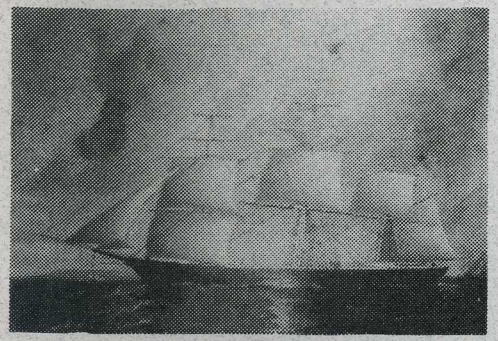
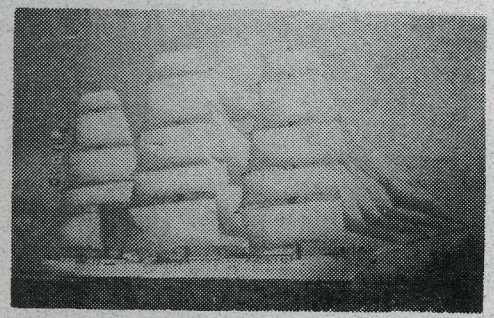
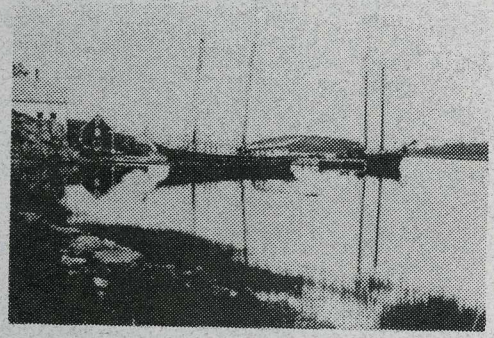
OLD YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Clipper Ships to Coal Schooners:
Maritime Culture and Economy in York







1995 Elizabeth Perkins Fellows

Kyra Bowling **Jodi S. Burke**
Brian D. Carroll **Christi Mitchell**
Tiffany M. Reed

OLD YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CLIPPER SHIPS TO COAL SCHOONERS:

MARITIME CULTURE AND ECONOMY IN YORK

PROCEEDINGS

1995 ELIZABETH PERKINS FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

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Jodi Burke
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OLD YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY
York, Maine
1995

Printing by Printplace, Newington, NH.

Cover Photographs:

Top: The clipper ship *Empress of the Sea*, by James Buttersworth, ca. 1853. Loan of descendants of William and Louise Putnam. Photo by Christi Mitchell.

Middle: The ship *Paul Jones* in Chinese waters, ca. 1877-1886, artist unknown. OYHS Collections.

Bottom: Schooners at Marshall's wharf, ca. 1880. OYHS Collections.

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Preface

In the past couple of years, Old York Historical Society has been considering the development and interpretation of its buildings and grounds to reflect York's maritime history. There is no better way to lay the intellectual foundations for such change than to select a class of outstanding students of maritime history, New England studies, and decorative arts to be fellows in Old York's Elizabeth Perkins Fellowship Program. We have certainly reaped the benefits of top-notch work by our five fellows this summer. Not only have they produced the research papers included in this publication, they have also presented their research to the York community through a symposium and they have designed and installed an exhibition in two rooms of Old York's Emerson-Wilcox House. In addition to the work prepared in this booklet, the fellows have compiled extensive additional resource materials that are now on file at Old York Historical Society.

I have had the pleasure of working with these fellows and watching as they sought and found treasure troves of information and artifacts that have vitalized York's connections to the sea in the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the present century. The breadth of their backgrounds ensured that their work would not be limited to traditional nuts-and-bolts maritime history. They have put together, instead, a body of work that reflects their broad interests and experiences. In doing this, they have been very creative and energetic in their research, tracking down resources between Washington, D.C. and Searsport, Maine. Many people have been very kind to open their homes to the fellows, allowing them to borrow key materials and record interviews.

This year's fellows come from near and far. Kyra Bowling comes to Old York from the nautical archaeology graduate program at Texas A&M University. Kyra's training in maritime history and archaeology provided a strong foundation for her research this summer on Captain Winn's seafaring career.

Christi Mitchell will be finishing her master's degree in American and New England Studies at the University of Southern Maine while working as a cartographic associate at the Osher Map Library.

Jodi Burke is an undergraduate at Smith College, where she is studying history. Her research in women's history has added much to her interpretation of Louise Putnam's world.

Tiffany Reed recently completed her bachelor's degree in Art History from the College of William and Mary. She brought to the program valuable training and experience in the decorative arts.

Brian Carroll will be beginning a master's program in the fall at the University of Connecticut in American History. While there, he is planning to pursue his interest in maritime history through studies at Mystic Seaport.

As advisor for this summer's program, I wish to express my great appreciation to the staff and fellows at Old York Historical Society for working together to turn a maritime history dream into an impressive reality. Tom Johnson, the Curator of Collections, has ably taken the lead in guiding decorative arts research and the reinstallation of two rooms in the Emerson-Wilcox House. I want to thank in particular, Jennie Ashlock, Old York's Education Coordinator extraordinaire, who has helped and encouraged me all along the way. For that friendship and support, I am greatly indebted.

John G. Arrison
Academic Advisor

Acknowledgments

The Elizabeth Perkins Fellows have put in a lot of work to bring their research to fruition in less than three months. They wish to thank the many people and organizations that have made their work so fruitful and exciting.

Collectively the fellows would like to thank all the staff of Old York Historical Society. Your professional and personal support has been tremendous.

Tiffany Reed and Jodi Burke would like to thank Carl Crossman, Robert Cutts, Elizabeth Cutts, Mary Louise Cutts, Richard Cutts, Carolyn Eastman, Stuart Frank and Mary Malloy, James Kences, Stephen Mallory, Mrs. William Pepperell Putnam, Doug Stein, Angie VanDereedt, and Mr. and Mrs. S. Thompson Viele for their invaluable assistance.

Kyra Bowling and Christi Mitchell would like to extend special thanks to: Bob Snover and his patient and generous staff at Appledore Engineering in Portsmouth, New Hampshire; Colleen Sloane and Business Express for flying us to Washington DC to conduct research; and to the Mitchell family for providing us with cool and comfortable accommodations. This paper could not have been possible without the generosity and kindness of Arthur and Alberta Johnson, Louise Parks, and Charles Winn. They not only welcomed us into their homes and offices, but also shared with us warm, humorous, and touching stories of their ancestors, Timothy and Caroline Winn.
Brian Carroll would like to thank James Kences for his help in finding photographs, Patrick Grace for his assistance in the library; Cindy Young Gomes for slides; and Jennie Ashlock for her patience.

Representing the Maritime and Social History of York Through Period Rooms

Thomas B. Johnson, Curator of Collections

The use of period room settings to illustrate the history of a community can be traced to the installation of a colonial kitchen setting at the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association in Deerfield, Massachusetts by George Sheldon in the 1880s. That, and later period room settings by George Francis Dow at the Essex Institute in Salem about 1907, were evidently the initial and refining influences for the first "period" settings in the Old Gaol here in York beginning in 1899. Since those beginnings, Old York's period installations have grown to thirty-three individual rooms spread over the interiors of five buildings. They span the period from just before the Revolution to the late colonial revival period of the 1950s and represent to the vistor not only the material aspirations and living conditions of York residents throughout those years, but in a number of cases tell the story of significant individuals who shaped the town and its institutions that are familiar to us today.

From the earliest inception of a museum in York, the primary strength of the collections, and therefore its period room settings, has been dominated by the colonial and early federal periods. The golden period of York's history was recognized to be the period prior to the Embargo of 1807 and the War of 1812, events that were catastrophic to York's growth as a port and eventually led to the removal of shire town functions to Alfred in the next two decades. The town did not recover economically until the advent of the tourist trade beginning in the 1870s. For many, the middle decades of the nineteenth century were seen as a dark period in the town's history, perhaps best left forgotten. The historical organizations in town focused on the perceived glories of the colonial past in their interpretation and exhibition philosophy.

The year 1954 changed that perception in slight, but ongoing, ways. In that year the Elizabeth Perkins House opened as a museum, with the colonial revival "clutter" intact due to the exertions of then-director Jules Prown, who argued against remodelling of the interiors to present a more chaste colonial image based on the settings then being popularized at Williamsburg. In that year also, the Old Gaol Committee purchased the Emerson-Wilcox House on York Street from Dorothy Hungerford, along with a number of its furnishings. Opened as a museum after restoration a little more than a year later, the rooms of the house were predominantly filled with pre-1820 furnishings against white plaster walls. Yet a significant exception occurred: as part of the Hungerford purchase the museum acquired a large and significant collection of mid-nineteenth century furniture, export items, and seafaring memorabilia that had belonged to Captain William Putnam (1810-1868) and his wife Louise Caroline Wilcox Putnam (1821-1896). These items were displayed in small rooms on the second floor, interpreted primarily as decorative art objects rather than items revealing of the

social history of a then-neglected period in the town's history. It was only in the 1970s, under the guidance of Director Eldredge Pendleton and Curator Kerry O'Brien, that the Putnam items were looked at as a collection that could and did reveal much about York's mid-nineteenth century maritime and social history. The collection received further attention under Curator John LaBranche and the Elizabeth Perkins Fellowship programs of 1991 and 1992, when interiors of the Emerson-Wilcox kitchen, dairy room, northeast bed chamber, and north central chamber were reinterpreted to portray the widowhood of Louise Putnam in the 1870s.

1995 Elizabeth Perkins Fellows Jodi Burke and Tiffany Reed have undertaken the reinstallation of the north central chamber and the northwest chamber to represent a larger segment of the Putnam story and its ties to the greater town and maritime heritage of the region. Ms. Burke researched and planned the installation of the central chamber as an upstairs private sitting room of Louise prior to the death of William that imparts the social intricacies and interests of mid-nineteenth century women. Next door, Ms. Reed has overseen the creation of a room centering on the life and interests of Captian Putnam, bringing together a number of important artifacts and furnishings that reveal to us much about the personality of the Captain. The enfilade of three northern chambers now takes the vistor through the life and interests of William, through the life of Louise and her contemporaries while she was married, finally ending in the 1992 installation of the bedroom representing Louise's widowhood.

The work was greatly facilitated by the enthusiasm and generosity of descendants of William and Louise Putnam who wish to remain anonymous. Likewise, the interest and generous nature of Tom and Nancy Viele shed light on this project through access to the artifacts and papers of Charles and Harriet Emerson, contemporaries and friends of Louise and William. The Vieles presented Old York with the ability to acquire Emerson family artifacts related to the maritime history of that family, further illuminating York's ties with the sea during the nineteenth century.

Just as the Amish believe that nobody can create anything perfect except God, we here at Old York recognize that interpretations of these interiors are just that - interpretations. They doubtless contain some flaws. Like the interiors of the house in the 1950s they are products of their time, place, and research methods. While we may strive, it is impossible for a late twentieth century mind to fully comprehend and understand the nuances of mid-nineteenth century life. Did an oil lamp actually go in that particular spot? Is the fabric of a type that the person would have chosen? These and myriad other questions can never be answered with certainty. In these rooms, however, Ms. Burke and Ms. Reed have strived for historical accuracy that is both documentable and realistic. As curator, I have sought to guide them in their choices, and in the end concur with them on the finished product. Old York and the community can be justifiably proud of the work that has been done for these rooms.

At Home And At Sea; The Influence of Seafaring Life Upon Louise Wilcox Putnam

Jodi S. Burke

The seafaring profession in the nineteenth century placed a strain on families in coastal communities such as York. The sea was a means for transporting land based commodities such as lumber and ice, a metaphorical field in which to harvest fish, and a venue by which to procure exotic and desirable items. Both the coasting and the deepwater trade enforced a separation between the heads of household and his family. This separation many times coaxed a captain's wife to leave the shore world to which she was accustomed in order to be near her husband. On board ship, these women encountered a world very different from the Victorian ideals which shaped their lives at home. This paper will try to provide a frame of reference for women at sea in the mid-nineteenth century, with a particular emphasis upon how the generalizations of this experience may help us better understand the world of Louise Caroline Putnam.

Louise C. Putnam was born Louise Wilcox, daughter of David Wilcox, a merchant in York. Her birth occurred in the beginning of the Victorian era, 1821, and she lived throughout the majority of the nineteenth century, dying in 1896. She married the deep sea captain William E. Putnam in 1846, and sailed with him during the peak of American clipper ships. Her husband supported himself through the China trade, sailing halfway around the world for sought after commodities such as tea, silks, and porcelain. We know that she sailed with her husband at least once, as a Victorian novel she left behind clearly reads; "L.C.Putnam . . . Ship Roman . . . 1851 . . . WEP."[1] The inscription bears the initials of both husband and wife, and places her aboard her husband's ship *Roman*, during its four month voyage from New York to Woosung.[2] With this voyage, Louise joins the ranks of many other Victorian women who adapted to life at sea. However, because Louise left no known diaries or letters, we must look to her contemporaries for evidence concerning her experiences at sea and on land.

The research that produced this paper combined both secondary sources concerning Victorian life and culture, and primary source diaries, articles and letters to describe life at sea. These documents concerning shipboard life date from the mid-nineteenth century to the turn of the twentieth century, and come from coasters, schooners, and whalers. It was impossible to locate any document that Louise left

behind, and was almost as difficult to locate its equivalent. It would be serendipitous to discover a woman's sea journal detailing a voyage to Canton in the 1850s. Yet, such evidence would still only allow us to make *generalizations* concerning Louise's experience. In the sources used for this paper, we have tried to share at least one characteristic with Louise; either time period, voyage, or home port. By piecing all this information together the purpose of this paper is realized: to make generalizations concerning women at sea by presenting their cultural environment and personal experiences. As well, this information will be used in the presentation of Louise's *at-home* room.

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The World of the Victorian Woman

The Victorian world was one in which home and family predominated, within the sharp definitions between public and private. These are the ideals that women like Louise Wilcox Putnam, raised in the early 1800s and married in the middle of the nineteenth century, would have come in contact with, and more than likely accepted. Unlike her seventeenth and eighteenth century sisters, the nineteenth century woman did not enjoy a sense of fluidity between male and female spaces. The discourse concerning separate spheres was heightened during the nineteenth century when philosophers and writers helped influence the boundaries between the home and workplace. The industrial revolution added distance between hearth and livelihood as cottage industries deteriorated and households moved out from the rooms above their shops to newly established suburbs. As the industrial revolution progressed, the middle class increasingly embraced the doctrine of separate spheres in a effort to maintain the home as the center of society's morals. Because of this, women in the home became the standard bearers of morality in contrast to the increasingly deteriorating morals of the workplace.

Increased segregation of women became evident in the physical barriers that began to appear between women and the rest of the world. The first of these physical separations was the creation of rural living. As pointed out before, "there was a growing feeling that genteel women, . . . should be removed from contact with such a[n immoral] workforce by both physical separation and physiological barriers."[3] The house represented the barriers between women and men by its fundamental architecture. The living that took place in the household was segregated into certain "back-stage" functions, such as cooking, cleaning, and sleeping, and the raising of children. As Clifford E. Clark stated in his article, "Domestic Architecture As An Index to Social History," because "the role of women in the middle decades of the nineteenth century became increasingly specialized, and that specialization was reflected in the design of the house . . . each room was seen as having a special

function."[4] By the 1830s rooms for entertaining, such as the parlor, became common even in farmhouses, as a way to slowly integrate the outside world into the more private day-to-day operations of the home.

The separation of private, or 'female' functions, led to the creation of a homosocial world in which women existed. Because public and private spaces were gendered, the public, or male space, was seen as dangerous to a woman's morality. Within their homes, women separated themselves in the interest of decorum through social activities and religious interactions. "In the domestic retreat and the seclusion of the pious family, women... could reveal their true nature," which was to use their moral nature to influence their family.[5] Thus, women maintained support systems with other females; family members, and friends, in order to sustain their role in society and their sphere.

* * * * * * * * * * *

While women were aboard ship, they exchanged the divided world of the home for the aft cabin. For many women, this space was the center of their world. One woman, at the beginning of a three to four year whaling voyage, was quoted as saying; "it seems so strange, so many men and not one woman besides myself; the little cabin that is to be all my own is quite pretty; as well as I can wish."[6] In fact the diagram that Joanna Colcord provided of the ship *Emily F.Whitney* in her article "Domestic Life on American Sailing Ships" provided an interesting contrast to Victorian architecture. The ship includes central public spaces for gathering, such as the social hall and the dinning room, as well as spaces for back-stage functions around the perimeter.

