



**New England Whaling Heritage:  
The Impact of Capitalism on Preservation  
and Public Interpretation**

by

**Justin H. Daley**

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for the degree of*

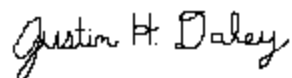
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## DECLARATION OF CANDIDATE

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledging any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Justin H. Daley". The signature is written in a cursive style with a clear, legible font.

Justin H. Daley  
11 February 2020

**DEDICATION**

Michelle B. Noble (1989-2013)

The sweat and tears expended to produce this dissertation will forever  
serve as a reminder of the opportunities denied to so many.

## ABSTRACT

The 18<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> century New England whaling industry was the world's leading whaling enterprise. It generated considerable wealth for dozens of emerging oligarchs whose descendants found themselves in a favorable position to subsequently define the interpretation of whaling heritage over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The central question posed in this thesis is: how did an evolving capitalist system influence the preservation and interpretation of the Yankee whaling industry (1712-1875) in New England? Through a detailed study of the indoor and outdoor interpretive resources of 12 communities, this research looks at what aspects of whaling heritage have been preserved, whether there is regional variation in preservation, how interpretations have been influenced by economic circumstances and changed over time, and how particular interpretations have been prioritized and presented to the public. Over 350 interpretive resources were analyzed, revealing differences in the distribution of interpretive resource types and the changes over pre-revival (<1870), revival (1870-1940) and post revival periods (>1940). While the early interpretive material reflects the more formal story of the Yankee elite, the revival period saw a dramatic shift to the Yankee working-class narrative during a time when few 'whites' were left in the industry. It was more than a century since the revival period began, before the story of minorities and immigrants gained headway.

There is considerable regional geographic variation in interpretive resources, largely resulting from where and when the consolidation of capital occurred in these communities. Ultimately, the geographic position of each community shaped its economic future, as those conducive to newer transportation networks were the most profitable. The increased need for labor during the Industrial Revolution resulted in a perceived a loss of social status by the Yankee elite, which resulted in their expropriation of history through the funding of statues, monuments, artwork, and other historical outlets of interpretation from the 1870s onwards. The conclusion of this research is that what survives in the historic landscape, historic literature and the archaeological record reflects the ideologies of capitalism and its historic impact on whaling in New England.

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## Part I: Introduction, Background, and Economic Theory

### Chapter I. Introduction

The antiquity of the pursuit of the great cetacean extends as far back as seafaring itself. The species that were hunted, techniques for their capture, methods for processing, disposition of the catch, pervasiveness of the hunt and the use of whale products and by-products as subsistence or luxury commodities have varied considerably over time and across regions. The three main commodities sought by Europeans from whaling were ambergris, whale oil, and bone, and their prices fluctuated widely and often unpredictably according to supply and demand, tariffs, bounties, monopolies, foreign and domestic conflicts, and disasters (see Table 1; Figure 1 below, for five-year averages, or Goode (1887) for a more detailed table). Ambergris, a substance used in luxury perfumes, was by far the most valuable and rarest find. Generally varying between \$100 and \$200 per pound<sup>1</sup>, it could be worth more than an entire oil cargo. It was procured from male Sperm whales and was the result of intestinal infection caused by the beaks of squid. By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century it reached between \$200 and \$400 per pound (Robotti 1962:44).

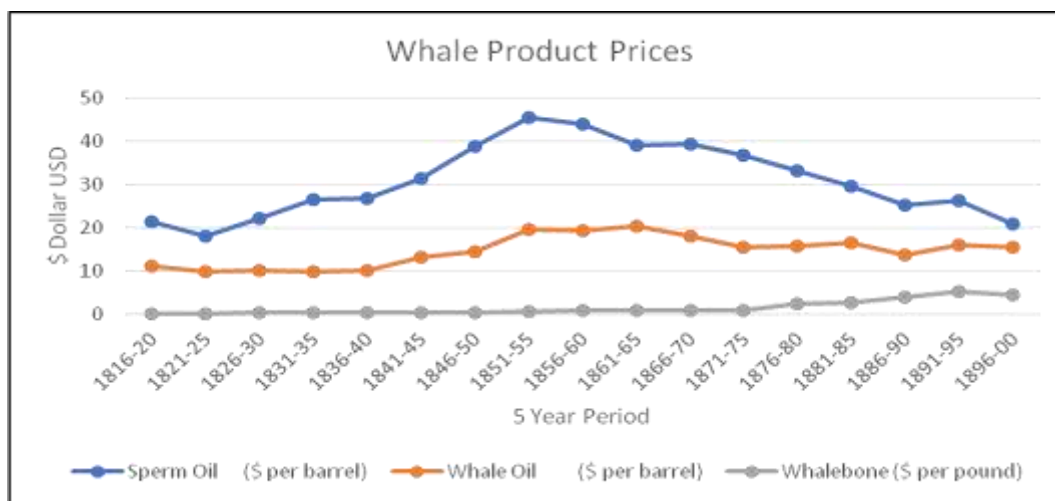


Figure 1. 19<sup>th</sup> century Whale Product Prices.

<sup>1</sup> All monetary figures provided in this research, are given in the US dollar (USD), unless otherwise indicated.

Table 1. New Bedford Five Year Averages for Sperm and Whale Products (Davis et al. 1997:367).

	<b>Sperm Oil (\$ per barrel)</b>	<b>Whale Oil (\$ per barrel)</b>	<b>Whalebone (\$ per pound)</b>
<b>1816-20</b>	21.30	11.20	0.08
<b>1821-25</b>	17.90	9.78	0.13
<b>1826-30</b>	22.06	9.93	0.22
<b>1831-35</b>	26.40	9.68	0.18
<b>1836-40</b>	26.62	10.11	0.19
<b>1841-45</b>	31.42	13.15	0.38
<b>1846-50</b>	38.81	14.37	0.37
<b>1851-55</b>	45.45	19.66	0.43
<b>1856-60</b>	43.82	19.16	0.84
<b>1861-65</b>	39.04	20.35	0.91
<b>1866-70</b>	39.33	17.88	0.72
<b>1871-75</b>	36.79	15.39	0.86
<b>1876-80</b>	33.25	15.57	2.32
<b>1881-85</b>	29.45	16.55	2.59
<b>1886-90</b>	25.25	13.65	3.94
<b>1891-95</b>	26.13	15.98	5.15
<b>1896-00</b>	20.71	15.39	4.38

The main reason Americans pursued whales was their oil, of which, there were two types sought. Sperm oil, from the Sperm whale, was the more desirable and came in two forms. Spermaceti was purer, waxy, and could be bailed straight from the headcase. The rest was derived from the blubber and classified in varying degrees of Sperm oil purity. Sperm whales typically provided between 40 and 100 barrels of oil per whale, with up to 15 barrels, or 500 gallons, taken from the head alone (Hawes 1924:6; Robotti 1962:50). A barrel of whale oil was 31.5 gallons and cargos at times ran above 2,000 barrels (Robotti 1962:40; Starbuck 1945:31).

Sperm oil was sought after as a lubricant because of its ideal viscosity for use in finer machinery like clocks, watches, sewing machines, and navigational equipment. It maintained its desirability well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century for its tolerance of the higher temperatures needed for battleships (Dolin 2007:364). Most importantly, it produced a long burning and relatively

smokeless lighting oil, the greatest consumption of which was used in lighthouses, which eventually operated exclusively on Sperm oil (Davis et al. 1997:342; Dolin 2007:12). Spermaceti candles were the highest quality and generated the first monopoly in America: The United Company of Spermaceti Chandlers (UCSC), in 1753, with the specific purpose of cornering the market in Massachusetts Colony (Stackpole 1953:28).

The other type was classified as whale oil and included everything other than the Sperm whale (mostly Right whale). Whale oil was derived from the blubber as well as refining other parts of the whale to produce oil with four different degrees of purity. The first was from blubber from finbacks; the second came from the second boiling of finbacks; the third from the meat and blubber in closed boilers; and the fourth was derived from bones, scraps and meat (Jenkins 1921:44). Each of these were cooled for 10 to 12 days before being squeezed into a granulated form to produce winter oil. Two-thirds of the oil taken from a Sperm whale was turned into winter oil, half of which was sold as is, and half bleached to remove impurities before being reheated to 50 to 60 degrees and pressed again to produce spring oil (about 9% of total whale oil). It was then heated to 80 degrees and pressed a third time for taut pressed oil. Whale oil served as a lubricant for watches and industrial machinery, and by 1835 it constituted almost a third of lubricants used in the rapidly expanding cotton-textile industry (Davis et al. 1997:344). Soap was a common by-product, and further uses were found in candles, paint, and architecture.

The third desirable commodity was whalebone, and by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century only whalebone and Spermaceti were still being sought (Tower 1907:114). Whalebone, also called baleen, comes from the mouth of Right whales. The teeth are long, flexible, and strong and, when heated, can be shaped to any desired position (Jenkins 1921:41; Robotti 1962:43). Its most frequent uses were in whips, umbrellas, parasol ribs, surgical instruments, sofa springs, carriage



spring, hats, suspenders, neck stocks, canes, rosettes, cushions to billiard tables, fishing rods, diving-rods, bows, busks, forearm bows, probangs, pen holders, paper folders and cutters, bootshanks, shoehorns, brushes, and mattresses. A change of fashion may have prolonged the whaling industry somewhat, as whalebone went up to \$3.25/pound in 1878 (Bockstoce 1986:208; SSTC 1915:44). A Right whale typically yielded eight to 10 pounds of bone for every barrel of oil (Starbuck 1964 [1978]:E). Arctic whales had the largest bone, used mainly for whips and dressmaking. Northwest whalebone was the heaviest and was suited for whips and canes. South sea whalebone was fine, and short, and used in whips and dress bone. Humpback was short and black, while finback was short and coarse; both were used for corsets. White whalebone was worth more than black (Goode 1887:5).

While many nations contributed to, and were involved in, the story of whaling, it was the industry which emerged within the United States from the 17<sup>th</sup> through to the 20<sup>th</sup> century that was significant. For nearly two centuries the New England whaling industry rivaled the nations of Europe, largely due to the contributions of the Spermaceti whale to a variety of household products and industrial activities, and for decades New Englanders led the world in this pursuit. Whaling became one of the largest industries to impact the development of New England's economy and culture.

Among the earliest major success stories in a rapidly rising capitalist economy, whaling provided employment for, and the livelihoods of, many thousands of seamen and their families. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century this industry began contributing to a substantial period of economic, political, technological, social, religious, and cultural growth within dozens of New England coastal communities, continuing in varying degrees into the early 20th century. Many whaling fortunes were undoubtedly lost, but the whaling industry also generated considerable wealth for dozens of

emerging oligarchs. Some of the better recognized descendants of whaling wealth include Macy's (department stores), Coleman's (outdoor gear), and Folger's (Coffee). Hetty Green, the wealthiest woman in late 19<sup>th</sup> century America, and better known as the "Witch of Wall Street," came from New Bedford whaling money (Dolin 2007:214). Her inheritance from her father, George Howland, was more than a million mid-late 19<sup>th</sup> century dollars (Emery 1919:77), and her son, Colonel Edward Green, was the first to display the whaleship *Charles W. Morgan* on his estate (Appendix K.2).

The descendants of these families found themselves in the best position to subsequently define the interpretation of whaling heritage. Since there is a relationship between the exercise of power and the way that history is represented in orthodox forms (Bartels 2005:1; Burke 1996:205; Trouillot 1995:5), the result is often an unequal historical representation of social classes and minority groups. Historical depictions of a "Yankee" 'Old Salt', for example, typically consist of a bearded old whaler/fisherman of European ancestry, aesthetically weathered from his many years at sea. Such portrayals are found within historical literature, folklore and television, as well as in the physical landscape of whaling cities today.

The emergence of this theme is set within the nostalgia of the declining decades of the whale fisheries, which coincided with the growth of Portuguese immigrant-dominated commercial fishing out of former whaling ports. The Old Salt is nearly always adorned with a full white beard, indicating wisdom and experience, while outfits vary from tattered clothes and flannel to polished officers' uniforms, later transitioning to a more recognizable yellow slicker and hat worn by cod and mackerel fisherman at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The image of the Old Salt remained current up and down the New England coast during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Olly 2013:77) (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Old Salt Postcard.

The thesis of this dissertation is that stories, monuments, paintings and other forms of the public interpretation of whaling will reflect themes co-opting whaling history into economic narratives of success and the “hero” stories of possessive individualism constructed around wealthy, white whaling families—typically the owners and officers—with the remainder of the crew only discussed in supporting or secondary roles. Such misrepresentation is the result of those in power—the wealthy, white members of the elite class—deciding what stories are told and, consciously or not and to varying degrees, suppressing the significant roles of those outside their social class, families, or nationalities. This poses the main question(s) for this research:

How did an evolving capitalist system influence the preservation and interpretation of the “Yankee” pelagic whaling industry prior to 1880 in New England?

Supporting questions include:

What material aspects (sites, structures, landmarks) of the whaling industry have been preserved and why?

Are there regional variations in the preservation and interpretation of the whaling story, and, if so, why?

How did economic circumstances influence what aspects have been preserved, where, by whom, and why?

How have these resources been presented to the public through literature, monuments, plaques, tourism, museums, historical societies, library displays, and other outlets?

What degree of misrepresentation still exists, if any, with regards to Native American, African, Native Islander, and other minority groups' contributions to the whaling industry in today's historic landscape and public interpretation platforms?

The data for this thesis is derived from the 12 most active New England whaling communities who embarked on this industry between the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Figure 3). This dissertation explores the effects of capitalism on the preservation and interpretation of the “Yankee” whaling industry in these communities today. It aims to determine the accuracy and inclusiveness of this industry's representation and, through this, to understand how the ideologies of capitalism shaped particular working relationships in the whaling industry and how various groups were represented in this process. To do this it examines a range of public interpretive settings (history exhibits, house museums, plaques, statues, and other forms of public interpretation) and the ways in which the physical traces of whaling that survive today are remembered within these communities.



Figure 3. Top 12 whaling ports

The significance of this research relates to the effects of capitalism on the preservation and interpretation of the “Yankee” whaling industry. Parker B. Potter discusses how material culture has the power to guide our behavior and shape society, because people are subject to the embedded sub-textual messages established within material culture (Potter 1992:127). ‘Material culture does not just exist. It is created by someone, to do something, and it does not passively reflect society, rather, it creates society through the actions of individuals.’ (Hodder 1986:6). Critical archaeologists must “peel away the layers of inaccuracies and sift through centuries of misconceptions and misrepresentations” to come to some understanding of the ways history itself is an artifact (Coombs 2002 in Bell 2009:35). This research does just that by discussing the influence of the underlying principles of capitalism on the creation of the whaling narrative. Further, it embraces concepts of materiality or the belief that archaeology is not just about below

ground artifacts, but also encompasses above ground ones, such as buildings, graves, and monuments, as ‘indicators of human intrusion into the world’ (Meskell and Preucel 2004:14).

With archaeology being a holistic science, this research incorporated not only the preservation potential of archaeological resources, but also elements of history, historic preservation, and museum studies, all connected through the materiality of the surviving physical traces of whaling and its commemoration on the landscape. Thus far, archaeological excavations of whaling resources are lacking in New England and therefore were not available as a data for inclusion in this research. However, the archaeological significance presented in the preservation analysis in Chapter VIII is a critical tool for exploring the future potential of these resources.

Part 1 of this research begins by introducing the underlying theoretical framework of this thesis. Chapter II first defines capitalism and then introduces the concepts of social identity, heritage, and critical archaeology. This is followed by a discussion of the economic and technological evolution of the New England whaling industry in Chapter III. Chapter IV breaks down the structure of the labor force, including the social hierarchy and racial diversity of the crew, and Chapter V provides an introduction to the local histories of these communities to establish how their development fits into the larger evolution of capitalism and whaling.

Part II sets forth the methods involved in conducting this research. It describes the factors used to determine both the communities that were selected and the time frame for the study. The criteria for data collection are also included, as is a discussion of certain difficulties that arose with selecting various categories for comparison. Following the methods is the presentation of the archaeological and interpretive data that was collected.

Part III is divided into three chapters of analysis and interpretation. Chapter VIII discusses how the evolution of these communities within a developing capitalist framework

affected their current states of preservation. Chapter IX answers the primary and secondary question posed in Chapter 1 regarding interpretation, and Chapter X summarizes the finding of this research and relates it to contemporary economic trends.

## Chapter II. Social Identity, Heritage, and Critical Archaeology

*What if I told you that the version of history you were taught in school, was heavily revised to favor your own nations' agenda while hiding its crimes and in doing so fostered an unrealistic sense of false patriotism used to manufacture your allegiance to a corporate entity masquerading as your government? (anonymous)*

### ***Identity, Ideology, and Capitalism***

The above passage is of no known origin but has been popularly used by “conspiracy” and government watch groups alike. It refers to the capitalist tendency for corporations to consolidate enough resources to fund media outlets and election campaigns, and in turn, directly influence public school agendas and the intended creation of a unified, yet misrepresented, national narrative. The following chapter defines capitalism and then discusses ideology and its effects on creating social identity and national heritage. It introduces critical archaeology and the archaeology of capitalism within the Annapolis school of thought as well as addresses its critiques. It further discusses the historical expropriation of history during the maritime revival period in the United States (1870-1940) and also explores the role of museums in acting as agents for social change. The chapter concludes with a brief summary of maritime cultural landscapes and how they contribute to our understanding of the past.

History is an ongoing “dynamic between those who seek to dominate culture, economy, and society, and those who struggle to resist, all within capitalism.” (Leone and Silberman 1995:xv). While the elite stand out from the social masses, they still share a common set of overlapping characteristics and social affiliations with members of their community. People want to belong, and whether it be through race, religion, ethnicity, politics, or class, the wealthy and powerful use a shared social identity to incorporate the masses into a subordinate position and



thus maintain the established power structure. Not all members of this identity subscribe to every viewpoint or characteristic of the larger group, but depending on the socio-political climate, different variables are highlighted with flexible degrees of importance to enforce or alter the existing social order and national identity. Orser (2002) is an excellent source on the role of race in archaeology, while Tawney (1926) explores the role of religion in Capitalism.

Capitalism, along with slave society and feudalism, is one of three major forms of class society (Ollman 2014:365). Under slavery, there was no incentive to innovate or increase profits, while under serfdom, men were bound to the land and owed a portion of their unpaid labor to their landlord each year (Banaji 2011:166). Three factors define the introduction of capitalism. These are private property, production for profit, and a system of exchange based on market prices (Sanders 1995:9). The system is based on capital's continued reinvestment into the most profitable lines of production, and the resulting innovations provide new means for extracting additional profit, while the diffusion of technology introduces competition to keep down prices (Albrecht 2014:27). Eventually growth subsides and falling profits lead capitalists to seek more profitable markets. This "creative destruction" produces brief turmoil and chaos but ultimately leads to a more profitable reconfiguration (Albrecht 2014:28).

Within this cycle are various forms of power and wealth inequality, and this system is sustained and perpetuated through the manipulation of peoples' perceptions of reality. Ideology is created through the way people see themselves. "Within capitalism, membership in a group (or groups) is created within tensions of unequal society, and ideology is thus a process which brings individuals and groups into certain power relations and provides both social identity and knowledge about the world." (Burke 1996:206). Ideology is a system of common beliefs and understandings that bind a group. It is impacted by the environment, social interactions,

education, labor opportunities, exploitable resources, and more. It serves as a cultural lens for the way people see the world and is often loaded with deceptive or outright false beliefs. These beliefs are no less a reality to those who adhere to them, but they were largely molded by those with social influence to favor the ruling class. Often, people are not even consciously aware of the group(s) they belong to (Burke 1996:25), and most believe things just are the way they are without questioning why or how they became that way. Ideology works to preserve the fundamental inequalities of capitalism by hiding, distorting, denying, and rationalizing existing unequal class relations (Ollman 2014:362). See Eagleton (1991), Hodgson (2016), Kennedy (2015) and Larrain (1994) for more in-depth discussions of ideology and inequality.

***Critical Archaeology:***

An increasing number of archaeologists have become concerned with how the ‘present is used to structure the creating, understanding, and uses of the past’ (Burke 1996:12). The area of archaeology that is best known for investigating ideology and its effects, is critical archaeology, derived from Marxist approaches to understanding class relations. Vere Gordon Childe, as early as 1935, was among the first archaeological theorists to use Marxism to better understand the relationship between archaeology and modern society, and he sought to use archaeology as a science of progress to address major social issues in order to build a better future (Meskell and Preucel 2004:4).

The victors throughout history are generally the ones who either have, or ultimately attain, wealth and power, and those with wealth and power, in turn, have a greater advantage in the political process (Bartels 2005:1). Critical archaeology seeks to understand the socio-political variables that define the production and development of societies, as well as create the nexus between those occupying the dominant positions and those inhabiting the subordinate roles in a

social network. It seeks to address the reasons for these relationships, as well as attempts to resist capitalism's power dichotomy. This approach can show how the wealthy legitimated the power they attained through the exploitation of the powerless. McGuire (2002) is one of the top sources for more on Marxist archaeology while Marx (1847) and Marx (1848) are a more direct references to the underlying socioeconomic philosophy.

“Tracking power requires a richer view of historical production than most theorists acknowledge” (Trouillot 1995:25). As a result, critical archaeology focuses almost exclusively on how the study of capitalism can shed light on historical processes that—among other things—may be used for evaluating future economic events and trends. Mark Leone, in Maryland, focused on this goal during his attempt to “challenge the traditional view of colonial America, and the early republic, using archaeology to find evidence for the rise of inequality and popular resistance to dominant economic order.” (Leone and Silberman 1995:xiv). He too argued for history being dynamic, unpredictable, and filled with alternatives, rather than simply a march toward progress. It is the sum of the actions and decisions of numerous individuals rather than the product of a small group of elites.

What Leone was arguing against was the construction of national histories: sensationalized embellishments of certain events from the perspective of a small group of social elites, taught from a Eurocentric viewpoint, and intended to instill a standardized set of values (Leone and Silberman 1995:3-4). Those standardized values underlie the way capitalism operates and are the basis on which it has been constructed. The most fundamental of these is individualism, or “the idea that the individual's life belongs to him and that he has an inalienable right to live it as he sees fit, to act on his own judgment, to keep and use the product of his effort, and to pursue the values of his choosing” (Biddle 2012:2). This has two repercussions. The first

is that by promoting the idea that the individual was responsible for their own life circumstances the blame for wealth disparities could be shifted onto the people who were being exploited. The second is the belief that the needs and rights of the individual trump the greater good of society. From the concepts of individualism arose the “Great Man Theory” in the 1840s. Thomas Carlyle believed there to be individuals whose personal attributes and divine inspiration were responsible for most noteworthy historical events (Villanova University 2019:2-5). Carlyle’s argument was countered by Herbert Spencer in the 1860s, who emphasized that all men, “great” or not, are products of their environment and the social conditions that made them (Segal 2000:3).

By virtue of the fact that individualism “endorses the personal use of the past to further disguise politically motivated and enacted class structures” (Handsman and Leone 1989:120), it has become a central point of archaeological study. Handsman and Leone (1989) used George Washington’s diaries and letters to show Washington as a person and reveal his true insights. Rather than seeing him as another flawless ‘great man’, embodying perfection and always having clear forethought, they showed he faced the same doubts, concerns, and uncertainty as anybody else and that his decisions and actions were the result of many possible outcomes. ‘History is more than just what is written and beyond a simple affirmation of truth or falsehood.’ (Handsman and Leone 1989:120). History includes everything, even that which has not yet been revealed. It is the collective experience of all individuals whose actions and decisions played a role in determining the course of events.

While the Annapolis School of thought has become a ‘well-recognized force within the discipline’, it has not gone without its critiques. Wilkie and Bartoy (2000) argue its failure to incorporate human agency, and the use of capitalism to escape class, prevents it from reaching its full potential within critical theory and that its focus on capitalists exploiting and laborers

resisting, 'masks the complex manipulations of social relationships' that exist within the context of capitalism (Bartoy and Wilkie 2000:747-748). Their argument, in essence, places a higher emphasis on the environment being the product of the actions of individuals rather than individuals being the product of their environment. While arguments emphasizing either perspective are not lacking within contemporary critical theory, other authors, such as O'Brien (1996), found compromise in arguing for selectionism or the belief that agency exists, but only in the context of producing variation (Meskell and Preucel 2000:8). As with most theoretical perspectives, the dichotomies better complement each other rather than contradict, and often come down to semantical assertions.

***Dialectic Approach to Revisionist History:***

'History as a social process involves three categories of participants: agents, actors, and subjects' (Troillot 1995:23). The dialectic approach is a key method of studying people, as it uses conflict to challenge previously held assumptions and searches for the flaws in the way history has been told. It recognizes that culture is always changing and 'looks for the changes in the contradictions' (Philbrick 2011:121-122). This approach, used by most who specialize in the archaeology of capitalism or revisionist history, looks at history as not simply "the sum of individual acts" led by great men but as the result of the contributions of the masses whose ideology is the product of their shared experiences and relations and that results in the creation of their cultural identity (Philbrick 2011:143).

Philbrick emphasizes the necessity for the researcher to continuously rethink the diversity of perspectives and emerging considerations (Philbrick 2011:261-262) as history is a continual process of correction. It is not static, and the goal of reconstructive or revisionist history is to help the public better connect with their past by making it more diverse and inclusive. This often

requires challenging long held popular assumptions. Archaeology assists in challenging these assumptions and can be used by Indigenous and other underrepresented groups of people ‘as a means to reclaim their past’ (Meskell and Preucel 2004:16). “Contested Pasts: Archaeology and Native Americans” (McGuire 2007) is an excellent source discussing this subject.

The themes of revisionist, reconstructive, or corrective history gained popularity throughout the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century with the rise of Marxist influence and critical archaeology and emerged in popular 1990s research such as “Silencing the Past” (Trouillot 1995) and “History Wars” (Englehardt and Linenthal 1996). Trouillot (1995) argues that exposing silences requires a holistic knowledge of subject matter. Economists study growth maximization, historians document known facts, and social scientists study the impacts of exploitation on the disenfranchised, but only a more complete understanding of how each field correlates can result in a richer quality of interpretive content.

### ***Museums:***

A holistic approach is particularly relevant in the area of museum studies. Museums can act as agents for social change, and there has long been a debate around the degree to which social agency has been marginalized in museum displays and causes inequality (Sandell 2002:xvii). When evaluating museums and other forms of public interpretation, one must ask how it was funded, by whom, and what the political or other pressures influencing the stakeholders were, as well as the financial and human resources available to the community (Sandell 2002:xviii). Not all museums accept social change and some pursue agendas resistant to it. Rather than using collections, preservation efforts, and displays as components of enacting social change, they continue to view them as outcomes.

Visitors are often not aware that the artifacts being used are frequently intended to promote a dominant ideology (Potter 1992:126): ‘They do not speak for themselves but are spoken for by their interpreters’ (Leone and Knauf 2015:17). Historians Englehardt and Linenthal (1996), for example, focused on the controversy of the Enola Gay exhibit set up at the Smithsonian, in 1945, on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of dropping the atomic bombs on Japan in the Second World War. The exhibit highlighted the destruction and consequences of bombing civilians, as opposed to promoting the heroic victory many were expecting. The “History Wars” they spoke of refer to the traditionally conservative approach coming into conflict with a more liberal revisionist approach. Linenthal (1991) presents similar themes of racial nuances in his book “Sacred Ground” regarding some of America’s most notable battlefields.

Handsman and Leone (1989), point out the exact goal that this research seeks to address. They call for ‘critical archaeologists to use exhibits, living presentations, stories, films, and other media against themselves to bring the internal contradictions to light in hope of fostering awareness of the hegemonic relationship between capitalist ideology, narrations, and history in the post-modern world’ (Handsman and Leone 1989:119). This allows for people to see how their current history was shaped by the past. Archaeological and museum educators, when interpreting this material culture, need to understand how visitors think with objects, and design their interpretive framework in a way that is most receptive to the visitor, not necessarily the archaeologist’s ideal vision (Potter 1992:126).

In interpretation visual forms of communication are often more powerful—and therefore more symbolically laden—than textual forms. Olly, in a study of how art history and imagery has been used in creating heritage and tourism, argues that ‘painters and photographers have helped shape the national image of New England’s coastal landscape, and its people, as rugged

and heroic' (Olly 2013:11). Olly gives examples of the bias found in postcards, paintings, pictures, and other forms of art that contribute to a misleading perception. "Visual imagery was one of the surest methods to inculcate the prevailing culture's values onto large and diverse groups." (Grasso 2009:196). This is due to the greater ease of absorbing visual information, but it came at the cost of understanding it in context. "The Good Enough Visitor", by Mark O'Neil, discusses the elitist nature of art in general as a sign of the European social elite. There has, however, been progress in much of the world, with galleries that once displayed "ceramics, silver, and glass" now designed to incorporate a more thematic story (Sandell 2002:12).

Museums typically include a diverse array of audio, visual, textual, and interactive exhibit and display formats, although there is often far too much for a visitor to read, listen to, smell, participate with, and when appropriate, touch, in a single visit. The average person forms their entire image of history from the initial senses (sight, smell, feel, emotional appeal) and not from in-depth independent thought and analysis. They walk through at a pace corresponding to their level of interest. For most, this results in the overwhelming majority of sensory experience stemming from sight. Interpretive displays must be arranged to maximize the exposure of visual material while placing it in the context of a narrative that contributes to their better understanding of the larger theme. Museums must continue to move away from the object centered approaches and focus on the people behind their use by preserving their 'memories, stories, ideas, concepts, music, and oral testimonies' (Sandell 2002:258).

Sandell discusses the powers and responsibilities of museums and how they can positively impact society and help marginalized or disadvantaged groups. He talks about the lack of evaluation of museums in terms of their success at generating community empowerment, and further discusses the increase in research to address the 'consequences of excluding,



stereotyping, or silencing the role of minority groups. “We live, all of us, in a society of startling inequalities, a society that has badly failed to achieve community, and a society that seems determined to lay waste to the planet that is its sole source of support.” (Sandell 2002:7-8).

Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states “Everyone has the right to freely participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits” (United Nation 1948:7).

One hindrance to this effort is that many museum staff are not willing to relinquish control over how history is presented, and not all historians favor a more anthropologically interpretive approach. Factors influencing public interpretation depend on the size of the museum, the intended audience, their goals and mandate, funding sources, and more.

Fortunately, in recent years, interpretation has increasingly become a group decision making process (Sandell 2002:19). See Rabinowitz (2016) for more on “Curating America”.

### ***Whaling Heritage and The Maritime Revival:***

The earliest collections of whaling heritage began after the decline of whaling and the rise of the Industrial Revolution, circa 1870. The growing nostalgia of the period inspired a revival of maritime heritage, and these collections were amassed by the descendants most financially capable of contributing to the effort. Such collections later became the material basis for museums emerging throughout the early to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century. With those in the dominant financial position overwhelmingly being white, upper-class Yankees, the collections that grew reflected as much.

Jeffrey Bolster, in a lecture at the Munson Institute on 26 June 2017, pointed out how people who promote maritime history, for example, are often just remembering their childhood, and this is one of the reasons for the maritime revival. The maritime revival, which took place

between roughly 1870 and 1940, was coined by Glenn Grasso (Grasso 2009). It sought to convert the maritime world into a standard vision of “Americanism”. The elites, to insulate themselves from the social change of mass industrial immigration, chose what stories were told, and highlighted the positive aspects and ‘heroes’ of American heritage, while ignoring negative aspects and disenfranchised groups. By the 1930s the revival had created a single version of maritime America, and first-person narratives ‘blurred truth and fiction and promoted masculinity and adventure’ centering on the social elite (Grasso 2009:xv, 179). Americans, longing for ships and sails, developed a nostalgia for other indicators of a lost past, such as the way New Englanders used to speak (Karttunen 2005:17).

These following quotes represent the manufactured sentiment of the revival period and demonstrate its carryover into post-revival decades. “Those employed in the whale fishery are a stout, hardy set of men, and acknowledged to be the best seamen in the world.” (Macy 1880:111), and “The whaling crews yielded to no class of men known to history in terms of skillful and daring boatmen.” (Hohman 1928:12). These quotes represent a similar theme: that for a diverse industry renowned for its exploitation of decreasing qualities of crewman, all those involved were universally representative of the highest caliber of “Yankee” masculinity.

Furthermore, this image was not accurate or inclusive as it glorified a universal depiction of a heroic, adventurous, respectable, white, Christian man as constituting the characterization of a “true Yankee whalermen”. “Whalers were pioneers of exploration and blazed a trail for commerce, civilization, and Christianity to follow” (Verrill 1916:1;4), and “True Yankee whalermen” had quite the reputation and were portrayed as among the most resourceful type of men in the country’ (Coelho 1971:50; Robotti 1962:92). The revival sentiment continued to be reflected in these latter works of Coelho (1971), Robotti (1962), and many others.

During the maritime revival the elite used books, advertisements, exhibitions, museums, and personal experiences to create a narrative that told their own idealized version of the past. In doing so they sought to reinforce their social position, then diminishing in the face of increasing immigration, changing population patterns, and the shifting of industrial focus. They stressed the importance of having a unified national culture (Grasso 2009:3), while denying it was their own culture they sought to impose. The revival aimed to demonstrate how “Heroized seafaring could help educate new arrivals as to correct behavior and a fundamental, predefined Americanism. It established old families’ tastes and aesthetics” (Grasso 2009:3), and of course, as is the way of capitalism, downplayed conflict, poverty, and social inequality, as well as the consequences of slavery, expropriation, and colonialism (Saita 2005:6).

One consequence of this is that, while some elements of a valorized past were glorified, others were deliberately downplayed and forgotten. The ideology behind the revival period, for example, glorified “Yankee” whalers, although the associated imagery from this period stereotyped them into a uniform, upper-class Caucasian identity that did not reflect the diversity of class or complexion making up the forecastle. One whitewashed Eurocentric example is the John Mason statue, discussed in Ermenc (2017), and which was installed in 1889 at the intersection of Pequot Avenue and Clift Street, or the former location of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Mystic Fort, Connecticut. It was built during the height of the revival period and is a perfect example of a story promoting white European heritage, while ignoring the mass genocide inflicted on the Pequot tribe. It took the Pequots more than a century, largely through profits and influence attained in the casinos, to have this statue removed. This is not an isolated occurrence, leading Sandell (2002:19) to argue that “America has ended up with a landscape of denial”, because of a repeated tendency in authorized public forms of interpretation, especially monuments, markers,

and historic sites, to “avoid negative or controversial facts, and ... omit any blemishes that might taint the heroes they commemorate, making them larger and less interesting than life...”

The 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia was one of the first national displays of the maritime past, creating what Grasso has labeled the ‘narrow square-rigged view’ (Grasso 2009:231-232), although the photography of the day does not seem to have captured these displays for posterity. One company who made a major contribution to this visual depiction, from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> through early 20<sup>th</sup> early century, was the historic printmaking firm of Currier and Ives, who collected many lithographs, paintings, etchings, wood-cuts, and drawings and presented them disproportionately to favor the white square-rigged ships of Yankee whalers (Grasso 2009:309). The sailors and whalemens were nearly exclusively portrayed as white men wearing blue shirts, white pants, and red cravats. Women were simply portrayed as lonely wives and girlfriends, if mentioned at all. Ships, too, were designed to fit into the elitist image. The visual of the glorious three-masted ship is what has survived in popular memory.

Beginning in the 1920s, as sailing ships began to disappear from the landscape, the nostalgia and increased interest in the maritime—and particularly whaling—past led to the rise in popularity of museums (Bolster 1973:40). Carl Cutler, one of the founders of Mystic Seaport, was one of the many conservative republican preservationists to embrace the maritime revival and was one of the first major collectors of maritime heritage after the first World War. Charles Stillman, another founder, descended from Thomas Greenman, also amassed a large collection of whaling and maritime heritage, which along with Cutler’s, became the basis for the Marine Historical Association in 1929 (Grasso 2009:318).

The collections contained diaries, ship logs, letters, and varieties of scrimshaw as well as objects belonging to their more affluent whaling ancestors such as portraits, paintings,

spyglasses, navigation equipment, furniture, and more. The goal of Cutler, Stillman, and others, including Edward Bradley, was to get a group of 25 descendants of shipbuilders and owners, who had money and vested interests, to establish an upper-class masculine retreat to re-solidify their social position and present a unified story of their families, and thus, interpret whaling heritage (Grasso 2009:329, originally from a letter from Carl Cutler to Sherwood Chesney, 10 June 1930, Cutler Papers, box 1, folder 3).

Although former whaling ships, such as the *Charles Phelps* (constructed in 1841), had been used temporarily as the basis for a masculine display of Yankee three-masted tall ships in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was only when the *Charles W. Morgan* (also constructed in 1841) was saved by Colonel Edward Greene in the late 1920s, and further restored by the Marine Historical Association in 1941, that a more enduring memorial to “old type manhood” was achieved. Grasso’s (2009) study of the revival in Mystic demonstrated that the intent of these early heritage founders was a conscious effort to heroize the narrative of those descendants in the best socioeconomic position to contribute to the effort.

Lindgren’s (1999) focus on New Bedford illustrated the role that idealized “Old Types of Manhood” played in the creation of statues such as the ‘Angry Whaleman’ (1913), or in other popular museum exhibits such as scrimshaw jaggging wheels, the *Lagoda* replica (1916), and the bust of its captain, John Bourne. “Museum makers had idealized a world that presumably passed with mechanized whaling, newer immigrants, and industrial factories” (Lindgren 1999:205). While these themes dominated the content of material culture and interpretive presentations into the late 20th century, Lindgren (1999) makes an important note in acknowledging New Bedford’s role, two decades ago, in creating a more culturally inclusive, less romanticized history that takes the animal’s place in the environment into account.

*Maritime Cultural Landscape:*

Such misrepresentations are broader than just museums but also evident in the parts of the landscape that remain—whether by accident or design—to be interpreted. The reverse of this is also true: that the examination of these physical traces, and whether they are remembered or forgotten, can reveal a number of ways in which landscape and material remains can assist in revealing identity and power relations over time (Rogers 2013). “Landscape archaeology can incorporate deeply diachronic perspectives, taking into account changes in the environment, use, and perception over expanses of time.” (Ford 2011:5). It can show how the landscape influences actions and vice-versa. Rogers shows how studying maritime structures and the associated material resources, within a localized context, emphasizes the importance of human experience, ideology, and action in creating the meanings associated with these sites. While underwater sites also contribute to the maritime landscape, none were identified as preserved in this research.

Archaeology concentrates on material remains, however ‘an important part of the maritime cultural landscape is immaterial, cognitive, or indicative. It is not only the natural topography that influences the development of transport geography, but also culture and tradition.’ (Westerdahl 1992:2, 3). In this context waterfronts are a particular venue for exploring the activities that contributed to the construction of whaling wealth and its subsequent heritage (Rogers 2013:183, 188). With the underlying theoretical framework of this paper introduced, the following chapter places this research into a historic context and provides an overview of the macroeconomic principles that guided the shaping of New England’s economy and culture.

### Chapter III. Whaling and the Development of Capitalism in New England

*To found a great empire for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers may at first appear a project fit only for a nation of shopkeepers. It is, however, a project altogether unfit for a nation of shopkeepers; but extremely fit for a nation whose government is influenced by shopkeepers. Such Statesman, and such Statesmen only, are capable of fancying that they will find some advantage in employing the blood and treasure of their fellow citizens to found and maintain such an empire. (Smith 2007 [1776]:476)*

The following chapter discusses the phases of economic development of North America as changes in technology, transportation, markets, global conflicts, and degrees of capital consolidation allowed for participation in more sophisticated financial endeavors. It further discusses inequality regimes resulting from these changes. Most significantly, as it pertains to this research, it discusses the three major stages of the whaling industry and how they correspond to these economic periods. Together, these three sections provide a timeline for the economic development of the New England whaling industry.

#### **North American Phases of Economic Development:**

Economist Walt Rostow in 1960 discussed five stages of economic development. He acknowledges there being no clear definition of each transition, as it is somewhat subjective and situational, but defined these stages as “traditional society, preconditions for take-off, take-off, drive to maturity, and age of high mass consumption” (Gunter 2019:3). European North America went through similar phases of economic development, as defined by Cuddy (1968). These are: 1) subsistence/extractive colonial (1607-1720), 2) subsistence plus (1720-1760), 3) market economy or mercantilism (1760-1783), 4) proto-capitalism or neomercantilism (1784-1830), and

5) (pre-gold/silver standard) capitalism (1830-1875) (Cuddy 1968:13). Proto-capitalism falls as a transition between take-off and drive to maturity, and modern capitalism begins around 1875, at the start of the Industrial Revolution. Thomas W. Cuddy was a 20<sup>th</sup> century specialist in the archaeology of capitalism. He determined his periodization based on major changes in technology, markets, and economic infrastructure, and these periods coincide with the major changes within the whaling industry, as defined by Decker (1973), with the first two whaling stages closely matching the first two economic phases, and the third ‘open sea’ stage of whaling occupying the take-off and drive to maturity stages that span the latter three economic periods of development covered in this research (Decker 1973:19).

***Subsistence-Extractive Colonial (1607-1720):***

Under the extractive colonial system, colonists were essentially ‘self-sufficient pawns of the colonizers responsible for negotiating new, shared social terrain forged in sustained contact with locals’ (Cuddy 1968:14). While colonists themselves acted in a subsistence capacity, anything they accumulated above this level was expropriated by the home country. New colonies are the only situation where high wages coincide with high profit. This is due to excess quality land being sold at very cheap prices and resulting in large profits quickly (Smith 2007 [1776]:133). While beneficial to European colonists and merchants, this “excess” land was expropriated from its Indigenous inhabitants by disease, deceit, and violence. “The treasures obtained outside Europe by direct looting, enslavement, and murder, flow to the motherland.” (Marx 1929:835). During this period, chartered companies became highly influential in promoting the concentration of capital (Marx 1929:835). Shore whaling was occurring throughout in dozens of New England communities, but no fortunes of any notoriety had yet



been attained. By the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century a belief in natural inequality and the remnants of the divine right ideology led to a new commitment to pursuing alternative means of subsistence.

***Subsistence-plus (1720-1760):***

For Cuddy, the subsistence-plus phase consists of individual planters producing surplus crops which they sold to warehouses for profit above their subsistence need (Cuddy 1968:14). It began after the colonists had suppressed Native American resistance east of the Mississippi. Gaining some sense of security, colonists expanded both land and labor markets, as well as made additional investments previously deemed too risky. Initially, surplus wealth did not amount to much, nor did it accumulate quickly. The four-decade period, between 1720 and 1760, coincided perfectly with the second stage of New England whaling, where sloops and schooners set out for several week offshore voyages and returned to shore for rendering the oil if successful in the hunt. “The fish must generally be fought for at a greater distance, larger vessels must be employed, and more expensive machinery of every kind made use of.” (Smith 2007 [1776]:188)

***Market Economy/Mercantilism (1760-1783):***

Cuddy defines this phase as a pre-capitalist economy powered by merchant traders who shipped agricultural produce to Europe in exchange for textiles and manufactured goods (Cuddy 1968:14). This stage was just short of a quarter century in duration and contributed more to shaping the pre-capitalist economy than any other period of similar duration. It is important to discuss the process through which capitalism emerged alongside New England whaling, and the gentry’s justification for the exponentially increasing degree of class division. The loss of British trade before the War of Independence created a large void for lower and middle-class merchants, who operated outside international trade (Cuddy 1968:7). Cash poor areas paid on credit or with tobacco and other exchange goods and used banking notes which functioned

primarily as currency. They also lessened their reliance on simple trade and the barter system (Cuddy 1968:62).

By the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, whaling was a fully developed and thriving industry. Adam Smith, the founder of laissez-faire capitalism, declared merchants the ‘most loathsome members of society’ and stated they were not to be trusted (Cuddy 1968:6), yet, he still favored the unregulated economic philosophy. With all the genius of an economist, and none of the insight of an anthropologist, he was unable to recognize inherent human greed or factor in the innate desire for self-improvement which would have allowed him to see the potential for laissez-faire economic policies to result in a corporate system wholly manipulated by the merchant class.

As an economic system, mercantilism places a disproportional emphasis on foreign trade and manufacture at the expense of agriculture and was not destined for long term survival (Albrecht 2014:138). The beginning of the third stage of American whaling, c. 1760, coincided with the beginning of American mercantilism. The length of voyages continued to increase, as did the required capital investment, and voyages were limited only by the size of the vessel.

#### ***Proto-capitalism/Neomercantilism (1784-1830):***

Following America gaining its independence, the stage was set for the next transition toward a capitalist economy. From 1784 to 1830, America entered a proto-capitalist period. This saw the creation of a monetary system and an emerging credit system based on the Scottish system, which was implemented to generate growth and expansion, as well as to help farmers with overseas trade. There was the assumption that debts would be paid at the end of the season, but they were often carried over year after year (Cuddy 1968:78). Shipbuilding expanded during this period in places like Massachusetts, which, like all shipbuilding centers, employed local labor in the production of a range of related products (Morison 1921:96, 101).

By the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, several New England settlements, particularly in the larger vicinity of Mattapoisett, were producing greater numbers of whaleships (Starbuck 1945:70). New markets emerged during this period, and although war with the British (1812-1815) once again stunted growth, the cessation of hostilities and gradual consolidation of wealth over the next decade, set the stage for the start of the Golden Age of American whaling (1820-1860). In contrast to credit, cash-based economies made transactions much easier, while the timely payment of goods eliminated the risk of long-distance trading (Cuddy 1968:109). The year 1792 saw the emergence of a new monetary system and the implementation of America's first coins.

***Capitalism: (Pre-Gold/Silver Standard) (1830-1875):***

Capitalism, prior to being backed by the gold or silver standard, was in full swing during America's golden years of growth and productivity (1830-1875). The system is achieved when money is reinvested into the enhancement of production (Cuddy 1968:16). This period coincided with the greatest period of New England prosperity, as its Pacific Whaling Fleet maintained productivity for more than a half century before shifting attention to the Arctic Grounds after 1848, which greatly extended the industry (Creighton 1995:26; Francis 1990:152). These stages of economic development roughly fall within well-defined periods of increased wealth concentration and share similar contradictory growth v. equality elements that result in the boom and bust cycles characteristic of capitalism.

**Early American Inequality Cycles:**

The five main periods of inequality in the United States are the Colonial Inequality Regime, ending by the start of Proto-Capitalism, circa 1790; the Commercial Inequality Regime, spanning 1790 to 1860; the Corporate Inequality Regime, from 1861 to 1929 (the start of the

American Civil War until the stock market crash); the Keynesian Inequality Regime, from 1929 to 1979 (stock market crash until Reaganomics); and the Fiscal Inequality Regime of today (Albrecht 2014:1). The latter two regimes are not relevant to this research period, merely further evidence of the seemingly cyclical nature of capitalism caused by the tug o' war between regulation and equality against growth and wealth concentration. Brown et al. (2014) is one of the many sources now focusing on finding the balance.

Rather than cyclical, Albrecht (2014) argues for period-specific explanations for inequality, over inherent causes, for what is known as Arrighi's cycle of accumulation (Albrecht 2014:31). 'Inequality grows as the pace of technological change supersedes the retraining and redistribution of skilled laborers' (Albrecht 2014:34). This argument advocates for an outward spiraling progression of capitalism rather than a repetitive (cyclical) one and suggests a steady progression toward a new subsistence phase.

***Colonial Inequality Regime (c. 1607-1790):***

The Colonial Inequality Regime ended around 1790 with the introduction of an American monetary system. Wealth was low, but inequality, via indentured servitude, slavery, and coverture, were severe, with very high land to labor ratios that encouraged an economic and political democratization for white men. Wealth inequality in the colonies was consistently linked with the relative success of exports, and great fortunes began being amassed after the American Revolution. During this period families became highly successful and massive fortunes were accumulated which still operate as capital today (Albrecht 2014:104-105).

Mercantilist policies regulating trade were used to protect the state and to create a class of wealthy merchants with trade privileges who could be turned to for financial assistance during crisis (Albrecht 2014:106). Greater wealth concentration during the 80 years leading up to the

American Revolution destroyed European class structure in America, with 20% of the population holding 95% of the wealth by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Albrecht 2014:111). Wealth concentration, however, was even greater in 1774 than during the peak of the Industrial Revolution, c. 1870s (Albrecht 2014:112). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the wealthiest 10% of the population controlled half the wealth in CT, MA, RI, and NH (Albrecht 2014:113).

***Commercial Inequality Regime (1790-1860):***

As is the case with each inequality cycle, the conditions that defined the previous regime set the stage for the transition to the next (Albrecht 2014:147). The Commercial Inequality Regime began once the chaos of the American Revolution settled down and an American monetary system was in place. The conflicts occurring in Europe, particularly the French Revolution and the European Wars of the 1790s, were essential in opening American markets and generating the mass wealth concentration in place at the start of the American Civil War (Albrecht 2014:132). This period is also the timespan that whaling experienced its greatest period of growth and prosperity. As profits from the previous period fell, the new American merchant class began heavily investing in manufacturing based on British technology (Albrecht 2014:24). Alexander Hamilton, the first treasury secretary, implemented legislation and policy which favored the aristocracy and the wealthy federalist elites (Phillips 2002:16).

Mercantilism had attempted to maximize the Crown's profits with a positive balance of trade and while this benefited merchants, Smith argued that 'it is better to extend markets than to manipulate them' (Albrecht 2014:138). It was the Caribbean and American South that constituted the underbelly of the capitalist expansion, with the cruel exploitation of foreign laborers to produce various commodities for European consumers (Appleby 2010:133). Those who forged the path to American industrial dominance during this era became the nation's first

millionaires, and much of the money earned then formed the initial capital for contemporary multibillion-dollar corporations. The end of the Commercial Inequality Regime was also the end of mercantilism, and it coincided with massive improvements in transportation technology, as well as a variety of other socioeconomic improvements in the US (Albrecht 2014:128).

In 1820, at the start of the golden age of whaling, the United States economy was ranked fifth in the world for wealth in terms of GDP, tied with Spain (Albrecht 2014:119). This marks the beginning of substantial wealth concentration and a committed resistance to it by the formation of the Working Men's Party in several major cities. The top one percent held 29% of the wealth in 1828, and this figure grew to 40% in 1845 New York (Phillips 2002:17). Similarly, in Boston, the one percent had 33% in 1833 and 37% in 1848 (Phillips 2002:23). In 1837 Alexis de Tocqueville commented on this new industrial elite as "one of the harshest that ever existed", who sought to establish a permanent inequality of conditions between themselves and workers (Phillips 2002:3). The breakdown of these wealthy families shows how many were actually products of the American dream themselves: in New York 95% were born rich, three percent middle class, and two percent poor. In Boston, the figures were 94%, four percent, and two percent respectively (Phillips 2002:26).

Between 1815 and 1850 there were between 150 and 200 millionaire families in the United States (Phillips 2002:26). Among these were the whaling dynasties of Howland, Rotch, Morgan, Robinson, Green, Greenman, Williams (Stanton), and Lawrence, among others, all of whom had a lasting impact on the cultural and economic landscape of their respective communities, and in turn, on their community's' preservation and contemporary interpretation. By mid-19<sup>th</sup> century nearly every descendant of Nantucket or New Bedford whaling families was related by marriage or birth, frequently in a startling degree of ways.

***Corporate Inequality Regime (1861-1929):***

The Corporate Inequality Regime, which lasted from 1861 to 1929, was the final inequality cycle affecting American whaling, and it is primarily marked by the employment of semi-proletarianized labor in launching the industrial revolution. War industries, national banks, and merchants were given notable privileges, as they always are, and the resulting inflation and economic effects were not distributed equally across classes (Phillips 2002:32, 35). Between 1895 and 1904, 157 giant corporations absorbed more than 1,800 businesses, with 100 of them controlling between 40% and 70% of the market (Appleby 2010:250), and after World War I production in the United States equaled all western Europe (Albrecht 2014:194). National income continued to grow by 20%, during this decade, with the majority of new capital going to the top five to 10% (Phillips 2002:64). Snavely (1969) best explores the differences between capitalism and the rise of corporatism that first became relevant during this period.

**The Stages of American Whaling:**

These phases of capitalism and their accompanying inequality regimes also coincide with the major periods of the Yankee whaling industry. ‘The natural evolution of all capital begins with agricultural investments before being directed toward manufacture, and finally, toward foreign commerce’ (Smith 2007 [1776]:298). In this case, shore whaling began alongside the first European farms in the colonies, as a subsistence practice, but to progress beyond this stage individualism had to first penetrate egalitarian ideologies and expose individuals to a materialistic philosophy that seeks to accumulate increasingly more assets, not just for themselves, but also in relation to others, as this indicates a rise in socioeconomic status and corresponding power.

***Stage I: Shore Whaling Period (c. 1630-1720):***

The first stage of whaling was the drift/inshore/coastal stage and was for the most part a subsistence practice. By the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, Basque, Dutch, and Native Americans had lookout towers constructed on North American shores. These towers sighted whales and deployed small boats in pursuit (Francis 1990:9). The emergence of the whaling industry as a commercial enterprise in North America began with the hunting of the Right whale, literally meaning the “right” whale to hunt, but the industry began its rise to true dominance in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with the discovery of the Spermaceti whale in the western hemisphere.

Captain John Smith is the first European credited with whaling near New England in 1614 on Monahigan Isle. In 1629 Charles 1<sup>st</sup> granted Massachusetts Bay the right to hunt whales through a royal charter (Robotti 1962:7). Early American whaling, largely European (Basque, taught through Dutch, and then English) techniques (Robotti 1962:3), began close offshore by the 1630s. It expanded with the use of Native American labor and was one of the earliest industries to use Indigenous workers for more difficult and dangerous work. Within a decade whale oil and baleen were staple commodities (Dolin 2007:46; Robotti 1962:7).

As the Dutch continued to dominate the pelagic industry, New Englanders on and around Long Island and Cape Cod began their involvement from shore (Francis 1990:10). Southampton was among the first communities (if not the first) to send voyages offshore. Two-week hunting trips were common between 1645 and 1655 (Hohman 1928:25). The official commencement of the shore industry began in 1650 with an order for several Massachusetts towns to set up lookout towers in which every man with sufficient ability was expected to serve their time (Starbuck 1964 [1978]:B). A diagram of an early Nantucket shore whaling station can be found in Appendix D.1.



New York began regulating whaling by 1664 with the imposition of a 10% tax on exports to countries other than England, Jamaica, Barbados, and a few Caribbean Islands (Starbuck 1964 [1978]:B), and the first shipment of American oil to England was delivered in 1678 by Benjamin Alfred of Boston (Stackpole 1953:26). Excluding New London and New Bedford, all towns included in this research whaled to some extent before 1700, but only Nantucket and Eastern Long Island were actively making it an industry (Tower 1907:23, 25). The New England shore whaling season began in the late fall and lasted through early spring (roughly October through March) which afforded men time to fish and farm the remainder of the year (Dolin 2007:53). Stage I of the Yankee whaling industry lasted until around the second decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, although shore whaling did not cease entirely in the United States until the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

***Stage II: Open Sea/Trying on Shore Period (c. 1720-1760):***

Stage II was a transitional stage that began with an increase in the intensity of off-shore whaling, and lasted until the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century and the introduction of the on-board tryworks. By 1720 technological advances in equipment and techniques freed colonists from their requirements on shore and allowed them to pursue longer voyages (Norling 2000:8). It was during this stage that whales were first actively pursued at sea in the western hemisphere. As whales grew scarcer, larger and better built vessels were needed for longer voyages (up to around six weeks), although the whale was still towed back to shore for processing. Vessels began carrying trypots onboard to process their catch on the nearest shore convenient, before continuing their hunt (Schneider 2000:163).

Other developments occurred during this phase, including improvements in the techniques for cutting, boiling, and stowing oil at sea, as well as in the design and construction of harpoons, lances, whaleline, cutting spades, and other such articles (Hohman 1928:27). Vessels

not only grew larger, they also continued to improve on rigging and hull design (Hohman 1928:28). Merchants, not wanting dormant capital, continued increasing the sizes and cargo capacities of their vessels, to increase productivity and profitability, and further shift the investment/return ratio in greater favor of themselves (Stackpole 1953:30). It was the capitalists, not crew, who benefited from the increases in productivity that resulted from the additions of the technology they financed. This gradually increased the merchants' share in, and overall control of, whaling wealth, and later, heritage.

Whaling was a high reward, high risk industry, where only one in seven voyages needed to be successful (Dolin 2007:103). Early 18<sup>th</sup> century sloops carried one whaleboat and hunted in pairs (Spencer 1980:45). Vessels ranged from 15 to 30 tons (Decker 1973:28; Mawer 1999:3), but within a couple of decades, as whales became warier and traveled further from shore, sloops gave way to 60 to 70-ton schooners (Church 1938:15; Decker 1973:28; Robotti 1962:22). 1741 marks the first assault on the colonial whaling industry, when Spanish and French ships set after English whalers in the Davis Straights, just northwest of Greenland (Verrill 1916:9).

### ***Stage III: Open Sea/Trying on Board Period (1750s-1875):***

The third stage of American whaling began with the introduction of the on-board tryworks in North America (Dolin 2007:407; Francis 1990:45). Fixing the tryworks onboard occurred by the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century and eliminated the need to tow the whale back to shore for processing. This allowed for increasingly longer voyages farther from shore. While the first use of the on-board tryworks is uncertain, it was well established by 1761 (Decker 1973:19; Verrill 1916:3, 8).

Tryworks were a simple construction consisting of two metal pots, generally iron or copper, set over a brick housing used to contain the fire. The blubber was boiled in the large

metal pots, and the remaining fried pieces, or fritters, kept the flame burning. When on board ships, tryworks contained a shallow pool, beneath the brickwork, used to prevent the fire from burning the deck. Vessels dramatically increased in size, averaging 250 tons, to accommodate these tryworks and the necessary additional oil and food storage space (Decker 1973:19). This began the period generally associated with 'Yankee whaling'. Vessels continued to increase in capacity, allowing for larger cargoes of bone and oil, and increasingly longer voyages.

The industry gradually spread along the coast from Cape Cod to Wellfleet, Barnstable, Falmouth, Boston, Lynn, Newport, Providence, Warren, Tiverton, New London, Williamsburg, Martha's Vineyard, and New Bedford (Jenkins 1921:227). By the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century the prices of oil were rising, and New Englanders pursued the whale with increasing vigor. New England saw a reprieve in hostilities, for a brief time, when France ceded Canada to the English in 1761 (Goode 1887:105). The next 15 years, up to the American Revolution, saw 78 new whaleships, emerging from dozens of ports, but more than half of whom were from Nantucket (Spears 1910:70), and whaleships were still fitted out for cod fishing if whaling proved unsuccessful (Starbuck 1964 [1978]:D). American whalers reached the Davis Straights (southwest of Greenland) by 1732, the Azores, (West of Portugal), Guinea (West Africa), and the Western Islands (northwest of West Africa) by 1765 (Stackpole 1953:55), and the Brazil Banks, under Captain Uriah Bunker of the *Amazon* by 1774 (Marvin 1902:135). By 1775 the Yankee whaling fleet numbered more than 150 vessels, with larger brigs being introduced (Goode 1887:65).

After the American Revolution, New England whaling communities began developing unique cultural identities. With few exceptions, every person was brought up for employment in a related trade. Those trained as ropemakers, coopers, blacksmiths, carpenters, or other skilled craftsman, were either ship owners or their family (Goode 1887:66). Those employed at sea

hunted in abysmal conditions, seen as honorable for much of its early history, while the rest of the community was home preparing casks, iron work, cordage, blocks, and the numerous other items needed for the next voyage (Goode 1887:66).

Nantucket remained the dominant American fishing community into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the many emerging New England communities now had access to a huge market for their whale products. In 1749 the First Speaker of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, Thomas Hutchinson, commented, “The increase of the consumption of oil by lamps as well as by the diverse manufactories in Europe, has been no small encouragement to our whale fishery. The flourishing state of the Island of Nantucket must attribute to it” (Nichols 2009:111). With the doubling of the original bounty, Britain’s fleet increased tenfold, while their textile industry began a simultaneous expansion (Davis et al. 1997:33).

In 1771 the value of the Nantucket catch of Sperm oil on the London market was \$500,000, with the largest portion belonging to Rotch family vessels (Albion et al. 1972:31). New England exported 100,000 British Pounds of oil to England in 1772, a sizable portion of the New England trade, but Yankees failed to take advantage of the heavy British demand for naval stores (such as pitch, tar, and turpentine) during this time (Albion et al. 1972:42). Fifteen New England and New York ports were actively whaling in 1774, with a fleet of 360 vessels (33,000 tons) directly employing 4,700 men, and indirectly many more (Adams 1918:264; Banks 1911:436; Spencer 1980:53; Starbuck 1964 [1978]:57). Three hundred of these vessels were from Massachusetts, with half of those from Nantucket (Dow 1967:39; Spencer 1980:53). Comparatively, the English had only 100 whaling vessels during this time (Verrill 1916:9).

Attempting to boost the local whaling industry, England’s import restrictions made it increasingly difficult for New Englanders to prosper in that market. As a result, the colonies

decided to open trade with anyone they could attain military supplies from. In retaliation, Britain issued the Prohibitory Act, declaring the colonies in open rebellion and authorizing the seizure of American vessels at sea (Albion et al. 1972:69). The colonies immediately opened trade to all ports except for Great Britain, and Massachusetts Bay issued a £2,000 bond on each vessel to ensure their oil returned to colonial ports (Stackpole 1953:71). Vessels paid a deposit prior to departure, and this was returned upon their arrival back in port with their cargo.

From 1771 until the 1775 outset of hostilities with the British, the production of Sperm oil was not less than 45,000 barrels annually, with another 8,500 of whale oil and 75,000 pounds of whalebone (Goode 1887:67; Jenkins 1921:229; Starbuck 1964 [1978]:57). In 1775 the total number of vessels from Massachusetts was 304, with 230 from Nantucket and Dartmouth (Albion et al 1972:31). One hundred and eighty-three Massachusetts's vessels were employed in the northern fisheries in the North Atlantic, and the other 121 were in the southern fisheries, or South Atlantic (Stackpole 1953:54). As the colonies pushed deeper into the southern fisheries, Dartmouth, Sippican, Westport, Mattapoissett, Wareham, Edgartown, Holmes Hole, Fall River, Somerset, Salem, Falmouth, Warren, and Stonington, were all among the towns sending vessels (Starbuck 1964 [1978]:ii), but as alluded to, the American fisheries were the first to feel the shock of the American Revolution.

### ***Competition and the Rise of Whaling Prowess:***

After surviving years of oppression and piracy, whaling was nearly destroyed during the war. Just prior to the outset of violence, Nantucket had remained the leader of American whaling for more than a half century, but only Nantucket, having no alternative, pursued the industry during the conflict. New Bedford had 80 ships in 1775, Nantucket had about 150, and Wellfleet had 30, but by 1783 Nantucket lost 134 vessels to the British and another 15 to the sea (Robotti

1962:209). By 1787 New Bedford, Nantucket, and Wellfleet had 50, 36, and 16 remaining whaling vessels, respectively (Tower 1907:42). Many Nantucketers died during this time, or were impressed into the British Navy, but Nantucket was the only place that did not have to start their industry from complete scratch after the war ended (Tower 1907:40). Two years later, English Parliament granted an £18 bounty to English whaling vessels, once again, destroying Nantucket's oil market (Taylor 1977:596). England now had 314 vessels (many of which were captured American ships), and the United States had but 80 remaining (Verrill 1916:9).

The start of the American Revolution not only affected those at sea, it also brought complete devastation to ropemakers, coopers, blacksmiths, carpenters, shipwrights, and many others for almost a decade (Macy 1880:68; Raupp 2015:68). The industry, just before the conflict, and including men working on shore, numbered more than 10,000 (Stackpole 1953:54). After its cessation, only a handful of outfit-able vessels remained on Nantucket's tattered wharves. In 1783 William Rotch's *Bedford* became the first American ship to fly the stars and stripes in a British harbor (Hawes 1924:87). Nantucket, Bristol, Boston, Hingham, Wellfleet, Braintree, Newburyport, Plymouth, Providence, New London, Sag Harbor, and Hudson (NY) all immediately re-entered the industry, although many smaller ports abandoned it after this time (Hawes 1924:88; Starbuck 1964 [1978]:78; Tower 1907:40-41).

In 1784 Louis XVI of France fitted out six ships from Dunkirk, France—all crewed with Nantucket men—at his own expense and preceded other European nations in the hunt after years of non-involvement (Goode 1887:66). Whaling and fishing had been light in the 1780s, despite a tax exemption, but this ended in the 1790s with a boom in the industry (Decker 1986:108). The Pacific whaling grounds were among the richest and opened in 1789 when Archaelus Hammond

of the *Amelia* became the first man to harpoon a whale on the western side of Cape Horn (Hare 1960:4). Larger vessels were now required, with crews of 16 to 20 men (Farr 1983:161).

*Dunkirk:*

From 1785 to 1786, only eight vessels sailed from Nantucket (Stackpole 1973:92), but in the spring of 1786 William Rotch and his son Benjamin headed to Dunkirk, France, to discuss the transfer of the fleet. Rotch set up a back door through which Nantucket could sell its cargo duty free (Stackpole 1973:97, 100). During this time, London (using mostly American crews) was the dominant force in the southern fishery, but Rotch intended to create a rivalry between France and England to attract more Nantucketers to Dunkirk (Stackpole 1973:106). The Nantucket fleet increased to 20 in 1789, and combined with the Dunkirk fleet, totaled 34 vessels, against England's 60 (Stackpole 1973:111). Three-quarters of all whaleships from America, England, and France, were commanded by Nantucket captains (Stackpole 1973:130). The industry was hurt again in 1793, as the result of the United States breaking the 1778 Franklin Treaty. This agreement had promised the French help against the English, in exchange for them having helped secure American independence (Stackpole 1953:175).

*War of 1812 and the British Decline:*

The fleet that departed New England in 1809, and returned in 1811, consisted of 39 vessels from Nantucket, seven from New Bedford, six from Sag Harbor, and one from Greenwich, CT (Stackpole 1953:258). The whaling fleet was certainly larger than the US Navy, which at the start of the War of 1812 consisted of seven frigates and nine other warships (Albion et al. 1972:85). Prior to 1812, over 6,000 cases of impressment were already on file in Washington, DC (Banks 1911:416), and this became one of the leading catalysts for the conflict.

An 1876 publication lists 149 Nantucket captains employed in the British whaling industry before 1812 and another 81 operating out of France (Spears 1910:107).

When war broke out, most of the merchant fleet was at sea, and *Mt. Hope* was the first ship taken by the blockade (Stackpole 1953:259). The remainder made exceptionally easy targets for the British (Hawes 1924:113). Whaleships played a critical role in the war, but by the end, Nantucket alone had lost 23 out of 46 vessels (Hawes 1924:113). The end of the war in 1814 saw the return of many Nantucket whalers who had been serving on foreign ships (Stackpole 1973:353). After this war, all northern fishing grounds were abandoned (Goode 1887:95), and the whaling industry's attention shifted to the southern Atlantic and South Pacific regions.

#### *19<sup>th</sup> Century Decline of Competition:*

In 1804, nearly all outfitted vessels were from New Bedford (23) and Nantucket (20), with three being sent out of Sag Harbor (Robotti 1962:22). Greenwich, RI, and Westport, MA, joined in 1810, only for the industry to be destroyed, once again, during the War of 1812 (Jenkins 1921:233). In 1815 Nantucket had 23 vessels (Jenkins 1921:233), and by the end of this season, New Bedford, Fairhaven, Sag Harbor, Hudson (NY), and Westport all sponsored whaling voyages. Six more ports joined the following year: Boston, Edgartown, Newport, Wareham, Rochester, and Holmes Hole (Tower 1907:48). A new market emerging in the United States greatly increased demand for candles and whale oil.

In 1818 the *Globe* of Nantucket was the first whaleship to reach the offshore grounds in the Pacific, taking 2,000 barrels of Sperm oil (Spears 1910:151). By this time, Nantucket had 56 vessels, to New Bedford's 25, and the following year, it was 69 to 40 respectively (Stackpole 1973:372). From 1815 to 1825, New England established its complete dominance over the industry with New Bedford finally surpassing Nantucket as the whaling capital of the world.



During the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, 53% of the money earned by New Englanders came from the exports of whale products to England (Creighton 1995:21). The port of Hull sent out 61 ships in 1821, but in 1824, Britain removed its subsidies based on tonnage, and this caused a steady drop in vessel size, while New Englanders simultaneously increased vessel size (Robotti 1962:55). While the United States was rapidly expanding their whaling industry, England began shifting its reliance to alternative fuel sources brought on by the rise of rapeseed oil, coal, petroleum, and coal gas (Bockstoe 1986:28).

In 1830 the US was producing four times the quantity of Sperm oil as Britain (Mawer 1999:181). 1835 saw 65 new British whalers outfitted, compared to the United States' 92 vessels. Thirty-eight of these ships were from New Bedford, 32 from Nantucket, and the rest were from New London, Bristol, Newport, Warren, Falmouth, and a few smaller ports (Stackpole 1973:381, 382). Figure 4 is a breakdown of the whaling fleet operating out of the northeastern United States in 1836. New Bedford led with 166, followed by Nantucket with 72, Fairhaven with 35, New London with 33, and Sag Harbor with 26 (Crapo 1836:95-110).

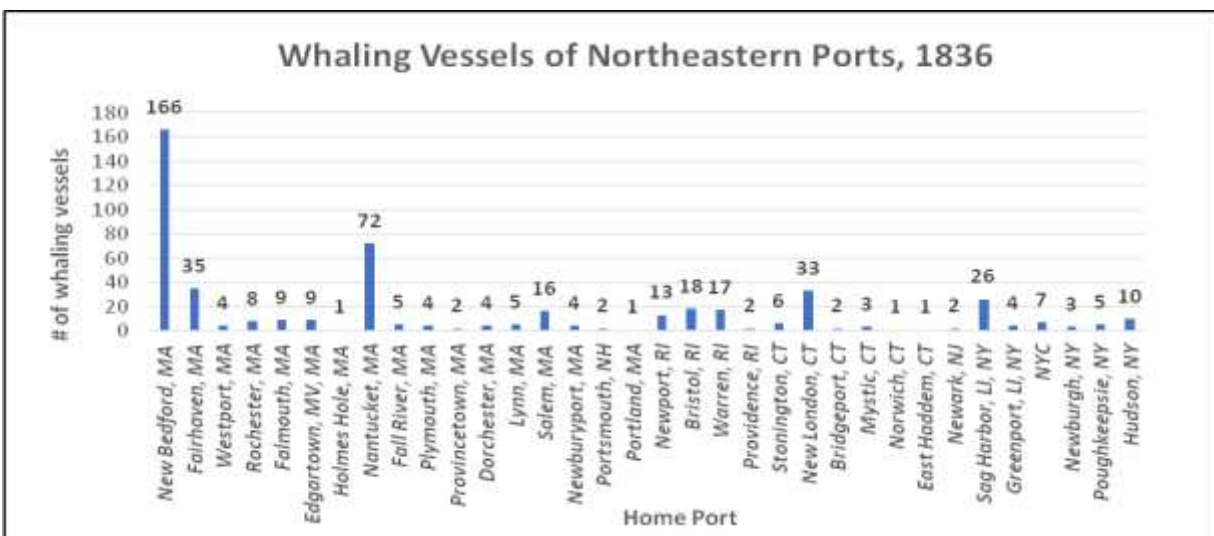


Figure 4. Whaling Vessels from Northeastern Ports of the United States.

