840; *Morning Herald* (New York), August 5 and 7, 1840.

On August 7 *Sultanah* cleared the New York Customs House for Zanzibar and Muscat. By now, her crew had been reduced to forty-seven. Included were four unnamed American seamen engaged at Drinker's behest to fill ranks depleted by desertions. One passenger would be carried on the return voyage, William Waters, a brother of Consul Waters, described as a "professor of religion." Two days later, on the morning of August 9, the steam tug *Hercules* towed *Sultanah* as far as Sandy Hook. With a fresh westerly wind blowing, the economy-minded Ahmad at first bemoaned having engaged a steam tug for the purpose, which was to cost another \$62.00. Drinker pointed out, however, that only with such assistance could the pilot be discharged. Just off the quarantine ground, *Sultanah* passed the inbound *Great Western*, the pride of the transatlantic steam fleet. Fittingly, *Sultanah's* complement gave three cheers for the queen of the seas. The cheers were enthusiastically returned by those aboard the steamship.²⁰ The homeward voyage was underway.

VIII

Throughout the return voyage, Captain Drinker kept a private journal of events and impressions, a copy of which is preserved in the Drinker family. It provides an invaluable account of life at sea aboard *Sultanah*. Hopefully, the journal may one day be published; in the meantime, the account that follows draws heavily upon it.

Drinker had planned to steer eastwards as far as possible before taking the northeast trade winds which, in that season, were generally held to blow better between the parallels 28° and 12° North. Unfortunately, *Sultanah* now encountered more than her share of perverse weather. Long periods of calm alternated with buffeting squalls and contrary currents. Twice, in the early days of the voyage, masts were almost lost as backstays parted. Only rapid tacking and bringing the wind to the opposite beam saved them. Such rigging as could be spared was cut up to repair the damage. The limits of the northeast trade winds were passed without once having a wind better than from the southeast. Consequently, the vessel was driven far to the west of the course normally followed by ships bound for Capetown. Apart from vessels

20. Drinker MS., *Sultanah* Journal, Entry of August 9, 1840.

encountered on the first day out, only *John Gilpin*, 117 days out of Canton bound for New York, was passed on September 9. Thoughtfully, Ahmad sent across some "potatos, segars and a mat of dates."

Added to the strains of the weather, Drinker found his crew and most of his officers sadly wanting. He was himself obliged, he wrote, "to act as Master, mate and everything else."¹ The crew proved to be a dispirited, surly and undisciplined company, which Drinker attributed to Sleeman's earlier mishandling of the men. Some measure of good will was won by prevailing upon Ahmad to relieve all Muslim sailors from duty on Fridays, their sabbath. The Captain had reluctantly to admit, however, that prospects of marshalling the men into an effective ship's company were slim on the present voyage. First Officer Muhammad Abdallah scarcely left his bed during the first weeks of the voyage. "He has fallen away almost to a skeleton," Drinker wrote on September 9.² "Ben Nauman is so little a sailor," added the Captain, "I cannot trust him on deck alone (if I could get him there)."³ Second Officer Muhammad Juma'a, alone among the officers, proved his worth. Though suffering from a painful affliction on one leg of what appears to have been Guinea worm, requiring constant poulticing and forcing him to hobble about, he and Drinker spelled each other on watch day and night, week in and week out. Aware of Juma'a's driving interest in improving himself, the Captain had bought for him before leaving New York a Bowditch *Practical Navigator* and now undertook to instruct the Arab officer in the principles of navigation. Together they took the sun every day, and Drinker soon expressed his delight at his pupil's ability to take latitude and longitude with fair accuracy. "He is persevering and has a comprehensive mind . . . I am most pleased with him," the Captain recorded, "in fact he has the most amiable disposition I ever met with."⁴ Since Juma'a could not always be at hand in heavy weather to translate orders to the crew, Drinker, wisely, learned the names of ship's tackle in that jumble of Arabic, Kiswahili, Gujarati and Malayalam which was the nautical patois of Sayyid Said's fleet.⁵

1. *Ibid.*, Entry of September 9, 1840.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, Entry of August 17, 1840.

5. *Ibid.*, Entry of September 9, 1840, speaks of the "Malabar language."

The limited accommodations aboard ship sorely inconvenienced both Drinker and Waters. The Presidential gifts for Sayyid Said had been stowed in the tiny cabins, leaving their occupants barely enough room in which to turn around. But most trying of all, especially during the early stages of the voyage, was the cooking! Portuguese John had remained as cook and was now assisted by one "Lewis," who had been signed on in New York as steward. Neither, it developed, could bake bread. John, however, prided himself on his curries and pastries. They ". . . are certainly excellent," acknowledged Drinker, "and would be much enjoyed could we induce him to keep clean hands, and use a handkerchief when blowing his nose."⁶ On one occasion, the Captain asked John to make bean soup. Such a dish, John indignantly insisted, was fit only for common sailors; instead, he would prepare some "gentlemen's soup" for the Captain. He did! "It reminded me," commented Drinker wryly, "of water remaining in a dish tub, after washing the plates, used in a variety of courses, and about the same consistency."⁷ Ahmad and his officers ate separately on the poop deck, but regularly sent Drinker and Waters plates of pilaf from their table. "It has a very savory smell," wrote Drinker, "but a most uninviting appearance. We were obliged to take it the first day as he (Ahmad) stood by for an opinion. He continues, from the best of motives, to send it every week. As we would be unwilling to offend by refusing to receive it, we are obliged to let it remain on our table until an opportunity offers to throw it out the window."⁸ Every Saturday a sheep was ritually butchered to provide meat for the officers. By mid-September, the cooking had improved somewhat as Waters succeeded in teaching John the art of baking bread.

As the days spun into weeks, the voyage progressed with monotonous slowness. Drinker and Waters were deeply religious, and Sunday was observed regularly for such Christian meditations as the Captain's overburdened schedule might allow. Ahmad was no less punctilious in performing his Muslim obligation of prayer and every few days inquired after the latest bearing on Mecca. On September 21, *Sultanah* crossed the equator and nine days later passed uninhabited Trinidad Island. Five more long weeks were

6. *Ibid.*, Entry of August 12, 1840.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, Entry of September 14, 1840.

to go by before landfall was again made near Capetown. "Land ho!" wrote Drinker wearily on October 30, "Never did I hear that cry with more satisfaction. We have had a harassing time of it. Short of water and provisions, crew sick."⁹ A week was spent in Capetown replenishing supplies and resting the crew. On November 9, *Sultanah* resumed her journey, short one crewman. Lewis had deserted. Good riddance was the consensus.

November was the Muslim fasting month of Ramadhan. On his part, Ahmad availed himself of the Quranic dispensation temporarily absolving travellers from the requirement of fasting. His officers and most of the crew observed the fast with care. They touched food only after sunset. Describing the evening meal during Ramadhan, Drinker recorded, "The servants standing at the caboose laden with the waiters for dinner awaiting the signal that the time for fasting is past, before his (the sun's) last rays are dissipated, a rush is made, and they are soon up to their elbows in grease and rice."¹⁰ As the month progressed, the debilitating effects of prolonged fasting were increasingly felt and a general lassitude settled on the hands. *Nimefunga Ramadhani*, "I have closed (for) Ramadhan," became the invariable, indignant apology for inattention to ship's duties. "I shall really be glad when the month is past," wrote an exasperated Drinker, "as my officers complain of being obliged to work when they cannot eat."¹¹ Prior to the ship's departure from Capetown, the considerate Drinker had persuaded Ahmad to purchase two sheep for the crew's *'Id al-Fitr* celebration, the Festival of the Breaking of the Fast, which marks the end of Ramadhan. This helped to revive flagging spirits. On November 22, *Sultanah* entered Mozambique Channel. A week later, she passed Mayotto, the easternmost of the Comoro Island group. Then, finally, on December 7, Chumba Island was reached, just eight miles from Zanzibar. The hour being late, Waters and Juma'a rowed ashore to return on the following morning with a pilot to conduct the vessel to her Zanzibar anchorage.

Now, however, a final, poignant tragedy was to be enacted. After returning with the cheering news that the families of Zanzibari crew members were well, Muhammad Juma'a—the sterling Juma'a, Drinker's pillar of strength throughout the long, difficult

9. *Ibid.*, Entry of October 30, 1840.

10. *Ibid.*, Entry of November 14, 1840.

11. *Ibid.*

voyage—unexpectedly met his death. “. . . When I left him,” wrote a deeply distressed Drinker, “he rose from his chair and walked to the side of the ship, and stood looking over, suddenly he put his hand to his throat, as if choking, before anyone could reach him, he reeled overboard and sank immediately.”¹² His untimely death saddened all, for he had been universally liked and respected. For the crew, the imminence of arrival in Zanzibar lulled their sense of loss. Perhaps Drinker alone appreciated Juma'a's unusual qualities and could genuinely mourn the loss of a valued friend.

On December 8, at high noon, *Sultanah* anchored in Mtoni Bay, before Sayyid Said's palace. *Il Hamdulillah*, God be praised, was the grateful ejaculation of Ahmad and his companions. The ruler being away, Ahmad and Drinker paid their respects on Sayyid Khalid, in charge on the island. A few days later, word was received that Sayyid Said was even then enroute to Zanzibar, thus obviating the need to continue to Muscat. On December 16, the *Sayyid* arrived. His Odyssey completed, almost ten months after it had begun, Ahmad could report to Sayyid Said a mission accomplished and present Captain Drinker to his princely master.

IX

In retrospect, how should Ahmad's mission be adjudged? As a link in the chain of friendly contacts with the United States and its citizens, it had a positive, even if transitory and largely unexploited, value to Sayyid Said. Through it, he acquired added prestige and stature in this country, becoming in fact one of the few Arab rulers about whom Americans had any sense of reality. In an effort to cement this friendship still more, the *Sayyid* in 1844 sent presents to President Tyler. Occasional misunderstandings were to arise in future years, but they could be resolved and would not efface the underlying friendship between the two governments.

The commercial success of the venture is less conclusive. Shortly after his return to Zanzibar and before he had seen Ahmad's written accounts, Sayyid Said expressed pleasure to Captain Drinker anent the commercial results of the mission.¹ There was

12. *Ibid.*, Entry of December 7, 1840.

1. *Ibid.*, Entry of December 18, 1840.

some reason to be content on this score. Most of the goods sent aboard *Sultanah* had fetched higher prices in New York than they would have had they been sold to American traders visiting Zanzibar or Muscat. Though the Zanzibar trade was perennially beset by sharp price fluctuations, a few contemporary prices are recorded and may be compared with those derived from New York sales.

Before going on leave in January, 1840, Consul Waters had engaged R. Starr Parker, formerly of Scoville and Britton, to handle his business interests during his absence. In a detailed letter of instruction to Parker,² Waters directed that cleaned gum copal should be bought at \$3.50 per *frazela* of thirty-five pounds, uncleaned gum copal for \$3.25 per *frazela*. In New York, Ahmad's cleaned gum copal sold for \$8.00, uncleaned copal for \$5.00 per *frazela*, substantial premiums in both instances. Hides—Pemba hides—were to be bought by Parker for \$4.00 per *courge* of twenty hides and sold to interested American ship captains for \$6.00 per *courge*. Those brought to New York aboard *Sultanah* sold for \$6.25 per *courge*. One item, cloves, realized less in New York than was the nominal going price in Zanzibar. Clove prices, Waters wrote, should range between \$5.12 per *frazela* for the best quality and \$4.75 per *frazela* for ordinary cloves. Ahmad's cloves brought no more than \$3.60 per *frazela*.³ Waters' valuations seem inflated, however, for by his own testimony the Zanzibar clove market was glutted, and sizeable quantities remained unsold. Comparative prices on other items are not available. Within a week after unloading at Zanzibar, *Sultanah's* cargo had been almost entirely disposed of to local *banyan* merchants. In Drinker's view, some of the buyers may have suffered as much as a 50% loss on their enforced purchases in view of the depressed state of the market.⁴

Against these positive aspects of the venture must be placed its high overhead costs. Total expenses of the voyage—exclusive of initial provisioning costs, which are unknown—amounted to \$6,179.00, or about 24% of direct proceeds derived from New

2. P.M.S. MS., Ltr., R. P. Waters to R. S. Parker, Zanzibar, January 1, 1840. *Waters Papers*, Box no. 7.

3. Data on prices obtained in New York for *Sultanah's* cargo are culled from Shaiban MS., Ahmad's Account Book, P.M.S.

4. Drinker MS., *Sultanah* Journal, Entry of December 18, 1840.

York sales. Overhead details on Sayyid Said's customary business ventures in the Indian Ocean area are not available, but it is reasonable to assume that in both absolute and relative terms they were substantially lower. Moreover, the North American venture had immobilized *Sultanah* and her crew for almost a year.