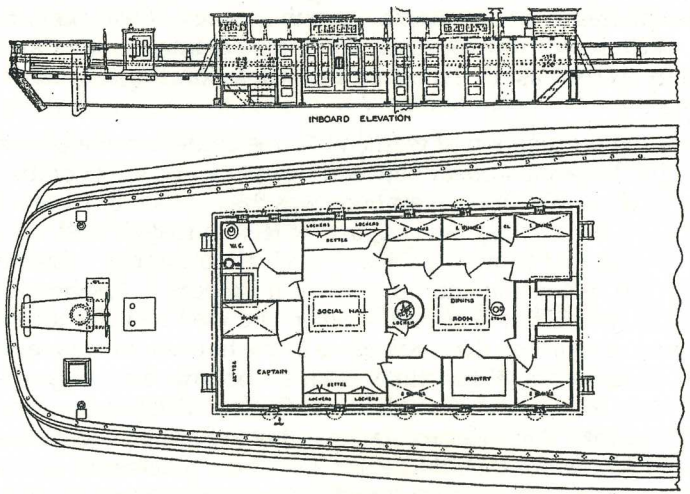


Figure 1a. Cabin plan of the ship *Emily F. Whitney*, built at East Boston, 1879.

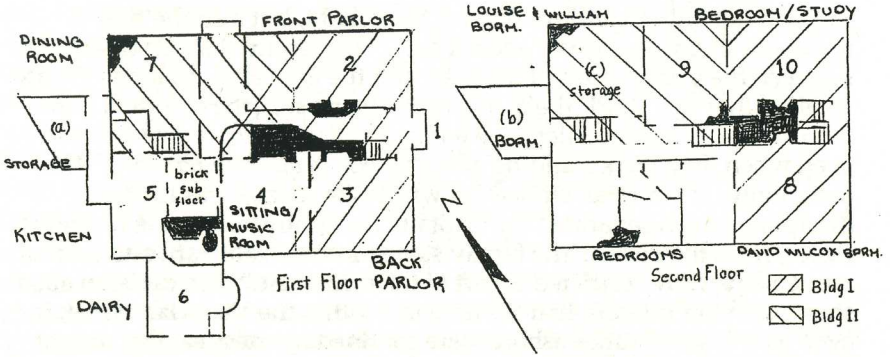


Figure 1b. Emerson-Wilcox House Floor Plan. Note in the above two figures the similarities between the use of space in the home and the ship's cabin.

The description that we possess of the *Roman*'s cabin is by a Chinese visitor in Canton:

> We saw in the cabin overhead a clear glass window, and underneath a flowered carpet. On the left and right sides there was panelled work in color like yellow sandalwood, polished exceedingly bright. This wood has a grain resembling the eyes of birds. . . . In the middle was a long table with a cloth spread upon and silver spoons with cups and plates already placed upon it, for eating dinner. On the sofas were velvet cushions "ten parts" perfectly elastic and soft . . . . On the two sides of the house are beds for sleeping with mattresses and curtains. . . pantry, bathroom, cookhouse- there was not one that is not found here- not one that was not excellent and clean. [7]

This description reinforces the division of spaces found in Colcord's diagram. The origin of the manuscript is uncertain, which leads to questions of its accuracy; if true, it gives us a glimpse into Louise's world.[8] The cabin as described was Louise's home at sea and it includes the specialized functions and domestic emphasis so highly prized in the Victorian era.

The hierarchical nature of Victorian ideals were further intensified by the dictatorial and divided nature of shipboard life. The Captain

fulfilled not only the role of head of household, but also the sole instigator of law and order aboard ship. This required sharp distinction between the upper ranks of those aft and the forecastle. Joanna Colcord recalled that as a child "the men 'before the mast', [the common crew who slept in the forecastle] . . . we might not speak to, or even notice, even when they were standing at the wheel, *in our own territory.*" The dichotomy, *or territorial division*, of which she speaks was the rigid discipline which separated the Captain, his family, and some times his mates, from the *Hands*. The family stayed in their cabin aft, and Joanna's movements were restricted to "aft of the mainmast." This division aboard ship was more intense than the division within the Victorian home, for even as women's duties ashore were confined to one area, they might frequent the rest of the house. Joanna's memories give us a glimpse of the intensive role her father assumed. He was the head of home and ship, "it no more occurred to us, than to the ship's company, to resist any command *from the front of all authority, our father, and the captain all in one person."* Thus, shipboard life seemingly carried some Victorian institutional hierarchies to a higher degree.

While life at sea reinforced some ideals, it eliminated others. In contrast to the Victorian concept of the "Cult of Domesticity," many shipboard women were bored because they were not needed in a domestic capacity. Cook, steward, and cabin boy completed the tasks that would have occupied these women on land. This must have been difficult for a generation of women whose greatest pleasure was in "making others happy." Julia C. Bonham, in her article "Feminist And Victorian" cites one woman's delight in having "a chicken pie for dinner which I superintended the making of, myself."[9] Because these domestic tasks were taken care of, women were left with very little to do. The hours were more frequently passed on shipboard with pleasure reading, sewing, and letter writing. Louise kept a copy of the novel *BELLAH; A Tale of La Vendee*, signed with *L.C.Putnam, Ship Roman, 1851*, and left behind an embroidered night gown case, possibly the product of a voyage. The contrast of women's uselessness at sea is reflected in the trivial nature of their occupations. They are simply amusing themselves, rather than performing any crucial function.

The captain's wife, who was supported by a lively network of female relatives and friends for the majority of her life, was forced aboard ship to be satisfied with her husband's company. For many women, the long periods of near solitude during the months at sea manifested itself into intense longing for the individuals and comforts of home. This longing was confided to diaries and letters. Abby Pennell of Brunswick, Maine wrote to her mother in 1859, "I have dreamed of Caroline [her younger sister] about every night since I left home, dream of living at the old place at Orr's Island."[10] Dreams such as these seemed to be in reaction to the newness of life at sea; women desired the people and places that

they knew best. However, the homesickness and the dreams may have also resulted from the distance that they felt. Carolyn Winn also "dreams of home" but her homesickness becomes worry. Before reaching port she states; "I shall be almost afraid to open my letters, expecting to here [sic] someone is sick or dead."[11] Because of this distance, Carolyn Winn feels that some quality of *home* might change. Women such as Carolyn, and even Louise, were forced to accept that the natural progression of life brought death as well, both at home and at sea.

The instances of death at sea were further complicated by this distance between the seafaring family and the comfort of the parish church. The frequent occurrence of at-sea burials interrupted the Victorian ideal of joining the family together in the burying yard, thus in heaven. Scholar Mary Ann Wallace, in her paper "The Final Voyage; The Captain's Grieving Wife" hypothesized that many families rejected the convenience of an at sea burial because it spiritually separated the family. She cites examples, including the Pennell family of Brunswick, of attempts to preserve the body of the deceased long enough to give it a proper burial. "Bringing the body home was often an acknowledgment of the immortality of the family as a social unit."[12] Genealogy records show that Louise had an infant who died while in Hong Kong.[13] Because the baby is not buried in the family plot, we can assume that it either received an at-sea burial, or was buried in Hong Kong. We can assume that Louise would have preferred the baby to lie next to William and herself. Women such as Louise were forced to confront the death of their loved ones alone. Away from the close knit shore community, there were "'No kind friends . . . to come forward and perform the last sad rites for our dead'."[14] Louise would have had to deal with the death of her only child with simply her husband to support her. Thus, the grieving process of the captain's wife indicated once again the distance from her support system.

Shipboard women attempted to manifest the support of far-away loved ones by maintaining diaries and letters in the place of conversations. The women who lived aboard ship were, as Mary Ann Wallace put it, "socially and emotionally alone."[15] Taken out of their homosocial world, women had no outlet in which to seek female support. Because of this many women turned to journals to process and retain their thoughts. Mary Lawrence stated; "As this is my first experience in seafaring life, I have thought it advisable to attempt keeping a journal . . . thinking it might be useful to myself."[16] In addition to the facts of the everyday, women poured their trials, hopes, and delights into their journals. This record gives historians an emotional picture of womens' experiences aboard ship because they were meant to be an intimate resource. Letters were just as important, taking on journal-like traits, many times encompassing several days. With the return of the mail, women (and men) could try to keep touch with their

loved ones back home. Letters were so dear in fact, that much reproach resulted from poor correspondence. One Searsport wife wrote; "my friends in Searsport have been very chary of their letters to me of late . . . no one but those who have been away from home as I have can appreciate the value of a letter from home."[17] With these letters and journals, families at sea tried to fill the void created by those left on land.

Families aboard ship combined the memories of home with the customs and traditions to which they were accustomed. Rituals such as the Sabbath were still kept aboard ship. Mary Chipman Lawrence, on the whaler *Addison* in 1856 remarked: "Another Sabbath has dawned upon us. It seems somewhat different from the other days, even here. No one unnecessarily employed, most of the company engaged in reading, it *seems* like a day of rest."[18] In addition to the behavioral observation of the Sabbath, Mary Lawrence notes on her Sundays as voyage progresses, that she generally dresses up "a little more than on ordinary days."[19] Her inner and outward actions both contribute to upholding the ritual that was second nature on shore. Without the church to attend and the minister to listen to, Mary Lawrence compensates the best she can with her better dress and a Bible. Celebrations of holiday traditions fell within this category as well. Mary Lawrence notes that while on shipboard, her daughter hung her stocking, and the family had "quite a Christmas dinner."[20] Joanna Colcord recollects that national boundaries did not prevent families at port from celebrating holidays together, "an English captain gave himself a nasty burn on our poop deck once, when trying to fire off a rocket in celebration of America's independence from Great Britain."[21] Thus families attempted to establish connections that were taken for grated at home, through the rituals of routine holidays and festive occasions.

The long months at sea were broken by the stops in port, where captains and their wives made up for lost time with a whirlwind of social engagements. Much of this socialization was done with recently made acquaintances. Mary Ann Wallace notes that while in port, Captains' wives recreated the homosocial life that they were accustomed to at home.[22] Louise Putnam, waiting in Hong Kong aboard her husband's ship, would have found other women in the same situation. Certainly the 1887 diary of Carolyn Winn, a wife of a Cape Neddick captain, detailed life in Melbourne, Australia. Her March 25, 1887 diary entry states; "Went to Melbourne with Mrs. Blanchard, Cuttler, Macfee and Mrs. Nichols, had a very nice time, Mrs. Nichols paid the bills.... I like them all very much."[23] If the network of women was unavailable in port, many times ships captains were entertained aboard ship without their wives. This was particularly welcome if the captain happened to come from a neighboring town. Lydia Tuck mentions in 1855 that "Capt. Cook came on board and spent the evening with us. I enjoyed his company very much, it seemed so pleasant to see a face that had lived in dear old

'Provincetown'."[24] However pleasant these connections were, they were transient, for when the ship left port it was doubtful if they would ever meet again. Upon leaving Melbourne, Carolyn Winn mused, "I'm not sorry to leave Melbourne behind, but I am sorry to leave Capt. and Mrs. Macfee so much. She has been so good, I hope I shall see her sometime again in the uncertain future"[25] This 'uncertain future,' separate from family and social ties, was the price for choosing to maintain the family aboard ship.

Seeming to defy many Victorian ideals by going to sea, nineteenth century women were in fact proclaiming the importance of family. Their land based contemporaries would have agreed that a woman's role was to make her husband happy, and captains' wives did just that by following their men to sea. Julia Bonham notes that "at least one seafaring woman feels that she has not abandoned the time honored maxim that a woman's place is in the home."[26] Thus, women such as Louise Putnam suffered hardships at sea in order to maintain *her place*, in *her home*; that is, on shipboard with William. Like so many others, she found that Victorian ideals did not end at the gangway, for in fact they influenced shipboard life even by their absence.

* * * * * * * * * *

The Louise Putnam Sitting Room

Following in the tradition of separation of private and public elements of society, Victorian architecture tried to maintain a dual identity within the household. Associated with Victorian American ideals was the mentality that space and appearance conveyed meaning. In addition to the necessity of creating diverse spaces within the home was the need for it to be pure and beautiful as well. "To an aesthetic theory that associated architectural forms and spiritual ideals, American reformers added an ethical dimension. . . . Taste and the perception of beauty were inextricably linked to the development of the individual."[27] Thus, manuals on interior design abound and as the century wore on, the availability of materials needed to create beautiful spaces increased. However, concessions had to be made to the desire not to seem overly vainglorious, for rooms were just that: outward expressions of wealth. Within the religious framework of the time period (not to mention the Yankee mentality) it was necessary to reserve space for utilitarian purposes. "Some of the tensions between morality and culture could be reduced by using more public rooms for display and keeping 'family' rooms for everyday use and religious practices."[28] Author Jane Nylander described parlors as having the "most expensive furnishings and were seldom used except for . . . formal occasions such as weddings and funerals."[29]

Within a private upstairs space, a woman had more freedom to dismiss Victorian ideals of aesthetics and create a more personalized space. Nylander describes the sitting room as "far more comfortable, more welcoming, and more frequently used," thus it became subject to clutter "as the day went by."[30] Documentation of the differences within decorating styles used between the parlor and the upstairs sitting room can be seen in a set of watercolors by Edmond Darch Lewis of a Philadelphia home in 1857 (see Figures 2a and 2b).[31]

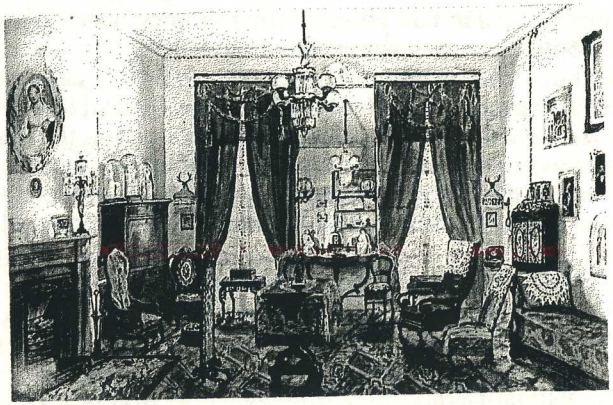


Figure 2a. The parlor of the John Bohlen House in Philadelphia. A variety of colors in the parlor and the use of different materials for curtains and upholstery are typical of the mid-century interior.

Figure 2b. The sitting room of the John Bohlen House in Philadelphia. This room is rather plain, with roller window blinds and old-fashioned carpeting.

The downstairs room (above) reflects the height of mid-Victorian taste, with high ceilings, heavily-draped windows, and matching or complementing borders and upholstery. The upstairs room (below) however, does not have the grandeur of high ceilings, nor has the owner tried any of the period techniques to make them appear so. The windows are simply treated with shade and half valance to regulate light, and the carpets and furniture are a bit old fashioned and devoid of coordinated color scheme. In all, the upstairs room is more personalized, with books, a desk, smaller pictures, and curios such as a pair of antlers. Decorating advice of the time reinforces this visual comparison, recommending sitting rooms for "knickknacks too personal or insufficiently fine for the parlor."[32] With this example as our reference point, we enter Louise Putnam's personal space, and perhaps walk away with a small understanding of her experiences expressed through her objects.

The room is small with low ceilings, and furniture crowding every corner. The walls are pale, painted in a shade of cream with white woodwork, in order to assist the small window on the far wall in lightening the space. Because the window is naturally small and dark, there is no heavy drapery on the window, only a pull shade. As it is summer, two chairs crowd near the window; in the winter, they would take up their place along side the hearth. Because this is Louise's room, the objects in it reflect both her experiences at sea, and her connections to land. The year is approximately 1857, and the house is being occupied by herself and her husband, as well as her sister, her elderly father, and her niece.

* * * * * * * * * *

Central Space: A Chinese trunk lies open in the middle of the room. Trunks such as the painted one thought to have belonged to Louise were extremely common, and many times were purchased not for their aesthetics, but for their storage capacity. Trunks such as these "were used for packing belongings and goods to be shipped home"[33] and would have been shipped full, and many times, stored full, until the goods inside were needed. In this case, Louise has decided to either bring the trunk out from storage, or bring it upstairs following William's latest voyage. The trunk is filled with Chinese Export fabrics, which was one of the most lucrative cargos in the China trade. This is because they fetched high prices relative to the small amount of space needed to transport them.[34]

(Facing Window) Right Wall: The wall to the left of the window is filled with items that Louise or William probably procured on trips to China. The small carved oak desk is an enviable piece that a captain would not trouble himself to bring back unless he had a specific order. (Or perhaps an insistent wife! Cutts family history recalls Louise angry with William because he did not order a particular piece of furniture in

Canton). This is because furniture and paintings are large and cumbersome, and not as lucrative as silks. Silks and porcelain took up less space and fetched higher prices than the export furniture and portraits. Much of the export furniture that exists in this country was brought in the space allotted to specific crew members, as special orders for the wealthy, or private merchants in China procuring furniture for their oriental homes, and then bringing it back.[35] The Bamboo Armoire is an example of Chinese furnishings made for both native and export use. Unlike the desk, it was relatively inexpensive and probably was purchased by William during one of his voyages.

Mantelpiece: The Mantelpiece has the effect of a mini-diorama, reflecting the travels and curiosities of the occupant. This has smaller, more easily obtainable pieces, many of them curiosities picked up while traveling. Informal Victorian rooms had the tendency to accumulate "curios" and small personal items. Nylander cites an 1830s example of a family member sending shells and volcanic lava from her mission in Hawaii, to her sister in order to "ornament the mantlepiece."[36] Louise's mantlepiece contains shells, exotic peacock feathers in vases, and smaller Chinese porcelain pieces, as mementos of her journeys.