By the early to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the Pacific was the world's richest waters for Sperm and Right whales (Robotti 1962:149), and the American fleet numbered well into the hundreds, undertaking 60% of the world's whaling by the 1830s, and over 70% throughout the 1840s and 1850s (Davis et al. 1997:479). By the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, British whaleships were having difficulty competing with American vessels due to their greater expense: larger crews, higher costs of operation and employment, and far less experience meant that a British vessel costs between 1.5 and 2.2 times as much as an American one does to operate (Davis et al. 1997:463; Dolin 2007:220).

Typically, an American ship managed on a ratio of 0.08 men per ton, while a British ship operated with 1.4 men per ton (Davis et al. 1997:464). American crews provided higher quality labor and were accustomed to a greater degree of exploitation. British ships undertook shorter voyages, had longer time in port, often brought back blubber to try on shore, and did not carry skilled artisans capable of making repairs at sea (Davis et al. 1997:470-471). In 1868 the port of Hull sent out its last whaler, the *Truelove*, built in Philadelphia 104 years earlier, and captured during the American Revolution (Robotti 1962:211). Increased voyage lengths, the withdrawal of government bounties, the scarcity of whales, and duties on foreign oil (while America was duty free) all led to the official closure of English whaling by 1874 (Hawes 1924:60).

In 1846 the American whaling fleet reached its peak, with 736 whaling vessels (Figure 5), of the world's 900, and a \$120,000,000 investment (Hawes 1924:191; Kaplan 1953:81). By 1848, however, the California Gold Rush began to significantly disrupt the whaling industry, with many ships and captains heading for the mines (Hawes 1924:191). The disruption is evident with the whaling fleet's decrease of active vessels to 596 in 1849 (Robotti 1962:197). The industry survived a few more decades, largely due to the discovery, also in 1848, of Bowheads, a

variety of baleen whale, in the arctic that contained even more oil. The discovery resulted in the opening of the arctic whaling grounds and began to shift attention away from the Sperm whale. See Ross (1985) for more on arctic whaling. The California Gold Rush, regardless of the Bowhead's discovery, was the beginning of the gradual decline of the "Yankee" whaling industry and was soon followed by the financial panic of 1857, the discovery of the first crude oil wells in 1859 and subsequent introduction of cheaper petroleum products (like kerosene), the American Civil War, and finally, the arctic whaling disasters of 1871 and 1876 (Decker 1973). New England whale fisheries barely survived to see the introduction of steam, around 1880, as new technologies were made better use of in the Norwegian fisheries.

DECLINE OF THE WHALING FLEET.					
	Ships and Barks.	Brigs.	Schooners.	Total.	Tonnage.
1846	680	34	22	736	233,262
1861	459	14	41	514	158,745
1869	223	25	88	330	74,512
1873	153	12	38	203	47,996
1890	65	6	26	97	22,718
1901	27	0	13	40	8,746
1906	25	2	14	42	9,878

Figure 5. Decline of the Whaling Fleet (Hawes 1924:191).

Understanding the phases of the economic development of New England and the resulting inequality regimes are critical in assessing how a developing capitalist system impacted later preservation and interpretation efforts within these communities. This chapter provided the introduction to the whaling industry and places the research that follows into historical context. Further, it leads into the next chapter's discussion of the labor and exploitation of crews, social hierarchy aboard ship, and the changing socioeconomic and racial composition over time.

## Chapter IV. Labor Structure, Exploitation, and Diversity

This chapter covers the structure of the labor force of the whaling industry as well as the social hierarchy aboard ship. It discusses the power officers employed in balancing the need to maximize exploitation with avoiding desertion or mutiny. Compensation ratios are broken down and discussed over time to show the increasing upward flow of profit. The racial make-up of the crew is also discussed to show the diversity of participants as well as the role of race in creating stereotypes and further segmenting the established power structure of ship hierarchy. See Appendix A.4 for a summary of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century outfitting of a whaleship and required auxiliary industries and Appendix A.5 for a discussion of the profitability vs. investment return.

### **The Labor Force: Captains and Crew:**

From the very beginning, well into the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the ranks of officer were reserved for native, white, well connected Nantucket boys (Norling 2000:26). Anglo Nantucket boys were sent to school to learn to read and write and then generally put into an apprenticeship, like cooperage or other terrestrial maritime trades, before being sent to sea around 14 years of age. Within a few voyages, they worked their way up through the stations, from rower, to steersman, to harpooner, until they eventually became a mate or captain of their own vessel. Others found themselves more useful in the countinghouse (Norling 2000:27).

New England whaling captains were often “puritanical skippers” (Robotti 1962:148). In a notable speech from one captain to his crew, the total control of the captain was emphasized: “This side of the land (around Cape Horn) I have my owners and God Almighty. On the other side of land, I am God Almighty.” (Dolin 2007:257). Captains and mates were often described as ‘normal’ members of the community when ashore but were said to revert to barbarism, or despotic rule, while at sea (Verrill 1916:5, 16): ‘Captains had to walk a very fine line between

maximizing productivity to please the owners and preventing mutiny'. They also kept the navigational secrets from the crew as another method to maintain control (Leavitt 1973:28).

The chief factors that distinguished officers for most of the Yankee whaling era, prior to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, was the fact that they were white, well-educated, and had cabins aboard ship. Captains and mates picked their boat crews in the school yard manner, and motivation for their picks was based solely on the skill of the individual. The officers oversaw caring for the ship's lances, while the boatsteerer cared for the harpoons (Goode 1887:230). By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century captains were making triple what their merchant counterparts were making, and the first and second mates were earning double (Davis et al. 1997:177). By 1872, 754 whaling captains had directed only one voyage; more than 50 died on their first voyage; and two-thirds of captains sailed on more than one vessel as captain (Davis et al. 1997:386-388). Studies on the subject conclusively show that the productivity of the voyage was directly linked to the skill and knowledge of the ship's master (Davis et al. 1997:391).

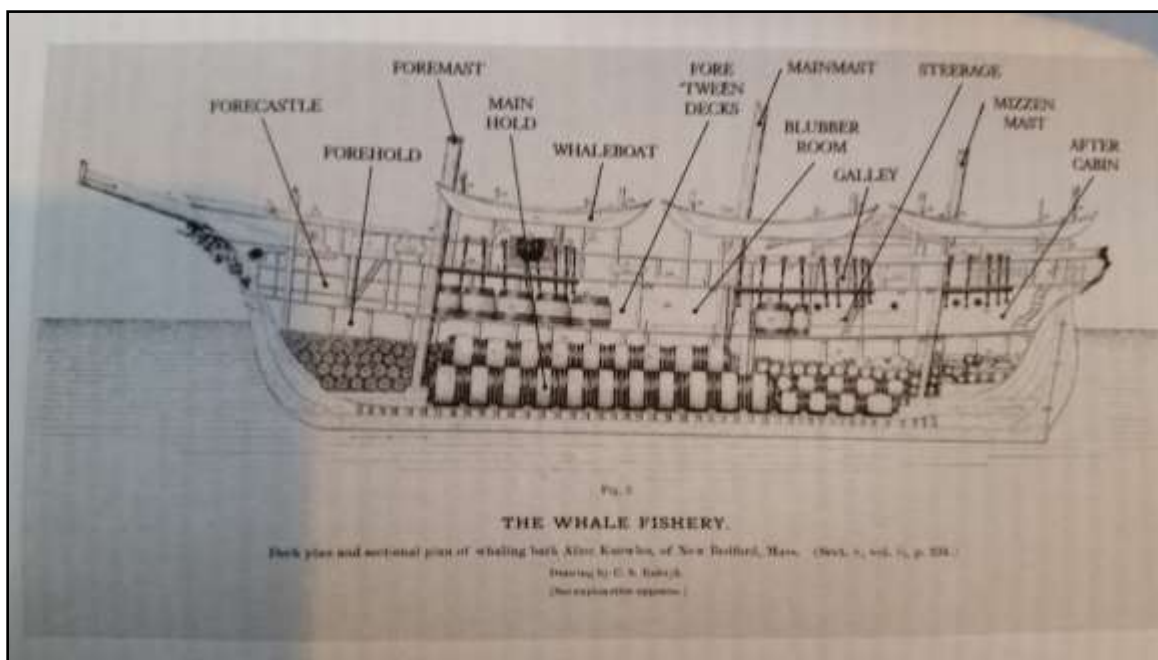


Figure 6. Whaleship Diagram of the Bark Alice Knowles (drawing by C.S. Raleigh).

The steerage (see Figure 6) was another group of privileged whalers. They included the boatsteerers, the steward, the cook, and the cooper, as well as the ship's boy if there was one. The boatsteerers were considered petty officers and stood watch at the mast head. Their other responsibilities included serving as oarsmen, darting the whale while cutting in, standing before the tryworks while boiling out, and ensuring that the whaleboats and gear were ready (Goode 1887:223). They set the masts on the whaleboats and, with the assistance of the oarsman, took them in (Goode 1887:224). The position of boatsteerer was based on ability, particularly when darting, and not on personal preference or prior connections (Goode 1887:223).

The oarsman/foremast hands performed all the normal seaman's work, in addition to standing watch. They manned the windlass when cutting in, helped in stowing blubber, prepped trypots, stowed the oil below decks, and scrubbed the decks (using the ashes from the tryworks as soap) when the process was complete (Goode 1887:225). Whaleships were universally thought by all foremast hands to be the most miserable places imaginable, and few men outside early communities like Nantucket, during the heyday, wanted to serve aboard a whaleship.

How were they able to get so many men to fill these forecastles? Much of it was done through 'misrepresentation, chicanery, fraud [and] mendacity on behalf of the shipping agents.' (Hohman 1928:241). 'There was no logical reason why whalers went to sea' (Sanderson 1993:264). The reason boils down to ignorance as to the conditions of the industry and no government oversight. Whaleships were miserable places that smelled of body odor, tobacco, damp clothing, boots, oil, and blubber (Meyer 1976:26).

Men were lured into these shipping offices by fancy advertisements and enticements to riches, as well as promises of advanced lays, or share of the ship's overall catch, that were usually swindled from them by the captain (Verrill 1916:4, 51). They were bunked in tiny

spaces, and the shipping agent usually received \$10 per man they secured for the voyage. Only a 'greenhorn', never having been to sea before, was willing to submit to such treatment, and captains were happy casting a wide net for laborers (Farr 1983:159). Officers often encouraged distrust among the men to prevent them from unifying (Verrill 1916:4, 55). Even a greenhorn, however, eventually reached their breaking point.

Foremast hands had no bargaining power, as they had not yet acquired any real skills, and by 1860, three-quarters of deckhands had never been to sea before. One-fifth of men secured for crews fled before the ship left port (Leavitt 1973:39, 45). After 1825, as the whaling industry entered its glory days, the dominance of the professional Yankee whaler began to give way to marginalized social outcasts (Hohman 1928:108). Most of them were drunk when acquired, on the run, unhappy at home, homeless and hungry, or just looking for adventure (Meyer 1976:29). By some accounts, during the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, ship owners never faced a shortage of manpower and "often had men knocking down their doors" (Leavitt 1973:46). By 1844 there were 17,594 whalers, half of whom were greenhands (Hohman 1928:58). This period saw many great improvements in rigging, winches, sail plans, and sails, and this allowed for an increasing ratio of crew to be hired without any prior experience (Davis et al. 1997:195). As a result, desertions were high, and it was rare for a ship to return with the same crew it left with.

Occasionally, a single voyage saw three to five complete changes of crew (Hohman 1928:62), but an average turn over consisted of two-thirds of any one crew (Francis 1990:108). This situation was exacerbated by the fact that whalers were often intentionally treated poorly on successful voyages to encourage them to escape and forfeit their lay (Hawes 1924:251). Alternatively, force was used to keep men from fleeing prior to their labor being fully exploited (Leavitt 1973:92). An average 19<sup>th</sup> century whaling crew was 33 men, and each ship averaged

nine desertions, nine discharges, and one death per voyage (Hohman 1928:63). Using this figure suggests a rough estimate of 15,000 deaths associated with New England whaling.

Indigenous whalers have represented the core of “Yankee” whaling since day one. “Indians were preferred over whites for some parts of the business” (Philbrick 2011:xii). Native people, not having the same experience dealing with alcohol toleration that Europeans had for millennia, grew susceptible to its addiction. In the same way drugs are still used in human trafficking, Indigenous men were coerced with the substance. It not only made them physically addicted, but it also grew their debt, and in turn, forced them to sign on to another voyage. The exploitation of Indigenous land and labor continued steadily until there was no longer the need to appease them, and this began an exponential increase in the degree of exploitation. As oppressive conditions grew, so did alcoholism, and in turn, a reliance on Yankee whaling opportunities. English merchants, using a form of labor exploitation, controlled the Native populace through the incredibly biased court systems, alcohol, and trade goods (Chaves 2014:57).

No longer needing Indigenous help against other “hostile” tribes and European powers, Americans began to force the Native American people onto reservations. This only increased the degree natives sought out work at sea and away from the depression of the reservations. By 1790, land ownership had dropped dramatically for people of color, and this further directed their attention toward opportunities on whaleships (Mancini 2009:133). The Civil War marked the end for Native American sovereignty in Connecticut and Massachusetts as those who were left were forced onto reservations (Mancini 2009:4). European settlers, no longer having a need for Indian scouts and soldiers, lost their motivation for keeping them content (Mancini 2009:21). Australian Aboriginal people made very good whalers as well and were exploited in the same way as Native Americans (Sanderson 1993:236).



The diversity of reasons for men's willingness to submit to such exploitation grew dramatically for other groups. For domestic born minorities, the sea was one of their few opportunities for some sense of freedom, even in such poor conditions. Portuguese and Pacific Islanders often signed aboard, in part, for a lack of understanding as to the living and working conditions, the poor to non-existent pay, and the same reason many 18<sup>th</sup> century Nantucket boys once went - for the adventure, mystery, and romance of the sea. It was the diversity of participants in the "Yankee" whaling industry that most concerns this research as roughly half the industry was not Yankee, and their contributions are too often overlooked.

### **Labor and Exploitation:**

Prior to 1700 many whalers were still paid in wages, but after this time the lay system was fully implemented (Creighton 1995:21; Sanderson 1993:188). In the beginning, every person had a lay proportional to the strength and skill he contributed to the group effort. This system promoted both teamwork and individual accomplishment. Each man was not only working directly for what he put in, but that effort further benefited his neighbor and vice versa, providing both motivation and unity. Payment in lays has long been the effective economic system in the fisheries (Robotti 1962:94). According to one author, there was no profession where profits were as equally divided as whaling, and he believed the intent of the whaling industry was to expand wealth for everybody (Caulkins 1852:644). Caulkins, however, failed to see the illusion whaling capitalists wanted him to believe through their early embrace of trickle-down-economics. Even considering that the author wrote this statement during a time when whaling profits were not far from their record high, this statement is still factually incorrect. The lay system shifted the normal financial risk undertaken by entrepreneurs, to the employees (Hohman 1928:222).

Rates and wages rewarded the individual, but they did nothing to inspire teamwork, cooperation, or unity (Davis et al. 1997:15). The above argument provides logical rationale for the lay system, but the reality, as 19<sup>th</sup> century capitalism progressed, saw a disproportional shift in the equality of distribution. Initially, the market and society dictated the division, but the capitalist class acquired this ability as the ratio of overall labor expenses decreased. “The presumptuous hope of success seems to act here as upon all other occasions, and to entice so many adventurers into those hazardous trades, that their competition reduces their profit below what is sufficient to compensate the risk.” (Smith 2007 [1776]:91). Stone (2016) continues this discussion of the trend in income inequality into the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Average early 19<sup>th</sup> century lays were as follows: captain: 1/8 to 1/15; 1st mate: 1/18; 2nd mate: 1/28; 3rd mate: 1/36; 4th mate: 1/60; the cooper: 1/60; the boatsteerer: 1/80; the steward: 1/90; the cook: 1/110; boys and foremast hands: 1/150 to 1/250. Many crew members averaged only about \$1.50/week, hence why few stayed for more than one voyage (Decker 1973:81). Another figure states 1/18 to captain, 1/40 to “ends men”; 1/75 to ordinary seaman, 1/80 or 90 to black whalers, and 1/120 to the cabin boy (Morison 1921:158). Nichols gives similar numbers with captains between 1/15 and 1/18, around 1800, and a much shorter lay, 1/12 or even 1/8, by mid-century. Unskilled crew were between 1/180 and 1/200, averaging six to eight dollars per month (60% less than general land laborers) (Nichols 2009:165). Between 1815 and 1840, averages were eight dollars a month for boys, \$10/month for ordinary seaman, and \$12 for able body seaman (Robotti 1962:94). Any land lubber could have landed a better job at a grocery store, or as a carpenter in the expanding western frontier (Meyer 1976:17).

During the latter part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the capitalists kept a quarter of the take, but by mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, it reached 70% (Creighton 1995:35; Hohman 1928:223), and wages for the

crew grew steadily smaller (Davis et al. 1997:160; Hohman 1928:229; Norling 2000:135). Profits were typically divided into thirds during this time, with a third going to the ship's owners, a third used for maintenance, and a third for crew compensation (Bockstoce 1986:35). The average mid-19<sup>th</sup> century foremast handmade three to eight dollars per month, before the slop chest, outfit, and interest were paid back (Francis 1990:100; Hohman 1928:237). Santos (1995) puts it on the higher end of that scale, at \$100/year average. It was not uncommon for a whaleman to end up in debt after several years and be forced to sign on again, often more than once (Meyer 1976:17).

Captains made good money keeping a slop chest of needed articles and then massively overcharging for them, on credit, while at sea (Creighton 1995:35). They further skimmed on food quality and added random charges wherever they could. There were medicine chest fees, insurance, freight, etc., which increased during the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (Davis et al. 1997:170). The slop chest was a dollar or two per man (Creighton 1995:92). Captains were also happy to let men borrow money at high interest rates. The average 19<sup>th</sup> century rates of profit for the whaling industry was 45% annually (Creighton 1995:92).

By 1849 the lay for the crew reached its longest point, which furthered inequality in these communities (Hohman 1928:233). 'Hugely discrepant reward system between owners, captain and officers, and the rest of the crew, showed whaling reflected class and social status as much as any industry in pre-gilded age America' (Dolin 2007:272). The capital to labor ratio was two to one, and the shorter cruises to the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans paid out shorter lays due to there being a lower capital invested on shorter voyages (Davis et al. 1997:167). As the quality and conditions of the industry declined, the desertion rate kept pace accordingly, and the growing number of poor immigrants that could be exploited in the whaling industry reflected "a shift of

America from agrarian to an urban society” (Dolin 2007:274). Another reason for the downfall of the profitability of New England whaling was a substantial increase in the pursuit of them (Thompson 2012:4). This, along with decreasing wages, and maxed out exploitation, made competing with other industries impossible.

Eight percent of the crew had to have a second on board occupation to get by (Davis et al. 1997:205). Shore workers, factory hands, merchant ships, and navy sailors all received better pay in the latter 19<sup>th</sup> century (Gemming 1971:114). On shore, laborers made about five dollars a day; carpenters made \$12 to \$14, and the men who worked in the merchant trade typically made two to three times as much money as a whalemens (Dolin 2007:271; Hohman 1928:239). Wages are an important aspect in maintaining equality and contentment with life, but opportunity and advancement (hope) are equally as important to a person’s self-worth. Although whalemens were paid more poorly than their merchant or terrestrial counterparts, those that stuck with it had a higher opportunity for advancement due to the rate that officers were killed or seriously injured (Spears 1910:64). To become captain, on average, it took six cruises, of two to four years, and advancing each time in rank (Hohman 1928:229).

### **Diversity in Whaling:**

Race is not a subject that comes up very often in whaling logbooks or officers’ journals (Shoemaker 2015:4), but it was a subject which “loitered beneath the surface” (Shoemaker 2015:40). Race is an important topic, as it directly affected the success of a voyage. Before the turn of the American Revolution (1776), many, if not most crews were Native American, with increasing supplementation of African-American and Portuguese Islanders. Indigenous people in general, but particularly on Long Island and Martha’s Vineyard, were heavily relied on as

boatsteerers (Goode 1887:219), while African American whalers gained a reputation for working as cooks or in some other servant capacity (Shoemaker 2015:43).

Men needed to work very closely together in reasonable harmony, under the watch and lay systems, which required men to set aside their prejudices (Leavitt 1973:82). Skin color was less important at sea and was far eclipsed by the skill the whalers possessed. This cooperation directly contributed to the success or failure of the voyage (Dolin 2007:224). The 'nature of the work, laws, regulations, and attitudes created a shipboard culture with far less racism than ashore' (Bolster 1997:69). Men received equal pay, typically bad pay, but equal nonetheless, and based upon skill and the work performed (Almeida 1978:16; Dolin 2007:224). Most sailors did not make enough money to accumulate more than the clothes on their back and a few possessions (Bolster 1997:87). Many dispute there being equality on board ship, arguing that although men worked together for personal gain, prejudices did not simply disappear, and racial lines were drawn in some form.

Conservatively, Native Americans made up half of the Nantucket whaling force in the 1730s, but this dropped to less than 15% from mid-century until after the Revolution (Philbrick 2011:134). From the 17<sup>th</sup>, to the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the hardest and most dangerous jobs were reserved for the Native Americans who were increasingly tricked or forced into the profession as time went on (Creighton 1995:22). Despite the use of such deceit, Native Americans consistently filled their obligations and frequently exceeded expectations according to Shoemaker (2015). Those that did, attained the admiration of their fellow whalers and superiors and earned respect for their abilities, while African American crew often remained in subservient roles (Shoemaker 2015:44).

The incorporation of the on board trywork, between 1730 and 1760, led to the earliest Yankee whaling ships picking up Azorean crew members and depositing their oil and bone on the Islands for separate shipment back to their home port (Santos 1995:1). The Azorean people had long been engaged in shore whaling, as their island was all volcanic rock, thus making agriculture an unrealistic option (Santos 1995:1). Eventually, captains began intentionally leaving New England with skeleton crews to hire men from the Azores at a far longer lay.



Figure 7. Whaleships in the Azores – Courtesy of NBWM.

Men from the Azores and Cape Verde were collectively known as “Bravas”, and, according to some, surpassed all other groups of whalers (Almeida 1978:1). Portuguese workers were regarded as “hardworking, quiet, and cheap” (Santos 1995:1), and teenage boys often signed aboard whaleships as an alternative to mandatory military service, although their decision was not an easy way out by any means (Santos 1995:1). Yankee whaleship owners, needing to be “cost effective”, preferred men from these islands because of their discipline, extra effort to be frugal themselves, and their willingness to work for less (Almeida 1978:2). On

Nantucket, these men formed their own social enclaves in an area on the outskirts called New Guinea, or Guinea Town (Almeida 1978:4). By the 1760s, free “black” immigrants, emigrating to Nantucket, began to intermarry into the declining Native population, the offspring of which, according to at least one account, “improved in temperance and industry” (Farr 1983:160).

Discussions pertaining to Long Island, Nantucket, and Martha’s Vineyard seem to speak of more harmonious cooperation between Yankee whalers and minority/immigrant whalers, than many other communities, but it is not very likely such cooperation involved a mutual respect, as equals, despite conscious or subconscious attempts by Anglo-descendants to downplay the degree of exploitation. Native Americans faced confrontation and insults from their white neighbors quite frequently. From the beginning of colonization, the system of racial classification was gradually put in place by the white colonizers as a method to exert control and dominance over others (Shoemaker 2015:3, 5). Regardless of these prejudices, this cooperation at sea persisted as long as necessary.

Rank, status, and skill aboard ship were everything (Bolster 1997:79). The sole intent of each voyage was profit, and rank allowed for the better organization of labor into “an occupational hierarchy” designed for men to be as productive and profitable as possible (Shoemaker 2015:6, 7). For a time, Native Americans excelled in the whaling industry, and rose in rank after each successive voyage, but only up to a point. They very rarely became captains and even less often acquired the capital to re-invest more than the power of their own labor. Aside from a couple men from African and Wampanoag families—the Cuffes and Cooks—only three other Native Americans ever reached the rank of captain. These were Amos Haskins, Ferdinand Lee, and Joseph G. Belain (Shoemaker 2015:24). There were other Native American officers and masters who temporarily took charge of vessels in the event of death or serious

injury to the captain, but they did so without gaining the official title or recognition. O'Neil (2017) discusses more on Pardon Cook.

Skilled African American mariners often did not get promoted because of race, but they became increasingly more common by the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, according to Bolster, in a 2017 lecture at the Munson Institute (Bolster 2017). Most African whalemens at this time were Southern slaves, serving a white master, but many that were not found “access to privilege, worldliness, and wealth” (Bolster 1997:32). Massachusetts’s constitution of 1780 freed black men who could now sign aboard in the rapidly expanding industry (Farr 1983:161), but these opportunities had their limits, and there were intentional stereotypes of blacks as cooks, officer’s servants, or musicians to distinguish them from ‘proper’ seaman (Bolster 1997:32).

Having colored people in service roles, or at least later portrayed in service roles, ‘segmented officer’s power’ (Bolster 2017). Almost all cooks on whaling ships were black (Bolster 1997:167) and were commonly called Doctors (Mawer 1999:169) due to cooks frequently taking on the role of surgeon during an emergency. Another revival period author credited “blacks” as being better able to turn the ship’s poor-quality staple goods into a variety of “questionable amalgams” (Morison 1921:259). Black men, who were promoted, typically were paid equal to their skill and position. Another first-hand source advocates there having been a more equitable system: “A colored man is only known and looked upon as a man and is promoted in rank according to his ability and skill to perform the same duties as the white man” (Ross 1846:108). However, the mass white denial of racial and gender bias stands even today.

A large increase in black mariners occurred between 1740 and 1820 (Bolster 1997:69), but after 1820, crews grew predominantly white as opportunity expanded. By the early 19<sup>th</sup> century black whalemens found it impossible to attain the rank of an officer, a birthright among



Nantucket Yankees (Farr 1983:161). In an 1807 account, "The larger whalemens have three boats and twenty-one men, of whom nine are commonly blacks; and the smaller, two boats and sixteen men, of whom seven are black" (Farr 1983:162), and using this ratio, of the 800 to 1,000 Nantucket's whalemens, 300 were likely 'black', with one-eighth being Indian, and African/Native American mulattoes accounting for between one-fourth and three-eighths of the total crew by 1820. That same year, six of the 19 men (20 including the captain) who comprised the crew of the ill-fated whaleship *Essex*, were black (Farr 1983:162). The book and movie, "In the Heart of the Sea", were based upon this disaster (Philbrick 2015).

Putting aside the ratio of promotion, relative to whites, there were still 700 black men (including Native Americans and dark skinned islanders) recorded as serving as officers and harpooners in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century whaling fleet (Bolster 1997:177), but as the 19<sup>th</sup> century progressed with new waves of immigrants, a policy of hiring whites first became standard, and it became more difficult for black men to make any type of living. This was shown to be the case later in this research regarding Atlantic whaling voyages but was less so the case for longer, Pacific voyages. It was said, 'Asians, especially "Kanakas", outperformed whites, who were better than Hispanics, who were better than African-Americans' (Muller 2013:46), in terms of stereotypical assumptions.

Although it was the rule, there were exceptions to the white Yankee captains. One of the few black captains was a man named Absalom Boston, from the minority dominant area of Nantucket known as New Guinea (Appendix D.3). His uncle, Prince Boston, is famous for winning his freedom after William Rotch chose to pay him, instead of his owner, for his work (Dolin 2007:224). Absalom was in command, at 37 years old, of an all-black whaling crew in

1822. He failed on all his voyages, but he was loved by his men anyway and later became a successful and wealthy merchant on Nantucket (Dolin 2007:225).

A year after Captain Boston took command of the *John Adams*, Peter Green, another black whaler, took command of the ship (Stackpole 1953:287). George Henry was another, who sailed a small schooner. 'If a black man was being used to make a profit for a white man, in the south, he was far more likely to be promoted, but that same mariner could find it difficult to get a job, even as a deckhand, in New England (Bolster 2017). However, being promoted, as an unpaid person, is hardly as desirable as collecting any wage at all, but it shows the impact of capital on influencing ideology.

Paul Cuffe, perhaps the most famous black whaler, was from Bristol County. He was a very wealthy merchant who rose to the rank of captain in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Hawes 1924:156). Cuffe's father, an African American ship carpenter, had bought his own freedom and married a woman from the Wampanoag tribe (Bolster 1973:45). Paul was the youngest of 10 children, and he too married a Native American woman from the same tribe as his mother (WHS 2014:7). He learned to read, write, and navigate in a very short time, and by the age of 25, he was in command of his own ship, engaged in trading (WHS 2014:5). During the American Revolution, Cuffe had conducted a successful coastal trading business - making rum runs to Buzzard's Bay using his own boats (Barboza 2016:5).

Cuffe survived quite lucratively in the white community of Westport. In 1793, at the age of 34, he returned with a very successful first whaling cargo. He then owned 200 acres of land on the east branch of the Westport River, where he built a large farm, and established a shipyard that operated from roughly 1790 to 1810 (Bolster 1973:45). Cuffe owned seven whaling vessels he staffed with black crews (Lindgren 1999:190). He soon became good friends with William

Rotch and his son, William Rotch Jr. (WHS 2014:14), and eventually became friends with the Rodmans, Russells, Howlands, Hathaways, and Hazards (Mayhew 1863).

Generally referring to white men of New England birth, Paul himself has been referred to as “the Yankee Cuffee” (Bolster 1973:24). Wealth, to the capitalist class, and with particular regards to the oil industry, continues to ‘trump’ racial prejudices to this day (see Kragie (2018) for more detail). Cuffe eventually became an inspiration to the minority community, and today he is commemorated in multiple towns with a park in New Bedford, a heritage trail and monuments in Westport, a fellowship in Mystic, and displays in several museums. The Brown family of Providence, and the Smiths of southeastern Connecticut, are other notable black mariner families (Bolster 1997:158-159), but less light has been thrown upon them. Slightly outside the scope of this research, but worthy of mention, is William Shorey, the only black whaling captain who operated out of the west coast in the late-19<sup>th</sup> century (Tompkins 1972).

Not only has there historically been a misrepresentation between the wealthy officers, whose families had already attained wealth, but there was also a divide within the crew along numerous lines. “Never in this country have there been more thoroughly cosmopolitan, polyglot mixtures than crowded into the teeming forecastles of mid-century whaling vessels.” (Hohman 1928:7). “An American Whaleship was a kaleidoscope of colors, as well as a Babel of tongues.” (Banks 1911:448). This research found that only about half of Yankee whalers during the 19<sup>th</sup> century were native born white Yankees (Figure 128; Figure 129). This figure, due to certain data sources (crew and shipping lists) being less inclusive of the Indigenous Islanders enlisted at sea, gives an estimate that leans in favor of the domestic white category.

Looking at just the descriptions of complexion, using the same 19<sup>th</sup> century New London crew lists used in this research, Fred Calabretta, at an August 2018 talk hosted by New London

Landmarks, determined about 10% of the men were listed as some variation of ‘colored’. This figure, however, is unreliable, as many minorities recorded by other captains as having dark skin, are recorded by many others, as having light skin, relative to their nationality of origin, and again, many Islanders were not included in this sample. Jeffrey Bolster, using his data set, determined that 20% of 19<sup>th</sup> century crews, were “black” (Bolster 1997:2). Bolster, taking his sample prior to the digitization of New London’s crew lists, likely included whaling logs that contained the foreigners picked up abroad. “Black” or “colored”, in this research, as in general American slang, refers to any non-European descendent. According to Jason Mancini, between 1790 and 1860, more than 8,000 certificates were issued to colored crewmen, and combined with other customs records, like surrendered crew lists, the Pequot Museum created a private database of roughly 17,000 crewmen of color in the merchant and whaling crews.

The black populations of Nantucket and New Bedford doubled in the 1830s, with the former increasing from 279 to 578, of a total population of 9,012, and the latter increasing from 383 to 767, out of an 1840 population of 12,087 (Farr 198:164). By the 1840s and 1850s, crews grew increasingly diverse, steadily trending toward less skilled white men and non-white foreign labor. By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the whaling forecastle was composed of European, African-American, Cape Verdean, Peruvian, Pacific Islander, Portuguese, Azorean, New Zealand, Australian Aboriginal, West Indian, and Columbian sailors (Dolin 2007:223). As the industry in America began to lose productivity, around the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, employers began to seek out foreigners and minorities explicitly (Creighton 1995:22). One estimate calculated that over 3,000 African-Americans served aboard New Bedford vessels alone from 1803 to 1860 (Lindgren 1999:189) and that in 1860 there were over 3,000 black men currently serving in the overall industry (Kaplan 1953:78).

As the earlier group, Cape Verdeans saw themselves as superior whalers to the “dumber black Islanders”, and it was believed that South Sea Islanders were fearless whalers, but comparatively lazy aboard ship (Goode 1887:219). Black men composed about 20% to 25% of the crew during the Golden Age (Bolster 1997:2). In the 1850s, three percent of the crew were from the Western Islands (Cape Verde, but many also include the Azores), but a decade later, this figure rose to 25% (Francis 1990:95). Dark-skinned Pacific Islanders were also replacing African-Americans after 1850, with Portuguese accounting for 20% of the crew by 1860 (Lindgren 1999:190, 192), and 25% shortly thereafter (Creighton 1995:9).

‘With profits as their objective, they were open to hiring any man who could do the job so long as the crew’s social composition did not threaten orderly collaboration.’ (Shoemaker 2015:40). Whalemens welcomed diversity, as it was cheaper, but it was still a society built on white supremacy (Creighton 1995:76). By the end of the industry, c. 1880 to 1920, many mates did not even speak English, or know how to navigate with a sextant, but were officers nonetheless due to an extreme shortage of crew by this time (Almeida 1978:16).

Canadian scholars have “emphasized the degree ships and shipboard cultures were (and are) products of evolving human societies, ashore, and of landward economic development” (Creighton 1995:4). Many foreigners settled in whaling ports after their voyages and created subcultural communities (Dolin 2007:224). Provincetown and Gloucester were fishing centers and there was a hill in Gloucester with a very high concentration of Portuguese, known as “Portygee Hill” (Santos 1995:1). Portuguese, among other settlers, often found suitable work in New Bedford and other textile mills (Almeida 1978:16). Anglo authors have frequently written, often derogatively, about the “Portuguese American Invasion” on the Vineyard, Nantucket,

Provincetown, Falmouth, Harwich, Chatham, New Bedford, Fall River, and Providence, to name a few (Schneider 2000:227).

As the industry expanded, and whalers ventured to the farthest reaches of their maps, new assortments of labor melted into the diversity of the forecastle (Shoemaker 2015:6). Whaling brought about the discovery of many islands around the world as the need for mapping continually increased to prevent wrecks. Wherever whalers went, missionaries and Christianity were sure to follow (Starbuck 1964 [1978]:3; Verrill 1916:9), and these whaleships directly linked these islands to the United States, commercially, often granting them territorial status if they were not already part of an existing colonial network (Stackpole 1953:303). With between 200 (Dolin 2007:240) to more than 400 islands (Decker 1973:118) contributing to the diversity of the “Yankee” forecastle, some, including Hawaii, Tahiti, and Samoa, became a one-way ticket for many American whalers (Verrill 1916:9).

For most of the industry there is no record of any ethnic groups aligning with any other (Shoemaker 2015:40). In some forecastles, especially after 1870, there was segregation (Mawer 1999:165). On such vessels, Portuguese, African American, and South Sea islanders gravitated toward the larboard side of the forecastle (Mawer 1999:168). Existing prejudices, especially when ashore, were based on language, religion, and social views, just as much as on race (Mawer 1999:167), and each of these factors are completely intertwined. ‘It is a well-known fact that shipbuilders never worked with a black employee’, according to one source (Allen 1973:74), and shipbuilding was the ultimate elitist Yankee profession. Allen (1973) seems to be overgeneralizing, as there were certainly more than a few black shipwrights. Aside from Paul Cuffe and his father, Frederick Douglas was employed as a ship caulker for some time (Bolster 2017).

It was said he “knew a ship from stem to stern, and from keelson to crosstrees, and could talk sailor like an old salt.” (Bolster 2017:1).

By 1880 only one-third of the 3,896 men employed in the Yankee whaling industry were even American, let alone Caucasian (Hohman 1928:301). Shoemaker (2015) discusses the economic hardships that minority groups faced through the everyday racism of New England culture (Shoemaker 2015:3). As diversity continued to rise alongside inequality, it was gender that became the unifying force needed to ease race and ethnic related tensions (Shoemaker 2015:40). It gave an alternative issue that people of all races could choose to prioritize or not. Even still, women were not unknown on whaleships. Hundreds of wives accompanied their captains on voyages (Jernegan 2010:9).

New England whaling began as one of the most exploitative enterprises in history. As wealth grew and consolidated, so too did the degree of exploitation, and a largely race-based social hierarchy was used to strengthen the established power structures. As time progressed and voyages ventured further, the diversity of the whaling forecastle resulted in arguably the most multi-cultural labor force ever assembled. With many foreign whalers choosing to settle in New England communities at the conclusion of their involvement, the demographic history of the region was changed forever. This change was directly proportional to the period of each community's involvement as the demographic of the crew determined the diversity of those who settled. The following chapter provides a critical introduction of the development of each community to provide insight as to how it affected their contemporary socioeconomic standing.

## Chapter V. Local Histories

This chapter provides a brief introduction to the 12 whaling towns focused on in this research. The following is a brief, but necessary, introduction to each town's development to provide the context of how their communities fit into the overall development of whaling capitalism within New England and how their economic declines and capital reinvestments were shaped. For instance, initial capital acquired prior to the communities' major 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century growth periods may have affected the quality and lifespan of resulting physical structures (wharves, storehouses, block and blacksmith shops, cooperages, sail and rigging lofts, etc.) themselves. The type of economy a community pursues (industrial, agricultural, tourist, commercial fishing, etc.)—largely determined by geographic circumstances—affects archaeological preservation along the waterfront, the quantity of wealth available for residential maintenance and redevelopment, the adaptive reuse of existing historic commercial and industrial structures, and incentives for promoting local whaling heritage to a public audience.

### **Provincetown, MA:**

First visited by Leif Erikson in 1004CE (Grant 2011:281), the land from Eastern Harbor to Long Point, known as Province lands, was first settled by Europeans in the mid-late 17<sup>th</sup> century. It largely consisted of fishermen's shacks along the beach. It was a wild place inhabited by a cosmopolitan group of fishermen, smugglers, outlaws, escaped indentured servants, heavy drinkers, and the "Mooncussers," who were said to have lured ships to their doom by placing lanterns on the beach at night, thus forcing ships to wreck on sandbars offshore, and then salvaging the cargo (Theriault 1996:1).



Province lands were one of the first areas in America set aside for exclusive use as a fishing preserve. After 1737 the whale fishery and the West Indies Trade were reestablished in Provincetown, and every person not at sea was employed in a trade, producing a commodity for those who were (Theriault 1996:3). At the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Provincetown had 180 homes and a population of 812 (US Census 1800). By 1818 the town had 38 families (200 adults), almost exclusively devoted to salt manufacture and fishing (Jennings 1890:76). By 1820 six whalers cleared from Provincetown, and within a half century this rose to 54 (Paine 1922:71).

Methodism became very popular in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, with the first church in 1795, and the second in 1817. A Unitarian society formed in 1829, with a second church in 1847. There was also a Congregational society in 1842. The Catholic Society was formed in 1851 and had many Irish and Portuguese followers (Hopkins 1890:986).

The first lighthouse was constructed in 1826 on Long Point, and another in 1872 at Wood Ends (Hopkins 1890:969). Thomas Lothrop built the first major wharf in the early 1830s, and in 1833 Jonathan Nickerson, Thomas Nickerson, Stephen Nickerson, and Samuel Soper chartered the Union Wharf Company and built Union Wharf. Their success encouraged the creation of E. & E.K. Cook and Company, Central Wharf Company, H. & S. Cook and Company, J & L.N. Paine, J.E. & G. Bowley, Nickerson and Tuck, Freeman and Hilliard, B.A. Lewis & Company, and David Conwell, all of whom were soon outfitting vessels for whaling (McGhee 1892:1-5). By mid-19<sup>th</sup> century the Nickerson and Cook families owned the majority of Provincetown whaling operations (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:506).

By the 1840s Provincetown had the largest fleet on the Cape (Grant 2011:287), and for most of its involvement focused on Atlantic whaling (Bryant 1918:6), although South Pacific Islanders began joining the many Portuguese involved in whaling as ships increasingly rounded

Cape Horn (Goode 1887:220). The greatest expansion in Provincetown's growth occurred between 1842 and 1869 when the fleet jumped from 13 to 54 vessels (Goode 1887:145). The 1865 fleet out of Provincetown consisted of 28 ships and brought back a return of \$300,000 (Tarbell 1934:190). By 1870 the community had 54 vessels (Paine 1922:71). McGhee (1892) provides a historic description of all 19<sup>th</sup> century Provincetown wharves.

### **Martha's Vineyard, MA:**

Officially Thomas Mayhew, along with eight to 10 families, purchased Edgartown in 1641 when he traded a red coat to the chief of the Wampanoag in exchange for the deed to the area. He had to first buy the rights to purchase the land on Martha's Vineyard, along with that of Nantucket, from Lord Stirling and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, paying £40 (Norton 1923:15). Five names among the original families are Pease, Vincent, Norton, Trapp, and Stone (Banks 1911:90; Norton 1923:13), but within a decade the names Butler, Bland, Smith, Burchard, Daggot, Folger, Bayes, and Vincent were also common (Norton 1923:18). With a pre-contact population of roughly 1,500 Indigenous (Norton 1923:23, 26), it was not until 1720 that European colonists outnumbered Native Americans (Philbrick 1998:92), but Native whalers still made up the overwhelming majority of whalers on both islands (Nantucket and the Vineyard). By this time the subsistence-plus period was beginning, and close to 30 whaleboats were engaged in the industry (Vickers 1983:562).

Thomas Mayhew essentially established himself as CEO of the Vineyard. His authority was absolute and was designed to ensure the wealth of the Island flowed through him first. The 1670s saw rebellion against this oligarchical rule on both islands, although it was less pronounced on Nantucket (Banks 1911:158). The freeholders put forth the "Vineyard's

Declaration of Independence against arbitrary authority and irresponsible rulers” (Banks 1911:158), but the Dutch decreed that rebellion against the established office holders was a capital offense (Banks 1911:165).

Beginning in the 1680s, Mayhew instituted reprisals against disloyalty (Banks 1911:166), and the Mayhews held such control that in the 1690s, the official registry of county officers was nothing more than the Mayhew family tree, under Mathew’s leadership, following the passing of Thomas (Banks 1911:178). Control of the political and economic direction of the islands only diverted from Mayhew when James Coffin and William Worth challenged whether Martha’s Vineyard was included in the charter of William and Mary, and Matthew lost on a name technicality (Banks 1911:202). Major Mathew Mayhew died in 1710, and his eldest grandson, Micajah Mayhew, tried to reassert his “ancient manorial privileges and Lordship” in the 1730s, but upon his death, in 1760, the Mayhew aristocracy died, although not their importance (Banks 1911:208).

In 1738 a Captain Chase, (Joseph according to Starbuck 1964 [1878]:36] or Benjamin according to Spears [1910:74]), moved to Edgartown, where he bought 20 acres of land and built a wharf and tryworks. By 1770 the Vineyard had a dozen vessels (Schneider 2000:161), and not long after the beginning of the offshore whaling period, Martha’s Vineyard began developing the largest Spermaceti oil manufactory in America. Between 1820 and 1865 the Vineyard’s whaling activity peaked (Grant 2011:321). During the 1840s Edgartown was sending out 10 to 20 ships, a similar figure to Providence and Cape Cod a decade earlier (Robotti 1962:56). As many as 50 ships had been fitted out of this port at one time (Norton 1923:72). After a 60-year rise in the growth of the whaling industry profitability began to decline between 1850 and 1870 (Banks 1911:30). Jethro Dagget was one local merchant outfitting vessels out of the Vineyard by 1829,

and by 1850 Benjamin Worth was the Vineyard's major outfitter of whaling vessels, (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:272), while Dr. Daniel Fisher and Company were the largest producers of whale oil and candles. Hannibal and French were another major operation.

### **Nantucket, MA:**

Nantucket's position so far from the coastline put it right in the migratory path of the Right whale (PBS 1996). For much of its early history it did not even consider itself a part of the United States and acted almost entirely independently (Francis 1990:45). By the mid-late 18<sup>th</sup> century Nantucket had between 5,000 to 6,000 people, 90% of whom were Quakers who maintained a fleet of 140 vessels. Eight of these were employed in transport, while the remainder were in the fisheries (Starbuck 1964 [1978]:E).

Thomas Macy with his wife Sarah, their five children, Edward Starbuck, James and Tristram Coffin, and Isaac Coleman, bought land from the Wampanoag in 1659 for £30 and two beaver hats (Dolin 2007:65; SSTC 1915). Unfortunately, the Wampanoag did not understand the European concept of land ownership, and believed they were renting out co-ownership rights to use the land in an exchange that would involve periodic tribute payments over the duration of occupancy (Karttunen 2005:27; Philbrick 2011:47). Much inter-tribal conflict was later attributed to "the cultural mechanisms that guided the rights to and the allocation of land." (Mancini 2009:21). This planted the earliest seeds of capitalism, which were later fertilized by the expropriation of African labor for the cotton industry, as discussed by Beckert (2014).

In 1660 Starbuck returned from Salisbury, Massachusetts, with ten more families (Williams 1977:20), including the Husseys, Gardners, Colemans Folgers, Macys, and Coffins. Through an intensive system of intermarriage, they all became intricately related (Stevens

1936:16). Nathaniel Starbuck Sr. was the richest whaling merchant on the island in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. He married Mary Coffin, the youngest daughter of Tristram, and very influential in her own right (Philbrick 2011:90), leading the birth of the island's Quaker movement (Schneider 2000:167; Williams 1977:41). According to one scholar, Quakerism promoted an attitude that was exceptionally conducive to success in the whaling industry (Philbrick 2011:90), as it was based around hard work, simplicity of living, low costs of operation, and close community cooperation. Elihu Coleman became an important figure in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. After establishing himself as a carpenter and cooper, he met much of the island's craft needs, including houses and barrels (Gardner 1949:65).

The Coffin family had a majority stake in the island by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (Gardner 1949:196), and nepotism was rampant, regardless of religious or cultural affiliation. The first bank in Nantucket was founded in 1804 as the Nantucket Pacific Bank (Gardner 1949:142). Schools were opened by the Coffins, Macys, and Gardners (Gardner 1949:184), but most only allowed members of those families, or faiths, to attend, further limiting the socioeconomic growth potential for minorities and foreign immigrants.

In terms of whaling infrastructure, and associated industries, a tryworks was located near the present site of the Nantucket Yacht Club (Meyer 1976:104). Early whale houses around this time were constructed at Miacomet on the south shore (Williams 1977:24). Straight Wharf was built in 1723 by Richard Macy (Macy 1880:49; Williams 1977:36), and by the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, the Macy family owned both sides of Walnut Lane (Starbuck and Summerfield 1974:26). Warehouses were soon built south of Straight Wharf, with tryhouses built south of them (Williams 1977:36). Nantucket's waterfront was described by Crèvecoeur in 1772 as containing:

three docks, each 300 feet long and extremely convenient, at the head of which are ten feet of water. Between these docks and the town there is room sufficient for the landing of goods and for the passage of their numerous carts; for almost every man here has one. When their fleets have been successful, the bustle and hurry of business on this spot for some days after their arrival would make you imagine that this is the capital of a very opulent and large province. (Philbrick 2011:10)

A few years before South Wharf was added in 1760 (Williams 1977:39) the Nantucket fleet was at 80-sail (1756), and grew to 150 by 1770, with over 2,000 men employed in whaling (Caulkins 1852:639). William Rotch opened the first Spermaceti candleworks that year at the head of Straight Wharf, and his manufactory was allocated 13 of every 181 parts of headmatter returned to the port (Nichols 2009:114; Rice 1998:8). When hostilities between American colonists and British Imperialists escalated to war in 1775, Nantucket continued whaling by necessity (Goode 1887:127).

By war's end, however, Nantucket had lost more than one-third of its entire population (Stevens 1936:23; Williams 1977:46). Of the 800 families on the island, there were 202 widows and 342 orphans after the war, with more than 1,200 men captured or killed. With the industry destroyed for the next decade or so, many Nantucketers emigrated elsewhere, reducing the Island to the appearance of a deserted village (Taylor 1977:596). Some went to Dunkirk, some to Nova Scotia, and others to Milford Haven, England, including members of the Starbuck, Folger, Swain, Macy, Grieve, Coleman, Paddock, Bunker, Coffin, and Gwinn families (Norling 2000:95; Stackpole 1973:224).

Not long after the Treaty of Paris and the cessation of hostilities in 1783, Richard Mitchell Jr. rose to the forefront of Nantucket whaling and led the rebuilding of the industry. He

soon owned double the fleet of anybody else on the island (Rice 1998:9). Between Broad Street and South Street along the shoreline, Mitchell built a successful oil refinery that later passed to his son and grandson (Rice 1998:9). The bonds between British and Nantucket merchants were renewed, as many shared Quaker ancestry (Taylor 1977:582).

By the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century Nantucket was divided up into several sections. “Chicken Hill” was around Center and Prospect Streets, formerly Copper Street. “North Shore” and “Egypt” were located just north of Main Street, and “New Town” was located just to the south of Main. “New Guinea” was located at Five Corners, “Downtown”, around Main Square, and “Upper Town”, was west of the head of Main Street’ (Philbrick 2011:12). Centered somewhere near Cliff Road was “Nantucket Hill”. This was popularly frequented by sailors and was the party/crime spot of the island (Philbrick 2011:13).

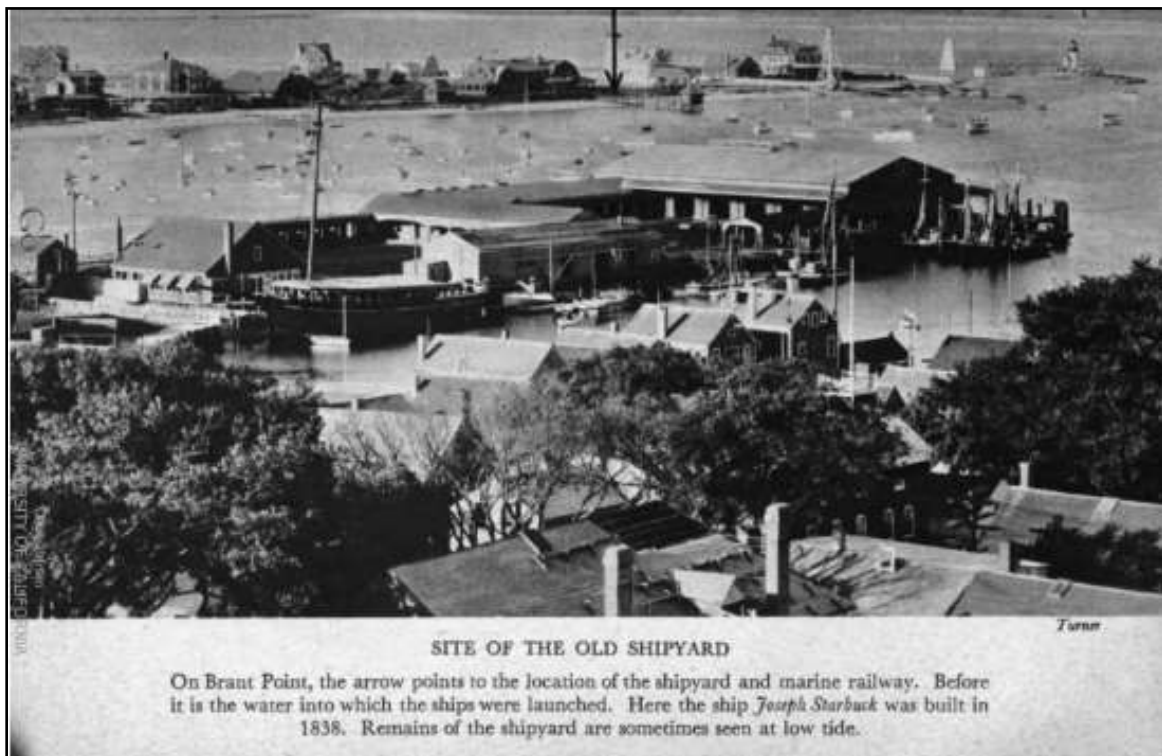


Figure 8. Site of the Brant Point Shipyard (Starbuck 1945:129).

Many new houses, candleworks, and other supporting businesses were built during the 1790s (Macy 1880:144). By 1792 there were five ropewalks on Nantucket (Spears 1910:237) and ten candleworks. Within a decade there were 19 candleworks, with an average processing of 50 tons of oil/year, making 10,000 pounds of candles at \$0.48/pound (Crosby 1946:131). By 1807 the number of ropewalks had grown to ten, each producing 20 tons of cordage (Crosby 1946:131). The first shipyard was built in 1810 at Brant Point (Figure 8) (Stevens 1936:185).

By 1820, when most local whaling industries were just beginning to build up steam, Nantucket already had over two dozen firms, many sending multiple vessels (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:233). By 1830 Nantucket was the third wealthiest port in Massachusetts next to Boston and Salem (Schneider 2000:260). The industry peaked in the 1830s when infrastructure included one shipyard, five boat shops, 17 oil factories, ten Spermaceti candle factories, two candlebox factories, ten ropewalks (employing 300 men), 22 barrelmakers, one brass foundry, ten blacksmiths/harpoon shops, four spar shops, two bakeries for ships bread, two block factories, four sail lofts, three rigging lofts, many general provisioners, a rum distillery, four banks, several insurance companies, and 60 grog shops (Schneider 2000:260).

Throughout the heyday, until its decline in the late 1840s, Starbuck, Ewer, Gardner, Rodman, Joy, Folger, Jenkins, Chase, Macy, and Howland were still the most important whaling families, with the Mitchell family at the top for some time (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:233-559). Following a major fire in 1846, most men evacuated to the California gold mines, and in nine months the town lost a quarter of its voting population (Philbrick 1993:445). By 1855 there were still four boatbuilders, and three of Nantucket's four sail lofts remained active. A dozen blacksmiths' shops operated during Nantucket's peak years (Morral and White 2015:69).



**New Bedford, MA:**

In 1652 Myles Standish, John Cook, Joseph Russell, and Cornelius Howland, among others from Nantucket, traded 30 yards of cloth, eight moose skins, 22 pounds of wampum, an iron kettle, and other items to Wesamequen and his son in exchange for 34 shares of land immediately east and west of the Acushnet River (Norling 2000:71). Early New Bedford whaling began with Russell in the same year (Sanderson 1993:213), who constructed a grist mill and several sawmills, along with boatyards, and cleared fields for cultivation (Allen 1973:71). He also built a tryworks and oil shed (Stackpole 1973:251) and sold the first tract of land to a ship-caulker and builder, John Louden, who built the first house on the west side of South Street, at the end of Commercial Street, just south of “Four Corners”. This area became the center of whaling activity in New Bedford. Russell is credited with the founding of the New Bedford whaling industry, destined to be the largest whaling fleet ever to sail (Hawes 1924:77).

In 1762 a blacksmith from Wareham bought the lot south of Louden (Arato and Eleeny 1998:5). Russell also sold or supplied land to Benjamin Taber near Centre Street (Arato and Eleeny 1998:5), and together they built a thriving boatbuilding industry (Nichols 2009:108; Stackpole 1953:55). Taber was directly responsible for constructing the blocks and the whaleboats (Allen 1973:72). His house was located at the intersection of Union and Water streets, and many other well-to-do houses lined Union Street down to County Street (Arato and Eleeny 1998:16). These men, among others, built the early wharves and roads, and encouraged the opening of more shops and houses (Allen 1973:72). Together they created a thriving whaling community that by the early-mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, held the title ‘Whaling City of the World’ for more than 50 years (Stackpole 1973:234).

In 1765 Joseph Rotch built his house on the northwest corner of Union and First streets (Arato and Eleeny 1998:10). After briefly returning to Nantucket to get his affairs in order, Rotch moved back to a much larger house in New Bedford, on the southwest corner of what is now Water and William Streets. Rotch subsequently invested a substantial sum of his capital in building a wharf (Appendix E.2), warehouses, a shipsmith, an oil refinery, and acquiring everything needed to outfit vessels (Stackpole 1973:251). Prior to this, vessels sailed to Nantucket for outfitting (Norling 2000:121; Stackpole 1953:54).

At the start of the American Revolution, Bedford had reached 1,000 residents and had its own candleworks, ropewalks, warehouses, and wharves (Norling 2000:122). Joseph Rotch's house was the center of community activities, and fifteen other houses lined Water Street including the less extravagant gambrel roofed houses of Captain Joseph Rotch; the blacksmith, Abraham Smith; and other craftsmen participating in whaling-related industries (Arato and Eleeny 1998:10; Figure 9). Much was destroyed when British troops marched down King Street, pillaging and igniting 11 houses, the cooperage shops, warehouses, two ropewalks, 70 vessels, a distillery, and 26 warehouses (Allen 1973:73; Nichols 2009:120).

After the war William Rotch Jr. built a house on William and Water Street. This was the earlier location of his brother's, Joseph Rotch's home, destroyed in 1778. Samuel Rodman, who married Rotch's sister, built an equally impressive home just north of William's. The "proximity of the Rotch-Rodman homes, New Bedford's three most prominent estates, to the waterfront district is a telling example of the nature of the town's development at the turn of the century, illustrating a certain character and image, revealed from the corner of Water and William street in Figure 9, Figure 10, and Figure 11.



Figure 10: Corner of Water and William Streets, 1805. In the center, behind the hill of Burial Point, stand the Rotch and Rodman mansions. The latter, flanked by two large trees, is situated at the head of Rodman Street. Located eastward along the line of the street are two buildings belonging to William Rotch, the easternmost being the warehouse at the corner of Rodman and Front Streets. The building with three stacks, on the left, is Joseph Russell's oil works. Gilbert Russell's first homestead is just west of this structure. Rotch's home, moved to Bethel Street and remodeled as the Mariner's Home in 1851, is the only building pictured that is still standing.

Figure 9. Water and Williams streets, 1805 (facing West) (Arato and Eleeny 1998:12).



Figure 10. Painting of Water and Williams streets, 1805 (Northwest) (William Wall, 1807).

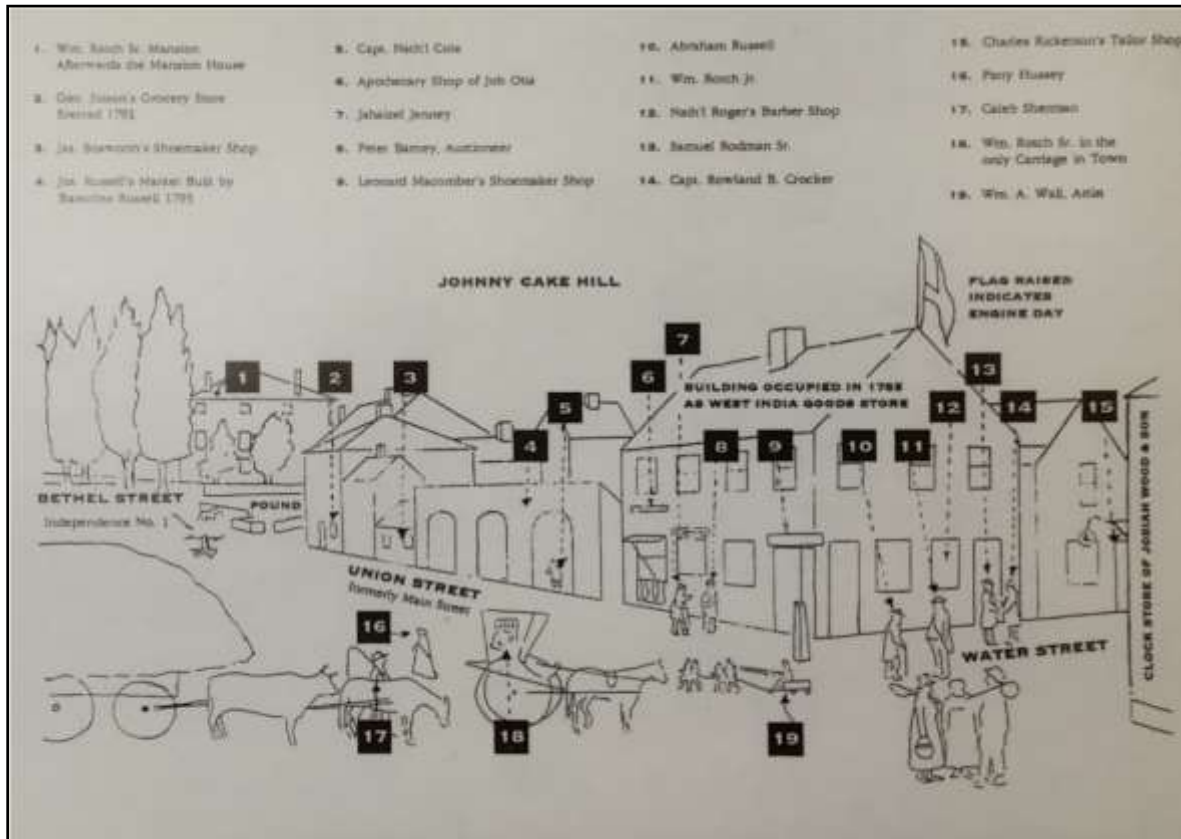


Figure 11. Labeling of painting of Water and Williams streets, 1805 (Northwest) (Courtesy of NBWM).

Among other buildings, Rotch owned a warehouse on the corner of Rodman and Front Streets; next to it, with three smokestacks, was Joseph Russell's oil works (Arato and Eleeny 1998:12). In 1795 Rotch built his Mansion House, a two story, federal style brick building near Four Corners, at the northeast corner of Union and Second streets. Other historic residences, all present by the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, sit in the northern shadow of Rotch's, at Four Corners. Various whaling-related businesses lined Water Street, to the east, extending north to the residences of Rotch Jr. and Rodman.

By 1800 the population was 4,362, and the community income from the whale fishery was just under \$300,000 (Allen 1973:82). William Rotch, his son William Jr. and his son-in-law, Samuel Rodman, were very wealthy, and the latter two were very active in the community

(Arato and Eleeny 1998:20). By 1805 there were three ropewalks, seven wharves, and nearly 100 ships, a dozen of which were whaling vessels (Arato and Eleeny 1998:xvi). Rodman built his Spermaceti candleworks in 1810. The waterfront was now loaded with warehouses, ship chandlers, thousands of barrels, and countinghouses, all owned by names introduced a century earlier, and “every foot of shore jammed with whaling vessels, with others waiting to unload or refit” (Nichols 2009:21).

Much of New Bedford’s capital was contained within the city. Seventy-seven percent of the shipowners were living in New Bedford, 10% were living in Dartmouth, Fairhaven, Nantucket, and Westport, nine percent were from other parts of Massachusetts, and two percent were from the rest of New England (Davis et al. 1997:415). The high proportion of green spaces, as well as the lack of spatial differentiation between New Bedford’s “increasingly visible hierarchy of wealth” (Arato and Eleeny 1998:17) were characteristic of the community, but as the golden years ramped up the wealthy “retreated up the hill, abandoning their opulent homes and the waterfront to the cheap boarding houses, shops, and the stinking malodorous abodes of hordes of chattering Brava sailors and their appendages.” (Arato and Eleeny 1998:18).

An eccentric New Bedford whaling captain, named Preserved Fish, formed a partnership with his cousin, Joseph Grinnell, in 1815. Beginning in New York, they created Fish and Grinnell to sell on commission to New Bedford. Both partners retired by 1829, and Joseph returned to New Bedford where he became a railroad president, congressman, and introducer of the local cotton industry (Albion 1932:675). Joseph’s younger brothers continued with his whaling business. By 1819 only S. & C. Russell and I. Howland Jr. & Co were listed as firms outfitting whaling vessels (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:230). More famous names appear in 1822, including William C. Nye and Andrew Robeson, and the following year, Joseph Rotch and J. &

J. Howland, who were sending out ships from this port (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:244; 248). By 1824 William Rotch, T.S. & N. Hathaway, Charles Grinnell, and Charles W. Morgan began their involvement (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:252).

Between 1820 and 1830 New Bedford's population nearly doubled, growing from 3,947 to 7,592 (Nichols 2009:181). By the 1830s it was the fourth largest port in the United States. Its 120 vessels took 85,000 barrels of oil, more than enough to support the ten local Spermaceti factories (Arato and Eleeny 1998:19). Thirteen firms were sending out ships in 1832 under the names Howland, Riddell, Rotch, Parker, Allen, Leonard, Russell, Morgan, Rodman, Nye, Gibbs, Greene, and Crocker (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:288). By 1845 more than 150 merchants and professionals did business within the five blocks of Union Street, east of Purchase Street (Arato and Eleeny 1998:32).

James Durfee, a veteran blacksmith harpoon maker from 1828 to 1868, was responsible for making 58,617 irons (13,414 toggle harpoons, and 45,103 fluted) (Lytle 2000-2008). The iron toggle technique was introduced by his colleague, an African American named Lewis Temple, during the mid-point of Durfee's career, which spanned the length of the Golden Age of whaling. Durfee was the most skilled of the blacksmiths operating out of New Bedford (Lytle 2000-2008; Spears 1910:210), but Temple was the most innovative. Temple had his whalecraft shop on Collin's Wharf (Kaplan 1953:79), but he moved it to Walnut Street Wharf in 1848 or 1849 and rented a house nearby (Sarton 1931:86). Archaeologists have discovered that various prehistoric people had invented the toggle, by necessity, several times over, but European men seem to have forgotten the technique by the Middle-Ages (Kaplan 1953:81). Harwood (1935) discusses more on the development of whaling implements.

New Bedford was the richest city in the world, per capita, by mid-century (Allen 1973:82; Dolin 2007:214) with a population over 16,000, and at any given time, 10% of all the men were at sea (Norling 2000:128). In 1833, for every man who shipped aboard a whaler, there were a half dozen working an associated position back home (Francis 1990:91). Including candle manufactories and other allied industries, the city's revenue was an additional \$20 million (Allen 1973:82). Isaac Howland Jr. became the most successful whaling merchant in New Bedford, with an annual income of \$3.5 million (Allen 1973:82). His wealth was later reinvested into an even greater fortune. Charles W. Morgan was right behind Howland in whaling but had a more diverse portfolio. After the American Civil War, Morgan went on to become the largest shipowner in the United States and was estimated to be worth \$13 million (Albion 1932:680). The streets and alleyways extending from the waterfront were packed with allied industries, and huge fortunes were made by the Rotches, Rodmans, Morgans, Delanos, and Bournes during this period (Dolin 2007:214). Other wealthy names of New Bedford Merchants include, Parker, Haskell, Russell, Coggeshall, and Green.

### **Fairhaven, MA:**

The history of Fairhaven is closely tied to that of New Bedford and, from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century until the introduction of petroleum, whaling was the principal business of this community. Circa 1759 William Wood set up a try works and oil sheds near the Acushnet landing place on land originally bought by Captain Taber (Stackpole 1953:456; Starbuck 1964 [1978]:43). In a short time, a candlehouse was constructed on the corner of Centre Street and Front Street (Ellis 1892:409).

Having rebounded after the Revolution, Fairhaven's position, directly across from New Bedford, gained it favor after 1800, when its toll bridge was constructed (Whitman 1994:102). Union Wharf was built in 1802 (Stackpole 1953:457), and in 1812 Fairhaven was formally incorporated as its own town (Maury 1896:102). Attempts to separate from New Bedford resulted from the strong Jeffersonian affiliations of Fairhaven residents that were incompatible with Federalist New Bedford (Gillingham et al. 2003:18).

A storm destroyed the toll bridge and ropewalks in 1815, along with much of the town (Ellis 1892:392), but following this, Fairhaven entered a steady period of prosperity and growth, building roads, and multiplying industrial zones. In 1825 W. Delano was the only person outfitting their vessels in Fairhaven (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:256). The first church was the 1794 First Congregational (Ellis 1892:396). The second was Arminian, and later Unitarian. There was a strong Calvinist influence by the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (Gillingham et al. 1903:40), and the Evangelical Church arrived in 1820. Many residents also attended a Methodist Episcopal church in New Bedford (Gillingham et al. 1903:40, 46, 50). The Society of Friends did not have a local meeting house until 1849 (Gillingham et al. 1903:53).

Ansel Gibbs and Nathan Church were listed as the only persons sending out vessels from this port in 1828 (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:268), but the following year Swain, Jenney, Whitwell, Wilson, and Tripp were also outfitting vessels (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:272). By the time the Fairhaven Bank and Fairhaven Insurance Company were established in 1831, Fairhaven was the third largest whaling port in the country (Morison 1921:316) and home to 642 families, exceeding 3,000 residents (Gillingham et al. 1903:25; Stackpole 1953:457). The wharves were predominantly devoted to the whale fishery and residents found profitable employment in the shipyards, shops, and warehouses. Swain & Church E. Swain, Gibbs & Jenny, N. Church, Atkins



& Adams, Jenny and Tripp, and Terry were the listed Fairhaven firms in 1832 (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:290).

By 1837, 37 vessels, worth \$950,000, were engaged in the whale fishery (Ellis 1892:392). This increased to 50 by 1849 (Stackpole 1953:457). The community's top 19<sup>th</sup> century shipyard operations, directly responsible for building and outfitting whaling vessels, were Abner Pease, Joshua Delano, Jethro Delano, Elias Terry, Reuben Fish, Fish & Delano, Fish & Huttleston, Delano & Company, and William G. Blackler (Harris 1947:11).

### **Westport, MA:**

During the Golden Age of whaling (1820-1860), Westport was one of the best-known whaling ports in the world (Barboza 2016:2). John Cooke, son of Mayflower passenger, Francis Cooke, was an original purchaser of the 800-acre parcel acquired at Dartmouth (WHC 2013:4). In 1712 or 1713, George Lawton, Benjamin Waite, and John Tripp secured 70 acres of land north of the Head along the river and built two mills, one owned by Lawton on the west side of the river, and Waite's Mill (later Tripp's and Chase's) on the east side of the river north of Forge Road to start Westport's first industry, a necessary industrial precursor to shipbuilding and whaling (Cuffe 2006:4). William Rotch Jr. did not limit his dealings to Nantucket and New Bedford and acquired 20 acres of this mill in 1795 to outfit his fleet for the next half century.

By 1770 there arose a great need for more docking and shipping space on Westport Point, the southernmost peninsula in the community. It was far too valuable for agriculture, and it was clear by this time that the Point was the perfect spot for a whaling enterprise. Christopher and Robert Gifford were the first landowners in this area, purchasing almost 400 acres in the southwestern part of the town called Coaksett (Cuffe 2006:3). Stephen Davis and several of his

brothers subsequently capitalized on the Point's advantage by buying land from the Gifford family in 1770 and laying out wharves and seven or eight house lots, with water access, on the west side (WHC 2013:4). The land closest to these wharves soon housed many supporting industries and were used to store the many thousands of barrels and casks being loaded and unloaded onto ships. Westport officially became an independent town in 1787, when it separated from Dartmouth.