Thus, though he might give lip service to the success of the venture, Sayyid Said did not find it sufficiently attractive to consider repeating the experiment in the immediate future. Later he was to suggest to Waters, through Ahmad, that the duties charged in New York had been unduly high.⁵ This contention, if seriously advanced, reflects a general dissatisfaction with the then prevailing United States protectionist policy, which *Sultanah* had in fact experienced only marginally. Under Article 8 of the United States-Muscat Treaty of 1833, any of Sayyid Said's vessels visiting American ports were to be accorded most favored nation treatment. *Sultanah* received such treatment.

United States tariff policy in 1840 was regulated by the Import Duties Act of 1833. Amending a similar act of 1832, it had stipulated that all duties in excess of 20% *ad valorem* in the previous schedule should be reduced to that level by 1842.⁶ Under the 1832 schedule, a 25% *ad valorem* duty was applicable to non-specified carpeting. By 1840, this should have been scaled down to 23½%. Also, under an act of 1831, a duty of 1¢ per pound was leviable on coffee originating east of the Cape of Good Hope. These two items excepted, the bulk of *Sultanah's* cargo was non-dutiable.

New York impost registers for the period are missing and believed to have been destroyed; hence, some obscurity exists on the precise duties paid on the vessel's cargo. Available data are tantalizingly fragmentary and permit only a partial reconstruction. New York Port records show that charges amounting to \$290.70 were paid by the ship's agents on arrival, but fail to offer any clue as to the breakdown of this figure.⁷ No such posting is contained

5. P.M.S. MS., "Notebook of Richard Palmer Waters," Entry of November 8, 1842. *Waters Papers*.

6. United States Senate, 62nd Congress, 1st Session, *Tariff Proceedings and Documents, 1839-1857* (Washington, 1911), Table no. 11 is entitled "Tariff of duties under the Acts of July 14, 1832 and March 2, 1833." Duties applicable to carpeting under these Acts may be found on p. 177.

7. N.A., F.R. MS., "Port of New York, Arrivals, 1840-1841," Entry of May 2, 1840.

in Ahmad's Account Book. Nor do any combination of the several port charges listed therein add up to or approach this amount. The nearest approximation is a \$286.98 entry, cryptically annotated, "10% of the carpets."

If correct, this would suggest a declared valuation of about \$2,870.00 for the carpet consignment. Since total proceeds derived from their ultimate sale, as recorded by Ahmad, amounted to no more than \$1,448.61, a substantial loss would appear to have been suffered on this item. That some loss was sustained on the carpeting is indeed likely. But, judging from the indifferent quality of what is believed to be a still extant exemplar of Ahmad's carpet consignment now in the United States National Museum's collections (not the silk carpet for the President), any valuation such as that suggested above seems excessive. The suspicion exists, therefore, that Ahmad's notation represents an inadvertent error. Taking the proceeds derived from the sale of the carpets less the duties allegedly paid on them, the latter figure—be it that of the New York Port or Ahmad's—comes closer to 23½% of the balance and, one may speculate, a more likely declared valuation for the carpeting was in the neighborhood of \$1,200.00. Inexplicably, Ahmad's accounts give no indication of any duty having been paid on the coffee. However inconclusive, there the matter must rest for now. Fuller data may perhaps one day come to light explaining more satisfactorily these apparent contradictions and omissions.

Sayyid Said now evinced an interest in sending a ship to Manila for sugar and offered Captain Drinker command of the vessel. Drinker declined. He had come, he explained, to further the trade with the United States and particularly New York City. If the *Sayyid* had decided against sending another vessel to the Americas, he would return to his country on the first available ship.⁸ True to his word, he sailed as a passenger aboard the Salem brig, *Brenda*, in January, 1841. Efforts to induce the four American sailors to remain in Sayyid Said's service met with only limited success. One agreed to stay; the others chose to return home. A month after *Sultanah's* arrival, Consul Waters returned to Zanzibar, and the Zanzibar trade remained for all practical purposes in Salem hands. At least twice afterwards the hint of sending an-

8. Drinker MS., *Sultanah* Journal, Entry of December 18, 1840; *Niles' National Register* (Baltimore), May 1, 1841.

other vessel to the United States was employed in order to press Waters to buy the ruler's goods. In December, 1841, Sayyid Said, through Jeram bin Sewji, sought Waters' "views" on whether to send his brig *Gazelle* to the United States or sell a proposed cargo of gum copal to the Consul. Waters bought the gum copal.⁹ Again, in November, 1842, the *Sayyid* intimated, this time through Ahmad, that he might send *Gazelle* to the United States. Waters indignantly protested the transparency of the design, but a few weeks later again bought the proposed cargo.¹⁰ Since *Sultana's* visit, no vessel flying the Omani or Zanzibari colors has touched at American shores.

President Van Buren's presents to Sayyid Said were delivered. Having in mind the handling of the *Sayyid's* gifts to the President, ex-Mayor Hone had wondered whether the ruler would deign to receive them.¹¹ His concern was unwarranted; they were accepted without ado. The firearms, mirrors and chandelier were much admired. The costly barge proved less successful. On its maiden run with Sayyid Said and his suite aboard, the boatmen, inexperienced in this type craft, promptly caused it to capsize. The princely party was thoroughly ducked! Concluding the fault lay with the boat, Sayyid Said ordered it put up in ordinary on his ship *Shah Allum*. There it languished for some years, neglected and unused, its fine trimmings gradually deteriorating, its silver mountings disappearing one by one. At one time Sayyid Said offered it as a gift to Consul Waters who, prudently, declined. Equally unsuccessful were his efforts to sell it to one of his own subjects. Finally, in May, 1843, he exchanged the barge with British Consul Hamerton for a plain six-oared boat, worth at best two hundred dollars.¹²

Most of Sayyid Said's gifts to the Government of the United States are still at hand. In 1843 they were transferred from the

9. P.M.S. MS., Ltr., R.P. Waters to John G. Waters, Zanzibar, begun January 1, 1842, completed February 10, 1842. *Waters Papers*, Box no. 6.

10. P.M.S. MS., "Notebook of Richard Palmer Waters," Entries of November 8, 10, 11 and December 2, 1842. *Waters Papers*.

11. New York Historical Society MS., "Journal of Philip Hone," 17, Entry of July 27, 1840.

12. Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 355; Osgood has a slight variant on the ultimate fate of the barge. He writes it was eventually given to Hamerton, who later in return bought for Sayyid Said, ". . . a safe boat in the United States for \$450." (Osgood), *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66. Since Browne states that he witnessed the transaction, his version has been accepted here.

Patent Office to the Treasury Department. Again, in March, 1887, they were moved, this time to the United States National Museum—the Smithsonian Institution—where they now form part of that museum's fine collections. The sword has disappeared, the attar of roses evaporated. Twice, once in 1848 and again sometime between 1887 and 1892, several of the gems were apparently stolen. The silk Persian carpet is displayed in the Angelica Singleton Van Buren exhibit in the Smithsonian's Hall of Gowns of the Presidents' Wives, where it is marked as a gift from President Van Buren.¹³

Ahmad continued in Sayyid Said's service. For him, his visit to the United States marked the apogee of his career. In Muscat and Zanzibar, he was but a scribe of Sayyid Said; in the United States, he had been a dignitary in his own right. He savored the experience, and stories of his American adventure lost nothing in the telling.

As British influence in Zanzibar waxed, Ahmad came to be regarded as the leader of what British Consul Hamerton called the "American Party." Writing in February, 1842, Hamerton charged, ". . . the mode of communication between the Imaum and the American Consul (Waters), and the American party, is through the interpretation of a Writer of the Imaum's, called Ahmad bin Noman, a fellow who went to America in the Imaum's ship *Sultanah* and who leads all hands to believe we are a very inferior people to the Americans."¹⁴ The American party, Hamerton believed, deliberately sought to persuade Sayyid Said to take a strong anti-British stand by apprising him of every British reverse, such as Afghanistan, etc.¹⁵

Ahmad's friendship with Waters endured. When Waters left

13. Personal communications to the writer from Dr. Remington Kellogg, Director of the United States National Museum, dated Washington, January 30, 1957, and February 21, 1957. Since Van Buren was a widower during his White House occupancy, his daughter-in-law, Angelica Singleton Van Buren, the wife of the President's son, Abraham, usually acted as his hostess.

14. Commonwealth Relations Office, India Office Library MS., Ltr., Hamerton ("British Agent Maskat on a Mission to Zanzibar") to the Honorable the Secret Committee of the Honorable the Court of Directors, Zanzibar, February 9, 1842. Bound in *Letters From the East India Company Resident in the Persian Gulf 1842-43*, 12.

15. Cf. in Sir John Gray, "Early Connections Between the United States and East Africa," *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 22 (December, 1946), 68.

Zanzibar permanently in 1844, he advised his successor, "Receive Captain Hassan (bin Ibrahim) . . . Ahamed bin Naaman and all our other old friends as I did when I was there."¹⁶ This was done. Ahmad continued to be a frequent visitor at the Pingree establishment. Often, wistfully, he would inquire about Waters' health as he offered his services to the "young men."¹⁷ On Sayyid Said's death, the new ruler, Sayyid Majid, retained Ahmad as private secretary. British Consul Rigby, Hamerton's successor, with whom Ahmad had made his peace, recorded frequent meetings with him. In 1858, he retired from official service. Two years later, in October, 1860, Rigby wrote Ahmad had become so enfeebled in mind and body as to be no longer capable of giving information.¹⁸ He died in 1869. A simple headstone, inscribed with his name and dates, marks his final resting place in a Zanzibar cemetery.¹⁹

The original Mooney portrait of Ahmad, a three-quarter length painting, 42 by 36 inches, hangs in the offices of the Art Commission in New York City Hall. For many years it was wrongly identified, an error recently corrected.²⁰ A replica of the portrait, also done by Mooney, hangs in the Peabody Museum of Salem, Massachusetts. The replica is not listed in the catalogue of Mooney's works.²¹ One suspects, therefore, that it may initially have been painted for Ahmad, in return for his willingness to sit, who most probably took it back to Zanzibar with him aboard *Sultanah*. The replica was presented to the Essex Institute of Salem

16. P.M.S. MS., Ltr., R.P. Waters to Wm. H. Jelly, Bombay, December 14, 1844. *Waters Papers*, Box no. 9.

17. P.M.S. MS., Ltr., Samuel R. Masury to R. P. Waters, Zanzibar, May 14, 1845. *Waters Papers*, Box no. 6.

18. Cf. in Jiddawi, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

19. Information kindly provided by Mr. Francis B. Lothrop of Boston, Mass., a Director of the Peabody Museum of Salem, Mass. The writer is also deeply indebted to Mr. Lothrop for help in putting him in touch with Shaikh Sulaiman Abdallah Shaiban of Zanzibar, the present owner of the original manuscript of Ahmad's Account Book.

20. Charles G. Bennett in the *New York Times*, September 9, 1957; See also Ernest S. Dodge, "Identification of Mooney's Portrait of a Zanzibar Arab," Essex Institute *Historical Collections*, LXXXVIII (July 1952), 1-3, and Conklin Mann, "An Odd Portrait in the New York City Hall," *The Century Magazine* LXXIX (N.S., v. LVII), (November 1909-April 1910), 934-35. All of these references contain black and white reproductions of the Mooney portrait of Ahmad.

21. A list of Mooney's major works is contained in *National Academy of Design Record* 1826-1860 (New York, 1943), II, 26, which incorrectly records the original portrait of Ahmad as having been done in 1841, i.e. one year after the fact.

in 1918 by Mrs. William McMullen, whose husband had for many years managed the Pingree interests in Zanzibar. There, he would have had opportunity to acquire it from Ahmad's heirs.²² The sole known portrait of Sayyid Said, painted by Henry Blossie Lynch, RN, also hangs in the Peabody Museum.²³

Sultanah resumed her place in Sayyid Said's fleet. In 1842 she was sent to England as a sloop of war carrying a special envoy from Sayyid Said to Queen Victoria along with gifts, including the customary horses. On that occasion, she was again under the helm of an American, Mr. Wilson, Waters' brother-in-law. In England, she was refitted at the Royal Navy Yard at Woolwich. On her return journey, she once more had the distinction of carrying two Englishwomen—but as stowaways! Ultimately, at an indeterminate date shortly after 1855, this fine vessel was wrecked off Wasin Island, within sight of Pemba Island, while returning from a voyage to India.²⁴

X

Since the days of Sayyid Said and Ahmad bin Na'aman, United States relations with what has come to be known as the Sultanate of Muscat, Oman and dependencies have remained cordial. Said bin Khalfan was commissioned American Consul at Muscat in 1843, but was never recognized as such by the Muscat authorities. Not until 1880 was an American Consulate again opened in Muscat and remained so until 1915. At present the American Consul at Aden, Arabia, though not formally accredited to him, is frequently received by the Sultan, Sayyid Said bin Taimur, a great-great-grandson of Sayyid Said. In December, 1958, a new Treaty of Amity, Economic Relations and Consular Rights was signed with the Sultan, bringing up-to-date the 1833 document which, until then, had been controlling.