Tall Chest (to the right of the Hall entrance): To the right of the hall entrance stands a tall chest, or high boy, made from tiger maple with a history of ownership in the Wilcox Family. A piece such as this has family significance, but is a bit out of fashion. The open drawer in this chest contains an export shawl tossed over linens. Smaller items such as fans, shawls, and ivory carved umbrellas, were extremely fashionable and consequently brought into the country by the thousands. They were easy to obtain, whether or not the owner has a direct connection to the sea.

Through these objects, we are given an insight into the life of Louise Putnam. Her history at sea is reflected through the experiences of others, however her possessions tell a personal story. Here is a woman who was affected by the sea, through her husband's profession and her own travels. Now at home, she may use her mementos to reflect on these journeys. As a visitor to her world, these objects allow us to set Louise apart from the statistics and generalizations of the Victorian woman.

Notes

1 Novel entitled *BELLAH; A Tale of La Vendee,* Old York Historical Society Collections.

2 Portsmouth Customs District Regulations, Portsmouth Public Library; documents that William E. Putnam captained the *Roman* at least twice; sailed from New York 9/11/1850 for Woosung, arrived in London 1/17/1851; sailed from New York 7/23/1851 for Woosung, arrived London 11/20/1851.

3 Leonore Davidoff, and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 274.

4 Clifford E. Clark, Jr. , "Domestic Architecture As An Index to Social History: Romantic Revival and The Cult of Domesticity in America, 1840-1870," in *Material Culture in America 1600-1860,* ed. Robert Blair St. George, (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988), 542.

5 Davidoff and Hall, 115.

6 Julia C. Bonham, "Feminist and Victorian: The Paradox of the American Seafaring Woman of the Nineteenth Century," *American Neptune,* vol. XXXVII, No.3 (July 1977), 212; quote from Eliza Williams aboard the whaler *Florida*, 1858.

7 Manuscript supplied by Miss Dorothy Hungerford, 1954, attributed to Hien Fung dated 4/11/1852, a merchant from Shanghai; Old York Historical Collections.

8 Ibid. (The information in this piece is unsubstantiated; Miss Dorothy Hungerford does not say where she obtained the information).

9 Bonham, p. 215.

10 Robert P. Coffin, *Captain Abby and Captian John; An Around the World Biography,* (New York: Macmillian Co., 1939), 114.

11 Carolyn L. Winn, Journal from the voyage of the *B.F.Hunt Jr.* 12/11/1886-3/12/1888, entry 4/4/1887, private collection.

12 Mary Ann Wallace, *"The Final Voyage: The Captain's Grieving Wife,"* p.4, article from *Days of Joy and Fear,* Master's Thesis, USM New England Studies Program, 1993.

13 Cutts Family Geneology, Old York Historical Society. This lists a daughter born to Louisa and William 1862, in Hong Kong. While it is proable that they lost a baby while at sea, the date is unlikely. At this time William is 52 and Louisa is 41, there are no other births reported, and the family does not list a source for the information.

14 Wallace, *"The Final Voyage...,"* 6.

15 Mary Ann Wallace , *Days of Joy and Fear,* Master's Thesis, USM New England Studies Program, 1993, 20.

16 Stanton Garner, ed. *The Captain's Best Mate; The Journal of Mary Chipman Lawrence on the Whaler Addison 1856-1860,* (Providence: Brown Unversity Press, 1966), 3.

17 Lucy Merithew Nichols, Unpublished letter dated 4/21/1857 to Clara Thurston Blanchard; Penobscot Marine Museum Collections.

18 Garner, 4.

19 Ibid, 8.

20 Ibid, 6.

21 Joanna C. Colcord, "Domestic Life on American Sailing Ships," *American Neptune*, Vol. 11, no. 3 (July 1942), 201.

22 Wallace, *Days of Joy and Fear*, 26.

23 Winn, 3/25/1887.

24 Lydia Tuck, Journal kept upon *F. Bucania*, 7/17/1855-9/17/1856; entry dated 8/7/1855.

25 Winn, 5/21/1887.

26 Bonham, p. 213.

27 Clark, p. 534.

28 Davidoff and Hall, 359.

29 Jane Nylander , *Our Own Snug Fireside; 1700-1860*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 253.

30 Nylander, 255.

31 Gail C. Moss and Roger W. Winkler, *Victorian Interior Decoration; American Interiors 1830-1900*, (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1986), plates 11 and 12.

32 Nylander, 133.

33 Carl Crossman, *The Decorative Arts of the China Trade*, (Suffolk, England: Antique Collectors' Club, 1991), 253.

34 Ibid., 234.

35 Ibid., 234.

36 Nylander, 256.

"Here He Really Lived:" Captain William E. Putnam Behind Closed Doors

Tiffany M. Reed

"His study, his 'den' as he called it, always interested me, as it must have interested any one who had the happiness to enter it, more than any other room in the house. At the head of the stairway, on the second floor, adjoining his sleeping room, heaped and jammed with books and papers, on tables, chairs, the floor itself with scarce space for one to turn. Here he really lived, and you, who looked at it, realized what a hard worker was its master."

–Anna Dickinson on Charles Sumner's Den in 1875, A Ragged Register

William E. Putnam (1810-1868) was a sea captain active in both the British tea trade with China and in the California passages; he also married into an established York family and resided in the Emerson-Wilcox House for over two decades. Both of these accomplishments warrant interpretation, especially his maritime achievements. The best way to illuminate this illustrious man's past was to create a space in his home, now owned by the Old York Historical Society, that was uniquely his, a place where he could be discussed as an individual. Thus the decision was made to turn the northwest chamber of the Emerson-Wilcox House into the study of William in a manner which would explore his life both at sea and in York.

The process of designing a room is a comprehensive one, beginning with intensive research into William's past, including everything from family history to maritime voyages. To give the room a context for this personality, research on the wall, floor, and window treatments, as well as the typical furnishings and usages of the type of room in question for the period must be documented. Where possible, actual family pieces were included to give the space an increased depth of character. From this research was culled an object list, which was used to develop a basic layout with the placement of the objects in the room. After the wall, window, and floor treatments and the larger pieces of furniture were installed, the real fun began. A room takes on the personality of its occupant; coaxing this room to evoke William's spirit was a creative challenge, relying upon the amalgamation of knowledge amassed while researching, and then on curatorial instinct. Overall, the installation consciously explores how environment affects its inhabitants and vice versa; how objects tell a story far beyond the limitations of language.

* * * * * * * * * * *

William was the last of eleven children born to Mary Fitts and Thomas Putnam of Danvers, Massachusetts. Of the seven males who lived to maturity, six of them went to the sea like their father.[1] Thomas was a master mariner in command of schooners from Salem; it is likely his sons learned their craft under his tutelage. The one brother who did not go to sea, Jeremiah Smith Putnam, moved to York in 1821. As the village schoolmaster, and later a prominent physician, he lodged with the Sewall family and married Ruth Sewall in 1828. At some later date, George Washington Putnam and William Putnam followed their older brother to York.[2] Jeremiah, or "Jere" as he was known, would have introduced his younger brothers to his social circle, including the Thompson and Wilcox families, who were both involved in maritime activities. George married the daughter of Captain Thompson; William eloped with Louise Caroline Wilcox, the youngest daughter of Captain Wilcox. [3] The only evidence of their marriage is in an 1846 letter written by Joanna, a friend from Newburyport, to Mrs. Harriet Emerson in York in which she stated: "I was surprised to hear Louisa [sic] Wilcox has eloped with Capt. Putnam thought she knew his character well enough to want to be united to him in the holy bands of matrimony."[4] Their marriage is not listed in the records of the First Parish Church, further support that the couple eloped. Apparently, the elopement did not damage familial relations, for David Wilcox appointed "William E. Putnam, husband of my said daughter Louisa" as executor of his will in 1856, the year before his death.[5]

With family firmly established in York, William began sailing clippers out of Portsmouth in the British tea trade with China. American ships could bring a larger cargo from China at reduced rates of freight than a British ship could command. In addition to a speedy delivery, the Americans could clear more than their original cost and running expenses on their first voyage. Thus, British merchants were more likely to charter American clippers to deliver their tea. Needless to say, a fierce rivalry developed between the British and American clipper ships, and races between them were quite common.[6] One ship associated with William was *Roman*, a 775-ton fast sailing Canton trader built by George Raynes of Portsmouth, New Hampshire in 1850.[7] *Roman* was one of eight American ships chartered in 1850 to carry British teas.[8] The owners, Taylor and Olyphant and Co., out of New York City, were the only American firm in Canton who refused to have any part in the lucrative, yet illegal, opium trade, so it is unlikely William was smuggling opium.[9]

Retracing a ship's movements without a log book can be quite tricky, but a variety of documents can offer tidbits of information which can then be pieced together. Immediately before press time, the log book of *Roman* surfaced at Mystic Seaport, which provided a welcome verification of the dates procured through other means. [10] For example, the *Foreign Clearances from New York City* in 1850 list *Roman* as cleared on

15 May 1850,[11] and the *Portsmouth Journal of Literature and Politics* notes her departure two days later.[12] William then sailed to China, landing at Whampoa and moving to Macao on 11 September, then heading to Anjier the next day, probably with a full load of tea. After departing Anjier on 7 October, he passed the "Sicily [sic] Lights" on 26 December and arrived in London on 31 December.[13] After unloading his cargo, William left London on 22 February 1851 and arrived in Shanghai on 4 June 1851. After presumably loading up with another shipment of tea, he departed Shanghai on 24 July 1851, leaving Anjier on 1 September, passing through the English Channel on November 28, and finally arriving in London on 29 /30 November.[14] William departed London on 19 January 1852 for Hong Kong. A Chinese man's description of *Roman* on 11 April 1852 mentions "the ship's master, Captain Putnam and his lady," so Louise was on board with her husband on at least this journey. [15] The pair left Hong Kong on 13 November 1852.[16]

The clippers were so fast and could carry such a large cargo that essentially they were putting themselves out of work. To stay busy, many clippers entered the guano trade in Callao or at the Chinchas Islands.[17] William was involved in this "detested" trade as master of *Empress of the Seas*, a Donald McKay clipper built in 1853 in East Boston.[18] The final clearance from New York City was on 27 April 1853,[19] but she didn't leave until 13 March 1853. She rounded the Cape Horn on 9 May, then arrived in San Francisco on 12 July; a swift run of 121 days.[20] William spent July and August in San Francisco, then arrived in Callao in September. From October 1853 until January 1854, he waited in Callao and the Chinchas for a load of guano,[21] then arrived in New York City on 10 April 1854.[22]

Another vessel William may have captained was *Golden West*, built in 1852 by Paul Curtis in East Boston.[23] Two voyages list "Putnam" as the master, but as there were several captains with this last name, a definite attribution is not possible at this point. It would have been possible for William to leave New York City on 28 June 1855, then arrive in San Francisco on 22 December 1855 after experiencing serious structural damage in Valparaiso.[24] Another possible voyage was a Trans-Pacific Passage that left the coast of Japan on 13 May 1856 and arrived in San Francisco in a record time of twenty days on 2 June 1856, having averaged 243 miles a day.[25]

Beyond this voyage, William's location is rather sketchy. On 2 December 1854, Abbie Emerson in New York mentioned "Capt P" in a letter she wrote to her mother, Harriet Emerson in York.[26] The 1860 Census of York places him at home. When he was in York, William served as an assessor for the First Parish Church; he is listed only three times in the records: 15 December 1860; 25 February 1861; and 23 March 1861.[27]

He died 2 August 1868, and is buried in the First Parish Church cemetery.[28]

* * * * * * * * * * *

Designing a period room begins with the past, finding images and descriptions of rooms captured by those of the time period. Though there are no primary documents now known that illustrate the appearance of William's study, other interiors of the period offer inspiration. The period of William's room is circa 1860, a date of which the York Census lists him as a "master mariner" living at home. Looking at the body of images for libraries and studies from circa 1850-1870, several common themes emerge. First, a standard inventory of pieces of furniture used in these types of rooms which seems to hold true for the entire time period can be derived. Second, a wide range in the styles and periods of these basic pieces, especially furniture that has been appropriated from typical use in another kind of room are seen. Third, a strong sense of individuality manifested in the little things—personal items, the choice of a painting, even the clutter, is evident. All aspects come together in a way that is unique for every room, yet the underlying basis seems to be universal.

The walls, windows, and floors form the backdrop for the furnishings. Victorian paint colors were based upon two main theories: harmony by analogy or harmony by contrast. The former pairs colors next to, or analogous, on the color wheel, while the more popular latter pairs colors opposite each other.[29] Paint samples of the room revealed the walls were originally a yellow-orange hue, while the woodwork was an indigo shade: a classic harmony-by-contrast duo. Additionally, rooms facing north or east were more likely to have warm colors, like yellow-orange.[30] The current wall color is quite close to the original, with the woodwork painted an indigo shade matched to the paint scrapings of the original.

The windows have been left bare, a common summer appearance, even in wealthy homes. An 1836 oil painting of Bishop White's Study in Philadelphia illustrates this lack of draperies.[31]

Another summer treatment was straw matting used in place of or over woolen carpets. "Canton" or "Madras" Matting was affordable and required little maintenance, and was used throughout the home. Bishop White's Study and Dr. Henry K. Oliver's Bedroom of 1866 both used Canton Matting.[32] A. J. Downing wrote in 1850 that "the floors of the better cottages in the country —at least in the Northern States—are universally covered with carpet or matting."[33] This floor covering is particularly appropriate as it was one of the more significant exports of China during the time William was involved in trade there.[34] Small throw rugs, some homemade, some hooked, others Oriental, were

overlapped on top of the Canton Matting. Hearth rugs were also important to protect the matting from fire damage. Richard Caton Woodville's *Old '76 and Young '48* of 1849 shows the positioning of the hearth rug over an Oriental rug, as similarly installed in William's room.[35]

In the study/library space, two desks are often needed: one for standing perusal of large documents such as charts or maps; another for seated, writing use. The dual-desk phenomenon is evident in Charles Sumner's Den of 1875.[36] In William's study, the Chinese export standing desk is a mixture of Chinese hardwoods, like ebony and teak, and probably originally included a marble tabletop. Unlike silks or tea, furniture was cumbersome and therefore sea captains brought few pieces back for sale to the masses. Pieces such as this were special orders for the wealthy, furnishings for an Oriental home (i.e. Macao), or a captain's purchase for use at home.[37] William most likely purchased this special-order piece while in China expressly for his home in York. On this desk, an astral lamp provides light.[38] The figured maple secretary is an older piece, less fashionable but still useful. As part of the 1954 purchase of furnishings from the last private owner of the Wilcox House, Dorothy Hungerford, this secretary is believed to have a history of Wilcox / Putnam ownership.

Furniture that was out-of-date or had been edged out of more "public" rooms often ended up in the study. Perhaps men such as Captain Putnam had less of a quibble over fashion and allowed their wives to push old pieces into their rooms to make space for the new. The sideboard was a common example of this trend. Converted to a bookcase by simply piling books atop it or by constructing a shelving unit for it, the use of a sideboard as a bookcase is evident in rooms ranging from 1815 to 1875. Titian Ramsay Peale opted for the piling method on his sideboard in 1862;[39] Stephen Longfellow had a glass-doored set of shelves made for his in 1815. A grain-painted bookcase also may have been built for Longfellow's room.[40] Grained finishes imitating oak, mahogany, or walnut, frequently appear in the first half of the nineteenth century.[41] In William's case, a sideboard has been converted by constructing a simple shelving unit which was then grain-painted.[42]

The study was not only a space for work; it was an escape into a cozily self-centered world of indulgence. In James Fenimore Cooper's library of c. 1850-1860, an inviting wing chair with a well-placed stool for refreshment inspired daydreaming. This configuration is located between the window and the fireplace, much as in William's study.[43] During the summer months, the view and breeze were pleasant; the warmth and comfort of the hearth drew one to this spot in the winter. The wing chair has a history of Putnam ownership. The stool is bamboo, another item William brought back from China. Bamboo was considered

fashionable, especially after the Prince Regent decorated Brighton Pavilion in the Oriental taste. However, William probably didn't even notice the nice textural contrast with the straw matting, or the delicacy of construction; the motivating factor in acquiring this piece was most likely its low cost.[44] On this table would be his favorite source of refreshment, as seen in the 1860 bedroom table of Joseph Henry littered with liquor decanters and glasses.[45]

A designated area for more serious relaxing was also somewhat common, such as the sleeping alcove in Washington Irving's library of 1860, complete with divan and separate cushions.[46] The daybed in William's study is, again, an older piece which may have outlasted its fashionability, but is well broken-in and perhaps even more comfortable than a newer piece. It is placed near the windows to catch any cool summer breezes.