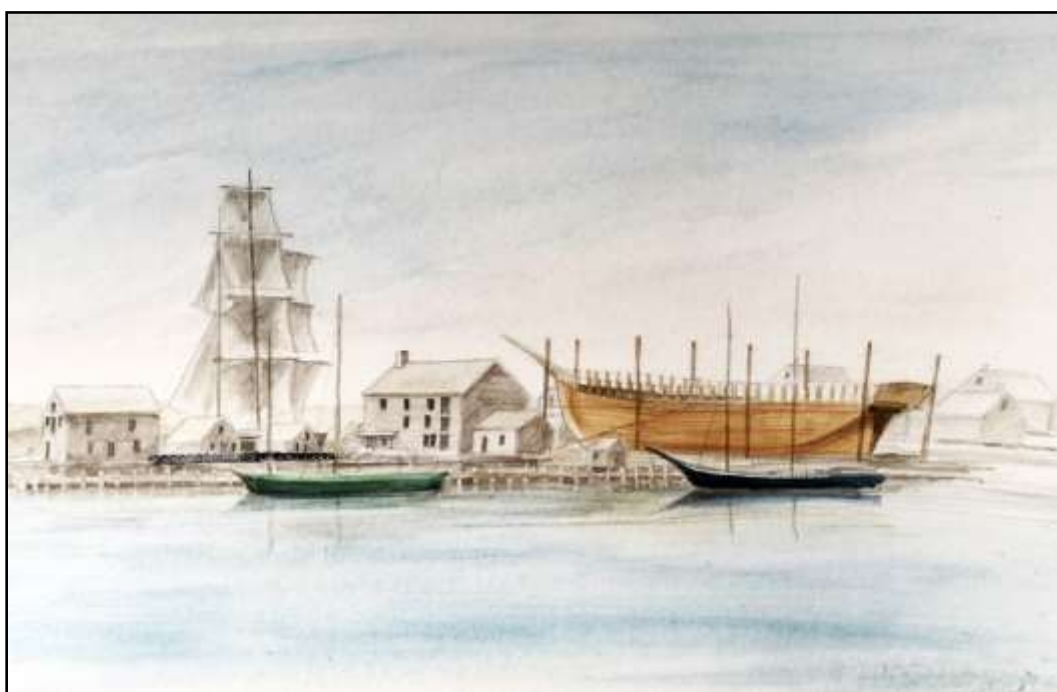


Figure 12. Drawing of Shipbuilding on Westport Point (Raymond Shaw in O'Neil 2016).

Westport underwent several growth phases, the first of which was completed at the Point around 1800. It included about 15 houses, new wharves, industrial shops and stores, a windmill, a blacksmith shop, a distillery, coopering and carpentry shacks, and a few general stores (WHC 2013:4-5). Houses at the Point during this time were being purpose built to board whalers and coastal traders (WHC 2013:4, 5) and A.H. Cory's store, built 1827, became the center of the town's whaling (Figure 12). Following the War of 1812, a second building phase took place.

There were at least three shipbuilders who operated at the Head in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. These were Lemuel Milk and John Avery Parker, along with Levi Standish. Tripp’s Yard was near Paul Cuffe’s, who owned a shipyard near 1430-1436 Drift Road, but Tripp’s yard later moved to the Point, and finally to Horseneck in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. There were yards north and south of Tripp’s and Cuffe’s, and another at Hix Bridge (Appendix G.1).

Alexander Cory, Andrew Hick, and Henry Wilcox were the great 19<sup>th</sup> century whaling merchants of Westport, and these men controlled all aspects of their vessels’ construction and outfitting (Tamburello Jr. 2006:9, 12), but Paul Cuffe and William Rotch Jr. also outfitted their fleets here, and Cuffe ultimately became the center of the community’s heritage efforts. Figure 13 gives a timeline of the local shipbuilding industry. By 1835 Abner B. Coffin was the only firm listed in Westport, but by 1850 A.H. Cory, Henry Wilcox, J. Anthony, A. Hicks, Henry Smith, and Thomas Mayhew were all top whaling merchants (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:474).

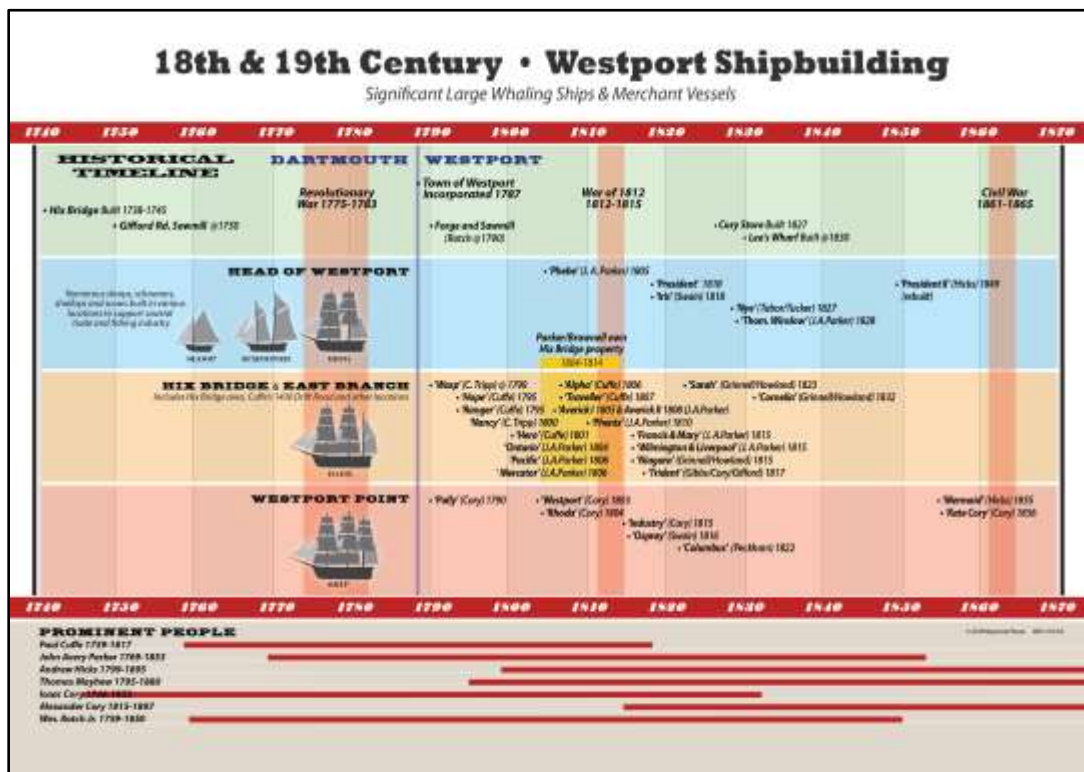


Figure 13. Westport Shipbuilding (Raymond Shaw 2018)

**Mattapoisett, MA:**

“If owners of Mattapoisett whalers did not prosper, the masters, officers, and crew did; many acquired a competency in the business, and Mattapoisett whalers were quite famous.” (Stiles 1907:295) – *reflecting the capitalist propaganda message during the revival period.*

Reverend John Lothrop arrived in Barnstable with his flock from London in 1639, and it was his descendants who later settled Mattapoisett (Stiles 1907:7). By mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, however, there was still not even a village established on the harbor, only four houses on Main Street. These were the Deacon Tobey house, the Sherman house, the James Mendell House, and Gideon Barstow Jr’s house (built on top of the earlier house of R.L. Barstow) (Stiles 1907:48). By 1725 an iron industry had begun on Mattapoisett River, and many years later, salt became one of the region’s biggest commodities (Stiles 1907:299). Quakers and Baptists were practicing in the area throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and throughout the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Mattapoisett grew in diversity, seeing the arrival of the Baptist Congregational Church, the Universalists, the Protestant Methodists, and Methodist Episcopalians (Stiles 1907:95).

Whaling became the most profitable source of revenue, along with shipbuilding and iron (Stiles 1907:143). A ropewalk was washed away by the 1815 gale, but by 1838 the population had reached 1,200 people, largely gathered around the harbor, with many finding profitable employment in the shipyards, workshops, and other associated outfitting industries (Stiles 1907:174). Abner Pease had an early shipyard on the extreme eastern portion of the town, just north of Pease Point, where he built mostly smaller craft. Ebenezer Cannon had a yard at Cannonville, and Washington Gifford had a shipyard on the Mattapoisett River, before 1800 (Stiles 1907:283, 286).

Mattapoissett's shipbuilding lasted nearly a century and a half, until 1878. It is estimated that 400 to 500 ships were built during this time, totaling 100,000 tons (Stiles 1907:283). Appendix H.1 includes a bar graph listing all vessels built between 1800 and 1878 by usage, size, and rigging. It includes 138 whaling vessels, followed by the oil and bone returns of 201 Mattapoissett whaling voyages, broken down by half-decade periods (Mattapoissett Landing 2011-2016). There were eight, possibly nine, shipyards in Mattapoissett associated with the names of Pease, Barstow, Hammond, Holmes, Meigs, Gideon, and Cannon (Table 39; Figure 62).

Shipbuilding was usually a family business and the family became "a workshop in which human capital is produced." (Muller 2013:33). With heavy competition, each yard strived to build the finest quality vessels they could produce (Stiles 1907:187). During the peak of business, 275 workmen were employed in these shipyards, working until the 6pm bell at the foot of Mechanic Street (Stiles 1907:287). The name Hammond very often appears in lists of town officials, teachers and officers. The names Holmes, Dexter, Barnard are other big names of this community. By 1850 Seth Freeman, R.L. Barstow, and Wilson Barstow were the listed merchants for Mattapoissett (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:474).

Whaling was carried on in this town for more than a century after the *Defiance*, the community's first successful whaling voyage in 1771, and at least 50 other whalers operated out of this port, with the *Willis* being the last, sold in 1865 (Stiles 1907:285, 292). The price of oil dropped after World War I, further destroying the already insufficient profitability of the industry, and, shortly after beginning its final voyage, the *Wanderer*, captained by a Portuguese officer named Antonio Manley (DeCosta and Hemingway 2009:4), was caught in a tropical storm and wrecked upon Cuttyhunk Island in 1924 (MHS 2017b:4; Shatwell 2014:13). This closed Mattapoissett's once proud shipbuilding industry now represented on the town seal.

**New London, CT:**

The land that became New London was originally Pequot hunting ground until the English took control in 1637 (Starr 1876:5). The European documented history of whaling in Connecticut begins on 25 May 1647, when a Mr. Whiting was granted a seven-year monopoly to hunt whales (Decker 1986:126). The community was first divided into 38 lots owned by 36 settlers (Decker 1986:10), four of whom were shipbuilders (Cutler 1980:2).

By 1660 there were 100 males living in the community, with three of them being master ship carpenters (Decker 1973:15). One of these men, John Coit, had a shipyard and multiple associated wharves on Close Cove on Sandy Point from 1660 to 1735 (Caulkins 1852:231; Decker 1986:26). Coit and his sons are credited with igniting the local shipbuilding industry (Hawthorne 1916:273). The town's first landing was near where Ferry Wharf is now, but the original shoreline has been buried under fill. Ferry Wharf was first built in 1763 by William Potter (Caulkins 1852:180, 475).

The introduction of shipbuilding to the region triggered the next two centuries of whaling. During the same period Coit was building ships, Christopher Christophers became the leading merchant in town, while Jeffery Christophers, Charles Hill, and John Picket began buying vessels, buildings, wharves, warehouses, and opening more stores near the waterfront (Decker 1986:44). John Hutton had a shipyard on the lower end of the waterfront by 1714. It was a very slow start for the community that eventually held the second-place position during the industry's peak, and the third-place position overall (Hodara 2014:3). Typically, the principal business streets in town were located near the waterfront.

In 1729 the New London Society for Trade and Commerce was established. They began with trading for rum with the West Indies, but they soon became a land bank, with the intention

of acquiring enough capital to send out fishing and whaling vessels (Decker 1986:37, 38). There were various attempts at whaling between 1794 and 1808, but in 1819 New London turned its full attention toward pursuing the industry, recognizing it as its most profitable economic future (Caulkins 1852:638). Many prominent wharves were constructed during this time, and historic maps show that most of the proprietors were in some way involved with whaling and trade (Walwer 1999:3). Other residents earned their livelihood through other parts of the whaling industry (Decker 1986:2; McCain 2009:234).

New London whaling reached its peak in 1845, with 14 firms operating 81 vessels with a combined tonnage of 27,273 tons (Decker 1973:7). In 1847 New London surpassed Nantucket, with an industry worth \$4.5 million and a labor force of 2,500 seamen alone (Decker 1973:117). By 1850 the New London fleet declined to 49 ships and barks, one brig, and five schooners (Caulkins 1852:647). Turner (1853) and Prince (1863) lists many of the businesses still present during the start of the industries decline.

From 1718 to 1909 more than 60 agents and firms outfitted 260 vessels for 891 New London whaling voyages (Decker 1986:123), although according to Decker (1973) the figures were higher, at 257 for 996 voyages (Decker 1973:13). T.W. Williams and Daniel Deshon were the first, operating out of New London from 1819 to 1909 (Caulkins 1852:639; Hare 1909:31). Deshon, Williams, Billings, Barns, and Frink were the big names in whaling, and Brown, Lawrence, Chew, Stoddard, Learned, Fitch, Allyn, Tate, Rogers, Weaver, Benjamin, and other agents were quickly added to the list of successful whaling merchants (Colby 1936:188). Thomas Williams' firm was the last in business, finally closing in 1892 (Decker 1986:137). A breakdown of the top individual firms is below (Table 2).

Table 2. New London Whaling Firms.

<b>Firm</b>	<b>Ships and Barks</b>	<b>Brig</b>	<b>Schooners</b>
Lyman Allyn	1		
Benjamin Brown's Sons	4	1	
J. Chester & F. Harris	1		
Frink & Prentis	3		
Thomas Fitch, 2d	3		
James M. Green	1		
Miner, Lawrence & Co	6		
Perkins & Smith	8		2
E. V. Stoddard	2		3
Weavers, Rogers & Co	2		
Williams & Barnes	8		
William & Haven	10		

### **Stonington, CT:**

The four villages of Stonington include Old Mystic, Mystic, Pawcatuck, and Stonington borough, all once belonging to the Pequot tribe. Stonington was the first town in Connecticut and one of the few in New England not to have been built around a town green (Fuller 1941:16). Its greatest natural asset was its position as Connecticut's only port with open access to the ocean (Schroer 1981:13).

By the 17<sup>th</sup> century women were already making soap from dead whales washed ashore (Fuller 1941:18). The population increased rapidly in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century (Wheeler 1900:32). In a single day, six parcels of land were sold to Denison, Stanton, and Hancox (Palmer 1957:19), names that are still connected to the place today. By the American Revolution, eight families were residing on Stonington's Point (Crandall 1975:40), and Stonington had its first church by 1785. The community quickly grew along the waterfront, where all the merchant fisherman, shipbuilders, and tavern keepers relocated (Schroer 1981:16).



By 1810 there were 3,043 inhabitants and 120 structures, including twenty stores, four grain mills, three carding machines, one potter, one tannery, a brick public arsenal, two houses of worship (one Baptist and one Congregational), a language academy, two schools, two ropewalks, and extensive wharf and storage space (Palmer 1957:40; Schroer 1981:18). One of these, on Main Street, was intended for cordage and fishing line (Palmer 1957:48); while the other supplied Stonington and Mystic with ropes needed aboard ships for lines. The Main Street Ropewalk was likely referring to the one that was off Main Street, on what is now Wall Street.

Little is known of the early whaling or shipbuilding industries in Stonington borough, prior to the end of the War of 1812. Records show that whaling and sealing have always gone together, but most of these sources were lost to fire (Palmer 1957:42). Over the next 60 years, more than 60 ships were sent from Stonington, many of which were built at Mystic (McCain 2009:246). Shipbuilding, and associated maritime trades, now occupied most of Mystic Bridge's and Stonington Borough's waterfronts. The entire western side of the borough beside the waterfront was nothing but 'a succession of shipyards, rigging lofts, chandleries, sail lofts, and a ropewalk (Schroer 1981:24).

Captain Charles P. Williams, John F. Trumbull, Francis Pendleton, Joseph E. Smith, and Moses Pendleton were the top whaling merchants, and with the help of many other skilled officers and crew, as well as with the combined influence of the Greenman dynasty (George Thomas, and Clark) in nearby Mystic Village (part of the Stonington Borough), turned whaling into the most profitable business through the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (Wheeler 1900:132). In 1835 C.P. Williams and B&F Pendleton were listed as the main whaling firms (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:318). Shipbuilding and fishing had been popular ventures for some time, but the residents made it a lucrative career (Coelho 1971:4). By mid-century, the Trumbulls and Williams' owned most of

the shipbuilding and outfitting activity, while William Hyde handled the town's coppering (tinsmith). Hyde became one of the top three businessmen (Beers et al. 1868) and J. Blackridge and Ezra Chesbro were also building ships. The town had only three merchants listed by the start of the golden era, and all of them were Stantons, as was the only cooper, Charles Stanton (Prescot 1827). Between 1850 and 1870 the consolidated shipbuilding efforts of the borough produced more tonnage of ships than any other port of comparable size on the Atlantic coast (Schroer 1981:24). *Mercantile Publishing* (1889) discusses more on the leading businessmen.

There was now a greater diversity of Pendletons, Smiths, Williams, Palmers, and Chesbros operating relevant businesses, and a substantially decreased presence of Hydes (Beers et al. 1868). The Hancoxes also became a major whaling family during this time. Pendletons had a sail loft operating on Long Wharf, and the names of Cottrell, Babcock, Maxson, Swan, and Crandell handled all other mid-19<sup>th</sup> century maritime-related enterprises. Their businesses included the printing press, soap manufacturers, machine manufacturers, an iron foundry, grist mill, boot and shoemakers, and carpenters. Dress makers were one of the largest local whaling-related industries, with 16 shops (Webb & Co 1875-1876:90).

Stonington had 90 masters, half of whom were part owners as well, most of whom began investing around 1830 (Coelho 1971:55, 62). Many, if not most, of these men were related (Coelho 1971:56; 62). Men from more than 30 towns and cities from all over the country owned shares in Stonington's fleet. Most of the shareholders were from Stonington (189), although 39 were from New York and 14 from New London (Coelho 1971:65). Table 3 lists the top whaling firms for Stonington.

Table 3. Top Stonington Vessel Owners (left); Top Managing Owners and Agents (right).

<b>Owner</b>	<b>Town</b>	<b># Vessels Owned</b>	<b>Managing Owner of Agent</b>	<b># Vessels Managed</b>
Charles P. Williams	Stonington	26	Charles P. Williams	65
Benjamin Pendleton	Stonington	24	John F. Trumbull	47
Peleg Hancox	Stonington	22	Joseph N. Hancox	9
John F. Trumbull	Stonington	21	Joseph E. Smith and Co.	6
Charles Stanton	Stonington	20	C.T. Stanton	5
William Pendleton	Stonington	19	Elisha Faxton Jr. and Co.	4
Stiles Stanton	Stonington	19	Pendleton and Trumbull	4
Francis Pendleton	Stonington	18	F. Pendleton and Co.	4
Joseph Smith	Stonington	18	B. and F. Pendleton	2
James Van Allen	NYC	18	Stanton and Pendleton	2
			James N. Hancox	1
			John Hancox (only non-owner)	1
			B. Pendleton	1
			William Pendleton	1
			G. Trumbull	1
			William Woodbridge	1

Between 10 and 40 men owned shares in the voyage of an average sized vessel, but this composition was regularly changing. Of 305 owners of Stonington vessels, 281 owned fewer than ten vessels, 147 owned only one, and 24 owned over ten. Of the top 10 owners, the top nine were from the village of Stonington (three percent of investors held 20% of the fleet) (Table 3). Three of these were Pendletons (Coelho 1971:66). This is a perfect example of wealth consolidation being tightly held by founding families. Of all Stonington ship owners, 13 were Williams, 15 were Pendletons, nine were Hancoxes, eight were Stantons, five Trumbulls, 13 Palmers, and five Denisons (Coelho 1971:68). Charles P. Williams was the top whaling merchant (Coelho 1971:68). The leading firms were Samuel Chesebrough, Peleg Hancox, F. Pendleton & Co., J. E. Smith & Co., Enoch Chesebrough, Simon Carew, John C. Hayes, Hewitt & Hull, and Elisha Faxon, Jr (Palmer 1957:48).

**Mystic, CT:**

The colonial settling of Mystic began just after the Pequot Wars of the late 1630s (Fought 2007:13), the culmination of which led to an attack on Mystic Fort and the indiscriminate slaughter of nearly every Pequot man, woman, and child (Caulkins 1852:79; Palmer 1957:1). Following the violent removal of the Indigenous people, the English built their settlements, and Mystic soon moved beyond its subsistence stage by basing its economy almost exclusively on shipbuilding (Fought 2007:59). Eldridge Packer had a yard three-tenths of a mile south of Bank Street in 1784 and began building ships after 1812 (Cutler 1980:4). Christopher and David Leeds had a shipyard at the head of the river on the Stonington side, by the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. When the War of 1812 concluded the United States experienced a massive economic boom that continued until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

A dozen permanent shipyards were in operation during this time, with three temporary ones as well (Cutler 1980:5). Dexter Iron had a yard at pistol point, and John Brown had another at an unknown location (Cutler 1980:10). The Old Mallory Shipyard was built by Charles Mallory and was in operation by 1800. Mallory built the yard as Charles Mallory and Sons shipbuilding firm, at Mystic Bridge, while also running a sail loft with J & W Randall and Beebe King (Fought 2007:65, 66). The Palmer Yard was located just southwest of the Old Mallory Yard. Sometime in the mid-1830s, the Greenman brothers (George, Thomas, and Clark), under George's leadership moved their shipyard from its earlier site, near what is now the Elm Grove Cemetery, to Adam's Point, where they built a thriving industry and where Mystic Seaport is presently located (Appendix K.4).

The Greenman brothers and Charles Mallory became the wealthiest men in Mystic over the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Charles Mallory began his career as a successful sailmaker but

ultimately became one of the biggest names in Mystic whaling through his investments in the coasting trade, as well as ship chandlery, ship building, banking, and ship owning. By 1848 he had shares in over 50 vessels (Baughman 1972:98). He began building locally famous clipper ships in 1851 (Steven and Stillman 1938:240) and was the only whaling merchant sending out vessels from Mystic at the time, although he was far from the only one active in the community (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:522).

Between 1837 and 1878 the Greenman brothers ran the best shipbuilding operation in the region (Steven and Stillman 1938:234; Wheeler 1900:406; Appendix K.2). George Greenman's wealth grew exponentially throughout this period, providing most of the funding for the Baptist church as well as running the community store and investing in the Union store on West Main Street. William E. Maxson also established a shipyard near the railroad station in West Mystic in 1853 (Cutler 1980:11), and Charles W. Morgan, also a major New Bedford investor, was a partner in Forsyth's and Morgan's shipyard also in 1853 (Fought 2007:65).

Allied industries included Silas Beebe's, which outfitted vessels and was the only listed firm in 1835 (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:318). Charles Beebe and his son ran a ropewalk in the 1860s that supplied all Mystic shipbuilders (Beers 1868). John, William, and Oliver Batty ran a spar yard, and Johnson and Denison had a blockmaking partnership (Fought 2007:65, 66). Joseph Cottrell established Cottrell Lumber Company and had cornered the lumber market for more than a generation by 1820 (Haynes 1976:57). Lyman Dudley served much of the ironwork needs of the community,

The Railroad broke ground in 1858 as the New Haven-New London-Stonington line. When Groton Savings Bank opened it had Mallory, Clift, Denison, Gallup, and Burrows as its primary backers, but no Greenman money (Haynes 1976:68). Mystic was more a community

whaling operation than a variety of competing local ventures, since individuals and families had specialized monopolistic roles over certain trades. Greenman wealth, along with that of Morgans, Clifts, Denisons, Gallups, Burrows, Cottrells, Beebes, Battys, and a few others, contributed to the outfitting of vessels.

***Charles W. Morgan:***

The *Charles W. Morgan* is undoubtedly the most famous and accomplished whaleship of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It made 37 voyages with only one in its first 33 years return with less than \$50,000 in cargo (Goodwin 2016:2; Leavitt 1973:23). This figure is vastly higher than any other whaleship ever to sail. While Morgan, the man, was heavily invested in New Bedford, and the *Morgan* was built there, the ship's long-term preservation fell to Mystic. The *Morgan* was built in 1841 as a 351-ton, fully rigged ship, and was constructed of live oak found in Virginia and Texas and used only in the best ships (Dolin 2007:226). The *Morgan* was launched out of the Hillman Shipyard at the foot of Maxwell Street (Leavitt 1973:6; Stackpole 1967:26). Its story begins with Charles W. Morgan and his wife, Sara Rodman, who built a mansion on Williams Street, where New Bedford High School now stands (Stackpole 1967:22). Charles was the grandson-in-law to William Rotch Sr., father of William Rotch Jr. (Leavitt 1973:5; Mawer 1999:253), and he owned an 8/16<sup>th</sup> interest in this vessel. Charles's nephew, Samuel Griffin Morgan, owned a 2/16<sup>th</sup> share, and he was the one who named it after his uncle (Leavitt 1973:5).

The *Morgan* was purpose built of the highest quality during the peak of the whaling industry, when the pay was almost reasonable. It initially had a Yankee-dominant crew, but also included Chileans, Hawaiians, Germans, Australians, British, South Sea Islanders, Swedes, West Indians, and Chamorro from Guam (Burns 2013:21). Toward the end of the industry, it was crewed almost exclusively by Portuguese (Mawer 1999:255). The *Morgan* was 106.5 feet long

by 27.2 feet, by 13.7 feet, and it was 111 feet from stem to stern by the old tonnage rule. It was 313.75 ton and 105.5 feet by 27.6 feet by 17.6 feet by the new rule of 1867 (Leavitt 1973:13).

The *Morgan* was built at a cost of \$26,877.73 (Coelho 1971:48), with an equal cost of outfit (Albion et al. 1972:118), for a total initial investment of \$52,000. On its very first voyage, it returned \$56,000 (Leavitt 1973:3). The *Morgan* can hold 3,000 barrels of oil (Dolin 2007:226) and after 80 years of service, making 37 whaling voyages, its crew grossed \$1.4 million in oil, bone, and ambergris (Leavitt 1973:3). It sailed more miles in every ocean and took more whales than any other ship in history (Church 1938:19). Although experiencing great success in nearly every voyage, the “Lucky Ship’s” log also recorded many instances of its crew being killed and its boats going missing in pursuit of the great cetacean (Leavitt 1973:23).

The industry hit its peak and began its decline not long after the *Morgan* was launched, but for the first three decades on the ocean its success was unprecedented. On its sixth voyage, in 1863, under Captain James Hamilton, the *Morgan* returned with a cargo of \$165,407 (Leavitt 1973:29). In 1867 the *Morgan* decided to head to the Arctic and was re-rigged as a Bark (Leavitt 1973:39), and in 1886 the *Morgan*, along with most of the arctic fleet, was stationed out of San Francisco, where it remained operating from for the next 18 years in the North Pacific (Leavitt 1973:49).

### **Warren, RI:**

Warren, originally the Indian village Sowams, had a trading post by 1632 (Warren 2009:3). In 1663 King Charles II granted a charter encouraging the pursuit of whales to the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations (Allen 1916:168). Rhode Island was never a major whaling state, and while several local communities participated, Warren was the most active (

Table 4).

The main whaling entrepreneurs in Warren were Sylvester Child, Jesse Baker, Joseph Smith, and Samuel Driscoll. Sylvester Child opened a shipyard before 1764 at an unconfirmed location, but likely the same as Cromwell and Caleb Child's later shipyard at the foot of Miller Street in the 1770s (RIHPC 1975:9). Jesse Baker and his four sons had established a successful cooperage by this time as well. Warren-built vessels were recognized for their quality, and shipbuilding, coasting the West India trade, foreign navigation, and whaling brought great success to the roughly 1,000 residents leading up to the American Revolution (RIHPC 1975:11). Early Warren whaleship captains include Grinnell, Whiting, Daniel Snow, Edward Wing, and Phil Esterbrooks (PPLSC 2010:1).

The Revolution destroyed 23 vessels of 1,090 tons, and the population was reduced to 789 (Fessenden 1845:93; RIHPC 1975:11). Warren rebuilt after the war with shipbuilding as the largest industry from 1790 to 1810 (RIHPC 1975:12). After the American Revolution the waterfront became a very busy place (Hawkinson and Nebiker 2012:4). The Masonic Temple on Baker Street served as the Town Hall and as the Warren Academy after 1803 (RIHPC 1975:13). A general decline occurred after the 1807 embargo and throughout the War of 1812, but Warren remained number two in terms of shipbuilding tonnage for much of this period (RIHP 1975:12). The Treaty of Ghent brought a close to the conflict in 1814, and the stage was set for the rise of economic prosperity.

At the start of the Golden Age, c. 1821, Joseph Smith of Warren outfitted the 323-ton *Rosalie*, commanded by Captain Easton, on a three-year voyage that caught no whales (PPLSC 2010:14). After other more successive voyages, Smith purchased the *Magnet*. When both vessels returned from the North Pacific in 1832 with full holds, Wheaton, Eddy, and Collins joined the



endeavor. In 1831 Child & Driscoll, Joseph Smith, and Joseph Smith Jr. were all outfitting voyages (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:284). On one of these, the ship *Miles* was whaling the Atlantic, and on its return in 1833, Samuel Driscoll, celebrating his 21<sup>st</sup> birthday, blew both his hands off loading a salute cannon (Miles 1831-1832 in PPLSC 2010:14). Despite this, Driscoll, in little time, became one of the most successful whaling merchants in Warren, beginning with his business activity on Collin's Wharf.

Within a few years Warren was the leading whaling community on Narragansett Bay (Coleman 1963:64; RIHPC 1975:17). By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century the population exceeded 3,100, with three dozen farms, 380 houses, and 32 businesses or other establishments (SSTC 1915:33). By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century there were no fewer than 15 wharves, and almost every street leading off Water Street ended in a wharf surrounded by maritime trades. Most of these wharves were building ships or supporting shipyards, and those closer to the waterfront's commercial center were those most associated with the whaling activity (Walling 1851).

Table 4. Whaling Activity of Rhode Island Ports, 1825-1859 (data drawn from Coleman 1963:64).

<b>Whaling Activity of Rhode Island Ports, 1825-1859</b>							
(Annual Averages)							
<b>Ports</b>	<b>1825-1829</b>	<b>1830-1834</b>	<b>1835-1839</b>	<b>1840-1844</b>	<b>1845-1849</b>	<b>1850-1854</b>	<b>1855-1859</b>
Providence	0	1	1	5	7	2	1
Newport	1	2	4	11	7	5	4
Bristol	2	5	5	8	4	0	0
Warren	1	5	8	20	22	16	15
<b>Rhode Island</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>20</b>

**Sag Harbor, NY:**

Shore whaling on eastern Long Island became an early competitor to Cape Cod, and from the earliest days the whaling families of eastern Long Island were the Coopers, Sayres, Mulfords, Peirsons, Hedges, Howells, and Posts (Goode 1887:33). Apart from the key whaling families, every able man old enough was required to participate in looking for whales (Goode 1887:34). At no point did the people on eastern Long Island ever consider themselves part of New York, preferring trade with Connecticut, Boston, and Rhode Island (Dolin 2007:57). In 1703 Lord Cornbury stated that, “indeed the people of the east end of Long Island are not willing to be persuaded to believe that they belong to this province. They are full of New England principles” (Edwards and Rattray 1932:142). From the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century Long Island maintained its oil trade with Boston (Edwards and Rattray 1932:241), and for the better part of two centuries whaling was among the largest industries in the community, second only to agriculture (Adams 1918:116).

From 1650 to 1760 Long Island whaling was pursued close to shore, serving the Boston market (Edwards and Rattray 1932:250). Sag Harbor was founded “by a company of about 20 men, of the best blood and highest type of manhood in the Massachusetts colony, plainly manifest to this day in the mental, moral, and physical characters of their descendants as illustrated in the Howell, Hedges, Halsey, Cook, Sayre, Post, Foster, Terry, Pelletreau, Sanford, White, Hand, Topping, Rogers, Pierson, Woodruff, Ludlow, Hunting, Jagger, and many other families” (Hasley 1935:15). The famous eastern Long Island captains included many of the same names: ‘Miller, Barnes Bennett, Edwards, Babcock, Loper, Hunting, Tabor, Payne, Sayre, Brown, Conkling, Rogers, Hand, Baker, Hedges, Corwin, Mulford, Eldredge, Havens, Howes, Halsey, and King’ (Edwards and Rattray 1932:255). J. Fenimore Cooper, a big name in whaling,

but perhaps more widely known as an author, was the first to introduce the lay system to this community (Adams 1918:160).

By the end of this period whaling remained a part-time side business (Edwards and Rattray 1932:202), but a new wharf was constructed in 1761 at the foot of Howard Street that included a tryworks built by John Foster and Nathaniel Fordham (Donneson and Wesiburg 2003:52; Edwards and Rattray 1932:251). The intersection of Bay Street and Long Wharf was the center of whaling activity, and the bases of the wharves were loaded with storehouses. Each wharf moored whaling ships. The water pump for filling casks was located at Main and Madison streets, and casks were rolled directly down to the wharf (Donneson and Wesiburg 2003:52, 54).

Sag Harbor, eventually consolidating all whaling on eastern L.I., established its first church in 1768, called “God’s Old Barn”, which was replaced in 1817 (Adams 1918:152; Donneson and Wesiburg 2003:12). The two and a half story Prime House was built in 1797, on the corner of Sage and Madison streets, as the Presbyterian Church (Donneson and Wesiburg 2003:94). Over the next few decades Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist, and Roman Catholic congregations arrived (Adams 1918:157; Donneson and Wesiburg 2003:40).

During the American Revolution Sag Harbor served as a strategic fort for the British, but it was ultimately destroyed by Yankee militia. As a component of what became known as the ‘whaleboat wars’, the Battle of Sag Harbor was an extraordinary victory. The whaleboat wars were a series of official and unofficial raids against the British during the American Revolution, in which numerous attacks were launched via whaleboats armed with swivel guns. According to Governor Trumbull, “the whaleboats were virtually flying skull and crossbones.” (Kuhl 2013:16). These vessels were perfect for quick assaults, often nothing more than robberies.

The Battle of Sag Harbor began on 21 May 1777, with 170 men in 13 whaleboats, (Adams 1918:178) although another source argues it was 234 men in 15 whaleboats (Edwards and Rattray 1932:244). Under the command of Lt. Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs, they burnt a dozen British ships and arrived back in Guilford 25 hours later, after a 90-mile journey, with 90 prisoners, having killed six British soldiers, and losing none of their own (Adams 1918:178,179; Donneson and Wesiburg 2003:14). A monument to this Battle stands at Presbyterian Cemetery (Edwards and Rattray 1932:243), and another on Old Colonial Road in Guilford, CT.

After the war's conclusion Sag Harbor turned all its attention back to whaling with the *Lucy* as the first successful deep-sea whaler (Donneson and Wesiburg 2003:16), outfitted by Benjamin Huntting in 1785 (Starbuck 1964 [1978]:180). By 1804 there were 120 houses (Adams 1918:161), and by 1810 the town's population reached 850 (Donneson and Wesiburg 2003:19). Sag Harbor's initial investing firms in 1820 were Howell, Huntting & Co, Mulford & Sleight, and Charles Dering (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:233). The community's peak decade was 1837 to 1847, when 60 whaleships brought in a seven million-dollar profit (Hasley 1935:108). Benjamin Hunttings II was the biggest name in Sag Harbor whaling during this period, and the biggest firms belonged to Thomas Brown, William R. Post, and Huntting Cooper (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:476).

## **The Capitalists: Whaling Dynasties and their Influence**

For more than two centuries Yankee whaling wealth had been systematically extracted and accumulated. At the decline of the fisheries wealth did not simply vanish. In many cases substantial distribution to descendants transitioned the capital into more modest family estates, but families who came to dominate the industry during the golden years found themselves in a strategic position to reinvest in the industrial revolution and the increasing diversity of expanding industries. After 1880 most of the whaling wealth of southeastern New England was reinvested in manufacturing (Allen 1916:9), while substantial sums of other capital were invested in financial institutions (Gardner 1949:269).

### ***Wealth Consolidation and Ancestral Alliances:***

Dozens of families and tens of thousands of individuals made whaling their business, but this section focuses on those who gained substantial influence and wealth, well within the top 10% or so, and whose names became the focus of later heritage interpretation. The earliest communities to engage in shore whaling were on Long Island, Nantucket, and Martha's Vineyard, and it was largely the earliest Yankees whose wealth grew and consolidated. Many Nantucket names were later shared by New Bedford which produced many successful whalers and whaling capitalists, and nearly all Islanders were related by blood or marriage. Not all wealth was consolidated equally.

While capital is the key to consolidation, some are better (or worse) at the maximization of exploitation, and some families had longer to accumulate capital than others. New London formed its own wealthy industry independently of elsewhere, and smaller communities like Mattapoisett, Fairhaven, Warren, Westport, Provincetown, Stonington, Mystic, and Sag Harbor also grew as smaller whaling operations with a few local families in control. A few Yankee

families were operating out of, or investing in, several ports either simultaneously or through emigration over time. Mystic and Stonington shared a close business relationship in Connecticut before New London proved more conducive to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century terrestrial transportation networks. Fairhaven grew from New Bedford, but its heritage and capital became better tied with petroleum and other locally distinctive historical attributes. Not every community produced whaling giants, and not all whaling giants influenced heritage.

Among the wealthiest dynasties, the Greenman's reinvested capital locally in Mystic, while others, such as Charles W. Morgan and William Rotch Jr., operated from multiple ports simultaneously. Capital consolidation was a complex operation based on many factors. Among them was the duration of familial involvement in the industry, the extent of intermarriage between prominent names, the willingness to push the expropriation of surplus labor, the geographic position of the community in relation to changing technology and transportation networks, and available reinvestment opportunities present locally. Some successful operations, like Paul Cuffe of Westport, lasted a generation but still provided the socioeconomic opportunity for their descendants to contribute to heritage during the revival period.

Others, like the Cory family, also of Westport, lasted several generations, becoming locally important to the growth and heritage of the community. Yet still, other families like Rotch, Howland, Macy, Starbuck, Folger, Hussey, Green, Howell, and several more, whaled for generations and produced enough capital to influence larger interpretation outlets. Colby (1936), Coleman (1963), Cuffe (2006), Gardner (1949), Palmer (1957), Starbuck (1945), Starbuck (1878), and Macy (1880) are just a few of the top names that stand out in whaling literature with Coffin (1835), Ewer (1869), Mitchell (1820), and Star (1876) big names contributing to visual depictions of the industry or community.

*Mattapoisett, MA:*

Like Mystic, Mattapoisett was heavily concentrated on shipbuilding. There were several influential families in the community, but none ever grew to become a lasting family dynasty. Eight, and possibly nine, shipyards were once present in Mattapoisett, and these yards were associated with the Pease, Barstow, Hammond, Holmes, Meigs, Gideon, and Cannon families. The name Hammond is common on lists of town officials, teachers and officers, and Dexter and Barnard were other local names important to the community. By 1850 Seth Freeman, R.L. Barstow, and Wilson Barstow were the three listed Mattapoisett merchants (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:474).

*Fairhaven, MA:*

W. Delano was the only person outfitting vessels in Fairhaven in 1825 and a few years later, Ansel Gibbs and Nathan Church began sending out vessels. Swain, Jenney, Whitwell, Wilson, and Tripp joined by 1829 (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:272). Swain & Church E. Swain, Gibbs & Jenny, N. Church, Atkins & Adams, Jenny and Tripp, and Terry were the listed Fairhaven firms in 1832 (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:290) with Church, Delano, Gibbs, Swain, Tripp, and Fish being the best-known local names overall. The community's top 19<sup>th</sup> century shipyard operations were Abner Pease, Joshua Delano, Jethro Delano, Elias Terry, Reuben Fish, Fish & Delano, Fish & Huttleston, Delano & Company, and William G. Blackler (Harris 1947:11). The Delanos and Swifts had a very influential, if not controlling, stake in the community, but the dominant oil dynasty of Fairhaven became Henry Rogers who made his wealth in Petroleum.

*Warren, RI:*

Warren's main whaling entrepreneurs were Sylvester Child, Jesse Baker, Joseph Smith, and Samuel Driscoll. By 1831 Child & Driscoll, Joseph Smith, and Joseph Smith Jr. were all

outfitting whaling voyages (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:284). Ships were built at Child's yard, as well as on Chase and Davis's, Luther's, and later, Brown and Gardner's wharves; while R.B. Johnson's, Collins', Eddy's, Carr's, and Smiths' wharves were directly involved in outfitting such vessels. Many of these businessmen were operating out of multiple wharves. Brown and Gardner had F. Marble blacksmiths, Gladding's Sail loft, and John J. Bickner's cooperage within a stone's throw (Beers, Ellis, and Soule 1871; Walling 1851, 1855). No major whaling dynasties developed locally.

*Westport, MA:*

The best-known name in Westport today is that of Paul Cuffe. He was the most successful "black" whaling merchant in New England and operated in the late 18<sup>th</sup>/early 19<sup>th</sup> century. He is memorialized today through many outlets of interpretation, particularly in Westport, New Bedford, and Mystic. As one of the few wealthy minority whaling merchants, Cuffe's story confirms how elements of capitalism influence interpretation through its contradiction of the white Yankee narrative. A second building spurt occurred in Westport after the War of 1812, and the A.H. Cory store immediately became the center of the town's whaling enterprise. Alexander Cory, Andrew Hick, and Henry Wilcox were the three great whaling merchants of 19<sup>th</sup> century Westport, and although the Cory family whaled for several generations, they were only ever a local dynasty.

*Provincetown, MA:*

In Provincetown, the names Nickerson, Dyer, Atwood, Atkins, and Ryder became the dominant whaling families in the community, and their descendants modestly benefited, above most, in the long run. Even as wealth consolidation is distributed amongst successive generations, the socioeconomic benefits continue providing a better starting opportunity in life.



The Cook(e)s, descendants of the *Mayflower* pilgrims, established the only notable local whaling dynasty in Provincetown. Their family's participation spanned four generations and became a highlight of the community's whaling heritage today. Other branches of the family had also settled New Bedford, Southampton, and elsewhere.

*Stonington, CT:*

Stonington began in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century with six parcels of land being sold to Denison, Stanton, and Hancox in a single day (Palmer 1957:19). By the American Revolution (1775), eight families were residing on the Point (Crandall 1975:40), and Nathaniel Pendleton bought a grocery and dry goods store in 1807 (Haynes 1976:49). Captain Charles P. Williams, John F. Trumbull, Francis Pendleton, Joseph E. Smith, and Moses Pendleton, with the help from many other skilled officers and crew, as well as with the combined prestige of the Greenman's in Mystic Village (part of the Stonington Borough), turned whaling into the most profitable business in Stonington for the next few decades (Wheeler 1900:132).

The mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Stonington whaling industry was dominated by the Trumbulls and Williams families, while William Hyde had a near monopoly on the town's coppers. Hyde was one of the top three businessmen in town (Beers et al. 1868). The town had only three merchants listed by this time, and all of them were Stantons, as was the only cooper, Charles Stanton (Prescot 1827). There was now a greater diversity of Pendletons, Smiths, Williams, Palmers, and Chesbros operating relevant businesses, from what was observed on the earlier map, as well as a substantially decreased presence of Hyde (Beers et al. 1868).

From 1850 to 1870, the Pendletons had become one of, if not the top maritime family in the community, as had the Hancoxs. The names Cottrell, Babcock, Maxson, Swan, and Crandell were now the biggest merchants involved in everything else. Of all owners of Stonington

whaling vessels, 13 were Williams, 15 were Pendletons, nine were Hancox, eight were Stantons, five Trumbulls, 13 Palmers, and five Denisons (Coelho 1971:68). Charles P. William was the top whaling merchant in town (Coelho 1971:68). The leading firms were Samuel Chesebrough, Peleg Hancox, F. Pendleton & Co., J. E. Smith & Co., Enoch Chesebrough, Simon Care, John C. Hayes, Hewitt & Hull, and Elisha Faxon, Jr. (Palmer 1957:48). The Smith family were also a major family operating out of New London. Many of their houses are in Appendix J.3.

*Mystic, CT:*

In Mystic, the Greenman brothers, George, Thomas, and Clark, began their whaling dynasty in the 1830s, when they took over the Christopher and David Leed's Yard. Under their leadership, they guided Greenmanville through the golden years of Yankee whaling. William Maxson established a shipyard in West Mystic in 1853 (Cutler 1980:11). Charles Beebe and his son ran a ropewalk in the 1860s that supplied all Mystic shipbuilders (Ellis et al. 1868). John, William, and Oliver Batty ran a spar yard, and Johnson and Denison had a blockmaking partnership (Fought 2007:65, 66). Joseph Cottrell established Cottrell Lumber Co. and had cornered the lumber market for a generation by 1820 (Haynes 1976:57). Lyman Dudley served much of the ironwork needs of the community, and Mallory established Charles Mallory and Sons shipbuilding firm at Mystic Bridge, while keeping his sail loft with J & W Randall and Beebe King (Fought 2007:65, 66). Each family dominated its respective industry, with little local competition, but the Greenmans were the community's truest dynasty in terms of wealth, the historic preservation of their properties, and their heritage interpretation focus at Mystic Seaport. Most significantly, Mystic Seaport was organized by whaling descendants (Stillman, Cutler, and Bradley) and funded with former whaling wealth.

*New London, CT:*

T.W. Williams and Daniel Deshon were the first to launch the whaling industry in New London in 1819, and it operated out of the city until 1909 (Caulkins 1852:639; Decker 1973:31). Deshon, Williams, Billings, Barns, and Frink were the big names in whaling, and Brown, Lawrence, Chew, Stoddard, Learned, Fitch, Allen, Tate, Rogers, Weaver, Benjamin, and other agents, were quickly added to the list of successful whaling merchants (Colby 1936:188). Thomas William's firm lasted until 1892 (Decker 1986:137). Lawrence was responsible for funding Town Hall, Soldier's monument, the Whaling Bank, a Hospital, and more; while whaling merchant Henry P. Haven funded the library.

*Sag Harbor, NY:*

Edward Howell, by 1644, was recognized as the first 'gentleman' in Sag Harbor, LI, a sign of emerging social status. He and his descendants acquired much wealth through whaling. While experiencing great success, Sag Harbor did not produce the same degree of industrial giants as did those communities in a better geographic position to consolidate the whaling industry during its mid-19<sup>th</sup> century peak. Several men did, however, amass great fortunes; the most notable of which is Benjamin Huntting's II, who acquired great wealth by the early to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. His house remains the headquarters for the Freemasons, who meet on the second floor, but it had been deeded to the Museum in 1945, just after the decline of the revival period. Huntting's II had married Mary Howell, a descendant of Edward, and the alliance of these two prominent whaling families resulted in great success. The building was built as a monument to the successful whaling merchant, and the paintings, lithographs, busks, and artifacts continue to reflect Hunttings, the Yankee elite, and revival period interpretation.

*Martha's Vineyard, MA:*

On mid-17<sup>th</sup> century Martha's Vineyard, the Mayhew family, under Thomas, sought to maintain their influence by operating the colony as a business investment for as long as possible, but the first signs of rebellion grew in the 1670s (Banks 1911:158). The "Vineyard's Declaration of Independence against arbitrary authority and irresponsible rulers" was the document put forth by the freeholders who were angry at Mayhew's personal system of government (Banks 1911:158). In 1673, to assist in the establishment of stable government, regardless of its flaws, fairness, or corruption, the Dutch established a law which made rebellion against the established office holders, and ruling government, a capital offense (Banks 1911:165). Mayhew instituted reprisals against disloyalty in the 1680s, in the form of self-dictated laws empowering his family to punish all those who spoke against his interests, and all who opposed him were charged with treason and fined, exiled, or worse (Banks 1911:166). The 1690s official registry of county officers was nothing more than the Mayhew family tree (Banks 1911:178, 205).

The Vineyard remained an established oligarchy until James Coffin and William Worth challenged Matthew's view on whether Martha's Vineyard was included in the charter of William and Mary. Matthew lost on a name technicality, diverting control of the Island to Massachusetts (Banks 1911:202). Mathew died in 1710, but his sons and grandsons all occupied government offices, with two direct descendants serving as Supreme Court Justices (Banks 1911:205). Matthew's eldest grandson, Micajoh Mayhew, began to reassert his "ancient manorial privileges and Lordship" in the 1730s, but upon his death in 1760, the Mayhew aristocracy died, although they remained highly influential (Banks 1911:208). Several decades later Dr. Daniel Fisher became one of the wealthiest whaling investors during the Golden Age and acquired enough capital to start a bank.

*Nantucket, MA:*

Macy, Starbuck, Coffin, and Coleman were the first Yankee names to arrive on Nantucket, in 1659, and the following year Starbuck returned from Salisbury with several more (Williams 1977:20). These families began an intensive system of intermarriages until every Coffin, Macy, Hussey, Gardner, Starbuck, Folger, and Coleman were related (Stevens 1936:16). Leadership controversy first arose between 'full share' men and the 'half share' men in 1677. The full share men wanted control of all future rights to the distribution of land; while the half share men felt the colony was established enough to cease treating it like an investment (Philbrick 2011:62). This incident became known as the half share revolt. One deduces the full share men ultimately won, as a few families controlled the whole island during its heyday and directed the consolidated surplus revenue into their coffers.

Richard Macy built Straight Wharf in 1723 (Macy 1880:49; Williams 1977:36). This was the first step in expanding Nantucket's offshore whaling fleet. The Coffin family quickly became the most well-known family on 18<sup>th</sup> century Nantucket; heading a powerful whaling oligarchy with controlling interests over the Island. Tristram Coffin was the father of James, the grandfather of Nathaniel Coffin, and the great grandfather to Benjamin Coffin, who, via his mother's father's side (William Gayer), was a direct descendant of Edward 1<sup>st</sup> (Gardner 1949:ix). Stephen Hussey, son of the original purchaser, Christopher, (Philbrick 2011:67), was the grandfather of Jedida (who later married Benjamin Coffin). She died in 1759, and Benjamin remarried Deborah Macy (Gardner 1949:48, 55). Nathaniel Starbuck Sr. was the richest 18<sup>th</sup> century merchant on Nantucket and married Tristram Coffin's youngest daughter Mary, founder of the island's Quaker movement (Philbrick 2011:90). Through wealth and religion, this family assumed its leadership legacy, and these marriages resulted in the Starbucks, Coffins, and Macys

sharing a particularly powerful multi-family whaling alliance. By 1726 Tristram had 1,582 descendants born in New England, and 1,128 of them were still living (Philbrick 2011:41).

Elihu Coleman was an important figure of the late-18<sup>th</sup> century. He was responsible for meeting much of the island's craft needs, including houses and barrels (Gardner 1949:65). William Rotch, one of the most important men in the industry, built the first Spermaceti candleworks at the head of Straight Wharf in 1770, just before the American Revolution. Joseph Rotch had just moved his operations to New Bedford in 1765. He died in 1784, just as hostilities ended, and within a couple years William Rotch Sr. and his son Benjamin, began operating out of Dunkirk, France, while William Rotch Jr. began transitioning his assets to New Bedford.

The first year that Micayah Coffin was not elected representative was 1813. Instead of electing the nine representatives allowed, they elected his eldest son, Gilbert Coffin (Gardner 1949:136). The preservation of oligarchy and nepotism was rampant throughout these communities, regardless of religion or cultural affiliation. Richard Mitchell Jr. rose to the forefront of Nantucket whaling during this time, soon doubling the fleet of any other merchant, until his refinery (his father's) burnt in the 1846 fire. Not one commercial or industrial waterfront structure related to whaling survived. The candleworks was rebuilt the following year and sold to Hadwen and Barney in 1849. Today it serves as the Nantucket Whaling Museum.

The first bank on Nantucket was backed by Joseph Chase, Urial Swain, William and Thomas Rotch, Edward Robbins, and Elisha Ignoring (of Boston) (Gardner 1949:142). During Nantucket's Golden Era (1820-1846), William and Albert Gardner actively sought to secure a monopoly over Nantucket's oil market (Gardner 1949:145). Starbuck built the most important cooper shop on the island, and not caring much for ships or wharves, he spent his time to maintaining his father's home, cooper shop, cordage shop, and candle factory. Through the first

half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Rodman, Starbuck, Ewer, Gardner, Joy, Folger, Jenkins, Chase, Macy, and Howland remained influential whaling families with the Mitchell family at the top for the final decades (Starbuck 1964 [1878]:233-559). Several of these names emigrated to other communities, particularly New Bedford as it consolidated Massachusetts's whaling commerce.

*New Bedford, MA:*

New Bedford (Dartmouth) was first settled, in 1652, by Myles Standish, John Cook, Joseph Russell, and Cornelius Howland Sr., among others. Just over a century later the community began its inheritance of Nantucket's capital, experience, and whaling prowess. Joseph and William Rotch arrived in 1765 and took the first steps toward transforming the small community into an industrial powerhouse with numerous family dynasties forming over the next half century. In the manner of Nantucket and the Vineyard, New Bedford's strength grew from a powerful alliance of intermarriages between influential whaling families. These include Rotch, Rodman, Howland, Morgan, Motley, Hathaway, Swift, Stones, Delano, Seabury, Gifford, Taber, Grinnell, and Wing (SSTC 1915:25), with the first four being particularly distinguished.

Joseph Rotch invested a substantial sum of his capital in building a wharf, warehouses, a shipsmith, and an oil refinery, beginning after 1765 (Stackpole 1973:251). Russell and John Louden were shipbuilders; Benjamin Taber, after acquiring land from Russell, became boat and block maker; and Elnathan Sampson filled the blacksmith needs. Together they launched the community's industry. William Rotch Jr. built a house in New Bedford by 1787, on top of Joseph's original foundation (burnt by the British), and Samuel Rodman married Rotch's sister (Arato and Eleeny 1998:12). Together, Rotch and Rodman guided the community through its ascension to power and built a massive fortune.

By 1800, New Bedford's community whaling income was \$300,000 annually (Allen 1973:82) with William Rotch, his son William Jr., and his son in law, Samuel Rodman, all having six figure net-worth's by this time. These rising gentry made sure their houses stated as much (Arato and Eleeny 1998:14), and they showed a clear shift from the Quaker simplicity of Nantucket. William Rotch Jr. and Samuel Rodman are found on the lists of jurors, health and school committees, fire wardens, building committees, and more. Rodman built his candleworks, for Spermaceti candle production in 1810 (Arato and Eleeny 1998:xvi), and the Mariner's Church charity was founded by William Rotch in the early-mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, originally having been William's personal residence. His son, William Jr., acquired Waite's Mill, in Westport, in 1795, after it had first become Tripp's, and then Chase's Mill (Appendix G.5). He used the property, among others, for the next half century to outfit his whaling fleet.

***Reinvestment of Whaling Capital:***

Many of the earliest Yankees to arrive in New England are the same names who still make up many of these communities. Regarding whaling wealth, much of the initial capital was produced in Nantucket, and this wealth, through a complex system of family alliances and intermarriages, remains today. It was Nantucket capital that later founded the whaling industries in the greater New Bedford area, among elsewhere, and in turn, the resulting reinvestment in the industrial revolution. These earliest marriages resulted in the Starbucks, Coffins, Macys, and others sharing a powerful multi-family whaling alliance. Families married within these families and ensured that these alliances remain powerful through various attempts at establishing oligarchic power structures that excluded others from joining their networks.



*Financial Institutions:*

Whaling wealth became the foundation of many financial institutions long before its capital needed reinvestment in later industries. The first bank in early 19<sup>th</sup> century Nantucket was founded and backed, by Joseph Chase, Uriel Swain, William and Thomas Rotch, Edward Robbins, and Elisha Ignoring (of Boston) (Gardner 1949:142). The first three of these names were almost exclusively devoted to whaling, with the Rotch family traditionally occupying one of the leading socioeconomic narratives of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. This is due to the sheer degree of involvement and intensity they pursued and profited from their Yankee fleets operating out of several of the towns covered in this research. On the Vineyard, Dr. Daniel Fisher was a major whaling investor, and his fortune grew large enough to fund Martha's Vineyard National Bank.

In Mystic, Groton Saving Bank was the first bank in the community. Established in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was backed by Mallory, Clift, Denison, Gallup, and Burrows family wealth (Haynes 1976:68). The wealthiest family in the community, the Greenmans, chose to keep their initial capital investments focused on expanding their industry, rather than use it to back the first bank. However, in 1833, Mystic Bank, now located at the Seaport, was founded with Greenman, Mallory, Cottrell, Rowland, and Appleman wealth (Coupe and Peterson 1985:88). In New London the Lawrence family, the most powerful of Connecticut's whaling dynasties, founded the Lawrence Whaling Bank.

New Bedford's Whaling Bank came about in the same decade (1830s) as those in other communities, and it was well backed entirely with whaling wealth. Insurance companies were another path for re-invested whaling wealth. Fairhaven Bank and Fairhaven Insurance Company were established in 1831 while Fairhaven was the third largest whaling port in the country (Morison 1921:316). The Howland family became New Bedford's most successful family of the

mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, and it was a Howland descendant, Hetty Robinson Green, also known as the “Wicked Witch of Wall Street” who used her family’s wealth to become the wealthiest women in the world by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. This wealth was used to save the *Morgan* from destruction in the late 1920s, through 1930s, until the death of her son, Colonel Edward Green. He had Howland, Robinson, and Green whaling family lines contributing to his success and wealth.

*Manufacturing:*

In New London, the financial panic of 1857 caused numerous merchants to reinvest their capital in the cotton-textile industry (Decker 1986:194), as did the failure of Perkins and Smith in 1860. Some of Stonington’s former maritime families reinvested into textile and manufacturing operations in the northern part of the community, and by 1880, most millworkers were immigrants (Schroer 1981:31). In Sag Harbor, the Montauk Steam Cotton Mill was financed by former whaling merchants and was located on the corner of Washington and Division by 1850. It soon failed, and was sold to Suffolk Steam Mill, which burned in 1879.

*Real Estate:*

While whaling capital was never limited to outfitting vessels, the decline of the industry brought about the next cycle’s industrial expansion. Communities less geographically situated to maintain a dominant position in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century either reinvested their wealth into larger whaling communities or saw more modest transitions to real estate, local manufacturing, or tourist accommodations. Real estate grew in tourist communities like Westport, Sag Harbor, and the Islands. Nantucket real estate exploded at the decline of whaling, and between 1865 and 1885, Charles and Henry Coffin engaged in over 400 land dealings. Their former countinghouse became a land house for real estate (Gardner 1949:279), and even before the Civil War, off-islanders were already coming to Nantucket, in increasing numbers, to visit

relatives and to retire. New Bedford's Bourne Countinghouse is now Bourne Countinghouse Real Estate (Appendix E.2).

*Miscellaneous Industries:*

Sag Harbor, after several decades of cotton-textile pursuit, transitioned its major mill operation to the Bulova Watch Factory in 1881, which was later renovated into condominiums. This reuse for residential purposes, is rather fitting, as its initial construction had caused a mass boom in real estate during the 1880s. An oil cloth factory, a gas works, a broom factory, flour mill, cigar factory, hat factory, sugar refinery, brass factory, silver factory, chemical factory, and a clockwork also became the destinations of former whaling capital (Streeter 2015 in Donneson and Wesiburg 2003:39, 40).

*Tourism:*

Many descendants pursued more modest reinvestment through B&Bs and tourist shops that still operate today. Rooms on Nantucket and Sag Harbor run more than \$500 to \$1000/night USD during tourist season. Many whaling and shipping merchants had a hand in constructing the local railroads in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century as well, and this has effectively created a barrier, along with highways and run-down wharfs, which separate many whaling communities from their waterfront (Neil 1988:15). Other wealth was reinvested into mills that destroyed former maritime resources. Some was invested in philanthropic endeavors, and with more than a few generations separating the decline of whaling from today, much of the former whaling capital, and the benefits that it produced, now belongs to descendants no longer carrying a whaling name. The benefits of the wealth produced still affect many individuals and society at large.

*Most Influential:*

The Macys, after two hundred years of involvement, sold their refineries to Rockefellers. Their family wealth and legacy continue today in the multi-billion-dollar Macy's shopping center founded by Rowland Hussey Macy (whose name represent three major whaling dynasties). The Colemans founded a camping gear dynasty in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century under William Coffin Coleman (Derdak and Pederson 2000:138), which today has been absorbed into the larger umbrella corporation, Newell Brands. Folger family wealth was preserved through James A. Folger's mid-19<sup>th</sup> century reinvestment in coffee out of San Francisco. Nye Lubricants, founded nearly two centuries earlier for the refinement of Sperm oil into lubricants, remains a lubricant producer today, and the primary funder of Nye Laboratory in New Bedford's Museum (Parr 1996). Much wealth remains heavily distributed in various financial investments.

## **Part II: Methods and Data**

### **Chapter VI. Methods**

#### ***Determining the Data Set:***

Whaling had an immense impact on shaping New England's economy and culture. After textiles and shoes, whaling was the region's third largest industry (Creighton 1995:6; Decker 1973:118). More than 78 New England towns participated, with Massachusetts responsible for most of the Yankee fleet. The first task of this research was to determine which towns/local regions were involved between 1712 and 1875, and which had the largest socioeconomic impact on the industry and therefore are best representative of its heritage. The larger period of New England whaling spanned the 1630s until 1925, but 1712 is often the date cited as the first successful sperm whale capture and the beginning of offshore whaling out of Nantucket (Macy 1880:48). The end date for this study concludes between 1775 and 1880, after the last arctic whaling disaster and the introduction of steam power to global whaling, after which, America yielded its whaling dominance to its Norwegian predecessors.

While dozens of towns participated in some capacity over the three centuries of Yankee whaling, the towns selected for analysis were chosen based on several factors, not simply the overall number of ships sent out or barrels of oil taken. The determination was based on key charts of outfitted whaleships found initially in Davis et al. (1997) and Goode (1887), and which were based largely on the *Whalemen's Shipping List* (WSL 1843-1914), as well as shipping and customs records in general. Using these sources enabled a range of variables to be compared. Factors for selection in determining significance included the number of ships outfitted, the total number of voyages, the concentration of activity (assessed via number of voyages by decade), and employment levels. Background research enabled a discovery of the origins of technological

innovations, as well as the extent to which the town was focused around whaling relative to other forms of commerce. This was assessed by comparing the above factors to the populations of the communities. The presence of current forms of whaling heritage was also a major consideration.



Figure 14. Top 12 whaling ports with smaller whaling communities (base map is Mawer 1999:4).

The whaling communities chosen for this project include Provincetown, MA, Nantucket, MA, New Bedford, MA, Fairhaven, MA, Mattapoisett, MA, Westport, MA, New London, CT, Stonington, CT, Mystic, CT, Sag Harbor, L.I., Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard, MA, and Warren, RI (Figure 3; Figure 14). No towns sending fewer than 100 voyages during the 19<sup>th</sup> century were selected for evaluation, but this was an arbitrary condition imposed after all other factors were considered. Boston, MA, sent out more whaling voyages than several of the selected towns, but their involvement in the industry had a much smaller community impact in relation to overall maritime commerce. The assessment of community impact was based on the size/ population density of the city and historical knowledge of the city's wealth, diversity of commerce, and

importance as a major American shipping center. Based on voyages and vessels, Boston was the only top 12 whaling port excluded from this study, due to its overall population and diversity of economic frontiers, while Mystic was the only community not in the top 12 that was included.

***Data collection:***

The initial sources used to determine the locations and types of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century whaling resources in each town were historic maps, city directories (Appendix B.1-M.1, G.4), photos, and general published secondary resources containing such information. A desktop survey of these sources revealed the physical resources that existed within this landscape and allowed for an assessment of what has been preserved, redeveloped, or forgotten. The existence of modern forms of whaling interpretation was then established from online sources, such as Google, [historicmapworks.com](http://historicmapworks.com), regional newspapers like [southcoasttoday.com](http://southcoasttoday.com), and each towns' historic, preservation, or landmark societies, including their walking and heritage tour maps.

The desktop survey revealed nearly all larger forms of interpretation, such as statues, monuments, fountains, landmarks, and heritage tours, while also revealing roughly half the signs, plaques, information boards, and more discrete acknowledgments to the industry. Local museum or historic society professionals, where applicable, were contacted for any potentially relevant or missing information, and resource maps were created via [Googlemaps.com](http://Googlemaps.com), before an onsite visit to each community took place. Museums and historic societies were visited first, and meetings with local professionals occurred as needed. Each interpretive resource identified from this phase was then visited to record it.

Each whaling resource and item of heritage interpretation was recorded individually. These were divided into indoor and outdoor resources. Indoor resources include museum and historical society displays; while outdoor resources include architectural representation, statues,

monuments, plaques, signs, murals, walking tours, and more. Not all resources classified as interpretive were analyzed for representational data.

Walking tours in general were discussed subjectively due to the substantial variations in the quality and types of the walking tour resources, the extent of promotion of sites as an interpretive resource, the extent resources were interpreted at sites (ie. sign, plaques, monument, audio-digital, etc.), the generic nature of most stops, the degree of applicability specifically to whaling heritage, and the difficulty in classifying as a simple 'black or white' category. Many walking tours served as better examples of preservation, than interpretation, but the extent of New Bedford's and the National Parks Service's efforts in creating a more extensive and uniformly presented walking tour was used and classified the same way as the other 2D active interpretation under the 'signs' sub-category.

Many interpretive resources included architectural examples of the prosperity experienced through different periods, both publicly funded buildings, as well as private residences, including their states of preservation and degree of community involvement in promoting their heritage for tourism purposes. Monuments and statues are discussed subjectively, as are many plaques and signs that did not fit into easily categorizable groups but were useful in answering the other sub-questions posed in Chapter 1.

There was some degree of overlap involved in the categorization of particular resources as well as some difficulty in drawing the line as to what constitutes a theme directly or indirectly related to the topic of this research. One such example was whether to classify boulders with plaques under the monuments or the plaques category. Another example was whether to classify the bronze plaques in New London as plaques or as a monument. The former were ultimately considered to be a monument while the latter was determined to be two plaques. Decisions had



to be made whether to include historical landmarks, as well as signs and plaques primarily oriented to a message of environmental and conservation awareness rather than whaling per se. Further, there was difficulty in determining aspects such as whether a boulder with a plaque should be classified as a plaque, monument, or both.

Every street identified to have ever held a whaling-related residential, commercial, or industrial resource at any point in New England history was personally walked during this survey, and every resource, or resource location, was photographed for later evaluation. House museums and interior displays were also visited but typically reflected generic domestic Yankee settings rather than containing interpretable whaling heritage material. Whaling residences that have been converted to inns and Bed and Breakfasts for the tourist industries in communities like Nantucket and New Bedford, in particular, were categorized separately for use in discussing economic and tourism questions. All identified whaling resources, interpretive, historically preserved, and archaeological, were included in this research and analyzed in terms of their representation of various facets of the whaling industry. Additionally, the role of the National Register of Historic Places (N.R.) and the National Landmarks Program (N.L.P.) are discussed in terms of their contribution to both preservation and heritage tourism efforts.

An Excel spreadsheet was created with standardized columns to evaluate each resource with a uniform set of criteria. Initially, 28 evaluation categories were created. However, most columns proved redundant, irrelevant, or lacked properties that were useful for broad comparative purposes such as alterations, orientation, or stylistic elements. The fields ultimately selected for use in this research include the type of resource, its location, its date of construction, its size, and the approximate percentage of visual space the object occupied. These categories

were used to assess prominence and visual impact, as well as the contribution of the resource to the shifting whaling narrative over time.

Physical dimensions were measured wherever possible, but most indoor objects in museum display cases were estimated, as were resources located in inaccessible places, such as elevated murals on buildings or resources on private property. Factors such as bordering or framing around images, as well as large vacant areas of space, were accounted for and adjusted as situationally appropriate. This was somewhat influenced by the degree that the size, style, or quality of the frame contributed to its visual representation, as well as the size of generic or empty space. All measurements were recorded in inches, converted to square inches, and further converted to square centimeters.

Preserved or repurposed whaling structures were recorded in terms of their preservation and evaluated by their socioeconomic benefit to the community. This benefit refers to their current usage for either cultural and tourism purposes or in continuing to operate as an active business within the community. Additionally, all potential archaeological sites were visited and broadly evaluated separately from interpretive resources to determine their likely degree of disturbance and probability of research potential, along with reasons for the assessment given.

Monuments, statues, plaques, interpretive signs, displays, exhibits, and depictions were all evaluated as individually as possible or practical. All objects, excluding statues and monuments, were evaluated as a 2D image in terms of their class, gender, and racial connotations, based on the physical appearance of the people represented and the activities they were performing. Accompanying text was often used to put these depictions into context. This research does not quantitatively take into account the heavily subjective variables of value or visual appeal of interpretive objects and images. Outdoor statues were evaluated separately in

terms of their height, as one representation of prominence. Other monuments tended to be roughly similarly sized (a meter or so tall and/or wide) boulders or polished stone and therefore height was not deemed relevant. Class designation was determined based on whether the object or image depicted a working-class scene, such as hunting a whale or loading oil casks; whether it focused on a captain, captain's wife, or whaling merchant; or whether it showed a subsistence or other scene of Indigenous people in a traditional setting.

For class, 'elite' was defined as resources reflecting captains and capitalists. 'Working class' was defined as all those engaged in some form of activity who did not have capital greater than the value of their own labor invested into the exploitative endeavor portrayed. 'Indigenous/subsistence' were typically representations of Native Americans, or Indigenous Islanders from around the globe, who were featured in their native subsistence settings. Race (ethnicity) was mostly determined by complexion and context of the exhibit and combined with gender to assess representations simply as white (European) male, white (European) female, non-white (European) male, and non-white (European) female. Regarding images of interpretation, in general, as most "white" European immigrants did not begin participation in Yankee whaling until the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, images appearing to depict "white" people were all classified in the Yankee category, unless otherwise indicated in context.

The representation of gender and ethnicity in interpretive resources was then compared to historical data to determine under or overrepresentation. While the diversity of the industry has been discussed in previous literature (Mancini 2009; Melville 1851; Santos 1995; Shoemaker 2015), this research included its own data derived from shipping or crew lists to make this determination. Crew and shipping lists contain information relating to hair and skin color as well as place of origin and were used to create two samples of the ethnic makeup of crews. Relevant

lists have been digitized by Mystic Seaport and New Bedford and are available online (G.W. Blunt White Library 2007; whalingmuseum.org).

The first data sample was created using test sets of not fewer than 25 randomly selected voyages, with vessels ranging in sizes and riggings and organized by decade. Data samples were collected from 1803 onwards through to 1875 (Appendix A.2), the conclusion of this research period and the era of New England dominance in the fisheries. The logs of the *Charles W. Morgan* were then used to create a second comparative sample to determine any differences in ethnic make-up from a single vessel based out of San Francisco, CA, in the mid-late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The first twenty-five of the *Charles W. Morgan*'s voyages were randomly chosen for this sample (see Appendix A.3).