In 1861 Muscat and Zanzibar were separated, each becoming a political entity in its own right. Zanzibar is today a British-protected state, and is steadily moving toward greater autonomy. In 1879 the then Sultan of Zanzibar accepted the 1833 Treaty,

22. For a description of the replica of the Mooney portrait of Ahmad, see *Portraits of Shipmasters and Merchants in the Peabody Museum of Salem* (Salem, Mass., 1939), p. 1.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

24. Burton, *op. cit.*, I, 267.

which remains the basis of formal United States relations with Zanzibar. The American Consulate at Zanzibar, first opened by Waters, was closed in 1915. Recently, however, in September, 1961, it was reopened, and American representation is once again present in Zanzibar. Like his kinsman in Muscat, the Sultan of Zanzibar, Sayyid Abdallah bin Khalifah, is a great-great-grandson of Sayyid Said.

Almost a century and a quarter have intervened since Ahmad's visit to New York City. Patterns of power in the Arab world have altered significantly during this time, and the fortunes of Sayyid Said's once extensive realm have ebbed. Concurrently, Americans have had increasingly frequent and friendly association with Arab governments and peoples. Those traits of dignity, courtesy and generosity, which are so characteristic of Arab society, are no longer new to us. Ahmad and his colleagues deserve the credit, however, for first imprinting them in modest measure on at least a part of the American public consciousness. Hopefully, therefore, these paragraphs may draw back the curtain of obscurity which time has draped over Ahmad bin Na'aman and recall briefly a forgotten, but deserving, first Arab mission to our shores.

THE MINIATURE THAT INSPIRED CLIFFORD PYNCHION'S PORTRAIT

By DAVID JAFFE

A PRIVATELY PRINTED GENEALOGY published in 1896 contains the statement that Hawthorne used the miniature of William Magee Seton (1768-1804) in depicting the features of Clifford Pyncheon of *The House of Seven Gables*. This revelation, if true, would be significant not only in identifying the physical prototype of an important character in American literature. To students of Hawthorne and Melville, aware of the close association of the two while *The House of Seven Gables* and *Moby Dick* were being written, it is tantalizing to learn that Charles Wilkes, the model for Ahab, and William Magee Seton were cousins. Charles' parents—his mother was also a Seton—were linked to Seton and his wife by ties stronger than mere kinship, having come to each other's aid in times of illness and other crises.¹

The work linking Clifford Pyncheon and William Seton is *A History of the Family of Seton*,² by George Seton (1822-1908), noted Scotch barrister, civic leader, and the author of a standard work on heraldry.

In commenting on the lineage of the New York branch of the family, the author writes:

There is a beautiful miniature of this William Seton, painted in 1796, when he was about twenty-eight years of age. For a description of the face, reference may be made to *The House of Seven Gables*, where Hawthorne describes the miniature of Clifford Pyncheon. This was written after Hawthorne had visited the Seton house, where the miniature, which he greatly admired, was shown to him, and suggested the fashion of Pyncheon. (I, 306)

This miniature was painted by Edward Malbone.³ Hawthorne, of course, gives Malbone as the miniaturist who did Clifford Pyncheon's portrait. Although no evidence has yet turned up

1. Seton now has a place in history because his wife may become the first American woman to be canonized as a saint.

2. Edinburgh, 1896. Only 212 copies of the family history, a bulky two-volume affair of more than 1,000 pages, were printed.

3. The miniature is reproduced in George Seton's work and in Annabelle M. Melville, *Elizabeth Bayley Seton* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960).

indicating where or when Hawthorne might have seen the miniature of William Magee Seton, certain provocative facts seem to lend probability to George Seton's categorical assertion. The miniature was at one time owned by William Magee Seton's grandson, Archbishop Robert Seton (1839-1927).⁴ If, as seems reasonable, it can be assumed that Robert inherited it from his father, then the owner during the period when Hawthorne was writing *The House of Seven Gables* was William Seton (1796-1868), eldest son and namesake of the subject of the Malbone miniature.

William Seton, Hawthorne's senior by about eight years, lived at Cragdon, about twenty miles north of New York City, from at least 1839 until 1865.⁵ He was a nephew of Dr. Wright Post, attending physician at the birth of Herman Melville. Two of Dr. Post's daughters, incidentally, had married Hawthornes—one to a Robert Hawthorne and the other to a William Meredith Hawthorne.⁶ However, efforts to establish whether these Hawthornes were related to the novelist have so far proved unsuccessful.

William Seton had served in the U. S. Navy, after receiving a naval appointment from Secretary of the Navy Benjamin W. Crowninshield, from 1817 to 1834.⁷ A shipmate aboard both the *Independence* and the *Guerrière* was his friend and distant cousin, Charles Wilkes, who later headed the U. S. Exploring Expedition to the South Seas. In 1837 Hawthorne had unsuccessfully applied for the job of historian of the expedition.

After leaving the Navy William Seton married the daughter of Nathaniel Prime, founder of the great New York banking firm of Prime, Ward, and King.⁸ Samuel Ward, son of one of Prime's partners and himself once a member of the firm, knew Hawthorne and his wife and had visited the couple at Concord.⁹

An acquaintance of James Fenimore Cooper and Edgar Allan

4. Monsignor Robert Seton, *An Old Family, The Setons in Scotland and America* (New York, Brentano's, 1899), p. 279. Ruel P. Tolman, *The Life and Works of Edward Greene Malbone* (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1958), p. 243.

5. Robert Seton, *Memories of Many Years* (London: John Long, 1923), pp. 27, 29-30, 181.

6. Marie Caroline De Trobriand Post, *Post Family* (New York, Sterling Potter, 1905), pp. 111, 112.

7. Melville, *Elizabeth Bayley Seton*, pp. 266, 377.

8. Robert Seton, *Memories of Many Years* (London, 1923), p. 26.

9. Randall Stewart, *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), p. 64.

Poe, William Seton bought his son Robert a copy of *The House of Seven Gables* shortly after it was published,¹⁰ perhaps merely because it was a currently popular novel. Or, was it because he was aware that Hawthorne had modeled a leading character after a Seton?

While no evidence has yet been found of where and when Hawthorne may have seen the miniature, the foregoing does seem to point to possibly significant connections between Hawthorne and the man who owned the miniature at the time the novel was being written.

Hawthorne's interest in William Magee Seton, subject of the Malbone miniature, may also have been sparked by Melville, who was probably acquainted with both the Setons and the Wilkes, or at least knew about them, and whose Ahab was modeled after Charles Wilkes.¹¹ But in any event, William Magee Seton was prominent enough and his life touched with enough light and shadow for him easily to have arrested the attention of a romantic like Hawthorne. Of proud ancestry and the son of a wealthy New York importer, Seton was educated abroad.¹² In 1788, after a stint at the Bank of New York, the young man was sent abroad by his father to study banking methods and to examine important ports on the Continent. At Leghorn, Italy, he formed a lasting friendship with an Italian businessman. Idealistic, and true to a desire to marry for love and not for fortune, in 1794 he married Elizabeth Ann Bayley, daughter of a noted doctor and the first health officer of the Port of New York. Seton entered his father's firm, and for the next five or six years the young couple enjoyed a happy existence, taking part in civic and social affairs as members of the most fashionable circle in the city. In 1797, Seton was one of the four managers of the New York Commemoration Ball for George Washington. In 1800 began business reverses which two years later culminated in bankruptcy. Joining the specter of poverty was disease—Seton's tubercular condition, a family weakness, grew critical. Accompanied by his wife he went to

10. Robert Seton, *Memories of Many Years*, pp. 46, 50, 63.

11. David Jaffé, "The Captain Who Sat for the Portrait of Ahab," *Boston University Studies in English* (Spring 1960), p. 12.

12. For accounts of Seton see Melville, *Elizabeth Bayley Seton* and Robert Seton, *An Old Family*.

Italy to regain his health, died in 1804, and was buried in Leghorn, next to the tomb of Smollett.¹³

Strongest indication that Hawthorne relied on the miniature of William Magee Seton in his description of Clifford Pyncheon comes from the novel itself. Clifford, before he actually appears in person, is twice introduced to the reader through the Malbone miniature:

[Hepzibah] has opened a secret drawer of an escritoire, and is probably looking at a certain miniature, done in Malbone's most perfect style, and representing a face worthy of no less delicate a pencil. *It was once our good fortune to see this picture* [author's italics]. It is a likeness of a young man, in a silken dressing-gown of an old fashion, the soft richness of which is well adapted to the countenance of reverie, with its full, tender lips, and beautiful eyes, that seem to indicate not so much capacity of thought, as gentle and voluptuous emotion. Of the possessor of such features we shall have a right to ask nothing, except that he would take the rude world easily, and make himself happy in it. (Ch. II, p. 261)¹⁴

Malbone's miniature, though from the same original, was far inferior to Hepzibah's air-drawn picture, at which affection and sorrowful remembrance wrought together. Soft, mild, and cheerfully contemplative, with full, red lips, just on the verge of a smile, which the eyes seemed to herald by a gentle kindling-up of their orbs! Feminine traits, moulded inseparably with those of the other sex! The miniature, likewise, had this last peculiarity; so that you inevitably thought of the original as resembling his mother, and she a lovely and lovable woman, with perhaps some beautiful infirmity of character, that made it all the pleasanter to know and easier to love her. (Ch. IV, p. 278)

The italicized sentence in the first quotation and the last sentence of the second quotation indicate that Hawthorne probably did have an actual miniature in mind in delineating Clifford and knew something about the subject's family.

13. In 1858, Hawthorne visited Smollett's tomb. (Stewart, *Nathaniel Hawthorne*, p. 186). Did he take note of the adjacent tomb of his tragic fellow-countryman? In this connection it may be mentioned that Hawthorne, like Melville, had a strong but natural aversion to revealing the names of the actual persons who helped inspire his character creations.

14. Citations are to Norman Holmes Pearson, *The Complete Novels and Selected Tales of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New York: the Modern Library, 1937).

A comparison of Hawthorne's word picture with the Seton miniature is provocative. Thirty years old when he sat for Malbone, Seton, with slender face, large, beautiful eyes, and softly molded chin, does indeed have a decidedly feminine aspect. An air of mild reverie is imparted by the slight lift of the pupils. His expression is gentle and contemplative and his lips appear to be verging on a smile.

Interestingly enough, he was known as the handsomest man in New York.¹⁵ This brings to mind another reference to Clifford's comeliness:

A beauty—not precisely real, even in its utmost manifestation, and which a painter would have watched long to seize and fix upon his canvas, and after all, in vain,—beauty, nevertheless, that was not a mere dream would sometimes play upon and illuminate his face. (Ch. IX, p. 326)

It may be significant that along with this physical resemblance there is a striking similarity in character traits and in other respects. Both were sensitive and cultured, both loved poetry, and both were accomplished musicians. Clifford played the harpsichord and "in his youth, had possessed a cultivated taste for music, and a considerable degree of skill in its practice." (Ch. XV, p. 378) Seton was a talented violinist and is credited with owning the first Stradivarius in the city of New York.¹⁶

In modeling a character in part after an actual person, Hawthorne would of course be pursuing his customary practice. Interest in this case is increased by the fact that William Magee Seton, as well as being a remarkable person in his own right, also happened to be a cousin of the prototype of Ahab of *Moby Dick*.

15. Robert Seton, *An Old Family*, p. 281.

16. Robert Seton, *An Old Family*, p. 273.



FIG. 5. WILLIAM MAGEE SETON, BY EDWARD MALBONE. COURTESY OF THE DAUGHTERS OF CHARITY, ST. JOSEPH'S CENTRAL HOUSE, EMMITSBURG, MD.



FIG. 6. COFFEE POT MADE IN 1772 BY PAUL REVERE FOR JONATHAN AND ELIZABETH DERBY OF SALEM. COURTESY OF MR. CHARLES TOWNSEND. PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON.