Other forms of relaxation could include socializing with close friends, perhaps over a game of backgammon or chess. The chessboard in William's room is lacquered wood with gold-painted figures and squares; lacquerware was one of the most desirable Chinese Export items.[47] The chess pieces are hand-carved ivory, a small testament to the virtuosity of Chinese craftsmen. The most familiar export chess sets had ornate, over-carved figures, in white and red stained ivory.[48] The board and pieces are set up on a center table, which was perhaps the most common piece of furniture seen in a study. Two chairs, one of which has "Putnam, York Village" inscribed on the underside, provide seating for the chess players.[49]

On the walls, images that inspired the soul, rekindled a memory, or were close to the heart abound, from prints of naval battles to sweethearts' portraits. Sumner decorated his walls with prints of Lincoln and other famous men; George Washington hangs in a place of honor in *Home Again*, an 1866 lithograph.[50] As a sea captain, William most likely had images of his greatest loves nearby—his ships and his wife. The painting of *Roman*, done by Chinese artist Lamchong, shows William and Louise on deck while he was captain in 1850-1852. James E. Buttersworth (1817-1894), one of the best-known of nineteenth century marine artists, painted *Empress of the Seas* about the same time he illustrated another one of Donald McKay's clipper ships , *Great Republic*.[51]

There are then little touches that turn a furnished space into a room with personality. Robert E. Lee's study was one of the best examples of the "debris" of daily use.[52] Mementos have been mixed with the general chaotic clutter characteristic of the study. Maps were spread out on the standing table; paperwork from his last voyage and household finances piled in stacks on his secretary. Ledgers and log books crowd the

shelves of the bookcase. Nearby, his sea chest, full of treasures and instruments from his most recent voyage, awaited the next.

William Putnam saw the world as his profession; coming home from work must have been even more meaningful a respite for him. A chance to take the mantle of responsibility from his shoulders, he could ease into his favorite chair and gaze out over the town center. Hearing his wife humming over needlework in the next room, he could complete paperwork or play a friendly game of chess with neighbors; he was free to take a nap or to dream of plans for his next voyage. All the exotic places William had been, and all the marvelous things he had seen, could not compare to the comfort of slipping back into a place that was all his own, for here he really lived.

Notes

[1]Putnam family as listed in Danvers Vital Records:

Thomas Putnam	b. 8 October 1763	d. 9 January 1822	m. 15 October 1788
Mary Fitts/Fitz:	bap. 15 May 1763	d. 28 May 1824	
1. Thomas Fits	b. 3 February 1789	d. 9 April 1794	(shotgun wedding?)
2. James	b. 20 July 1791	d. 14 September 1815	"at Martineco"
3. Allen	b. 12 December 1793		
4. Thomas, jr.	b. 14 February 1795	d. 29 April 1812	"lost overboard at sea"
5. Jerrim[ia]h Smith	b. 20 August 1797		
6. Albert	b. 23 February 1800		
7. Mary Fitts	b. 23 February 1802	d. 12 November 1829	
8. George Washington	b. 9 April 1803		
9. Matilda Sharon	b. 14 June 1804		
10. Abigail Devereaux	b. 17 October 1805		
11. William Pindar	b. 30 March 1807		

The listing of #11 is very unusual as he was identified as "William E. Putnam" in every other record, including his own signature. Additionally, the birthdate of 1807 is three years earlier than stated in all other records, including his gravestone.

[2]According to an inscription on the back of an heirloom gold pocketwatch currently owned by William Pepperell Putnam (b. 1913), William E. Putnam gave this watch to Jeremiah's son George William Sewall Putnam, who then passed it on to the William in the next generation, evidence of the close ties between the family. (Mrs. William Pepperell Putnam, interview with author, telephone, August 3, 1995)

[3]Ruth H. Frost, *History of the Wedding Dress of Ruth Sewall Putnam* (photocopy of handwritten document OYHS, October 1935), 73-79.

[4]*Emerson Papers*, transcripts at OYHS.

[5]York Probate Record #20375, Alfred, Maine.

[6]Arthur H. Clark, *The Clipper Ship Era* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1910), 197-200.

[7]*U. S. Customs Records and History Portsmouth, New Hampshire*, Volume IV, 284.

[8]Carl C. Cutler, *Greyhounds of the Sea* (New York: Halcyon House, 1930), 169.

[9]Dorothy Schurman Hawes, *To the Farthest Gulf: The Story of the American China Trade* (Ipswich: Ipswich Press, 1990), 33.

[10] Special thanks to Angie VanDereedt at the National Archives for her assistance in locating the book, and to Doug Stein at Mystic Seaport for verifying the dates on short notice.

[11]National Archives.

[12]18 May 1850.

[13]William E. Putnam, *Log Book of Roman, 1850-1852*. However, *U.S. Customs Records and History, Portsmouth, New Hampshire*, Volume IV, p. 284, lists the date of arrival as 17 January 1851.

[14]William E. Putnam, *Log Book of Roman, 1850-1852*. However, *U.S. Customs Records and History, Portsmouth, New Hampshire*, lists the departure from Shanghai on 23 July and the arrival in London on 20 November.

[15]OYHS Manuscript #512. A handwritten translation, there is no way to verify the authenticity of this document, but it has not been disproven, either. According to the Cutts family genealogy, Louise gave birth to a daughter in Hong Kong in September 1862 who died the same month. Though it is possible that the couple lost a child at sea, the date is improbable as Louise would have been 41 and William 52, and no records of the child's birth or death or of a voyage to Hong Kong at that time have been found. However, a date of September 1852 is highly likely, for both of the Putnams were in Hong Kong for an extended period, and would have been a more likely time in her life for Louise to have a child.

[16]Two editions of the *Daily Morning Chronicle* of Portsmouth list two different locations of the Roman: on 6 October 1852, it states, "sld fm Hong Kong, July 21 for New York;" on 19 October, "was at Whampoa, July 21, for New York."

[17]Cutler, 276.

[18]Cutler, 427.

[19]*Foreign Clearances from New York City*, 1853, National Archives.

[20]Cutler, 255.

[21]William E. Putnam, *Ledger Book of Empress of the Seas, 1853-1854*, OYHS Manuscript #147. This information is buried under receipts pasted on by Louise and is a literal gold mine awaiting funds for proper conservation. Until then, bits of writing are visible around the edges and a few unmarred pages.

[22]*Vessel Arrivals at New York City*, 1854, National Archives.

[23]Cutler, 421.

[24]Cutler, 501.

[25]Cutler, 458.

[26]*Emerson Papers*, OYHS. Another letter of 22 October 1859 written by Abbie to Harriet mentions a "Mr. P. at the Isthmus," who has previously been assumed to be William E. Putnam. However, after further research into the letters and Harriet's diary, "Mr. P" is Mr. Patten, the minister, not William Putnam.

[27]*First Parish Church Parish Records*, York, Maine, 1841-1886, 75, 77, 78.

[28]In his will (York Probate #15547, Alfred, Maine), William left everything to Louise.

[29]Gail Caskey Winkler and Roger W. Moss, *Victorian Interior Decoration: American Interiors 1830-1900* (New York: H. Holt and Co., 1986), 67.

[30]Winkler, 5.

[31]John Sartain, *Bishop White's Study*, oil on canvas, 1836, Independence National Park, as illustrated in Harold L. Peterson, *American Interiors from Colonial Times to the Late Victorians: A Pictorial Source* (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1971), plate 50.

[32]Josiah Hawes, *Bedroom, House of Dr. Henry K. Oliver, 10 Joy St., Boston*, photograph, 1866, Holman's Print Shop, as illustrated in William Seale, *The Tasteful Interlude: American Interiors Through the Camera's Eye, 1860-1917* (Nashville, TN: American Association for State and Local History, 1981), plate 13.

[33]Winkler, 32.

[34]*Commerce and Navigation: Report of the Secretary of the Treasury for the year ending 30 June 1853*, published 1 January 1854, U. S. Government.

[35]Richard Caton Woodville, *Old '76 and Young '48*, oil on canvas, 1849, Walters Art Gallery, as illustrated in Peterson, plate 76.

[36]*Charles Sumner's Study*, photograph, c. 1875, Smithsonian Institution, as illustrated in Peterson, plate 167.

[37]Carl C. Crossman, *The China Trade* (Princeton: The Pyne Press, 1972), 234. Special thanks to Carl Crossman for consulting on the room; his comments were valuable in creation of the end product.

[38]Astral lamp is on loan courtesy of descendants of William and Louise Wilcox Putnam. Lamps such as this were commonly seen in homes of better quality, especially on the center table, as illustrated *in Evening Prayer in an Anonymous Library*, photograph, ca. 1860-1865, National Archives, as shown in Seale, plate 4.

[39]Titian Ramsay Peale, *House of Titian Ramsay Peale, 256 G Street, Washington, D.C.* photgraph, 1862, Smithsonian Institution, as illustrated in Seale, plate 8.

[40]Laura Fecych Sprague, "Fit for a Noble Man: Domestic Interiors and the Style of Living in Coastal Maine," in *Agreeable Situations: Society, Commerce, and Art in Southern Maine, 1780-1830* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1987), 116.

[41]Winkler, 23.

[42]Construction of this shelving unit by author and Old York Curator Tom Johnson, whose guidance has been invaluable in all stages of this project.

[43]Unknown artist, *James Fenimore Cooper's Library*, pencil, c. 1850-1860, New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, as illustrated in Peterson, plate 99.

[44]Crossman, 255.

[45]*Bedroom in which Joseph Henry Died*, photograph, 1860-1870, Smithsonian Institution, as illustrated in Peterson, plate 122.

[46]Daniel Huntington, *Washington Irving's Library, Sunnyside, March 16, 1860*, pencil, 1860, Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Design, Smithsonian Institution, as illustrated in Peterson, plate 100.

[47]Crossman, 264.

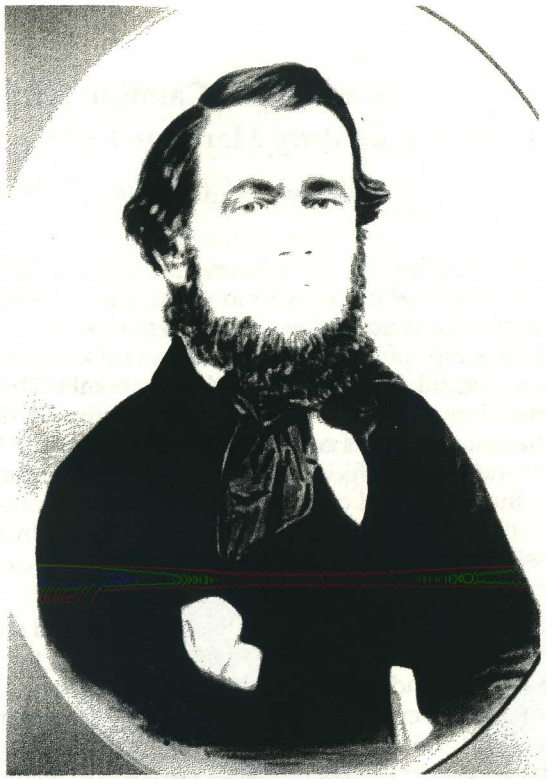
[48]Crossman, p.191. Special thanks to Tom and Nancy Viele for their continuing interest and support for this project throughout the summer, notably for providing access to the original Emerson papers and for lending this chess set with an Emerson family provenance.

[49]The existence of the center table is noted in nearly all of the cited images thus far. These chairs are on loan from the descendants of William and Louise Wilcox Putnam.

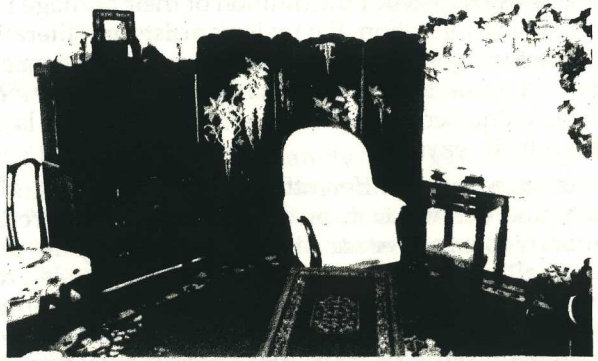
[50]Endicott & Co., *Home Again*, lithograph, 1866, The Library of Congress, as illustrated in Peterson, plate 129.

[51]John Wilmerding, *A History of American Marine Painting* (Salem: Peabody Museum, 1968), 205. The painting is a generous loan from the descendants of Louise Wilcox Putnam.

[52]Adalbert J. Volck, *Robert E. Lee in his Study, Washington College*, oil on canvas, 1870, Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia, as illustrated in Peterson, plate 135.



William E. Putnam (1810 - 1868). Photo by Christi Mitchell.



Interior of the Louise Putnam sitting room in the Emerson-Wilcox House.

Timothy and Caroline Winn: A Nineteenth-Century Maritime Family of York, Maine

Kyra Bowling and Christi Mitchell

The maritime history of York, Maine, is long and distinguished. Its facets are composed of people and events; its narratives are of continuity and change. Maritime history occurs at sea, on large vessels and small craft, in the shops of ancillary industries, and in the neighborhoods of small towns and large cities. No individual embodies all the dimensions of the maritime experience; it is through the cumulative experiences of many that this history is constructed. In many ways the lives of Captain Timothy and Caroline Winn are typical of maritime culture in York. By viewing their lives and careers within the context of America's final great days of sail, and the community of Cape Neddick from which they came, it is possible to further document the maritime history of York during the last third of the nineteenth century.

This local maritime history reflects change and continuity throughout New England and the nation. During the post-Civil War years, New England experienced massive economic and social change to the extent that its cultural identity was under question. As the self-acclaimed cultural hearth of the new nation, New England enjoyed a position of educational, institutional, and moral leadership for over 200 years. This changed in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Civil War left the region with a dearth of young men; wagon trains drew the nation's eye west, and new rail lines transported goods, services, and people in that direction.[1] Farmland suffered decreased fertility after 250 years of use, and many factories relocated to take advantage of the wider profit margins available in the reconstructed South.[2] While the Boston Brahmins worried about the dilution of their heritage in response to burgeoning immigration, the region's artists and literati created bittersweet images of a cherished past, and cataclysmic forecasts for the future.[3] In numerous port towns like Newburyport and Portsmouth, residents witnessed the end of an era as some of the last great wooden ships left their ways.

Change occurred differently in each city, town, and neighborhood. York, Maine, evolved from an active fishing and merchant marine community to a passive vacation destination. By the early twentieth century, saltwater farms were developed into hotels, working wharves were outnumbered by docks for leisure craft, and the homes of sea captains were lost among the large Victorian summer cottages. Some York residents traded their coasting vessels for lobster boats or gave up deep-water activities for steady day labor; however, not all of York

abandoned its past. The maritime history of York and its villages remained integral to its residents' identity.

Timothy Winn and Caroline Matthews came from Cape Neddick families with deep-rooted connections to the sea (see Figure 1). Timothy's father and great-grandfather, both named Daniel Winn, were sea captains, and three of Caroline's brothers were master mariners. Therefore, Timothy and Caroline's marriage in 1869 was not surprising. Both of them shared similar backgrounds and would have been familiar with the hardships and rewards inherent in maritime-related lifestyles. The Winns and Matthews were not alone in their experience with seafaring; Cape Neddick, a hamlet of York, and York in general were home to many families with close associations to the sea. Goodwins, Talpeys, and Donnells are just a few of the York family names that reappear in maritime-related documents throughout York's history.

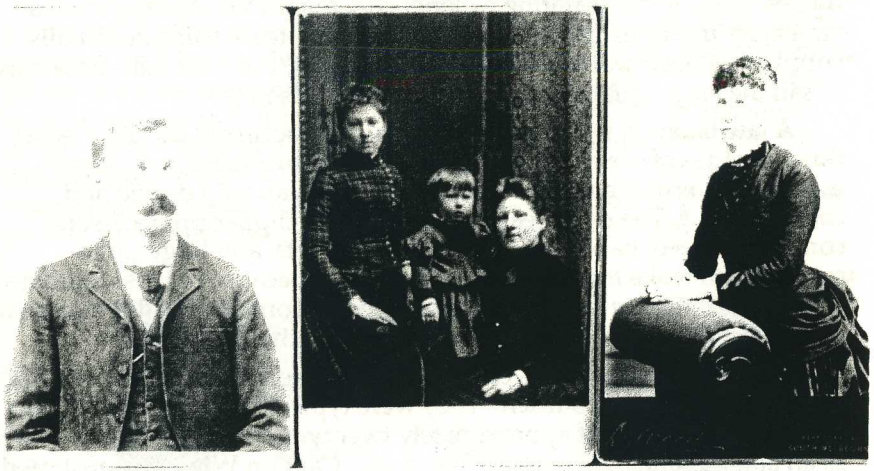


Figure 1. The Winns, l. to r.: Captain Timothy and children Carrie, Charles, Alberta ("Bertie"), and Caroline. Private Collection.