As data sources, crew/shipping lists have various problems. There is uncertainty as to the number of Native American whalers who were classified as domestic born with a light skinned complexion and who may, therefore, have been wrongly attributed to the Yankee category. Interracial offspring and inconsistencies in hair and skin color assessment also factor into the range of error, as determining these characteristics was based on captains' assessments. Additionally, such lists did not become standard until 1803, and they tend to over-represent the domestic white category, among other reasons, because they include more substantial detail of those who embarked from the initial port and not those who were those picked up abroad (particularly if they died, were abandoned, or deserted). There may well also be domestic born descendants of some 18<sup>th</sup> through mid-19<sup>th</sup> century European immigrants, as well as some domestically born light skinned Native Americans, who may have been erroneously included in the domestic born white category, even though they were not in fact "Yankee" (white European descendants of families in New England before 1700).

Not all resources could be assigned a race or gender category, such as any whaling implements in a generic display with no accompanying text to contextualize their use. These resources were not recorded. Other problems that affected this research included potential uneven coverage of historical resources. Some research libraries and historical societies have the only comprehensive maps and directories for their communities, although certain years or pages are often missing. Assigning a date for the creation of each interpretive resource was not always straightforward. Although many plaques and statues were labeled with a date, other kinds of objects, such as unlabeled artwork, were especially difficult to date. Some dates were known by museum staff, others required greater effort to determine or closely approximate a date of origin. With the data set determined, and the scope and collection categories defined, the following chapter presents the findings of these research.

## Chapter VII. Whaling Community Data

The evaluations in this chapter describe and present the data collected within the twelve whaling communities covered in this study (Figure 3, in Chapter 1). These data are analyzed and interpreted in two following chapters—Chapter VIII Preservation and Chapter IX Public interpretation—to answer the primary and secondary questions posed in Chapter I. Chapter VIII attempts to answer how capitalism, and the communities' paths, produced the state of historical and archaeological preservation they did. Development and redevelopment occur as socioeconomic circumstances dictate the course their community will follow. This is influenced by when the community began, the degree of primary capital accumulation during the initial period of development, the materials used for building, and its geographic position's suitability for adaptation to newer forms of transportation and industrial infrastructure.

These factors influence the type of economy (ies) the community will rely on (tourism, industrial, residential, etc.) which further influences the degree they emphasize heritage promotion commercial/industrial preservation, residential preservation, natural beauty, or adaptive reuse in determining how to divert local resources. Architectural styles, sizes, structural quality, ornamentation, and building additions attest to the chronological circumstances that affected these choices and outcomes. Chapter IX discusses the results of how the industry has thus far been interpreted in each community based on discrepancies in race, class, and gender.

### **Provincetown, MA:**

Twenty-nine sites were identified and determined to have relevance to the preservation or interpretation of the Yankee whaling industry within Provincetown. Three of the sites were interpretive resources; 12 were the locations of wharves or sites related to the whaling industry,

and 14 were residences built during the whaling era (Table 7; Figure 16) but which have no interpretation aside from a small blue historic marker painted on selected 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century homes (Appendix B.3). These markers came in two similar varieties like the ones in Figure 15.



Figure 15. Provincetown House Markers

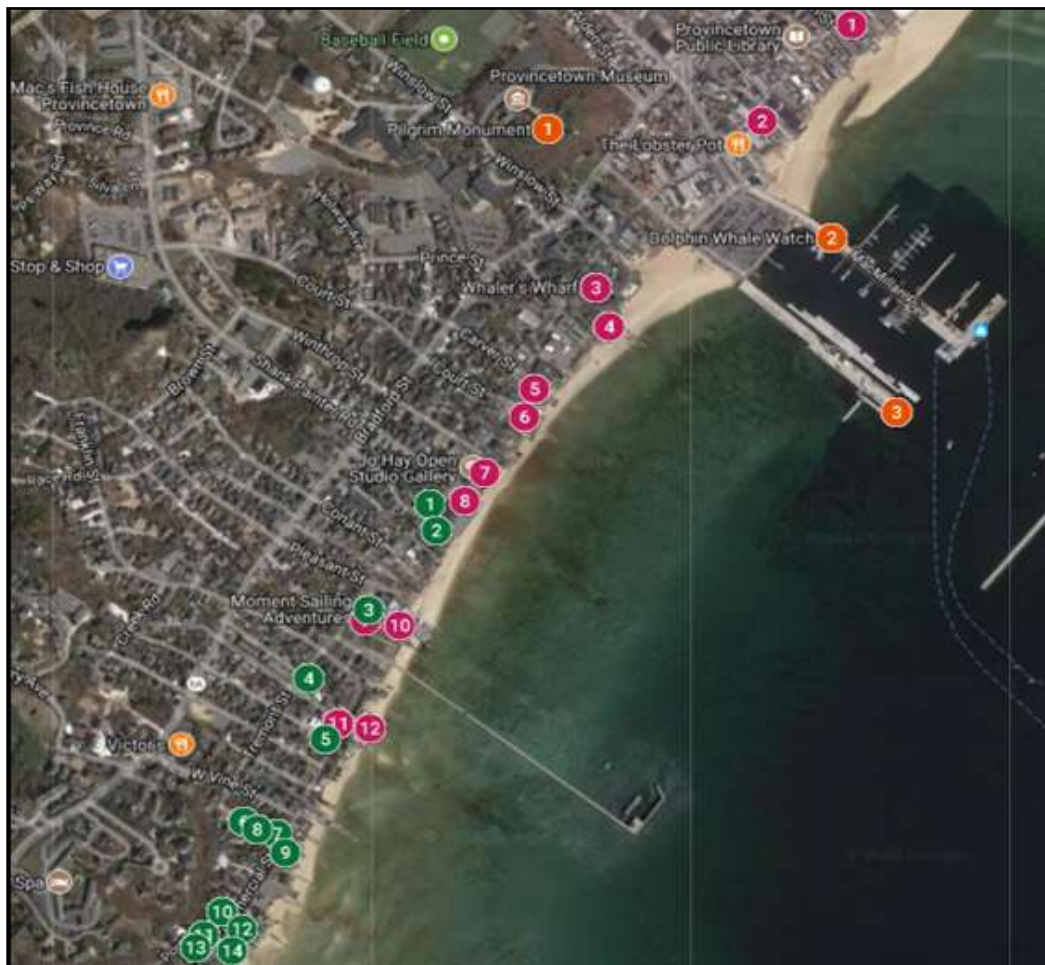


Figure 16. Provincetown Interpretive (orange), Commercial/Industrial (red/crimson), and Residential (green) Resources.

***Interpretive Resources:***

Table 5. Provincetown Interpretive Resources (orange).

#	Interpretive Resources	Address
1	Pilgrim Monument and Museum	1 High Poll Hill Road
2	4-sided Whaling Sign (on MacMillian Pier)	307 Commercial Street
3	"They Also Faced the Sea" Mural	Fisherman's Wharf
4	<b>Provincetown Walking Tour</b>	<b>Address</b>
a	Adam's Store	254 Commercial Street
b	Fine Art Works Center	24 Pearl Street
c	Historic Walking Tour/Town Hall/Tourism Office	260 Commercial Street
d	Land's End Inn	22 Commercial Street
e	MacMillian Pier	24 MacMillan Wharf
f	Pilgrim Monument and Provincetown Museum	1 High Pole Hill
g	Provincetown Art Association and Museum	460 Commercial Street
h	Provincetown Public Library	356 Commercial Street
i	Provincetown Theater	238 Bradford Street
j	Schoolhouse Gallery	494 Commercial Street

While not basing its tourism around a whaling theme, there were three interpretive locations in the community that relate to whaling. The first resource is the Pilgrim Monument and Museum which stands at 252 feet (76.8 meters) tall. It is a granite obelisk, built between 1908 and 1910, on top of High Pole Hill. Its construction was organized by the Cape Cod Pilgrim Memorial Association, who had raised the required \$92,000 ([pilgrim-monument.org](http://pilgrim-monument.org)). All of Provincetown's indoor interpretation is contained within this museum.

Provincetown's heritage is mostly interpreted through the Provincetown Museum. The most recent exhibition staged here reflected an accurate depiction of the development of the industry as it pertains to Provincetown, and it appropriately acknowledges early Native American participation, as well as the dominance of the Portuguese in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The 2014 exhibit was much larger, but not as densely packed. It was no longer present for this research's on-site visit, but there is still a well-designed exhibit today.



What was present was an accurate and contemporary presentation, organized with a timeline and thematic message (Table 6). The exhibit contains a half dozen wall displays and, overall, reflects the importance of the Yankee whaling industry to Provincetown's history and culture, concentrating on how the Portuguese assumed control over its operation during Provincetown's "Golden Era" (1860s-1880s). The two largest exhibits feature a captain's quarters at home and one at sea (Figure 17; Figure 18).



Figure 17. Captain's Parlor Ashore (Photo by author).



Figure 18. Whaling Captain's Quarters (Photo by author).

Table 6. Provincetown Museum and Outdoor Interpretation.

Exhibit or Portrait Name	Area of Display in CM	Class	% White Male	Averaged cm	% Minority	Averaged cm	% White Female	Averaged cm	% Minority Female	Averaged cm
Provincetown 1790-1840	2787	Elite	100	2787	0	0	0	0	0	0
Provincetown 1840-1880	2787	Elite	100	2787	0	0	0	0	0	0
Provincetown Yankee Whaling and the Cook family	2903	Elite	100	2903	0	0	0	0	0	0
Captain's Parlor Ashore	39019	Elite	50	19510	0	0	50	19510	0	0
Whaling Captain's Quarters	39019	Elite	100	39019	0	0	0	0	0	0
				<b>67006</b>		<b>0</b>		<b>19510</b>		<b>0</b>
"From Whaling to Watching"	14465	Environment/Conservation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Stellwagon Bank National Marine Sanctuary"	7432	Environment/Conservation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Sanctuary Fish"	7432	Environment/Conservation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Studying Whales to Save Them"	14465	Environment/Conservation	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<b>43794</b>			<b>0</b>		<b>0</b>		<b>0</b>		<b>0</b>
Provincetown 1620-1790	2787	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Provincetown 1880-1900	2903	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Provincetown 1900-1920	2903	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Provincetown: A New Chapter c. 1900	2903	N/A	40	1162	40	1162	20	581	0	0

Provincetown Festival Commemorative Bench	11144	N/A	0	0	50	5574	0	0	50	5574
				<b>1162</b>		<b>6736</b>		<b>581</b>		<b>5574</b>
Provincetown Museum Sign	11144	Working	100	11144	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Forgotten Port: Provincetown Whaling Heritage"	9290	Working	40	3716	60	5574	0	0	0	0
"Early American Commercial Whaling" and "New England Yankee Whaling"	2787	Working	85	2369	15	418	0	0	0	0
So Ends this Day - The Whaling Grounds – The Azorean Connection	2903	Working	100	2903	0	0	0	0	0	0
The Changing Face of Yankee Provincetown	2903	Working	50	1452	50	1452	0	0	0	0
"They Also Faced the Sea"	696773	Working	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	117058
				<b>21584</b>		<b>7444</b>		<b>0</b>		<b>117058</b>

As eco-tourism grew throughout the 1970s, and in 1978, Charles Stormy Mayo, a whaling descendant, funded the Center for Coastal Studies (Driscoll 2014:9). The 38<sup>th</sup> voyage of the *Charles W. Morgan*, which occurred in 2014, also carried this message of conservation and environmental awareness, and this same message is reflected on the second interpretive resource located on MacMillian Pier. While not related to whaling, it is a three-sided sign board that continues the conservation message that grew from the demise of whaling, and it discusses how the community interacts differently with whales today (Appendix B.2). The final interpretive

resource is difficult to miss if entering Provincetown by boat. It consists of four very large, outdoor mural portraits of Portuguese women (Figure 19), who helped transform Provincetown while their men were off to sea. Provincetown also has a small walking tour of its key cultural heritage points of interest, but only the Pilgrim Monument and Museum and the vicinity of MacMillian Pier offer any interpretation associated with whaling.



Figure 19. “They Also Faced the Sea” mural on Ryder Street Pier (Photo by author).

***Commercial/Industrial Resources:***

Table 7. Provincetown Commercial/Industrial Resources (red/crimson).

#	Commercial/Industrial Resources	Address
1	Knowles Wharf	371 Commercial Street
2	Commercial Wharf	333 Commercial Street
3	Whaler's Wharf	237 Commercial Street
4	Lothrop's Wharf	227R Commercial Street
5	Market Wharf	193-199 Commercial Street
6	Bowley's Wharf	187 Commercial Street
7	City Wharf	167 Commercial Street
8	Central Wharf	163 Commercial Street
9	Freeman's Wharf	129 Commercial Street
10	Tave's late 19th century Shipyard	Good Templar Place
11	Union Exchange	90 Commercial Street
12	Union Wharf	109 Commercial Street

Provincetown never went through phases of rapid growth or redevelopment. As the 20<sup>th</sup> century approached it was clear that Provincetown's destiny was not commercial or industrial. Cape Cod settled into a passive subsistence, embracing the aesthetics of the National Seashore Park/Preserve that protects Cape Cod from development and environmental exploitation, while increasingly promoting historic preservation efforts. The first wharf in Provincetown was constructed by Thomas Lothrop near the Masonic Hall on Commercial Street (Hopkins 1890:969), and today this area has been moderately redeveloped into the Whaler's Wharf shopping center and movie theater.

Union Wharf (where the main wharf today is located) was built in 1831, and Central Wharf was constructed by 1839 (Hopkins 1890:969). Union Wharf was described as "a self-contained community with stores that outfitted vessels for fishing and whaling voyages, a black smith shop, stores providing fruits, confections, and tobaccos." (Theriault 1996:111). Between each of these wharfs were dense clusters of blacksmiths' shops, caulkers, painters, riggers, blockmakers, marine railways, ships' carpenters, and other facilities relating to maintaining these vessels (Bryant 1918:7; Hopkins 1890:994).



Figure 20. Provincetown Wharves (Walker 1882).

By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century there were over three dozen wharves intended mostly for commercial fishing, many of which can be seen in Figure 20. Only eight were major whaling wharf locations, and they are shown in Table 8, which also includes an accounting of resources

once present within the wharf areas. The evaluation includes Provincetown Monument and Museum as the primary interpretive platform (Appendix B.2). Rather than discussing individual historic buildings and sites, as is more practical in some communities, Table 8 shows what resources were present on or near each wharf. Those listed as being on Commercial Street do not indicate which wharf they were closest to, but as each wharf had to be in close proximity to the major industries required to outfit vessels, historic waterfront structures, appearing to be those missing from maps, were identified via onsite visit.

Table 8. Provincetown Resources by Wharf.

<b>Industry</b>	<b>Union Wharf</b>	<b>Union Exchange</b>	<b>Freemans Wharf</b>	<b>Central Wharf</b>	<b>City Wharf</b>	<b>Bowley's Wharf</b>	<b>Market Wharf</b>	<b>Commercial Wharf</b>	<b>Commercial Street</b>
<b>Saloons</b>									1
<b>Coopers</b>			1						
<b>Hotels</b>									2
<b>Ship Stores</b>		1		1	1	1		1	7
<b>Dry Goods</b>									6
<b>Sail makers</b>	1			1			1		4
<b>Ship Smith</b>	1			1			1		
<b>Painters</b>	1			1					1
<b>Boatbuilders</b>								1	2
<b>Ship Carpenters &amp; Spar Makers</b>	1			1					2
<b>Clothing Dealer</b>									2

As waterfront real estate climbed in value during late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, newer residential and commercial structures were built between already established buildings, rather

than on top of earlier foundations. There was no substantial demolition along the waterfront, and this redevelopment strategy greatly benefited the historic preservation of industrial and residential buildings related to the whaling industry, possibly to a greater extent in Provincetown than any other tourism reliant community.

Many believe Provincetown's mid-late 19<sup>th</sup> century whaling era is the most overlooked portion of the community's history (Desroches 2014:1). In fact, many do not associate Provincetown with the whaling industry at all, in part due to Herman Melville's "Moby Dick" (Melville 1851), which failed to include Provincetown as one of the major whaling ports (Theriault 1995:3). The growth of its whaling fleet had only just begun at the time of the novel's writing. By 1855 Cape Cod and Cape Ann remained largely unaffected by the Industrial Revolution, stemming from insufficient waterpower available (Morison 1921:300). Much of the waterfront was later redeveloped in the late 19<sup>th</sup> through 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the district reverted to commercial and residential use (Schneider 2000:318).

***Residential Resources:***

Table 9. Provincetown Residential Resources (green).

#	Residential Resources	Address
1	1790s Colonial residence	158 Commercial Street
2	c.1750 residence near Central Wharf	157 Commercial Street
3	Colonial residence associated with Freeman's Wharf-possible former cooperage/sailing/rigging loft	131 Commercial Street
4	White Cape Cod Style residence	6 Tremont Street
5	1797 Cape Cod Style residence	84 Commercial Street
6	White, Tan, with green Cape Cod residence	10 Atwood Avenue
7	1820 Grey Cape Cod residence	64 Commercial Street
8	White with blue Cape Cod residence	8 Atwood Avenue
9	Converted Carriage House with gambrel roof	65 Commercial Street
10	Sa Manta La Velle - White Colonial residence	46 Commercial Street
11	White Cape Cod residence, with Italianate 2nd floor addition	40 Commercial Street
12	Tan Colonial residence	49 Commercial Street

13	White Cape Cod residence with Tan Cape Cod Revival addition	36 Commercial Street
14	White Cape Cod residence with purple door	43 Commercial Street

Provincetown responded to the decline of the industry the same way as other non-industrial communities: by turning its rotting wharves, narrow dirt roads, and scenic beaches into tourist attractions. These efforts resulted in a huge economic shift from fishing village to resort town. The community has been described as “a provincial New England village with prominent church steeples, “Cape Cod” and “Salt Box” homes, quaint side streets, and a breath-taking, steel-blue harbor” (Krahulik 2005:16). Most of the homes in Provincetown, from the late 18<sup>th</sup>, through the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, are Cape Cod style cottages (Appendix B.3; Table 9).

The significance of this representative example is that it shows nearly all of the historic homes acknowledged in the community predate the whaling era, and it was the later participation of Provincetown’s whaling, followed by its rise in commercial fishing and tourism, that allowed residents to maintain these earlier properties rather than construct the diversity of newer architectural styles seen in the whaling communities that emerged during the height of the Golden Era. These residences are among the most elegant of all Cape Cod style homes, and they differ from Nantucket’s Cape Cods in that they are overwhelmingly resided with the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century clapboard style.

This indicates Provincetown’s continued commerce during this time, corresponding to Nantucket’s steep decline in prosperity. Provincetown’s location on the mainland also allowed it easier access to transportation networks, than Nantucket or the Vineyard, but like Sag Harbor, its distance from the consolidated centers of geographic and demographic dominance produced a similar economic future, although Provincetown’s wharves did not burn to the ground and were largely left in place.



**Edgartown, Martha’s Vineyard, MA:**

Three interpretive sites with relevance to this research were identified in orange, along with ten commercial and industrial sites (identified with red/crimson dots), including the Lighthouse. Six dots mark the main wharves; two dots mark blacksmith shops associated with two of the wharves; one is a former candlehouse; and the last dot marks the Edgartown Lighthouse. Further, there are six primary residential structures, represented in green, that serve as examples of the wealth acquired at different points of the whaling period (Appendix C.3).



Figure 21. Martha’s Vineyard Interpretive (orange) and Commercial/Industrial (red/crimson) (including Martin Homestead), and Residential (green) Resources.

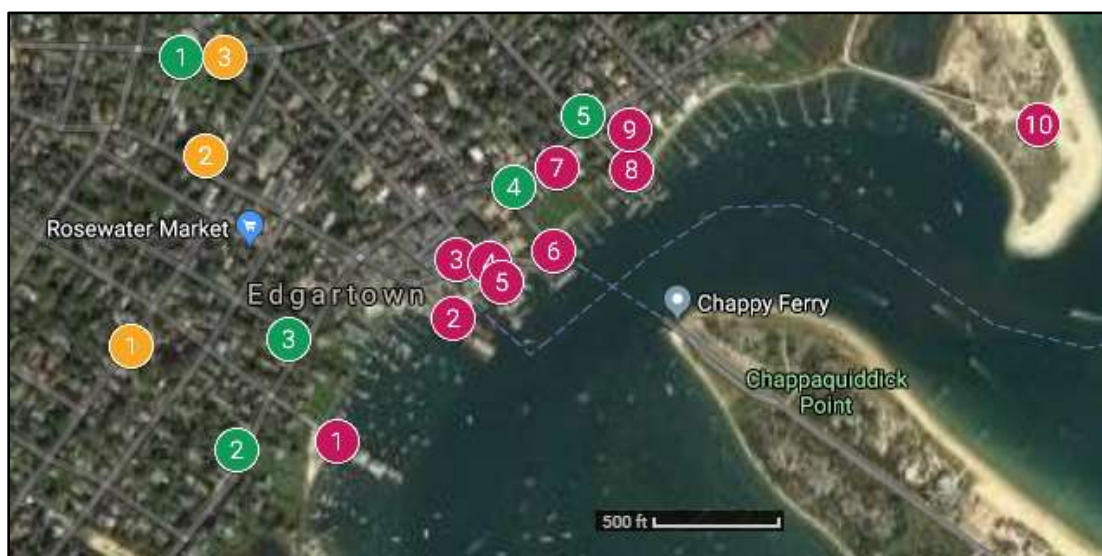


Figure 22. Martha’s Vineyard Interpretive (orange), Commercial/Industrial (red/crimson), and Residential (green) Resources.

***Interpretive Resources:***

Table 10. Edgartown, MV Interpretive Resources (orange).

#	Interpretive Resources	Address
1	Old Whaling Church, Edgartown Liturgical Arts Center	89 Main Street
2	Martha's Vineyard Museum	59 School Street
3	Vincent House/Dr. Daniel Fisher House Museum	99 Main Street

The Martha's Vineyard Museum (currently under relocation), is not a major source of whaling interpretation at present. As the museum was under renovation at the time of visit, Bow Van Riper sent photos of the nine objects or displays that had related interpretable content (Appendix C.2). They were encompassed within a couple open rooms connected by a hallway. There was material reflecting the Native American participation at the start of the exhibit, and both Yankee male and female themes were also present, but there was not enough material available to make a fair assessment of interpretation.

The Old Whaling Church, the Vincent House, and the Dr. Daniel Fisher House Museum are all on the same or adjacent properties. They are included in this category for their architectural significance. The former is now home to the Liturgical Arts Center and represents the prosperity brought about by their participation in the whaling industry, as does the stately Federal style home of Dr. Daniel Fisher. Like all the whaling churches, built in the early-mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, this one was also designed in the Greek Revival fashion (Appendix C.3).

The Vincent house museum, after being owned for nearly three centuries by the Vincent family, was donated to the preservation trust in 1977 by the MacKenty and Bigelow families (MVPT 2016). It was built in the traditional medieval style and represents the socioeconomic influence of four centuries from the earliest days of colonial settlement. Today it is the head of the preservation trust, but the data of these materials are discussed subjectively in relation to their usage in promoting tourism and demonstrating the community's development.

Table 11. Martha's Vineyard Museum Interpretation.

Exhibit or Portrait Name	Area of Display in CM	Class	% White Male	Averaged cm	% Minority Male	Averaged cm	% White Female	Averaged cm	% Minority Female
images of English and Native meeting	6194	Subsistence	50	3097	50	3097	0	0	0
simple women's dress	4955	working	0	0	0	0	100	4955	0
Yankee Portrait	1626	Elite	100	1626	0	0	0	0	0
formation of the vineyard and Wampanoag reference	6968	Subsistence	0	0	100	6968	0	0	0
Navigation tool	310	Elite	100	310	0	0	0	0	0
Ladies Domesticity display	3716	N/A	0	0	0	0	100	3716	0
Whaleship	3716	Elite/N/A	100	3716	0	0	0	0	0
6 tooth/Jaw, one pie crimper, two others	1858	Working	50	1858	50	1858	0	0	0
Gift from Captain R.G. Luce to daughter Abby	903	Elite	30	271	0	0	70	632	0

Table 12. Commercial/Industrial Resources (red/crimson).

#	Commercial/Industrial Resources	Address
1	Commercial Wharf - Edgartown Reading Room	1 Cooke Street
2	Osbourne's Wharf - Edgartown Yacht Club	1 Dock Street
3	site of Blacksmith Shop (Osbourne's Wharf)	18 Dock Street
4	Mayhew's Wharf	29 Dock Street
5	site of Blacksmith Shop	31 Dock Street
6	Steamboat Wharf - Ripley and Fisher Wharf	53 Dock Street
7	Collin's Wharf	67 North Water Street
8	Morse Wharf - Edgartown Dock Master	1 Morse Street
9	site of Fisher Candleworks	85 North Water Street
10	Edgartown Lighthouse	North Water Street

The isolation of the Vineyard made it inconducive to post-maritime transportation networks and it grew to rely on the combination of its natural island beauty in conjunction with the more simplistic, earlier architectural styles to create a relaxing vacation environment. There were six wharves located by the waterfront, with two blacksmith shops specifically identified as being present. Fisher's Candleworks was once a thriving business but is no longer present. The Edgartown lighthouse, however, is still present. In terms of the industrial preservation of these resources, excluding the lighthouse, there are no commercial or industrial structures remaining on the waterfront.

***Residential Resources:***

Table 13. Martha's Vineyard Residential Resources (green).

#	Residential Resources	Address
1	Vincent House (oldest)/ Dr. Daniel Fisher House Museum	99 Main Street
2	Captain Valentine Pease House	80 South Water Street
3	Captain Abraham Osbourne's House	42 South Water Street
4	Dagget House	59 North Water Street
5	The Captain Morse House	80 North Water Street
6	Captain William and Nancy Martin Homestead	Chappaquiddick Road

Like Provincetown, Martha's Vineyard allowed the industrial revolution to pass by, thus preserving the historic waterfront from early large-scale redevelopment. Most early structures remaining along the waterfront are early 19<sup>th</sup> century Cape Cod style, with white cedar shingling showing two centuries of coastal weathering. Between 1835 and 1845, 110 whaling captains built their homes in Edgartown along North and South Water Streets. Nearly all of these remain today as an architectural reflection of the Golden Era of prosperity but only a few are specifically promoted for their heritage significance.

Noteworthy examples include the Greek Revivals of Captain Abraham Osborne's House (built 1834) and Dr. Daniel Fisher's mansion (1840) on Main Street. Osborne's house appears to have a Georgian influence, while the Fisher mansion appears to have a much later, Italianate style roof, not popular until the 1870s. Fisher was a key player at the height of whaling and built a massive fortune sufficient to fund Martha's Vineyard National Bank. His mansion displays 'classical elements, like colonnaded porticos, as well as a delicate roof walk' (Frommer 2017).

The first summer cottages in Martha's Vineyard began appearing in the 1880s. Norton (1923) describes the architecture of the Vineyard just before the outfitting of the last "Yankee" whaleship the following year (1924). Nearly all historic houses consist(ed) of 'single-story buildings, with a large base, located near springs of fresh water or shallow wells, often with old pear and cherry trees. They feature oak and pine frames, and foundation and cellar walls often made of old field stone split by a drill or wedge. Chimneys were large, often eight-foot square at their base, and made of crude bricks and high-quality lime mortar produced from burning shells. They have a small front entry, stairs leading to the bedrooms, two large front rooms, one located to the right and one to the left and were 16 to 18 feet (1.5 meters) square. There are four additional first floor rooms, for sleeping and storage, and two upstairs bedrooms' (Norton 1923:41-43).

Some of these historic homes have been converted into Inns. The Daggett House, built in 1750, expanded upon a 1660 tavern. It served as the Custom's House, a sailor's boarding house, and an inn before becoming a private residence again. Edgartown Inn, where Nathaniel Hawthorne held up for a year writing "Twice Told Tales", was also a former captain's home, as was the Captain Morse House (Frommer 2017) (Appendix C.3). The affluence and influence of the area's ship captains are also apparent in many public buildings and churches. The Whaling

Church was built in 1843 in the Greek Revival Style, and its architect Frederick Baylies Jr., used the same techniques he used in whaleboats (Table 10; Appendix C.3). It is maintained by the Preservation Trust and still supports a Methodist parish. Currently, the building is mainly used for performances and other such events.

### **Nantucket, MA:**

Nantucket has such an intense history in such a densely-populated island community, that describing its industrial landscape as it once stood is an encompassing task. When whaling began its decline in the 1840s Nantucket initially turned to the industrial revolution and a variety of manufactories began, but this community was not destined for competition with terrestrial-based ports once the railroads arrived. Fortunately for the tourism industry “the sleepy years” between 1860 and 1950 did well to preserve Nantucket’s architectural integrity (Grant 2011:390). This statement is not, however, applicable to the wharves themselves.

Seven sites were found to have some interpretive value as related to whaling heritage, with the Nantucket Whaling Museum being the primary outlet. There were 29 sites (identified by 35 dots), that were associated with commercial or industrial maritime resources. Nearly all were destroyed by the 1846 fire except the few built after. Additionally, Nantucket has overwhelmingly the best collection of well-preserved 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century houses of any whaling community, with 95 identified as having historical relevance to maritime industry. These offer greater interpretive value than similar historic houses in other communities as plaques name the person, profession, and date of construction of nearly all of them.

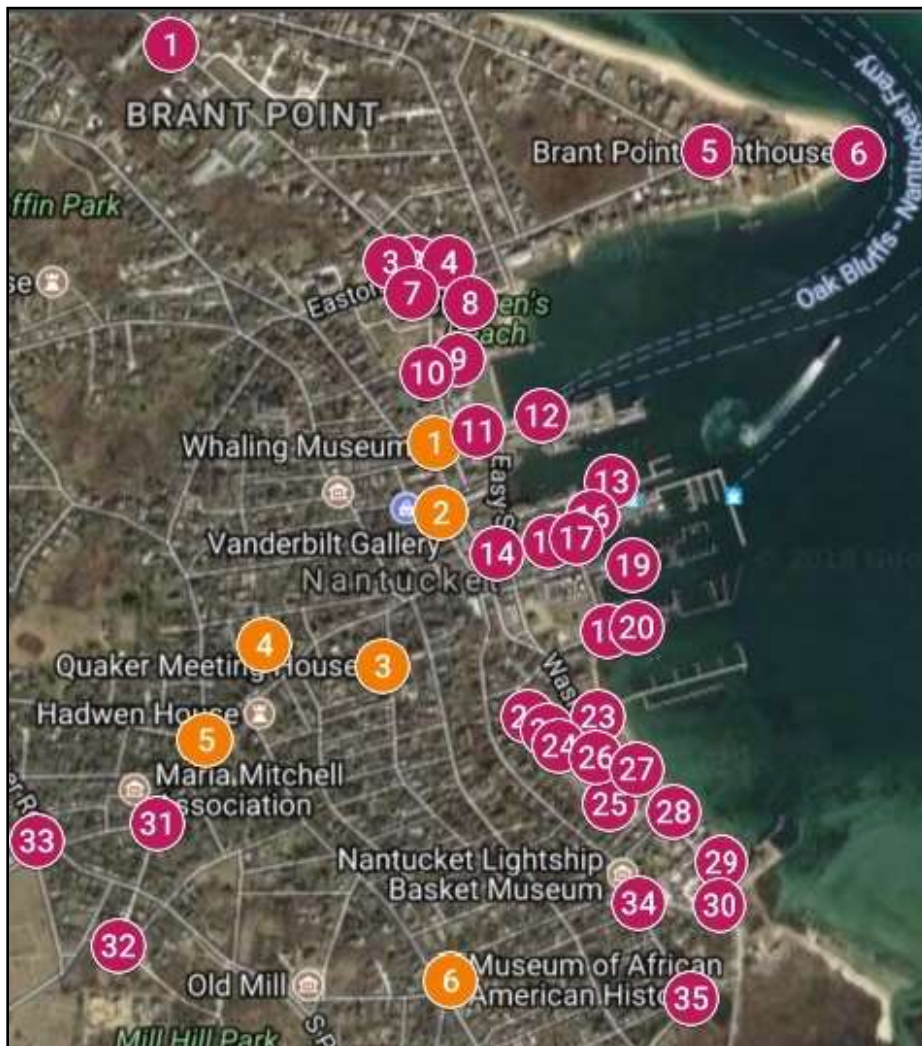


Figure 23. Nantucket Interpretive (orange) and Commercial/Industrial (red/crimson) Resources.

***Interpretive Resources:***

Table 14. Nantucket Interpretive Resources (orange).

#	Interpretive Resources	Address
1	Nantucket Whaling Museum	13 Broad Street
2	Nantucket Atheneum	1 India Street
3	Quaker Meeting House (NHA)	7 Fair Street
4	Coffin School	4 Winter Street
5	Liberty Pole Monument	Main Street/Milk Street
6	Museum of African American History	29 York Street
7	Founder's Monuments	202 Cliff Road

The Nantucket Whaling Museum, which occupies the Hadwen and Barney Candle Manufactory, is the primary source of active interpretation (Appendix D.2, D.4) and serves as one of the few examples of historic, non-residential whaling structures still present near the wharves (Appendix D.3). There is a roughly five by eight-foot 3D painted mural on the exterior of the main entrance of the museum depicting a very diverse crew (Figure 24). The museum starts with a timeline exhibit discussing the Island's Indigenous legacy (Figure 25). It then opens to a large theater room that presents a generic discussion of the working-class component of the industry, including tools, a whaleboat, and a sperm whale skeleton with associated information (Figure 26). This is opposite a wall lined with predominantly Yankee portraits (Figure 27). The next room was an original entrance to the oil and candle manufactory and contains a spermaceti press, diorama, video, and interactive touch screen displays. More portraits, a couple of figureheads, and a scrimshaw room are located upstairs.



Figure 24. Whaling Museum Exterior South Wall (Photo by author).





Figure 25. Introduction Exhibit: 3,000 B.C.E. -2010 C.E. (Photo by author).



Figure 26. Nantucket Whaling Museum - Main Theater Room (Photo by Devorah Lynch).



Figure 27. Museum Main Gallery: South Wall of Portraits (Photo by author).

Table 15. Nantucket Whaling Museum Interpretation.

Display Type	Name	Square cm	Class	% White Men	White Men in cm	% Minority Men in cm	Minority Men in cm	% White Women	White Women in cm	% Minority Women	Minority Women in cm
Exhibit/ Display board	Whalebone and Baleen	523	Elite	100	523	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exhibit/ Display board	Floating Camel	22 297	Elite	100	22 297	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exhibit/ Display board	Hadwen & Barney Oil and Candle Factory	7432	Elite	100	7432	0	0	0	0	0	0

Exhibit/ Display board	"Father of the Nantucket Whaling Museum	1858	Elite	100	1858	0	0	0	0	0	0
Figure- head	Yankee Figurehead	13 006	Elite	100	13 006	0	0	0	0	0	0
Figure- head	Yankee Women Figurehead	4181	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	4181	0	0
Painting Drawing Sketch	Artist and Model in Studio c. 1890	2323	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	2323	0	0
Painting Drawing Sketch	The Window towards the See 1880	1239	Elite	50	620	0	0	50	620	0	0
Painting Drawing Sketch	Painting of Old Yankee lady by fireplace	516	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	516	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Captain Isaac Hussey 1835	516	Elite	100	516	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Joseph Palmer Sylvia 1820s	1858	Elite	0	0	100	1858	0	0	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Absalom Boston 1835- 1845	310	Elite	0	0	100	310	0	0	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Nathan Chase 1830s- 1847	2839	Elite	100	2839	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Jonathan Colesworthy c. 1815	2323	Elite	100	2323	0	0	0	0	0	0

Portrait	Portrait of Henry Phelon Jr. 1827-1847	2323	Elite	100	2323	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Elishia T. Davis 1827-1847	2323	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	2323	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Timothy Folger 1864	4645	Elite	100	4645	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Tristram Bunker 1813-1833	1626	Elite	100	1626	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of James Fosdick 1795	1742	Elite	100	1742	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Robert and Eliza Mcleave 1845	3406	Elite	50	1703	0	0	50	1703	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Susan Veeder c.1847	1858	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	1858	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Captain Benjamin Worth 1830s	2323	Elite	100	2323	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Captain Mathew Jones 1810	2323	Elite	100	2323	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Captain William Plaskett 1830	2323	Elite	100	2323	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Obed Swain 1845	2323	Elite	100	2323	0	0	0	0	0	0

Portrait	Portrait of Captain Frederick Swain 1835	2323	Elite	100	2323	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Older Yankee Women 1857?	2065	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	2065	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Charles H. Tracy 1830	1859	Elite	100	1859	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Yankee Boy 1840	516	Elite	100	516	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Captain David Worth 1845	903	Elite	100	903	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Peter Ewer 1828	2581	Elite	100	2581	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Mary Ewer 1828	2323	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	2323	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Abigail Macy 1834	2065	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	2065	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Obed Macy 1834	2065	Elite	100	2065	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait	Portrait of Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin 1810	2581	Elite	100	2581	0	0	0	0	0	0
		<b>107 717</b>			<b>85 573</b>		<b>2168</b>		<b>19 977</b>		<b>0</b>
Exhibit /Display board	"An Island in Time"	185 806	Indig-enous/ working	25	46 452	25	46 452	25	46 452	25	46 452

Exhibit/ Display board	Drift Whaling	523	Indig- enous/ working	50	262	50	262	0	0	0	0
		<b>186</b>			<b>46</b>		<b>46</b>		<b>46</b>		<b>46</b>
		<b>329</b>			<b>714</b>		<b>714</b>		<b>452</b>		<b>452</b>
Exhibit/ Display board	Young Girl at Play	4181	N/A	0	<b>0</b>	0	<b>0</b>	100	4181	0	<b>0</b>
Exhibit/ Display board	"Seizing Opportunity at Sea"	6968	Working	50	3484	50	3484	0	0	0	0
Exhibit/ Display board	Exotic Port and Diversity of Crews" display	4181	Working	20	836	20	836	35	1463	25	1045
Exhibit/ Display board	"Offshore Whaling"	523	Working	100	523	0	0	0	0	0	0
Painting	Quaker Painting of Nantucket Sleighride	723	Working	100	723	0	0	0	0	0	0
Painting/ Sculpture	"Going on the Whale"	8361	Working	50	4181	50	4181	0	0	0	0
Photo/ Image	The Whaleboat	523	Working	0	0	100	523	0	0	0	0
Photo/ Image	Video Image of Minority Dock Workers	6503	Working	0	0	100	6503	0	0	0	0
Temp/ Rotating Photo/ Images (Average d of 8)	"The Hunt" and "Down to Sea in Ships" video clip average	89 187	Working	70	61 316	30	27 871	0	0	0	0
		<b>116</b>			<b>71</b>		<b>43</b>		<b>1463</b>		<b>1045</b>
		<b>969</b>			<b>063</b>		<b>398</b>				



Figure 28. Thomas Macy Warehouse - facing northeast (Photo by author).

The Nantucket Atheneum is another exceptional Greek Revival structure but does not contain any interpretable whaling material. The historically significant Quaker meeting house is a much smaller research library and is home to the Nantucket Historical Society but is also not intended for active interpretation either. Both structures contain value in their preservation and their collection of research material (Appendix D.4). The African-American Museum is another location valued for the preservation of its historical setting, and its interpretation is largely a narrated tour, made by appointment, that discusses the role of minorities in this whaling community (Appendix D.4).

Liberty Pole, once a center of residential activity, was included for mention, but the final interpretive sites are the vertical semicircle monuments primarily dedicated to the island's founders. The first was erected in 1881, during the revival, by descendants of the original founders Tristram Coffin, Thomas Macy, Edward Starbuck, Peter Folger, John Gardner, John Swain Jr., John Coleman Richard Gardner, Christopher Hussey, and William Bunker to

commemorate their burial place. The site was named Founder's Burial Ground in 2008, and the monument stands roughly a meter tall on top of a flat stone base. Inspired by the rise of feminism, a comparable monument was installed in 2009 to commemorate Dionis Coffin, Sarah Macy, Catherine Starbuck, Mary Folger, Priscilla Gardner, Theodate Hussey, Mary Bunker, and the island's women who helped build the community (Appendix D.4).

***Commercial/Industrial Resources:***

Fires ravaged Nantucket in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and nearly all buildings within a couple of blocks of the waterfront that were not made of brick were destroyed. The only surviving, pre-fire commercial/industrial whaling resource remaining today is Rotch's countinghouse, as both Hadwen and Barney's candleworks and Macy's Warehouse were built just after the blaze (Figure 28). At least 29 commercial or industrial sites related to whaling heritage were identified (Table 16; Figure 23). These include seven oil/candleworks, six ropewalks, three cooperages, and two boatbuilders on or around six wharves.

Table 16. Nantucket Commercial/Industrial Resources (red/crimson).

#	Commercial/Industrial Resources	Address
1	North Beach Ropewalk (North End)	North Beach Street
2	North Beach Ropewalk (South End)	North Beach Street
3	M. Joy Oil and Candleworks and Ropewalks SE End	North Beach Street/Easton Street
4	Easton Street Ropewalks (West End)	Easton Street
5	Easton Street Ropewalks (East End)	Easton Street
6	Brant Point Lighthouse	Easton Street
7	J.W. B.... Oil and Candleworks	South Beach Street/Easton Street
8	E.W. Gardner's Candleworks	Harbor View Way
9	E.W. Gardner's Candleworks	Nantucket Yacht Club - North Parking Lot
10	A. Swan's Boatshop	6 South Beach Street
11	Hadwen and Barney's Candleworks	1 South Beach Street



12	Steamboat Wharf - Adam's Yard	1 Steamboat Wharf
13	Old North Wharf	Old North Wharf
14	Rotch's Brick countinghouse (Pacific Club)	98 Main Street
15	Thomas Macy Warehouse	12 Straight Wharf
16	Straight Wharf	Straight Wharf
17	New Whale Street Ropewalk (North End)	New Whale Street
18	New Whale Street Ropewalk (South End)	New Whale Street
19	Old South Wharf	Old South Wharf
20	Commercial Wharf	1 Swains Wharf - Nantucket Boat Basin
21	Candleworks	c. 12 Coffin Street
22	Boatyard and Oil Shed	29 Washington Street
23	Cooper #1	34 Washington Street
24	Ropewalk (North End)	Nantucket Tax Collector Parking Lot
25	Ropewalk (South End)	Nantucket Tax Collector Parking Lot
26	J.H. Shaw Candleworks	37 Washington Street
27	Peleg's Wharf	56 Washington Street
28	Cooper #2	80 Washington Street
29	Cooper #3	92 Washington Street
30	Oil Shed	99 Washington Street
31	New Mill Street Ropewalk (North End)	New Mill Street
32	New Mill Street Ropewalk (North End)	New Mill Street
33	The Big Shop - Glidden House	35 Milk Street
34	Union Ropewalks (North End)	Union Street
35	Union Ropewalks (South End)	Union Street

Among the most relevant surviving features of former whaling infrastructure is the brick countinghouse at the foot of Main Street Square, which became the headquarters of William Rotch and Sons (Stackpole 1973:172) and later the Pacific Club. The Big Shop, once the largest boatbuilder on the island, became an 1835 residence and remains today on the corner of Milk Street and Quaker Road. There was a warehouse built on Washington Street by the Coffin Firm, not positively identified, and the Coffin School is located on Winter Street. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century,

the school began as a private co-ed school, and then for a half century became a public institution, before reverting to private usage again. It is currently used for sailing instruction.

North Beach Street was once a ropewalk and today is a light residential area with a small hotel. M. Joy Oil and Candleworks was on the northern corner of Easton Street and North Beach Street, J.W. B. Oil and Candleworks on the south corner of Easton Street and South Beach Street, and Hadwen and Barney's Candleworks at 1 South Beach Road. The latter has been expanded for museum usage (see previous section). E.W. Gardner's Candleworks, on 7 South Beach Street is now a private parking lot. At the south corner of Sea Street, and South Beach Road was A. Swan's Boatyard, now a bus stop and green space. E.W. Gardner had a second candleworks, on Harbor View Way, which is today a children's park.

There are five wharves in Nantucket still used today: Steamboat (New North), Old North, Straight, Old South, and Commercial (Stevens 1936:183). Steamboat Wharf was once home to Adam's Yard, and at one point had an 18<sup>th</sup> century try-works. Below is a chart of the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century resources once present (Table 17).

Table 17. Nantucket Industrial Resources by Wharf, c. 1850 (Walling 1858).

	<b>Commercial Wharf</b>	<b>Old South Wharf</b>	<b>Straight Wharf</b>	<b>Old North Wharf</b>	<b>Steamboat (North Wharf)</b>	<b>Washington Street</b>	<b>South Beach Street</b>
Blacksmith		5			1		
Blockmaker		1					
Dry Goods							
Cooper						3	
Boatbuilder				1		2	1
Ropewalks		1					
Lumber	1	1					
Rigging Loft		1					
Carpenter				1	1		
Ship Chandler			2				
Candle/Oil Manufactory	1					5	5

**Residential Resources:**

One of the most notable features of the landscape of Nantucket is the more than 800 preserved historic houses (Grant 2011:390; Jehle 1996:1). Nantucket has maintained the largest concentration of pre-American Civil War houses anywhere in the country (Williams 1977:70).

Table 18; Figure 29 show 95 residential examples directly related to the whaling industry.

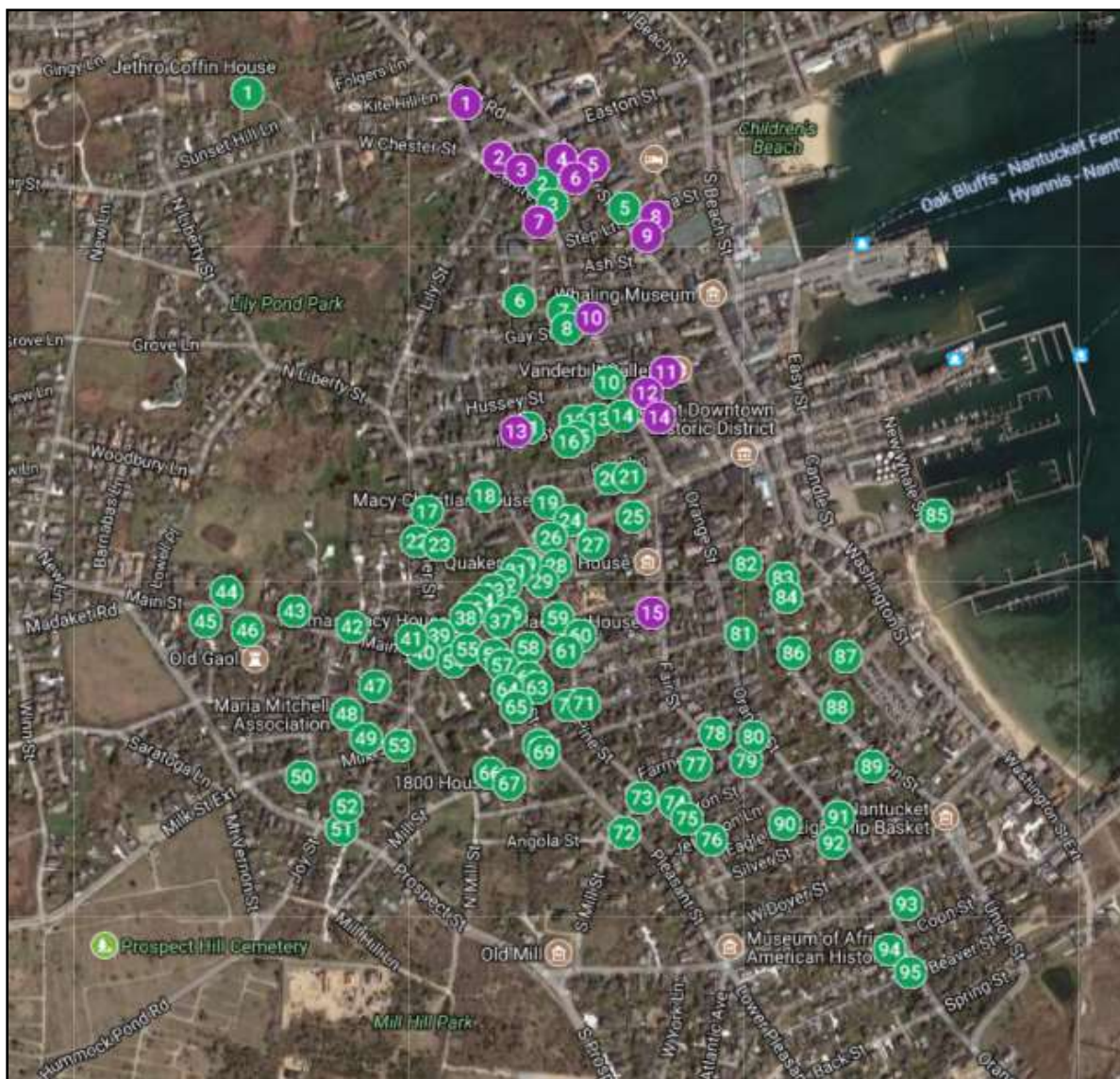


Figure 29. Nantucket Residential (green) and Mansion Inns (purple) Resources.

Table 18. Nantucket Residential (green) and Mansion Inns (purple) Resources.

#	Nantucket Residential Resources	Address
1	Jethro Coffin, 1686	16 Sunset Hill
2	Janet Coffin and James Coffin 1780	57 Centre Street
3	Whaling Captain David N. Edwards 1842	53 Centre Street
4	Anchor Inn (Archelaus Hammond) 1806 and Plaque	66 Centre Street
5	William Watson	15 North Water Street
6	Alexander D. Bunker	8 Academy Lane
7	Margaret Coffin, 1820	54 Centre Street
8	Joshua Coffin	52 Centre Street
9	Jared Coffin, 1845	29 Broad Street
10	Valentine Swain, 1847	36 Centre Street
11	Captain Albert Wood, 1795	29 India Street
12	Joseph Winslow and Merchant Zacchaeus Hussey, 1809	19 India Street
13	Mariner William Stubbs, 1800	15 India Street
14	Mariner's House, rebuilt c. 1847	30 Centre Street
15	Mariner Silas Paddock, 1767	18 India Street
16	Robert Inott	20 India Street
17	Josiah Gardner, 1775	28 Liberty Street
18	Fosdick-Calder	27 Liberty Street
19	Macy-Christian	12 Liberty Street
20	Paul West	5 Liberty Street
21	Benjamin Barney	1 Liberty Street
22	Master Mariner Rueben T. Coffin, 1831	16 Gardner Street
23	Gideon Folger, 1807 (partial stake in <i>Essex</i> )	15 Gardner Street
24	John Shaw	77 Main Street
25	John W. Barrett	72 Main Street
26	Christopher Burdick	81 Main Street
27	Charles G. Coffin	78 Main Street
28	Joseph Swain, 1762	84 Main Street
29	Mainstay Job Coleman. 1830	88 Main Street
30	Sarah Gardner Clark, 1830	87 Main Street
31	Silvanus Macy	89 Main Street
32	Swift-Calder House (Henry and Mary Coffin Swift), 1820	91 Main Street
33	Joseph Starbuck, 1840s	93 Main Street
34	Matthew Starbuck	95 Main Street

35	Starbuck, 1840	97 Main Street
36	Hadwen-Wright, 1847	94 Main Street
37	Hadwen House	96 Main Street
38	Swain-Macy, (Thomas Macy), 1770	99 Main Street
39	Starbuck, 1690	105 Main Street
40	Rueben Joy	107 Main Street
41	Robert McCleave	109 Main Street
42	Ropemaker Edward Cary Jr., 1793	117 Main Street
43	John Folger II, 1800	127 Main Street
44	Richard Gardner, 1688	139 Main Street
45	William Gayer Coffin, 1822	144 Main Street
46	William B Coffin, 1806	138 Main Street
47	Maria Mitchell Hinchman	7 Milk Street
48	Maria Mitchell Association	4 Vestal Street
49	Joseph Starbuck	11 Milk Street
50	Isiah Folger	26 Milk Street
53	Captain David Myrick, 1750	14 Milk Street
51	Rescom Palmer, 1809	9 New Mill Street
52	Whaleship Captain Aaron Palmer, 1820	7 New Mill Street
54	James Bunker	102 Main Street
55	Joseph Mitchell	100 Main Street
56	William Crosby	1 Pleasant Street
57	James A. Folger	3 Pleasant Street
58	Phillip Macy	7 Summer Street
59	Peleg Bunker	4 Traders Lane
60	Paul Pinkham	8 Pine Street
61	Zenas Coffin	9 Pine Street
62	Captain Latham Gardner, 1806	6 Pleasant Street
63	Molly Starbuck	8 Pleasant Street
64	Isaac Macy, 1822	7 Pleasant Street
65	Master Mariner David Paddock, 1841	9 Pleasant Street
66	Boatbuilder Charles Folger, 1801	5 Mill Street
67	1800 House	4 Mill Street
68	Obed Macy	15 Pleasant Street
69	Peter Macy	17 Pleasant Street
70	Widow Lydia Baker, 1834 and Elizabeth Coffin, 1865	17 Pine Street

71	Cordwainer Isiah Coffin, 1794	18 Pine Street
72	Cyrus Hussey	25 Pleasant Street
73	Henry Folger	31 Pine Street
74	Samuel H. Woodward (built for Thomas B. Swain, 1837)	36 Pine Street
75	Blacksmith William Hart, 1820	38 Pine Street
76	Master Mariner George Allen, 1837	42 Pine Street
77	Boatbuilder James T. Eldridge, 1820	2 Farmer Street
78	Seth Pinkham	40 Fair Street
79	Shipwright Benjamin Austin and Yeoman Jonathan Coffin, 1797	46 Fair Street
80	Mariner John Barnard Orpin and Sylvanus Gardner, 1796	49 Orange Street
81	Benjamin Tupper	28 Orange Street
82	Captain Levi Starbuck, 1838	14 Orange Street
83	Mariner Jonathan C. Briggs, 1800	16 Union Street
84	William Coffin	18 Union Street
85	Boatbuilder Barzillai, 1856	foot of NT Boat Basin
86	Mariner James Gardner, 1754	24 Union Street
87	Blacksmith Gershom Drew, 1804	30 Union Street
88	William Coffin II, 1786	32 Union Street
89	Mariner David Worth, 1805	41 Union Street
90	Ship Master Obed Luce Jr, 1832	61 Fair Street
91	Mariner Thomas Ray, 1800	56 Orange Street
92	Blacksmith Nathaniel Atwood, 1822	71 Orange Street
93	Mariner George C. Chase, 1837	80 Orange Street
94	Master Mariner Captain Charles Veeder, 1837	91 Orange Street
95	Master Isaac G. Swain, 1840s	99 Orange Street

Greek Revival architecture is well represented such as two brick houses on Main Street belonging to Charles and Henry Coffin (Stackpole 1973:320). Archaelus Hammond had an 1802 house on Centre Street which is now Anchor Inn Bed and Breakfast (Stackpole 1973:355). Captain Silas Jones built the first brick house on Nantucket, located on Orange Street (Stackpole 1973:355). The Macy-Christian House was built in 1745 and donated to the Nantucket Historical Association by George and Ruth Christian in 1969, fully furnished with colonial antiques. The

Thomas Macy House was built in 1770 and expanded in 1834. It was donated by Oswald A. and Sallie Gail Harris Tupancy in 1987 as one of the finest examples of the island's Federalist architecture. This style was popular from the end of the American Revolution, until the start of the Golden era of whaling (1820s) and typically appears as a box shaped building with a symmetrical façade and a centered gabled roof. They typically have clapboard or brick siding.

Nantucket homes cover a diversity of styles from the 17<sup>th</sup> century through the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (Appendix D.5). Many of these homes exhibit the 'Widow Walks' or 'Nantucket Walk', used more often by old whaling captains to get the feeling of going aloft, according to Tarbell (1934:132). The reality is that these features were built as "roof walks" to store sand in the case of chimney fire. While not characteristic of anywhere in particular, wealthy people often built their homes to occupy hills, because they are not only warmer, but also have a better view (Burke 1996:199). The houses in Nantucket are no exception, with much of the community built on a modest slope toward the waterfront.

Nantucket oil had made the Industrial Revolution possible, but due to Nantucket men never being at home, it passed right by the island (Mawer 1999:xii; Olly 2013:66). It was the depression between the end of the industry and the rise of tourism that protected the island from the construction of large factories (Stevens 1936:152). Instead, Islanders began advertising whaling mansions as inns and hotels (Table 19).

Table 19. Nantucket Whaling Mansion Inns (purple).

#	Whaling Mansion Inns	Address
1	Century House	10 Cliff Road
2	Centerboard Inn	8 Chester Street
3	Martin House Inn	61 Centre Street
4	Carlisle House Inn	26 North Water Street
5	Merchant John Elkins, 1793	23 North Water Street

6	Trader Benjamin Folger, 1770	24 North Water Street
7	Anchor Inn (Archaelus Hammond House)	66 Centre Street
8	Seven Seas Inn	7 Sea Street
9	Brass Lantern Inn	11 North Water Street
10	Jared Coffin House	28 Broad Street
11	Hawthorne House	2 Chestnut Street
12	The Robert's Collection	11 India Street
13	Summer House Inn	31 India Street
14	Cliff Lodge B&B	9 India Street
15	Ship's Inn (Lucretia Mott's House)	13 Fair Street

### **New Bedford, MA**

New Bedford has conquered interpretation on a number of fronts. Indoor interpretation is encompassed in two buildings: The New Bedford Whaling Museum and the National Parks Service Visitor Center. New Bedford also has interpretive resources in two Parks, Paul Cuffe Park and Buttonwood park and there are more than 40 outdoor interpretive resources scattered about the city (Table 20) with 26 incorporated into a walking tour (Table 21), six in another.

New Bedford has substantially more commercial and industrial resources than any other whaling community due to its ideal geographic position attracting whaling wealth from elsewhere. This research found New Bedford had at least two ropewalks, three countinghouse, seven ship chandleries, six ship carpenters, five ship caulkers, 12 blacksmiths, 2 coppersmiths, 11 shipwrights/shipsmiths, six sail makers, one hoop makers, 19 candle houses/oil refineries, 17 cooperages, five corset makers, two boatbuilders, two mast and spar makers, two whaling gun manufactures, and two ship joiners spread across the vicinity of 18 historic wharves.

#### ***Interpretive Resources:***

The primary interpretive building is the New Bedford Whaling Museum, which is impressive in its presentation of diversity. It is the only whaling museum that not only tells the



complete story of the industry but also shares the Indigenous story of the many points of contact created during the Yankee whaling era. These include exhibits of the Azores, Cape Verde, South America, California, Japan, the Arctic, and more. The museum also sets the scene of domesticity with a large room dedicated to the Yankee women and exhibiting a portrait of Elizabeth Rotch.

The National Parks Service carries on the theme of diversity in a much smaller museum/visitor center (Table 22). There are two main exhibit rooms and a theater room down a long hallway. The rooms include enlarged images of minority dominant crews in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, centered around a ship model, as well as a room centered upon the different communities of diversity contrasting the traditional Yankee whaling scene. The movie playing in the theater also reflected as much.

NPS also offers a six-stop walking tour led by a guide (Figure 97). The walk begins at the NPS visitor center, and includes Rodman's candleworks, the Double Bank, the sundial building, Paul Cuffe Park, and the Seaman's Bethel and Mariner's Home. The Seaman's Bethel and Mariner's Home, built in 1831, commemorates the dead whalemens of the city through memorial stones (Creighton 1995:63; Hawthorne 1916:208) (Appendix E.3). It stands high above the neighboring building upon a little knoll (Verrill 1916:1, 8). A tablet, with the names of all the men who lost their lives, sits on Johnny Cake Hill at the Whalemens's Chapel (SSTC 1915:25).

NPS further offers two separate tours of New Bedford's residential architecture. "Behind the Mansions" represents 17 of the best houses, as well as a church, and a firehouse (Figure 45). The other is a mostly residential tour containing 50 stops and representing a more diverse sample (Table 28; Figure 46). Table 20 is a list of all 41 outdoor form of interpretation and are discussed in their respective sections.

Table 20. New Bedford Interpretive Resources (orange).

#	Interpretation	Address
1	New Bedford Public Library (Harpooner and Temple statues)	613 Pleasant Street
2	Angry Harpooner, 1913 Statue	613 Pleasant Street
3	Lewis Temple, 1987 Statue	613 Pleasant Street
4	Bourne Warehouse and Countinghouse	47 North 2nd Street
5	"Wealth with a Conscience"	50 North 2nd Street
6	Art Walk #1 "Widow's Walk"	Elm Street/JFK Memorial Highway
7	"Civil War's First Black Regiment" and "Heroes of Fort Wagner" (not whaling)	c. 50 William Street
8	U.S. Customs and Border Protection - Plymouth/New Bedford Port of Entry	37 North 2nd Street
9	"Signs of the Times" - The Old Bank (people of moderate means) and "Trading Places" in Market Square	37 North 2nd Street
10	Plaque for original location of Mariner's Home	47 North 2nd Street #3
11	"Change of Address" (Andrew Robeson, 1821)	32 William Street
12	New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park	33 William Street
13	Rodman's Candleworks	72 North Water Street
14	"Seeing Double" (Merchant's Bank and Mechanic's Bank)	c. 12 William Street
15	"Preserving Whaling's Legacy" (Yankee Whaling Scene)	c. 18 Johnny Cake Hill
16	Whalemen's Shipping List	17 Johnny Cake Hill
17	"Home Away from Sea" (daughter of William Rotch Jr. donated in 1850)	17 Johnny Cake Hill
18	Seamans' Bethel (Melville's Pulpit and Pew)	15 Johnny Cake Hill
19	"Saving Mariner's Souls Sign" and Lost Whalemen plaque on boulder monument	15 Johnny Cake Hill
20	New Bedford Whaling Museum	18 Johnny Cake Hill
21	"Utility of Elegance" (oldest whaling street)	North Water/Centre Street
22	Dartmouth Historical Plaque (1767 Dartmouth Built by Francis Rotch)	13 Centre Street
23	#18 of Art Walk "New Bedford Rising" by Eric Lintel	Centre Street/Front Street
24	New Bedford Harbor Development Commission (HDC) - Visitor Center	52 Fisherman's Wharf
25	"Working Waterfront"	52 Fisherman's Wharf
26	"Whaling Capitol"	52 Fisherman's Wharf
27	"From Whales to Flatfish and Scallops" (variety of fishing immigrants)	c. 52 Fisherman's Wharf
28	McCullough Building, 1830 Ship Chandlery and Warehouse - with plaque	98 Front Street

29	"Dependent on Sails"	North Water Street/Rose Alley
30	Paul Cuffee Park	Johnny Cake Hill/Union Street
31	"Captain Paul Cuffe" and "Captain Paul Cuffe Compass"	Johnny Cake Hill/Union Street
32	"Making Room" (for Yankee farm boys, Portuguese Islanders, and Wampanoag Indians)	1 Johnny Cake Hill
33	"Captain Paul Cuffe" and "Trial by Fire"	Johnny Cake Hill/Union Street
34	"Crossroads of Whaling" (Four Corners)	16 South Water Street
35	"From Whales to Bales" (Pre-Civil War whaling; post war cotton textiles)	Union Street/MacArthur Drive
36	"Commonwealth of Toil: Longshoreman's Union" (20th century Cape Verdean and Portuguese Shore-laborers' Union)	Union Street/MacArthur Drive
37	"Ernestina's Many Lives" and USS Constitution Monument	c. 211 MacArthur Drive
38	"From Cape Verde to New Bedford" (late Portuguese Immigration and Ernestina's role)	c. 211 MacArthur Drive
39	Whaling's Final Days"	c. 211 MacArthur Drive
40	"Merrill's Wharf" (Edward Merrill's Whaling Wharf)	c. 211 MacArthur Drive
41	The Whalers and their Successors, the Manufacturers Monument	Buttonwood Park

With a few exceptions, the signs installed for the various outdoor interpretive resources typically come in two sizes (Appendix E.4): two by two foot, or 3,716 square centimeters, and two by two and a half foot, or 4,645 square centimeters. These 26 signs are concentrated in the historic downtown and waterfront areas. Some were generic; others cover the residential and business aspects of the Yankee elite. Various working-class scenes were depicted. There was mention of class divide, wealthy philanthropy, women's roles, general preservation efforts, and Portuguese immigration.

Seeing Double, adjacent to the whaling museum, reflected the extent of class divide with the bank having a separate entrance for the wealthy. Two interpretive signs are located at the intersection of William and North 2<sup>nd</sup> Streets. The one on the southwest corner discusses the Customs House, while the one on the southeast discusses the Robeson House (Appendix E.3).

Three of the four signs in Cuffe Park were specifically dedicated to African/Native American Paul Cuffe. The fourth, “Trial by Fire”, relates to the destruction/preservation of that area. “Merrill’s Wharf” on MacArthur Drive, discusses Edward Merrill and the Yankee scene. These signs, excluding “Trial by Fire” largely are geared toward Elite depictions (Appendix E.4).

“Saving Mariner’s Souls” is also a Yankee theme on Johnny Cake Hill referencing the Seaman’s Bethel. “Home Away From Home” discusses the Mariners Home; “Wealth with a Conscience” discusses Benjamin Rodman’s Home and his philanthropy. “Utility over Elegance” discusses the practical use of the land closes to the wharves, and “Whaling Capital” features a female corset theme with oil casks in the background. “Whales to Bales” discusses the changing economy and the “Ernestina’s Many Lives” further reflects this change with the increasing contribution of the Portuguese immigrants as does “From Cape Verde to New Bedford”. Nine signs are representative of working-class themes and reflect various aspect of the decline of the industry and transition of the wharves. Working class white men make up most of these signs with Portuguese making up most of the minority interpretation. Most of these signs are located closest to the wharves (Appendix E.4).

Table 21. New Bedford Walking Tour in cm.

Name	Square cm	Class	% White Men	White Men in cm	% Minority Men in cm	Minority Men in cm	% White Women	White Women in cm	% Minority Women	Minority Women in cm
"Seeing Double"	3716	Divide	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Change of Address" - Andrew Robeson House	4645	Elite	100	4645	0	0	0	0	0	0

"Customary Duty"	4645	Elite	100	4645	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Captain Paul Cuffe"	3716	Elite	0	0	100	3716	0	0	0	0
"Captain Paul Cuffe"	3716	Elite	0	0	100	3716	0	0	0	0
"Captain Paul Cuffe Compass"	3716	Elite	0	0	100	3716	0	0	0	0
"Merrill's Wharf"	4645	Elite	100	4645	0	0	0	0	0	0
				<b>13935</b>		<b>11148</b>		<b>0</b>		<b>0</b>
"Saving Mariner's Souls"	4645	N/A	100	4645	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Home Away from Home"	4645	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Wealth with a Conscience "	4645	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Trial by Fire"	4645	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Utility of Elegance"	4645	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Whaling Capital"	4645	N/A	0	0	0	0	50	0	50	0
"From Whales to Bales	4645	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Ernestina's Many Lives"	4645	N/A	0	0	100	4645	0	0	0	0
"From Cape Verde to New Bedford"	4645	N/A	0	0	100	4645	0	0	0	0
"Crossroads of Whaling"	3716	N/A	50	1857	0	0	50	1857	0	0
				<b>6502</b>		<b>9290</b>		<b>1857</b>		<b>0</b>
"Making Room"	3716	Working	50	1857	50	1857	0	0	0	0
"Dependent on Sails"	3716	Working	100	3716	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Signs of the Time "	4645	Working	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Trading Places Market Square"	4645	Working	50	2323	0	0	50	2323	0	0
"Working Waterfront"	4645	Working	100	4645	0	0	0	0	0	0

"From Whales to Flatfish and Scallops"	4645	Working	50	2323	0	0	0	0	50	2323
"Whaling's Final Days"	4645	Working	25	1161	75	3484	0	0	0	0
Sign "Commonwealth of Toil"	8361	Working	0	0	100	8361	0	0	0	0
"Preserving Whaling's Legacy"	4645	Working	100	4645	0	0	0	0	0	0
				<b>20670</b>		<b>13702</b>		<b>2323</b>		<b>2323</b>

*Paul Cuffe Park:*

In 2017 a \$300,000 grant, made possible by the Indian Foundation, was used to expand and develop a small lot, once known as Pocket Park, into Cuffe Park (Figure 30). This park, roughly 55 square meters, contains four signs, one dedicated to preservation, and the other three to the legacy of Paul Cuffe. One sign specifically promotes the story of the Cuffe compass, an object that is contained within the museum. This is the final stop on Westport's Paul Cuffe heritage trail and one of several separate interpretation platforms honoring the man who gained the friendship and respect of the Yankee elite decades before his fellow countrymen were released from bondage.



Figure 30. Cuffe Park (Photo by author).

*Art Walk:*

A recent 2015 addition to the waterfront is the Nautical Nuances Art Walk (Wilkinson 2015). It originally consisted of ten pieces of maritime artwork commemorating the nautical legacy of New Bedford's past, but it grew to 18 by 2017. It was designed and organized by Jessica Bergoli, and it is supported by 19 local sponsors. "Oarlock" is the first stop of the exhibit and the only one with a clear interpretable theme applicable to this research (Appendix E.4). This sculpture is symbolic of a simple mechanism utilized by whalers. According to its designer, Mark Phelan, its intent is to symbolize the blue collar working-class of New Bedford (Lawrence 2015:3, 5).

*Statues:*

The most famous monument in New Bedford, built in 1912, was popularly known as the Angry Whalers, or Angry Harpooner. The statue was supposed to represent the Yankee

harpooner of “the early days” of the industry (Olly 2013:73) (Figure 31). It is made of a bronze man and boat protruding from a granite monument (Grasso 2009:27). ‘It is finely conceived, showing the prow of a boat dashing through waves, while a young man stands poised, harpoon in hand, watching his chance to send the iron home.’ A quotation cut on the pedestal from Herman Melville's great whaling story, "Moby Dick," summarizes the whalemens' life: "A dead whale or a stove boat." (Hawthorne 1916:205). This was long said to be the whalemens' battle cry, but it was more likely used for press than by the whalers themselves (Meyer 1976:110).

This sentiment has been reflected repeatedly throughout this evaluation in paintings and monuments, but the evidence has shown a strong attitude for creating a more accurate and inclusive depiction today. The equally impressive statue, dedicated to famous African-American blacksmith Lewis Temple, in 1987, stands at the opposite corner of the New Bedford Library (Figure 33). Mentioned shortly elsewhere, as well as being the final stop on the Cuffe Heritage Trail, in Westport, is the most recent inclusion of Paul Cuffe Park (Appendix E.4). Similar promotions of minority whalemens, like Crispus Atticus, Frederick Douglas, Absalom Boston, and others are also being included in modern interpretation elsewhere. Malloy (1990) is a reference article discussing many such sources.

Buttonwood Park has an impressive statue, as well, and was raised to “The Whalers and their Successors, the Manufacturers.” (Appendix E.4). The statue was built by George Julian Zolnay, for George D. Barnard, in 1914, and was ultimately donated to the city by William W. Crapo (Medeiros 2014:5, 12), and the figures at the base are of the whaler and his wife, with the mechanic at the top. They are finely constructed sculptures (Hawthorne 1916:204-205) that acknowledge women and their role in the whaling community. Although difficult to tell for sure,



the characters all appear to have European features, but they are primarily intended as a general tribute to working-class men and women.