FIG. 7. COFFEE POT, UNMARKED, PROBABLY AMERICAN, MADE IN 1760 FOR ELIZABETH CROWNINSHIELD, DAUGHTER OF JOHN CROWNINSHIELD, WHO MARRIED ELIAS HASKET DERBY OF SALEM IN 1761. COURTESY OF MR. HENRY N. FLYNT.



FIG. 8. COFFEE POT, MADE IN 1759 BY ARTHUR ANNESLEY OF LONDON, ENGRAVED WITH THE SIMPSON ARMS AND CREST, AND GIVEN BY JONATHAN SIMPSON OF BOSTON TO HIS NIECE MARY VIALI WHO MARRIED DR. EDWARD AUGUSTUS HOLYOKE IN 1759. COURTESY OF MRS. WILLIAM E. SCHOYER, FORMERLY LUCY C. TURNER, MARY VIALI HOLYOKE'S GREAT-GREAT-GRANDDAUGHTER.

THREE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SALEM COFFEE POTS

By MARTHA GANDY FALES

AMONG EXAMPLES of early American silver, a rococo coffee pot supported by three scrolled legs and shell feet has long been considered unusual. Such a coffee pot (Fig. 1) was made and marked by Paul Revere in 1772 when he charged

Richard Darby Esq ^r D	
To a Silver Coffe pot w ^t 47 ^{oz} 6 [dwt.]	
To the Making	[£] 6 / /
To a wooden handle	/ 3 / 4 ¹

This pear-shaped coffee pot today is on loan to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and is owned by Charles Townsend. It is engraved on the base "RD^E" for Richard Derby's son, Jonathan, and Elizabeth Derby who were married about that time and who lived in Salem. The weight of the pot is interesting, since it is the heaviest one recorded by Revere, and since coffee pots in this period generally weighed only 30 some ounces. It is the heavy solid cast parts involved in the shells on the feet and at the tops of the legs, the elaborate spout ornamentation, and the large cone-shaped finial that account for the greatly increased weight.

Revere recorded two other coffee pots of great weight about the same time. One was bought in 1773 by Dr. William Paine of Salem and Worcester, for his bride Lois Orne, three weeks before their wedding, and it is engraved with the Orne coat-of-arms. While it weighed 45 ounces 1 pennyweight, it has a domed circular foot rather than the cast scroll-and-shell supports.² The other heavy coffee pot recorded in Revere's accounts weighed 46 ounces 5 pennyweight and was bought in 1772 by the Salem goldsmith John Andrew, along with a box costing 8 pence, presumably to house the coffee pot. For making these pots Revere charged Dr. Paine £6/13/4 and John Andrew £5 according to one entry and £5/6 according to another.³

1. Paul Revere Account Book, Massachusetts Historical Society.

2. Louisa Dresser, "American and English Silver Given in Memory of William Frederick Paine 1866-1935," *Worcester Art Museum Annual*, II, 89-95.

3. Paul Revere Account Book.

Revere's preserved accounts do not begin until just after 1760 and therefore do not cover the year when a second Salem scroll-and-shell-foot coffee pot (Fig. 2) was made and engraved on the base "Elizabeth Crowninshield 1760." It would be difficult to prove definitively that this coffee pot now in the collection of Henry N. Flynt of Deerfield was made by Revere, even though there are striking similarities in the basic design of this and the Derby example. Both have similar finials, legs and shell ornamentation, and handles. There are some differences, however, in details. The domed lid of the Crowninshield pot has no scribing defining the steps of the dome as is found generally in Revere's work. The furl at the top of the spout is wider and more prominent than is found on other spouts known to have been fashioned by Revere. The Crowninshield pot is double-bellied in shape while the marked Revere one is single-bellied, both terms being adjectives used by the eighteenth-century silversmith. The florid repoussé ornamentation of the body which dominates the design of the Crowninshield pot is not similar to Revere's repoussé work and may, in fact, have been added later.

Whether or not it was made by Revere, the Crowninshield coffee pot, which is unmarked, strongly indicating American craftsmanship, bears a close relationship to the Jonathan Derby coffee pot marked by Revere, since it was Jonathan's brother whom Elizabeth Crowninshield married in 1761 when she became the bride of Elias Hasket Derby, Salem's most famous merchant. Furthermore the weight of the coffee pot, 52 ounces 10 penny-weight, proves that this is the same coffee pot listed in the inventory of Elias Hasket Derby in 1799: "One Do [Silver] Coffee Pot 52.10 @ 1.10 /\$/ 57.75."⁴ Not only was it, too, owned in Salem, but it is the heaviest of all, as one might be led to believe by its enormous and ornamental spout.

To date these are the only American eighteenth-century coffee pots known which are supported by three scroll-and-shell feet in the manner of the contemporary cream pots. All the other extant examples known are supported by hollow domed bases, usually circular. One tea pot, made by William Breed of Boston, c. 1750, is known which has three scroll legs with small shell feet sup-

4. Essex County Probate Court, #7571.

porting a double-bellied body. It is in the collections of the Addison Gallery in Andover, Massachusetts.

It is therefore of great interest to learn that another coffee pot of this design (Fig. 3) was once owned, again in Salem, by Mary Holyoke, wife of Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke. Now owned by a descendant, Mrs. William E. Schoyer, and loaned to the Institute for exhibition during the summer, it is engraved on the side with the Simpson coat-of-arms and crest,⁵ and on the base in later script "The Gift of Jonathan Simpson Esq'. to his Neice [sic] / M^{rs}. Mary Holyoke. 1760." Jonathan Simpson was the brother of Mary Holyoke's mother. Evidently he presented the coffee pot to his niece about the time of her marriage to Dr. Holyoke on November 22, 1759.

It is Mrs. Holyoke's coffee pot which probably provided the source for the design of the other two examples. It is marked on the base with the London hallmarks for 1759 and the maker's mark of Arthur Annesley. Like the Elizabeth Crowninshield example, it has the same double-bellied shape and elaborate spout. It is similar to both in its double-scrolled handle, scroll-and-shell supports, and domed lid with gadrooned edge. The finial, however, differs from the cone-shaped finial on the other two examples, being, instead, a gadrooned bell-shaped ornament.

English silver undoubtedly provided the working model for the American goldsmith in many instances. Because of the distinctive design, as well as proven ownership in the same area at the same time, there can be little doubt in this case. Whether Revere ever saw this English example would be difficult to prove today, although it is altogether possible that he might have engraved the Simpson arms on the side of the London coffee pot or perhaps might have had it in his shop for repairs. At any rate, the English example was owned and known in Boston and in Salem prior to the time Elizabeth Crowninshield's coffee pot was made in 1760, and prior to Revere's making the Jonathan Derby example in 1772.

5. On permanent exhibition at the Essex Institute is a can, engraved with the same Simpson arms and crest, made by Jacob Hurd (1702-1758) of Boston and initialed on the handle "M S" for Mary Simpson. This, too, subsequently belonged to Mary Holyoke. (#123,026) On loan to the Institute during this summer were a pair of sauceboats made by John Burt (1691-1745) of Boston with the same arms and crest and inscribed on the base of one "A S" and on the other "Presented to A S 1750." These are owned by Mr. Charles Weston.

Just why this particular design should become fashionable among Salem families is an intriguing question. It is not an easy design to execute successfully. Such a large form seems too massive to be supported by three thin legs, even though the cast shells above and below the legs help to counteract this tendency. The exact placement of the legs on the body is critical to the success of the overall design. Perhaps this is the reason that so few examples of this pattern are known and the reason that the Salem shell-foot coffee pots constitute a fascinating and unique group in the study of historic silver.

THE OLD SALEM THEATRE

By PAT M. RYAN

THE FIRST REGULAR THEATRE in Salem, Massachusetts, probably was Washington Hall, in the third story of the Stearns block, 101 Washington Street, erected on the site of the Widow Pratt's celebrated tavern of many gables, and opened on Washington's Birthday, 1793. It is described in the Essex Institute's *Visitor's Guide to Salem*¹ as being originally "a curious survival of the antique assembly room, with fireplaces, wooden wainscoting, and music gallery, . . . a popular place for parties and other gatherings." Washington Hall became a theatre—"reached by a single, narrow, crooked staircase"—sometime around the turn of the century.²

During the fall of 1804, we know, the Philosophical and Mechanical Museum of a Mr. Packard stopped at Salem to present "The Invisible Lady" and "Figures in Wax" at Washington Hall.³ (A broadside advertising this remarkable conjuring exhibition is one of the treasures of New England theatrical history now in the Harvard Theatre Collection.) But traveling players, unaccountably, by-passed Salem during roughly the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Early in the spring of 1820 the *Essex Register* claimed "a lapse of 15 or 20 years" since the town had seen performances of plays by live actors.⁴

On May 1, 1820, however, "a detachment from the Boston corps" (the Boston Theatre) opened a brief engagement at Salem's Washington Hall. Two nights later Nathaniel Hawthorne, then a boy of fifteen, attended their double bill of Kotzebue's *Lovers' Vows* and the farce *The Weathercock*.⁵ The success of the Boston

1. (Salem 1953), p. 58.

2. This building, located on the northeast corner of Washington and Essex Streets, remained standing until 1902. The balcony rail of the music gallery is now preserved in the museum of the Essex Institute, Salem. See Fiske Kimball, *Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver: The Architect of Salem* (Portland, 1940), p. 68 and Figs. 75-78, 205.

3. See James M. Barriskill, "Newburyport Theatre in the Federal Period," *E.I.H.C.*, XCIII (January 1957), 12-14, for an extensive account of this attraction, which opened an engagement at Newburyport, Mass., November 5, 1804.

4. May 3, 1820.

5. See Pat M. Ryan, Jr., "Young Hawthorne at the Salem Theatre," *E.I.H.C.*, XCIV (July 1958), 244-248.

troupe in this first visit to Salem is evidenced by their return to Washington Hall in the following month for an additional nine weeks of performances.⁶

The following year, when the so-called "American Amateurs," also from Boston,⁷ established themselves for four weeks late in spring at the Essex Coffee House, the *Salem Gazette* promoted their cause generously: "They are all native Americans; and in this era of encouragement to domestic productions, may we not reasonably hope that domestic talents will sustain themselves, without the aid of *protecting du-ties*?"⁸ But the American Amateurs' Salem engagement was followed by a several years' hiatus in theatrical activity.

The town got its first permanent playhouse—originally so designed and built, and first operated as such—about seven years later. This was the Salem Theatre, erected during the summer of 1828 on the east side of Crombie Street, below Essex, immediately to the rear (south) of Barton's Hotel. J. W. Barton, hotel proprietor and owner of the theatre site, had initiated this enterprise—perhaps with fond recollections of the "temporary amphitheatre" which a rope-dancer and juggler named Godeau had put up on that same ground in August 1821.⁹

The Salem Theatre was leased to A. I. Phillips, and was opened September 18, 1828, for a single performance by a company of Boston actors, in a bill of two comedies:

SALEM THEATRE

THE public are respectfully informed that in compliance with the community of Salem, the Theatre will be opened on

THURSDAY EVENING, 18th instant.

FOR THAT NIGHT ONLY, with a strong company from the *Tremont Theatre*, Boston, when will be presented Tobin's admired comedy called

6. From June 14 through August 10, 1820.

7. These performers, members of the Philo Dramatic Society, were actually young professionals, from Joseph Cowell's Washington Garden Amphitheatre, in Tremont Street, Boston. Their Salem engagement lasted from May 21 through June 22, 1821. (See Ryan, pp. 249-254.)

8. May 25, 1821.

9. Noted in the *Salem Gazette* of August 7, 1821. A hall in Barton's Hotel was frequently used for variety performances by itinerant entertainers during this period. (Rope-dancer Godeau—"at considerable expense"—also put up an amphitheatre at the rear of the Monroe Tavern, near the court house. *Salem Gazette*, August 14, 1821.)

THE HONEYMOON

&

THE REVIEW, or
The Wags of Windsor.

Performance begins at 7. 75¢ first tier;
Second tier 50¢; Pit 27 1/2¢.

Proper officers will be employed to preserve good order, and every precaution will be taken to cause the evening's entertainment to pass off with perfect harmony.¹⁰

When the "refurbished" playhouse reopened, four weeks later, Mr. and Mrs. Wells, "celebrated London comedians," were featured—for one night only, Friday, October 10—in *Speed the Plough* and *The Spoiled Child*. They were succeeded, on the following Monday, by a resident stock company, recruited from Boston, headed by Messrs. Archer, Caldwell, Hallam, and Wilson, and Mrs. Duff and Miss Fisher,¹¹ whose repertoire during a week of performances ranged from Shakespeare (*The Merchant of Venice*), through old English comedy, to broad farce. The Salem Theatre apparently remained dark, however, from the end of this engagement until December 30, when Edwin Forrest—rising young tragedian and the first star actor to perform on the Salem stage—appeared there in *Damon and Pythias*.