To research the history of the Winn family, a variety of resources were used including primary and secondary sources and material objects belonging to the family.[4] Two large nautical charts used by Captain Winn contain information on the routes and distances he traveled, vessels he boarded, length of time at sea, and ports of call. The charts, backed on linen and rolled when not in use, were used from 1885 to 1896. A voyage on the chart is further described in the diary that Caroline Winn kept while at sea with her husband, aboard the bark *Benjamin F. Hunt, Jr.*, en route to Australia and the Far East, from 1886 to 1888. This document highlights life at sea from the perspective of a woman who,

despite being raised in a maritime oriented culture, is never as comfortable aboard ship as her husband. A second "land" diary was also kept by Caroline from 1869 to 1892. This document provides valuable information on Cape Neddick's maritime community, her husband's voyages, and her life as a mariner's wife during the late Victorian age. Additional information was garnered from the Matthews' family Bible, Caroline Winn's photograph collection, and the collective memories of Timothy and Caroline's descendants.[5]

Following in the footsteps of his seafaring father and great-grandfather, Timothy Winn probably began sailing as a young boy. At age nineteen, still living at home, he is listed as a "mariner" in the 1860 York census. By the 1880 census he had achieved the rank of "master mariner." In the early 1870s, Winn sailed to the West Indies and Europe,[6] and throughout the 1880s, he commanded voyages around Cape Horn to Peru, and past Cape of Good Hope en route to Australia and the East Indies. Despite his seafaring experience, Captain Winn was part of a vanishing maritime tradition. Iron, steel, and steam ships eventually supplanted deep-water wooden sailing vessels, thus the skills necessary to sail the large square-rigged ships became obsolete.[7]

A late boom in wooden ship construction occurred during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. This produced the "down-easters," some of the finest examples of American ship design and construction.[8] The down-easters, unlike their clipper predecessors, combined speed, handiness, low operating costs, and large cargo capacities to make them ideal merchantmen. Because of these qualities and other economic factors, they managed to dominate trades that steam ships were either not suited for or unwilling to handle.

These wooden giants averaged 200 feet in length, forty feet in width, and 1000 to 2000 tons burden. They were typically bark or ship-rigged, and required a crew of approximately twenty to twenty-five men as well as an able captain. Throughout his career, Captain Winn demonstrated his sailing abilities while facing storms, contrary winds and currents, and treacherous waters. The obstacles Winn surmounted at sea illustrate the skill and stamina required of these men. For example, the danger of navigating through East Asian waters, in a massive sailing ship, is illustrated in a passage from Caroline Winn's diary recorded on *Benjamin F. Hunt, Jr.*

> **August Thurs. 4th 1887**
> Have been very near the Islands to day, so we could see the trees plain with the naked eye. Would have passed through Basilan Straits [in the Sulu Archipelago near Mindanao, Philippines] if the wind had continued. Now it is head wind, and very dangerous where we now are, as the current sometimes sets a Ship on the rocks, Tim was on deck most of last night and will probably be tonight he is so nervous.
> **Sat. 6th**
> Trying to beat through Basilan Straits. We have been this three days trying . . . Tim neither eats or sleeps. I am afraid he will be sick. 5 P.M. We keep drifting back near the Islands, as there is no wind. We may go ashore yet if no more wind.[9]

Captain Winn survived this ordeal and guided *Benjamin F. Hunt, Jr.* safely into Manila's port; however, he was not always as fortunate. Fourteen months prior to the departure of *Benjamin F. Hunt, Jr.*, Winn set sail on *Paul Jones* departing from New York for Australia (see Figure 2). After offloading his cargo at Melbourne, Winn sailed fifteen miles out to sea where on Friday March 19, 1886, his ship caught fire, burned, and sank. The fire was "purely accidental," and although the "Captain and his crew behaved splendidly and were fortunately saved," the vessel was a total loss.[10] *Paul Jones*, valued at $50,000, was only partially insured. Her owners, Charles Mendum, E.S. Fay, Captain B.F. Jacobs, and others, incurred a substantial loss.[11] Some of the nervousness Caroline noticed in her husband, as *Benjamin F. Hunt, Jr.* drifted amidst the dangerous shoals of the Philippine Islands, was perhaps attributable to this prior unfortunate incident. Countless sailing vessels have been lost, often taking their crews and captains with them. Fortunately, Captain Winn and his two charts were saved from the sinking *Paul Jones*

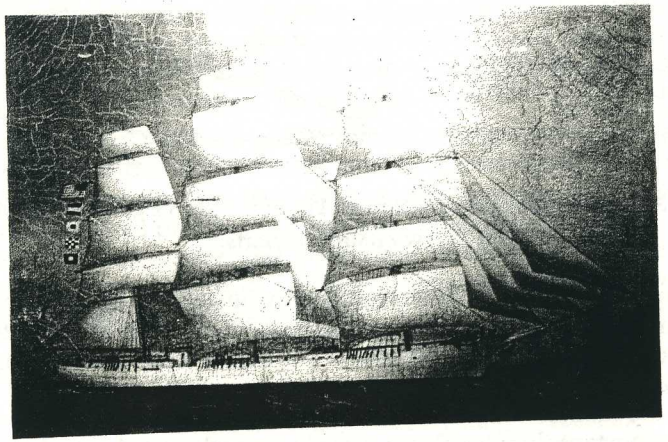


Figure 2. The ship *Paul Jones* in Chinese waters, ca. 1877-1886, artist unknown. Old York Historical Society Collections.

Winn's charts document at least twelve voyages to and from ports around the world, taken on at least four different ships (see Figure 3 for a schematic representation of these voyages and the Appendix for additional information about the vessels and voyages). Each day at sea, a vessel's progress (or lack of it) would be plotted on these charts, often with notations of the ship's name and departure dates. Winn served as captain on at least four of the voyages recorded on his charts and as first mate on at least one; however, his position on the remaining voyages remains unclear.[12] Historical evidence shows that at least one other captain used Winn's charts (on the 1891-1892 voyage of *Grandee*, B.F. Jacobs served as captain and Winn as first mate).[13] Thus, the charts were "shared" on at least one occasion and Winn served intermittently in different capacities during his career.[14] Regardless of his position on any particular voyage, Winn's two charts document over forty-seven months spent at sea sailing on ships traversing almost 90,000 nautical miles!

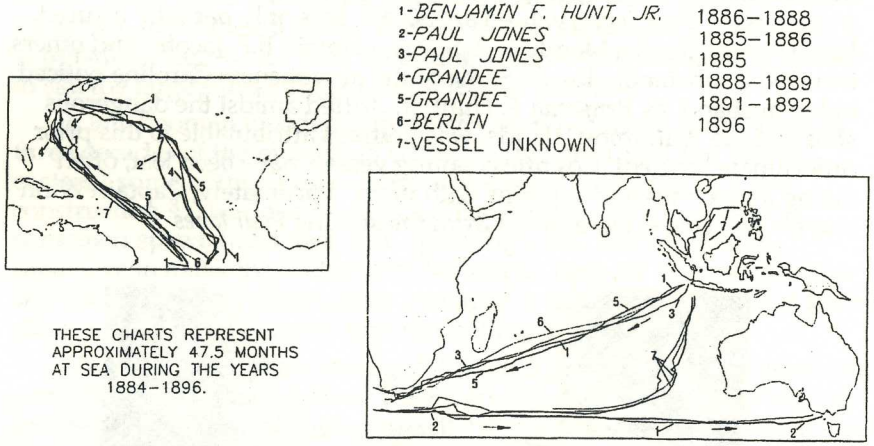


Figure 3. Schematic representation of Timothy Winn's deep-water voyages as documented on his two nautical charts.

Captain Timothy Winn undoubtedly began this busy sailing career surrounded by stories and descriptions of the clipper ships of the previous generation. The vessels Winn sailed were designed and operated more conservatively than their famous predecessors. By the end of the nineteenth century, delivering a full cargo safely to port was more important than breaking records (as well as spars and sails) to get it there at break-neck speed. Winn's vessels, however, were not slow. In 1876, the ship *Grandee* (which Winn later commanded) traveled from New York around South America to Callao, Peru in 69 days, the fastest passage ever recorded.[15]

Not only were wooden ship designs changing, so were the cargoes they carried. By the late nineteenth century, most perishable and precious cargoes (including passengers) were transported by steam ships. Sailing vessels were often left to move bulky, economically marginal, or unsavory cargoes. Though perhaps less glamorous than the shipments of Chinese porcelain, silks, and teas once carried in the holds of the clipper ships, Winn's probable cargoes of guano, grain, case oil, and coal were no less significant to the American economy. For example, shipping guano (bird droppings), initially considered a "dirty" trade, became a $30 million-a-year industry by 1870 due to the commodity's popularity as a fertilizer.[16] Guano was collected primarily from the Chincha Islands off the coast of Peru. Hundreds of sailing ships would wait near the islands to load the loose, dusty guano directly into their holds. Winn's vessels were ideal for this type of trade (e.g. *Grandee* on which Winn sailed to Peru in 1888). Their spacious holds could be filled almost entirely with cargo. The storage space of a steam ship, on the other hand, would be partially occupied with the massive amount of coal necessary for such a lengthy voyage. Thus, sailing ships were able to flourish for a few more decades until the economics of metal hulls and engines supplanted them entirely.[17]

Captain Winn's two nautical charts provide a partial abstract of a sailing career in the last days of these deep-water square-riggers; however, it is his wife Caroline's diary of their voyage aboard *Benjamin F. Hunt, Jr.* that provides unique personal glimpses of life aboard one of these ships. Caroline accompanied her husband on her one and only voyage immediately after, and perhaps as a reaction to, the loss of *Paul Jones*. Leaving their two teenage daughters behind, and with a new baby boy in tow, the Winns departed from Boston on December 11, 1886. They did not return home until March 1888.

Caroline's diary reminds us that the romanticized image of sailing on the high seas should not obscure the often uncomfortable, unpleasant, and dangerous realities of a deep-water sailing voyage. Life at sea was replete with physical problems of comfort and safety. Ships are notorious carriers of vermin and *Benjamin F. Hunt, Jr.* was not an exception. Caroline comments on fleas in their cabin, lice on their baby's head, and of course the ubiquitous rat:

> **7th [February 1887]**
>
> . . . This ship is full of rats. Eating up everything. I expect they will eat the Baby as they come in the cabin nights and have bit one of the doors and scared [scarred] it. One ran up on the Second mate the other night.

Despite the pests, the Winn's cabin aboard *Benjamin F. Hunt, Jr.* was probably comfortable, perhaps even the "model of comfort and richness"

as the cabin on Captain Winn's other vessel *Paul Jones* was described.[18] The main cabin was probably a room approximately forty feet long by twenty feet across, located in the stern of the vessel. Caroline comments that their cabin had carpet, a lounge, a fireplace, an adjoining washroom, and of course an ocean view. However, even the best accommodations could not always keep out the elements. On March 29, 1997, Caroline enters into her diary:

> Fair wind but very rough. A sea struck here in the night. The shock sounded like running into a rock. The water poured into the cabin, the shutters were all closed too. . . . Such a sea, but I wasn't frightened at all as the Ship is able.

Despite the abilities of a ship and her captain, there are occasions when the sea and wind maintain control. Most of Caroline's diary entries can be divided into descriptions of days with "very calm" seas and "no wind," or "dreadfully rough" and stormy days that make the ship roll (and Caroline vomit). Seasickness is a potential problem inherent to sailing. Many neophyte sailors eventually become acclimated to the motion of the sea; however, neither Caroline nor Fanny the ship's dog completely acquired their sea legs. Fortunately for Caroline, she did not suffer the same fate as Fanny who was drowned by the second mate because she "was sick all the time."[19]

Caroline also reports a myriad of random events and accidents at sea that cause her distress: falling rigging (a block falls on a sailor's head and narrowly misses the baby); a man overboard (who luckily was saved); "treacherous" island natives (seen near New Guinea); and news of the ship *Hot Spur* sinking in Torres Straits (between New Guinea and Australia). Like any sailor, Caroline recognized that another ship's misfortune could easily be your own (especially when sailing in the same waters).

Caroline's diary relates not only her actions and impressions at sea but also those of her husband and his crew. She mentions a few crew members by name and recounts several significant events involving some of the men. For example, when *Benjamin F. Hunt, Jr.* arrives in Melbourne, most of the crew desert ship:

> **14th [April, 1887]**
>
> The sailors have about all run away but two, and they are going to haul the Mate up if they can . . . .

Caroline also mentions the results of sailors' drinking habits:

> **June 11th [1887]**
>
> Have discharged Mr. Morgan. He was drinking all the time. Capt. Davis has discharged both his mates for drinking . . . .

These two incidents were not unique to this particular voyage. By the late nineteenth century, finding experienced and dedicated sailors to operate American sailing ships was difficult. Although many of the down-easters were commanded by American men (especially from Maine), their crews were predominantly foreign and often inexperienced.[20] On another of Timothy Winn's voyages (serving as captain on *Grandee* sailing for Japan in 1891) thirteen of the nineteen men on board were foreign (German, Swedish, Japanese, Canadian).[21] Of the six American men on board, four were officers. On another of Winn's voyages to Indonesia, seven of the twenty-one men desert ship and must be replaced. All seven were seamen, not officers.[22]

It is possible these sailors felt they were not earning enough money for their work. Seamen on board Winn's vessels earned between twelve and eighteen dollars a month. As first mate, Winn earned fifty to fifty-five dollars a month and as captain at least twice that amount.[23] Prior to departure, most of the crew members took an advance on their wages (usually equal to three months' pay) though Winn did not. Due to low wages and debt to the ship's store, many sailors had difficulty saving money. Perhaps some of the deserters from Winn's vessels realized they could make approximately twice their sailing wages working aboard a comparably sized steamship.[24]

Winn's responsibilities as captain rarely extended beyond the ship he was sailing. Paying wages, loading and delivering cargo, and supervising the crew fell within Winn's jurisdiction; however, shipping contracts and payments were handled by his agents operating in Boston and New York.[25]

Aboard *Benjamin F. Hunt, Jr.*, Captain Winn was concerned with the responsibilities of commanding the ship while Caroline Winn had concerns of her own. She chose to accompany her oft-missed husband to the Far East only to spend the next fifteen months longing for what she had left behind in Cape Neddick: her home, friends, family, and especially her two daughters. The isolation she felt at sea pervades her diary.

Under sail, most vessels remained incommunicado. Upon reaching port, long-awaited letters would be eagerly opened though perhaps with apprehension. Near Manila Harbor Caroline comments:

Monday April 4th 1887
It seems nice to think of once more treading on "terra firme." Although I shall be almost afraid to open my letters, expecting to hear someone is sick or dead. I do hope and pray they are all well.

A letter received in Newcastle revealed that Carrie, the Winn's oldest daughter, had suffered measles, another revealed the death of Caroline's Uncle Joe.[26]

With family and friends over five thousand nautical miles away, Caroline, like many captain's wives at sea, looked forward to time in port when she and her husband could shop, sightsee, entertain and be entertained, and most importantly, visit other captains and their wives. The diary excerpt below, written at dock in Melbourne, illustrates the welcome activity of life in port after so many monotonous days at sea.

May 1st 1887
Went to hear the Minstrels last evening. I liked it very well. Capt. Macfee bought us all a very pretty bouquet of flowers for our dresses. We got back to the ship at eleven—Julia and Frank took care of the Baby . . . I am going to church with Mrs. Blanchard in the morning, then we take dinner with them afterwards.

By the late nineteenth century, many women had accompanied their husbands to sea; however, they represented a small and unique percentage of American women.[27] During the short periods in port, many captains' wives developed intense friendships with each other. Caroline appears to have developed a few relationships with women based on shared experiences at sea. Departing Melbourne she writes:

21st 8 A.M. Saturday
sailed for Newcastle this morning. I'm not sorry to leave Melbourne behind, but I am sorry to leave Capt. and Mrs. Macfee so much. She has been so good, I hope I shall see her some time in the uncertain future.

The life at sea and ashore documented by the Winns is both typical and unique. As a deep-water captain and his wife, the Winns experienced the characteristic hardship, uncertainty, isolation, and adventure of a maritime family. As Americans nearing the present century, the Winns had the rare honor to be among the last couples to

sail on the beautiful square-rigged ships that once crowded the ports of the world.

Captain Winn's charts and Caroline Winn's sea diary provide information regarding life at sea. The letters from home and the diary she kept while ashore provide complementary narratives about a family within a maritime community. The letters she received in port suggest an informal support system that developed in order to cope with the prolonged absence of Caroline, Tim and baby Charles. The community of Cape Neddick was accustomed to adapting to the conditions a seafaring livelihood placed on families. Mrs. Seavey, one of the Winn's neighbors in Cape Neddick, took care of Caroline's aging parents while she was at sea. The Winn's younger daughter Alberta resided with the Donnells of Cape Neddick during her parents' absence.[28] Asahel Goodwin, a Cape Neddick store and ship owner, served in 1860 as a witness for the adoption of young Timothy Winn by Captain Daniel Winn.

Caroline Winn would have been one of many women in the community who temporarily became "mariners' widows" each time their husbands went to sea. The majority of the master mariners in York and Cape Neddick were in command of small coasting vessels.[29] These ships sailed up and down the East Coast on a regular basis. These journeys tended to be substantially shorter than those of deep-water vessels, and it was less common for women to accompany their families on these trips. Although the help or advice of available men was sought by the "mariners' widows," women also found support through frequent social visits, hired domestic help, and close family ties.