The Lewis Temple Statue (Figure 33) commemorating the African American blacksmith responsible for first forging the toggle design in iron, was not built for another nearly three-quarters of a century and was followed by an increasing interest in promoting the Cuffe story. The Lewis Temple Memorial Park was dedicated, in 1985, as a testament to all minority contributions to the New England whaling industry. Further expanding upon this trend, the Paul Cuffe Memorial Park was dedicated, in 2011, and reopened in 2018. This exhibit is an extension of the Westport Cuffe heritage tour.



Figure 31. Angry Whalemens Statue, 1913: “A Dead Whale or a Stove Boat” (Photo by author).



Figure 32. Barnard Memorial, 1914 - Buttonwood Park Monument (Photo by author).



Figure 33. Lewis Temple (Photo by author).

*New Bedford National Park's Visitor Center:*

The National Parks Service carries on the theme of diversity in a much smaller museum/visitor center (Table 22). The welcome sign, upon entry, provides a map and some images of the key highlights of the National Park Historic District. Moving counterclockwise around the large model whaleship, set at the center of the room, the first displays are equally large, and further introduce keys historic structures remaining in the city's historic downtown area. Most of these information boards reflect the information boards found in the outdoor walking tour. Sections include generic discussions of the Seaman's Bethel, the Mariner's House, the Whaling Museum, and the effort made by the Waterfront Historic League to preserve such buildings (Appendix E.6).

Table 22. New Bedford National Whaling Park Visitor Center.

Name	Square cm	Class	% White Men	White Men in cm	% Minority Men in cm	Minority Men in cm	% White Women	White Women in cm	% Minority Women	Minority Women in cm
Welcome: New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park	11144	N/A	0	11144	0	0	0	0	0	0
				<b>11144</b>		<b>0</b>		<b>0</b>		<b>0</b>
Rotch Jones, Duff Garden Museum info stand	4877	Elite	100	4877	0	0	0	0	0	0
"A City of Refuge"	11144	Elite	0	0	100	11144	0	0	0	0
Frederick Douglass Quote	5574	Elite	0	0	100	5574	0	0	0	0
"House Flags"	3716	Elite	100	3716	0	0	0	0	0	0
				8593		16718		0		0
"Inupiat Heritage Center Barrow, Alaska	9290	Indigenous	0	0	100	9290	0	0	0	0
"Economic Expansion"	9290	Indigenous	0	0	100	9290	0	0	0	0

Indigenous American and Portuguese Whaling	4181	Indigenous	0	0	100	4181	0	0	0	0
				<b>0</b>		<b>22761</b>		<b>0</b>		<b>0</b>
"Seaman's Bethel and Mariner's Home"	11148	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"New Bedford Whaling Museum"	11148	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Schooner Ernestina"	11148	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Whale Oil to Textiles"	3484	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"The Quaker Influence"	3484	N/A	50	1742	50	1742	0	0	0	0
"Rescue of the Waterfront District"	8129	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
				<b>1742</b>		<b>1742</b>		<b>0</b>		<b>0</b>
Waterfront Historic Area League"	9290	Working	50	4645	50	4645	0	0	0	0
B+W Photo of Maintaining Ship	2323	Working	0	0	100	2323	0	0	0	0
B+W Photo and Info on Diversity	6968	Working	50	3484	0	0	50	3484	0	0
B+W Photo of Black Whalemen, 1904	20903	Working	0	0	100	20903	0	0	0	0
"The Working Waterfront"	11144	Working	0	0	100	11144	0	0	0	0
"Shoreside Industries"	3484	Working	0	0	100	3484	0	0	0	0
"Northwest Coast of North America"	13936	Working	100	13936	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Communities of Whaling"	13936	Working	0	0	75	10452	0	0	25	3484
"Life in a Port City"	5574	Working	25	1394	25	1394	25	1394	25	1394
"A Sailor's Life for Me"	5574	Working	30	1672	30	1672	10	557	30	1672
"Communities of Whaling" flip board collage	9290	Working	85	7897	15	1394	0	0	0	0
"Communities of Whaling" flip board (back)	9290	Working	10	929	60	5574	10	929	20	1858
"Women in Whaling"	2787	Working	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	2787
"Community Voices"	2787	Working	33	920	66	1840	0	0	0	0
"The Changing Face of New Bedford"	3484	Working	25	871	25	871	25	871	25	871
"The Call of Whaling"	2787	Working	25	697	75	2090	0	0	0	0
Movie Poster "The City that Lit the World"	1858	Working	10	186	90	1672	0	0	0	0
				<b>36631</b>		<b>69458</b>		<b>7235</b>		<b>12066</b>

The first three display boards are generic, while the latter features a diverse crew. To the right is a roughly 10-foot-tall black and white photograph from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, featuring a mostly, if not all, minority crew working on a moored ship. Other information board subjects include “A City of Refuge”, themed around Frederick Douglas, a generic introduction of the N.R. listed Schooner *Ernestina*, and “the Working Waterfront”, again featuring mostly minority crew.

The final display in this room is a board of Inupiat whaling scenes in Alaska. Three boards discuss shoreside industries, specifically the working-class, a generic discussion of the transition to textile industries, and the influence that Quakers had on the city of New Bedford. The final interpretive resource is the information stand discussing the Rotch, Jones, Duff mansion and garden, as well as a banner featuring the traditional, white, Yankee whaling scene.

The next room is entirely themed around the different “Communities of Whaling”. Four banners hang above a central cubic exhibit, all of which feature minority whalers and family. The stand in the center of the room features an interactive cubic collage. One side features a single image of an all-white traditional whaling scene (Figure 34), while the other sides feature individual images of minority men and women (Figure 35). “Rescue of the Waterfront” is generically about preservation, and the remainder offer diverse minority-centric interpretation. These include “Life in a Port City”, “A Sailor’s Life for Me”, “Economic Expansion”, “Women in Whaling”, “Community Voices”, “Explore a New Bedford Neighborhood”, “The Changing Faces of New Bedford”, and “The Call of Whaling”. Outside the theater room, is a poster of the movie playing at the time of visit, “The City that Lit the World”, and it features all minority crew. The final interpretive resource in the Visitor Center is the informational board discussing the famous house flags of the New Bedford Whaling Elite.



Figure 34. Communities of Whaling "Yankee" side (Photo by author).



Figure 35. Communities of Whaling 'Diversity' side (Photo by author).

Table 23. New Bedford Whaling Museum Evaluation (Appendix E.5).

New Bedford Whaling Museum										
Name	Square cm	Class	% White Men	White Men in cm	% Minority Men in cm	Minority Men in cm	% White Women	White Women in cm	% Minority Women	Minority Women in cm
Shapiro Gallery-"For the Love of Beauty"	557418	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	557418	0	0
Portrait of Elizabeth Rotch	1806	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	1806	0	0
Nostalgic Captain Painting	5032	Elite	100	5032	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nostalgic Captain Chest	5032	Elite	100	5032	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ashley Clifford Portrait	3097	Elite	100	3097	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ashley Clifford knot display	4645	Elite	90	4181	0	0	10	465	0	0
Portrait of Captain Daniel Borden, 1835	2787	Elite	100	2787	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sarah Briggs Borden Seabury, 1825	2787	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	2787	0	0
Portrait of Sylvia Clapp Perry, 1825	2787	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	2787	0	0
Portrait of John Corey, 1865	2787	Elite	100	2787	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait of Mrs. Corey	2787	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	2787	0	0
"What Did They Do Once They Caught Them"	929	Elite	100	929	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entrance Display-Figurehead of White lady	2323	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	2323	0	0
Old Yankee Captain B+W Image	5574	Elite	100	5574	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait of Captain Caleb Kempton, 1830s	2065	Elite	100	2065	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait of James Townsend, 1830	2065	Elite	100	2065	0	0	0	0	0	0
Captains Desk, Bust, Plaque, Bark <i>Europa</i> , 1811	27871	Elite	100	27871	0	0	0	0	0	0

Misc. Yankee Portrait	4645	Elite	100	4645	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait of Captain Edmund Gardner (1784-1875), 1840	4645	Elite	100	4645	0	0	0	0	0	0
Emily H. Bourne Philanthropy	3097	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	3097	0	0
Brig Kate Cory, 1971	5574	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	5574	0	0
Misc. Yankee Portrait	4645	Elite	100	4645	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Harboring Hope in Old Dartmouth" Figurehead	3097	Elite	100	3097	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Colonization and Immigration" Portrait	4645	Elite	50	2323	0	0	50	2323	0	0
Girl Images and Dolls	4645	Elite	30	1394	0	0	50	2323	20	929
Portrait of William Rotch,	4645	Elite	100	4645	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait Quaker Women	2451	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	2451	0	0
Portrait of Yankee Man	2451	Elite	100	2451	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait of Yankee Women	4645	Elite	100	4645	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait of Yankee Man	4645	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	4645	0	0
"The Paul Cuffe Kitchen" info card	387	Elite	0	0	309 7	387	0	0	0	0
Cuffe Kitchen	92903	Elite	0	0	100	92903	0	0	0	0
Yankee Man	8052	Elite	100	8052	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yankee Man	11148	Elite	100	11148	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portrait of Yankee Women	3097	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	3097	0	0
John Howland	6968	Elite	100	6968	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total Elite</b>				<b>120078</b>		<b>93290</b>		<b>593883</b>		<b>929</b>
<b>(excluding Shapiro Gallery and Cuffe Kitchen)</b>				<b>240156</b>		<b>387</b>		<b>36465</b>		<b>929</b>
Subsistence/ Communal Whaling-Tools	13936	Indigenous	0	0	100	13936	0	0	0	0
"Subsistence Whaling: The Whale in the Inupiat Culture"	139355	Indigenous	0	0	100	139355	0	0	0	0
Subsistence Whaling: How to use a Whale-all of it"	1858	Indigenous	0	0	100	1858	0	0	0	0
"Other Whaling Cultures"	1858	Indigenous	0	0	100	1858	0	0	0	0



Native Northwest Coast Fabric and Canoe model	14465	Indigenous	0	0	100	14465	0	0	0	0
"From Shore Whaling to the Open Seas "What Did They Do Once They Caught Them" 1800	1858	Indigenous	50	929	50	929	0	0	0	0
Azorean Whalemens Gallery	201290	Indigenous	60	120774	40	80516	0	0	0	0
Azorean Whaleboat Gallery Exhibit	14465	Indigenous	50	7433	50	7433	0	0	0	0
"Whaling throughout the Azores"	11148	Indigenous	0	0	100	11148	0	0	0	0
Photo of Portuguese Whaling Crew	1858	Indigenous	0	0	100	1858	0	0	0	0
Azorean Whaling Diorama 1, 1972	2787	Indigenous	0	0	100	2787	0	0	0	0
Azorean Whaling Diorama 2	2787	Indigenous	0	0	100	2787	0	0	0	0
Photo of Portuguese Women and two children	645	Indigenous	0	0	50	323	0	0	50	323
Portuguese Culture in Hawaii	3252	Indigenous	25	813	25	813	25	813	25	813
"Whaling and World Cultures"	23226	Indigenous	0	0	50	11613	0	0	100	11613
Brazil Exhibit Display	23226	Indigenous	0	0	100	23226	0	0	0	0
"One Hundred Year Transformation	3716	Indigenous	50	1858	50	1858	0	0	0	0
"Whalers and Traders of Northwest Coast"	14465	Indigenous	10	1447	90	13379	0	0	0	0
Western Arctic Banner	5574	Indigenous	0	0	100	5574	0	0	0	0
"Western Influence on the Arctic"	5574	Indigenous	0	0	100	5574	0	0	0	0
"American Whalers and Trade with Asia"	13936	Indigenous	20	2787	80	11149	0	0	0	0
Series of 6 Native Landscape Painting	N/A	Indigenous	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portuguese or Asian men hauling blubber on cart	5574	Indigenous	0	0	100	5574	0	0	0	0

Japanese cartoon themed wall painting	18581	Indigenous	66	12263	33	6132	0	0	0	0
5 photos of Japanese women and boats	5574	Indigenous	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	5574
The International Gallery	297290	Indigenous	0	0	50	148645	0	0	50	148645
"Natural Resources"	55742	Indigenous	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Exploration" Native Figurehead	697	Indigenous	0	0	100	697	0	0	0	0
"Chart of the Azores"	14465	Indigenous (modern)	33	4905	33	4905	0	0	33	4905
<b>Total Indigenous</b>				<b>153209</b>		<b>518392</b>		<b>813</b>		<b>171873</b>
<b>Total Indigenous (excluding International Gallery)</b>				<b>153209</b>		<b>369747</b>		<b>813</b>		<b>23228</b>
Technology Changes, New Players	18581	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Faster, Farther, Deadlier - The New Hunt"	92903	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Who were the New Whalers?"	33445	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Quaker Women's Garb	11613	N/A	0	0	0	0	100	11613	0	0
"The Azorean Community in New Bedford"	27871	N/A	0	0	50	13936	50	13936	0	0
Misc. Azorean Exhibit	11148	N/A	20	2231	80	8921	0	0	0	0
"Cape Verdean Maritime Exhibit"	3252	N/A	0	0	100	3252	0	0	0	0
"Why and how are cultures linked"	929	N/A	50	465	50	465	0	0	0	0
"The Atlantic Connection"	14465	N/A	0	0	50	7433	0	0	50	7433
Ernestina Exhibit-S.V.C.V.	66890	N/A	0	0	100	66890	0	0	0	0
"Harboring Hope in Old Dartmouth"	74322	N/A	33	24526	33	24526	33	24526	0	0
"Taxation" A High Price to Pay	55742	N/A	75	41807	25	13936	0	0	0	0

"Colonization and Immigration"	59458	N/A	50	29729	0	0	50	29729	0	0
"The Old Dartmouth Purchase" Quaker Meetings Houses	59458	N/A	80	47588	20	11892	0	0	0	0
Thee Dartmouth Timeline Exhibit	33445	N/A	90	30101	10	3345	0	0	0	0
Exploration"	14465	N/A	90	13379	10	1447	0	0	0	0
"Discovery" A Brave New World" painting and display case	22297	N/A	50	11149	50	11149	0	0	0	0
"Conflict"	16723	N/A	30	5017	20	3345	0	0	50	8362
"Religion"	32516	N/A	80	26013	20	6503	0	0	0	0
"The Reading Hour" 1884	6968	N/A	50	3484	0	0	50	3484	0	0
Yankee Painting of New Bedford	3871	N/A	100	3871	0	0	0	0	0	0
Community Engagement, High School Apprenticeship Program"	16723	N/A	35	5853	15	2508	35	5853	15	2508
<b>Total N/A</b>				<b>245213</b>		<b>179548</b>		<b>89141</b>		<b>18303</b>
"Classic: American Whaleboats"	1858	Worki ng	100	1858	0	0	0	0	0	0
Painting: "The Chase" 1852	1394	Worki ng	100	1394	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Who Went Whaling": Display Board	11148	Worki ng	50	5576	50	5576	0	0	0	0
"Who Went Whaling": harpoon display	74322	Worki ng	100	74322	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Where Did They Go?" 1951-54	91664	Worki ng	50	45832	50	45832	0	0	0	0
"How Did They Hunt Whales"	55742	Worki ng	100	55742	0	0	0	0	0	0
Painting: "The Conflict"	2065	Worki ng	100	2065	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Turtle Catching on Pond" 1813	1445	Worki ng	100	1445	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Arctic Whaling Painting"	3484	Worki ng	100	3484	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Meanwhile in New Bedford" 1920	1858	Worki ng	0	0	100	1858	0	0	0	0

"Go A Whaling I Must" banner	14465	Working	100	14465	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Thar She Blows" banner - double sided, 1925	7432	Working	60	4459	40	2973	0	0	0	0
"Lower Away" banner - double sided, 1925	7432	Working	100	7432	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lower Away wall backdrop and four paintings, 1925	139355	Working	100	139355	0	0	0	0	0	0
"A Dead Whale or a Stove Boat" banner - double sided	7432	Working	100	7432	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Five and Forty More" banner	7432	Working	0	0	100	7432	0	0	0	0
"Five and Forty More" wall back drop	139355	Working	20	27871	80	111444	0	0	0	0
Azorean Whaleman Gallery- banner one	7432	Working	0	0	100	7432	0	0	0	0
Azorean Whaleman Gallery- banner two	7432	Working	0	0	100	7432	0	0	0	0
Whalemen Gallery: Galeria do Baleeiro Acoriano	4181	Working	50	2091	50	2091	0	0	0	0
"The Bark Wanderer" flipbook page	1084	Working	5	54	95	1030	0	0	0	0
First Stop: the Azores	1858	Working	50	929	50	929	0	0	0	0
Cape Verde Whaling Diorama	3484	Working	40	1394	60	2090	0	0	0	0
"California" banner	5574	Working	100	5574	0	0	0	0	0	0
Arctic Whaling Scene - top of series of 6 arctic images	1858	Working	100	1858	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Portuguese Shore Whaling in California"	3716	Working	0	0	100	3716	0	0	0	0
An Arctic Whaling Disaster, ?	16723	Working	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"A Brief History of Whaling" ?	387	Working	100	387	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Whaler's Dream Drawing", 1906	619	Working	100	619	0	0	0	0	0	0
Painting of "A Shoal of Sperm Whale", 1833	619	Working	100	619	0	0	0	0	0	0

Misc. Whaling Painting <sub>s</sub>	1032	Worki ng	100	1032	0	0	0	0	0	0
Painting of Whaling Crew, 1858	1032	Worki ng	83	857	27	279	0	0	0	0
<b>Total Working</b>				<b>408146</b>		<b>200114</b>		<b>0</b>		<b>0</b>

The New Bedford Whaling Museum has an impressive diversity in its presentation which discusses the involvement of virtually every group the whaling fleet came into substantial contact with (Appendix E.5). Exhibits and displays include paintings, backdrops, banners, display cases, figureheads, a half scale model whaling ship, and more encompassed with more than a dozen interpretive rooms and hallways. Ranging in sizes, seen in Table 23, interpretive resources were broken down into 106 interpretable pieces covering three floors. There were four rooms evaluated as entire rooms, rather than individual exhibits, due to sharing a common theme, with the International Gallery having a much looser connection to whaling heritage than the other exhibits.

Thirty-six displays represented the elite class; 26 represented Indigenous depictions; 22 were not applicable to class, and 32 represented working-class themes. While not all the official names, rooms included the main entrance hall, the Shapiro Gallery, and the Wattles Gallery on the first floor, and Pursuit to Preservation, two floors of the *Lagoda* room, an East Asian/Arctic themes exhibit, the International Gallery, Harboring Hope in Old Dartmouth, the founding of Dartmouth room, Cuffe Kitchen, the scrimshaw room, and the Melville room on the second and third floors.

There are two main galleries, on the south side, of the first floor. The first room is the Shapiro Gallery displaying a late Yankee-Victorian scene of feminine domesticity (Figure 36). It features a portrait of Elizabeth Rotch. The Wattles Gallery includes a portrait of a nostalgic sea captain in his attic, above an old sea chest; Clifford W. Ashley's relatively large "Thou Shalt

Not” display, depicting various knots used aboard ship; and a domestic sitting room of a Yankee family with five standard sized Yankee portraits, three of women, and two of men.



Figure 36. Shapiro Gallery (Photo by author).

The first room on the second floor, “Pursuit to Preservation”, is centered around a juvenile skeleton of a sperm whale and whaleboat with a discussion of 19<sup>th</sup> century boatbuilder James Beetle. There are several displays of Indigenous subsistence whaling practices. Two ways to progress from this room offer the option of either the *Lagoda* room, or beginning with the development of the United States, starting with the Quakers at Dartmouth, and their interaction with Native Americans. The *Lagoda* room offers two floors starting with the traditional image of the Yankee story, including figureheads, portraits, paintings, banners, and a desk and bust of Captain Jonathan Bourne. Bourne, an aggressive whaling entrepreneur for more than a half century, owned more whaling ships than any other New Englander, including the *Lagoda* from 1841 to 1886, the half scale replica of which is the center of this exhibit hall. The room’s theme includes various minority groups, introduced in chronological order beginning with African-

American, and progressing to Azorean, Cape Verdean, Brazilian, South Pacific Islander, California whaling, and Arctic Inuit whaling. The Azorean exhibit encompasses most of the eastern half of the first and second floors of the *Lagoda* room, except a Quaker women's garb.

"Harboring Hope in Old Dartmouth" is a timeline which ranges from 1602 to 1827. It shows a range of white monarchs, meetings with Native people, and includes mention of Paul Cuffe. Nye Lubrication is also represented on this floor and began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as a whale oil refinery. In contrast to the elite 19<sup>th</sup> century displays of Yankee domesticity, found on the first floor, was a far more modest, and darker, exhibit of Paul Cuffe's 18<sup>th</sup> century kitchen (Figure 37). It appears gender neutral and includes his smoking pipe, compass, and chair. The scrimshaw room is next to Cuffe's Kitchen and contains a large sample, but a small fraction, of the very large collection held by the museum. Lining the hallway to these rooms, are five Yankee portraits, of three Yankee men and two Yankee-Quaker women. The final whaling room is the Herman Melville room, which features many generic, and several older, maritime revival paintings of traditional Yankee whaling scenes.



Figure 37. Cuffe's Kitchen (Photo by author).

***Commercial/Industrial Resources:***

New Bedford has a more detailed list of maritime sites than other towns (Table 24; Table 25; Table 26; Figure 38; Figure 39; Figure 40; Figure 41). Many of these are historic and presently reused to accommodate the tourist industry. Many others have been redeveloped and absorbed into New Bedford's rapidly emerging modern industrial economy. In all, there are 19 oil and candle manufactories, four ropemakers, three countinghouses, seven ships chandlers, six ship carpenters, five ship caulkers, 12 blacksmiths, two coppersmiths, 11 shipsmiths/shipwrights, six sailmakers, one hoop maker, 17 cooperages, five corset makers, two boatbuilders, two master spar makers, two whaling gun makers, two ships joiners, and four ships riggers, on or near 18 wharves. Many roads still have historic stone paving, and Rose Alley retains evidence of its use in transporting barrels to and from the wharves (Appendix E.3).



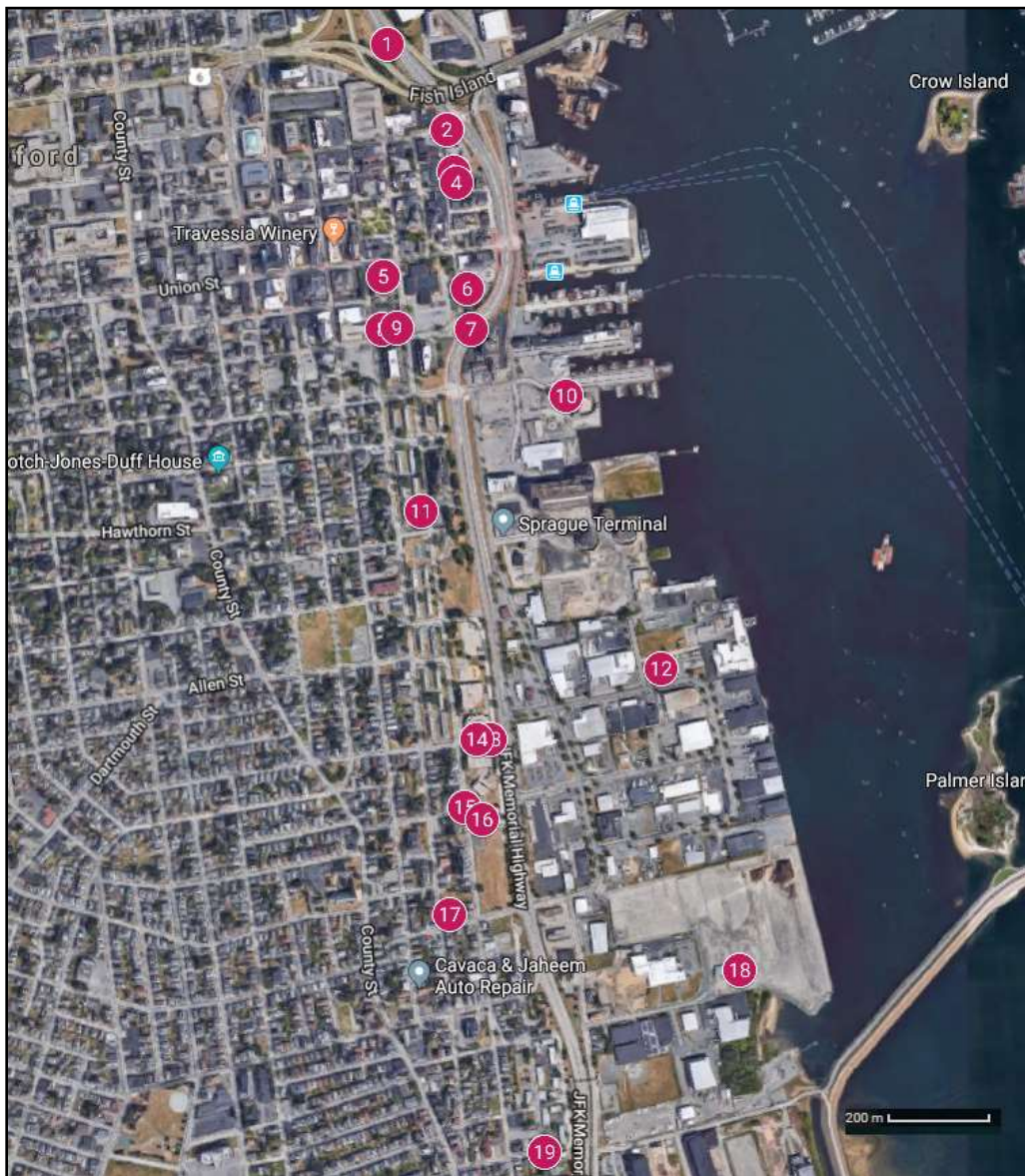


Figure 38. New Bedford Oil and Candle Manufactory Resources (red/crimson).

Table 24. New Bedford Oil and Candle Manufactory Resources (red/crimson).

#	Candleworks and Oil Manufactory	Address
1	Vicinity of George Howland's Candle and Oil Works	122 North 2nd Street
2	Site of Alexander H. Campbell's Candle and Oil Works	104 North Water Street
3	Rodman's Candleworks	72 North Water Street
4	Site of Andrew Robeson's Candle and Oil Works	58 North Water Street
5	M.F. Whitmore Candle and Oil Works	14 South Water Street
6	William A. Robeson and Co. Candle and Oil Works	50 South Water Street
7	site of Charles W. Morgan's Candle and Oil Works	82 South Water Street
8	Isaac Howland Jr. and Co. Candle and Oil Works	71 School Street
9	T.S. and Hathaway's Candle and Oil Works	67 School Street

10	Vicinity of Hathaway and Luce's Candle and Oil Works	Leonard's Wharf
11	Joseph Ricketson's Candle and Oil Works	163 South 2nd Street
12	Vicinity of Hussey and Howland's Candle and Oil Works	Cape Street/Conway Street
13	Rough Vicinity of Lawrence and Grinnell Candle and Oil Works	foot of Grinnell Street
14	Rough Vicinity of Hasting's and Co. Candle and Oil Works	foot of Grinnell Street
15	Vicinity of George Delano and Co. Candle and Oil Works (Appendix E.2)	South Street/South Second Street
16	Site of Baker and Crocker's Candle and Oil Works	56 South Street
17	Vicinity of William T. Russell's Candle and Oil Works	86 Acushnet Avenue
18	Vicinity of N. Leonard and Co. Candle and Oil Works on Rotch's South Wharf (Appendix E.2)	foot of Blackmer Street
19	Very rough vicinity of David Coffin's Candle and Oil Works	South 1st Street

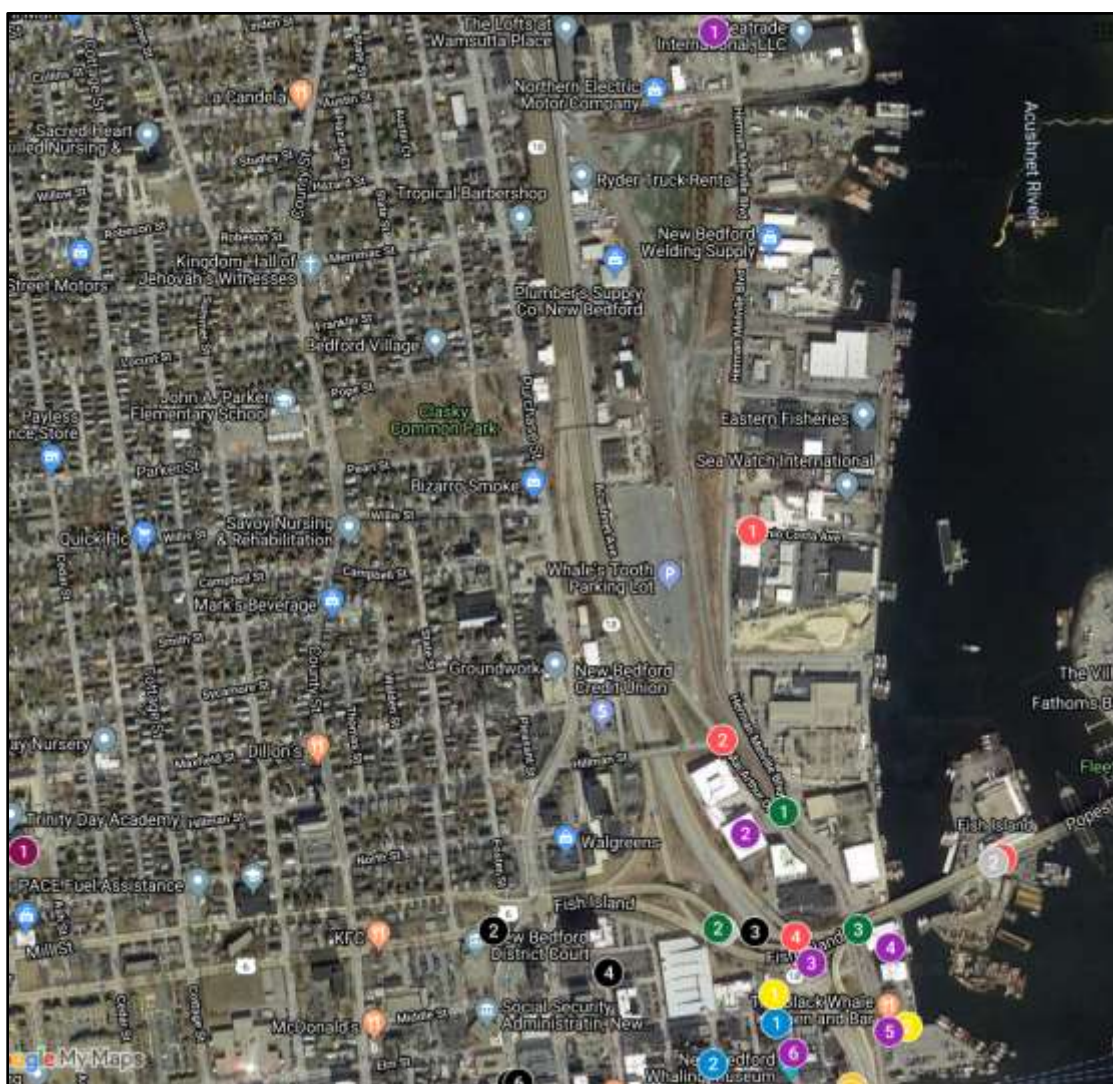


Figure 39. New Bedford Commercial/Industrial Resources - Part 1 (North Half).

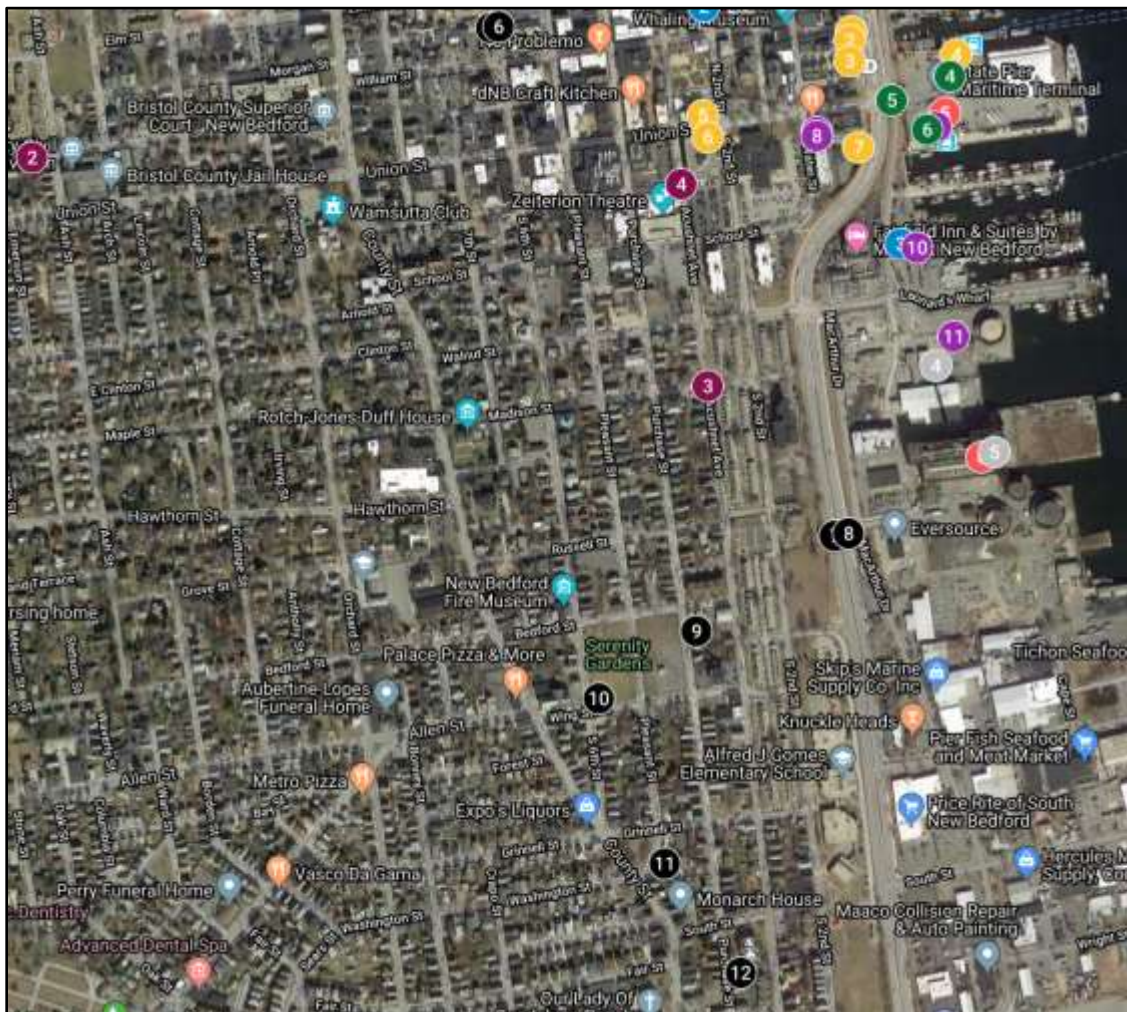


Figure 40. New Bedford Commercial/Industrial Resources - Part 1 (South Half).

Table 25. New Bedford Commercial/Industrial Resources - Part 1.

#	Ropemakers	Address
1	New Bedford Cordage Co. front entrance (North End)	c. 180 Hillman Street/Ash Street
2	New Bedford Cordage Co. (South End) (Appendix E.2)	Ash Street/Court Street
3	Rotch's Ropewalk (North End)	Spring Street/Acushnet Avenue
4	Rotch's Ropewalk (South End)	Madison Street/Acushnet Avenue
	Countinghouses	Address
1	Vicinity of George and Mathew Countinghouse	c. 89 North Water Street
2	Bourne Countinghouse and Warehouse	47 North 2nd Street
3	Bourne Counting	1 Merrill's Wharf
	Ship Chandleries	Address
1	New Bedford Ship Supply Co Inc	108 Front Street
2	McCullough Ship Chandlery; William Watkins Ship Chandlery (Dartmouth Plaque)	13 Centre Street

3	William Brownell Ship Chandlery	4,6,8 Centre Street and 12 Front Street
4	Vicinity of Gordon Taber and Co. Ship Chandlery	Central Wharf
5	Sullings and Kingman Ship Chandlery	123 Union Street
6	Ambrose Vincent Ship Chandlery	120 Union Street
7	Humphrey S. Kirby Ship Chandlery	8 Commercial Street
	<b>Ship Carpenters</b>	<b>Address</b>
1	Vicinity of George Howland's Wharf and Benjamin C. Brown's Ship Carpenter	c. 132 Herman Melville Boulevard
2	Vicinity of Ephraim Chaney Ship Carpenters	Hillman Street/MacArthur Drive
3	Vicinity of William C. Bowen Ship Carpenters	Fish Island
4	Abram Chase Ship Carpenters	150 North Water Street
5	Vicinity of Edwards and Soule Ship Carpenters	State Pier Terminal (South side)
6	Vicinity of John Mashow's Ship Carpenters on Eddy's Wharf	13 Pine Street
	<b>Ship Caulkers</b>	<b>Address</b>
1	Site of George Cannon Ship Caulker	14 North Front Street
2	Vicinity of Daniel Stowell Ship Caulker	Fish Island
3	Site of James W. Drew Ship Caulker	120 North 2nd Street
4	Vicinity of Clement Russel & Co and R. Weekes and Son's Ship Caulkers on City Wharf	35 Homer's Wharf
5	Vicinity of Rueben S. Eldridge Ship Caulker	13 Pine Street
	<b>Blacksmiths</b>	<b>Address</b>
1	Andrew R. Springer Blacksmith	149 Kempton Street
2	Vicinity of James M. Snow Blacksmith	Route 6/Route 18
3	Vicinity of I. King and Son Blacksmith	83 Middle Street
4	Rough Vicinity of J.L. Luce's Blacksmith Shop	Mechanics Lane
5	Rough Vicinity of S.B. Skiff and Co	Mechanics Lane
6	Site of Caswell Brothers Blacksmith	6 Pine Street
7	Site of William Sherman Blacksmith	8 Pine Street
8	Site of Allen and Staples (Lee and Staples) Blacksmiths	400 Purchase Street
9	Site of Chas. L. Garfield Blacksmith	37 Wing Street
10	Site of James M. Tripp Blacksmith	32 Pleasant Street
11	Site of George W. Bennett's Blacksmith	C. 30R North Front Street
12	Site of Lee and Tripp's (Chase and Tripp's Blacksmith	202 Purchase Street
	<b>Coppersmiths</b>	<b>Address</b>
1	Site of Andrew Craigie (Coppersmith)	103 North Water Street
2	Vicinity of Gifford and Allen Coppersmith on Hazard's Wharf	106 MacArthur Drive
	<b>Shipsmith and Shipwrights</b>	<b>Address</b>
1	Site of James Durfee (Whalecraft Manufacturer)	201 North Water Street

2	Site of Sawyer and Read (Whalecraft Manufacturer)	25 North Front Street
3	Vicinity of James M. Snow Shipsmith/wright	NE of JFK Memorial Highway/Elm Street
4	Vicinity of John B. Smith Shipsmith/wright on Parker's Wharf	c. 178 Front Street
5	Vicinity of Peleg Butt's Shipsmith/wright	3 and 5 Hazard Wharf
6	Location of Dartmouth Shipyard	77 North Water Street
7	E.B. and F. Macy Shipsmith/wright	22 South Water Street
8	Vicinity of Henry N. Dean	22 South Water Street
9	Vicinity of Edward and Soule and H.H. Lombard on Commercial Wharf	Cuttyhunk Ferry Pier
10	Vicinity of Dean and Driggs Shipsmith on Merrill's Wharf (now at Mystic Seaport)	1 Merrill's Wharf
11	Vicinity of James Barton whalecraft manufacturer and John W. Howland Shipsmith/wright on City Wharf	35 Homers Wharf
	<b>Sailmakers</b>	<b>Address</b>
1	Vicinity of Hardy Hitch Sailmakers	North Street, corner Water Street
2	John H. Chapman Sailmakers	122 North 2nd Street
3	Vicinity of Job Almy Sailmakers	11 Parker's Block
4	Vicinity of Charles Hitch and Son (Joshua C. Hitch) Sailmakers on Taber's Wharf	State Pier (just North of center)
5	Vicinity of Chapman and Shurtleff Sailmaker	Union Street/Front Street
6	Site of Simpson Hart Sailmakers	33 Commercial Wharf
	<b>Hoop Makers</b>	<b>Address</b>
1	Site of George W. Chase Hoop Maker	16 Purchase Street



Figure 41. New Bedford Commercial/Industrial Resources - Part 2.

Table 26. New Bedford Commercial/Industrial Resources - Part 2.

#	Cooperages	Address
1	Vicinity of William F. Butler Boatbuilders, on Willis Point	Hervey Tichon Avenue
2	Vicinity of Richard Luscomb Cooperage	Hillman Street, near North Water Street
3	Site of Thomas N. Allen Boatbuilders	North Water Street, near North Street
4	Vicinity of William J. Norton Cooperage	North Water Street, foot of North Street
5	Vicinity of John Cranston Boatbuilders on Fish Island	Fish Island
6	Vicinity of Howland and Coggeshall Cooperage	147 North Water Street
7	Vicinity of Nathaniel Adams Cooperage	Front Street, corner of Middle Street
8	Vicinity of John B Smith's Boatbuilders on Parker's Wharf	178 Front Street
9	Site of Alexander G. Myrick Cooperage	115 North Water Street
10	Allan and Whitney Cooperage	17 Hamilton Street
11	Vicinity of Benjamin Baker Jr's. Cooperage	School Street, corner of Front Street
12	Site of Lloyd N. Pierce Cooperage	190 South Water Street
13	Vicinity of Thomas Luce Cooperage on City Wharf	35R Homers Wharf
14	Vicinity of Rufus Randall Cooperage on Eddy's Wharf	16 and 18 Coffin Street
15	Vicinity of Beetle and Gifford Boatbuilders on Eddy's Wharf	c. 13 Pine Street
16	Site of Silvanus Churchill Cooperage	9 Cannon Street
17	Vicinity of William H. Smith Boatbuilders on Atlantic Wharf	foot of Pine Street
#	Corset Makers	Address
1	Jas. Fisher and Co. Corset Makers	143 Union Street
2	Mary Harlow Corset Maker	29 Purchase Street
3	Site of George W. Chace Hoop Iron, Hoop Skirt, and corset maker	16 Purchase Street
4	Site of William O. Woodman Corset Maker	12 Purchase Street
5	Site of William B. Nooning Corset Makers	4 Purchase Street
#	Boatbuilders	Address
1	Vicinity of Allen Bartlett Boatbuilders on City Wharf	c. 35 Homers Wharf
2	Rough Vicinity of James Durfee's Whalecraft	201 North Water Street
#	Mast and Spar Makers	Address
1	Vicinity of Ryder Smith Mast and Sparmakers	152 North Water Street
2	Vicinity of Smith and Allen Mast and Spar Makers nearest Central Wharf	Front Street, 1st building north of Ferry Slip
#	Whaling Gun Manufacturers	Address

1	Rough vicinity of E. Haskell Whaling Gun Manufacturer	Fish Island
2	Vicinity of E.B. Pierce Whaling Gun Manufacturer	6 William Street
#	<b>Ship Joiners</b>	<b>Address</b>
1	Vicinity of Benjamin C. Brown and Co Ship Joiners	c. 40 Melville Boulevard
2	Rough Vicinity of Briggs and Look Ship Joiners	Commercial Street/South Water Street
#	<b>Ship Riggers</b>	<b>Address</b>
1	Vicinity of John Matthew's Ship Riggers on Parker's Wharf	178 Front Street
2	Vicinity of Chapman and Shurtleff Ship Riggers	Union Street, corner of Front Street
3	Vicinity of Cannon and Curtis Ship Riggers on Commercial Wharf	Cuttyhunk Ferry Pier
4	Vicinity of Charles Searell on Walnut Street Wharf	MacArthur Drive/Leonard's Wharf
#	<b>Wharves</b>	<b>Address</b>
1	S. Rodman Wharf	foot of Hillman
2	George Howland's Wharf	c. 40 Herman Melville Boulevard (south side)
3	Robeson's Wharf (Wilcox and Richmond's Wharf)	276 MacArthur Drive (north side)
4	Parker's Wharf	under State Highway Route 6 Bridge
5	Howland's Wharf	foot of Middle Street
6	Hazard's Wharf	101 Co-op Wharf
7	Rotch's Wharf	foot of Hamilton and Rodman streets
8	Central Wharf	foot of Central Street
9	Taber's Wharf	foot of Union Street (north side)
10	Merchant's Wharf	foot of Union Street (south side)
11	Commercial Wharf	foot of Commercial Street
12	Repair Wharf; Steamboat Wharf; Lumber Wharf; Ferry Boat Wharf	foot of School Street
13	Merrill's Wharf (Homer's Wharf)	1 Merrill's Wharf
14	Walnut Street Wharf (Coffin Wharf)	Leonard's Wharf
15	City Wharf	35 Homer's Wharf
16	Eddy's Wharf	Foot of Coffin Street
17	Atlantic Wharf	180R MacArthur Drive
18	Leonard's Wharf	North end of Cape Street (Smoking Rock Point)



New Bedford exhibits every type of feature down Water Street (Allen 1973:98) and Jeffrey Bolster (1973:15) declares that no city has done more to promote their maritime heritage. Much of New Bedford was burnt by the British in 1812, and not long after, in 1815, a gale inflicted even more damage to the waterfront. Fortunately, the city's major periods of economic growth and prosperity began just after this time and having acquired much of the capital resources of Nantucket, New Bedford was afforded better quality buildings and structural materials than elsewhere.



Figure 42. Rodman Candleworks (facing northeast) (Photo by author).

Andrew Rocket bought the Rodman candleworks (Figure 42) for \$1.7 million in 2012, with plans to repair and upgrade it (Urbon 2012:1, 2). The building had been or was subsequently struck by fire in the late 1960s and was scheduled to be demolished when the Waterfront Historic Area League and the Architectural Conservation Trust intervened. The building was restored and reopened in 1979 as office and commercial space (Urbon 2012:6).

The New Bedford Historic District was established in 1971 and totals more than 11 city blocks of almost 20 acres. The district is mostly contained within parts of Acushnet Avenue, Elm, Water, Rodman, Front, Commercial, and Union streets. Twenty buildings, built between

1810 and 1855, are found within this district and are cited as important examples of local architectural types found within New England maritime commercial districts.

At least 19 major candle manufactories and oil refineries operated in New Bedford. Nearly all have been heavily subjected to industrial redevelopment. Most are now residential brick apartment buildings and condos built during the final decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Rotch's late 18<sup>th</sup> century ropewalk was located on Acushnet Avenue, between Spring and Madison Street. It was removed in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century for the construction of numerous residences.

Other important structures include the Sundial building, on the northwest corner of Union and Water Streets; the Marine Bank, built at Second and Union, in 1829; the Double Bank building, at William and Water Streets; the Customs House, at North Second and Williams Streets, in 1834; The Seaman's Bethel also remains and features the whaleboat pulpit that was installed in 1961 after Melville described one in "Moby Dick". It was the 1956 movie, however, that led to the pressure not to disappoint tourists.

For most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century allied businesses covered the wharves of New Bedford, but by 1880 whaling was just about fully consolidated to Merrill's Wharf (Walker 1881). While not all were necessarily used for whaling, 19 wharf locations are included here (Figure 43). Present on the 1881 Walker map is a sperm and whale oil manufactory, Smith and Allen Spar Makers, Coggeshall Block Makers, and J.W. Howland Shipbuilders. Nearly all other wharves accommodated coal, lumber, iron, oil, or gas storage for the railroad, and commercial fishing establishments began occupying buildings east of Water Street along Front and Union streets (See Appendix E.2).

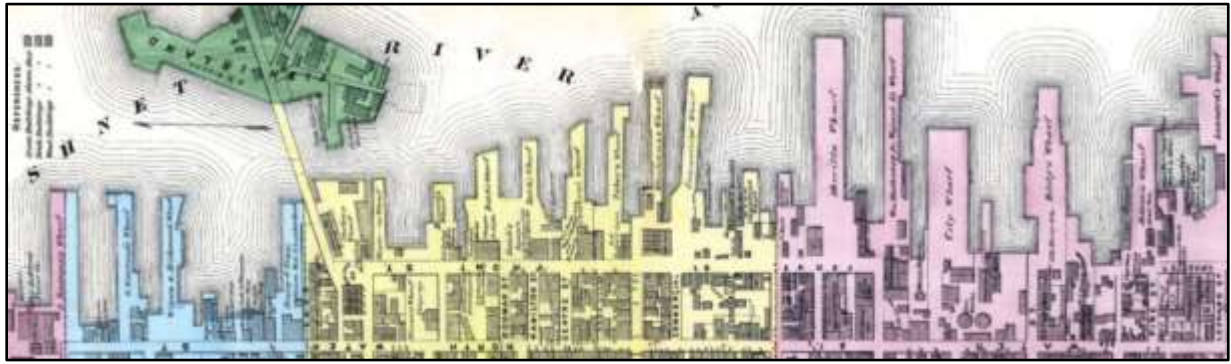


Figure 43. New Bedford Waterfront and Wharves (Beers 1871).

***Residential Resources:***

During the early through mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the majority of the town's elite constructed brick and stone mansions along County Street to oversee their business activities (Arato and Eleeny 1998:21). Notable amongst these are the Benjamin Rodman House, constructed in 1820, on North Second Street and the Rotch, Jones, Duff house on County. A walking tour dedicated to the nicest homes in the community (Figure 45) includes 17 houses, the Fire Museum, and a church. The houses belonged to New Bedford's top whaling merchants and include the whaling names of Rotch, Rodman, Howland, Coffin, Johnson, Smith, and Allen. Lewis Temple's house is also included in this tour.

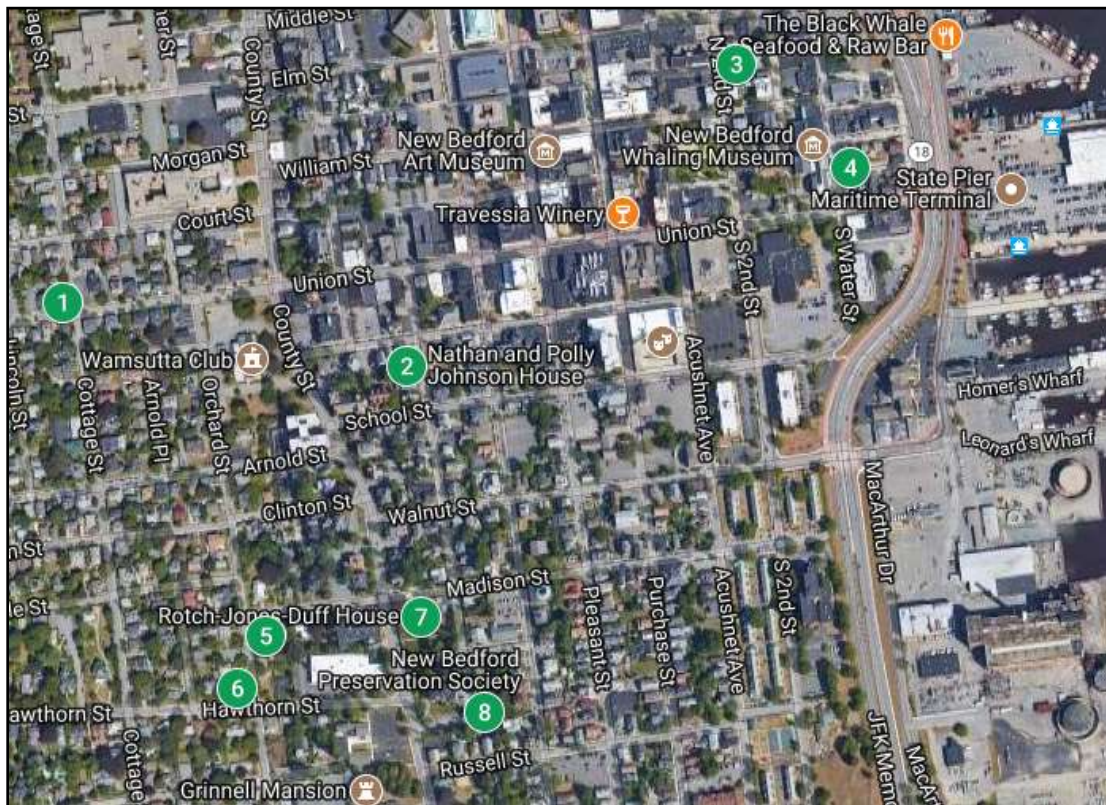


Figure 44. New Bedford Whaling Mansion Inns (green).

Table 27. New Bedford Whaling Inns (green).

#	Whaling Mansion Inns	Address
1	Captain Haskell's Octagon House	347 Union Street
2	Nathan and Polly Johnson House- New Bedford Historical Society	21 7th Street
3	Benjamin Rodman House	50 North 2 <sup>nd</sup> Street
4	Cornelius Howland, 1810 (Appendix E.3)	18 North Water Street
5	Melville House Bedford Museum	100 Madison Street
6	The Orchard Street Manor	139 Orchard Street
7	Rotch Jones Duff House	396 County Street



Figure 45. Behind the Mansions: A New Bedford Neighborhood (nbhistoricalsociety.org).

Aside from the former Captains' mansions, the National Parks Service has selected the 50 best examples of public and private buildings in an architectural walking tour (Table 28; Figure 46). While several more examples of whaling captains' and merchants' homes are included in this tour, most represented are the homes of white middle-class artisans including shipwrights, a blacksmith, a ship's caulker, a cooper, a ship's chandler, tinsmiths, and non-maritime middle-class professionals.

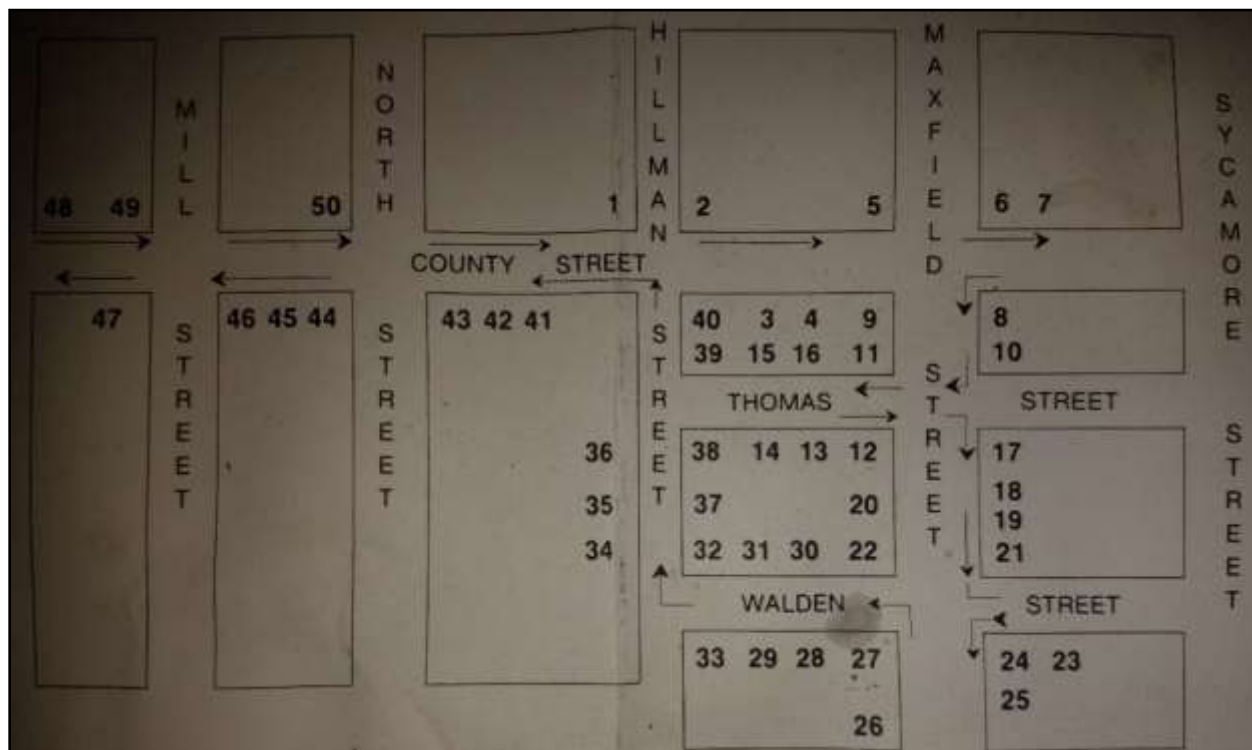


Figure 46. New Bedford Residential Resources (NPS Pamphlet)

Table 28. New Bedford Residential Residences.

#	Building/Residence	Address	Style
1	St. Lawrence Church, 1866	110 Summer Street	English Gothic
2	Fire Station Number 5, 1893	109 Hillman Street	Brick Queen
3	Captain Oliver Price, 1825	578 County Street	Greek Revival
4	Daniel Pease, 1830s	584 County Street	Federal with Greek Revival Influence
5	Oliver P. Brightman, 1869	591 County Street	Eclectic Victorian with Italianate Influence
6	Alice P Adams, 1868	597 County Street	Cubic House with Italianate moldings
7	Mary and Michael F. McCullough, 1873	603 County Street	Italianate or Tuscan Style
8	Lucy M. Brightman, 1916	596 County Street	Neo-Georgian
9	Shipwright Ellery Records, 1833	174 Maxfield Street	Federal with Neo-Georgian Influence
10	Samuel and Calvin Staples, 1830	163 Maxfield Street	Federal with Greek Revival Entry
11	Blacksmith Prince L. Taber, 1840	164 Maxfield Street	Greek Revival
12	Ship caulker George Clark, 1831	64 Thomas Street	Federal Origin with Italianate hood
13	Captain Jabez Perry 1881	62 Thomas Street	Italianate
14	Thomas Kempton, c. 1775	60 Thomas Street	Italianate mask over one of oldest building in city (salt box shape)
15	Susan Almy, pre-1850	59 Thomas Street	Greek Revival with Italianate windows and dormers

16	Shoemaker Thomas R. Bryant, 1832	63 Thomas Street	Cape Cod Style with central gable and Federal Style transom window
17	David B. Pierce, c. 1850s	161 Maxfield Street	Queen Anne upgraded in 1880s
18	David R. Pierce, 1833	157 Maxfield Street	Greek Revival
19	David Briggs, 1833	153 Maxfield Street	Greek Revival
20	Fordyce Dennis Haskell, 1833	154 Maxfield Street	Greek Revival
21	Samuel C. Hunt, 1880s	147 Maxfield Street	Queen Anne
22	Captain Russell Maxfield, 1832	148 Maxfield Street	Federal Style
23	Merchant Thomas Kempton, c. 1820	82 Kempton Street	Greek Revival with Federal influence
24	Shipsmith Thomas Durfee, c. 1840	147 Maxfield Street	Greek Revival
25	Shipsmith Thomas Durfee, c. 1840	139 Maxfield Street	Federal Style
26	Stone Mason Isaac Francis	138 Maxfield Street	Italianate with Gothic Windows
27	Cordwainer Leonard Taber, 1830	72 Walden Street	Cape Cod Cottage
28	Squire Gifford, 1830s	70 Walden Street	Cape Cod Cottage
29	Joshua and Robey T. Snow, 1840s	68 Walden Street	Vernacular form with Italianate trim
30	John Bryant, 1832	69 Walden Street	Greek Revival
31	Obadiah B. Burgess, c. 1835	65 Walden Street	Federal Style
32	Caleb Hathaway, 1832	61 Walden Street	Federal Style
33	Cooper John Walden, 1830	85 Hillman Street	Federal Style
34	Cyrus Bartlett, 1838	92 Hillman Street	Greek Revival
35	Nathan Chase, 1852	94 Hillman Street	Greek Revival
36	Stephen Wood, 1851	100 Hillman Street	Italianate with Greek Revival influence
37	David Isley, 1838	95 Hillman Street	Greek Revival with Italianate influence
38	Caleb G. Shepherd, 1830	97 Hillman Street	Greek Revival
39	Cornelius Burgess, 1851	101 Hillman Street	Cape Cod Style with Federal influence
40	Caleb Bryant, 1833	105 Hillman Street	Federal Style
41	Pharma Bro Charles H. Clark, c. 1850	560 County Street	Italianate
42	John P. Knowles, 1854	556 County Street	Greek Revival with Italianate features
43	John S Wood, 1852	552 County Street	Greek Revival
44	Mary Kempton Taber, 1843	550 County Street	Greek Revival
45	Joseph M. Knowles, 1855	546 County Street	Italianate
46	William Phillips, 1875	542 County Street	Queen Anne
47	1st Christian Christ Scientist, 1915	532 County Street	Neo-Georgian with Gothic Influence
48	1st Presbyterian Church, 1924	519 County Street	Neo-Georgian
49	Charles H. Adams	535 County Street	Classicism
50	Alfred Kempton, cv. 1850s	549 County Street	Italianate Style

**Fairhaven, MA:**

There were three possible sources of interpretation identified in this research, but only one, the fairly small, Fairhaven Tourism Office and Museum, had any active or applicable whaling reference (Table 29). Twenty-seven commercial/industrial sites were identified. Residentially, most houses are not historically promoted, but eight related to key players in the whaling industry were identified, as well as one with an exceptional display of a whaleboat bow protruding from above the front door (Table 29; Figure 47; Appendix F.2).



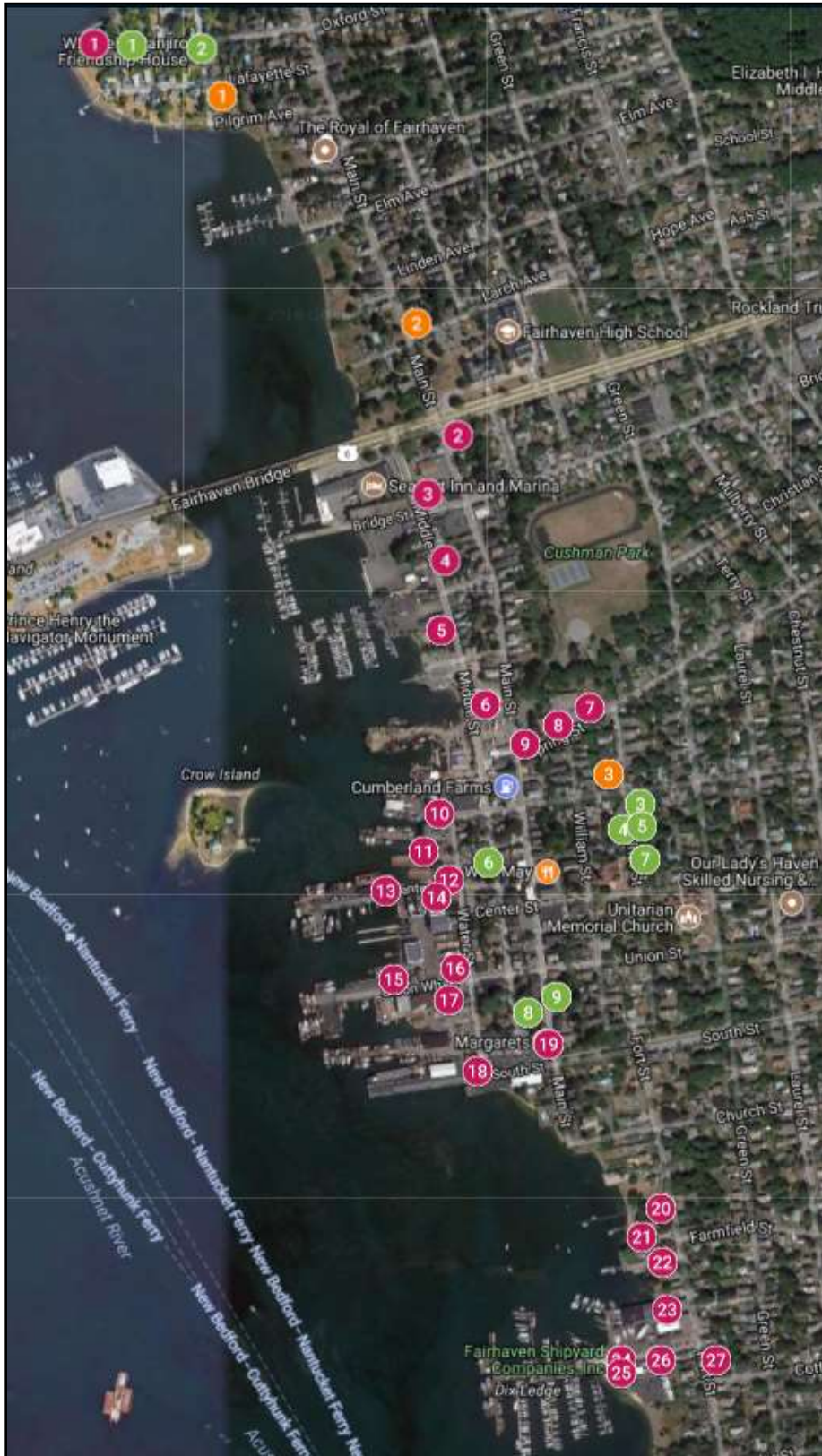


Figure 47. Fairhaven Interpretive (orange), Commercial/Industrial (red/crimson), and Residential (green) Resources.

***Interpretive Resources:***

Table 29. Fairhaven Interpretive Resources (orange).

#	Interpretive Resources	Address
1	Coggeshall Memorial House	Lafayette and Cherry streets
2	Fairhaven Office of Tourism	141 Main Street
3	Northeast Maritime Institute	32 Washington Street

The Coggeshall Memorial House had no active whaling interpretation but was visited due to the name belonging to a major New Bedford and Fairhaven whaling family. It was built by John and Martha Coggeshall in 1908 (Barboza 2017:3). The Fairhaven Office of Tourism (Appendix F.2) had a small heritage display discussing the diversity that whaling and the mills brought to the community (Figure 48). Interpretation at the Northeast Maritime Institute was limited to a harpoon and ship's wheel fence constructed at the entrance (Figure 49).



Figure 48. Fairhaven's Heritage Display Case (Photo by author).



Figure 49. Northeast Maritime Institute (photo by Devorah Lynch).

***Commercial/Industrial Resources:***

There were at least eight cooperages in Fairhaven, one of which is still standing. Four block shops, three shipyards, two blacksmiths, and a few stores, were among the industries once present on the five main wharves concentrated downtown (Table 30; Figure 47). Much of this wharf space is still used for shipyard and maritime activities and has not undergone substantial redevelopment. Few of the commercial/industrial maritime businesses remain today, although the waterfront remains under similar maritime usage.

Table 30. Fairhaven Commercial/Industrial Resources (red/crimson).

#	Commercial/Industrial Resources	Address
1	Elnathan Eldridge Store, 1768 (expanded c.1880s)	6 Oxford Street
2	Site of Block Shop	SE corner of Route 6 and Main Street
3	Cooperage	101 Middle Street

4	Site of Cooperage	89 Middle Street
5	Site of Cooperage	78 Middle Street
6	Site of General Store	c. 61 Middle Street
7	Site of Oil House	14 Spring Street
8	Site of Blacksmith	8-10 Spring Street
9	Site of Cooperage	77 Main Street
10	Old North Wharf (Cooperage) (Appendix F.2)	foot of Washington Street
11	Site of Cooperage	Old South Wharf
12	Site of Blacksmith (1870s)	Old South Wharf
13	Old South Wharf (Appendix F.2)	foot of Centre Street
14	Site of Cooperage	Old South Wharf
15	Union Wharf (Appendix F.2)	foot of Union Street
16	Site of Block Shop	Union Wharf
17	Site of Shipyard	Union Wharf
18	Railroad Wharf (Appendix F.2)	foot of South Street
19	Karl's Ship Supply (Appendix F.2)	16 Main Street
20	Site of Boat Shop	foot of Farmfield Street
21	Site of Block Shop	foot of Farmfield Street
22	Site of Shipyard	Paradise Drive
23	Site of Storehouse	50 Fort Street
24	Hodman's Wharf and Shipyard Site	50 Fort Street
25	Site of Block Shop	50 Fort Street
26	Site of Cooperage	50 Fort Street
27	Site of W. Rodman's Candle Works, 1840	39 Fort Street

The earliest preservation efforts came, in 1882, with the village improvement association forming to promote the improvement of properties in the community (Gillingham et al. 1903:29). Henry Huddleston Rogers was the town's largest 19<sup>th</sup> century donor, who made his wealth in the early years of the petroleum industry working for Standard Oil. He also donated the Rogers School building, and with Anne E. Benjamin, Cara Rogers Duff, and Mary Huttleston Rogers, donated the N.R listed Millicent Library in the 1890s (Ellis 1892:394).

In 1916 old candle factories and blacksmith shops were still visible (Verrill 1916:1, 11). Today, Fairhaven acknowledges its preservation efforts through a plaque program, symbolized by a white sail with the name, date, usage (if industrial-commercial), and approximate or known

date of construction for each structure. Fairhaven had a handful of relevant 19<sup>th</sup> century wharves, many which still have historic structures between modern wharf structures. The best example is Hodman's Wharf and shipyard, now the property of Fairhaven Shipyard, which has not been redeveloped (Figure 50).



Figure 50. Fairhaven Shipyard (Photo by author).

### *Residential Resources:*

Table 31. Fairhaven Residential Resources (green).

#	Residential Resources	Address
1	Allen House, 1790	10 Oxford Street
2	Whitfield-Manjiro Friendship	11 Cherry Street
3	Captain Warren Delano, 1833	41 Walnut Street
4	Captain James Henry Smith	38 Walnut Street
5	Delano Homestead B&B	39 Walnut Street
6	Whaleboat Bow House	36 Middle Street
7	Sailmaker Benjamin Taber, 1844	29 Walnut Street
8	Francis Stoddard, 1804	7 Middle Street
9	Thomas Delano, 1798	27 Main Street

Many Captain's homes can still be viewed on Poverty Point, as can Elnathan Eldridge's 1768 store, known as Edgewater since its expansion in the 1870s and 1880s (Appendix F.3). The Allen House and the Whitfield-Manjiro friendship house are on the Point and are advertised in

Fairhaven's current Visitor Guide pamphlet (FHVG 2016). They both have some association with whaling. The Allen house belonged to four generations of boatbuilders, while the Whitfield-Manjiro House belonged to whaling captain, William H. Whitfield, who rescued Nakahama Manjiro, a shipwrecked Japanese fisherman, and brought him back as one of the first Japanese to America (Table 31; Appendix F.3). Manjiro was not, however, a whaler and was therefore excluded from this study.

**Westport, MA:**

Westport's resources are divided here into two sections to reflect the two different periods of settlement for this community. The earlier settlement was at the head and the Westport River, while the latter settlement was location at the point of Westport's peninsula. These independent locations went through different phases of growth and decline. The town does not have a museum, but it does have a small walking tour at the Head, consisting of a mix of eight industrial and residential locations (Table 35; Figure 51; Appendix G.4). With many combined residential and commercial buildings nearest to the point, the Westport Point map shows the 45 southern most properties along Main Street (Table 37; Figure 59).