During early January 1829, members of the Tremont Theatre troupe, Boston, acted intermittently at the Salem Theatre;¹² and in February another contingent from the Tremont Theatre presented here performances of Italian opera—the first such to be given in Salem.¹³ On March 20, the illustrious James William Wallack made a one-night-only appearance at the Salem Theatre,

10. *Salem Gazette*, September 16, 1828.

11. John Hallam was a grandson of Lewis Hallam, Sr., founder of America's first actor family; the Hallam troupe gave America's earliest recorded theatrical performance in English, September 15, 1752, at Williamsburg, Va. Mary Ann Duff was the wife of Boston Theatre manager John R. Duff; the reigning American tragic actress of her day, she was called the "American Siddons." Clara Fisher, once a phenomenally popular child star—both in England and America—had grown to young womanhood and somewhat out of public favor when she made her debut on the Salem stage.

12. Included in this company were Messrs. Thomas Archer, J. C. Jones, W. H. Smith, Joseph H. Thayer, and Alexander Wilson, and Misses Hamilton and Riddle; H. C. Charnock was stage manager. January 16 was "positively the Last Night" of their engagement.

13. They produced Rossini's *The Barber of Seville* on February 4, and Mozart's *The Marriage of Figaro* on February 19.

"in his favorite characters of Hamlet and Dashall" (the former in Shakespeare's tragedy, the latter in the popular farce, *My Aunt*). Other stars, traveling troupes, and local attractions occupied this stage during most of April and May. (Augmenting these latter attractions, incidentally, was a spectacular balloon ascension from in front of the theatre, on April 24.)

Proprietor Barton's enterprise had prospered, on the whole, during that first season of 1828-29. Yet there was felt to be latitude for expansion. Accordingly, at stockholders' meetings held on May 18 and June 22, the playhouse's managerial policies were reviewed and certain modifications were instituted.¹⁴ One of the first remedial steps taken was the booking into the Salem Theatre of yet another Boston stock company for most of July and August—a time when the majority of metropolitan theatres in New England were closed, and actors might readily be engaged at off-season rates.¹⁵

A new season was launched November 18, 1829, with a resident stock company (including several actors back from the previous year) offering a bill of two comedies. Appearances at the Salem Theatre during 1829-30 by Mrs. Duff (on Thanksgiving Night, November 26, and again March 1), by Junius Brutus Booth (on December 3 and January 28), and by Edwin Forrest (on March 1 and May 18 and 19) highlighted this second year; and the local offerings now appear to have been both varied and interesting. Yet this time the course of the theatre's history had, in fact, been erratic, and costly to its proprietors.

"The theatre was opened in the first of the season," Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote to John Dike on February 18, "but has been closed several weeks for want of encouragement."¹⁶

Since playhouse revenues did not measure up to the expectations of its Yankee-trader stockholders, moreover, these gentlemen resignedly put their plight before the public:

14. *Salem Gazette*, May 15 and June 19, 1829.

15. The *Salem Gazette* of July 3, 1829, carries a list of these actors' names, and much illuminating data concerning the general management of the Salem Theatre.

16. A. L. S., Essex Institute, Salem.

SALEM THEATRE

To Be Leased—Proposals will be received for leasing the Salem Theatre for one or more years from the 15th of September. Application to be made to Joseph Cloutman, Salem.¹⁷

At first, they found no takers; then, in mid-December, the playhouse was taken over for a few nights by Alexander Wilson, who had acted in the stock company, and who for a time had served as manager, during the Theatre's first two years. The aspiring Mr. Wilson's modest "limited season" closed on Christmas Eve with performances of *Virginius* and *The Spoiled Child*. With the ensuing brief engagement (early in March)¹⁸ of the popular prodigy Master Joseph Burke, the significant history of the Salem Theatre came to an end.

Residents of the town had long since begun responding to the lure of the Lyceum movement, inaugurated at Salem in February 1830; and itinerant performers played their Salem stands at Washington Hall and at Mechanics Hall.¹⁹ Within only a few months' time the theatre on Crombie Street was taken over by some members of the Rev. Mr. Williams' congregation, and it presently became the Crombie Street Church.

Fifty-odd years later, J. W. Barton, wishing to commemorate the fact that his Salem Theatre had once flourished—and that its three broken seasons had, indeed, been distinctive ones—set down a short manuscript history in this behalf. After Barton's death this chronicle passed through various hands, and eventually into the collection of A. P. Goodell—from whose estate, in July 1957, it was acquired by the Essex Institute. Through the latter's kind permission, Barton's account is here published for the first time.

The Old Salem Theatre

In 1810 Benjamin Crombie purchased of Tho. Lee Esq. the large three story Mansion house on Essex Street with extensive grounds in the rear and having enlarged and altered the house, opened it as the "Salem Hotel" which he

17. *Salem Gazette*, September 7, 1830.

18. *Salem Gazette*, February 25, 1831, *et seq.*

19. The second Mechanics Hall, located almost directly across Crombie Street from the Salem Theatre, stood on the southwest corner of Crombie and Essex, facing north onto Essex. (The first Mechanics Hall had been in Derby Square, in the block just below Washington Hall.)

kept for several years. He also opened through his rear grounds a street extending from Essex to Norman Streets which still bears the name of Crombie Street. In March 1815 my father Caleb Barton purchased the hotel estate of Mr. Crombie, which he occupied until his decease in 1820. He was succeeded by myself until April 1829.

For many years Salem had been dependent for its amusements upon strolling theatrical and other performers who gave their exhibitions in inconvenient halls or temporary booths or shanties erected for the purpose. It became evident to my mind that more eligible accommodations were required as well for audience as for actors; [and] with this view I suggested the idea to my friends, who readily joined in forming a joint stock company for erecting a commodious building for that object. The theatre was completed and furnished with elegant decorations and scenery painted by skilful artists and was leased the first season to A. I. Phillips, who opened and managed it in every respect as a first class theatre with a company of eminent ability. The first performance was given September 18, 1828. The Prize Ode was written by the distinguished poet Chas. Sprague Esq. and delivered by J. Forester Foote, the stage manager. During the season most of the stars of eminence which appeared at the leading theatres of Boston also appeared in Salem.

The project of a theatre in Salem was not entertained with any expectation of pecuniary gain to the stockholders but simply that there might be a convenient place for public amusements in the town.

The first season the theatrical company being composed of well selected talent and not too large, and the whole thing a novelty, the manager was well remunerated; but the following season in consequence of the management being upon too extravagant a scale for the size of the town, proved unprofitable. About this time there was an altercation in the "Branch Church" and the majority of the stockholders sympathizing with the friends of the pastor of that church, the Rev. Mr. Williams, the Salem Theatre became the "Crombie Street Church" as it now stands, Sept. 1883.

J. W. Barton.²⁰

The passing of the Salem Theatre, of course, by no means spelled an end to theatrical activity in Salem, for other halls were, successively, to take its place. The panorama of plays and players in this town continued to be a lively one, in fact, right down to

the advent of motion pictures, early in the present century. Though in certain notable respects more cultivated than some neighboring Massachusetts cities and towns, Salem during these years reflected fairly representative New England attitudes toward theatre and the drama. What were these attitudes?

Salem folk-ways in the early nineteenth century were not so unregenerately "Puritan" as certain writers—their vistas clouded by years of subjective grappling with Hawthorne novels and stories—would have us believe. For its time, the town's moral outlook was, on the contrary, generous and cosmopolitan—as witness this editorial comment, published in the *Salem Gazette* when Nathaniel Hawthorne was sixteen:

THEATRE

As it is generally allowed that example influences more than precept, it cannot be denied that a well regulated Theatre *may* be more instructive and improving than the lecture room—as in the latter our passions and habits are only described, while in the illusion of the former we witness the punishment of evil, and almost realise the reward of good actions.²¹

The citizenry of Salem, far from regarding the public playhouse with disdain, felt this institution to be a necessary part of civilized living.

In the decade 1820 to 1830, especially, Salem attracted to its theatres and public halls the brightest stars then acting on the American stage. Even with the intermittent gaps in its theatrical calendar during these years, Salem had been richly entertained.

21. June 12, 1821.

INDEX

- Abbot, Asa A., 103
 Abbot, Mehitable Ingalls, 103, 104
 Abdallah, 245, 248
 Abolitionism. *See* "William Lloyd Garrison, The Historians, and The Abolitionist Movement," by David Alan Williams, 84-99
Active (brig), 2
 Adams, John Quincy, Pres., 257, 258
 Adams, Samuel, Jr., 117
 Agassiz, Louis, 180
 Ahmad Bin Na'aman. *See* "Ahmad Bin Na'aman's Mission to the United States in 1840, The Voyage of *Al-Sultanah* to New York City," by Hermann Frederick Eilts, 219-277; biography of, 237, 275; portrait of, 248, 275-276
 Akin, James, 154, 157, 158
 Al Bu Said, 225, 226
 Alexandria, Va., 68
Al-Sultanah. *See* *Sultanah*
 American Antiquarian Society, 155, 156, 158
 American Anti-Slavery Society, 92
 American Art Union, 112
 American Botanical Society, 170
 American Colonization Society, 86, 172
American Journal of Science, 179
 American Museum of Natural History, 180, 181
American Naturalist, The, 178
 American Ornithologists' Union, 180
 "Americans in Zanzibar: 1865-1915," by Norman Robert Bennett, 36-61
 Andover, Mass., 101, 103
 Andrew, John, 283
 Annesley, Arthur, 285
 Antipodes, 4
Antislavery Impulse, 1830-1844, *The*, 91-93
Archibald Gracie (brig), 235
 Architecture, Beverly, Second Congregational Church, 137-140; 153
 Architecture, Salem, Barton's Hotel, 288; Crombie Street Church, 287-293; Essex Coffee House, 288; Salem Theatre, 287-293; Stearns Block, 287-293; Washington Hall, 287-293
 Arnold, Hines and Co., 47
 Artists. *See* "Fitz Hugh Lane: Visits to the Maine Coast, 1848-1855," by Frederic Alan Sharf, 111-120
Astrea (ship), 1, 2, 68-74, 76, 77, 79, 80, 82
Atlantic (ship), 19-23, 75, 76, 80
 Averill, Joseph, 31
 Averill, Martha J., 29
 Azze binti Saif, 236
 Baird, Spencer Fullerton, 180
 Baker, Jabez, 136
 Baker, Jonathan, 151
 Baker, Robert, 150
 Balch, Caleb, 139, 151
 Balch, Ebenezer, 137
 Balch, Freeborn, 150
 Balch, Israel, 150
 Balch, John, 132, 133, 147, 149, 150, 152
 Balch, John, Jr., 150
 Balch, John, Jr., Lt., 145
 Balch, Polly, Miss, Seminary, Providence, R. I., 104
 Baldwin, Jabez, 157
 Barclay, George, 244, 251
 Barclay and Livingston, 251-256, 261
 Barker, Charles O., Dr., 175
 Barnard, John, 122, 123*n*, 124, 125, 127
 Barnes, Gilbert H., 91-93
 Barrow, Thomas C., "Church Politics in Marblehead, 1715," 121-127
 Barton, Caleb, 292
 Barton, J. W., 288, 290-292
 Barton's Hotel, Salem, Mass., 288
 Bass, Edward, 199
 Bass River, Beverly, Mass., 130, 147
 Batavia, 2, 68-72, 74, 76, 79, 80; description of, 73
 Batchelder, John, 145, 147, 149, 151, 152
 Batchelder, John, Jr., 150
 Batchelder, Jonathan, 145, 148-152
 Batchelder, Joshua, 152
 Batchelder, Josiah, 145, 147, 149-152
 Batchelder, Josiah, Sr., 132, 133
 Batchelder, Josiah, Jr., 151
 Batchelder, Josiah, 2*nd*, 149