In comparison to the shorter journeys made by coasting schooners, the captains and crew aboard deep-water vessels were often away from home for a year or more at a time. A close examination of Captain Winn's charts and Caroline's diaries indicate that his time at home was very brief in comparison to his time at sea.

April 20th 1880
Tim went back to NYork to day came Saturday night stopped until Tues.

Feb. 11th 1882
Tim came home Wednesday Went back to NYork[30]

The voyages on Winn's charts represent 47.5 months at sea during the years 1887-1896; however, there were no voyages dated between April 1892 and July 1895. From January 1870 to February 1871, during the first two years of his marriage, Winn spent only 6 1/2 weeks at home

compared to 11 1/2 months at sea. Even more pronounced is the ratio of his absence and presence in Cape Neddick during the years he traded in the East Indies. Of the 123 months between January 1878 and March 1888, Captain Winn was at sea for at least eighty-three and at home for only 9 1/2. His activities during the remaining thirty months are unclear in part because arrival and departure dates are not known; however, it is likely he was at sea for at least twenty-four of those months.[31] As she does on her voyage, Caroline confides her loneliness during these long months at home in her diary, expressing her thoughts in verse.

Away from thee dear love away
From thy encircling arm.
I cannot bid my heart be gay
It findeth here no charm.[32]

Major family events did not usually coincide with shore visits, nor did they pre-empt scheduled voyages.

Monday Mar 6th 1882
Capt. Gerrish boy was buried yesterday 8th[33]

When the only son of Captain E.A. Gerrish, Winn's contemporary and family friend, died in New York just before *Paul Jones* was to sail, Gerrish did not decline the voyage, only delayed it for ten days.[34] Similarly, Captain Winn was at sea during the birth of at least two of his children. His frequent absences affected his children: Carrie Winn seldom related stories or memories of her sea captain father, a man who was absent during much of her childhood.[35] These prolonged separations from her husband appears to have fostered some independence in Caroline Winn: her land-based diary indicates that she "hired a house" to live in, calculated the amount of rent due, arranged for the house to be shingled, purchased material goods ranging from lumber to fabric, and paid the bills. Caroline also signed several deeds and court documents while Tim was at sea; his signature was secured at a later date. Thus, while she often missed her husband, she continued to function in the community while he was gone.

Caroline and Timothy Winn were individuals who fulfilled known roles in the community. Sea captains, mariners, fishermen, their wives and families had been part of York's communities since their early history. Over time the percentage of maritime families in the town declined. Change also occurred within the maritime industries. Census records for York document these variations during Timothy Winn's lifetime. In 1870 approximately twenty percent of York's adult male population were involved in maritime activities (see Figure 4).[36]

OCCUPATION	1870	1880	1900	1905
MAST. MARINER	18	3	6	7
MARINER	64	80	11	9
FISHERMAN	52	13	40	23
ASSOC. JOBS	12	14	13	12
Total	146	110	70	51

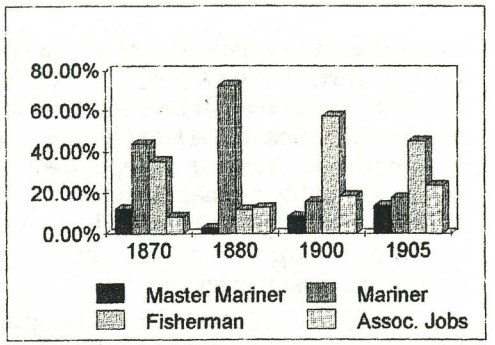


Figure 4. Maritime Occupations in York, 1870 - 1905 .[37]

The substantial decrease in the number of master mariners between 1870 and 1880 may reflect retirement from the sea as two-thirds of the master mariners in 1870 were over forty-one years old. Four individuals from the Cape Neddick area were also demoted from master mariner to mariner status in the 1880 York Census. The overall growth between 1870 and 1880 of the numbers of mariners in comparison to fishermen suggest that life as a crew member on a deep-water or coasting vessel was more appealing or lucrative than fishing, at least temporarily. However, by 1900 the relatively steady income, and perhaps sedentary existence, provided by fishing and lobstering appears to have discouraged many residents from becoming sailors. After dropping in 1880, the number of sea captains living in York increased by the turn of the century; though at least one was associated with the military. The decrease between 1870 and 1905 of York sea captains and mariners reflects in part the growing significance of the railroads within the American economy. The first rail line laid through Southern Maine in the 1840 bypassed York. Thus, coastal trade remained important to the community long enough to raise several more generations of mariners and sea captains. However, the second rail line, the York Harbor and Beach Railroad, laid in the 1880s, reduced the number of mariners and master mariners needed in a community that now received both goods and tourists by rail. A further blow came with the construction of the Atlantic Railroad line to Kennebunkport in 1901. In addition to moving goods cheaper and faster, its bridge across the Cape Neddick River physically restricted the movement of the fishing and coasting schooners.

The incorporated town of York encompasses several distinct neighborhoods as well as dispersed outlying districts. The York River was navigable for the greatest distance; however, the smaller Cape

Neddick and the Josias Rivers also attracted maritime activity. York Village, York Harbor, Cape Neddick, and York Beach served as commercial centers. These neighborhoods were separated from each other by swamps in the late nineteenth century. Indeed, each neighborhood's sense of independence and distinction was accentuated and reflected by the maintenance of their own Post Office. During York's 250th anniversary in 1902, Mark Twain commented ". . . indeed, it would be difficult to throw a brickbat in any direction without danger of disabling a Post master".[38]

As the majority of York's population became disassociated from maritime activities certain neighborhoods remained bastions of sea-centered life. In the 1870s, York's maritime families were generally distributed throughout the eastern half of the town; few were identified as living inland, away from a river, or on the slopes of Mt. Agamenticus. The York River had been an active port and shipbuilding site in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; both activities continued in attenuated capacities into the early years of the twentieth century. Yet surprisingly, neither York Village nor York Harbor, the two neighborhoods on the river, were the most densely populated by maritime families. Based on the 1870 *Census* and the 1872 *York County*

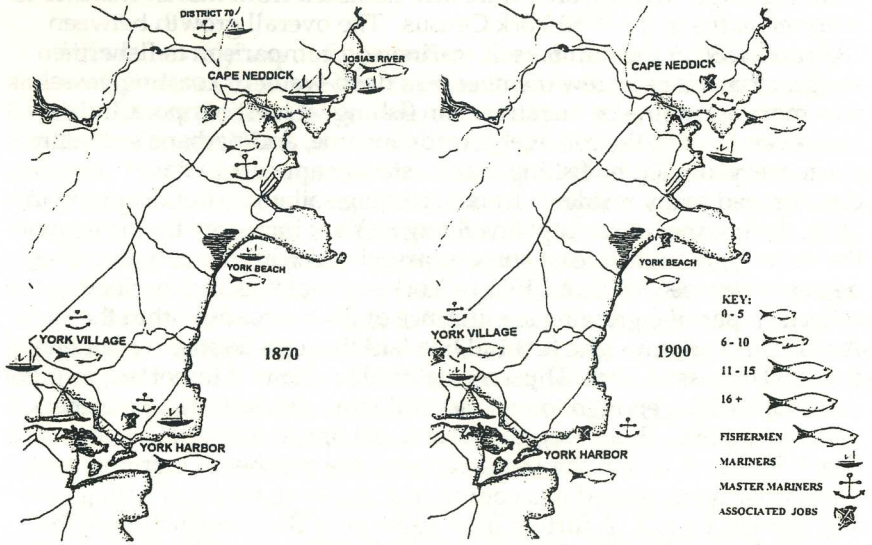


Figure 5. Distribution of maritime residences in York's neighborhoods: 1870 and 1900.[39]

Atlas, it is possible to generally locate the houses of 112 out of 146 maritime-based individuals (see Figure 5). Of these, only twenty-eight

resided in York Village and twelve in York Harbor. Fifteen people were scattered in York Beach, on York River, or in District 70; another ten were clustered around the mouth of the small Josias River. Cape Neddick Village, the home of Captain Timothy and Caroline Winn was the site of forty-six maritime families, the largest concentration in town. By 1900 this distinction was somewhat less pronounced but still significant; Cape Neddick was the home to forty percent of York's maritime population.

In 1872, maritime occupations were represented in each of the neighborhoods. Slightly higher concentrations of fisherman were found in York Harbor and on the Josias River, and mariners in Cape Neddick. A pronounced geographical stratification based on occupation occurred *within* the communities during the years 1870-1905. The homes and businesses of fish peddlers and fish markets were located in neighborhood centers and busy wharves; fisherman made their homes along the banks and tributaries of York's three rivers. Many mariners involved with the coasting trade also chose riverside locations for their homes although over one-third neither owned nor rented property.[40] These mariners often boarded in residences which were not necessarily in direct proximity to the water. These individuals, the majority under thirty, were probably serving as crew on deep-water or coasting vessels. In the 1870 Census, Timothy Winn, age twenty-nine, owns no property. He does not appear on the 1872 County Atlas. Caroline's diary, however, indicates they rented a house to live in from a neighbor, Mrs. Norton.[41] At this time, Tim is sailing to the West Indies and the Mediterranean.

Direct access to the water does not appear to have been an important consideration when choosing the location of every master mariner's home. Instead, several sea captains lived in the commercial centers of York Village and Cape Neddick, or on a hill with a water view. This setting may have been a reflection or assertion of social or economic status. Timothy and Caroline chose to build their home on a hill in 1877. The land had been in Caroline's family, and though the river was visible down the slope and over the trees, it was not directly accessible from their property. Perhaps this is not surprising, considering Timothy Winn never needed access to a vessel that called either the York or Cape Neddick River its home port.

The location of the Winn's inland residence may have reflected their economic relationship with the community. Captain Winn was a Cape Neddick man both by birth and residence, yet his profession as a mariner was not as intimately connected to the town as those of the fishermen and coastal sailors who worked on York's rivers. Winn's deep-water vessels were too large to navigate local rivers. Like other deep-water captains, Winn's direct economic interaction in the community consisted primarily of the purchase of local goods and services. Many sea captains (both coastal and open-ocean) often owned

part of their vessels; Winn family lore indicates that Timothy Winn owned a portion of *Paul Jones*. The profits, however, made from this Portsmouth-built vessel would have had more of an impact on the Winns's financial situation than on the rest of the town.[42]

Agents, such as Chase, Talbet and Company, of New York, dictated the cargoes on Winn's vessels. If these goods ever entered Cape Neddick it was through another network of suppliers and distributors. In contrast, the fishing and coasting schooners under the command of local sea captains traded directly with local stores including the store in Cape Neddick owned by Asahel Goodwin. Goodwin's ledger book from 1851-1882 indicates repeated trade with seventeen coasting and fishing schooners, many owned in part, or operated by, local families.[43] In *Legends of Cape Neddick*, author Ralph Winn, a nephew of Timothy Winn, recalls that coasting captains, who were primary providers of goods during ice-free seasons, would come into the stores themselves each fall to settle the seasons' accounts. The stores also acted as a gathering place for the local mariners, where tall tales competed with contests of strength for evening entertainment.[44]

Even as the Cape Neddick River filled with silt, and schooners were supplanted by railroads, the local economy as well as the village's identity remained linked to maritime activities. Many fishermen traded their schooners for profitable lobster boats and others such as Captains Donnell and Philbrook operated sport fishing and pleasure excursions for summer visitors on their wooden ships. Unlike the rest of York, Cape Neddick did not experience the hotel and vacation-home development that characterized the growth of tourism. Instead, by the turn of the century, it retained the largest proportion of residents involved with maritime activities. The community continued to identify itself with the sea as evidenced by an 1885 survey plan for lot development at Talpey's Point on Cape Neddick Harbor on which four schooners and one dory are used as illustrations.[45] Although York had changed in many ways this was less evident in Cape Neddick. Ralph Winn states: "We all had salt water in our veins instead of blood, for we came of long lines of seafaring ancestors."[46]

Captain Winn retired from the sea into this maritime enclave.[47] His career as a deep-sea captain had distinguished him from other mariners in the village, although this distinction was a relative one. Seafarers were members of the neighborhood community regardless of the details of their years at sea. During the years of his retirement, Winn served on jury duty (a civic obligation that would have been difficult to fulfill earlier in his career), and the Winn family joined other members of the Baptist Church in sewing their signatures onto a friendship quilt.[48] By 1900, the census lists Captain Winn not as a master mariner but as a day laborer. Nonetheless, for Cape Neddick residents, Captain Winn

proudly remained a captain of the China Trade as well as one of the "boys [who] were equally salt!"[49]

Captain Winn's nautical charts and his wife Caroline's sea and land diaries are complementary. Individually, they shed light on the activities and roles of the male and female members of this family. Together they provide a rare glimpse into the lives of a nineteenth-century American maritime family from York, Maine. Viewed in the context of their times they provide a profile of the changing maritime experience, both on sea and on land. Timothy and Caroline Winn were neither the first nor the last couple to sail the high seas together, yet their experiences were unique to most nineteenth-century Americans. The documentation of this lifestyle within the maritime microcosm of American culture is therefore of great significance.

APPENDIX

The Vessels and Voyages of Captain Timothy Winn

Neptune: No information available

Ship ***Paul Jones***: Built 1877 at Portsmouth, New Hampshire by William F. Fernald. 1,258 tons, 195.2' long x 39' wide x 23.4' deep; 2 decks.

Bark ***Benjamin F. Hunt, Jr.***: Built 1881 at Newburyport, Massachusetts by George Currier. 1190 tons, 187' long x 38' wide x 23.2' deep.

Ship ***Grandee***: Built 1873 at Portsmouth, New Hampshire by Tobey and Littlefield. 1,258 tons, 193.6' long x 38.5' wide x 23.8' deep; 2 decks.

Ship ***Berlin***: Built 1882 at Phippsburg, Maine by C.V. Minott. 1553 tons, 222.5' long x 40' wide x 24.6' deep. Served its last years in the Alaskan Salmon trade.

DEPARTURE	PORT	DESTINATION	VESSEL	WINN'S RANK	SOURCE OF INFO.
1/ 27/ 1870	Boston	Cienfuegos, Cuba	"Neptune"	Unknown	CLW Land Diary
1/ 17/ 1878	New York	Shanghai, China	"Paul Jones"	First Mate	CLW Land Diary
5/ 1/ 1879	New York	Batavia, Indonesia	"Paul Jones"	First Mate	CLW Land Diary
4/ 13/ 1881	New York	South Africa	"Paul Jones"	First Mate	CLW Land Diary
3/ 18/ 1882	New York	Anjiers, Indonesia	"Paul Jones"	First Mate	CLW Land Diary
4/ 11/ 1884	New York	Shanghai, China	"Paul Jones"	Captain	Nautical Charts
9/ 18/ 1885	Boston	Melbourne, Australia	"Paul Jones"	Captain	Nautical Charts
12/ 11/ 1886	Boston	Melbourne, Australia	"BF Hunt Jr."	Captain	Charts/Sea Diary
11/ 6/ 1888	New York	Callao, Peru	"Grandee"	Captain	Nautical Charts
4/ 24/ 1891	Phila, PA	Japan	"Grandee"	First Mate	Nautical Charts
7/ 22/ 1895	Boston?	South Africa	"Berlin"	Unknown	Nautical Charts

Notes

[1]George Wilson Pierson, "The Obstinate Concept of New England: A Study in Denudation," *The New England Quarterly* 28 (March 1955), 11. Pierson suggests that in its attempt to spread its resources and influence both to the West and into the industrialized sector, "by 1900 New England had dissipated its population and just about exhausted itself."

[2]See William Cronen, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*, (New York, 1984), for an indepth discussion of agriculture and land use in New England.

[3]See Frederic Cople Jaher, "The Boston Brahmins in the Age of Industrial Capitalism" in Jaher *The Age of Industrialism in America: Essays in Social Structure and Cultural Values*, (New York: Free Press, 1968), 188-262. The nostalgia and fear in mid to late ninteenth century literature is apparent in Nathanial Hawthorne's *The House of Seven Gables*, a tale set in a washed up New England seaport, as well as in the numerous short stories of Mary Wilkins Freeman and Sarah Orne Jewett.

[4]The nautical charts were donated to Old York Historical Society in 1992, and the painting of *Paul Jones* in 1995. Old York Historical Society was loaned Caroline's diaries, the Matthews' family Bible, Caroline's photograph album and other assorted photographs. Private Collections.

[5]Alberta and Arthur Johnson, interview by authors, July 14, 1995, Dover, NH. Louise Parks, interview by authors, August 3, 1995, N. Amherst, MA. Tape recording. Old York Historical Society, York, Maine. Charles Winn, interview by authors, August 3, 1995, Athol, MA. Alberta Johnson, Louise Parks and Charles Winn are all great-grandchildren of Timothy and Caroline Winn. An oral interview conducted with Harry and Doris Hutchins of Cape Neddick on August 11, 1995 also provided information on Cape Neddick and its residents.

[6] Caroline L. Winn, Land Diary, sporadic entries 1869-1892, private collection. "Tim went to the West Indies last Thursday Jan 27th 1870 Barque Neptune...Cienfuegos, Cuba"; "Sept Tuesday 27th Sailed for Cadiz...1870 Sailed from Cadiz the 11th of Nov. Ar. at Messina the 18th...."