Figure 51. Head of Westport Interpretive (blue), Commercial/Industrial (red/crimson), and Residential (green) Resources.

***Interpretive Resources:***

Table 32. Head of Westport Walking Tour (blue).

#	Head of Westport Walking Tour	Address
1	Christopher Church House	472 Old County Road
2	Washington Temperance Hall	480 Old County Road
3	Isaac Francis's Blacksmith, later a harness shop, tailor, shoemaker, wheelwright of Wheeler Brown	493 Old County Road
4	Captain John Gifford (Georgian)	498 Old County Road
5	J.L. Anthony's 1870 2nd Empire Home	504 Old County Road
6	Westport Historical Society	25 Drift Road
7	Humphrey Howland Stone House	42 Drift Road - near early shipyard
8	House built by Lemuel Milk and John Avery Parker	497 Old Westport Rd

There were eight resources selected for the walking tour of the head (Table 32). These include the Westport Historical Society (Bell's School), Humphrey Howland's 1830s Stone House, shipbuilder Christopher Church's House, the remains of the Gifford-Kirby Store, Isaac Francis's blacksmith shop, the House built by shipbuilders Lemuel Milk and Avery Parker, the Washington Temperance Hall, Captain John Gifford's Georgian home, and J.L. Anthony's 1870 Second French Empire house (Appendix G.5).



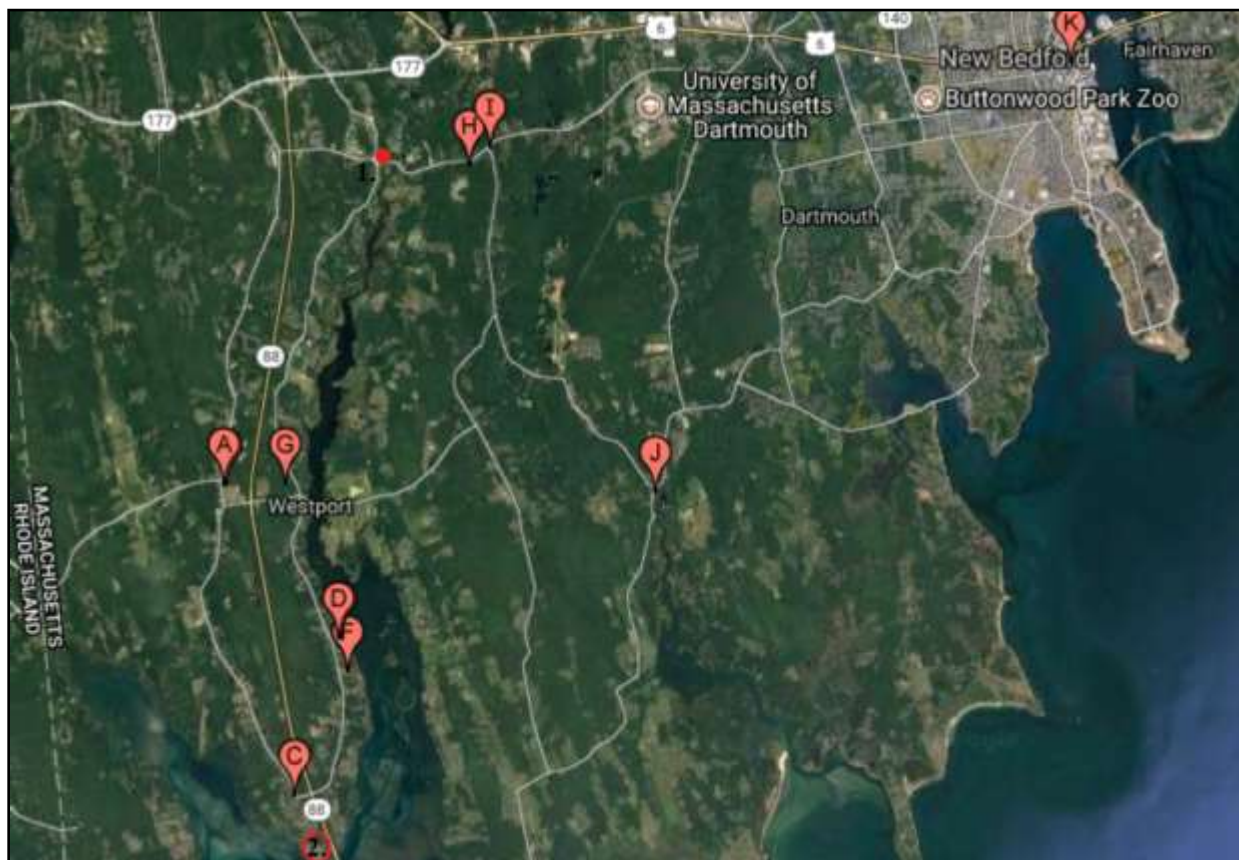


Figure 52. Westport and Paul Cuffe Heritage Tour (Slocum Studio 2017).

Table 33. Cuffe Heritage Tour.

#	Westport and Paul Cuffe Heritage Trail	Address
1	Head of Westport	Head of Westport
2	Westport Point	Westport Point
A+B	Captain Paul Cuffe Memorial, Friends Meeting House, Cuffe Grave site	938 Main Road
C.	Cuffe Windmill	1853 Main Road
D+E.	Cuffe Wharf and Homestead	1430-1436 Drift Road
F.	Wainer Homestead	1511 and 1504 Drift Road
G	Cadman White Handy House	202 Hix Bridge Road
H.	Cuff Slocum Farm	761 Old County Road
I.	Cuffe/Howland Cemetery	665 Old Westport Road
J.	Wainer Early Home site	1228 Russell's Mills Road, Dartmouth
K.	Captain Paul Cuffe Park at NBWM	18 Johnny Cake Hill, New Bedford

The greatest tribute to Paul Cuffe and Westport is based around the third walking tour: the Paul Cuffe Heritage Trail (Table 33; Figure 52). This includes 11 interpretive features in nine stops. There is a Paul Cuffe monument along this path, dedicated 5 June 1913, by the Westport Historical Society (Figure 54) that stand near his burial (Figure 53). This monument stands out as an exception to the traditional revival narrative. The dedication statement reads, “By the erection of this lasting Memorial in honor of the courage, achievements and the life work of Capt. Paul Cuffe, a resident of Westport, Mass., for many years, the donor, a great grandson, hopes to awaken and stimulate energy and ambition in the rising generation of Negro youth, that they may profit thereby.” (WHS 2014:1). An even greater legacy he left behind, was the town’s first school, and the first integrated school in America (WHS 2014:15). This demonstrates the power capital accumulation could have in offsetting racial division, but it is the access to opportunity and the unequal distribution of wealth that create unique situations like 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Westport, whose interpretation is largely centered around minority contributions.



Figure 53. Cuffe Grave Site (Photo by author).



Figure 54. Cuffe Monument (Photo by author).

***Commercial/Industrial Resources:***

Table 34. Head of Westport Commercial/Industrial Resources (red/crimson).

#	Commercial/Industrial Resources	Address
1	Site of Tripp's Mill; Chase's Mill; Rotch's Mill	251 Forge Road
2	Isaac Francis Blacksmith Shop	493 Old County Road - still present
3	site of Avery and Parker Shipyard	289 Old County Road
4	Anthony and Macomber County Store and Post Office (Shorrock Store)	488 Old County Road
5	site of Captain G.H. Macomber Store	480 Old Count Road
6	Gifford-Kirby Store	476 Old County Road
7	1795 structure- 1821 Howland and Peckham Tavern/Inn and Post Office	469 Old County Road
8	Site of blacksmith and associated shipyard vicinity	c. 22 Drift Road
9	Westport Historical Society (Bell School)	42 Drift Road

The Head of Westport has nine commercial/industrial sites, mostly associated with the two shipyards on either side of the Head (Table 34; Appendix G.5). There are nine commercial/industrial sites at the Head. A blacksmith shop (Figure 55), the school, and the Macomber Store are all that remain. There are also nine shipyards (Figure 58), eight on the West bank of the Westport River and one on the right side of the Head (Appendix G.1).



Figure 55. Blacksmith Shop (Photo by author).

***Residential Resources:***

Table 35. Head of Westport Residential Resources (green).

#	Residential Resources	Address
1	Christopher Church	472 Old County Rd
2	Aaron Child's Home 1740 (later T.D. Carr)	17 Drift Road
3	J.L. Anthony's 1870 (2nd Empire)	504 Old County Road
4	House built by Lemuel Milk and John Avery Parker	497 Old County Road
5	William Cornell's Residence	496 Old County Road
6	Humphrey Howland's 1830s Stone House	42 Drift Road
7	Captain R. Crappo and B.P. Lawton's	3 and 5 Drift Road
8	Miss A. Allen House	11 Drift Road
9	Captain John Gifford (Georgian)	498 Old County Rd
10	Charles Chase House (later Tripp's)	15 Drift Road

There are ten historic residences at the Head on Old County and Drift Roads. They are all earlier, less extravagant architectural styles, with the exception of the 1830s stone house of Humphrey Howland (Figure 56) and the 1870s Second French Empire home of J.L. Anthony (Figure 57). The Crappo and Lawton houses are also unique in that they were built only about one foot apart from each other (Appendix G.5).



Figure 56. Howland's Stone House (Photo by author).



Figure 57. J.L. Anthony's Second French Empire home (Photo by author).

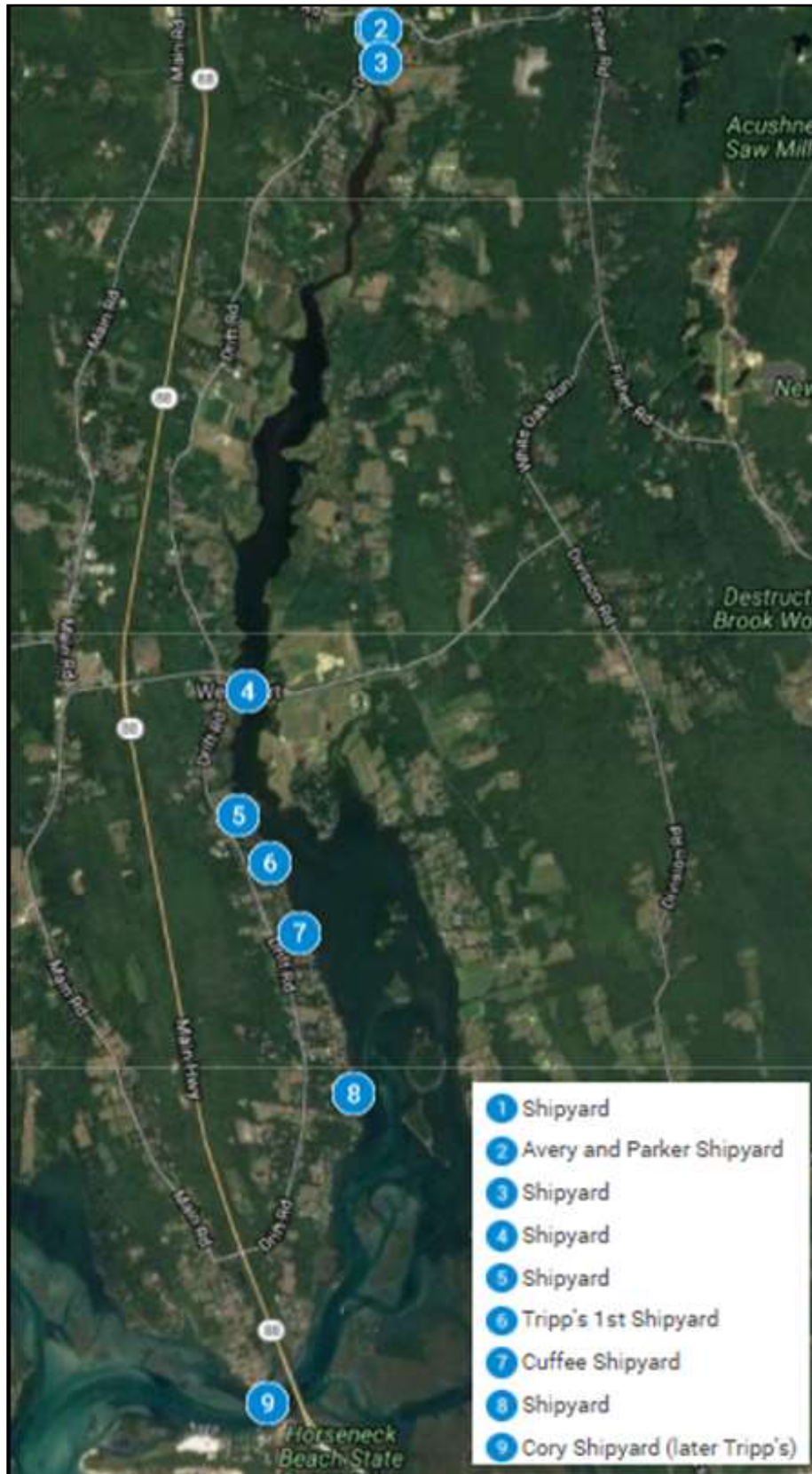


Figure 58. Westport Shipyards (blue).

**Westport Point Interpretive Resources:**

Table 36. Westport Point Walking Tour's Whaling Stops (orange).

#	Westport Point Walking Tour – relevant stops	Address
1	Town Docks	2060s Main Road
2	Lee's Wharf (Mayhew's 1830s wharf), (1880s residence)	2065 Main Road
3	“Westport Mariner’s Lost at Sea” monument and “1787 The Village of Westport Point”, sign	Center of wharf parking lot entrance
9	The Cory Store/ Paquachuck Inn, 1827	2056 Main Road
14	Benjamin Franklin Davis House, 1770s (Distiller)	2048 Main Road
16	Lemuel Bailey Double House, 1777	2044 Main Road
17	Shipbuilder Stephen Davis, 1770-1870 A.H. Cory property	2041 Main Road
25	Kate Cory Grinnell House, c. 1845	2029 Main Road
27	Captain Gideon Davis Jr. 1827	2023 Main Road
29	Captain Thomas Mayhew House, c. 1827	2018 Main Road
34	Captain Christopher Davis House, c. 1815	2001 Main Road
35	Captain Charles Ball House, c. 1840	1998 Main Road
43	Hammond House and Store, 1862	1973 Main Road
44	former site of Gifford Store	1963 Main Road
45	Captain Sowle House, 1840	1950 Main Road
46	George Brightman House, 1790	1933 Main Road

The walking tour at the Point consists of 33 sites, sixteen of which are related to the whaling industry (Table 36). These include Lee’s Wharf (Mayhew’s 1830 wharf), Mariner’s Monument, the Cory Store (1827), the Benjamin Franklin Davis House (1770s), the Lemuel Bailey Double House (1777), Stephen Davis’ house (1770-1870), Kate Cory’s house (c. 1845), Captain Gideon Davis Jr.’s house (1827), Captain Thomas Mayhew’s house (1827), the Captain Christopher Davis House (1815), Captain Charles Ball’s house (c. 1840), the Hammond House and Store (1862), the site of the Gifford Store, the Captain Sowle House (1840), and the George Brightman House (1790).



Figure 59. Westport Point Walking Tour (orange) and Commercial/Industrial/Residential (green) Resources.



There were two potential interpretive resources, not related to the Cuffe Heritage Tour, that were identified in this research, and although relevant for mentioning, they did not have interpretable material and were not recorded for analysis. The first monument is located by the entrance to the parking lot at the tip of the Point, at the base of the flagpole. It is called Mariner's Memorial, and is a stone monument titled, "Westport Mariner's Lost at Sea". Its commemoration is self-evident. The other resource is a historic sign, titled "1787 The Village of Westport Point" and includes a brief historic description of the Point (Appendix G.2).

***Westport Point Commercial/Industrial/Residential Resources:***

Figure 59 shows the 45 closest properties along the Main Road to Westport Point (Table 37; Figure 59). The entire community's GDP was based on whaling for a century, but not every house listed had direct involvement in a maritime trade. Construction started at the southern tip and expanded northward, creating a near perfect architectural timeline for the community's development along the Main Road. Most of the earliest commercial buildings at the tip were also residential in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, but as wealth in the community grew, whaling capitalists began building more stately homes progressively north along Main Street. The Point had a substantial degree of participation in the whaling industry and has undergone very little redevelopment. Overall, Westport has the best historic preservation and archaeological potential of all whaling communities, but offers little in the way of interpretation, aside from the self-paced heritage/walking tour(s).

Table 37. Westport Point Commercial/Industrial/Residential (green and orange)  
(orange are those also included in walking tour).

#	Westport Point	Address
1	small 19th century shed and Plaque	Town Dock (west dock)
2	Lee's Wharf (Thomas Mayhew's 1830s Wharf)	2065 Main Road
3	"Westport Mariner's Lost at Sea" "1787 The Village of Westport Point", monuments	Town Dock (center of parking lot)
4	Leach and Son Marina	2055 Main Road
5	Mid-late 19th century Residence	2058 Main Road
6	1920 Residence	2060 Main Road
7	AB Palmer Harbormaster's Office (early-20th century)	Town Dock (NW corner)
8	Davis-Devol Wharf House, (1790/1840)	2059 Main Road
9	The Paquachuck Inn - The Cory Store	2056 Main Road
10	Garden - former Oil storage space	2054 Main Road
11	1785 Home	2050 Main Road
12	Parking Lot Garage	2049 Main Road
13	A newly shingled House	2047 Main Road
14	Benjamin Franklin Davis House (1770s Distiller)	2048 Main Road
15	1927 Residence	2043 Main Road
16	Lemuel Bailey Double House, 1777	2044 Main Road
17	Shipbuilder Stephen Davis, (1770-1870) - A.H. Cory Property	2041 Main Road
18	Wing Home	2042 Main Road
19	Captain Isaac Cory, Merchant, c.1778 -Howland Cooper Shop #3	2039 Main Road
20	James 1790 House - Howland Cooper #2	2038 Main Road
21	John Wilbour and Mary Head, c. 1776	2037 Main Road
22	Stephen Kirby, 1771 - Howland Cooper Shop #1	2034 Main Road
23	House Carpenter John Head and Elizabeth	2033 Main Road
24	Joseph Devol's 1785 House	2032 Main Road
25	Kate Cory Grinnell House, 1845	2029 Main Road
26	Misc. late historic	2026 Main Road
27	Captain Gideon Davis Jr., 1827	2023 Main Road
28	2019 Main Rd	2019 Main Road
29	Captain Thomas Mayhew House, c. 1827	2018 Main Road
30	2009 Main Rd	2009 Main Road
31	2010 Main Rd	2010 Main Road
32	2008 Main Rd	2008 Main Road
33	2002 Main Rd	2002 Main Road
34	Devol, later Davis's House	2001 Main Road
35	Captain Charles Ball House and Store	1998 Main Road
36	1994 Main Rd	1994 Main Road
37	1990 Main Rd	1990 Main Road

38	1980 Main Rd	1980 Main Road
39	1975 Main Rd	1975 Main Road
40	Post Office	1974 Main Road
41	1971 Main Rd	1971 Main Road
42	1972 Main Rd	1972 Main Road
43	Hammond House and Store	1973 Main Road
44	former site of Gifford Store	1963 Main Road
45	Captain Sowle House, 1840	1950 Main Road
46	George Brightman House, 1790	1933 Main Road

By the beginning of the golden age of whaling (c.1820) Westport Point already had a cluster of sawmills, blacksmiths, coopers, and other associated businesses surrounding the town landing (Barboza 2016:16). Captains began building larger Federal and Georgian style houses along the street, beginning from Gifford’s Gate, up to the current post office location throughout the 1820s and 1830s, and by the 1840s two and three-story Greek Revival houses were becoming popular. This type of “built” environment of neighborly houses, focusing on the common life of the street, “reflected the close relationships of the people who worked together, intermarried, and often worshipped together.” (WHC 2013:5).

The wharves at the Point became the center of life in town (Barboza 2016:19). A building, currently used by George A. Gifford, was owned in 1829 by Isaac Palmer and sold supplies and grog. The upper floor was a sail loft managed by a Mr. Durfee. Palmer also owned a tavern in the house of Clementine F. Sowle (Barboza 2016:20). Thomas Mayhew and George Macomber owned a clothing store and grocer in the lower floor of a building owned by Davis. The sewing and tailoring work was done on the upper floor (Barboza 2106:21). Mayhew’s Federal style house was one of the finest examples of local wealth at the height of the era.

Alexander H. Cory owned an import building on the Point in 1827 (Figure 60). It served as an outfitting store and the town’s post office (Barboza 2016:21). It is better known today as

the Paquachuck Inn. Just south of this Inn, was the former location of Laura's Restaurant, which had been thrown into the river by the 1954 hurricane, along with the bartender and the waitress inside. It was salvaged and used for a house on Drift Road. "Three cooper shops, owned by the Howland brothers, supplied oil casks, which the captains initially filled with provisions for the voyage. One of these shops, lately removed, stood north of Cory's store, and the lot which is now William Rowland's garden was a storage place for casks of oil." (Barboza 2016:22) (Figure 60). On the west side of the Point, Church and Winchester owned a store from which they fitted out many Westport vessels for whaling.



Figure 60. Paquachuck Inn (Cory Store) (right) and former oil storage lot (left) (Google satellite).

There are a handful of late 19<sup>th</sup> century buildings on, or near, the wharf space today, and which are present in the 1900 photo of the Point (Figure 61). The largest building at the southeast tip of the Point, appears to be a mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century maritime industrial shop, possibly a sail and/or rigging loft, associated with Thomas Mayhew's 1830 wharf. It was later dubbed Lee's Wharf by the family who operated the fish market there in the 1930s.



Figure 61. c. 1900 photo of Westport Point, facing north (WHS 2016).

### **Mattapoisett, MA:**

Two historic Inn's, a block shop, blacksmith shop, and a company store were specifically identified, as still being present, with much of the remaining wharf now serving as residential lawn, park, and parking lot. Seventeen commercial or industrial sites were found with seven shipyards identified as being in operation during 19<sup>th</sup> century Mattapoisett. These yards had dozens of corresponding wooden shops and sheds supporting the watercraft construction and outfitting facilities (Table 39; Figure 62; Appendix H.3). The houses of nine key historical figures were also identified (Table 40; Figure 62).

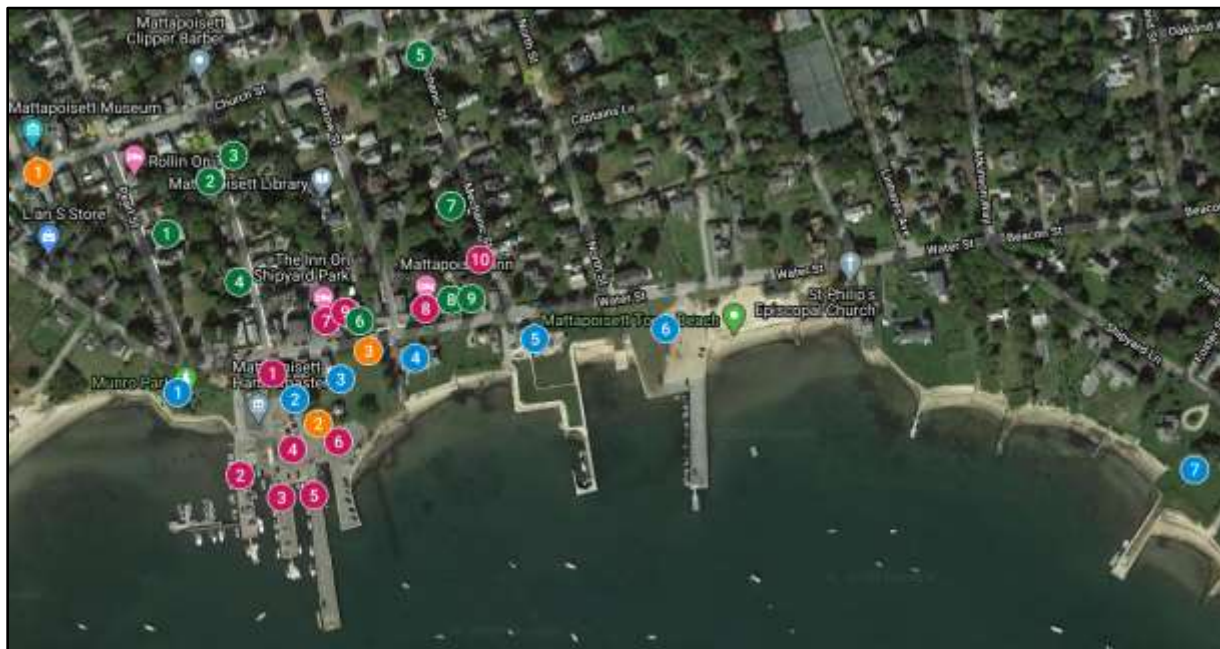


Figure 62. Mattapoisett Interpretive (orange), Commercial/Industrial (red/crimson), Shipyard (blue), and Residential (green) Resources.

***Interpretive Resources:***

Mattapoisett has a small historical society museum that was under renovation during the on-site visits (Figure 63). A few buildings had historical plaques, and there was also an informational sign and a boulder monument located in Shipyard Park (Figure 64)

Table 38. Mattapoisett Interpretive Resources (orange).

	<b>Interpretive Resources</b>	<b>Address</b>
<b>1</b>	Mattapoisett Museum and Carriage House	5 Church Street
<b>2</b>	Mattapoisett Wharves Sign	foot of Cannon Street
<b>3</b>	Shipyard Stone Monument	c. 14 Water Street



Figure 63. Mattapoisett Museum (Photo by author).

The stone monument in Shipyard Park was dedicated in 1976 and commemorates the shipbuilders who built the community (Figure 64). It also acknowledges the importance of three ships to the community. The first is the *Wanderer*, which was featured with the *Morgan* in the black and white movie “Down to Sea in Ships” (Clifton 1922). It was built in this community and was the last sailing ship sent out on a whaling voyage. It also acknowledged the *Platina*, distinguished for capturing a white whale in 1847. Finally, it acknowledges the *Acushnet*, also built in this community and which was the vessel on which Herman Melville based the ship, *Pequod*. Data was not collected from these resources except and acknowledgement of their content and a subjective discussion of their use is promoting tourism. A list of all 138 ships built in Mattapoisett can be found in Appendix H.1 as can all Mattapoisett vessel types and 201 whaling voyages.

Closer to the wharves is a two and a half by two-and-a-half-foot informational board that discusses the key events that involved the four main wharves (Barstow, Middle, Long, and Holmes wharves) at the heart of the community's waterfront (Figure 65).



Figure 64. Mattapoisett Shipyard Monument (Photo by author).



Figure 65. Mattapoisett Wharves (Photo by author).



***Commercial/Industrial Resources:***

Mattapoisett had five wharves used for building and outfitting their vessels as well as two historic inns, a block shop, blacksmith shop, and a company store were also identified (Table 39; Figure 62; Appendix H.2). Seven shipyards were in operation in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and these had dozens of corresponding wooden shops and sheds supporting the watercraft construction and outfitting facilities along the sparsely redeveloped shoreline (Table 39; Figure 62; Appendix H.2).

Table 39. Mattapoisett Commercial/Industrial (red/crimson) and Shipyard (blue) Resources

#	Commercial/Industrial Resources	Address
1	Rogers L. Barstow Company Store	6 Water Street
2	Barstow Wharf (Short Wharf)	foot of Pearl Street
3	Middle Wharf	c. 6 Water Street
4	Mattapoisett Wharf Co	2-12 Water Street
5	Long Wharf	c. 10 Water Street
6	Holmes Wharf	12 Water Street
7	The Inn on Shipyard Park	13 Water Street
8	James and Luce's 1832 Block Shop and plaque	15 Water Street
9	Mattapoisett Inn	23 Water Street
10	Hall Blacksmith Shop	3 Mechanic Street
#	Shipyards	Address
1	Site of Barstow's Yard	Munro Park, foot of Pearl Street
2	Holmes Shipyard - Spa Mairead LLC	8 Water Street
3	Site of Hammond Shipyard	c. 10 Water Street
4	Site of a Shipyard	foot of Barstow Street
5	Site of Meig's Shipyard	foot of Mechanic Street
6	Site of Cannonville Yard of Benjamin Barstow	foot of North Street
7	Site of Cannonville Yard of Ebenezer Cannon	foot of Ship Street



Figure 66. Hall Blacksmith Shop (Photo by author).

**Residential Resources:**

Table 40. Mattapoisett Residential Resources (green).

#	Residential Resources	Address
1	Jesse Hammond	8 Pearl Street
2	Ebenezer Cannon, 1821	13 Cannon Street
3	Caleb Cannon, 1831	18 Cannon Street
4	Nathan Cannon, 1807	5 Cannon Street
5	Ebenezer Cannon Jr. 1826	17 Mechanic Street
6	James and Luce House	17 Water Street
7	Captain James Taber Jr. 1843	7 Mechanic Street
8	Benjamin Barstow	25 Water Street
9	Captain James Snow	27 Water Street

The houses of nine key historical figures were also identified (Table 40; Figure 62; Appendix H.3). Luce and son were block makers and their shop was located next to the house. Taber was a sailmaker while the other seven residences belonged to shipbuilders. All these houses are rather modest, well-kept, homes that were built during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century. They lack the diversity of Greek Revival and Queen Anne seen in other whaling communities that developed a few years after, and for the most part, local houses were built in the Cape Cod, Colonial, and Federal styles.

**New London, CT:**

Fifteen interpretive sites were identified in New London (Table 41; Appendix I.2). Ten key sites from the New London Heritage Trail were relevant to whaling heritage (Table 42). Nine interpretive resources had plaques. Five were representing historic neighborhoods or districts, including the 1842 Haley Houses in the Hempstead District, which stand as a testament to racial diversity. This is contrasted by Whale Oil Row, included in the heritage tour, which displays the finest Greek Revival architecture in the city. Plaques includes Native American

participation as well (Figure 79). There are five resources on New London's Art Walk that were relevant to this topic and how it encourages tourism (Table 43).

There were 16 commercial or industrial sites located, identified by 17 points (Table 44). They were identified from the maps in Appendix I.1 as well as the Boyd 1870, 1872, 1874, 1876, and 1882 directories. These sites included nine wharves (Appendix I.4), a ropewalk location, Lawrence Hall and Lawrence Bank, two ship chandlery sites, Lawrence's office, and an oil manufactory. Basset's shipyard was located on Brown's Wharf and Starr's lumber mill was adjacent. There were also 14 houses that were identified to have specific historic relevance to whaling heritage that are included in Table 45, and these include both the stately Whale Oil Row houses as well as the more modest, but equally significant Haley Houses.

***Interpretive Resources:***

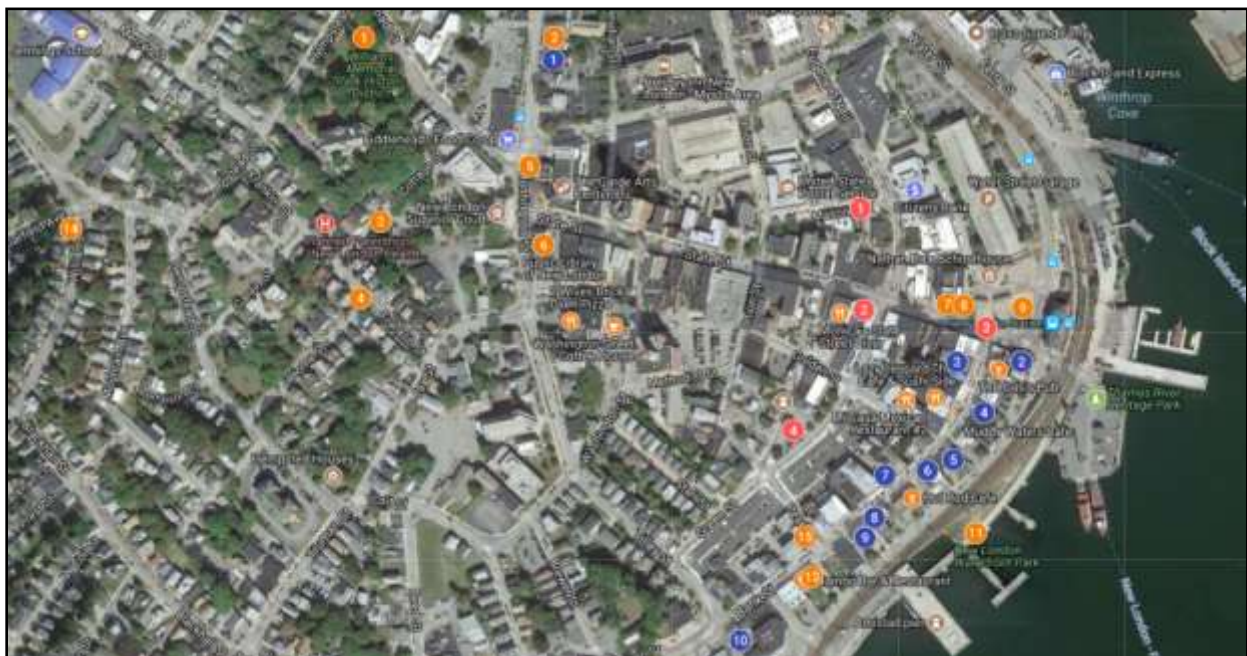


Figure 67. New London Interpretive Resources (Historic Signs, Heritage Tour, Art Walk).

Table 41. New London Interpretive Resources (orange)

#	Interpretative Resources	Address
1	Hempstead Historic Neighborhood: Haley Houses and Racial Diversity, 1842 (5 houses)	c. 50 Williams Street
2	Hempstead Historic Neighborhood: Williams Memorial Park and Hempstead Historic District signs	110 Broad Street
3	Whale Oil Row	105-119 Huntington Street
4	Prospect Hill Historic District	c. 30 Cottage Street
5	Hempstead Historic Neighborhood: Franklin Street (whaling wealth architecture)	c. 26 Franklin Street
6	Post Hill Historic District	83 Huntington Street
7	Public Library of New London and plaque	63 Huntington Street
8	"19th Century Port Plaque and Native America and the Sea" Plaque	62 State Street
9	"Along the shore of New London" Plaque	39 State Street
10	Whale Tail Fountain and Plaque	Water Street/Atlantic Street
11	Perkins and Smith Warehouse and Chandlery and Plaque	2 State Street
12	New London Waterfront Park and plaques	1 Water Street
13	Custom's House Maritime Museum and Plaque	150 Bank Street
14	Jonathan Starr. 1790 with plaque	181 Bank Street
15	Office and Lumber Yard of J. Starr and Plaque	194 Bank Street

Table 42. New London Heritage Trail (blue/purple).

	Heritage Trail	Address
1	Whale Oil Row	105-119 Huntington Street
2	Perkins and Smith Warehouse and Chandlery and Plaque	2 State Street
3	Lawrence Hall	15 Bank Street
4	Whaling Bank of Lawrence Family	42 Bank Street
5	Exchange Building, 1848 for Joseph Lawrence firm	74 Bank Street
6	Darrow and Comstock Ship Chandlery	90 Bank Street
7	Captain Charles Bulkeley House	111 Bank Street
8	Franklin Smith House	138 Bank Street
9	Custom's House Maritime Museum	150 Bank Street
10	Granite Whaling Home and Office of Benjamin Brown, 1833	258 Bank Street

The Heritage Trail follows a path of 30 noteworthy locations within a 26-block downtown area that contains numerous bronze plaques, signifying the structure's or area's historical significance. The Shaw Museum, the base of the New London Historical Society, is

located across the street from Sparyard Street, about 200 feet (61 meters) west of the Benjamin Brown House. The house museum gives little direct interpretation of the whaling industry, despite that being the origin of its wealth. Some of this is displayed through scrimshaw decoration, including piano keys. No interpretive material was present.

Table 43. New London Art Walk (pink/red).

#	Art Walk	Address
1	Early Morning Watch, Cutting-In & aloft	27 Masonic Street
2	Whaling Wall - The Great Sperm Whales	124 State Street
3	Along the shore of New London	39 State Street
4	The Hawaiian Chieftain	96 Green Street
5	oNe pLace many CuLTures (overlaps #7)	111 Bank Street

The New London Art Walk consists of 24 murals now spread across six blocks and include five with reference to whaling (Table 43; Figure 67). A digital tour of them can be found at <https://cameltours.org/catalog>. Most of the murals are not related to whaling, but many still show New London diversity and cultural inclusion. “oNe pLace many CuLTures” (#9) emphasizes the diversity of the community today (Wolcin 2003). Wyland’s “The Great Sperm Whales” (#12) is part of a conservation awareness message discussed elsewhere. “Prehistoric New London” (#15) features a Big Foot standing over two large whales, with a fox in the scene symbolizing the presence of the Native Americans who occupied this land. “The Hawaiian Chieftain” (#16) is local students’ interpretation of a traditional ship image.

The most relevant of these art pieces is the 1938 “Early Morning Watch, Cutting-In, & Aloft” (#22) by Thomas Sergeant LaFarge. LaFarge was born in Paris to French painter parents and was influenced by Herman Melville’s “Moby Dick”. His mural emphasizes the diversity of the whaleship depicting Yankees, African Americans, Native Indians, Portuguese and Pacific Islanders in six separate scenes (LaFarge 1938). “Along the shore of New London” (#23) is a

stained-glass mural that features a whale's tail out of water (Basilica 2010), but there is no real interpretation to this mural, only acknowledgment of the industry's former local importance.



Figure 68. New London Commercial/Industrial (red/crimson) and Residential (green) Resources.

There are two external monuments in New London that relate to whaling. One is a fountain near the intersection of Main and Bank streets with a plaque acknowledging the importance of their whaling history and the push of the modern environmental and conservation

message (Appendix I.2). The second whaling monument is a statue located toward the east end of the Shaw Mansion property. It has a three-foot diameter concrete base, with a try pot, and three harpoons oriented skyward, standing about 10-11 feet (3.5 meters) tall. The sign reads, “Dedicated to the Memory of the Whalemen of the Port of New London” (Figure 69).



Figure 69. Shaw Mansion Whaling Monument (Photo by author).

New London has a variety of additional interpretive resources spread throughout several historic areas. There are three interpretive signs in the Hempstead District, including one for the Haley Houses and one for racial diversity. These signs are discussed subjectively as they relate to promoting tourism. There is a sign in the Prospect Historic District as well as the Post Hill Historic district discussing the area (Appendix I.2).



Figure 70. Native American Connecting to the Sea for Centuries (Photo by author).

**Commercial/Industrial Resources:**

Table 44. New London Commercial/Industrial Resources (red/crimson).

#	Commercial/Industrial Resources	Address
1	Ropewalk - northwest end	c. 50 Washington Street
2	Ropewalk - southeast end	c. 98 Starr Street
3	Ferry Wharf	35 Water Street
4	Lawrence Hall	15 Bank Street
5	Perkin's Wharf	c. 5 Waterfront Park
6	A.&A.M. Frink Wharf #1	16 Bank Street
7	Whaling Bank of Lawrence family	42 Bank Street
8	The Hygienic Gallery (site of 18th century Ship Chandlery)	79 Bank Street
9	W. Coit - New York Steamboat Wharf	c. 74 Bank Street
10	J. Lawrence & Co.	c. 68R Bank Street
11	Darrow and Comstock Chandlery (1876-1920)	90 Bank Street
12	A.&A.M. Frink Wharf #2	114 Bank Street
12	Starr Wharf (office across street)	190 Bank Street
14	Custom's Wharf - Amistad pier	South Water Street
15	Brown's Wharf (Basset's Shipyard)	Sparyard Street
16	JNF Brown Sperm Oil Manufactory	c. 80 Sparyard Street
17	Unknown Wharf	400 Bank Street



Seventeen resources were found to have commercial or industrial significance to the whaling industry (Table 44; Figure 68). Nine wharves were identified during this research, the remains of the main ones can be found in Appendix I.3. Starr Street was once a ropewalk but is now a residential street, and the office and wharf of Jonathan Star were located at the foot (Appendix I.3). Lawrence Hall was among the several buildings and monuments the Lawrence family donated to the community along with the hospital, the bank, and soldier's monument. Joseph Lawrence's firm was located on Bank street, as was Darrow and Comstock's chandlery.

The downtown area of New London is listed on the National Register of historic places for its concentration of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century structures displaying southern New England architecture, at its finest, in a once thriving maritime port. It is an irregular, U-shaped stretch, along the shoreline, which extends west 1,400 feet (427 meters), along Tilley Street in the South, and 2,000 feet (610 meters) west, along Captain's Walk in the North. It encompasses about 60 acres. One hundred and ninety-five, of the 215 sites and structures, contribute to the historic character of the neighborhood (Living Places 2010:1). Many of these structures post-date the whaling industry by a few decades, but most were either built during the height of the whaling era or just after the declining years, using the wealth acquired by the industry's earlier participants.

***Residential Resources:***

Table 45. New London Residential Resources (green).

#	Residential Resources	Address
1	Captain Samuel Green House (c. 1860)	53 Granite Street
2	Henry R. Bond House (1860)	52 Granite Street
3	Williams Barn House	17 Granite Street
4	John O. Arnold (1847)	5 Granite Street
5	Whale Oil Row #1	119 Huntington Street
6	Whale Oil Row #2	111 Huntington Street
7	Whale Oil Row #3	111 Huntington Street

8	Whale Oil Row #4	105 Huntington Street
9	Knowles, 1832	15 Home Street
10	Hempstead 'Haley' Houses	11 Hempstead Street
11	Statue and Historical Society at Shaw Mansion	11 Blinman Street
12	Granite Whaling Home and Office of Benjamin Brown (1833)	258 Bank Street
13	Jonathan Starr, 1790 with Plaque	181 Bank Street
14	Franklin Smith House	138 Bank Street

Fourteen significant whaling era houses were identified, including the four consecutive Greek Revival houses famously known as “Whale Oil Row” (Table 45; Figure 68; Appendix I.3). In 1985 New London began a program to reward owners who restored their houses (NLL 1985:1). A plaque was designed by John Gula, with a whale on a white background (Figure 71), the name of the original owner and the date it was built. Over 400 “whale plaques” have been awarded (NLL 1985:1), many of which have at least some association with whaling wealth, although only the principal houses, with some form of associated acknowledgment or interpretation, are dealt with here.



Figure 71. New London Restoration Award Plaque.

Many of these structures post-date the whaling industry, by a few decades, but most were either built during the height of the whaling era, or just after the declining years, using the wealth acquired by the industry's earlier participants. The oldest structures are Federal, with the best example being the 1790 Lawrence Hospital building. Architectural styles, community layout, and patterns of development reflect the wealth, social values, and character of those influencing its construction. Religious structures, as seen elsewhere, are representative of some of the finer architectural examples in the community (NLL 2015). The 19<sup>th</sup> century Smith House is an example of Greek Revival. The 1817 Benjamin Brown House is a similar size, and material. Queen Anne, Second French Empire, and Italian Renaissance (Italianate) emerged from the mid-late 19<sup>th</sup>, through early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### **Stonington, CT:**

Most industrial development in Stonington occurred in the northern part of Stonington, nearest the most geographically convenient transportation networks, and away from the historic waterfront center of whaling activity which occurred along the center of the western side of the Peninsula. As the community's intensity of participation in the whaling industry fell, residential development spread to the southern portion of the peninsula, to the less desirable land and shallower harbor. Nineteen points, representing 17 sites, were identified to have commercial or industrial significance (Table 46; Figure 72). These sites include two shipyards, two ropewalks, three stores, a cooperage, blacksmith, and sail/rigging loft on or near five central wharves. Eighteen residences were also found to have been associated with the whaling or maritime industries. Stonington has a small lighthouse museum with a generic presentation of the whaling industry, but it has little in the way of interpretable material.

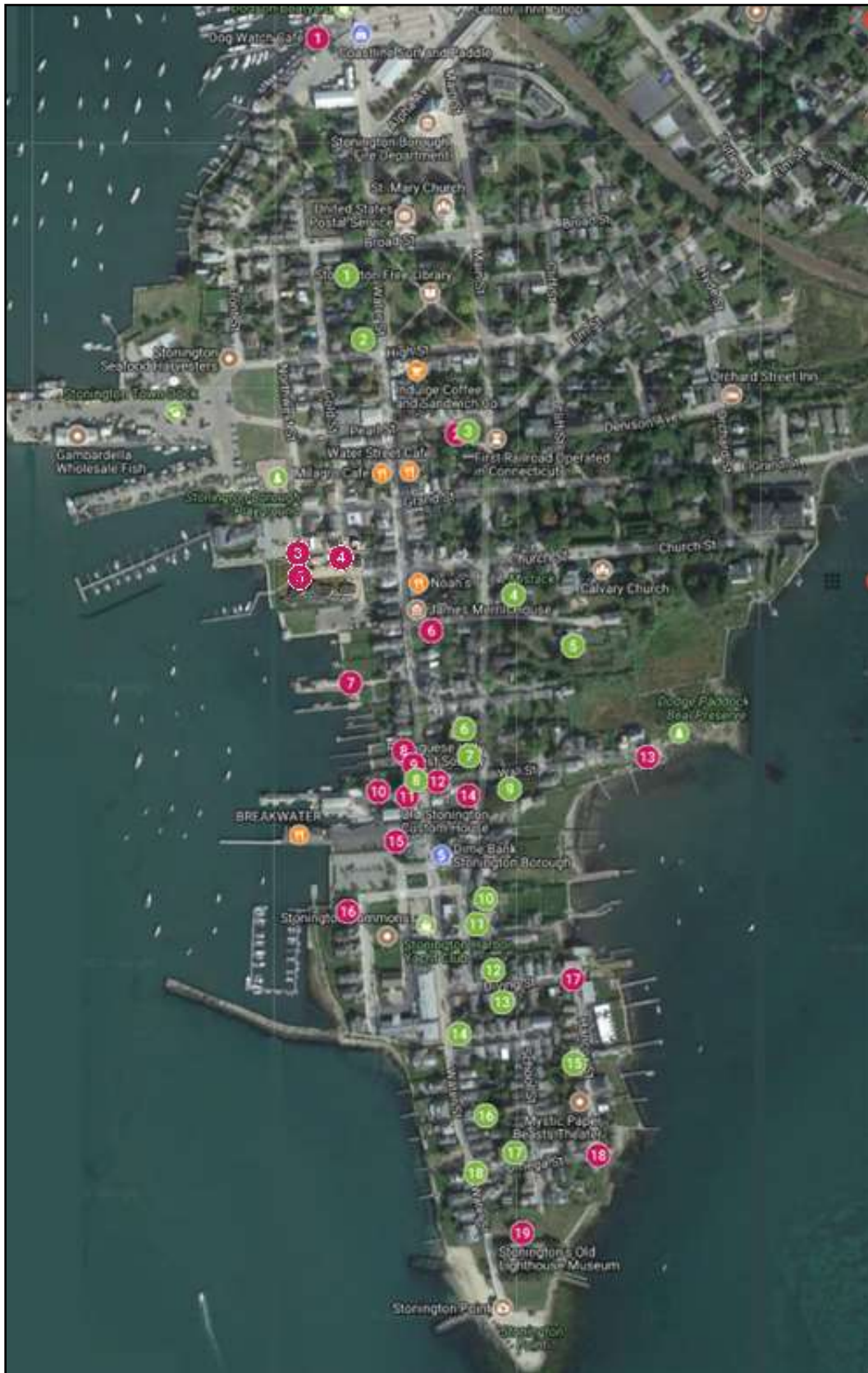


Figure 72. Stonington Commercial/Industrial (red/crimson) and Residential (green) Resources.

**Commercial/Industrial Resources:**

Table 46. Stonington Commercial/Industrial Resources (red/crimson).

#	Commercial/Industrial Sites	Address
1	Dudson Boatyard, Stonington Shipyard	194 Water Street
2	site of Brick Dry Goods Store (1860s)	68 Main Street
3	site of 1860s Cooperage	c. 9 Northwest Street
4	site of Blacksmith Shop (1860s)	6 Gold Street
5	Site of Stonington Shipyard, and earlier boatyard	c. 2 Northwest Street
6	Jim Stiver's Hardware Store	5 Union Street
7	Rodman's Wharf	96 Water Street
8	C.P. William's Wharf	84 Water Street
9	Probable Sail/rigging loft on C.P. William's Wharf	78 Water Street
10	Long Wharf	c. 70 Water Street
11	Union Store	72 Water Street
12	Ropewalk - west end	c. 75 Water Street
13	Ropewalk - east end	c. 30 Wall Street
14	Old Stonington Custom House, 1827	21 Main Street
15	Hyde's Wharf	62 Water Street
16	Williams Wharf	6 Stonington Commons
17	Hancox Ropewalk - north end	c. 99 Hancox Street
18	Hancox Ropewalk - south end	c. 1 Hancox Street
19	Stonington's Old Lighthouse Museum	7 Water Street

Using background sources and the maps and lithographs in Appendix J.1, seventeen sites (19 points) were identified for their commercial/industrial significance (Table 46; Figure 72). Six wharves were operating in the 19<sup>th</sup> century community. There were a few stores, two ropewalks, a blacksmith, a cooperage, a sail/rigging loft, and the customs house specifically identified. All the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century maritime-industrial structures appear gone, but the stores all survive in the landscape. Additionally, 18 historic houses, built or occupied by men from a variety of professions, were identified (Table 47; Figure 72).

Stonington's breakwater and Custom's House were built, in 1827. The oldest government run lighthouse, the Stonington Lighthouse (1823-1889), was also built here (Pilot Press 1962:12). Erosion quickly led to it being torn down, and the 35-foot light tower was moved to a

new location between 1840 and 1841. It was attached to the new stone lighthouse, built at a cost of \$3,008 (Haynes 1976:62). It became home to the historical society, in 1925, and it is lit with ten oil lamps and silver reflectors (Pilot Press 1962).

***Residential Resources:***

Table 47. Stonington Residential Resources (green).

#	Residential Resources	Address
1	Ephraim Williams Jr., 1840 (built by father in law, Henry Smith)	176 Water Street
2	Peleg Hancox, 1848 (Merchant-Mariner)	168 Water Street
3	Captain Lodowick Niles, 1792 (Merchant); (then John F. Trumbull)	27 Pearl Street
4	Charles P. William's Greek Revival Mansion #1	41 Main Street
5	Charles P. William's Greek Revival Mansion #2	39 Main Street
6	Portuguese Holy Ghost Society	26 Main Street
7	Whaling Captain Amos Palmer, 1787	24 Main Street
8	Captain Amos Sheffield, 1765	76 Water Street
9	Charles T. Stanton, c War of 1812 Shipbuilder	21 Main Street
10	Gurdon Trumbull, 1838 (Merchant)	7 Main Street
11	Joseph Denison Esq., 1771 (moved by ropemaker Thomas Ash in 1838)	5 Main Street
12	Captain William Pendleton, 1780 (Merchant Shipowner)	1 Main Street
13	Michael Ash, 1770 (ropemaker)	7 Diving Street
14	William Pendleton, 1848	33 Water Street
15	Rose Cottage, 1886	14 Hancox Street
16	John Franklin Trumbull, 1865 (Merchant & Ship Owner)	23 Water Street
17	House built by Charles P. Williams, 1840	6 Omega Street
18	Giles Russel Hallam, 1844 (Merchant)	13 Water Street

The success of the maritime industries can be seen by the prevalence of Greek Revival architecture that began appearing, in the 1830s. This architecture was inspired by the Greek War of Independence (1821-1827) (Schroer 1981:27). As seen in Mystic, Amos Clift was the designer and builder of many of these structures, and the Enoch Burrow's house stands as one of the best local examples (Schroer 1981:29). Clift was also the designer and builder of Mystic Bridge, in 1841 (Haynes 1976:63). The rise in the popularity of Queen Ann, and other Victorian

houses in the area (Appendix J.3), is attributed as much to the wealth from cotton textile production, as whaling. Many historic houses include plaques that also include the profession along with the name of the person. The nicest homes in the community were the Greek Revivals built on the estate which belonged to Charles. P. Williams (Figure 73; Appendix J.3).



Figure 73. Charles P. William's Estate (Photo by author).

### **Mystic, CT:**

Like its neighbor Stonington, Mystic never modified to a heavily industrialized economy. Much of its historic preservation and interpretation is contained in and around Appleman's Point, now Mystic Seaport. The Seaport, like many of the other sites, has substantial archaeological potential. Using the extensive preservation and interpretation records, of the Seaport, along with the historical maps (Appendix K.1), sixteen commercial/industrial sites were identified, including nine shipyard locations, Randall Wharf (for outfitting whaling vessels), two ropewalks, a cooperage on Mallory's Wharf (also for outfitting whaleships), Mallory's sail loft, a lumberyard, block shops, and a sparyard (Figure 74). Most areas have better than average potential for archaeological resources, but most historic houses, around the community, do not

have plaques or obvious attribution to the whaling industry. Residences, included for significance to the whaling industry, are all contained within the Seaport. In turn, they are discussed there and identified on the Mystic Seaport Map (Appendix K.2).

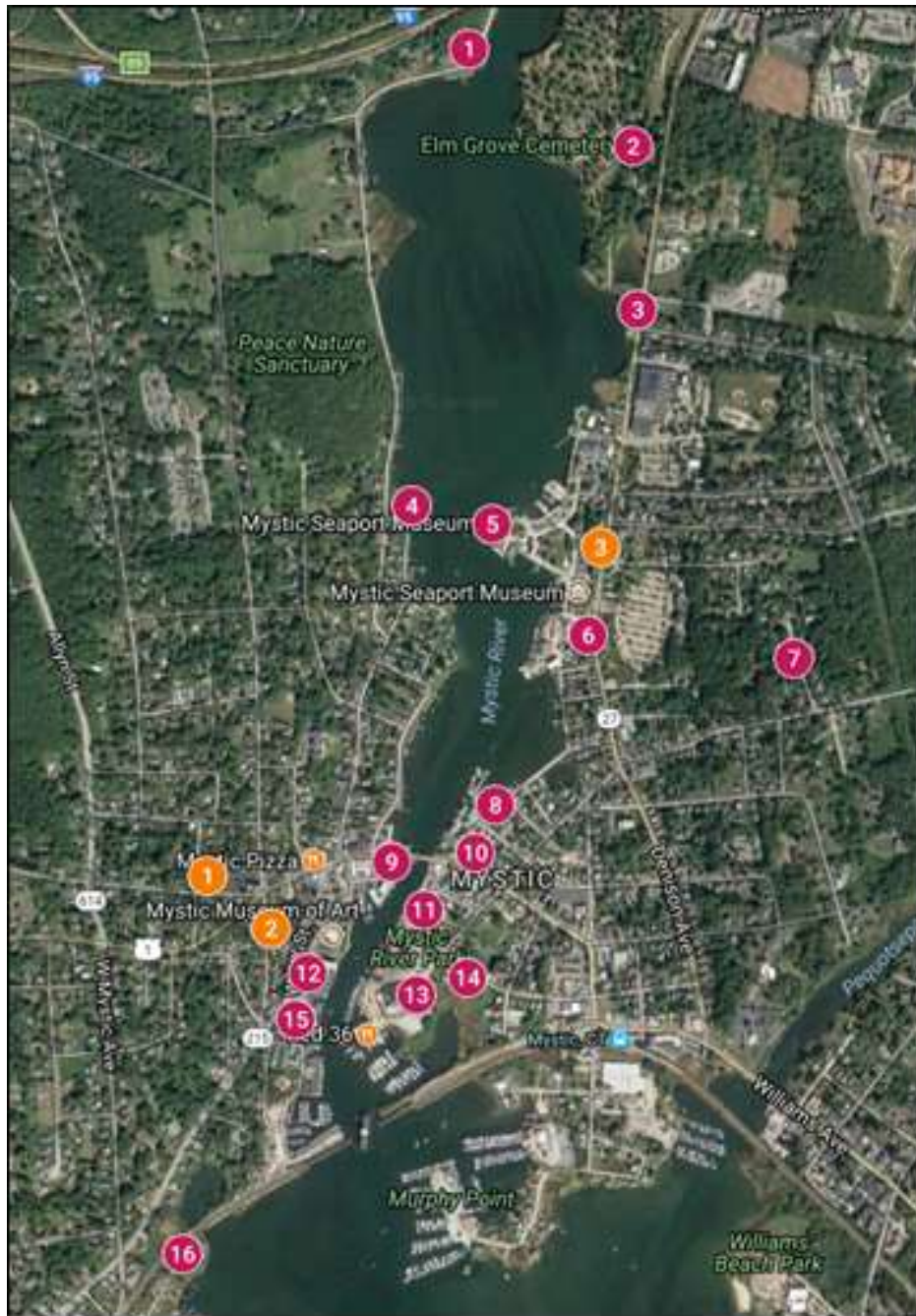


Figure 74. Mystic Interpretation (orange) and Commercial/Industrial (red/crimson) Resources.



***Interpretive Resources:***

Table 48. Mystic Interpretive Resources (orange).

#	Interpretive Resource	Address
1	Mystic Library	40 Library Street
2	Mystic River Historical Society	74 High Street
3	Mystic Seaport Museum - Education	Greenmanville Avenue

Most areas in Mystic, today, outside the Seaport, have foregone attempts at direct heritage promotion, while still being largely indebted to heritage tourism. Residential Resources are included with the interpretation section as most of the key whaling residences are now part of Mystic Seaport. Mystic Bridge, once a busy center of maritime activity, has since redeveloped into a small, yet bustling tourist spot for those looking for a less interpretive, and more touristy, setting. The area, today, features numerous local eateries, bodegas, art galleries, and more, including a small draw bridge. The western half of Mystic Community, while having many 19<sup>th</sup> century homes, offers little in the way of promoting the story, while back on the eastern side of the River, there is a local “Whaling Walk”, along Greenmanville Avenue (Figure 75).

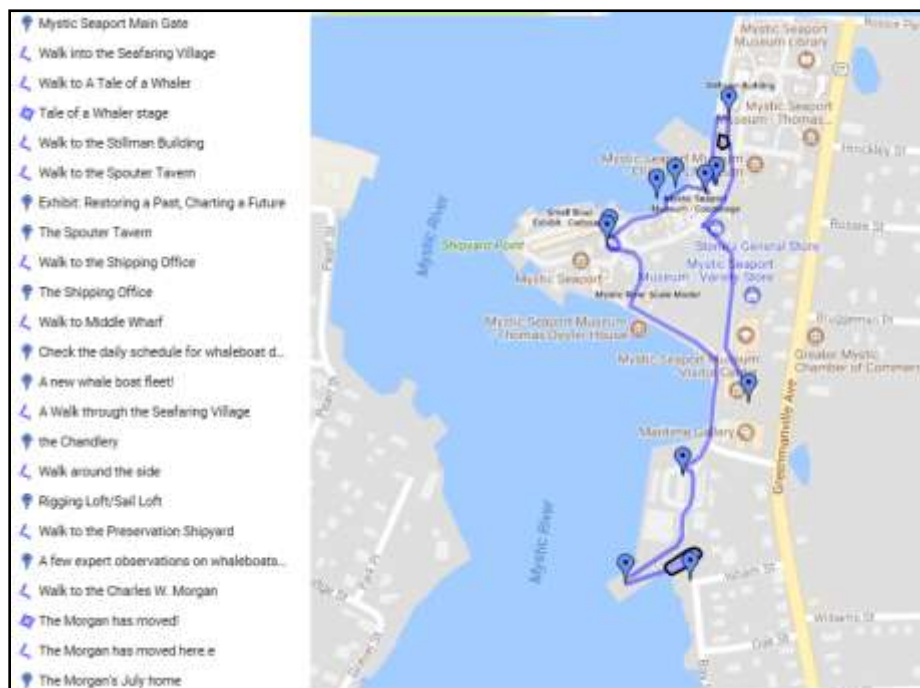


Figure 75. Mystic Whaling Walking Tour.

While the underlying assumption of this research is that the story of the rich, white, and powerful is what typically gets told, Mystic has at least acknowledged this misrepresentation, and while artifact procurement, and the storyline, remained focused on the Yankee elite, and preservation and interpretation efforts were organized and financed by these wealthier whaling descendants, the Marine Historical Association, through its intent on saving commercial and industrial structures “sought to bypass the rare, beautiful, and valuable” for “the crude, homely, everyday things, which would enable us to reproduce a picture of the actual conditions under which American seamen once lived and which they had to meet and overcome in order to accomplish their remarkable achievements.” (Olly 2013:164).

*Indoor Interpretation:*

Not far from the main museum building is the Seaport’s children’s museum (Appendix K.2), designed more for maritime-themed play than for active interpretation. The walls are decorated with older revival period images of Yankee whaling and fishing scenes, mostly depicting all, or nearly all, white crews in casual ship settings. While it may seem less important than focusing on the main museum, children’s’ minds subconsciously absorb these images, and it creates a false impression, years before they will have an opportunity to learn a more accurate and inclusive story. It further isolates children who do not look like the people in the images, and it may detract from their interest and willingness to learn.

The Stillman Building, once part of the Greenman’s textile operation, now houses the main showcase (Table 49; Appendix K.2. The newly designed doors depict a large scene of a diverse, minority dominant, crew (Figure 76). This image was purposely selected to counter the traditional image depicted, just inside the entrance, on a large video projection, cycling through a few slides (Figure 77). The dominant projected image is of a typical, revival period, whaling

scene, with an entirely white crew attacking a sperm whale. After this entrance hall, there is a documentary playing in a video room, the wall of which, is a very large backdrop of a black and white photo containing at least seven white whalers.



Figure 76. "Voyaging in the Wake of Whalers" Museum Door (Photo by author).



Figure 77. Yankee Whaling Projection (Photo by author).

The first exhibits that feature artifacts, discuss the uses for a whale, beginning with Inuit depicted in a modern subsistence (ceremonial) hunt. "Lighting the Lamps" is a mostly artifact display, with a Yankee image. "Wheels of Industry" is composed of mostly images, all of which are Yankee. The top image is an old watercolor painting of a Yankee whale hunt, and the bottom image is a photograph of white women working in a factory setting. There is an exhibit on women's fashion, which features the popular photo of five whaling merchants, standing next to baleen, mounted above a variety of ladies' products derived from whale. The last display, in this section, is of many of the tools, used in the hunt and processing, next to a series of five vertically set images. The top image is a drawing of all white dock workers, and the bottom, is an image of a Yankee supervisor speaking to two minority dock workers.

Around the corner, is an area discussing whaling from a brief economic standpoint. The wheel, a pie graph depicting an example of mid-19<sup>th</sup> century whaling pay, shows the unequal division of profits. Over time, the value of labor continued to decrease in relation to the value of capital investment. The five black and white images, associated with this exhibit, feature entirely Yankee dockworkers, and an enlarged advertisement, to the right, with a Yankee painting a sign. There is also an info board and small image of Charles W. Morgan, the man. There is a small portrait of a typical Yankee whaling scene, adjacent to another display, of three images. One is a generic mythological sketch; one is aboard ship and features a couple Yankee merchants, one is of their wives, and an all-white crew; and the third image shows a white woman standing on a roof walk in New Bedford. On the other side of this room's divider showcase, is an exhibit for 'life aboard ship', which depicts a fair balance of black and white whalers, in a series of seven small-medium sized images, over a showcase of artifacts.

The next several examples of minority images are all from the post-revival period. “Whalers at New Bedford” is a photo of all white women, in an industrial era factory setting. “The Whalemens as Jack Tar” is a tricky exhibit to quantify, as it features a white man, and a Yankee Statue, but specifically uses the image to address the false stereotype existing within the depiction. Three other medium-large photos are also in this space and depict mostly minority crew members, with a very large, early 20<sup>th</sup> century image of an African American whalemens posing with a processing tool. He is believed to be Joe Gomez, as stated under New London’s discussion (Figure 78). A copy of “Moby Dick”, with a Yankee Harpooner on the cover, is displayed, as well, despite none of the harpooners, in the book, being white (Figure 79), although, it may be portraying Captain Ahab. The five remaining images, in this section, are small, and depict mostly men and boys, along with a few young girls in one.



Figure 78. The Whalemens as Jack Tar (Photo by author).

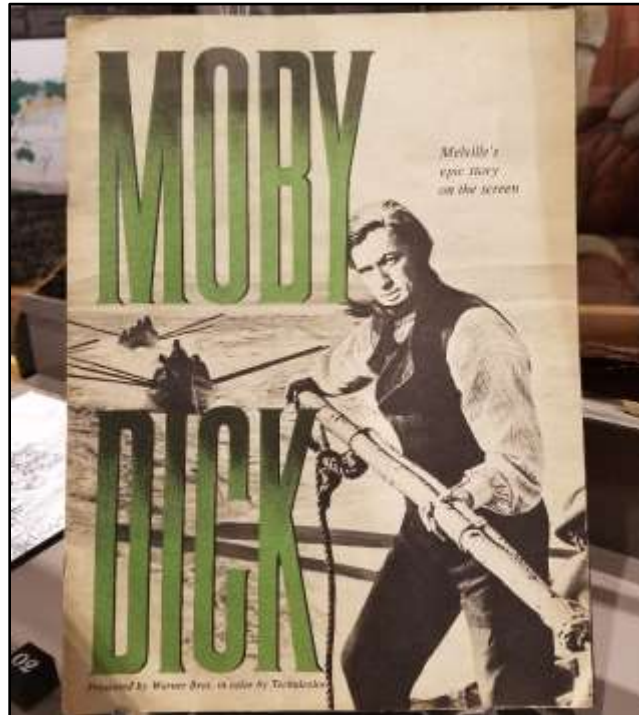


Figure 79. Moby Dick Cover (Photo by author).



Figure 80. Those left Ashore (Photo by author).

The next area, themed “Those left Ashore” contains a standard sized Yankee portrait and several images of Captain Earle and his family. There is an image of a Yankee women saying goodbye to her son, and another, of a Yankee woman churning butter. A painting called “Captains’ Walk” features a woman, peering out on the horizon, longing for her husband to return (Figure 80). The next area features Portuguese islanders, particularly those from Cape Verde. There are a couple images of a Cape Verdean Captain, a standard sized portrait, as well as a smaller photograph.

Following this section, continues with the discussion of Captain Earle, and his family’s, voyage to, and arrival in, Japan. Not far from this display, is a series of five photos, of native families, and a discussion of how they were impacted by Yankee whalers. There is a photograph of George Coner’s arctic whaling crew, which had four black men, with the rest being white. There is another photo of Cape Verdean captain, Antoine DeSant, and one of a black whaler and a white whaler, posing in 1907, on the *Morgan*. The last Image, in the room with the large interactive globe, is of Native Madagascar women, processing corn, with a male warrior/guard.

The final indoor museum exhibit is in the center of the room. It features a native outfit and discusses Indigenous whaling. The case against the back wall contains a board game called Harpoon, featuring an entirely white crew, and a post card, nearby, features a Yankee merchant standing beside a whale skeleton. An image of “The Last Voyage” shows an all minority crew; another image shows a handful of native women and discusses disease; and another shows a rare painting of mostly minority whalers, cutting in. There is a large board of six black and white photos featuring a diverse selection of men and one white women. White, black, and Inuit whalers are depicted in this sample. The room centered around the large interactive globe also

has a Gam Chair, on display, as a tribute to the captains' wives, and nearby, is a sign discussing the important of the Mallory family in maritime America. Concluding the museum's presentation is a series of five standard sized Yankee Portraits. Each interpretive object, exhibit, or image is listed in Table 49 and seen in Appendix K.2.

Table 49. Mystic Seaport Interpretation.

Museum	Area of Display in cm	Class	% Yankee Male	Average cm	% Minority Male	Average cm	% White Female	Average cm	% Minority Female	Average cm
Mystic Children's Museum	310	Elite	100	310	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic Children's Museum	2323	Elite	100	2323	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic New Exhibit Hall Building	33445	Elite	100	33445	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	155	Elite	100	155	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	1394	Elite	100	1394	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	1394	Elite	65	906	0	0	35	488	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	2065	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	2065	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	2065	Elite	0	0	100	2065	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	2090	Elite	0	0	50	1045	15	314	35	732
Mystic Seaport Museum	2323	Elite	100	2323	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	2323	Elite	100	2323	0	0	0	0	0	0



Mystic Seaport Museum	2323	Elite	100	2323	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	2323	Elite	100	2323	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	2323	Elite	100	2323	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	2477	Elite	0	0	100	2477	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	2787	Elite	100	2787	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	3097	Elite	50	1549	50	1549	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	4877	Elite	90	4389	0	0	10	488	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	7432	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	7432	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	9290	Elite	100	9290	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	13936	Elite	0	0	100	13936	0	0	0	0
				<b>68163</b>		<b>21072</b>		<b>10787</b>		<b>732</b>
Mystic Seaport Museum	929	Indigenous	0	0	50	465	0	0	50	465
Mystic Seaport Museum	2694	Indigenous	0	0	0	0	0	0	100	2694
Mystic Seaport Museum	7432	Indigenous	0	0	100	7432	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	8129	Indigenous	0	0	33	2682	0	0	66	5365
Mystic Seaport Museum	23226	Indigenous	0	0	100	23226	0	0	0	0
				<b>0</b>		<b>33805</b>		<b>0</b>		<b>8524</b>
Mystic Children's Museum	3716	Working	86	3196	14	520	0	0	0	0
Mystic Children's Museum	3716	Working	100	3716	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	39019	Working	0	0	100	39019	0	0	0	0

Mystic Seaport Museum	258	Working	80	206	0	0	20	52	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	516	Working	0	0	100	516	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	516	Working	100	516	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	903	Working	50	452	0	0	50	452	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	1032	Working	50	517	50	517	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	1445	Working	0	0	0	0	100	1445	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	1652	Working	33	550	66	1102	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	1806	Working	100	1806	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	1806	Working	33	602	66	1204	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	1858	Working	0	0	100	1858	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	1858	Working	0	0	0	0	100	1858	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	1858	Working	100	1858	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	2787	Working	100	2787	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	2787	Working	50	1394	0	0	50	1394	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	2787	Working	75	2090	25	697	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	3484	Working	20	697	80	2787	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	3716	Working	85	3759	15	557	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	5574	Working	0	0	100	5574	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	5574	Working	30	1672	60	3344	10	557	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	7432	Working	50	3716	0	0	50	3716	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	8361	Working	100	8361	0	0	0	0	0	0

Mystic Seaport Museum	13936	Work ing	50	6968	0	0	50	6968	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	13936	Work ing	50	6968	0	0	50	6968	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	14465	Work ing	100	14465	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	16723	Work ing	47	7860	47	7860	6	1003	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	89187	Work ing	100	89187	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Museum	89187	Work ing	100	89187	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Whaleboat Exhibit	542	Work ing	0	0	100	542	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Whaleboat Exhibit	619	Work ing	66	409	33	204	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Whaleboat Exhibit	619	Work ing	0	0	100	619	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Whaleboat Exhibit	619	Work ing	0	0	100	619	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Whaleboat Exhibit	929	Work ing	100	929	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Whaleboat Exhibit	929	Work ing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mystic Seaport Whaleboat Exhibit	8129	Work ing	100	8129	0	0	0	0	0	0
				<b>261997</b>		<b>67539</b>		<b>24413</b>		<b>0</b>

The only monument in the Seaport is dedicated to the 1841 crew of the *Charles W. Morgan* which, although does not depict visual or identifiable images, does name a crew that was about 80% Yankee. The only other building, that offers interpretive resources, is the whaleboat exhibit. There is a large flag, hanging on the roof, that features a black and white

image of a Yankee crew, and the remainder of the photographic images depict a diverse, mostly minority dominant, crew hunting and processing a whale.