- Bayley, Elizabeth Ann, 280
 Benadir, Africa, 57
 Bengal, India, 21, 22
 Bennett, James Gordon, 240
 Bennett, Norman Robert, "Americans in Zanzibar: 1865-1915," 36-61
 Bentley, William, Rev., 26, 29, 30, 35, 83, 105
 Berry, Samuel, 31
 Berry, Sarah. *See* Ingalls
 Bertram, John, 47, 48
 Bertram and Shepard, 232
 Beverly, Mass., 112. *See* "A Parish is Formed, The Precinct of Salem and Beverly, 1713-1753," by Robert W. Lovett, 129-153; First Parish, 136
 Beverly Temperance Society, 113
 Bickmore, A. S., 180
 Birney, James, 91, 92, 94, 95, 98
 Birney, James G., 92
 Birney, William, 86
 Blanchard, Samuel, 69, 71, 73-76, 79
 Bombay, India, 18, 21, 23, 75, 80, 221
 Booth, Junius Brutus, 290
 Boston, Mass., King's Chapel, 122
 Boston Theatre, 287
 Botsford, Edgar, 235, 251
 Bowen, Nathan, 122
 Bradford Academy, Haverhill, Mass., 104, 110
 Brattle Street Church, 121, 124
 Breed, William, 284
Brenda (brig), 272
 Briggs, Thomas, 35
 British East India Company, 5
 Britton, Lloyd, 251
 Brookhouse, Robert, 156, 161, 174
 Brooklyn Navy Yard, 243
 Brooks, George E., Jr., "A Salem Merchant at Cape Palmas, Liberia, in 1840," 161-174
 Brown, Abraham, 150
 Brown, Benjamin, 150
 Brown, John, 133, 149, 152
 Brown, Joseph, 151
 Brown, Nathaniel, 151, 152
 Brown, Samuel, 151
 Browne, John, 150
 Bryant, —, Capt., 225
 Buchanan, James, Sen., 257
 Buganda, Africa, 60
Bulletin of the Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, 179
 Bunker's Meadow, Topsfield, Mass., 135, 143
 Burial grounds, Middleton, Mass., 33, 34
 Burke, Joseph, 291
 Calcutta, India, 23
 Callender, Joseph, 156
 Calley, James, Capt., 121
 Calley, John, Capt., 121
 Camden, Me., 114, 118, 119
 Canton, China, 1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 14, 22, 23, 25, 74-76, 79-83
 Cape Ann, Mass., 111
 Cape Ann Scientific, Literary, and Historical Association, 112
 Cape of Good Hope, 2, 4-7, 11, 12, 83
 Cape Palmas, Liberia. *See* "A Salem Merchant at Cape Palmas, Liberia, in 1840," by George E. Brooks, Jr., 161-174
 Cape Town, Africa, 6, 8, 9, 12-14, 16, 19, 24, 70, 71
 Cape Verdes, 19, 169
 Carey and Tilghman, 17n
 Castine, Me., 111-120
 "Castine From Hospital Island," 119
Cato (brig), 2
Cavalier (bark), 236, 239
 Ceylon, 2, 22, 23
 Champney, Benjamin, 115
 Chataigneris, de la, Sebler, 10, 82
 Cheever, Ames, 140
 Cheever, Thomas, Capt., 198
 Chelsea, Mass., 108, 110
 Cheney, F. M., 55
 Cherry Hill, Beverly, Mass., 130
 China, 78, 83
 Chipman, John, Rev., 139-144
 Chipman, Joseph, 140
 "Church Politics in Marblehead, 1715," by Thomas C. Barrow, 121-127
 Churches. *See* "A Parish is Formed, The Precinct of Salem and Beverly, 1713-1753," by Robert W. Lovett, 129-153
Cipher (brig), 173
 Civil War, 36, 45. *See* "William Lloyd Garrison, The Historians, and The Abolitionist Movement," by David Alan Williams, 84-99
 Clifford, Nathan, 259
 Cloutman, Joseph, 291
 Coen, —, Rev., 165

- Coen, —, Mrs., 165
 Coffin, Edward L., Dr., 175
 "Coffins and Dr. Bentley," by
 Dean A. Fales, Jr., 35
 Colman, Benjamin, 121, 124
 Columbia (vessel), 67, 81
 Conant, Daniel, 133, 143, 147,
 149, 150, 152
 Conant, Daniel, Lt., 145
 Conant, Exercise, 141
 Conant, John, 132, 133, 141,
 145, 147, 149, 150, 152
 Conant, Roger, 150
 Condy, Mrs., Embroidery School,
 Boston, Mass., 104
 Cooper, James Fenimore, 279
 Cotton, Indian, first shipment of
 to America, 18
 Cressy, Benjamin, 146, 151
 Cressy, Daniel, 146, 150
 Cressy, Job, 146, 150
 Cressy, John, 145, 147-149, 151
 Cressy, Joseph, 132, 140, 144,
 146, 149, 150
 Cressy, Noah, 146, 151
 Crolius, W. and J., 263
 Crombie, Benjamin, 291
 Crombie Street Church, Salem,
 Mass., 287-293
 Crowninshield, Benjamin, 20, 22,
 24, 71
 Crowninshield, Benjamin W., 279
 Crowninshield, Clifford, 24
 Crowninshield, Elizabeth, 284,
 285
 Crowninshield, Hannah, Widow,
 198
 Crowninshield, Jacob, 19, 20, 22,
 77
 Crowninshield, Richard, 194
 Crowninshield, Sarah, 35
 Curwen, James Endicott, 198
 Curwen, Samuel, 2
 Cushing, Caleb, 194
- Danvers, Mass., 130
 Danvers & Beverly Iron Works
 Company, 156
 Danvers Light Infantry, 108
 Davenport, William, 159
 Davis, Gilbert, 244
 Dawkins, Henry, 154
 Dayley, James, Capt., 173
 Deare Island, Mass., 194
 Derby, Elias Hasket. See "Elias
 Hasket Derby and the Founding
 of the Eastern Trade," by Rich-
 ard H. McKey, Jr., 1-25; 65-83;
 284
- Derby, Elias Hasket, Jr., 16-25,
 68, 78, 79, 83
 Derby, Elizabeth, 283
 Derby, John, 67
 Derby, Jonathan, 283-285
 Derby, Richard, 35, 283
 Derby, Richard, Jr., 199
 Dering, Thomas, 156
 Dexter, Ralph W., "The Lynn Na-
 tural History Society (1842-
 1855)," 175-183
 Dike, John, 290
 Diman, James, 35
 Dixey, John, 121, 122
 Dodge, Amos, 151
 Dodge, Andrew, 133, 137, 144,
 146, 147, 149-152
 Dodge, Ebenezer, 146, 150
 Dodge, Edward, 150
 Dodge, Elisha, 144, 150, 152
 Dodge, Hannah Raymond, 146
 Dodge, Isaac, 149, 151
 Dodge, Jerusha Raymond, 146
 Dodge, John, Capt., 130-132, 146
 Dodge, John, 151
 Dodge, Jonathan, Sr., 149-152
 Dodge, Jonathan, 132, 135, 137,
 146-148, 150
 Dodge, Jonathan, Jr., 151
 Dodge, Joshua, 132, 133, 143,
 146, 149, 150, 152
 Dodge, Joshua, Deacon, 135
 Dodge, Joshua, 2nd, 151
 Dodge, Mark, 143, 147, 150, 152
 Dodge, Robert, 146, 149, 150
 Dodge, Robert, Jr., 151
 Dodge, William, 147, 151
 Dow, George Francis, 155
 Downing, Henry H., 179
 Drinker, Sandwith, Capt., 261,
 265-270, 272
 Duff, Mary Ann, 289n, 290
 Dummer, Jeremiah, 194
 Duncan, Alexander, 260
 Dwyer, Edward, 260
- East Indies, 83
 Eaton, John, Gen., 260
 Eggmoggin Reach, Me., 114, 116
 Eilts, Hermann Frederick, "Ah-
 mad Bin Na'aman's Mission to
 the United States in 1840, The
 Voyage of *Al-Sultanah* to New
 York City," 219-277
 "Elias Hasket Derby and the
 Founding of the Eastern Trade,"
 by Richard H. McKey, Jr., 1-25,
 65-83

- Elkins, Henry, Capt., 16, 20, 22, 75, 80
 Ellsler, Fanny, 239
 Embroidery. *See* "A Recently Acquired Embroidered Memorial Picture," by Huldah M. Smith, 100-110
 Emerson, Mary Frances, 31
 Emery, Samuel, 156
 Emery, Sarah, 105
Empress of China (ship), 5, 6, 9, 13, 67
 Essex Coffee House, Salem, Mass., 288
 "Essex County Trade Cards," by Mary Means Huber, 154-160
 Essex Flora. *See* *Studies of the Essex Flora*, 177
 Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., 178, 179, 275; Annual Report (1961-1962), 185-215
 Everett, Horace, 260
Everett Monthly, 178
 Exploring Circle, West Lynn, Mass., 177, 179
 Fairman, Gideon, 158
 Fales, Dean A., Jr., "Coffins and Dr. Bentley," 35
 Fales, Martha Gandy, "Three Eighteenth Century Salem Coffee Pots," 283-286
Fanshawe, 195
 Farnham, Nancy, 31
 Felt, John, 9
 Female High School, Gloucester, Mass., 113
 Finney, Charles, 94, 95
 First Congregational Church of Essex, 194
 First Parish, Beverly, Mass., 136
 Fish, Hamilton, 40, 42
 Fisher, Clara, 289*n*
 "Fitz Hugh Lane: Visits to the Maine Coast, 1848-1855," by Frederic Alan Sharf, 111-120
 Flagg and Gould, 107
 Fluent, John, 139, 140
 Fluent, Mary, 139
 Fluent, Moses, 139
 Foote, J. Forester, 292
 Forsyth, John, Sec. of State, 255, 256
 Foster, Elizabeth B. *See* Ingalls
Franklin (ship of war), 243
 Franklin Academy, Andover, Mass., 104, 110
 Free Soil State Convention, 112
 French, —, Rev., 27
 Frere, Bartle, Sir, 41-44, 46
 Frost Fish Brook, Danvers, Mass., 130
 Frye, Mary Carlton. *See* Stowers
 Frye, Nathan, 109
 Fuller, Andrew, Capt., 27
 Fuller, Daniel, 29, 30
 Fuller, Dean, 30
 Fuller, Joseph, 31
 Fuller, Timothy, 28
 Funeral Customs. *See* "Coffins and Dr. Bentley," 35. *See Also* "Middleton Buries Its Dead," 26-34
 Furman, G., 244
 Gale, Azor, 122
 Garrison, F. J., 88*n*
 Garrison, Wendell P., 88*n*
 Garrison, William Lloyd. *See* "William Lloyd Garrison, The Historians, And The Abolitionist Movement," by David Alan Williams, 84-99
Gazelle (ship), 273
 Gedney, Bartholomew, 194
 Geisinger, David, Capt., 230
 Gibaut, John, 22-24
 Gibaut, —, Capt., 105
 Ginseng, 67, 68, 75, 76, 82
Glide (vessel), 44
 Gloucester, Mass., 111-113, 118
 Gloucester Lyceum, 112
 Goodell, A. P., 291
 Gott, —, 140
Grand Turk (ship), 2-17, 20, 68, 75, 78, 79, 82
 Granville, —, Lord, 42
 Gray, Robert, 67, 81
Great Western (steamer), 265
 Green, Israel, 151
 Green, Jonathan, 150
 Green, William, 151
 Greene, —, Capt., 9
 Griggs, Jacob, 133, 135
 Grigs, Jacob, 149
 Grimké, Angelina Emily, 95
 Grimké, Sarah Moore, 95
Guerrière (ship), 279
 Hale, Rebecca, 141
 Hall, —, Dr., 173
 Hallam, John, 289*n*
 Hamerton, Atkins, Capt., Br. Consul, 273, 274
 Hamilton, Alexander, 81
 Hamilton Hall, Salem, Mass., 108
Hancock (brig), 81