[7] Though wooden ships continued to operate in foreign trade until WWI and perhaps played a more significant role than steamers, most of these wooden ships were not constructed in America. John G.B. Hutchins, *The American Maritime Industries and Public Policy, 1789-1914* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1941), 403. For a thorough anaylsis of the peaks and valleys of American shipbuilding in 1863-1914 see Hutchins' Chapter 10, especially pages 371-409.

[8] Howard I. Chapelle, *The History of American Sailing Ships*. (New York: Bonanza Books, 1935), 287. Chapelle states that "some of these vessels were , without doubt, the highest development of the sailing ship."

[9] CLW, Sea Diary, December 11, 1886 to March 12, 1888, private collection.

[10] United States Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, *Records of the Bureau of Navigation Correspondence, 1885-1934*. National Archives, Washington D.C.: Record Group No. 41, file 2149N. This letter, from James Morgan, U.S. Consul General at Melbourne, to the Assistant Secretary of State Jas. D. Porter, relates the sinking of the ship *Paul Jones*.

[11] Frederic C. Matthews, *American Merchant Ships, 1850-1900, 2 vols.* (Salem: Marine Research Society, 1930-1931), 262.

[12] CLW, Land Diary. Caroline documents at least seven additional voyages taken by her husband. Winn served as captain on one of these voyages, first mate on four, and in an unknown capacity on the remaining two.

[13] The official crew list for the ship *Grandee*, departing Philadelphia in April 1891 bound for Japan, lists B. F. Jacobs as captain and Winn as first mate; however, this voyage is also recorded on Winn's charts.

[14] According to the official crew list, Winn is 48 when he serves as first mate aboard the ship Grandee under Jacobs in 1891. Winn served as captain on his four voyages prior to this . This was obviously not a promotion.

[15] Ray Brighton, *Tall Ships of the Piscataqua* (Portsmouth: Portsmouth Marine Society, 1989), 311.

[16] William Hutchinson Rowe, *The Maritime History of Maine* (Gardiner: The Harpswell Press, 1948), 222.

[17] As a sign of these times, *Benjamin F. Hunt, Jr.* was the last vessel to be built (in 1881) in George Currier's shipyard at Newburyport, Massachusetts. Robert Cheney, *Maritime History of the Merrimac* (Newburyport: Newburyport Press, Inc., 1964), 289. Two other vessels on which Winn served were also the last built in their respective shipyards. *Grandee* (built 1873) in the Tobey and Littlefield yard and *Paul Jones* built in 1877 by William Fernald were two of the last ships launched on the Piscataqua. Ray Brighton, *Tall Ships of the Piscataqua*, 309, 345.

[18] *Portsmouth Chronicle*, 26 September 1877. As cited in Ray Brighton, *Tall Ships of the Piscataqua*, 349.

[19] CLW, Sea Diary. Monday March 7, 1887.

[20] William Hutchinson Rowe, *The Maritime History of Maine*, 215.

[21] Official crew list of ship *Grandee* for this voyage, recorded in the Port of Philadelphia, 1891.

[22] Office of the Shipping Commissioner of New York, *Record of Engagement of Seamen vol. 11*, (New York: 1879), article 262: ship *Paul Jones*.

[23] Ibid; Idem, *Record of Engagement of Seamen vol. 16*, (New York: 1884), article 262: ship *Paul Jones*.

[24] Ibid, article 265: steamship *Advance*.

[25] Several of Winn's shipping agents included: Chase Talbet & Co., Salter and Livermore, and V.H. Brown and Co. They also managed contracts for *Paul Jones* and *Benjaimn F. Hunt, Jr.* This is the probable connection through which Winn became captain of *Benjamin F. Hunt, Jr.* on the 1886-1888 voyage to Australia and the Far East.

[26] CLW, Sea Diary, June 3, 1887; Aug. 19, 1887.

[27] For an extensive bibliography of the whaling journals of captains' wives, see: Joan Druett, ed., *She Was A Sister Sailor* (Mystic, Mystic Seaport Museum, Inc., 1992).

[28] CLW Sea Diary, Feb. 19, 1887; June 24, 1887. The 1872 *York County Atlas* indicates that S. Seavey lived next door to Carolines parents, W.G. Matthews. Interviews with Alberta Johnson and Louise Parks also indicated that Bertie boarded with local families during her mother's trip at sea.

[29] George Ernst, *New England Miniature: A History of York Maine* (Freeport: Bond Wheelwright Co., 1961).

[30] CLW, Land Diary, April 20, 1880; Feb. 11, 1882.

[31] Caroline's land diary indicates that on March 18, 1882, Timothy Winn departs on *Paul Jones* for Anjiers. His activities are unknown until April of 1884, when he again departs on *Paul Jones*. The charts and diaries suggest a pattern of departing in the spring for the East Indies, and returning about eleven months later. Thus it is possible that Winn took two complete voyages between March of 1882 and April of 1880.

[32] CLW, Land Diary, March 1876.

[33] CLW, Land Diary, Mar. 6, 1882.

[34] Ray Brighton, *Tall Ships of the Piscataqua*, 352.

[35] Alberta and Arthur Johnson, interview by authors, July 14, 1995, Dover, NH. Louise Parks, interview by authors, August 3, 1995, N. Amherst, MA. Tape recording. Old York Historical Society, York, Maine.

[36] *United States Census* (1870), York County, Maine. The 1870 census indicates that 784 adult men (all but 37 of them qualified to vote) lived in York: 146 of them were involved in maritime activity.

[37] Associated occupations include fish peddlers, fish markets, boat builders, riggers, cordwainers, etc. The figures for 1905 were extracted from the *Eliot, York and Kittery Maine Directory, 1905-6* (Boston: W.F. Shaw, 1905). The 1870, 1880, and 1900 figures are from the *United States Census*, York County, Maine.

[38] Mark Twain, remarks made at the 250th Anniversary of York Celebration in 1902, as quoted in George Ernst, *New England Miniature: A History of York Maine*, 232.

[39] *United States Census* (1870, 1880, 1900), York County, Maine; *1872 York County Atlas*, (York County Registry of Deeds, Alfred, Maine).

[40] *United States Census*, (1870, 1880, 1900), York County, Maine.

[41] The 1870 Census indicates that Timothy Winns personal estate was valued at only $200.00. CLW land diary Nov. 18, 1870. During the first months of her marriage they most likely resided with her parents, or brother, Captain Moses Matthews.

[42] Alberta and Arthur Johnson, interview by authors, July 14, 1995, Dover, NH. Tape recording. Old York Historical Society, York, Maine.

[43] Asahel Goodwin's ledger book is located among the Goodwin papers that the Goodwin family of Cape Neddick loaned to Old York Historical Society in 1995. See also the *Portsmouth Morning Chronicle*, 25 March 1892, for a short mention of *Hattie Lewis*.

[44] Ralph Winn, *Legends of Cape Neddick* (Freeport: The Bond Wheelwright Co,), 7-13.

[45] "Plan of Evanston, York, Maine," Timothy Dame, surveyor, (Alfred, Maine: York County Registry of Deeds, 1885).

[46] Ralph Winn, *Legends of Cape Neddick*, 11.

[47] The last voyage on the charts represents a trip on *Berlin* in 1896; however, Winn's role on the voyage is, at this point, unkown.

[48] Friendship quilt sewn by Cape Neddick Baptist Church, 1895-96. Old York Historical Society.

[49] Raph Winn, *Legends of Cape Neddick*,, 11.

"Loaded to the Water Line:" Coasters, Coal Schooners, and The Marshall Store, 1867-1918

Brian D. Carroll

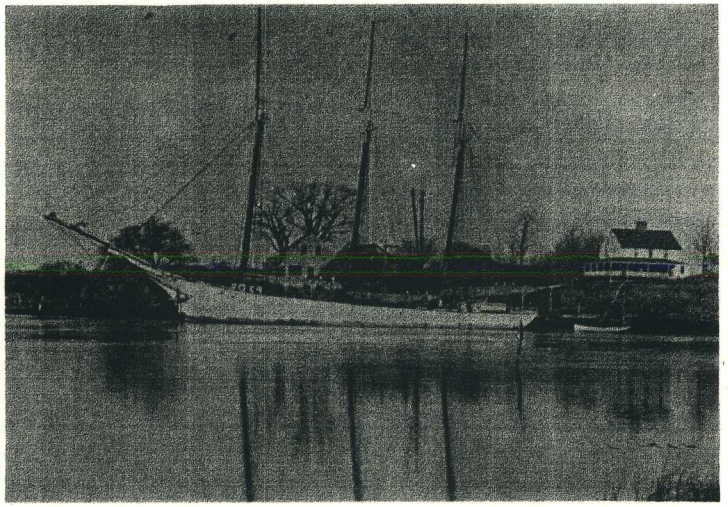


Figure 1. Tern schooner *William L. Elkins* off-loading coal at Marshall's wharf, ca. 1909. OYHS Collections.

"There were some schooners and a small brig slowly going to pieces by the wharves, and indeed Deephaven looked more or less out of repair. All along shore one might see dories and wherries and whaleboats which had been left to die a lingering death.."

–Sarah Orne Jewett, *Deephaven*.[1]

In describing the fictional town of Deephaven, Sarah Orne Jewett took her inspiration from the places around her. York, Maine, was one of those places.[2] She was seeing this area at the end of the nineteenth century, in it's decline, as the maritime economy in southern Maine collapsed. This paper deals with two aspects of York history during that period; the history of Marshall's store, a general store operating on the York River during this period of decline; and the store's relationship to the differing levels of maritime trade and activity on the river from 1867 to 1918. Marshall's store and wharf made up one of two key centers of maritime activity on the York River. Thus, by better understanding the Marshall Store and how it operated, one can better understand the maritime history of York.

George Marshall opened his "Old Line Store" at a time when the York River was the most efficient means of moving goods. From its opening in 1867 until the coming of the railroad to York in 1887, the store was of major importance to the community for, during that time, most goods coming in or out of York had go through Marshall's wharf. With the waning of maritime activity in the area, the store changed focus, providing building materials and fuel, predominantly in the form of wood and coal, to businesses and homes in the York area and beyond.

In 1867 twenty-four year old George Albert Marshall purchased a lot of land along with a building, wharf, and warehouse on Lindsay Road from shopkeeper Alexander Dennett and opened a general store.[3] After twenty-eight years in the business, he handed control of the operations over to his children in 1895. The store continued to operate under the management of his son George Eastman Marshall for another ten years, and then was run for an additional fifty-one years under the management of his daughter Kate Marshall until her death in the mid-1950s.

The store that Marshall purchased sat across the street from the site of the present Marshall Store. The so-called Tucker House occupied the store's current location. The property included the John Hancock Warehouse and a large wharf facility. George opened for business in November of 1867. In 1870 he sold the Tucker house and on it's site he began construction of the present store.[4] The store was new, modern, and "the last word", according to Kate Marshall, in general store equipment and merchandise.[5]

A wide range of goods and supplies were available at Marshall's store. A partial list taken from various account books, day books, and receipts from 1867 to 1899 would include: molasses, sugar, corn, poultry, eggs, fish, flour, tobacco, medicines, cotton, flannel, shoes, stationary, pens, nails, lumber, and cordwood.[6] Kate Marshall remembered years later that many of the customers paid their bills with goods. "Of course there was lots of barter. The country folks brought in eggs, beans, [and] butter, in exchange for tea, coffee, sugar, and spices," she recalled.[7]

From 1870 to 1895 the store was a thriving business. It was one of only four stores open at the time in York, and was one of the two centers of maritime activity on the river. Fishing in the area centered around the wharves in York Harbor at the foot of Simpson's Lane. This was the "other" center of maritime activity on the York River, and was the base for most local fishermen, as it still is today. While some goods were off-loaded there, most bulk cargo-carrying vessels went to Marshall's wharf.

"Then, all freight came by water. All freight for the one village store and the two stores at York Corner landed at Marshall's wharf; and this store, near Sewall's bridge, represented the business center of the town."[8]

The presence of the wharf area, and its excellent access to the river, helped to make the site the entrepot for most of the town of York. Goods destined for Marshall's competitors even came through his wharf. Finished goods from Boston, destined for the shelves of Walker's store in York Village, had to first land at Marshall's wharf, and Walker had to pay Marshall for the wharfage and storage of those goods.[9]

Marshall's store also functioned as a ship's chandlery. It provided goods and supplies for the people involved in the maritime activities at the wharf site. Marshall carried rain gear, paints, tar, varnishes, spars, planking, rope, and canvas among other maritime-related items. One could buy just about anything one needed to fix up, fit out, or repair a boat at Marshall's wharf. Forty-three and one half feet of hemp rope and $5.22 worth of manilla cordage were purchased on the account of the schooner *Karen Huppuch*, jokingly called the *Kicking Heifer* by the local boys, in August of 1888.[10] In 1868 Samuel Lucas bought matches, a pint of oil, one hogshead of salt, and "ship bread" for use on the fishing vessel *Frank*.[11]

Marshall's wharf had the capability to haul vessels ashore for repairs. The schooner *David Crockett*, in October of 1872, was charged on account for "hauling vessel to Marshall's wharf," then "hauling vessel ashore," and finally for "scraping the vessel."[12]

Figure 2. Interior of the Marshall Store, ca. 1930.

Under the management of George E. Marshall from 1895 to 1905 the store underwent a change in focus in response to the coming of the railroad. This event triggered a steady decrease in the frequency and numbers of freights coming to York by schooner. With the decline of maritime trade went the ship's chandlery that had been such a major part of the store's business. The new focus, in addition to running the general store, included an emphasis on the sale of building supplies and heating fuels, most notably coal, to make up for the loss of maritime-related business.[13] Members of the Donnell family bought drain pipe and building supplies from the store in the late 1890s, as did the Roaring Rock Inn, Fremont Varrell (a competitor in York Harbor), the Second Parish Church, the York Beach Sewer Co., and other businesses around town. Orders for lime & hair for the making of plaster were common, as were orders for explosives for industrial and building use.[14]

In 1896 only one year after taking control of the business, George E. Marshall began the importation of coal to the Marshall wharf. In that year Marshall built coal storage sheds on the wharf to house the coal which was being brought to York by large bulk-cargo tern schooners.[15] After the coal was off loaded at the wharf, Marshall would deliver it to customers using a horse and wagon. Orders for coal in the store accounts show numerous York businesses, homes, and even several York Beach hotels purchasing coal from Marshall. Marshall's Store would become one of the primary coal suppliers for southern York County by 1901.[16]

In 1903 George E. Marshall was appointed collector of customs for the district of York, Maine, a much coveted job in the community.[17] In early October of 1905, he came down with typhoid fever and died. His sister Adaline, being the only person familiar with the duties of the position, took over the job during his illness. Congressman Allen of Maine recommended to the U.S. Senate that Adaline be appointed Acting Customs Collector for the port of York. Then in late October, she was appointed Customs Collector.[18] She was the first woman ever appointed to that position in the United States. Miss Marshall continued as York's collector until she resigned and was committed to an asylum for the insane in Waverly, Massachusetts in 1907. After a time recuperating, she was appointed York's Deputy Collector in 1909. She served in that function until the abolishment of the Port District of York in 1913.[19]

With the death of his son, George A. Marshall would once again take control of the business, this time with the help of his daughter Kate. The coal trade continued to be the most lucrative part of the store's operations. Kate was in charge of that aspect of the business. She ordered the coal from the mines, chartered schooners to carry the coal to York, and supervised the off-loading of the coal at the wharf.[20]

Marshall owned a piece of property near the railroad station on what is now Woodbridge Road and began to use it for storing grain, lumber

and coal around 1900.[21] With the establishment of the railroad came more general stores, and more competition, and as maritime trade in York disappeared, the Marshall Store began to decrease in importance to the community. Kate Marshall assumed control over all of the store's operations when her father died in 1932.[22]

Kate, along with her niece Anna Littlefield, continued to run the store until 1956. The wharf ceased to be functional due to damage by ice in 1918, and in 1932 a fire destroyed the coal sheds. By the 1940s the store was, "a small store off the beaten track in York," a far cry from the economic hub George Marshall had operated years before.[23]

There was much excitement in 1947 when the store celebrated it's eightieth birthday. Newspapers interviewed Kate, who talked about her father's and brother's accomplishments, the old days when the schooners used to come, and her pride in her sister's appointment as the first female customs collector in the United States. She admitted that the store was "pretty antiquated," but that it had a charm and history to it that were unique.[24] With the passing of Kate Marshall, heir to the Marshall legacy, businesswoman, writer, musician, and politician, so passed the Marshall Store. Since then it has served as a museum, library, offices, and currently as a gallery for the Old York Historical Society. In its present incarnation the Old Line Store is still serving the public, as it was meant to do when George A. Marshall built it in 1870.