***Commercial/Industrial Resources:***

Table 50. Mystic Commercial/Industrial Resources (red/crimson).

#	Commercial/Industrial Resources	Address
1	Burrow's Shipyard	499 River Road
2	1st Greenman Shipyard- Elm Grove Cemetery Association	197 Greenmanville Avenue
3	Unknown Cordage or Ropewalk	145 Greenmanville Avenue
4	C.H. Mallory (later Forsyth and Morgan Shipyard)	2 Starr Street
5	George Greenman and Co - Mystic Seaport	75 Greenmanville Avenue
6	Peter Forsyth (later Chas. Mallory and Sons Shipyard)	41 Greenmanville Avenue
7	Vicinity of Beebe Ropewalk	Mystic Hill Road
8	Mallory's Wharf (whaling) - Cooperage	15 Holmes Street
9	Gilbert Transportation and Co Shipyard	17 West Main Street
10	Mallory Sail Loft - original location	4 Holmes Street
11	Mystic Iron Work - same vicinity as John Cottrell's Lumber yard	28 Cottrell Street
12	Packer Shipyard (later D.O. Boatyard); Dudley (Lyman) Shipyard	17 Water Street
13	Iron & Grinnell; Hill & Grinnell; M.C. Hill; McDonald; Pendleton Shipyards	199 Willow Street
14	Spar yard and Block Shops (John, William, and Oliver Batty ran spar yard and Johnson and Denison ran blockmaking)	18 Washington Street
15	Randall Wharf (whaling)	37 Water Street
16	Maxon, Fish, & Co (later Maxon & Fish; Maxon & Irving; E. Irving & Co. Holmes Shipyard; McCreery & Lane boatyard	41 Casino Road

Mystic also has a massive, and incredibly impressive, scale model of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century community (Figure 81; Appendix K.3). Figure 81 is a picture of much of the scale model, with Greenmanville, on Adam's Point, (present day Mystic Seaport) closest in view. The image corresponds to Commercial/Industrial point #3, on Figure 74, as if you were looking toward #5 (southwest), and with #15 being the farthest point in the image of the model. There were no less than nine shipyard locations in Mystic and most of these areas have undergone only mild residential redevelopment. Mystic has great archaeological potential for such resources.

Most sites are included in the scale model of the village which shows incredible detail as to all the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century maritime-industrial resources that were once present.



Figure 81. Mid-19<sup>th</sup> century Mystic village model (right half is Greenmanville) (Photo by author)

### **Warren, RI:**

Warren, perhaps, has the most detailed identification and distribution of historic resources of the whaling communities. Warren's interpretation is encompassed within a guide of 24 local walking tour sites (Table 51; Figure 82; Appendix L.3). Twenty-seven sites, of commercial/industrial value (29 points), were identified in this research, largely using the historic maps in Appendix L.1 as well as the W.S. Webb & Co 1875-76 directory, and they include nearly every type of resource expected in a whaling community. No less than four shipyard sites, two ropewalks, a soap factory, four cooperages, two sail lofts, a boatbuilders, a

blacksmith, an oil work, two taverns, and the Romanesque Revival style George Hail Library (including the Charles Whipple Green Museum) were identified (Table 52; Figure 82; Appendix L.2). The museum is more a testament to the whaling wealth that contributed to its donation.

After preliminary research, and walking every street in Warren, 31 houses were found to have significance to the whaling era, most of which are identified with a historic plaque or marker (Table 53; Figure 82; Appendix L.3). Aside from the area in the northwestern portion of the community, that became a rivet factory, and very little industrial redevelopment. The other major emerging factory in the post whaling era, Blount Seafood, incorporated previous maritime industrial structures into a modern factory complex, thus benefiting historic and archaeological preservation.

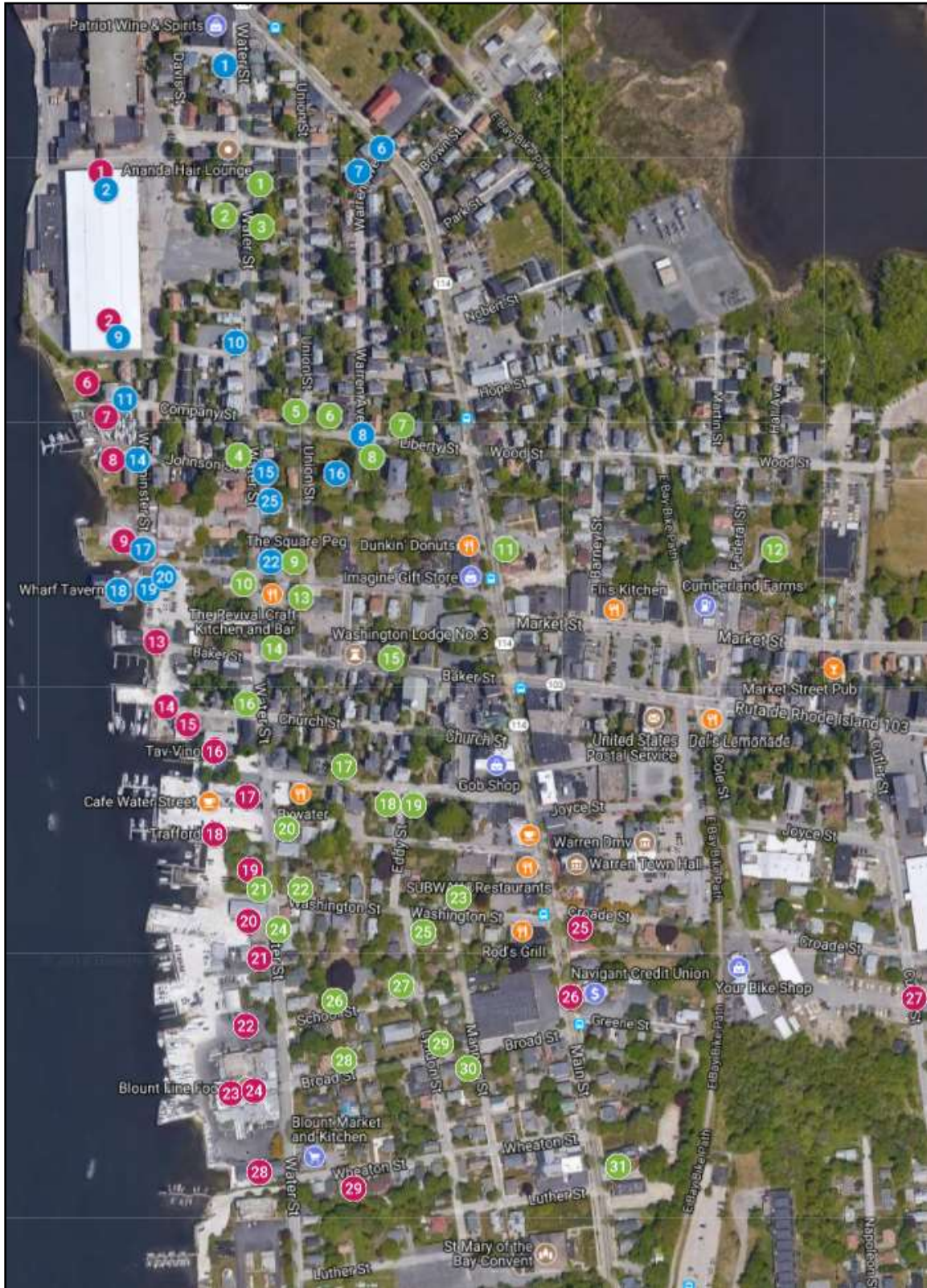


Figure 82. Warren’s Walking Tour (blue), Commercial/Industrial (red/crimson) and Residential (green) Resources.

***Interpretive Resources:***

Table 51. Warren Walking Tour (blue).

#	Warren Walking Tour	Address
1	Samuel Martin House c. 1760, 1830	23 Water Street
2	Chase and Davis Shipyard, and later, Rivet Factory	99 Water Street
3	Captain John G. Joyce House	64 Water Street
4	Shubael Mason House	77 Water Street
5	Daniel Foster House	82 Water Street
6	W.L. Brown House c. 1760	229 Main Street
7	Wheaton and Baker Ropewalks - north end	c. 1 Warren Avenue
8	Wheaton and Baker Ropewalks - south end	c. 60 Warren Avenue
9	Sission's Wharf	99 Water Street
10	Samuel Martin House/Driscoll Mansion (18th century Cooper Shop) on Sission's Wharf	125 Water Street
11	Luther's Wharf – shipyard site	c. 20 Westminster Street
12	James Barton House	37 Liberty Street
13	Charles Wheaton House	3 Liberty Street
14	Rhodolphus B. Johnson Wharf – site of cooperage	c. 8 Westminster Street
15	Hoar/Hall House	172 Water Street
16	John R. Wheaton House	90 Union Street
17	H. Child House c. 1808 (Caulker)	184 Water Street
18	John Throop Child's Wharf - Shipyard/ Cromwell and Caleb Child Wharf – Shipyard	c. 2 Westminster Street
19	Buckingham's Wharf and Tavern	215 Water Street
20	Barton's Wharf	57 Miller Street
21	Site of Sail loft - Anchorage Boat Building Works	57 Miller Street
22	The Barton House (S. Barton)	211 Water Street
23	The Square Peg	51 Miller Street
24	Rhodolphus B. Johnson House	42 Miller Street
25	Level Maxwell House c. 1803	382 Main Street

Warren's walking tour includes two dozen sites from the northern half of the community (Appendix L.4). Most sites date from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, to the early 19<sup>th</sup>, and include ten commercial and industrial maritime resources and 14 historic residences, north of Baker Street. There are a half-dozen wharf locations that include former shipyards, a ropewalks, cooperage,



and sail loft sites as well as two historic taverns. There is little in the way of physical interpretive resources on the walk, but the community offers a guide with a brief note of each site's role.

***Commercial/Industrial Resources:***

Table 52. Warren Commercial/Industrial Resources (red/crimson).

#	Commercial/Industrial Sites	Address
1	site of Chase and Davis Shipyard and Rivet Factory	99 Water Street
2	Sission's Wharf/ Martin's Wharf	99 Water Street
3	Cooperage on Sission's Wharf	125 Water Street
4	site of Wheaton and Baker Ropewalks (north end)	c. 1 Warren Avenue
5	site of Wheaton and Baker Ropewalks (south end)	c. 60 Warren Avenue
6	site of Sander's Soap Factory	26 Westminster Street
7	Luther's Wharf	c. 20 Westminster Street
8	R.B. Johnson's Wharf - Shipyard - #28 Cooperage	c. 8 Westminster Street
9	John Throop Child's Wharf and Shipyard - Cromwell and Caleb Child Wharf – Shipyard	c. 2 Westminster Street
10	Buckingham Wharf and Tavern	215 Water Street
11	Barton's Wharf - The Anchorage/Dyer Boat Building c. 1930 - site of mid-19th century sail loft	57 Miller Street
12	The Square Peg	51 Miller Street
13	Baker's Wharf	c. 92 Baker Street
14	J. Smith Wharf #1 (1851) - Smith and Carr Wharf (1855)	c. 69 Church Street
15	Bowen's Wharf - Warren Yacht Club	66 Church Street
16	J. Smith Wharf #2 (1851) - Gardner's Wharf (1855) - Tav-Vino Restaurant	267 Water Street
17	Mrs. D. Child Wharf	279 Water Street
18	Collin's Wharf - Town Wharf - Driscoll Cooperage - Trafford Restaurant	285 Water Street
19	Caleb's Carr's Wharf and Cooperage	317 Water Street
20	Eddy's Wharf - late 19th century shipyard	c. 325 Water Street
21	J.J. Smith Oil Works c. 1840 (Caleb Eddy's Wharf) - Andrew and Eddy Oil	337 Water Street
22	Carr and Ingraham's Wharf (1850s-70s)	369 Water Street
23	Gardner and Brown's Wharf	c. 383 Water Street
24	Gladding's Sail Loft	383 Water Street
25	Charles W. Greene Museum and George Hail Library	530 Main Street
26	Greene Street Ropewalk (west end)	c. 560 Main Street
27	rough vicinity of Greene Street Ropewalk (east end)	c. 60 Cutler Street
28	F. Marble Blacksmith Shop (c. 1840)	405 Water Street
29	John J. Bickner Cooperage (c. 1830-50s)	50 Wheaton Avenue

Warren had no less than 15 historic wharves operating during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with several name changes, and with almost half, dating back to the Revolutionary War. The northern most wharf, home of the Chase and Davis Shipyard, at the foot of Summer Street, is completely buried under Warren Manufactory, today, as is Sander's Soap factory. About three blocks west, was one of the most successful industries in town, that of Caleb Wheaton's ropewalk. It ran the length of Warren Avenue. Sisson Wharf, at the foot of Sisson, is the next one south and was mostly lumber wharf. Luther's Wharf was next, at the foot of Company Street. It had a complete shipyard, in 1855, with the outfitting and rigging resources on the adjacent wharf south.

The Rhodolphus. B. Johnson's Wharf was another major wharf (Appendix L.2), complete with cooperage and sail loft, at the foot of Johnson's Street. John Throop Child's Wharf, at the foot of Miller Street, was home to his coal yard and countinghouse. Barton's Wharf and Baker's Wharf, between Miller and Baker streets, are next and Barton's once had a sail loft, and later, residence present in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Original historic wharf structures/residences remain on, and just off, Water Street, but there were only ever a few small structures present, due to this wharf space being predominately for storage use. J. Smith's Wharf is next and is now gravel parking lot for the Warren Yacht Club, on Bowen's Wharf. Another J. Smith Wharf was just south of this, and Mrs. D Child's Wharf, across from State Street, is home to the Harbor Marine Field Office, today. A 1790s Carriage shop is the only historic building that remains on either.

Collin's Wharf, home to Collins and Driscoll's Cooperage, is directly across from Captain Charles Collin's 1760 house. Caleb Carr's Wharf is next, at the foot of Washington Street, and his associated cooperage still stands on Water Street. Many of the structures in the areas along these wharves have historic plaques, but there is an opportunity to tell a story

through the extent of original buildings that remain. Even the newer structures on these wharves, in the local tourist sections, attempt to preserve the waterfront's historic ambiance.

Other historic structures were expanded upon, or incorporated into, newer factory type buildings. The best example includes Gladding's Sail Loft, F. Marble's Blacksmith Shop, and J.J. Oil Works, all now fused into the Blount Fine Foods complex (Figure 83). There are bronze plaques, about 16 by 20 inches (40cm by 50cm), on all three. Gladding's is identified as originally being the Gardner Brown Mill. Marble's Blacksmith shop is recognized as originally being the 1820 Vulcan Forge, and it was later used for the cotton textile and then seafood industries. J.J. Oil Works is identified as Andrew and Eddy Oil Manufactory. The former cooperage on Wheaton Avenue, associated with the facilities on Brown and Gardner's Wharf, is an 1830s structure. Benjamin Cranston's House is on Broad Street, and he was likely a primary sailmaker at Gladding's Sail Loft.



Figure 83. Blount Fine Foods (Google Earth 2020).

**Residential Resources:**

Table 53. Warren Residential Resources (green).

#	Residential Resources	Address
1	Captain John G. Joyce House	64 Water Street
2	Shubael Mason House	77 Water Street
3	Daniel Foster House	82 Water Street
4	Samuel and Caleb Miller, 1788	165 Water Street
5	James Barton, 1856	37 Liberty Street
6	Charles Wheaton House	33 Liberty Street
7	Hazard House, 1800	15 Liberty Street
8	Jeremiah Child House	22 Liberty Street
9	John Luther House, 1823	43 Miller Street
10	The Barton House	211 Water Street
11	Level Maxwell House, 1803	382 Main Street
12	Bosworth Maxwell House - Massasoit Historical Association	21 Federal Street
13	Rhodolphus B. Johnson House	42 Miller Street
14	Luther Baker	236 Water Street
15	Samuel Randall House	31 Baker Street
16	The Maxwell House	59 Church Street
17	S. Davol House, 1760	41 State Street
18	Eddy-Cutler House, 1806	30 State Street
19	James Driscoll House, 1806	26 State Street
20	Captain Charles Collin's House, 1760	296 Water Street
21	Caleb Carr House, 1764	317 Water Street
22	Samuel Miller, 1740	55 Washington Street
23	George T. Gardner, 1850	19 Washington Street
24	Captain J.N. Tibbetts, 1840	328 Water Street
25	William Hoar House, 1790	4 Lyndon Street
26	Sailmaker Benjamin Cranston's House, 1783	12 School Street
27	Rogers/Hicks, 1767	15 Lyndon Street
28	Rufus Barton House	47 Broad Street
29	John J. Bickner, 1842	28 Lyndon Street
30	Benjamin Cranston House (sailmaker)	24 Broad Street
31	Smith and Winslow, 1851- Joseph W. Martin House	624 Main Street

In 1969, the preliminary mapping of over 200 structures on the waterfront revealed Colonial, Federal, Greek Revival, Victorian, and Stone Mill architectural styles from the whaling era (RIHPC 1975:1). The diversity of these historic styles is contained as follows and offers

another exceptional opportunity to compare the varying styles of quality homes, remnant of Warren's whaling days:

*Beginning north at the bridge leading to Barrington south along Main Street, including North Cemetery, then continuing along Main to Wood Street, east along Wood to Federal Street, south to Market Street, then west to the line of the old Bristol/Warren Railroad, south along the arc of the tracks to Franklin, Water and Wheaton Streets which are diagonally traversed by the original town line between Warren and Bristol, then west along this line to the Warren River and north following the shoreline to the point of beginning. (RIHPC 1975:1).*

The commercial and residential structures, like elsewhere, reflect the socioeconomic growth and prosperity of the town (RIHPC 1975:5) (Appendix L.2, L3). Much of this is captured in the details within 'the entrances, trim, cornices, quoins, and interior woodwork', all of which can be credited to the quality of the community's craftsman (RIHPC 1975:9). The Warren Preservation Society, founded in 1988, "is active in promoting the preservation of historic buildings throughout the Town of Warren through our plaquing program, public exhibits, guest speakers, renovation projects and education." (WPS 2012). Warren recognizes how important preservation is to their economy and local history. As buildings disappear, so too does their story, and "we lose a piece of history that helps us know who we are, destroys the beauty of the town and often lowers the economic value of the property." (WPS 2012).

Warren's Historic Plaque program began in 1990, with funds from a grant from the Rhode Island state legislature. There are 92 properties currently recognized by the Society and are designated with white, oval, historic markers, with a ship imprinted in the center. Properties were identified, or confirmed, via these plaques, where maps were difficult to

decipher. There are about two dozen houses discussed on the preservation society's website for historic properties ([preservewarren.org](http://preservewarren.org)).

A couple of the most notable houses are the Benjamin Cranston House, of 1834, on Broad Street, and the Samuel Randall House, of 1808, on Baker Street. Benjamin Cranston was a sailmaker who bought the property, in 1834, from Seth Peck, for \$150. The west-facing, gambrel roofed Colonial Cottage, largely unaltered over time, was purchased by Eliza Stockford in 1860s, and she resided there until her death, in 1871. In 1995, the property was purchased by Bob Moore and Crim Lech who proudly call this property their home (WPS 2012).



Figure 84. Benjamin Cranston House (Photo by author).

The Samuel Randall House was a gift from wealthy ship merchant, James Maxwell, who gave this house, as a gift, to her daughter, Patricia, for her wedding. It was built between 1783 and 1814, in the Federal style, which was popular with early New England maritime merchants. Today, it is a five-unit housing apartment, owned by the Preservation Society. Samuel Randall earned a law degree from Brown University before moving to Warren, where he ran a school, entered the printing business, became postmaster, and then Town Clerk, until 1860. His house is ‘three stories, has a hip roof and monitor, two chimneys, central entry, original; window patterns,

five horizontal windows, and three vertical windows, with twelve panes on each' (WPS 2012). Other significant houses related to whaling are the Maxwell House, now home to the Warren Preservation Society; the Bosworth Maxwell House, the Barton House (S. Barton), the James Barton House, the Charles Wheaton House, the Hoar/Hall House, the Samuel Martin House/Driscoll Mansion, the Daniel Foster House, Shubael Mason House, the John G. Joyce House, and the Rhodolphus B. Johnson House, which are discussed regarding interpretation (Appendix L.2, L.3).

### **Sag Harbor, NY:**

Aside from a couple signs and plaques, Sag Harbor's physical interpretive resources are limited to the Whaling Museum, in Benjamin Hunting II house, and the architectural symbolism of the Whaler's Church (Table 54; Figure 85; Appendix M.2). Largely using the maps in Appendix M.1, a total of 25 commercial/industrial sites were identified in this research, with 15 of them being those clustered, very tightly, at the Point (Table 56; Figure 85). There were 25 commercial and industrial sites located in this research. These resources include three shipyards, two ropewalks, several storehouses, four cooperages, three blacksmiths, a block maker, boat shop, brothel, hotel, store, candleworks, and original town landing. They have virtually all been destroyed by fire and sit under a parking lot.

These sites include examples of all related maritime businesses, and very likely, sit on top of earlier businesses of the same genre. Most structures have long since been replaced, with more tourist accommodating buildings, after their destruction. Additionally, 15 historic residences were identified as being excellent examples of the wealth the whaling industry brought to the community (Table 54; Figure 85).

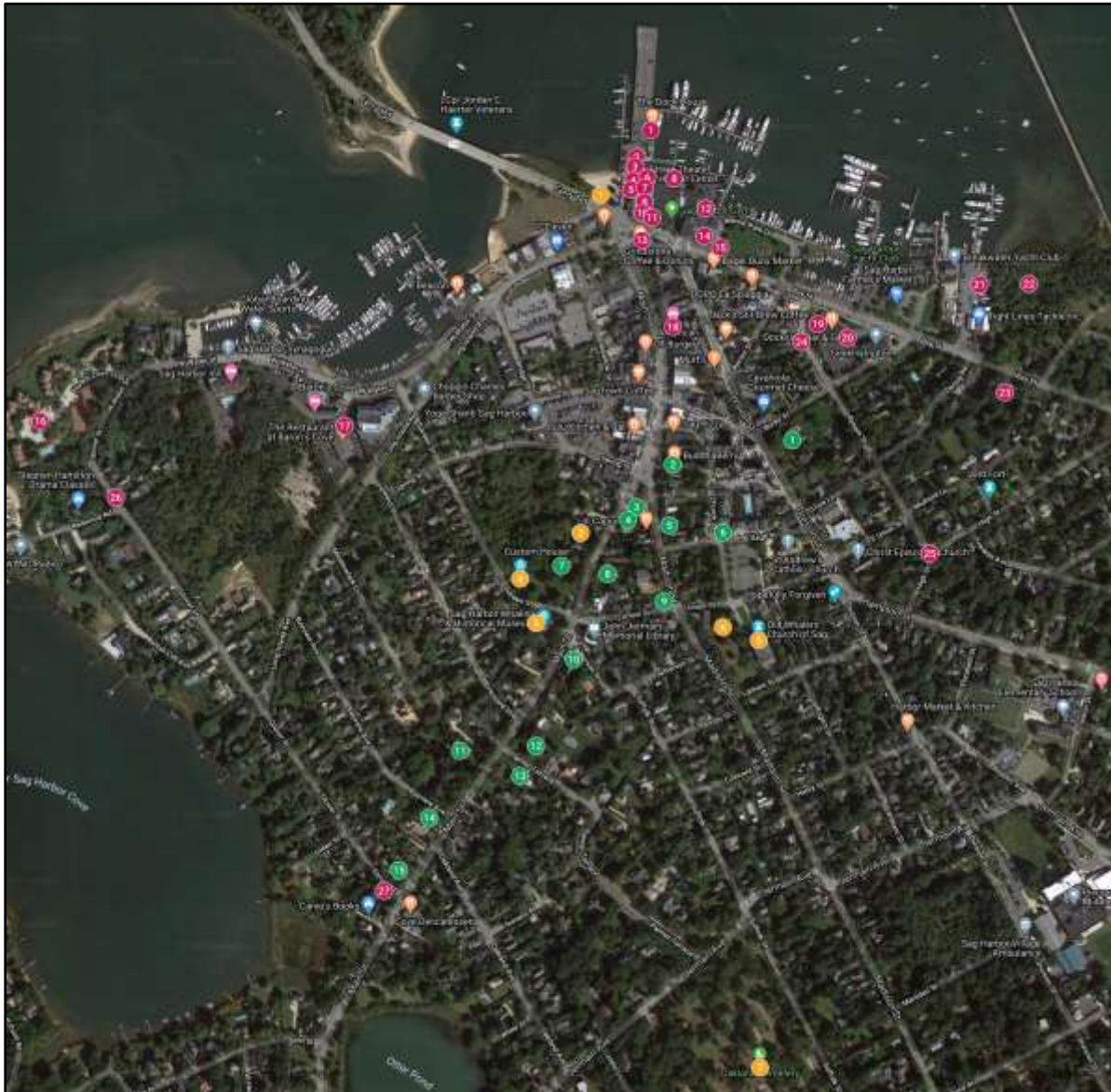


Figure 85. Sag Harbor Interpretive (orange), Commercial/Industrial (red/crimson), and Residential (green) Resources.

***Interpretive Resources:***

Table 54. Sag Harbor Interpretative Resources (orange)

#	Interpretation	Address
1	Wind Mill Plaque	1 Ferry Road
2	Sag Harbor Historical Society	174 Main Street
3	Sag Harbor Whaling Museum (Benjamin Hunttings)	200 Main Street
4	Custom's House	912 Main Street
5	Old Whalers Church	44 Union Street
6	Old Burying Ground	34 Union Street
7	Oakland Cemetery	Jermain/Joels/Suffolk/Road



*Walking Tours:*

These walking tours are a fantastic way to incorporate modern technology into a more convenient self-paced history tour. This app increases the audience of local history enthusiasts by including the many who prefer not making a physical stop just to get a local guide or paper map. Sag Harbor made a point to include similarly timed walking tours that cover, not only the Yankee Elite and their beautiful mansions, but also the topics on diversity, culture, the role of women and minorities in the community's growth, the working-class experience, the destroyed parts of the village, and the parts left to decay.

Unique perspectives, such as the African American wife of a black whalermen, are also included. This is one of the only examples of this theme being actively interpreted anywhere. All around, it is the most comprehensive and inclusive walking tour to date, covering a wide range of research areas. "Eastville Community" shows the lifestyle and economic standing of many minority whalermen from the community. Those not gainfully employed after the decline of the industry, and who could not get a tourism job or employment at the Bulova Watch Factory, migrated to the bigger cities for work in the textile mills and other such industrial factories.

The first tour is the only tour that does not include a map or addresses unless you are within Sag Harbor. "Captains, Mates and Widows" is the Sag story of the Yankee Elite and targets those looking for a visual experience of grandeur architecture. "Cornices and Pilasters: Sag Harbor Architecture" offers examples of the Colonial style, Georgian, Federal, Greek Revival, Egyptian Revival; Early and High Victorian Italianate, High Victorian Gothic, High Victorian Ruskinian Gothic, and Late Victorian Queen Anne.

Working Sag Harbor is another tour on the list. It discusses the Native people and their efforts to be recognized as still existing. The tour covers the involvement of Sag Harbor, the uses

for a whale, the Broken Mast Monument in Oakland Cemetery, the diversity of the community, the decline of the industry, its most important minority participant, its first clockmaker, Ephraim Niles Byram, attempts to establish other industries, and finally the fire of 1877, which erased what was left on the wharves.

“Fire & Water: The Great Disasters of Sag Harbor “is largely a virtual tour that discusses the 1815 Great September Gale, 1816 Year without a Summer, a fire in 1817, and another, in 1845. The community also has a tour of Oakland Cemetery, called “Permanent Residents of Oakland Cemetery”. Most of the figures were not related to the whaling era, but those that were, are located together. Sag Harbor’s “Take a Closer Look” tour points out some of the finer details of the community and of the locations listed on other tours. “Vanished Sag Harbor” discusses what hasn’t been preserved but was still important. The monument to the whaleboat wars is great, but not quite applicable, and the “Broken Mast” monument is one of the best non-architectural acknowledgements to whaling (Appendix M.2). Although dedicated to all those lost at sea, it specifically acknowledges the wealthy men whose family were responsible for constructing it.

Table 55. Sag Harbor Whaling Museum Interpretation.

<b>Name</b>	<b>Square cm</b>	<b>Class</b>	<b>% White Men</b>	<b>White Men in cm</b>	<b>% Minority Men in cm</b>	<b>Minority Men in cm</b>	<b>% White Women</b>	<b>White Women in cm</b>	<b>% Minority Women</b>	<b>Minority Women in cm</b>
Girl with Pantaloons (left)	3974	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	3974	0	0

Girl with Ribbon/kitten (Mary Tinker)	3871	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	3871	0	0
Harbor View (front), 1911	619	Elite	100	619	0	0	0	0	0	0
Harbor View (rear), 1911	619	Elite	100	619	0	0	0	0	0	0
Thomas Roys, 1862	194	Elite	100	194	0	0	0	0	0	0
Marie Salliard Roys, 1862	194	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	194	0	0
Mrs. Mary Tinker	2323	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	2323	0	0
Phoebe Smith	3097	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	3097	0	0
Miss Julia King	2839	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	2839	0	0
Captain Jacob A. Haven c. 1850s	2065	Elite	100	2065	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mrs. Cornelia Pierce Byram and Child	3729	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	3729	0	0
Ephraim Niles Byram	48	Elite	100	48	0	0	0	0	0	0
19th century Textiles	27871	Elite	10	2787	0	0	90	25084	0	0
B+W women's photo in SE room display	194	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	194	0	0
Yankee Man in SE room display	516	Elite	100	516	0	0	0	0	0	0
Captain Ezekiel Curry, 1845	2839	Elite	100	2839	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yankee Women c.1840s	2839	Elite	0	0	0	0	100	2839	0	0
Figurehead of ship Jefferson, 1861	3484	Elite	100	3484	0	0	0	0	0	0
Map of Whaling Grounds, 1877	232	Elite	100	232	0	0	0	0	0	0

Benjamin Huntting	3097	Elite	100	3097	0	0	0	0	0	0
Captain Henry Wickham Haven, c. 1850	4258	Elite	100	4259	0	0	0	0	0	0
Captain Nathan V. Fordham	4645	Elite	100	4645	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ephraim Niles Byram	4645	Elite	100	4645	0	0	0	0	0	0
Landscape with White Guys c. 1880	4645	Elite	100	4645	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mrs. Wickham Haven c. 1850	4645	Elite	100	4645	0	0	0	0	0	0
Captain Jones Winters	2555	Elite	100	2555	0	0	0	0	0	0
				<b>41894</b>		<b>0</b>		<b>48144</b>		<b>0</b>
5 teeth with Yankee Women	774	N/A	0	0	0	0	100	774	0	0
Toys	13935	N/A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Whaling Days"	1084	N/A	75	771	25	272	0	0	0	0
"Old Toll Gate", 1883	516	N/A	100	516	0	0	0	0	0	0
				<b>1287</b>		<b>272</b>		<b>0</b>		<b>0</b>
Long Island Shore Whaling, c. 1675	1858	Subsistence/ working	50	929	50	929	0	0	0	0
The Native American Whaling Experience	1394	Subsistence/ Indigenous	0	0	100	1394	0	0	0	0
				<b>929</b>		<b>2323</b>		<b>0</b>		<b>0</b>
Misc. Sperm hunting (top)	619	working	100	619	0	0	0	0	0	0
Misc. Sperm hunting (bottom)	619	working	100	619	0	0	0	0	0	0
Right Whaling in the Behring Straights, 1871	3871	working	100	3871	0	0	0	0	0	0

Sperm Whale and its Varieties, 1871	3484	working	100	3484	0	0	0	0	0	0
"A Shoal of Sperm Whale", 1838	2323	working	100	2323	0	0	0	0	0	0
"A Sperm Whale in a Flurry"	2839	working	100	2839	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Attacking a Right Whale"	3097	working	50	1549	50	1549	0	0	0	0
"Sticking the Prey"	4645	working	100	4645	0	0	0	0	0	0
"Right Whale Hunting In Behring Straits and Arctic Ocean With Its Varieties" 1871	2787	working	100	2787	0	0	0	0	0	0
1897 "Whaling Off Amagansett, L.I.	619	working	90	557	0	0	10	62	0	0
				<b>23293</b>		<b>1549</b>		<b>62</b>		<b>0</b>

Sag Harbor has applied many popular themes to its walking tours to create as diverse of an audience, and range of subject matters, as possible, but the Sag Harbor Whaling Museum is the principal outlet for interpretation in the community. The above information is the data collected from the interior exhibits, displays, and paintings (Table 55; Appendix M.4). There is a 3D diorama of a shore whaling scene with Yankees and Native Americans working together (Figure 86), but much of the interpretable material in this museum is contained within 2D art work featuring traditional all white crews (Figure 87). It is due to the revival period, and the elitist nature of art, in general, that the museum lacks much depiction of diversity. The museum was founded during the end of the maritime revival period, but it has not shifted the focus off its wealthy former occupants.



Figure 86. Whaling Diorama (Photo by author).



Figure 87. Yankee whaling Scene (Photo by author).

***Commercial/Industrial Resources:***

Table 56. Sag Harbor Commercial/Industrial Resources (red/crimson).

#	Commercial/Industrial Sites	Address
1	Long Wharf	1 Long Wharf
2	Gregory Building	1 Bay Street
3	M. H. Gregory Store	1 Bay Street
4	Nickerson & Vail Storehouse	1 Bay Street

5	S.S. Crowell Pump and Block Maker	1 Bay Street
6	M. H. Gregory Storehouse	1 Bay Street
7	John Fordham Smithy	1 Bay Street
8	W. and G.H. Cooperage and Wade's Boat Shop	1 Bay Street
9	H.S. French Storehouse	1 Bay Street
10	H.S. French Storehouse	1 Bay Street
11	W. and G.H. Cooperage and Storehouse	1 Bay Street
12	Maldstone Mill Cooperage	1 Bay Street
13	George B. Brown Tenement House	1 Main Street
14	J. Conkling Smithy and Storehouse	1 Bay Street
15	Conkling Blacksmith	Marine Park Drive/ 1 Bay Street
16	Vicinity of Wade's Shipyard; Huntington Shipyard; Zachery's Landing Shipyard	Harbor Cove Court
17	Original Town Landing	c. 31 West Water Street
18	Site of James Howell Inn - American Hotel	45 Main Street
19	Vicinity of 1810 Candleworks	c. 26 Bay Street
20	Shipyard and Cooperage of Zachariah Rogers - whaleboat yard of Uriah Gurden	c. 30 Bay Street
21	Vicinity of Mulford and Sleight Oil Cellars	c. 51 Bay Street
22	Vicinity of Large Shipyard with Rigging Loft	c. 55 Bay Street
23	Sailor's Brothel	68 Bay Street
24	Ropewalk (SW End)	Rysam Street/High Street
25	Ropewalk (NW End)	c. 18 Rysam Street
26	Ropewalk (NW End)	1 Redwood Road
27	Ropewalk (South End)	c. 282 Main Street

The fate of Sag Harbor's commercial and industrial resources are largely covered under discussion of the walking tours. There were 25 commercial and industrial sites located in this research which include three shipyards, two ropewalks, several storehouses, four cooperages, three blacksmiths, a block maker, boat shop, brothel, hotel, store, candleworks, and original town landing (Table 56; Figure 85). The 15 located closets to the wharf have virtually all been destroyed by fire and sit under a parking lot (Figure 88; Figure 89). As such, they do not contribute much to the discussion under this section. However, with the waterfront not having undergone substantial redevelopment, there is likely good archaeological potential.





**Residential Resources:**

Table 57. Sag Harbor Residential Resources (green).

#	Residential Resources	Address
1	Sleight and Rysam-Sleight	107 -115 Division Street
2	Peleg Latham	125 Main Street
3	Stanton House	155 Main Street
4	Hope House	165 Main Street
5	Vail House	25 Madison Street
6	Hand House	Sage Street/Church Street
7	Hannibal French House	186 Main Street
8	Sybil Douglas	189 Main Street
9	Jade Wade	23 Union Street
10	Van Scoy House	203 Main Street
11	Napier House	238 Main Street
12	Huntington-Cooper House	227 Main Street
3	Samuel Huntting	237 Main Street
14	L'Hommedieu House	258 Main Street
15	Benjamin Glover - also SE end of Hommedieu's Ropewalk	278 Main Street

Sag Harbor caters to summer tourists, and thus, its beautiful architectural examples are intended to promote the Yankee wealth of the community's whaling industry (Table 57). Many are included in walking tours and most of them line Main Street, this section of which is also known as Captain's Row. Houses represent a variety of 19<sup>th</sup> century architectural styles including the Italianate Hannibal French House (Figure 90) and the Federal Style L. Hommedieu's House (Figure 91). None of these homes can be purchased for less than seven figures. While not recognized for the architectural beauty, the buildings in Eastville should also be preserved for their cultural significance (Figure 92; Appendix M.3).



Figure 90. Hannibal French House (Photo by author).



Figure 91. L. Hommedieu's House (Photo by author).



Figure 92. 21 Hamilton Street (Eastville) (Google 2014).

Part II of this research presented the methodology in Chapter VI. The methodology covered the selection criteria for the towns that were chosen for this study and also set the time period for the scope of this research. Further, it explained the process of data collection and the rationale behind the variables chosen. Chapter VII then presented these findings within each town regarding both their historic and archaeological preservation, as well as their interpretive presentation, so that they could be assessed in the following two chapters. Chapter VIII addresses how capitalism affected these communities' development which in turn has impacted the resources that have been preserved, and Chapter IX assesses the public interpretation within these communities in order to answer the questions posed in Chapter 1.

### **Part III: Analysis and Interpretation**

#### **Chapter VIII. Preservation Analysis**

This chapter focuses on three of the supporting questions posed in the first chapter. The first section looks at what commercial, industrial, and residential aspects of the whaling industry have been preserved in the 12 communities evaluated in this research. It discusses the commercial and industrial resources generally, and then by structural type, before discussing residential preservation. It also discusses communities or sites that have exceptionally high archaeological potential, as well as those with none. The second section discusses how the preservation of these resources was impacted by the economic circumstances of a capitalist system, and the third question serves as a summary of the first two in that it addresses the socioeconomic reasons for regional variations in whaling resources that have been preserved, interpreted, or forgotten, both historically and archaeologically.

#### **What aspects of the whaling industry have been preserved and why?**

Every variety of residential resource is present in these communities, from the modest Cape Cod houses of Provincetown, Nantucket, and the Vineyard, to the more elegant Italianate and Second French Empire mansions of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century that are common in New Bedford and New London. The later concentration of capital in these cities not only resulted in far more diverse presence of residential architecture, but also a greater degree of brick and stone structures. These buildings were able to withstand fires and storms that removed the infrastructure of earlier built wooden structures. The New Bedford Historic District was established in 1971 and totals more than 11 city blocks of almost 20 acres. The district is mostly contained within parts of Acushnet Avenue, Elm, Water, Rodman, Front, Commercial, and

Union streets. Twenty buildings, built between 1810 and 1855, are found within this district and are cited as important examples of local architectural types within New England maritime commercial districts.

Development in New London from the middle through late 19<sup>th</sup> century commercialized the early residential Bank Street make up, encouraging the expansion of wharves, piers, and warehouses (Walwer 1999:47). This created the densest area of mid-late 19<sup>th</sup> century industrial buildings directly associated with whaling in any of the communities studied, due to New London's late introduction to, and later exit from, the whaling industry. The Hygienic building, constructed on top of an 18<sup>th</sup> century ships' chandlery, is an exceptionally fine example of whaling wealth. It was built in 1844 by a whaling captain named Harris, on top of the eight feet (2.4 meters) of fill covering an earlier colonial foundation (Hygienic Art Galleries 2017:2). The first-floor was a grocery/provisions store, with a second floor for crew quarters. While digging out the basement, the workers found an 18<sup>th</sup> century cannonball and a bill of fare for hemp from the ships' chandlery.

The same socioeconomic variables that influence the historic preservation of certain neighborhoods or communities also influence the archaeological preservation of remaining resources. Fill, railroads, and redevelopment are all factors influenced by the consolidation of wealth, and regulation, within capitalism, determines an industry's period of growth and decline, as well as the equitability of the distribution of wealth amongst those with influence to impact a city's future economic endeavors. Through archaeology, wharves and shipyards have great potential to reveal insights and evidence that often escapes the historical narrative, and the variability in contemporary states of preservation. In terms of shipyards, preservation is exceptional in several of the communities and ranges from complete industrial re-development to

shipyards still in operation after two hundred years. Several yards were simply left to decay and remain as they were left more than a century ago.

Mystic is the community that most actively preserved and interprets shipyard resources, but several 19<sup>th</sup> century shipyards are found to have been left almost entirely in place to decay. Fairhaven Shipyard, for example, has not been redeveloped. This property is very similar to the one acquired by Blount Fine Foods in Warren. The large stone structure has nearly two centuries of shipbuilding legacy. The south side was built as a stone rigging loft and remains so today under the occupation of the “Yacht Storage Fairhaven Shipyard Repair” (Appendix F.2). Others are well preserved under fill along undeveloped waterfronts, such as the c.1840 William Rodman Candle Works in Fairhaven. Dodson boatyard (Appendix J.2) was built on top of the 1840 Stonington Shipyard, built by Ephraim Williams (Beers et al. 1868). Union Wharf, at the base of Union Street, remains a shipyard, with two low impact warehouse type structures, and four 19<sup>th</sup> century structures. There are likely two centuries worth of shipbuilding archaeological resources present beneath the surface of this site. Several other shipyard locations have remained in continuous operation to this day, although operating with modern infrastructure. In Fairhaven, South Wharf is home to the Steamship Authority, and most of the space is used for cargo storage containers (Appendix J.2).

Fairhaven’s Old South Wharf extends west from Center Street. It too belongs to the Fairhaven Shipyard Company. There are a dozen buildings located on this wharf with several, less fixed, structures used for drydocking and boat repairs. At least eight are early to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. The original, early 19<sup>th</sup> century block shop and cooper shop, are still present and have been repurposed for similar activity. The sail loft/rigging loft of H.A. Church, 1868, is also present. Old North Wharf has two 19<sup>th</sup> century structures today. One is a repurposed 19<sup>th</sup> century

cooper shop; while the other is a 20<sup>th</sup> century structure occupied by the Harbor Hydraulics company. This northern section of the town has been somewhat redeveloped, with several 20<sup>th</sup> century houses now across from the wharf space. These wharves also have high archaeological potential but no interpretation. Of the three cooper shops, only #2 (Figure 47), now the home of a financial advising group, is still present.

There are several particularly notable towns with excellent potential for shipyard archaeology. In Provincetown, Tave's Boat/Shipyard, in operation toward the end of the whaling industry, was left as it was in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, with the wooden marine railway still perfectly intact for a century now (Figure 93). The late 19<sup>th</sup> century buildings are also present, and there is near perfect archaeological potential, as well as a rare opportunity to preserve the remains as they were. Lothrop's wharf is also still present and left to decay (Figure 94; Figure 95)



Figure 93. Tave's Boatyard (Photo by author).



Figure 94. Lothrop's Wharf (Photo by author).



Figure 95. Lothrop's Wharf Pier (Photo by author).

Mystic Seaport still has visible shipyard components buried under its landscaping and under the preserved village of relocated whaling structures. Their incorporation into the village can be observed in Table 58. Today, the entrance of Mallory's Sail loft, moved from its original location, comes from the side and the top floor houses the rigging loft, while the bottom floor is the ships' chandlery. All the funds for its restoration, as with many of the buildings, were donated by a descendant of Mallory and James F. Lathrop. In 1851 it was floated to Mystic Seaport (Coupe and Peterson 1985:84).



New Bedford's Dean and Drigg's Shipsmith shop was built in 1885 on Merrill's Wharf. James D. Driggs had been apprenticed to James Durfee of New Bedford. His shop was skilled at producing fine whaling ironwork. Ambrose J. Peters and Charles Peters went into partnership together, and they eventually sold the property to Colonel Edward Green. The shop was moved to Mystic at the same time as the *Morgan* in 1841 (Coupe and Peterson 1985:118). Mystic Bank was built in 1833 and was brought to the Seaport in 1944. Its largest investors were Greenman, Mallory, Cottrell, Rowland, and Appleman.

Table 58. Mystic Seaport Buildings' Incorporations.

<b>Seaport Building</b>	<b>Origin</b>	<b>Built</b>	<b>Incorporated</b>
Drigg's Shipsmith	New Bedford, MA	1885	1944
Mystic Bank	Old Mystic Village, CT	1833	1948
Boardman Schoolhouse	Griswold/Preston, CT	1768	1949
Fishtown Chapel	Groton, CT	1889	1949
Plymouth Cordage Co. Ropewalk	Plymouth, MA	1824	1950
Buckingham-Hall House	Old Saybrook, CT	Pre-1833	1951
Mallory Sail loft (Ship Chandlery and Rigging Loft)	Mystic, CT	1836	1951
Burrow's House	Mystic, CT	1812	1953

Westport also has exceptional archaeological preservation of most of its nine shipyards. The earliest complex was originally Waite's 17<sup>th</sup> century mill, and later Tripp's, then Chase's 18<sup>th</sup> century mill before Rotch acquired it in 1795 (Appendix G.5). He used it over the next half century to support his whaling operations (WHS 2013). The area today is mostly conservation area, with one factory, and a small residential community to the north. Both the Rotches and the Howlands bought mills in Westport for building and outfitting their fleets (Barboza 2016:23). Adjacent to Francis's blacksmith shop on the east bank of Westport River, John Avery Parker had a shipyard with Lemuel Milk between 1795 and 1803, located just behind 489 Old County

Road, which was formerly a horseshoe shop (Beers 1871). The yard was later owned by Thomas Winslow (Appendix G.5). Osprey Sea Kayak Adventures occupies the building now, and there has been little to no redevelopment. Traces of visible remains are present on several former shipyard locations, has been lightly residentially redeveloped. There is a very strong potential for all these locations to contain archaeological data.

Mattapoisett had eight, possibly nine, shipyards. These yards have nearly all been left as lawn and park, with only minor residential redevelopment, but no industrial resources remain on the waterfront. This community, famous for launching the *Acushnet*, *Plantina*, and *Wander*, has excellent shipyard resource potential. The inn on Shipyard Park is one of two historic guest accommodations near the waterfront. It was built in 1799 by ship carpenter, Joseph Meigs, and at different times served as a blacksmith, separate residences, a ships' chandlery, a storehouse, and a speakeasy. It was once known as Mattapoisett Inn. Today, there is another historic Mattapoisett Inn, just one block east, but it post-dates the whaling era (Appendix H.2).

The remains of several wharves and piers are particularly visible in a few communities. Peleg's wharf in Nantucket was left to decay in place and is still visible. Union Wharf in Provincetown has remains extending 50 feet (15.24 meters) into the water, with scattered timbers visible via satellite over a much greater distance. The remains of five wharves can be seen extending several hundred feet into the harbor in Martha's Vineyard, and several wharves in Westport, including Cuffe's, have some visible components along the shoreline.

The ropewalk preserved at Mystic Seaport was donated by Plymouth Cordage Company in 1950, but as it was 1,050 feet long, it was removed and rebuilt to one-quarter scale as a single rope bay, instead of the three it was originally (Olly 2013:179). "Industrial buildings such as the ropewalk stood for America's centuries-old tradition of fair labor and free-market capitalism."

(Coupe and Peterson 1985:125). With ropewalks being very long, straight, and on graded land, their demise almost universally resulted in a residential street developing over the next couple of decades in their place. One exception is in Mystic, where the location is now a park and ice cream stand between the Seaport and the Elm Grove Cemetery.

Cooperages, ship's chandleries, sail lofts and rigging lofts tend to be similar and often interchangeable structures. Collin's Wharf, home to Collins and Driscoll Cooperage, is directly across from Captain Charles Collin's 1760 house. There is a similar sized building today where the cooperage was, which is now a restaurant, but it is difficult to confirm if it is the same structure. Caleb Carr's Wharf was at the foot of Washington Street, and his associated cooperage still stands on Water Street. In Provincetown, several historic buildings remain on what was Union Wharf, one of which was likely a sail loft in combination with other shipyard operations. The property has not been redeveloped and the former structures have been converted into residences. 131 Commercial Street was an early-mid-19<sup>th</sup> century cooperage and is now a residence. A sail loft/rigging loft and a ships' store are also preserved in this community for commercial use.

In Mattapoisett the James and Luce Block shop is still present. It is located next to James and Luce's historic residence. Today, the block shop is also a residence. There are three noteworthy blacksmith shops that have been preserved. The first is Isaac Francis's stone blacksmith shop at the Head of Westport. The property was later used as a harness shop, a tailor, and a shoemaker, at various times. Jeremiah Thompson at one point had a wheelwright shop operating out back that later became a carriage shop. In Mattapoisett, Boston lawyer, J. Lewis Stackpole, converted Hall blacksmith shop into an impressive summer home (Stiles 1907:337,

338). The only blacksmith shop preserved in its historic state is the Dean and Drigg's shop from New Bedford, now located at the Seaport, and which remains in active use.

There are three noteworthy countinghouses that have been repurposed since the decline of whaling during the Industrial Revolution. The first was that owned by Henry Coffin in Nantucket. It became a real estate office by 1880 (Gardner 1949:279). Bourne Countinghouse in New Bedford was another that became a real estate office and both families reinvested in this enterprise after the demise of whaling. Rotch's Countinghouse on Nantucket became the Pacific Club for wealthy mariners, and today it sells scrimshaw.

There are also three candleworks/oil refineries that are still well preserved. In 2012 Andrew Rocket bought the Rodman candleworks for \$1.7 million, with plans to make the repairs and upgrades it needed (Urbon 2012:1, 2). The building was struck by fire in the late 1960s and was scheduled to be demolished when the Waterfront Historic Area League and the Architectural Conservation Trust intervened. The building was restored and reopened in 1979 as office and commercial space (Urbon 2012:6). Rocket said that he was enthused by the city's whaling history and inspired by how the city was described in its heyday in Herman Melville's "Moby Dick" (Urbon 2012:18). Hadwen and Barney's Candleworks had been destroyed by fire but was rebuilt by Richard Mitchel Jr. in 1847 on top of their earlier foundation (Rice 1998:1). Today it is home to the Nantucket Whaling Museum. In Fairhaven, the 1840 William Rodman Candleworks is also still present with the original cedar shingling on its sides, and the newer, mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, clapboard style covering the front.

A variety of trends and common themes can be deduced from the communities covered in this research. Factors that affect the preservation of historic and archaeological resources include when the community began its growth and involvement; the capital resources available for the

initial investment in infrastructure along with the durability of local material available for construction, the extent the wealthy chose to reinvest locally in finance, textiles, and/or manufacturing; the duration and severity of periods of economic stagnation or decline; the wealth and pride of local whaling enthusiasts; and the suitability of the community's geographic location for transition to modernizing transportation infrastructure.

Ropewalks do not survive outside of what was preserved in Mystic Seaport Museum, and smaller associated infrastructure such as blacksmiths and block shops, typically do not survive as often as cooperages, sail lofts, rigging lofts, or ship chandleries, but examples of all of these resources exist in these communities today as either residentially or commercially reused structures. Ropewalks locations universally became residential streets. The communities that reemerged as tourist communities share a higher degree of archaeological potential, with some communities, like Provincetown, and to a lesser extent, Mystic Seaport, having shipyard resources left to decay as they were when abandoned, and which fall somewhere between historically and archaeologically preserved.

The earliest communities to develop their waterfront infrastructure were the Island's and Sag Harbor. As such, and with fires common, nothing remains of any original whaling infrastructure. With Nantucket being the only one to continue whaling to any degree in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, its brick Hadwen and Barney candleworks, Macy Warehouse, and Pacific Club are all that remain on the waterfront. With New London, and New Bedford consolidating the industry into the latter 19<sup>th</sup> century, a substantially higher proportion of brick structures survive on the waterfront today. Several countinghouse have become Real Estate offices. Such structures often survive due to the generosity of donors or investors who see use for the preservation or reuse of such buildings.

With capital and stone available, several communities were able to build early-mid 19<sup>th</sup> century maritime industrial structures that remain nearly two centuries later. Most notably is Fairhaven Shipyard and Blount Fine Foods, the former still an active shipyard, and the later a conglomeration of several historic maritime structures operating as a commercial food distributor today. Stone structures from the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century are included in both New London and New Bedford's landscape as well.

*Adaptive Reuse:*

Several examples of repurposed resources have been mentioned thus far and most are structures made of more durable material like stone or brick. Examples of adaptive reuse include transition to residential use, tourist accommodations, shops and restaurants, and museum or heritage interpretation outlets. The Nantucket Whaling Museum, just mentioned, was one reused mid-19<sup>th</sup> century candleworks. In Sag Harbor, the Whaling Museum was originally Benjamin Hunting's residence. Hunttings is known for sending out the first deep sea whaleship, *Lucy*, to Brazil in 1785 with George Howell (SPLIA and SHS 2012:5). This venture was the first joint whaling investment between what became two powerful Yankee families in Sag Harbor.

One of the best-preserved residential examples in New London is the whaling home of the Shaw family, later owned by the Perkins family, and which is now home to the historical society. It is a beautiful, distinctly French-style structure (Hawthorne 1916:270; Appendix I.3). Nathaniel Shaw, originally of Fairfield, made his money in the Irish trade, but the next occupants, the Perkins, were some of New London's top whaling merchants. The Shaw Mansion offers a fine ambiance and aesthetic display of early industrial wealth and Yankee domesticity.

Dozens of houses have taken the tourist accommodation route. On Nantucket, Islanders began advertising whaling mansions and homes as Inns and hotels by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and

were soon accumulating considerable revenue from food sales, accommodation, transportation, and bathhouses (Gardner 1949:269). Archaelus Hammond had an 1802 house on Centre Street, which is now Anchor Inn Bed and Breakfast (Stackpole 1973:355). The Thomas Macy House was built in 1770 and expanded in 1834. It was donated by Oswald A. and Sallie Gail Harris Tupancy in 1987 as one of the finest examples of the island's federalist architecture. It is used today to host Nantucket Historical Society (NHA) events, meetings, and social occasions as well as for guest and staff housing (Jehle 1996:13).

The benefit of the NHA cannot be overstated, as it, and the Macy house, provided accommodation for the completion of this section of research, as it has done for hundreds of Nantucket whaling scholars. The Thomas Macy warehouse was built in 1846 and was donated in 1984 (Appendix D.4). It is now used as a private art gallery and welcome center for the NHA (Jehle 1996:29). Orange Street in Nantucket has been described as having 'more whaling captains' houses than any other street on the planet' (Stevens 1936:176), and at least seven whaling residences are or have been converted to inns at some point to accommodate the tourist industry. Across the river the Delano Homestead Bed and Breakfast serves Fairhaven tourism.

In Stonington, both Union Store and Jim Stiver's Hardware Store are still standing (Appendix J.2). The former is the Devon House Art Gallery, the latter, a private residence. In Provincetown, most historic structures located where the wharves once were are still historic and have been repurposed into various tourist shops and related businesses. The best example of adaptive reuse is found in Warren and includes the fusion of the original Gladding's Sail Loft, F. Marble's Blacksmith Shop, and J.J. Oil Works, into the Blount Fine Foods complex. There are bronze plaques on all three (Appendix L.2). Gladding's is identified as originally being the Gardner Brown Mill. Marble's Blacksmith shop is recognized as originally being the 1820

Vulcan Forge, and it was later used for the cotton textile and then seafood industries. J.J. Oil Works is identified as the Andrew and Eddy Oil Manufactory. The former cooperage on Wheaton Avenue, associated with the facilities on Brown and Gardner's Wharf, is an 1830s structure. Benjamin Cranston's house is on Broad Street; he was likely a primary sailmaker at Gladding's Sail Loft. Adaptive reuse is an economic alternative promoting circular economy, or the minimalization of waste. It is a greener alternative focused on recycling older structures and which also preserves heritage for future generations.

*Residential Preservation:*

Architectural styles emerging during the whaling era vary considerably from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Historic structures in Provincetown, Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, Westport, and Stonington are all Cape Cod dominant. Vacation communities like Nantucket and the Vineyard, in particular, rebuilt newer structures to fit into the historic landscape to preserve simplicity and complement the heritage appeal of the district.

Sag Harbor preferred its luxury homes on Main Street, but also valued the preservation of Eastville, its minority community. Newer structures in the island's tourist sections attempt to preserve the waterfront's historic ambiance. Less appealing modern warehouses and other light impact, less permanent buildings, are few and hidden out of view behind the beautiful historic houses that line Water Street. The homes of poor people, the whalers and laborers, are less represented, not only because they are seen as less worthy of saving, but more so because poor people could not afford to move a house if industrial-economic circumstances required more lucrative use of the land.

Most homes in Nantucket were built as wood-framed houses with gambrel roofs, although the brick Federal-style houses of Rotch and Rodman stood out on the hill by the end of



the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and structures including barns, stables, and other outbuildings were present in many commercial and residential yards. The island also has the largest concentration of houses from the 17<sup>th</sup> through mid-19<sup>th</sup> century anywhere in the United States (Stevens 1936:9). Eighteenth century houses, 'exhibiting all the characteristics of Quaker simplicity and modesty in design' line Liberty, India, and Hussey Streets. They are characterized by elements such as the side placement of the front steps, which was 'thought less bold' by the Quakers (Williams 1977:70). Greek Revival architecture is well represented, and its popularity in the 1830s coincided with the growth in whaling profits (Stevens 1936:9).

In Provincetown, historic structures along the waterfront were squeezed into the landscape. Many of the buildings remain sided with original, white cedar shingles, while others have partially or wholly upgraded their external walls to the popular, mid-19<sup>th</sup> century style of painted clapboard planking. While shingled houses did not need paint or stain and individual pieces could be replaced as needed, they required more work initially to install. Meanwhile, the clapboard style required less of an initial investment of labor, but all sides needed to be replaced at the same time. The clapboard renovation occurred more often during periods of expansion.

The earlier structures in Westport, furthest south on the Peninsula, were also built in the historic Cape Cod style with white cedar shingles. Most of them have since had their sides re-shingled in the same historic fashion, but most of the fronts have been altered to a mid-late 19<sup>th</sup> century siding. Most of those who resided at the Point operated their businesses out of their homes until enough wealth accumulation allowed them to build more opulent homes progressing up the street throughout the Golden Age. While most of those buildings closest to the point have retained their original shingling style, their weathering indicates they were replaced sometime in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Many houses a short distance north of the wharves had their

fronts replaced in the mid-late 19<sup>th</sup> century with the clapboard style of the time. This trend transitioned the peninsula to more contemporary forms of architectural diversity and demonstrates a progression chronologically northward from the Point. Westport has maintained the greatest degree of historic preservation and also has the highest potential for interpretive and archaeological resources.

With the decline of whaling Westport fell into poverty, but rum-running after the Civil War and the arrival of summer tourists from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, spurred Westport into its third phase of growth focusing on the restoration of its beautiful, historic Cape Cod, Georgian, and Greek Revival architecture (WHC 2013:6). The most significant economic impact on the preservation of the earliest buildings on the Point is that they were shingled with white cedar. This material requires very little upkeep, and its weathering patina is a good indicator of age and is difficult to replicate with stain or paint. The savings in short and long-term conservation costs enabled by shingling allowed for the building of more diverse 19<sup>th</sup> century structures and continues to allow for more financial resources, both public and private, to be directed toward saving the more architecturally diverse structures dating from the start of the Golden Age.

Aside from a few local mills amongst the vast woodlands of Westport, the community largely allowed the industrial revolution to pass by. Its peninsular form contributed to it losing its geographic significance once the railroad arrived in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. The arrival of cars resulted in the decline of local stores, but as these businesses were converted to residential purposes, the local real estate market grew. Many houses have embraced the preservation of this industry and display plaques or historical acknowledgments of some kind. Among those prominently listed on Westport Historical Society's webpage is the Paquachuck Inn, already mentioned, among other businesses owned by the Cory family (Barboza 2016:i).

Dozens of Stonington residences from the whaling era remain today. Examples of the best promoted or most reputable are found in Appendix J.3. Of the 120 structures that filled the community in 1819, about 40 of them are still standing and well preserved (Schroer 1981:18). Dozens were replaced after this time and throughout the whaling heyday and still remain today. The oldest houses in the community, built before 1820, are nearly all small, rectangular, symmetrical, heavily timbered, one and a half story colonial cottages, built on a low foundation with a central chimney. They are typically white cedar shingle or clapboard, and many have gambrel roofs. Houses in the community are represented in every architectural style of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, with the nicest houses, built during the Golden Age, lining Main Street and Water Street nearest the main wharves (Appendix J.2). One such house is that of C.P. Williams, whose prominent Greek Revival estate is valued at over \$2,000,000 today (zillow.com).

Residential lots within convenient distance to the center of the community's activity, while not widely available today, were not lacking during, or even just after, the whaling industry, and houses continued to fill in the open areas between older houses. This Peninsula, which was loosely packed earlier in development, creates a very uniquely blended architectural landscape not commonly found in cities that grew from a dense, nucleated settlement pattern, like most of New England. Most historic buildings along the waterfront, closest to the activity, remain today, with many other fine homes appearing throughout the peak and declining years of the industry. After this decline the community embraced a quiet summer tourism.

Stonington, Mystic, Mattapoissett, Westport, Warren, and to a lesser extent Fairhaven, had similar periods of economic growth and overall involvement in the whaling industry, and their architecture predominately reflects that of the Golden Age (1820-1860). In Mystic, George Greenman was the first to build his house, in 1839, which he lived in with his two younger

brothers. It was designed by Amos Clift in the Greek Revival style. The garden shed is original. The property was donated by his great granddaughter in 1970 (Coupe and Peterson 1985:26-27). After marrying, Clark Greenman was the next to build a house, in 1841, the same year as the *Morgan*. The strong architectural similarities between the Greenman homes suggest that Clark's was also built by Amos Clift. Clark died in 1877 and his daughter, Harriet Greenman Stillman, inherited the property. Her son, Dr. Charles Stillman, was one of the founders of Mystic Seaport. She donated the property in 1949, after which it housed the expanding library for some time (Coupe and Peterson 1985:30).

Thomas Greenman, the youngest Greenman brother, built his house in 1842. It may or may not have been designed by Clift. When he died in 1887 his house passed to his daughter, Mrs. Thomas E. Stillman, a.k.a. Charlotte Elisabeth Greenman. Her daughter, Mary Stillman Harkness, sold the house, and then repurchased it in 1945 to donate to the museum. The furniture was a gift from another Greenman granddaughter, Miss Charlotte Stillman, in 1946 (MHA 1951a:4-5). It served as exhibit and living space through the 1960s and 1970s (Coupe and Peterson 1985:35). The portraits prominently displayed in the house were intended to show the success of the Yankee shipbuilder.

Warren eventually consolidated most of Rhode Island's whaling activity. Many whaling fortunes were made in the community, and public and private architectural styles reflect new wealth accordingly (RIHPC 1975:18). The Greek Revival of the early-mid 19<sup>th</sup> century began giving way to early Victorian, Gothic, and Italianate preferences (RIHPC 1975:18). The transition in architectural style began just after the peak years of the industry, and those fortunate enough to profit from these decades redirected their wealth toward the residential expansion of the community, while their children found lucrative work in the still growing textile mills.

In Mattapoisett, Boston lawyer, J. Lewis Stackpole converted Hall blacksmith shop into an impressive summer home (Stiles 1907:337-338). Several newer luxury homes are built on the former wharf spaces, but many historic structures remain opposite Water Street. Fairhaven's success rose and fell with New Bedford's, but Fairhaven did not invest in manufacturing industries to the extent that New Bedford did (Ellis 1892:392). Many captains' homes can still be viewed on Poverty Point, as can Elnathan Eldridge's 1768 store, known as Edgewater since its expansion in the 1870s and 1880s. The Allen House and the Whitefield-Manjiro friendship house are on the Point and are advertised in Fairhaven's current Visitor Guide (FHVG 2016) (Appendix F.2). They both have some association with whaling. The Allen house belonged to four generations of boatbuilders, while the Whitfield-Manjiro House belonged to whaling captain William H. Whitfield, who rescued Manjiro from the sea and brought him back to America.

Main Street in Sag Harbor has many 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Federal and Victorian houses. Many middle-class whaling families lived on Suffolk Street, but the Greek Revival, popular during the height of the whaling industry, is most prominent. South fork carpenters were well known for reusing material from previous structures (Donneson and Wesiburg 2003:77), and thus many of these newer, mid-19<sup>th</sup> century structures contained the recycled historic materials from the community's earliest buildings. Victorian styles are lacking in this community, which show the weakening economic circumstances of Sag Harbor after the whaling industry's decline. Nobody could afford to build during these years. It was said that those who had money and did not need to build had a unique way of changing the scenery: "when they have nothing to do in Sag Harbor, they move a house." (Donneson and Wesiburg 2003:98).

New London has the most diversity in historic housing. Starr and Tilley streets had the highest concentration of merchants' and artisans' residences' (Living Places 2010). The diversity

in the architectural styles of well-built house is unique to New London as a whaling community due to its later success and residential development. Within this district, there are examples of similar sized and proportioned Greek Revivals, Italianate, Second Empire, Gothic Revival, Queen Anne, and, later, Colonial Revival popular in the 1920s. The residences in Williams Memorial Park Historic District attest to the prosperity whaling brought to New London in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. It further shows the consolidation of wealth and power among a few families.

The Prospect Street Historic District developed as a direct response to the increased demand for middle class housing that resulted from New London's whaling prosperity (Living Places 2010:3-4). It consists of two dozen houses scattered over 5.5 acres within two city blocks, bisected by Prospect Street and bordered by Federal, Huntington, and Hempstead streets and Bulkeley Place. There is one 1949 house and fifteen two and a half story Greek Revivals, four Italianate, and one Gothic Revival, all built between 1838 and 1859. There is also an 1889 Queen Anne, a 1905 Colonial Revival, and an early Federal Style house.

Hempstead historic district is another mostly residential area that developed during the height of the whaling era. It is located just south and west of the center of the city. Out of its 142 historic structures, 139 were built between 1678 and 1935. More than half of the homes are two and two and a half story Greek Revivals built between 1840 and 1880. A part of this area was developed during the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century by the Holt and Hempstead families for free blacks, and it also incorporated various self-help programs, some of which remain today. The New London County Jail, and various industries, have helped influence its development as a working-class neighborhood (Living Places 2010).

The whaling industry greatly influenced the building of these houses, and more than 70 homes were present by 1860 (Starr & Co 1860). The increasing diversity brought about by the

whaling industry was reflected in the make-up of this community. Shipbuilder Jonathan Coit sold land to abolitionist Savillion Haley, who built 73, 77, 81, and 83 Hempstead Street (Appendix I.3). Haley then sold them, at cost, to free black families, stating how ‘they deserved to be treated like everybody else’ (Living Places 2010:21). As other free black families and individuals moved into the neighborhood this section of town became known as “Ethiopia” and “New Guinea”.

Manufacturing was introduced to the Coit Street Historic District in the 1870s and became an increasingly important influence on this city’s economic development. At various times there was a stone cider vinegar factory, shirt manufactory, paper box company, cast-stone block company, tannery, Patent Cane Umbrella factory, silk factory, and more (Living Places 2010:5). Residents of this area were strictly associated with the maritime industries, and in the 1830s and 1840s the residential breakdown was composed of a blacksmith, joiner, grocer, ship’s carpenter, mariner, rigger, and several ship captains (Living Places 2010). George Shepard also owned a dry goods store in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Architectural styles here vary from Georgian, Federal and Greek Revival to Italianate, Queen Anne, and Romanesque.

New Bedford developed its whaling industry alongside New London’s growth, but with a much larger initial capital investment dedicated specifically toward whaling. The several blocks nearest the wharves were all dedicated toward practical, business purposes in what is today New Bedford Whaling Park, but surrounding this area is the densest concentration of 19<sup>th</sup> century architectural varieties of any community due to its continued consolidation of wealth throughout the duration of the century. The more opulent homes were constructed further and further inland and up the hill and faced the waterfront.

In the earlier communities that never industrialized or consolidated resources, like Nantucket, Westport, and Provincetown, there is a large representation of historic housing that

still features Cape Cod shingle sided structures. Communities that continued their growth into the mid-19<sup>th</sup> began to first reside the façade to the more contemporary clapboard style, and those with more substantial wealth resided the entire exterior. Many late 18<sup>th</sup> through early 19<sup>th</sup> century buildings were intended for joint residential and commercial use. As wealth increased, the capitalists began building more sophisticated Federal style homes progressing back from the waterfront, and typically uphill, during the first third of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, before transitioning to the statelier Greek Revivals popular for the next third of the century. Italianate and 2<sup>nd</sup> French Empire became the popular styles for the remainder of the period. The lifespan of structures built with shingle siding aided in the preservation of these residences after the decline of the whaling industry. Residential houses made of stone in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century were rather uncommon, but Howland's 1830s stone house in Westport is the exception.

As waterfront space increased in value in communities with deeper harbors and more direct rail transportation access, land values often exceeded the structural value of less elaborate homes. While wealthy people could simply pick up their homes and move them to a better location, those less well-off could not. The wealthy could also afford more consistent maintenance, thus extending the life of the homes to a far greater degree. Land and Real Estate in Sag Harbor, Nantucket, and Martha's Vineyard have increased astronomically since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the once industrious populace transitioned into an upper-class summer getaway.

#### *Minority Communities:*

There seems to be little commonality among the communities who have exceptionally preserved and/or interpreted minority communities with a city, an island, and a cape tip being among the top three. New Bedford, outside the wealthier mansions set back on the hill, is an active minority/immigrant community today, with the Portuguese population ranging for very



light skinned Europeans, to very dark-complexioned Indigenous islanders. The communities have formed their origins and continued preservation under a variety of circumstances, but one commonality is they are all embraced for their historic and cultural value and are well maintained today.

Several minority sub-communities or neighborhoods within these towns are significant for their expression of historical racial and socioeconomic disparities. Eastville, in Sag Harbor, is one such community. The area around Eastville Avenue and Hampton streets has been a predominantly black community since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (Donneson and Wesiburg 2003:104) (Appendix M.3). Hempstead District and Haley Houses in New London include plaques and signs discussing the neighborhood and the five houses. New Guinea, in Nantucket, is a well-preserved community and includes the African-American Meeting House. Here, they provide guided tours of the colored cemetery.

Westport's primary heritage focus is on Paul Cuffe, with many significant stops related to his history as a successful half African, half Native American, in a Yankee world. His story is now carried on in a Park in New Bedford, a city who has been focusing more light on its minority residents. The Lewis Temple house is part of New Bedford's architectural walking tour. Paul Cuffe has increasingly become a symbol of minority accomplishment. His story has become an inspiration and a focus of many contemporary researchers. Among the most significant contributions of Cuffe is his legacy which proves that while racism is an inherent component of maximizing exploitation, the acquisition of wealth and power, expressed in the form of social class, supersedes the category of race, as he became good friends with Yankee oligarchs like William Rotch Jr. and was referred to by many as "the Yankee Cuffe".