- Harrington, Edward, Capt. See
 "A Salem Merchant at Cape
 Palmas, Liberia, in 1840," by
 George E. Brooks, Jr., 161-174
- Hathorne, William Hollingsworth,
 Capt., 49, 50, 52, 53
- Haven, Edward A., 179
- Hawthorne, Julian, 195
- Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 194, 287,
 290, 293. See *Fanshawe*, 195;
 "The Miniature That Inspired
 Clifford Pyncheon's Portrait,"
 by David Jaffé, 278-282; *The
 House of Seven Gables*, 278-280
- Hawthorne, Robert, 279
- Hawthorne, William Meredith,
 279
- Hayward, Jonathan, 150
- Hayward, Nathaniel, 130, 131,
 136, 146, 148
- Hayward, Nehemiah, 150
- Hazeltine, Richard, Dr., 176
- Henry* (brig), 2, 19-25, 71, 78
- Hercules* (steam tug), 265
- Herrick, John, 147, 152
- Herrick, John, Ens., 139
- Herrick, Joseph, 136, 146, 148-
 150, 152
- Herrick, Joseph, Capt., 130-132
- Herrick, Rufus, 150, 152
- Herrick, Stephen, 133, 149, 151
- Hicksville, L.I., N.Y., 245, 246
- Hill, Samuel, 156
- Historical Society of Pennsylvania,
 157
- Hitchcock, Enos, 142
- Holder, Charles Frederick, 180,
 181
- Holder, Joseph B., Dr., 175, 176,
 179, 181
- Holder's Pond, 180
- Holten, Samuel, Judge, 199
- Holyoke, Edward, Rev., 125
- Holyoke, Edward Augustus, Dr.,
 199, 285
- Holyoke, Elizur, Rev., 27
- Holyoke, Mary, 285
- Hone, Philip, 248
- Hooker, William, 158
- Hooper, Joseph S., 118
- Hooper, Robert, Jr., 137, 139, 140
- Horse Bridge, Beverly, Mass., 130
- Houghton, Abel, Jr., 178
- Houghton, John C., 177
- Houghton Dahlia, 178
- Houghton Horticultural Society,
 178, 179
- Houqua, —, 75, 76, 80, 82
- House of Seven Gables, The*, 278-
 280
- Howe, Israel, Capt., 170
- Hoyt, Jesse, 255
- Huber, Mary Means, "Essex Coun-
 ty Trade Cards," 154-160
- Hubon, H. & H., 32
- Hunt, William, 161, 174
- Hurd, Jacob, 156
- Hurd, Nathaniel, 154-156
- Hutt, John, 154
- Imam of Muscat, 225
- Import Duties Act of 1833, 271
- Independence* (ship), 279
- India, 2, 22, 25, 78, 79, 221;
 first American trade with, 18
- Ingalls, Elizabeth B. Foster, 103
- Ingalls, Eunice (Jennings), 102
- Ingalls, Francis, 102, 103
- Ingalls, Ira, 103
- Ingalls, Jonathan, 102-104
- Ingalls, Mehitable. See *Abbot*
- Ingalls, Sarah, 103
- Ingalls, Sarah Berry, 101-104, 110
- Ingersoll, Jonathan, Capt., 6, 8,
 9
- Inglehurst, North Andover, Mass.,
 101, 103
- Ipswich, Mass., 101
- Isle Au Haut, Me., 116, 118
- Isle of Bourbon, 2
- Isle of France, 2, 8-10, 14, 16-18,
 21, 23-25, 66, 69, 70, 78, 79,
 81, 83
- Jackson, Andrew, Pres., 229, 231
- Jackson, George, 121
- Jaffé, David, "The Miniature That
 Inspired Clifford Pyncheon's
 Portrait," 278-282
- Jamaica, L.I., N.Y., 245
- Java Head, 71, 77; description of,
 72
- Jay, John, 6
- Jeram bin Sewji, 233, 251, 252,
 273
- John Gilpin* (ship), 266
- Johnson, Edmund, 199
- Johnson, Oliver, 87
- Johnson, Richard, Vice-Pres., 248,
 257
- Johnson, Thomas, 154, 155
- Johnston, Keith, 47
- Jones, Benjamin, 149, 152
- Jones, Benjamin, Dr., 147
- Juno* (ship), 16, 20, 68, 79
- Kast, Philip Godfred, 155

- Kendrick, John, 67
 Kennedy, Edmund, Como., 231
 Kensett, John, 115
 Kidd, William, 5
 King's Chapel, Boston, Mass., 122
 Kirk, John, 39, 40, 43, 44, 46,
 49-51, 53, 54
 Kitchin, Edward, 29
 Knight, Sarah, School, Salem,
 Mass., 104
Laconia (whaler), 52
Lady Washington (vessel), 67
 Lane, Fitz Hugh. See "Fitz Hugh
 Lane: Visits to the Maine Coast,
 1848-1855," by Frederic Alan
 Sharf, 111-120
 Lang, Edward, 198
 Lathrop, George, 194
Laurel (brig), 225
 Leach, John, 133, 146, 150, 152
 Leach, John, Capt., 139, 146
 Leach, Samuel, 146, 150
 Leeds, Frederick, 241
 Lema Islands, 74
 Leslie, Robert, 157
 Leverett, John, Pres. of Harvard,
 140
 Lewis, Alonzo, 176, 181
 Lewis, Charles W., 178
Liberator, 85, 86, 89, 91, 93, 95
 Liberia. See "A Salem Merchant
 at Cape Palmas, Liberia, in
 1840," by George E. Brooks,
 Jr., 161-174
 Liberty Party, 98
Lighthouse (ship), 2, 4, 5, 10, 11,
 13-15, 19-23, 25, 75-80
 Lilami, Nasser, 56
 Lindsey, Joseph, 194
 Linnaean Society, 181
 Lodge, Henry Cabot, 194
 Long Island Railroad, 244-246
 Lovett, Robert W., "A Parish is
 Formed, The Precinct of Salem
 and Beverly, 1713-1753," 129-
 153
 Ludlow and Gould, 6, 69
 Lynch, Henry Blossie, RN, 276
 Lynn, Mass., 101; Board of Park
 Commissioners, 177; Trustees
 of Public Forests, 177
 Lynn Horticultural Society, 178
 Lynn Library Association, 176,
 182
 "Lynn Natural History Society
 (1842-1855), The," by Ralph
 W. Dexter, 175-183
 Lynn Public Library, 175, 178,
 182
Lynn Transcript, 177
Lynn Weekly Reporter, 178, 180,
 181
 Lynn Woods, Lynn, Mass., 177
 McGill, —, Dr., 166, 168, 169,
 173
 McKey, Richard H., Jr., "Elias
 Hasket Derby and the Found-
 ing of the Eastern Trade," 1-25,
 65-83
 McMullen, William, Mrs., 276
 Macao, 74
 Madagascar, 57
 Madras, India, 21-24
 Magee, James, 68, 69, 72, 73,
 77, 80, 81
 Maine. See "Fitz Hugh Lane: Vis-
 its to the Maine Coast, 1848-
 1855," by Frederic Alan Sharf,
 111-120
 Malbone, Edward. See "The Mini-
 ature That Inspired Clifford
 Pyncheon's Portrait," by David
 Jaffé, 278-282
 Mallon, James, Capt., 103
 Mansfield, Mme., School, Salem,
 Mass., 104
 Marblehead, Mass., 77, 108. See
 "Church Politics in Marblehead,
 1715," by Thomas C. Barrow,
 121-127
 March, Angier, 158
Margaret (ship), 81
 Marsh, O. C., 179
 Marshall, Henry P., 232
 Martha's Vineyard, Mass., 24
Mary Ann (brig), 227
 Maryland, Liberia, 170
 Maryland Colonization Society,
 170
 Massachusetts College of Phar-
 macy, 178
 Mather, Cotton, 121
 Mauritius, 2
 Maverick, Peter, Jr., 154
 Meacham, James, 150
 Meacham, Robert, 149, 151, 152
 Mechanics Hall, Salem, Mass., 291
 Meier and Company, 11, 16n
 Melville, Hernan, 278, 279.
Moby Dick, 282
 Memorial Picture. See "A Recent-
 ly Acquired Embroidered Mem-
 orial Picture," by Huldah M.
 Smith, 100-110
 Meriam, Lydia, 29
 Meriam, Silas, Dr., 29
 "Middleton Buries Its Dead," by
 Lura Woodside Watkins, 26-34

- Middleton Historical Society, 34
 "Miniature That Inspired Clifford Pyncheon's Portrait, The," by David Jaffé, 278-282
Moby Dick, 278, 282
 Mohun, R. Dorsey, 61
 Mombasa, Africa, 60, 227
 Mooney, Edward, 248, 275
 Moresby Treaty, 226
 Morocco, Emperor of, 256, 257
 Morris, Robert, 5
 Mossom, David, 126
 Mount Desert, Me., 114-116, 119, 120
 "Mrs. Lee Gives A Party," 62
 Mudge, Benjamin F., 175, 179
 Muhammad Abdallah, 223, 264, 266
 Muhammad Juma'a, 223, 249, 266, 268, 269
 Muscat, 41, 53. See "Ahmad Bin Na'aman's Mission to the United States in 1840, The Voyage of *Al-Sultanah* to New York City," by Hermann Frederick Eilts, 219-277
- Nahant, Mass., 180
 Nantasket Roads, Mass., 77
 Neal, Peter M., Hon., 179
 Needlework. See "A Recently Acquired Embroidered Memorial Picture," by Huldah M. Smith, 100-110
Neptune (brig), 170
 New England Anti-Slavery Society, 87
 New York. See "Ahmad Bin Na'aman's Mission to the United States in 1840, The Voyage of *Al-Sultanah* to New York City," by Hermann Frederick Eilts, 219-277; American Museum of Natural History, 180, 181; description of, 1840, 239-249
 New York Academy of Science, 180, 181
 New York Bible Society, 264
 New York City Hall, 275
 New-York Historical Society, 155
 Newbury, Mass., 122
 Newburyport, Mass., 99; Trade Cards, 156, 158
 Newhall, Asa T., Dr., 175
 Newhall, Charles S., 175
 Newhall, James R., 175, 179
 Newhall, Thomas B., 175, 179
- Newman, Hunt and Christopher, 238
 Nichols, Ichabod, Capt., 11, 12, 14, 15, 19-23, 69, 75, 80
 Nicholson, Francis, Sir, 123
 Norden, Nathl. Capt., 121, 122
 Norman, John, 156
 Norsworthy, Robert B., Mrs., 223
 North Andover, Mass., 100, 102, 103
North Carolina (USS), 224, 243
 Nye, James M., Dr., 175
 Nye, Joseph W., 181
 Nye, Russel, 97
- Old Burying Ground, North Andover, Mass., 102
 "Old Salem Theatre, The," by Pat M. Ryan, 287-293
 Oliver, William B., 175
Oregon (brig), 161
 Orne, Louis. See Paine
 Osgood, Charles, 198
 Osgood, ———, Capt., 141
 Ostrich, first in America, 13
Our Living World, 180
 Owen, William, Capt., 226, 264
- Paine, Lois Orne, 283
 Paine, William, Dr., 283
 Palmerston, Lord, 238
 Parish, Ariel, Rev., 26
 "Parish is Formed, The Precinct of Salem and Beverly, 1713-1753, A," by Robert W. Lovett, 129-153
 Parker, Amasa J., 235
 Parker, Isaac, 103
 Parker, R. Starr, 235, 270
 Parkinson, ———, 165
 Peabody, Benjamin, Col., 27
 Peabody, Joseph, 33
 Peabody, Joseph, 3rd, 30
 Peabody Academy of Science, Salem, Mass., 178
 Peabody Museum of Salem, 157, 249, 275, 276
Peacock (sloop of war), 230, 231, 234, 236, 246, 258
 Pearl River, 74
Peggy (ship), 17-19, 21-23, 78
 Peirce, Sarah B. See Stowers
 Pemba, 37
 Penobscot Bay, Me., 113, 115, 116, 120
 Penobscot River, Me., 113, 114
 Perkins, Elizabeth, Mrs., 34
 Perkins, George A., 163-165, 170-173