In the ninety years that passed between the opening of the store in 1867 and Kate Marshall's death in 1958, the store came to symbolize the changes that had occurred over the previous one hundred years in York. By participating in the tail end of York's maritime prosperity, undergoing reorganization in the face of technologic and economic change, and seeing the decline of agrarianism and the rise of tourism, George A. Marshall's Old Line Store represented the end of York as it once was and it's passage into modern times. Colonial revival period writers in the beginning of this century often romanticized about the 'good old days,' and the Marshall Store was itself a visible symbol of those bygone days. An old run-down store and property, complete with crumbling wharves, it was a tangible relic akin to those portrayed by Jewett in *Deephaven*.

Maritime activity in York reached it's zenith in terms of shipping and maritime enterprise in 1810 when she boasted 3,723 tons in registered and enrolled shipping tonnage.[25] This prosperity was short lived as York's shipping tonnage would decrease almost 75% by 1840 and continued to decline as the nineteenth century wore on. By the last years of that century and early years of this century, York's once-successful shipping trade was almost non-existent.[26] York did not play a major role in Maine's late nineteenth century maritime economy, but its importance on a local level, as the entrepot for York and the surrounding area, was

significant. York's maritime history from 1870 to 1918 is the story of a port in decline.[27] By 1881 a mere twelve vessels were listed as being registered, enrolled or licensed in York. In 1903 only five vessels would be listed as operating in York, and in 1911 just two vessels would be recorded as operating out of the port.[28]

Two distinct levels of maritime trade through Marshall's store can be identified on the York River from 1867 to 1918. The first level is that of the locally owned coasting schooner trade. These vessels operated out of York, carried local products and freights short distances up and down the coast. The second level was that of the larger tern schooners which carried bulk cargoes like coal into York, and other ports along the coast of America.

Coastal trading routes, secure from outside foreign competition, were the domain of the coasters. These "errand boys" of the coast carried goods up and down the coast of northern New England in the nineteenth century and could be found in every river, bay, and inlet in the United States. The coasters carried the products of local farms, shores, forests, and industry to southern ports and returned home with finished goods.[29] The coasters active out of York were small to medium sized vessels, typically schooners around fifty to eighty feet in length. Their tonnage ranged anywhere from thirty-five to one hundred tons, and they were often owned by a few people or just the captain. Most, but not all, were built locally.

During the 1880s George Marshall kept a small account book for keeping track of the charges that various vessels docking at his wharf were accruing on their accounts. The book shows seven local vessels calling Marshall's wharf home for various lengths of time from 1884 to 1891.[30] Most of these vessels carried local produce, finished and dry goods, bricks, and lumber.

Produce was carried to Boston on schooners in the 1870s and 1880s. George Marshall took orders for shipments of local potatoes, onions, beans, apples, and cider from wholesale provisioners in the early 1890s. As late as 1899 he was shipping corn to grocers in Boston on board the schooner *A.T. Haynes*.[31] Molasses, sugar, paints, nails and cloth were just a few of the goods brought back. Schooners were going between Boston and York fairly regularly in the late 1860s. When George Marshall's order came too late for his goods to be sent from Boston on the *Mary Remick*, of York, on June 18, 1868, he only had to wait two days until the sailing vessel *Clarinda*, of Boston, was on its way to York.[32]

Documentation for the wharfage of hay at Marshall's wharf dates back to the opening of the store in 1867.[33] Photographer Emma Coleman snapped a photo of the Schooner *Gulnare* in 1884 at Marshall's wharf. On her deck was a load of hay covered by a canvas tarpaulin. This photo was used as the basis of an illustration in the 1885 edition of *Deephaven*.[34]

Figure 3. The schooner *Gulnare* at Marshall's wharf, ca. 1884.

A good number of local coasting schooners were involved in the brick trade. A common voyage was to leave York with a cargo of bricks destined for Boston and return with goods for the local stores such as Marshall's, Walker's or Varrell's. The schooner *Addie* made fifteen trips from Norton's Brickyard on the York River to Boston in 1874 carrying 1,174,300 bricks and earning $3,123.61 in freight charges.[35] The seaman's time book for the schooner *John & Frank,* owned by Edward Lowe and Edward Baker, shows trips to Boston with bricks in October of 1879, May of 1881, May of 1882, and three times in June and July of 1882.[36]

Lumber and cordwood were two of the major commodities at Marshall's wharf. In 1905 thirty chords of wood were listed as being stacked on the wharf, as well as eight hundred and twenty-two feet of sawn lumber. During the 1870s and 1880s the schooner *John & Frank* carried a substantial amount of wood and lumber to Boston, Beverly, Salem, and Portland. On several occasions she brought sawn lumber into York and Boston from yards in Bangor.[37] An illustrative example of the lumber trade at Marshall's wharf survives in the well documented cargoes of the schooner *Georgiana* (sometimes spelled *Gorgiana*). She landed several lumber cargoes from Bangor at Marshall's wharf in the fall of 1875. Marshall's accounts chronicle the lumber from when it was brought in, as well as every transaction as the shipment was sold off.[38]

Cordwood was always in demand, being the primary heating fuel in York until the mid 1890s.[39]

As the 1880s drew to a close so to did Marshall's control of goods coming in and out of York. With the arrival of the railroad in 1887 came a proliferation of new general stores in the area. These new stores could obtain their goods cheaply by rail shipment, bypassing waterborne trade and Marshall's wharf. Shipments by schooner did persist after 1887, albeit with decreased frequency. In 1899 Marshall shipped nine cases of corn to Boston by schooner at the same time he was receiving shipments of bran by rail. A few years later, in 1902, when most goods for Marshall's store were coming in or out of York by rail, Marshall still shipped ten hogsheads of kerosine oil to Boston on board the fifty-four foot, thirty-six ton schooner named, rather ironically, *Railroad*.[40] Coastal trade in York was in serious decline by 1905. One newspaper writer noted that year, "once or twice a week, maybe, some insignificant old hulk, loaded to the water line with coal or cement, struggles laboriously up the stream and casts anchor."[41]

The large schooners carrying coal and other bulk commodities to Marshall's wharf from 1896 to 1918 were the largest vessels active in trade on the York River during that time. Most were tern, or three-masted schooners over one hundred feet in length. They were typically owned and operated by companies or large groups of investors out of larger ports like New York, Boston, Portland or Bath. Most of the vessels left York in ballast and cleared for Stonington, Maine for a return cargo of granite paving blocks destined for the streets of Boston or New York.[42] A few even cleared for foreign ports, Nova Scotia being a common destination.[43]

Following the Civil War, as the demand for coal steadily increased, three and four-masted bulk cargo schooners developed to help meet this demand. Maritime historian William H. Rowe called the Maine built multi-masted schooner "the most weatherly and economical sailing vessel in the world."[44] Larger bulk cargoes were cheaper to ship by schooner than by rail in the early part of the century, so coal shipments by water remained cost effective at Marshall's wharf until 1916.

The first documented coal vessel known to have arrived at Marshall's wharf was the *Nimrod*, a three-masted schooner, one hundred and thirty two feet in length. It came in July of 1901, and delivered 480 tons of coal. Traditionally the store would receive a shipment of coal every April, July, and October with an occassional extra shipment in December or January if needed. Shipments ranged from between 1,200 to 2,300 tons of coal annually, with a single schooner carrying approximately 350 to 375 hundred tons each.[45] Kate Marshall described the process of unloading the coal once it arrived in York:

> We had our coal come by three-masted schooners from Perth Amboy, N.J. We discharged by steam hoist. I was always glad when the cargo was out. Sometimes a man got hurt. The Captains shipped their crew to York, paid them off,...Then a new crew would be shipped down from Boston. They usually discharged in three days, if we had good luck.[46]

Details about the Marshall's coal distribution network survives in the numerous coal order books from the store. One example is the cargo of coal from the schooner *Florence & Lillian*, owned by Bangor investors. She entered York and arrived at Marshall's wharf on April 9, 1912. Three hundred and ninety-one tons of coal were off loaded from her. By the end of that month a little over fifteen tons had already been purchased and distributed to homes and businesses in York. Over the next four to five months the entire load of coal would be sold to individuals and businesses in York Village, York Harbor, York Beach, Cape Neddick, Kittery, Eliot, and Portsmouth. The Congregational Church, York Hospital, York High School, Mrs. Newton Perkins and her daughter Elizabeth, Kittery resident William Dean Howells, as well as numerous other residents and businesses consumed coal from the *Florence & Lillian* cargo during that year.[47]

Sixty-five different schooners, mostly three-masted, are known to have carried coal into York from 1901-1918. Eighty-six different voyages can be documented, most of them carrying coal to York from Perth Amboy, New Jersey, New York City, or Boston. Arrangements were for the vessel to carry the coal, usually at a rate of $1.00 per ton, with the Marshall paying for towage and bridge charges in bringing the schooner up from Portsmouth.[48]

The schooners were hired on a per voyage basis, seldom returning to York again after discharging their coal.[49] One notable exception was the one hundred and twenty-one foot tern schooner *William L. Elkins* of Boston, and later New York. She came up the York River to unload coal eight times from 1904 to 1913, her shipments totalled 2,923 tons, enough to fill Marshall's coal orders for two years.[50]

The coal schooners destined for Marshall's wharf were all that was left of York's once proud maritime heritage by 1916. Freight rates on schooners more than doubled during this period making large shipments of coal by tern schooner unaffordable for businesses like Marshall's Store. The schooner *Jennie N. Huddell* was chartered for $1.00 per ton in 1907. Nine years later, in March of 1916, when Kate Marshall chartered the tern schooner *Henrietta Simmons*, the freight rate was still only $1.50 per ton. But when she chartered the Boston owned *St. Croix* in October of that year, the rate had jumped to $2.30 per ton. Freight rates on coal by

rail had decreased and were about $1.00 less than rates by schooner at that time, making rail shipments more economical.[51]

Compounding the problem was the intervention of the Federal Fuel Administration in the distribution of coal during World War I. In the face of the shortages and rising prices the FFA attempted to control prices on coal and to ration its distribution to insure a fair share for everyone.

When coal became regularly available again in 1918 the Marshall wharf no longer had the capability to receive coal by water. Kate Marshall gave the following reasons:

> First, the severe winter and ice damaged our wharf to the extent that discharging by water is impossible. Second, every available man in York is employed at the neighboring ship yards, or navy yard, and labor is unattainable. Third, all-rail freights run from $1.00 to $2.00 per ton lower than water freights, and as the other two coal dealers in town are receiving coal all-rail, we cannot compete with them on any other basis.[52]

Gone with the coal schooners was York's last link with deep water maritime trade. When the *St. Croix* sailed down the York River and out into the ocean in October of 1916, it was the last large ocean going sailing vessel to do so, ending the era of trade sailing ships in York Maine.

The river was, for many who made their living from it over the years, the medium in which travel and most of their activity took place. The river was a means of transportation, recreation, and for many years the only option York residents had to get their goods to markets in the immediate area and beyond. It was not only the provider of their livelihood, it, like the Marshall Store, was a part of the everyday reality of living in York during the period of 1867 to 1918.

ABBREVIATIONS

MP	Marshall Papers, Old York Historical Society
OYHS	Manuscript Files, Old York Historical Society Library

Notes

[1]Sarah Orne Jewett, *Deephaven*. (Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Peter E. Randall, 1993), 86.

[2]Sarah L. Giffen, and Kevin D. Murphy eds., *A Noble and Dignified Stream: The Piscataqua Region in the Colonial Revival, 1860-1930*, (York, Maine: Old York Historical Society), 1992, 180-181.

[3]Alexander Dennett to George A. Marshall, Copy of deed transfer, 1867, MP; Charles Bragdon to George A. Marshall, LS, 12 October 1867, MP.

[4]"York General Store 80 Years Old Today," *Portsmouth (NH) Herald*, 22 October 1947, p. 8.; "Katherine Marshall of York," *Lewiston (Maine) Journal*, 4 May 1940, p. 1, 7(A)

[5]*Lewiston Journal* 1940, p. 1, 7(A); George A. Marshall, Lorillard Fire Insurance Company, policy # 1218, 8 November 1871, DS by George Marshall, MP.

[6]George Marshall, Day Book 1867-1873, OYHS; George Marshall, Account Ledger 1867-1873, OYHS; George Marshall, Account Ledger 1899-1908, OYHS; George Marshall, Account Ledger 1869-1873, OYHS.

[7]*Lewiston Journal* 1940, p. 1, 7(A).

[8]Ibid.

[9]George Marshall, Day Book 1867-1873, OYHS.

[10]George Marshall, Account Book for schooner Karen Huppuch, 1888, MP; Ralph Lowe, *What Interested Me; Memories of York, Maine*. TMs, circa 1960, OYHS.

[11]George Marshall, Day Book 1867-1873, OYHS, 28, 36, 50, 52.

[12]Paul Langdon, Invoice Book, 1868-1875, OYHS.

[13]Misc. Receipts and Customer Orders, 1870-1908, MP.

[14]George Marshall, Account Book, 1897-1907, MP; George E. Marshall, Order for Explosives, DS, 9 February 1902, MP.

[15]Geo. Marshall to E.B. and S.T. Blaisdell, LS, 1 September 1896, MP; Lewiston Journal 1940, p. 1, 7(A).

[16]George E. Marshall, Coal Order Book, 1905, MP.

[17]Adaline Marshall, Oath of office as customs collector, DS, 22 October 1905, MP.

[18]"Miss Marshall, girl collector of York," *Boston Sunday Post*, 29 October 1905.

[19]Adaline Marshall to Kate Marshall,LS, July 1908, MP; Adaline Marshall to M. Elizabeth Marshall,LS, May 1908, MP; Dr. Abbott to M. Elizabeth Marshall, LS, October 1907, MP.

[20]*Lewiston Journal*, 1940, p. 1, 7(A).

[21]George A. Marshall,North British and Mercantile Insurance Company, Policy # 4967372, 19 December 1907. MP

[22]George A. Marshall, *Old York Transcript*, 27 May 1932, obituary.

[23]*Lewiston Journal*, 1940, p. 1, 7(A); *Boston Sunday Post*, 29 October 1905; *Portsmouth Herald*, 22 October 1947, p. 8; Doris Ricker Marston,"Store Shares York History," Newspaper clipping, source and date unknown, MP.

[24]*Portsmouth Herald*, 22 October 1947, p. 8.

[25]*American State Papers, Commerce and Navigation, Vols. I & II, and Commerce and Navigation Reports.* Cited in William Hutchinson Rowe, *The Maritime History of Maine.* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1948, rept., Gardiner, Maine: Harpwell Press Inc., 1989), 317.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Treasury Department,*Commerce and Navigation Reports of the United States: Foreign Commerce, Immigration and Tonnage.* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1881-1912).

[28]Ibid.

[29]Rowe 1989, 237-8; Roger F. Duncan, *Coastal Maine A Maritime History.* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1992), 385, 396.

[30]George A. Marshall, vessel account book, 1884-1891, MP.

[31]Edward Lowe and Edward Baker, Seaman's Time Book for the schooner *John & Frank*, 1879-1883, OYHS; F.W. Barry from George A. Marshall, receipt from schooner A.T. Haynes, D, 15 September 1899, MP.

[32]Albert Nowell to George Marshall, LS, 19 June 1868, MP.

[33]Hiram Shaw to Geo. A. Marshall, bill, DS, December 1867 - May 1868. MP.

[34]Photographic Collections, Old York Historical Society Library.

[35]Schooner *Addie*, brickyard accounts, 1874, 1876, MP.

[36]Seaman's Time Book, OYHS.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Nathaniel G. Marshall and George A. Marshall, Account Book, 1846-1875, MP; George A. Marshall, vessel account book, 1884-1891, MP.

[39]Day Book 1867-1873, OYHS, 108; Lowe, c. 1960, 71, 84.

[40]George E. Marshall, railroad papers, 1900-1904, MP.

[41]*Boston Sunday Post*, 29 October 1905.

[42]*Lewiston Journal*, 1940, p. 1, 7(A); James W. Belano, *Log of the Skipper's Wife*. (Camden, Maine: Down East Books, 1979), 110, 114.

[43]*Lewiston Journal*, 1940, p. 1, 7(A); *Boston Sunday Post*, 29 October 1905; Duncan 1992, 385, 396; Kate Marshall, Coal Vessels at York, 1901-1918, OYHS; Treasury Department, *Lists of U.S. Merchant Vessels*, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office), 1901-1916; Rowe 1989, 237.

[44]Ibid.

[45]Coal Vessels at York, 1901-1918, OYHS.

[46]*Lewiston Journal*, 1940, p. 1, 7(A); Treasury Department, *Lists of U.S. Merchant Vessels*, 1901-1918.

[47]*Coal Vessels at York, 1901-1918*.; Kate Marshall,*Coal Order Book*, 1912-13, MP.

[48]George E. Marshall and Kate Marshall, *Coal Trade Papers, 1903-1919*.; MP; *Lewiston Journal*, 1940, p. 1, 7(A).

[49]*Coal Vessels at York*, 1901-1918;

[50]Ibid; Treasury Department, *Lists of U.S. Merchant Vessels*, 1901-1916; Coal Trade Papers, 1903-1919.

[51]Ibid.

[52]Kate Marshall to U.S. Fuel Administration, LS, 16 October1918, MP.