- Perkins, George A., Mrs., 163,
165, 166, 170-173
- Perkins, Thomas, 159
- Perkins, Thomas Handasyd, 69,
70, 72-74, 77, 79, 80
- Perley, Daniel, Dr., 175, 179
- Perley, Sidney, 194
- Peters, Andrew, Rev., 34
- Peters, Carl, 54
- Philippine Islands, 83
- Phillips, B. J., 181
- Phillips, A. I., 288, 292
- Pickering, John, 194
- Pickering, Timothy, Col., 157, 194
- Pickins, Francis, 258
- Pickman, Benjamin, 28
- Pinckney, Thomas, 258
- Pingree, David, 254, 275, 276
- Pingree papers (1850-1900), 194
- Pinqua (merchant), 11
- Poe, Edgar Allan, 280
- Pompey* (ship), 2
- Poole, Stephen D., 177
- Port Louis, 20, 22-24
- Porter, Rufus, 109
- Porter, William, 135, 146, 152
- Portsmouth, N.H., 15
- Portuguese John, 223, 267
- Post, Wright, Dr., 279
- Potter, H. A., 194
- Powell, L. M., 260
- Practical Navigator*, 266
- Pratt, Seth A., 59
- Pratt, ———, 56
- Prentiss, ———, Rev., 27
- Prescott, William, Dr., 175
- Preston, Thomas, 150
- Price, Isaac, 157
- Prime, Nathaniel, 279
- Publications of the Lynn Natural
History Society*, 176
- Pyncheon, Clifford. *See* "The Mini-
ature That Inspired Clifford
Pyncheon's Portrait," by David
Jaffé, 278-282
- Ranavolana Manjaka, Queen, 238
- Raymond, Beneges, 150, 152
- Raymond, Benjamin, 152
- Raymond, Ebenezer, 147, 149,
152
- Raymond, Ebenezer, Capt., 146
- Raymond, Edward, 131, 137, 146,
148-152
- Raymond, Edward, Capt., 138
- Raymond, Edward, Lt., 132
- Raymond, George, 147, 149, 151
- Raymond, Hannah. *See* Dodge
- Raymond, Jerusha. *See* Dodge
- Raymond, Jonathan, 146, 147,
149, 151
- Raymond, Jonathan, Deacon, 134
- Raymond, Jonathan, Sr., 131-133,
137, 148-152
- Raymond, Nathaniel, 150
- Raymond, Thomas, 136, 146, 148
- Raymond, Thomas, Capt., 132,
134
- Rea, Gideon, 143, 150, 152
- Rea, John, 137
- Rea, John, Jr., 152
- Rea, John, Sr., 150
- "Recently Acquired Embroidered
Memorial Picture, A," by Hul-
dah M. Smith, 100-110
- Recipes. *See* "Mrs. Lee Gives A
Party," 62
- Reed, Ruth Gleason, 198
- Renshaw, ———, Como., 240, 243-
245, 264
- Renshaw, ———, Mrs., 249
- Reunion (Isle of Bourbon), 2
- Revere, Paul, 154, 156, 283-285
- Rhodes, Amos, 181
- Richardson, Amos, 31
- Richardson, Arthur, 32, 33
- Richardson, Daniel, 30-32, 34
- Richardson, Solomon, Capt., 31,
32
- Rigby, ———, 275
- Riley, William, 50
- Roberts, Edmund, 225, 227-235,
255
- Roberts, Harriet, 235
- Rockland, Me., 118-120
- Rockport, Mass., 30, 112
- Rogers, Nathaniel, Mrs., School,
Salem, Mass., 105
- Ropes, E. D., 36
- Ropes, E. D., Jr., 48*n*, 56-59
- Ropes, George, and Co., 47
- Ropes, Emmerton and Co., 47, 48,
60
- Rowe, William, 31
- Rowell, Joseph M., 177
- Rowell, Joseph W., 179
- Rowson, Mrs., Academy, Boston,
Mass., 104
- Ruby Hill, Beverly, Mass., 135,
143
- Rufus King* (steam tug), 261
- Russwurm, John B., 162, 163,
166, 168-171, 173
- Rutland, Benjamin, 138
- Ryal Side, Beverly, Mass., 129,
130, 136, 144-147
- Ryan, Pat M., "The Old Salem
Theatre," 287-293

- Sagary, —, Capt., 235
 Said bin Khalfan, 230, 232, 251, 253, 255, 276
 Salem, Mass., 100. See "A Parish is Formed, The Precinct of Salem and Beverly, 1713-1753," by Robert W. Lovett, 129-153
 Salem Light Infantry, 108
 Salem Mechanic Light Infantry, 108
 "Salem Merchant at Cape Palmas, Liberia, in 1840, A," by George E. Brooks, Jr., 161-174
 Salem Theatre. See "The Old Salem Theatre," by Pat M. Ryan, 287-293
 Salem Trade Cards, 155-158
 Salem Village, Mass., 130, 145
Salem Warnings, 103
 Sandy Bay Historical Society of Rockport, 31
Sarah Ann (schooner), 262
 Saunders, Daniel, Capt., 12-15
 Saunders, Mrs., School, Gloucester, Mass., 105
 Savage, —, Dr., 173
 Sayyid Abdallah bin Khalifah, 277
 Sayyid Barghash, 59
 Sayyid Hassan bin Ibrahim, 237, 275
 Sayyid Khalid, 251, 252, 269
 Sayyid Majid, 275
 Sayyid Said bin Sultan, 224-231, 233-238, 240, 247, 250-256, 258-264, 267, 269, 271-277
 Sayyid Said bin Taimur, 276
 Schools: Miss Polly Balch's Seminary, Providence, R.I., 104; Bradford Academy, Haverhill, Mass., 104, 110; Mrs. Condy's Embroidery School, Boston, Mass., 104; Franklin Academy, Andover, Mass., 104, 110; Sarah Knight's School, Salem, Mass., 104; Madame Mansfield's School, Salem, Mass., 104; Mrs. Nathaniel Rogers' School, Salem, Mass., 105; Mrs. Rowson's Academy, Boston, Mass., 104; Mrs. Saunders' School, Gloucester, Mass., 105
 Scoville, —, 253
 Scoville and Britton, 232, 235, 251, 270
 Second Congregational Church, Beverly. See "A Parish is Formed, The Precinct of Salem and Beverly, 1713-1753," by Robert W. Lovett, 129-153
 Second Congregational Church of Marblehead, 125-127
 Seton, George, 278, 279
 Seton, Robert, Arch., 279, 280
 Seton, William Magee. See "The Miniature That Inspired Clifford Pyncheon's Portrait," by David Jaffé, 278-282
 Sewall, Samuel, 31
 Seward, William, Gov., 248
 Seymour, John, 198
 Seymour, Thomas, 198
Shah Allum (ship), 273
 Shaikh Sulaiman Abdallah Shaiban, 249
 Sharf, Frederic Alan. See "Fitz Hugh Lane: Visits to the Maine Coast, 1848-1855," 111-120
 Shaw, Peter, 151, 152
 Shaw, Samuel, Maj., 5, 9, 10, 19, 68
 Shaw, William, 123, 125-126
 Shepard, Jonathan, 32
 Sherman, Austin, M.D., 264
 Shufeldt, —, Como, 53, 54
 Silsbee, Nathaniel, 69, 70
 Silver, 18th century. See "Three Eighteenth Century Salem Coffee Pots," by Martha Gandy Fales, 283-286
 Simpson, Jonathan, 285
 Sleeman, William, 222-224, 236, 260, 261, 266
 Smith, Elias, Rev., 27, 28, 33
 Smith, George, Capt., 22, 23
 Smith, Gerrit, 85
 Smith, Huldah M., "A Recently Acquired Memorial Picture," 100-110
 Smither, James, 154
 Smithsonian Institution, 180
 Smollett, Tobias, 281
 Social Library, Lynn, Mass., 176, 177
 Society of Naturalists of Eastern U. S., 180
 Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 33
 Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 123
 St. Helena, 2, 7, 24, 238
 St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, Mass. See "Church Politics in Marblehead, 1715," by Thomas C. Barrow, 121-127
 St. Petersburg, Russia, 4
 Stanley, Henry Morton, 49
 Stearns, William, Dr., 35
 Stearns Block, 287-293

- Stetson, Charles Augustus, 159
 Stetson, Prince, 159
 Stevens, Jonathan, 104
 Stevens, Joseph L., Jr. *See* "Fitz Hugh Lane: Visits to the Maine Coast, 1848-1855," by Frederic Alan Sharf, 111-120
 Stevens, Thomas, 58
 Stevens, —, Capt., 227
 Stiles, David, 33
 Stone, Edward M., 129
 Stone, —, Rev., 27
 Stowers, Abigail, 108
 Stowers, James, Jr., 108
 Stowers, Joseph, 107-110
 Stowers, Mary Carlton Frye, 108
 Stowers, Nathaniel, 108, 109
 Stowers, Sarah B. Peirce, 108
 Straits of Malacca, 9
 Stribling, C. K., Comdr., 231, 246
 Stringham, Silas, Comdr., 243
 Suez Canal, 44
Sultana (brig), 17, 18, 21-24, 77, 78
Sultanah (bark), 219, 224, 235, 236, 238-242, 247-249, 250-253, 260-265, 268-276
 Sunda Straits, 6, 72
 Symmes, —, Rev., 27
- Table Bay, Africa, 6
 Tanganyika, Africa, 54
 Tappan, Arthur, 91, 92, 94, 95, 98, 99
 Tappan, Lewis, 91, 92, 94, 95, 99
 Taylor, James, 150
 Tew, David, 154
 Theatre, Salem. *See* "The Old Salem Theatre," by Pat M. Ryan, 287-293
 Thompson, Charlotte, 223
 Thomson, Joseph, 47
 "Three Eighteenth Century Salem Coffee Pots," by Martha Gandy Fales, 283-286
Three Sisters (brig), 2, 11-15, 69-74, 76, 77, 79, 80
Three Sisters (ship), 10-14
 Thurston, J., 157
Ticonderoga (USS), 53
 Tiebout, Cornelius, 154
 Topan, Taria, 46-48, 57, 58
 Tracy, Cyrus Mason, 175, 177, 178
 Tracy, John, 156
 Trade: with Far East, 1-25, 65-83; with India, first American, 18; with Russia, 4, 66; with Zanzibar. *See* "Americans in Trade (*continued*) Zanzibar: 1865-1915," by Norman Robert Bennett, 36-61
 Trade Cards. *See* "Essex County Trade Cards," by Mary Means Huber, 154-160
 Trask, Benjamin, 138, 151
 Trask, Ebenezer, 138, 147, 151, 152
 Trask, John, 137, 146
 Trask, Joseph, 150, 152
 Trask, Josiah, 150
 Trask, Samuel, 133, 146, 147, 151, 152
 Trask, William, 150
 Trow, Josiah, 151
 Trow, William, 138, 149, 151
 Tucker, —, Capt., 14, 15, 19
 Turner, Nat, 86
 "Twilight on the Kennebec," 113
 Tyler, Addison P., 31, 32
- Underwood, S., 263
 United States National Museum, 272, 274
- Van Buren, Martin, Pres., 248, 255, 273, 274
 Vans, William, 9-11, 14, 15, 67, 82
 Verrill, A. E., Dr., 180
 Very, —, Capt., 68
 "View on the Penobscot," 113
- Wadsworth, —, Rev., 27
 Wallack, James William, 289
 Wallis, Nathaniel, 150
 Ward, Samuel, 279
 Ward, —, 35
 Warren, Hannah, 141
 Warren, Joseph, 141
Washington (ship of war), 243
 Washington Hall, Salem, Mass., 287-293
 Waters, Richard Palmer, 232, 233, 236, 239, 248, 249, 254, 267, 270-274, 276
 Waters, William, 265
 Watkins, Lura Woodside, "Middleton Buries Its Dead," 26-34
Wave (steam tug), 247
 Webb, Benjamin, 69, 73, 74
 Webb, F. R., 37-39, 43, 44
 Webb, J. F., 41-44, 46
 Weld, Theodore Dwight, 91-95, 98
 Wentworth, Louis A., 178
 West, Ebenezer, Capt., 10, 14, 67
 West Indies, 3, 7, 18

- Western Art Union, 112
 Whampoa, China, 23, 74, 81
 White, John, 122
 Wilberforce, William, 94
 Wilkes, Charles, 278-280
 Wilkins, Daniel, 29
 Wilkins, David, 28, 29
 Wilkins, Elizabeth, 28, 29
 Wilkins, Sophia, 32
 "William Lloyd Garrison, The Historians, And The Abolitionist Movement," by David Alan Williams, 84-99
 Williams, David Alan, "William Lloyd Garrison, The Historians, And The Abolitionist Movement," 84-99
 Williams, —, Rev., 291
 Williamson, John, 18
 Wilmington, Del., 68
 Wilson, Alexander, 291
 Wilson, J., Rev., 163, 164, 172
 Wilson, M.D., Rev., 163, 164
 Wilson, —, 276
 Wilson, —, Cmdr., 40-43
 Windham, N.H., 29
 Witherle, William H., 117
 Wolfe, James, 159
 Wolfe Tavern, Newburyport, Mass., 159
 Wood, J. G., Rev., 180
 Wood, Ruth S., 178
 Woodberry, Ebenezer, 133, 151
 Woodberry, Josiah, 146, 147, 149-151
 Woodberry, Peter, 151, 152
 Woodberry, Samuel, 150
 Woodbury, Levi, 229
 Yantic (ship), 40, 41
 Zanzibar. See "Americans in Zanzibar: 1865-1915," 36-61. See "Ahmad Bin Na'aman's Mission to the United States in 1840, The Voyage of *Al-Sultannah* to New York City," by Hermann Frederick Eilts, 219-277; German influence in, 54-61; Slave trade in, 36-44, 51-53
 Zeigler, —, Capt., 179