Cuffe, against all odds, embraced capitalism and emulated the achievements of his Yankee colleagues. His economic success, more than a half-century before his enslaved brethren in the southern states were freed, allowed for his descendants to bare a similar socioeconomic advantage as Yankee descendants, and it is this exception, of such a successful minority in the capitalist system, that allowed for his monument to be the only notable minority whaling monument to appear during the revival period. Cuffe was not the last of his line to whale, and members of his family spread to other whaling communities. James J. Cuffe, and his son, Nathan J. Cuffe, whaled in Sag Harbor as residents of Eastville Community by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

*National Register and Landmarks Program:*

The National Register of Historic Places and the National Landmarks Program are two of the primary systems used to formally determine a heritage resource's significance. These programs are critical tools in assisting the government to prioritize the allocation of resources. The creation of New Bedford's Whaling National Historic Park was largely determined through this process, as nearly every whaling resource in this district is either eligible for inclusion or actually included. The federal resources geared toward preservation, in turn, have determined which resources are most available for interpretation, and this greatly boosted local tourism. Further, the allocation of these federal resources has contributed to the city's greater emphasis on promoting diversity as opposed to communities like Mystic, which had a greater reliance on private funding from wealthy donors. Below are the relevant properties and districts listed on the National Register with NL also indicating their registration as a National Landmark.

In Provincetown, the Provincetown Historic District is listed on the National Register, but the only whaling resource specifically listed is Freeman's Wharf. Nantucket's historic district (NL) is also listed, as are both the Jethro Coffin House (NL) and Brant Point Light House. New

Bedford's Whaling National Park, Waterfront Historic District, New Bedford Historic District (NL), and Merrill's Wharf Historic District are all listed, and specifically the U.S. Customs House (NL), two houses once belonging to William Rotch Jr. (NL) and Rotch's countinghouse. In Westport, the Westport Historic District is listed, as is Paul Cuffe's farm (NL) and the Handy House.

Five relevant historical districts in New London are included. These are the Downtown New London Historic District, Hempstead Historic District, Prospect Street Historic District, Williams Memorial Park Historic District, and Coit Street Historic District, with Bank Street Historic District and Starr Street Area listed as eligible. Specifically, the Joshua and Nathaniel Hempstead houses are listed, as is the Custom's House (museum), the four houses of Whale Oil Row, and the William's Memorial. Stonington Borough Historic District and Mechanic Street Historic District are listed in Stonington along, with the Captain Nathaniel B. Palmer House (NL) and Stonington Cemetery.

Mystic's only listed relevant resource is the *Charles W. Morgan* (NL). Warren's Waterfront District and Sag Harbor Village District are also included. No resources from Martha's Vineyard, Fairhaven, or Mattapoissett are listed. While most individual resources included in this research are not specifically listed on the National Register, the majority fall within one of the 16 relevant historical districts listed, and within 18 if the areas deemed eligible are also included. National Register and Landmark resources, like the ones identified above, can be found at <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/index.htm>.

**How did economic circumstances influence what industrial sites have been preserved, where, by whom and why?**

*Industrial and Post-Industrial Redevelopment:*

Communities participated to varying degrees in the reinvestment of their capital into new ventures associated with the rise of the Industrial Revolution in the post-American Civil War era. The two island communities (Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket) and Provincetown let the Industrial Revolution pass by almost entirely, with no particularly intense industrial era pursuit. When Nantucket whaling began its decline during the 1840s, the community initially turned to a variety of manufactories, but could not compete with terrestrial-based ports once the railroads arrived in the 1850s. Fortunately for the tourism industry, "the sleepy years" between 1860 and 1950 preserved Nantucket's architectural integrity (Grant 2011:390). This statement is not, however, applicable to the wharves themselves.

The introduction of regular steamboat service to Nantucket in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century began the tourism industry on the island. From its peak population in 1840 of 9,700 people (Stevens 1936:49), Nantucket was reduced to 3,200, by 1875 (Macy 1880:312). Ironically, it was the production of whale oil from Nantucket ships that enabled the rapid developments in industry that better quality lubricants enabled, but, because the male population was rarely on land, the community itself was unable to take advantage of the economic opportunities that industrialization offered (Mawer 1999:xii; Olly 2013:66).

On the Vineyard there were no railroads dividing historic resources from the waterfront, as seen in community centers that were geographically better located for industrial pursuits, and the lack of industrialization provides archaeological resources with good accessibility. There were no extant industrial whaling structures identified, as the wharves have moved to

accommodate the tourist industry. The mid-19<sup>th</sup> century saw immense steamboat competition and the eventual creation of the New Bedford, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket Steamboat Company (Banks 1911:457). The first steam railroads were built on Martha's Vineyard in 1874 (Banks 1911:459; Norton 1923:82). Provincetown's lack of industrial participation largely stemmed from insufficient water-power (Morison 1921:300), coupled with a lack of cheaper, faster, more direct terrestrial transportation outlets.

By 1885, \$964,573 had been invested in Provincetown's fishing industry, but by 1922 very few of the related industries that once littered the wharves remained (Paine 1922:55). Provincetown responded to the decline of the industry the same way as other non-industrial communities: by turning its rotting wharves, narrow dirt roads, and scenic beaches into tourist attractions. These efforts resulted in a huge economic shift from fishing village to resort town, but scattered remnants of the wharves' active pasts remain today.

By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century there was a thriving art community alongside the emerging summer resort atmosphere, but when the Portland Gale hit the waterfront in 1898 the major wharves were destroyed. By this time the town was already in transition to a new economic focus (Pilgrim Monument 2014:3). Cape Cod, the larger peninsula leading to Provincetown, had been losing its historical emphasis in favor of its "natural beauty" for some time, but by the 1930s the Maritime Historical Association in Mystic decided to counter the Cape's approach to tourism by constructing the perfect 19<sup>th</sup> century seaport (Olly 2013:111).

In 1849 George Greenman and Co. began to diversify their capital into textile production. They built Greenmanville Manufacturing Co.; part of which houses Seaport exhibits today. The Stillman building is one such exhibit building. Members of the Greenman family served on bank boards, had a controlling interest in Standard Machine Co. on Water Street, and served as

justices of the peace, as well as on the state legislature. In 1891, with shipbuilding over and the last of the Greenman brothers dead, the church closed. Rossie Velvet Mill opened in 1898 and gave the town a spark of industrial revival, and within a few decades the community rose again as a center for maritime heritage. There were 143 subscribers, almost immediately, who pledged \$20,000, of the needed \$30,000, to launch this industrial pursuit (Coupe and Peterson 1985:53).

The Seaport developed into America's best maritime museum during the nationalist and Cold War anxiety of the 1940s and 1950s (Olly 2013:6), and now encloses two of the former shipyard sites and much of "Greenmanville", including the textile mill (Neill 1988:72). Unfortunately, as a result of capitalism, the descendants of the minority groups who participated in the whaling industry are, for the most part, not in a socioeconomic position to concern themselves with their heritage, at least not to the same degree as Yankee families with generations of employment exceeding subsistence needs. As a result, the Seaport opened to a period accounting for less than 10% of the industry's duration, and still ignored the substantial presence of Black, Portuguese, and Indigenous Islanders during the Golden Age.

Two cities, New Bedford and New London completely industrialized. Both cities did not begin their whaling reliant expansion until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, and both had the financial backing to build structures with a higher proportion of brick, throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century whaling period. Such structures, often lacking architectural detail, are built for more practical purposes and are better intended to withstand storms and fires. In turn, the building of later infrastructure results in longer term adaptive reuse potential for incorporation into the modern landscape.

With Mystic, the smallest of Connecticut's reputable ports, taking over that state's interpretive efforts, New Bedford not only dominated the industrial sector, but later captured the most extensive, diverse, and inclusive interpretive efforts as well. Fairhaven soon began

balancing its summer revenue with a handful of industrial operations. The greatest economic impact on Fairhaven's whaling interpretation, or lack thereof, is that the town's history was purchased with Henry Rogers' petroleum wealth. Roger's also donated the Old Dartmouth Historical Society in 1906 (Lindgren 1999:173).

New London underwent a substantial degree of industrialization, having consolidated many of the transportation networks of eastern Connecticut. Most wooden buildings having survived storms and fire, faced the wrecking ball in the 1960s. The many stone and brick structures built during the mid-late 19<sup>th</sup> century on the waterfront for the development of the whaling industry have been repurposed into offices, shops, and businesses along Bank Street, and even these historic resources sit on top of archaeological resources of the earlier 18<sup>th</sup> century maritime industries. New Bedford has a similar preservation situation as New London, with the interpretive efforts of Mystic, and the historical whaling prowess of Nantucket. As the 19<sup>th</sup> century progressed towards the 20<sup>th</sup>, New Bedford, with its inherited wealth and near perfect geographic position, consolidated much of Massachusetts's whaling industry into an industrial maritime metropolis.

New London, like the other whaling communities, was a closed society, not easily penetrated by outsiders. The maintenance of oligarchy by the inner whaling families is what kept this port from reaching its full industrial potential. Decker (1973), without necessarily realizing his conclusions, provides evidence to support this by demonstrating how poorly regulated economies result in oligopolistic leadership that ultimately stunts socioeconomic development. New London began its decline with the gold rush, which took more than two dozen captains and countless seaman from the community (Colby 1936:189; Decker 1986:194, 200; Hare

1960:103). Vessels which sailed too close to San Francisco risked getting stranded there indefinitely because of a lack of crew to sail them back (Munro 1880:371).

A rail line through New London was first completed in 1850 by the New London, Willimantic, and Springfield Railroad Company (Walwer 1999:47). Joseph Lawrence, Andrew M. Frink, Elias Perkins, and F.W. Lawrence were the greatest railroad sponsors, and built the rail connection between New London and New York. The opening of the New London Gas Company in 1853, and the appearance of coal yards, were other signs of the declining whaling industry, as was the opening of a freight wharf and depot (Walwer 1999:47, 48).

The opening of other industries in the western half of the community, such as the expansion of the 1845 tannery, in 1866, in the Hempstead district (Living Places 2010:9), provided new employment options. What is also unique to this community is the continuity of maritime industries into the late 19<sup>th</sup> century along the waterfront. Unlike other communities which experienced an earlier and faster decline in whaling, there was little to no replacement by more heavily industrialized manufactories linked to other economic opportunities, resulting in these early-mid through late 19<sup>th</sup> century maritime industries largely surviving the redevelopment of the Industrial Revolution.

While the railroad initially supported the development of New London's economy, it ultimately hindered it in the long run by dividing downtown New London from the Bank Street commercial section (Walwer 1999:78). The financial panic of 1857 caused numerous merchants to reinvest their capital in the cotton-textile industry (Decker 1986:194), as did the failure of Perkins and Smith in 1860, and like everywhere else, the Civil War, the invention of kerosene, steam vessels, and the arctic disasters that destroyed large parts of the New London whaling fleet, sealed the industry's fate (Hare 1960:103). The rise of cotton mills in the city saved it from



becoming another abandoned fishing village (SSTC 1915:62), and commercial attention also turned toward the coastal trade, guano shipments, and offshore fishing (Decker 1986:216-217). The last New London whaler was sent out of New London in 1884, but the last whaling ship from elsewhere, outfitted in New London, was the *Margaret*, in 1909 (Colby 1936:189).

Just before the Civil War, the city became a popular resort for city folk who were looking for a summer getaway (McCain 2009:235). While some towns fully embraced a resort/tourism economy, and others fully embraced the Industrial Revolution, New London attempted to incorporate both. New London, while still celebrating its whaling heritage, deferred Connecticut's whaling interpretation to Mystic, and today has a similar state of historic preservation and archaeological potential as New Bedford. It is also unique in that its architectural diversity was the latest, out of all successful whaling communities, to develop. Economic circumstances not only affect industrial and residential preservation, but many public buildings that contribute to interpretation are funded by the families that have accumulated this wealth. Henry Haven donated the Public Library; the Lawrence family donated the hospital, Town Hall, and the granite Soldiers Monument; and the Williams family donated the New London Superior Court, just to give a few examples.

New Bedford had the largest 19<sup>th</sup> century fleet, lasting longest into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and embraced the Industrial Revolution, with the railroad and associated facilities taking over much of the waterfront. Much of New Bedford's whaling wealth was progressively redirected toward a very successful cotton textile industry during the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This put the city in the unique position of having a far greater diversification of mid-late 19<sup>th</sup> century, largely Victorian, Italianate, and 2<sup>nd</sup> French Empire, architecture than seen in most other whaling communities, aside from New London. While this economic situation has added to the variety of

whaling mansions, the architectural landscape was also altered through the addition of brick industrial factories and other buildings that epitomized industrial success. Many of these structures took over the space no longer needed by the declining fleet.

New Bedford did not hesitate to embrace the Industrial Revolution, and while continuing to outfit the most powerful whaling fleet in the world, it gradually, but no less fervently, transitioned its capital into operations becoming more profitable as the 19<sup>th</sup> century progressed. Textiles became a powerful influence on economic redevelopment throughout New England but particularly in such communities whose locations were geographically best suited for the transition from maritime based transportation networks, to the terrestrial transposition networks needed to supply the gradual American expansion westward.

While Nantucket dominated whaling for a century, Rotch's removal to New Bedford was the final push New Bedford needed to succeed Nantucket as "The Whaling City" (Stackpole 1973:234). Still on the rise, the population of New Bedford was over 20,000 by 1854, with a fleet worth \$10.8 million. The assets of the city's first textile mill, the 1849 Wamsutta Mills, increased by \$600,000, with 30,000 spindles, and 600 looms in operation by 1854 (Allen 1973:82). This project, among others, was largely financed by prosperous Nantucketers, who began off-island investing in the 1830s and 1840s (Alsop 2004:566). New Bedford rapidly embraced the Industrial Revolution, and the opening of such mills saved it, and many other New England ports (Nichols 2009:260). Financial Institutions stretched along Water Street eastward to the waterfront, and as whaling profits fell, textile capital grew proportionately.

Cast iron gas light fixtures had replaced whale oil streetlamps by the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and were again replaced by electric lighting by the turn of the century. The local whaling fleet continued to increase until 1857, when 329 vessels set out (more than half of the US total 655

vessel whaling fleet), worth over \$12 million, and employing 12,000 seamen (SSTC 1915:25).

The outfitting alone in 1858 was over \$2,000,000 (Starbuck 1964 [1978]:111). New Bedford was now an industrial powerhouse, due, in large part, to the 'mushrooming network of railroads' that gave New Bedford a huge advantage over competitors in the transportation of cargo and supplies (Dolin 2007:212). The first gas works in the city was built in 1853, followed by the first kerosene distillery in 1858 (Bockstoce 1986:166).

By 1871, production from the New Bedford whale fishery declined to barely \$2.5 million, and steam manufacturing began to attract an increasing quantity of New Bedford labor (Allen 1973:101-102). There were at least twenty Howland millionaires in New Bedford, by this time, altogether directly descended from Henry Howland. One of the most notable Howland millionaires was Hetty (Robinson) Green, who began her rise to the top through her involvement on Wall Street. By the 1890s New Bedford had turned away from the sea as a source of income entirely (Nichols 2009:275). Textile and other mills had been booming since mid-century, and the city of New Bedford slowly transitioned from a wealthy plutocracy into a working-class city (Nichols 2009:260). By 1920, 28 textile mills covered the landscape, and the final signal of the end for whaling occurred as the *John R. Manta* returned with New Bedford's last ever catch in 1925 (Arato and Eleeny 1998:xvii). Large brick buildings sprang up everywhere to replace the older wooden ones and were converted to retail use (Whitman 1994:84). Production at the Wamsutta Mills peaked in 1920, when it employed 41,380 operators (Whitman 1994:126).

Many whaling families were associated with manufacturing, textiles, and other such mills (Greenough et al. 1871-1872; Greenough and Co. 1875:96). Cotton mills monopolized the north and south ends of town, and iron and copper work began to employ large numbers of people (Allen 1973:101). Photography was introduced to New Bedford in 1841 and provides a glimpse

into whaling life during its peak, continuing through its final years (Whitman 1994:8). The Industrial Development Legion (IDL) was created in 1937 to promote industrial expansion, assist jeopardized businesses, and incentivize outside companies to take advantage of the almost 10 million square feet of available floor space in the city (Arato and Eleeny 1998:53). The highway built during the 1960s, divided the waterfront from the historic district, and destroyed much of the infrastructure of New Bedford's whaling past, including Rotch's 1785 Countinghouse.

Laissez-faire policy, as demonstrated here, allows for a grossly abusive degree of labor exploitation, as well as for the elite to forego the expansion and reinvestment of capital into newer industries in favor of preserving the established ones with fixed capital infrastructure already invested. Unlike Nantucket, Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard, and Sag Harbor, the Industrial Revolution did not pass by New Bedford or New London, and many large, mid-late 19<sup>th</sup> century brick buildings cover the landscape of both cities today. In New Bedford, many of the resources that survived this development did not survive the redevelopment activities of the 1970s where even more of the historic waterfront was destroyed (Nichols 2009:140).

The remaining seven communities adopted modernizing industries to varying degrees for varying durations. Fairhaven was unique in maintaining an active fishing and maritime industrial economy into the present, with Fairhaven Shipyard, once used to build the whaling fleet, now updated to modern shipyard equipment and machinery and still in active use. Fairhaven Iron Works was built on Laurel Street, and cotton mills and other factories sprang up when during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The American Nail Machine Company bought the Rodman property in 1964, as well as some of the buildings used for spermaceti and the Stone Wharf (Gillingham et al. 1903:64). Spermaceti candles were one of the city's biggest auxiliary businesses for many decades, but by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Fairhaven had the largest and best equipped tack mill

in the world, with 450 workers. In 1860 the American Tack and Nail Company was acquired by Rogers, who then created the Atlas Tack Factory (Gillingham et al. 1903:68).

The prosperity of Fairhaven continued to grow until the 1857 financial disaster and Civil War of 1861, which left little promise of any return to whaling glory (Gillingham et al. 1903:25). Fairhaven never recovered from the destruction of its fleet during the War, and after this time, they devoted all their resources to manufacturing (Gillingham et al. 1903:60). Although the Civil War had destroyed the local economy, increased transportation allowed for better access to new job markets, and wealthy people began buying up the better properties. The city soon embraced its natural features to become a popular summer tourist destination (Ellis 1892:394), while not abandoning industrial ventures.

Mattapoisett's circumstances, in terms of employment diversity offered in the post whaling era, was standard for those communities that did not become consolidated centers of industrial activity. In the 1850s "for a few years no busier community could be found" (Stiles 1907:307), and whaling, shipbuilding, and all associated trades were the principal businesses (Hamilton 1884:4). By 1880 the shipbuilding and sailing trades were reduced by two thirds, and the percentage of residents engaged in agriculture more than doubled (Figure 96).

As observed by the charts below, the percentage of those involved in local manufacturing in Mattapoisett remained static. This indicates a preference for such employment over maritime professions, with the terrestrial need for labor always being met. Those with no other skills, and who were unsuccessful in obtaining a manufacturing job, typically reverted to agricultural subsistence. Situations where there was no major spike in the transition to local manufacturing are a good indicator that the community has moved its activity to more rural sections of town, as

opposed to redeveloping the waterfront. More mobile residents moved closer to the available work within the growing cities.

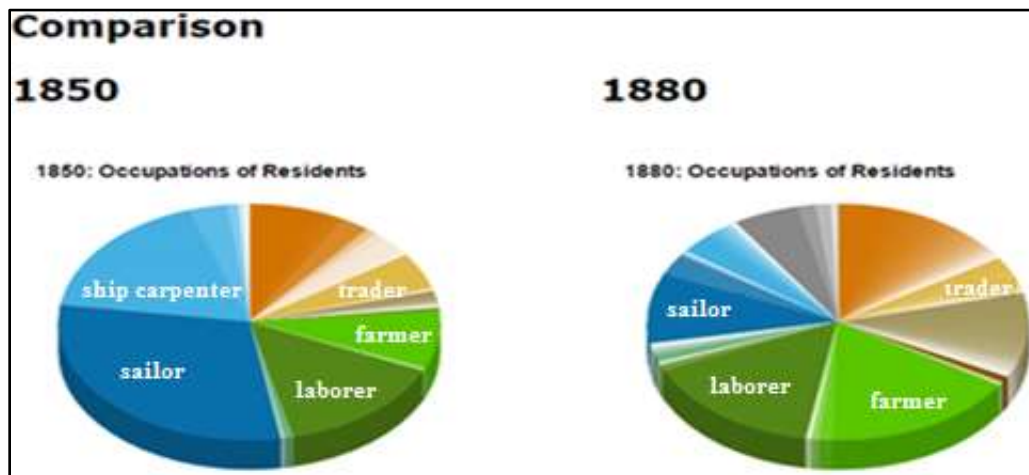


Figure 96. 1850 to 1880 Composition of Mattapoisett's Residents.

Stonington's whaling industry, like Mystic's, was for the most part absorbed into New London's. Stonington's spatial development, settlement patterns, commerce, immigration, and architecture, are all typical of the region, but it is one of the rare New England coastal communities to have survived with major parts of its early historic agricultural and waterfront resources intact (Schroer 1981:13) and with a diversity of architectural eras represented. As New London absorbed control of the area's overall industrial activity, and Mystic took over Connecticut's whaling interpretation in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Stonington slept for the remainder of the Industrial Revolution, thus better saving many of its older buildings from redevelopment. Railroads and steamboats became profitable for a time, but in 1909 Stonington's Piers were closed for good, and the roundhouse, train sheds, repair shops, and water tanks were all abandoned (Palmer 1957:67). There was a very brief shipbuilding revival for World War I, but the vessels were not finished in time, and they ended up as coal barges. After the War rum running became a lucrative operation for Stonington vessels (Palmer 1957:80).

Stonington's two major factories closed by World War II, and by that time there were between 700 and 800 houses in town (McCain 2009:252). Today, a brewery is the only major factory in operation. There appear to be no dilapidated or poorly maintained structures. The largest brick building in the community is located on Water Street between Trumbull and Ashe Streets. It appears to be a late 19<sup>th</sup> century structure, but it listed on Zillow.com as built (possibly remodeled) in 2005. Today, it is a twelve-unit apartment building.

Stonington never embraced its whaling heritage tourism like its neighbor Mystic. Some of the community's former maritime families reinvested into textile and manufacturing after the Civil War, and by 1880, most millworkers were immigrants (Schroer 1981:31). In 1866, Stands C. Carr & Co was established, followed by Stillman Manufacturing Co. and J.M. Pendleton & Co. in the 1870s (Webb & Co 1875-1876:v). During the final decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the community remained a small close-knit community 'where those who were born there, died there', and most of the summer residents and visitors were also related to locals (Dodge 1966:1).

In Warren, the northernmost wharf at the foot of Summer Street, once the home of the Chase and Davis Shipyard, is completely buried under Warren Manufactory, with no possible archaeological remains. Just south of the shipyard was Sander's Soap factory. This was also consumed by the expanding Warren Manufactory building (Appendix L.3). The Warren Manufactory was opened in 1847, and this signaled a shift in the economic direction Warren was destined to pursue, as coastal trading and freighting began shifting to larger ports. By 1855 the railroad arrived (RIHPC 1975:5), and textile manufacturing was introduced to Warren. By the start of the Civil War, and the introduction of kerosene, whaling was over in this community (RIHPC 1975:25), and immigrants composed one-fifth of the local population (RIHPC 1975:28).

In Sag Harbor, the Montauk Steam Cotton Mill was financed by former whaling merchants and was located on the corner of Washington and Division Streets by 1850. It soon failed and was sold to Suffolk Steam Mill, which burned in 1879 (Sag Harbor Partnership 2018a:13). This site later became the very successful 1881 Bulova Watch Factory, and today it has been recently gutted and renovated into condominiums. Its reuse for residential purposes is a rather fitting fate, as its initial construction caused a mass boom in real estate during the 1880s. An oil cloth factory, a gas works, a broom factory, flour mill, cigar factory, hat factory, sugar refinery, brass factory, silver factory, chemical factory, and a clockwork also became the destination of former whaling capital (Streeter 2015 in Donneson and Wesiburg 2003:39, 40).

The community layout and residential architecture of Sag is well intact today, despite all its wooden 19<sup>th</sup> century industrial buildings having been lost to fire. These buildings, along with the surviving houses, mostly south of Spring Street, represent the wealth which was invested into the city from 1814 until 1850. After mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, an economic standstill froze Sag Harbor's history in the landscape, as nobody could afford to replace or demolish properties (Donneson and Wesiburg 2003:4). Sag Harbor became a prominent source of illegal liquor in the 1920s.

Its economy froze again during the 1930s Great Depression, and the community was ravaged by a hurricane in 1938. With local industrial activity over, Sag Harbor grew into a popular vacation and summer home location after WWII. A similar trajectory—falling into economic doldrums after the whaling industry declined, followed by revitalization at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a resort for artists and summer tourists—was followed by Bridgehampton, Amagansett, and other active early whaling villages (Edwards and Rattray 1932:194).



### **Is there Regional Variation in Resources?**

The purpose of this section was to determine the reasons for regional variations that affect preservation. These include the initial capital investment in the quality of whaling infrastructure, the community's geographic position and its suitability for transition from maritime transportation to terrestrial transportation networks, its ability to attract low wage immigrant labor at the right time to power the transition to terrestrial based industry, its distance from the main line of rail transportation, and more. Less regulation over an exploitable immigrant workforce allowed each industry to maximize its fixed capital investment to extract every ounce of profit until reinvestment of resources into the next industry became more profitable than maintaining the former.

Variations are discussed here in four geographic categories. These include the islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, the cape tips of Provincetown and Sag Harbor, the peninsulas of Westport and Stonington, and the remaining six terrestrial shoreline communities, but additional economic factors are discussed in overlapping comparisons. During the decline of the whaling industry, industrial and commercial activity was consolidated in cities with more convenient geographic locations that enabled them to take advantage of faster and cheaper rail transportation, like New London and New Bedford. These cities also had more harbor space of greater depth to accommodate increasingly larger vessels.

Preservation is affected by numerous economic influences. The earliest is the wealth of the initial investors at the time of the development of the industry. For instance, in places like New London, Fairhaven, and Warren, there is a larger ratio of better-quality stone and brick structures related to the whaling era that are still extant, than in communities like Nantucket, Stonington, Mystic, and Sag Harbor, whose industrial buildings were largely wood framed. New

Bedford entered with all the financial backing of Nantucket, and therefore also has a larger proportion of brick and stone buildings.

Those wooden framed structures in Stonington, Mystic, Nantucket, Westport, and Mattapoisett that survived 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century fires and storms remain well preserved, largely due to their less ideal geographic suitability for later industrial development. One great advantage of these homes was their white cedar shingling that allowed for better preservation with minimal exterior upkeep during an economic decline that prevented any substantial maintenance, remodeling, or redevelopment along the waterfront. Stone and brick are more resistant to fire, termites and storms, and therefore more suitable for preservation and interpretation potential. Stone structures are unique and stand out on the waterfront. They offer the finest testament to the economic stability of the whaling industry.

Westport Point was a peninsula located away from the direct line of rail transportation and was not destined to become an industrial center. While much of Westport's whaling heritage has been absorbed into nearby New Bedford, Westport has paid an equal tribute to its elite whaling captains and merchants, both black and white. Westport Point also has a unique situation in that the main structures of its 19<sup>th</sup> century industry remained almost completely intact, and it therefore has the best historic preservation and archaeological potential of all twelve communities. It is likely that whaling-related cultural material and building foundations are intact throughout the community.

Stonington, with a similar geographic position, shared a similar fate, except that the rail line passed through the northern part of the community, leading to the building of a few small factories. Warren, while not a peninsula, concentrated its manufacturing in one very large expanding structure in the north part of the community that wiped out several significant

archaeological resources, although the rest of the waterfront remains largely intact and has been adaptively reused.

Much of the waterfront in Mattapoisett remains as it was in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The properties are now, for the most part, under residential lawns and small commercial parking lots. Nearly all these wharves have good archaeological potential, and many of the structures that remain are historic. Mattapoisett Wharf Co is made up of four previous wharves. These include Barstow's/Short Wharf, Middle Wharf, Long Wharf, and Holmes Wharf, and today 90% of their area is covered by 90% parking lot. The four sub-wharves all have new names. All appear to have good probable archaeological preservation due to a lack of industrial redevelopment. Mattapoisett, rather than embracing the Industrial Revolution, opted for the quiet residential/summer tourist route, similar to Westport and Stonington.

Cities that consolidated whaling wealth ultimately maintained their infrastructure over a greater duration and tend to have higher quality structures intended for long term use. These communities also had greater initial capital investment in whaling infrastructure. Warren is also assumed to have had an above average investment in whaling infrastructure, as many of the stone structures in the southern half of the town remain active and related to commercial fishing. The degree of wealth consolidation that is allowed to continue within a capitalist system directly affects how the community will develop in relation to the competition offered by its neighbors. The decline of the Islands and cape tips resulted from their lack of ability to compete with terrestrial shipping and left tourism as their only economic outlet.

The survival of many resources has also rested in the hands of whaling descendants who have donated their homes as local house museums or donated the structures that make up whaling outlets of interpretation, such as the many buildings in Mystic Seaport or the building

donated by the Bourne family, which makes up the core of the New Bedford Whaling Museum. Wealthy, white non-descendants also contributed to preservation, such as Edward F. Sanderson, who donated the whaling collection in Nantucket and facilitated the NHA's acquisition of the Hadwen and Barney Candleworks that makes up the core of the Nantucket Whaling Museum (nha.org). Similarly, in Sag Harbor Mrs. Russel Sage donated the Benjamin Hunting II house (Donneson and Wesiburg 2003:42).

Limiting the extent to which wealth can consolidate allows for smaller manufactories and businesses to compete longer. This further results in a faster transition to the next economic cycle, as capitalists strive to maintain a competitive advantage. In doing so they maintain a quicker willingness to reinvest in technological innovation as opposed to maintaining advantages in monopolistic systems that stagnate long term progress in favor of preserving the fixed capital investment and established infrastructure. While overall fiscal growth may decline, the overall advantages for humanity, and the greatest number of people, increase by finding the appropriate regulatory balance.

Any alteration of economic regulation affects the redevelopment of a community and the existing technologies that impact economic and technological growth, and in turn, the levels of both archaeological and historic preservation. Regional variation in resources is impacted by the community's ability to innovate, redevelop, and maintain productivity within a capitalist system. Geography, in relation to its suitability for modernizing transportation networks, has the most significant impact on preservation overall. The sub-factors include the extent of initial capital investment, the time the whaling infrastructure was built, and the degree to which whaling descendants and other wealthy donors promote heritage, adaptive reuse, and local tourism.

**How did economic circumstances influence what aspects have been preserved? Where, by whom and why?**

The biggest social impact within these communities stems from the elitism of whaling families. There was “no escape from domestic clashes of culture and class, and sailors felt the far-reaching effects of social prejudice” (Creighton 1995:75). If you were not part of a whaling family you were unlikely to become so unless you were white and worked your way to the top. Nantucket, for example, had so many intermarriages between whaling families that many people shared great grandparents (Stackpole 1973:380). Other speculations on the effects of these marriages insinuate a higher concentration of mental illness on Nantucket (Philbrick 2011:75). As a general social construct, from the early 18<sup>th</sup> century through the mid-19<sup>th</sup>, many women would not consider marrying a man until he had killed his first whale (Goode 1887:220).

During the revival period, one author generalizes his stereotype of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Yankee whalers, stating that, ‘before the Victorian era began to change social ideology, girls were attracted to boys who went to sea, and Nantucket girls especially admired a man coming ashore covered in blood. Some whalers even waited a few days before washing it off’ (SSTC 1915:16). Whalers, as time went on, continued to challenge Victorian principles. Cleanliness was viewed as an element of social mobility, while “greasy hands or clothes” were frowned upon, and women became increasingly unreceptive to whalers for such reasons (Creighton 1995:77). This coincides with a decline in the industry and a corresponding trend toward less costly, largely foreign and non-white labor sources. Whalers, after years at sea, found it difficult to adjust to society’s changing trends, thus placing the average whaler in a less suitable position to disseminate their narrative. At town meetings, the ship-owners, merchants, and masters always had more control, as “the sea is no wetnurse to democracy.”

(Morison 1921:24). Captains, master builders, shipwrights, ropemakers, sailmakers, skilled mechanics, etc. were the backbone of the middle class, and this was the class that produced the great merchants and shipmasters of the following generations (Morison 1921:26).

Increased immigration as a result of early corporate sponsorship of the ‘American dream’, began in the mid-late 19<sup>th</sup> century and effectively decreased the cost of labor, massively increased the degree of exploitation, and allowed for America to become an industrial power house, with a rising oligarchy of families who had built their wealth through the fisheries or trade and consolidated it through cotton textiles, steel, petroleum, and railroads. Men who began in the fisheries, and whose family wealth continues to grow today, include the earlier discussed Macys, Colemans, Howlands, Folgers, and Morgans, among other less visible families whose descendants still benefit from the increased socioeconomic opportunities they were afforded.

Under Capitalism, the economic destiny for a community is based on the geographic suitability of an area as it relates to an industry and the transportation system that supports that industry. Communities that occupied the perfect harbor space, which was also conveniently accessible with the arrival of railroads, were the towns that became coastal cities in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. These towns include New Bedford, New London, and to a lesser extent, Fairhaven. These communities typically have better historic preservation due to a longer, and later, participation in the whaling industry, but their continued commercial and industrial uses decrease the archaeological potential of their sites. Even Fairhaven, however, eventually gave way to the industrial strength of New Bedford, and there is a late-19<sup>th</sup> century Fairhaven shipyard remaining almost perfectly intact. Fairhaven’s historic narrative focuses on the Rogers family and the petroleum wealth that replaced whaling in this community.

Whaling communities based on islands and isolated peninsulas, having little to offer in the way of industrial production due to the additional costs of importing raw materials and the greater costs of shipping to a mainland warehouse, were destined for summer tourism. The economic stagnation that occurred in such communities during the final decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, greatly contributed to historic preservation efforts, as nobody could afford to rebuild. Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, Sag Harbor, and Provincetown best fit this classification, but Nantucket's and Sag Harbor's commercial/industrial resources were almost completely lost to fire. These communities typically have better commercial and industrial potential for archaeological resources due to a less intensive participation in the industrial revolution, although their former wharf space is continuously impacted by large number of tourists each year. Many early New England structures, particularly in Nantucket and Westport, were built with cedar shingles in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, and this siding choice decreased the need for maintenance, thus helping to preserve such structures during the declining years, until the occupants could afford to replace the siding, or update the style.

The communities not located in the most suitable place for an evolving transportation network, and not exceptionally attractive for large scale tourism, fell into obscurity. Stonington, Westport, Warren, and Mattapoissett fall into this group. They each have good historic residential preservation, and overall, the best archaeological potential due to the lack of newer industrial or tourism capital. This encumbers the communities' redevelopment and protects cultural resources. New Bedford, Warren, and, to some extent, New London, have done best in incorporating their heritage resources into the modern economy, largely as the result of using more durable material for their earlier industrial structures.

Mystic falls into its own category, with unique and unprecedented rates of reuse, preservation, and active interpretation of the whaling industry in a community that could have just as easily gone down the same path as the others. The anomaly of Mystic was caused by the ideology of the revival period, which, in itself, is the result of a capitalist system. This anomaly was the result of the descendants of whaling families conspiring to create a nostalgically whitewashed Yankee interpretation platform, telling their personal socioeconomic narratives, and promoting the historical contributions of their families' legacies. The only thing preventing this situation from having occurred elsewhere is that the more industrialized cities have often redeveloped much of their historic waterfronts, and most smaller communities lack the traffic to financially benefit from such active preservation and substantial interpretation investments. It was the vision of the Seaport's three founders, all whaling/shipbuilding descendants, and the generosity of the many other descendants, who donated buildings and other historic resources to the Seaport, that made Mystic community's preservation and interpretation efforts exceptional.

A variety of factors were shown to affect preservation in this chapter. The period of a community's involvement, its geography and adaptability to terrestrial transportation networks, its desirability as a tourist location, the quality of structural materials used and their suitability for adaptive reuse, the motivations of key individuals, and more have been discussed. Chapter IX addresses the public interpretation questions posed earlier in Chapter 1.



## Chapter IX. Interpretation Analysis

Every community in this research has some form of historical or preservation society contributing to interpretation efforts in varying degrees, although not all were substantial enough to contribute to this analysis. The following chapter provides a comparison and contrast of the communities that have some form of active interpretation. It begins with a more subjective discussion of each town's contributions to whaling interpretation through statues, monuments, parks, large plaques and fountains, as well as local walking and heritage tours. It is worth remembering that the underlying assumption of this thesis is that there are inherent qualities of the capitalist system that are largely responsible for inequalities that have historically existed in the Yankee whaling industry. It was predicted, prior to onsite visits to the major whaling communities, that these inequalities will be visually evident today in interpretation.

What follows discusses the various outlets for whaling presentation in each of these towns, the focus of this interpretation, regional variability in interpretive resources, and, most importantly, an analysis of the way in which the industry is presented. This analysis compares and contrasts the various sub-categories of resources according to the categories of class, race and gender, as discussed in Chapter VI. These resources are analyzed as a complete data set, and as key categories of resources analyzed separately to understand variation between sub-categories. All datable material (that was at least 80% visual in representation) was analyzed to understand change over time in relation to the pre-revival, revival, and post revival periods. The categories selected for chronological analysis were: 1) portraits, due to their expression of elitism and their self-funded nature, looked at by overall class, race, and gender; 2) paintings, drawings, sketches, and lithographs, excluding portraits, to look at the less narcissistic portrayals of the industry before, during, and after the revival period; 3) all handmade museum images, or

categories 1 and 2 combined; 4) all images contained within museums, including newer means of visual expression, such as photographs, banners, tv projections, wall backdrops, book/boardgame covers, etc. Categories 1 and 4 are broken down by both class, race, and gender, as a total, as well as by individual image types.

### **Museums:**

Six towns had a museum that could be assessed for this research. The Vineyard's museum was under renovation during the research trip period, as was Mattapoisett's, so neither were accessible. Stonington Lighthouse Museum has a general working-class themed exhibit but lacks any substantial interpretive efforts for inclusion in this analysis (Appendix J.4). Fairhaven has a historical society museum, but its presentation of whaling is limited to a single, relatively small notecard mentioning diversity. Sag Harbor provides the perfect control for a museum that has not changed since it opened and interpretation that is largely encompassed within artwork. New Bedford, on the other hand, has overwhelmingly the most extensive interpretation. Its actively interpretable material is presented at the New Bedford Whaling Museum, the National Parks Service visitor center, and in dozens of signs around the New Bedford Whaling Park.

Mystic Seaport is unique, in that operating as an open-air museum its emphasis heavily favors historic preservation. It somewhat shares this attribute with the New Bedford Whaling Park, but as the Parks Service contains much of its actively interpretable material in its visitor center, the Seaport has a slightly larger museum collection on display in its Stillman buildings, with some older, late revival images displayed in its Children's Museum (Appendix K.2). The New Bedford Whaling Museum contains a greater area of interpretive material than elsewhere,

with the National Parks visitor center in New Bedford Whaling Park containing nearly as much as Provincetown's and Sag Harbor's museums combined. These latter two are similar in size.

The results comparing the five main whaling museums, as well as the overall averages of results, with and without the indirect galleries and murals, are also important to consider in this light. Overall, Provincetown's interpretation is substantially encompassed in the massive, outdoor murals of Portuguese women, but when isolating just Provincetown's museum interpretation, 71% is Yankee men, 16% is Yankee women, and six and seven percent are minority men and women (mostly Portuguese), respectively. Overall, Provincetown's museum displays show 87% Yankee versus 13% minority/immigrant imagery. Sag Harbor's interpretation is 97% the story of the Yankee elite, but is the most inclusive of women overall, with 56% being Yankee men, 41% Yankee women, and just three percent depicting minorities. Mystic Seaport continues to promote the Yankee narrative, with two-thirds depicting Yankee men, one-fourth depicting minority/Immigrant men, seven percent Yankee women, and two percent minority women, with overall 73% Yankee representation versus 27% minority/immigrant representation. Nantucket's museum is almost exactly half Yankee men, 22% minority men (mostly Native American), 17% Yankee women, and 12% minority women. Even with a lopsided 71% Yankee representation, it has the second most diverse breakdown of any of the communities after New Bedford, which has a much more realistic representation of 49% Yankee versus 51% minority/immigrant. More impressively, when looking at representation of class, Nantucket and New Bedford exhibits are more than 70% devoted towards the working-class, compared to an estimate of 85% working-class participants in historic data. Using the overall interpretation results, some museum depictions have come a very long way in creating a well-balanced representation of diversity in historic whaling, and incorporating the overall

galleries, murals, and other outdoor forms of interpretation, this begins to shift the narrative to including a greater degree of minority focused acknowledgement, to make up for decades of engineered elitist, historical, whitewashing. The overall interpretive efforts of New Bedford have presented the most diverse and inclusive presentation of the industry, in stark contrast to Sag Harbor's ultra-elitist early post revival period intended for upper-class tourism.

***Interpretive Resource Outlets:***

Table 59. Number of Interpretive Resource Outlets within each town ('NA indicates that interpretation was present but was not included in this analysis)

<b>Community</b>	<b>Indoor Exhibit Space</b>	<b>Statues/ Monuments</b>	<b>Historic/ Heritage Parks</b>	<b>Major Outdoor Plaques and Signs</b>	<b>Walking/ Heritage tours</b>
Provincetown, MA:	1	0	0	3	0
Martha's Vineyard, MA:	1	0	0	0	0
Nantucket, MA:	1	2	0	0	0
New Bedford, MA:	2	4	3-4	30	3
Fairhaven, MA:	0	0	0	0	1
Westport, MA:	0	1	0	0	3
Mattapoissett, MA:	NA	1	0	1	0
New London, CT:	0	2	3	11	1
Stonington, CT:	NA	0	0	0	0
Mystic, CT:	1	1	0	0	1
Warren, RI:	0	0	0	0	1
Sag Harbor, NY:	1	1	0	1	11

While Mystic has the best active presentation of preservation, in terms of loosely recreating the atmosphere of a whaling village, New Bedford overwhelmingly led in the way of indoor and outdoor interpretation. New Bedford has two indoor whaling museums and the three most significant statues, which are also most indicative of the maritime revival period. It has the greatest number of outdoor physical forms of interpretation and interpretive stops, while Sag Harbor's digital walking tours offer the greatest number of heritage themes and unique perspectives. As the second largest whaling port, New London had the second most extensive

outdoor interpretation efforts but seemingly abandoned its indoor interpretation to Mystic. Westport had the most minority dominant heritage tour, that of Cuffe's, which ended at New Bedford's Paul Cuffe Park. Mattapoissett's Museum was under renovation during the data collection period of this research, and Martha's Vineyard Museum was under relocation. The latter had a sample taken only from the older museum.

### **Statues, Monuments, and Parks**

As can be seen from Table 59, all communities had some form of interpretation that could be analyzed for this research. Sag Harbor has little in the way of outdoor interpretation, aside from the Broken Mast monument, and a sign on Peter's Green regarding the ropewalks (Appendix M.2), but the community does have walking tours which cover a wide variety of themes and has a well-preserved minority community. The preservation of such communities, which also exist in New London and Nantucket, are interpretive in their own right and are essential as a form of heritage that includes non-Eurocentric storylines.

New Bedford had the most diverse array of interpretive outlets, both indoor and outdoor, with no fewer than 30 commemorative plaques and walking tour signs distributed throughout the whaling park, another two signs promoting the environmental message and another two geared toward minorities involved in the American Civil War. While whaling heritage was not an active focus of the New London Customs House Museum, there were nearly a dozen plaques and signs associated with whaling, minorities, or the environmental/conservation message emerging throughout the major whaling ports. One of the more unique means of interpretation is the *Charles W. Morgan*, because its 38<sup>th</sup> voyage made it a mobile maritime monument advocating an environmental message and New Bedford, New London, and Provincetown, all stops on the

*Morgan's* 2014 voyage, have multiple signs sharing this message. Narula (2015) provides a good discussion regarding the *Morgan's* role in active interpretation today.

In terms of understanding forms of outdoor memorialization over time, there are memorial stones located at the Whalemen's Bethel and Seaman's Home (1831) in New Bedford that commemorate the dead whalemen of the city (Creighton 1995:63; Hawthorne 1916:208; Appendix E.4). Similar stones sit near the harbors of many maritime communities in New England, and Mystic Seaport and Mattapoisett have their own boulder monuments, the former dedicated by Col. Edward Green in 1926 and which focuses on the first crew of the *Morgan*, and the later, a general 1977 commemoration of the local shipbuilding and whaling legacy.

Statues and monuments are less common than outdoor plaques or walking tours, with New Bedford having the most (Table 59). Monuments include all the larger forms of interpretation that do not fall under the statue category. The most famous statue in New Bedford, introduced in Chapter VI, was the 'Angry Harpooner' or 'Angry Whalemen' (Figure 31). It was built in 1912, during the peak of the revival period, and presented by an 82 years old retired lawyer named William W. Crapo, to memorialize the declining industry (Olly 2013:73). It was unveiled by Captain George O. Baker, New Bedford's oldest living whaling master (Arato and Eleeny 1998:51). In the interest of accuracy, sculptor Bela Pratt wanted an actual model, and a search was begun accordingly (Olly 1973:73). Augustus G. Moulton, of J. & W. R. Wing Company, was asked if they could produce one, and he responded by offering as a model, a 'Native' of the Cape Verde Islands (Olly 2013:73). The intent of the statue, however, was to represent white "Yankee courage", so the outfitters were asked to find a boatsteerer of the "old type" like the kind made famous in "Moby Dick" and other stories of the sea." (Olly 2013:73).

The search for a particular image of the whaling industry prompted the editor of the *New Bedford Morning Mercury* to go so far as to advise Pratt to ignore Melville's diverse and accurate selection of harpooners (Grasso 2009:41): "In the palmy days of whaling the flower of New England's sons won the right to dart the harpoon by the spirit of fearlessness and gallantry which characterized the early American patriot; but now almost every harpooner that sails from New Bedford is the representative of an inferior race." (Goode 1887:223). Goode (1887), of course, is peak maritime revival literature, with evident racist, Yankee-centric undertones. Ultimately, Crapo, with all the revival spirit of a whaling descendant, insisted his statue portray a fair skinned Yankee (Lindgren 1999:179). By 1912 no such Yankee boatsteerers remained in the industry, but they did find a retired one of Celtic descent named Richard McLachlan. McLachlan had served as a harpooner from 1885 until 1895 and was one of the few white people to fill this role in the industry so late (Olly 2013:73-74). It had been nearly a half century since whites commonly served in this position, and most harpooners were now black, Azorean, and Cape Verdean (Grasso 2009:27): "[o]verlooking the traditional role that people of color played as harpooners aboard whaleships, the statue and its commemoration also whitewashed the dominance of people of color in the industry at the time." (Olly 2013:74).

The Buttonwood Park statue mostly keeps the same Yankee theme, but also incorporates the female involvement in the community in its commemoration. It was raised to "The Whalers and their Successors, the Manufacturers." (Figure 32) in 1914. Figures at the base include the whaler and his wife, with a mechanic at the top. They are finely constructed sculptures (Hawthorne 1916:204-205) that acknowledge women and their role in the whaling community. Although difficult to identify absolutely, the characters all appear to have European features but are primarily intended as a general tribute to working-class men and women.

Paul Cuffe's monument (Figure 54) was dedicated in 1913 by a direct descendant, as they approached the centennial of his death. It is very similar to the A.H. Cory Monument (headstone) in its design (Appendix G.5), although slightly smaller and with better polished material. With Cory being the most successful Caucasian whaling merchant (dynasty) in Westport, one might speculate as to the degree this was intended. It serves as the only notable form of interpretation attributed to a minority during the revival period. While it is an exception to expectation, it further supports the premise of this research in that it was the beneficial socioeconomic position inherited by the descendants of Paul Cuffe, as the only successful minority capitalist of his day, that allowed for the funding of the only significant tribute to a minority capitalist during the revival period.

It was another three-quarters of a century before the tone set by the Angry Harpooner was countered by an equally impressive statue dedicated to famous African-American blacksmith Lewis Temple in 1987 (Figure 33). It stands at the opposite corner of the New Bedford Library and was among the only minority tributes to the whaling industry until the more recent inclusion of Paul Cuffe Park in New Bedford. It was not until the final decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that saw a push for a more inclusive representation, or at the very least raised awareness of the existing inequalities created during the revival period.

In 2017, a \$300,000 grant, made possible by the Indian Foundation, was used to expand and develop a small lot, once known as Pocket Park, into Cuffe Park (Appendix E.4). This park, roughly 55 square meters, contains four signs, one dedicated to preservation, and the other three, slightly smaller signs, to the legacy of Paul Cuffe. One of the signs specifically promotes the story of the Cuffe compass, an object that is contained within the New Bedford Whaling Museum. As mentioned in Chapter VII, this is the final stop on Westport's Paul Cuffe heritage



trail, and one of several separate interpretation platforms in town that honor the man who gained the friendship and respect of the Yankee elite, decades before his fellow countrymen were released from bondage.

The Whalemens' Statue in New London is unique, because it is completely generic and "Dedicated to the Memory of the Whalemens of the Port of New London". It was built in the 1930s, toward the end of the revival period (Appendix I.2) and is housed at the Shaw Museum, the base of the New London Historical Society. It is located toward the east end of the property. It has a three-foot diameter concrete base with a try pot, and three harpoons oriented skyward, standing about 10-12 feet (3.5 meters) tall.

More recent interpretation (dating from the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century) conveys a different political message, connected with increasing environmental awareness and global conservation efforts that continue to gain momentum as the human impact of climate change environmental exploitation become increasingly evident. One of the most famous environmental interpretive resources is the "Whaling Wall" mural in New London, "The Great Sperm Whale", begun in 1993 when artist Robert Wyland spent a week in the town. He was intent on painting whales in 15 states along the east coast to promote a global awareness for environmental issues. The Sperm whale was chosen as the state animal of Connecticut in 1985. Wyland selected a location in the heart of the city, on a 170-foot-long, 40-foot-tall wall on Eugene O'Neil Drive and State Street (Barstow 2007:1). This mural became his "Walling Wall #41". The paint, primer, sealer, caulking, brushes, and rollers were donated by Dennis O'Conner Sr., the owner of Mystic Paint and Decorating Center (Barstow 2007:2). The size of the mural is meant to invoke conversation and awareness as to the artist's intent. The Whale Tail Fountain near the intersection of Bank Street and State street is also dedicated to the environmental message, as are the three large signs

on the wharf in Provincetown. Of the six discussed resources classified as statues within the 12 communities, five of them were all about 11 feet (3.4 meters) in height, plus or minus a foot. Only the Barnard Memorial in Buttonwood Park stood at 25 feet (7.6 meters) tall.

Other, later forms include the largest park with an emphasis on whaling, the New Bedford National Historic Park, created in 1996. This is encompassed within Kempton Street (Route 6) to the north; MacArthur Drive to the east; School and Union Streets to the south; and Water Street to the west. New Bedford's harbor is located just to the east (Arato and Eleeny 1998:xiv). Some of the focus point within include State Pier, Waterfront Park, Rotch-Jones-Duff House, Garden Museum; Wharfinger Building, and Bourne Countinghouse. There are six stops on the National Parks Service tour of the park (Figure 97)

**#1. National Park Visitor Center; #2. Rodman Candleworks; #3. Double Bank; #4. Sundial Building; #5. Captain Paul Cuffee Park; #6. Seaman's Bethel**



Figure 97. New Bedford Whaling Park (Photo by author).

With many factors playing a role, the degree of whaling interpretation in a community somewhat follows the degree of consolidation of the industry. The statues, monuments, and whaling related parks are among the easiest ways to track the evolution of interpretive focus. Commemorative statues and monuments did not begin to appear until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, with the Angry Whaleman/Angry Harpooner, the statue in Buttonwood Park and Cuffe's monument all being privately funded and appearing with a couple years of each other. Each intends to send a specific message, with the first two being the more extravagant and more prominently displayed. Cuffe's more modest commemorative stone was an unexpected exception intended to inspire minority youths in a whitewashed world. It was not until the mid-late 20<sup>th</sup> century that Lewis Temple's role grew as a topic of importance, and this was followed three decades later by the dedication of Paul Cuffe's Park in New Bedford. Other monuments, such as the Whale Tail fountain, joined the signs and murals of elsewhere in promoting the eco-friendlier message of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

**Plaques:**

Plaques are considered here in two different forms: 1) what are effectively outdoor, metal interpretive signs or major plaques attached to commercial/industrial sites or buildings; and 2) residential plaques typically associated with local preservation programs. Two sets of outdoor metal interpretive signs/plaques from New London, one titled "19<sup>th</sup> Century Port and Native Americans and the Sea" and, the other, "Native Americans: Connecting to the Sea for Centuries" (Appendix I.2) were erected in 2011. These discuss the involvement of New London in whaling, along with the early role Native Americans played in the pursuit. The latter plaque is roughly six

feet long by three feet tall (2 meters by 1 meter), with various watercraft designs and a sperm whale cut from the metal.

The display contains two smaller, 18 by 18-inch (45 centimeters) plaques. One acknowledges the submarine industry, while the other acknowledges the importance of the whaling industry and directs curious persons to the Shaw Museum, Customs House Museum, Fort Trumbull State Park, and Lyman Allyn Art Museum for more information. There is no interpretation associated with the latter plaque. The “Native Americans: Connecting to the Sea for Centuries” plaque is identical in format. Located just north of, but still connected to, the first plaque, it mentions the thriving prehistory of Native peoples, and directly attributes much of the success of the local maritime industries, including whaling, to Native American Involvement. This plaque directs interested persons to Mystic Seaport, the Mashantucket Pequot Museum, and the Tantaquidgeon Indian Museum.

### **Signs:**

Major signs are included in five communities. Provincetown’s three relate to the eco-conservation message. New Bedford has two smaller signs relating to this message. Mattapoisett’s sign in Shipyard Park relates to its Caucasian shipbuilders, although it does not make any direct reference to race, class, or gender. Sag Harbor’s has a sign for the Hommedieu’s ropewalks on Peter’s Greens that also makes no direct reference to these categories. There are less than a dozen outdoor signs in New London, geared toward foot traffic, with a couple discussing minority themes, a couple discussing wealthy philanthropy or architecture, a couple are either generic or equally diverse, and a couple more discuss environmental and conservation messages.

With a few exceptions, the 41 signs installed in New Bedford typically come in two sizes (Appendix E.4). Two by two foot, or 3,716 square centimeters, and two by two and a half foot, or 4,645 square centimeters. Signs associated with preservation, the Art Walk, and Paul Cuffe have been discussed elsewhere. The signs included in this section are those that make up the historic downtown area and those that make up the historic waterfront area.

Several themes stood out among these signs and were first divided by class into elite, working, and general. Some were generic, some discussed homes and businesses representative of the Yankee elite, others depicted various working-class scenes. There was mention of class divide, wealthy philanthropy, women's roles, general preservation efforts, and Portuguese immigration. There were 27 signs in the outdoor major sign category of interpretation, although only 25 pertained to whaling. They were divided into race and gender categories of White Yankee Man, Minority or Immigrant Man, White Yankee Women, and Minority or Immigrant Women. Including the signs on the whaling walking tour that do not directly reference the whaling industry, there is an even split between white and minority depictions. Among minority signs, half of the representation were African-American, and half were Portuguese Immigrant. Of the African American/Native Indian, Paul Cuffe represented two of the four signs and black Civil War soldiers represented the other two. The stories often shy away from women, who, for the most part, were not directly involved in the industry, at least not the actual hunting. Minority women and domestic scenes were the least represented theme.

### House Plaques:

Table 60. House Plaque Programs

Community	Frequency	Description	Name	Date	Profession
New Bedford	High	Green with yellow lettering	yes	yes	yes
Fairhaven	Moderate	White Sail	yes	yes	yes

Provincetown	Very Low	blue sign with white building or ship	no	no	no
Nantucket	Very High	basic white with lettering	yes	yes	yes
New London	High	"whale plaques" basic white	yes	yes	no
Westport	High	basic white	yes	yes	yes
Martha's Vineyard	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Mattapoissett	Low-moderate	basic white	yes	yes	yes
Warren	Moderate-High	white oval with ship + older basic white rectangles	yes	yes	yes
Sag Harbor	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Mystic	Low-moderate	Detailed historical descriptions	yes	yes	yes
Stonington	Low	Basic white (no standard)	yes	yes	yes

Many cities took active roles in the presentation of whaling by installing plaques designating former uses of now largely repurposed buildings. Captains' houses, in particular, are well preserved in nearly all communities. Table 60 provides a breakdown of each town's contribution to whaling-related plaque programs. New Bedford, New London, Westport, and Warren all have active participation in plaque program, with Nantucket being the most extensive. Due to the differences in population sizes, data and detail of the plaques, and stages and styles of economic redevelopment, quantifying frequency objectively was not attempted.

A frequency of appearance was subjectively assessed from N/A, meaning no organized or promoted community effort, to Very High for those communities where nearly all historic houses carried a plaque. Residential plaques were not common in Stonington, Mystic village, Provincetown, Sag Harbor, or on the Vineyard. Eight of the communities have plaques that include the name of the historical occupant, the date of construction, and the profession of the occupant. Sag Harbor chose to emphasize the grandeur of Main Street to concentrate traffic

along its commercial business route, and Martha's Vineyard has not yet prioritized this interpretive platform at all.

Most house plaques contain only brief information on the names, professions, and dates of their most well-known historic occupants. The form of these plaques vary from simple green signs with yellow lettering to designate the names of historic properties in New Bedford, to a single image of blue ship or building without the inclusion of any written details, such as in Provincetown. While many historically minded individuals placed customized historic or whale plaques on their homes during the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, organized plaque programs began after 1976 in New Bedford, and typically focused on the male merchant or captain who owned a house and the date it was built. The specific date individual plaques were placed on each house could not be determined, but, as also expressed through the 2009 addition of the monument dedicated to Nantucket's female founders, the newer-looking house plaques increasingly include locally important women, who are in general more visible on Nantucket.

Most houses that list the profession of the owner do not specify whether the house was also the location of the business. This had to be cross referenced by maps and directories. The earliest whaling-related houses extend back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century on Nantucket. Many of the houses built prior to New England's Golden Age (before 1820), excluding Nantucket which developed much quicker and earlier, doubled as business places, but as such space grew more valuable for commercial purposes, newer homes were built farther back from the business activity of the wharves. The much higher rate of loss of lower quality houses of minorities, immigrants, and other working-class houses, discussed in Chapter VIII, also accounts for the substantially higher portion of Yankee houses represented in plaque programs, although plaques do not specify race. Plaque programs are most popular in locations with higher foot traffic, typically the downtown

or longer established parts of town so as to have a wider audience of viewers, and the historic Yankee families were those located closest to the area that remain active today.

It is unclear why some building owners choose not to participate in these programs. One reason may be financial, since the Stonington Historical Society, for example, has a House Histories Project for houses over 50 years old that requires a \$250 fee for the background research and plaque. Warren's Historic Plaque program began in 1990 with funds from a grant from the Rhode Island state legislature. There are 92 properties currently recognized by the Society that are designated with white, oval, historic markers, with a ship imprinted in the center. New London began a program in 1985 to award owners who rehabilitated their houses (NLL 1985:1). A restoration plaque was designed by John Gula, who stenciled and hand painted a whale on a white background. The program grew very popular and includes an application fee to provide some income to the organization which has now awarded over 400 "whale plaques" to buildings that have met the requirements (NLL 1985:1). Many of these have at least some association with the whaling era, far too many to cover in the scope of this research.

Plaque programs emerging during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century have become a popular way to promote local history, while also preserving the unique heritage of the community for times of future socioeconomic chaos and instability. Such periods invoke nostalgic sentiment, yet another way that economics impacts heritage resources, and while one decade a structure may be an antiquated blight on the landscape, the next it may provide a lens to a time of simplicity and invoke a greater sense of historical sentiment.



### Walking/Heritage Tours:

Seven communities had walking tours varying from a single self-guided tour in Warren, to the comprehensive diversity of 17 walking tours in Sag Harbor (Table 61). Provincetown has a small walking tour of its key cultural heritage points, but most of these places have little to no relation to whaling. There is a local walking tour of Poverty Point in Fairhaven, which showcases several 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century residences, but most are not directly relevant to whaling. New Bedford has 100 stops among its five walking tours and overwhelmingly the most diverse and inclusive tours. Stops include six main commercial/industrial foci in the whaling park, 50 residences representing a variety of middle-class professions, a tour of the mansions, and an art walk.

New London has 15 walking tour stops associated with whaling. Westport is among the most inclusive walking tours covering all their important resources, with an emphasis on the story of Cuffe. In terms of diversity of content and theme, Sag Harbor had at least 43 walking tour stops related to whaling with minority women, the most underrepresented of all categories, being one of the walking tour perspectives. Provincetown, Stonington, Mattapoissett offer no relevant walking tours. Poverty Point in Fairhaven and Mystic's whaling walk are minimal (Table 59).

Table 61. Whaling Walking Tours

Walking Tours	Whaling Stops
New Bedford	100
Fairhaven	3
Provincetown	0
Nantucket	N/A
New London	15
Westport	32
Martha's Vineyard	2

Mattapoissett	0
Warren	24
Sag Harbor	43
Mystic	11
Stonington	0

The Manjiro/Whitfield, Joshua Slocum, and Henry Rogers' stories stand out in Fairhaven today. Of the twelve stops officially listed on the Poverty Point walking tour, only three or four are associated with whaling or its related industries. This includes the childhood home of businessman Joseph Bates and his son Captain Joseph Bates (#1). The front of this house was built by its original proprietor, William Wood, in 1742. Elnathan Eldridge's store (#6), although not necessarily centered upon supplying whaleships, was historically an important store to the local community (Appendix F.2). It was operated as a bed and breakfast from 1983 until 2006 and is now a private residence.

Warren is another small community that has not promoted its whaling culture. Today, the Warren Walking Tour presents the only opportunity for interpretive messages since this town lacks a museum or other large center of interpretation. Of the 61 sites that make up the tour, however, only 24 have any association with whaling heritage. The tour covers historic residential houses, as well as former industrial (potentially archaeological) sites, and establishes a feel for the historic landscape. There is little specific interpretation relating to inequality or race, but the community's story is presented as that of its key property/business owners, who were all white.

There are several walking tours on Martha's Vineyard, but only a few stops have relevance to the whaling era. The walking tours in Martha's Vineyard focus almost exclusively on the beautiful architectures of the elite, although the stop on Memorial Wharf discusses the activity of the industrial waterfront itself. The Vineyard also has an African-American Heritage

trail that stops as the home of Captain William A. Martin. His and his wife's gravestones, along with a possible whaling-related monument to an African-American/Native American woman, 'Rebecca', can be found in Appendix C.2.

There are three heritage tours in Westport, two of them walking, with Cuffe's requiring a car. In the older, original part of the community, there is a walking tour for the Head of Westport. This covers the key structures and sites, most of which date back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. There are no visual indicators of racial or ethnic associations for local historic landmarks, simply a preservation of what was there. There are a mix of eight residential and former commercial/industrial sites included on this tour.

The other of Westport's walking tours is of the Point. The Point is a chronological walk back in time as you head south toward the tip. It consists of 33 sites, about half of which are related to the whaling industry. These include Lee's Wharf, Mariner's Monument, The Cory Store, the Benjamin Franklin Davis House, the Lemuel Bailey Double House, Stephen Davis's house, Kate Cory's house, Captain Gideon Davis Jr.'s House, Captain Thomas Mayhew's house, the Captain Christopher Davis House, Captain Charles Ball's house, the Hammond House and Store, the site of the Gifford Store, the Captain Sowle House (1840), and the George Brightman House (1790). Three wharves remain on the Westport Point today. One is Lee's Wharf (once Mayhew's), named after the Lee family, who operated a fish market there, in 1929, and today, it is home to Revolution Lobster. The other two wharves are now used for lobster, fishing, and recreational boating operations. At the foot of these wharves is a Mariners' Memorial, which lists the names of all the local whalers and commercial fishermen killed at sea. It was constructed of granite in 1996 by the Westport Fishermen's Association (Appendix G.2).

The car tour, and by far the most important heritage tour in Westport, has interpretive resources that span the entire community, with one additional stop in New Bedford. This is the Paul Cuffe Heritage Trail, which tells the story of the most successful minority whaleman in New England at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Cuffe, whose property was in between the Head and the Point, remained the wealthiest merchant in the community until his death in 1817. It is unfortunate that Cuffe's home, located near 1430-1436 Drift Road, is no longer present, but as it is mostly occupied by a large field there may be surviving archaeological resources present. Census and tax records suggest he built a substantial house on the property in 1790 in close proximity to his booyard. There are multiple residences on the tour, as well as a prominent monument (Figure 52), headstones, a plaque, and signs all commemorating his legacy.

The National Parks walking tour of New Bedford covers the 50 best architectural examples of mostly private whaling related residences (Figure 46). Except for a few churches that are discussed elsewhere (Anthony & Sons 1869), the walking tour is residential, with not quite half of the structures directly relating to maritime industries, and all of them built from wealth extracted from the cetacean. While several more examples of whaling captains' and merchants' homes are included, most represented on this tour are the homes of white middle-class artisans, including shipwrights, a blacksmith, a ship's caulker, a cooper, a ship's chandler, tinsmiths, and non-maritime middle-class professionals as well. There was an anticipated lack of middle-class minorities in this sample, due to an economic system, based in racism, that exploited minority labor to a greater degree. The remainder of the tour covers a variety of artisans' professions, with architectural styles reflective of their period of popularity. "Behind the Mansions" is another residential walking tour of key structures in New Bedford, most of which specifically relate to the elite representation of the whaling industry (Figure 45).

The New London Heritage Trail is a several-mile walk, with about 10 of the 30 stops being relevant to whaling. The walk progresses east down State Street and turns right onto Bank Street. These sites range from the colonial era to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Each of these has a commemorative bronze plaque on the structure and/or sidewalk. While many of the local residences and later buildings were built from whaling wealth, only a select number of significant sites were pointed out on the Heritage Trail or were directly evidenced along its path. These sites include the Perkins and Smith Warehouse and Ship Chandlery, the granite whaling home and office of Benjamin Brown, the Customs House Museum, the Franklin Smith House, the Captain Charles Bulkeley House, the Darrow and Comstock Ship Chandlery (1876-1920), the 1848 Lawrence Exchange building, the Lawrence Whaling Bank, and Lawrence Hall (Appendix I.2, I.3). The plaque for the Perkins and Smith Warehouse and Ship Chandlery is a roughly 16-inch x 14-inch (40cm x 35cm) acknowledgment to the whaling firm of Perkins and Smith, of 1844 (Appendix I.2). It is located on 2 State Street and eventually became the Winthrop Hotel, named after an original city founder, John Winthrop Jr, in 1889. This plaque is part of the Historic Waterfront District Heritage Trail and was presented in 2006, with funding provided by the City Center District and a City of New London Maritime Heritage Park Grant (Appendix I.2). Other significant sites on the tour include the four Greek Revival houses of Whale Oil Row. These were once owned by the most prominent members of the New London whaling community (Appendix I.3). They were built between the mid-1830s and the mid-1840s and have signs referencing their origin, but their interpretation almost speaks for itself.

Sag Harbor's walking tour contains a more diverse range of topics than any other whaling community. They cover "Captains, Mates, and Widows", "Sag Harbor Architecture", "Eastville Community: Unique Diversity", "Fire and Water: The Great Disasters of Sag Harbor",

“Permanent Residents of Oakland Cemetery”, “Sag Harbor Cultural District”, “Women of Sag Harbor”, “Working Sag Harbor”, “Vanished Sag Harbor”, and more.

[https://events.longisland.com/sitemedia/images/event/photo\\_gallery/4047589\\_1\\_1.jpg](https://events.longisland.com/sitemedia/images/event/photo_gallery/4047589_1_1.jpg). Unique perspectives, such as the African American wife of a whaleman, are also included. This is one of the only examples of this theme being actively interpreted anywhere. “Eastville Community” shows the lifestyle and economic standing of many minority whalemens from the community. Those not gainfully employed after the decline of the industry, or who were unable to get a tourism job or employment at the Bulova Watch Factory, likely migrated to the bigger cities for work in the textile mills and other industrial factories. The most significant walking tours directly related to evaluating inequality will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

***Geographical Impact on Capitalist Interpretation:***

Geography plays a crucial role in the economy, as it affects a region’s ability to adapt to changing economic transportation networks and most quickly establish the most cost-effective infrastructure necessary to complete in a consistently consolidating capitalist economy. Simply put, the cities with the deepest and most protected harbors and which also are located in a community terrestrially best positioned to consolidate labor and merchant commerce through rail lines, are the communities destined for success in an economic system based on consolidation. Two major cities, one in Connecticut (New London) and one in Massachusetts (New Bedford), ultimately consolidated the whaling industry in their respective states. Outdoor interpretive efforts, including historic signs, plaques, and walking tours, were similar in approach in both communities, but the degree of interpretation effort was also proportional to the degree of industry consolidation, with New Bedford’s whaling industry having been several times larger

than New London's. This means that New Bedford surpasses all communities in terms of both its indoor interpretive platforms and its outdoor walking tours.

New London has many signs around the community discussing diversity, including the Haley Houses in Hempstead, and both cities, in their respective capacities, use their outdoor interpretation efforts as lure to draw people through their redeveloped commercial districts now replaced with eateries, shops, and other tourist-centric businesses. New Bedford has a greater emphasis on promoting its residential architecture in physical form, while [livingplaces.com](http://livingplaces.com) provides that most extensive analysis of New London heritage districts of any community.

Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard shared a similar geographic situation and duration of participation in the whaling industry, although the Quaker influence over Nantucket, and the degree to which they exploited the Native inhabitants, allowed for them to establish an early dominance during their first century of involvement. The simplicity of the Quaker lifestyle allowed Nantucketers to maintain the lowest costs of production of any community involved in the fisheries. Although predominantly due to the maritime topography of Nantucket Sound being incompatible with the increasing draft of vessels, there may be something to infer about the decline of Quaker influence in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and the increasing extent to which whaling merchants embraced capitalist excesses and lavish displays of wealth. Ultimately those wishing to continue their expansion of capital within this industry emigrated to New Bedford, bearing the ancestry of just about every whaling family of Nantucket and extending alliances to other reputable whaling families who also remained with whaling rather than locally reinvesting their capital into other industries appearing throughout the industrial period.

Ultimately, with both islands having no choice but to embrace tourism during the final decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the degree of success that Nantucket had over the Vineyard

ultimately funneled historically-minded tourists to Nantucket, thus limiting the potential for investing in this type of presentation to result in additional revenue. On both islands, active interpretation is contained within a single structure and there are no major plaques or signs in either community intended for walking tours so as not to draw unnecessary crowds into the residential streets or divert the density of mostly well-off tourists from the locations that now seek to separate capitalists from their surplus revenue. Nantucket, in keeping with the simplicity of its architecture and tourist atmosphere, has the most detailed and extensive residential plaque program to accommodate the many people who choose to meander the historic neighborhoods.

The peninsulas of Westport and Stonington also share similar geographies and socioeconomic outcomes. With some industrial activity emerging in the areas closest to the railroads, neither was in a position to consolidate maritime capital or be as economically adaptable to newer transportation networks. For the same reason, neither was compatible for stable, whaling-related tourism, and so, although Westport has chosen to embrace a plaque program and local walking/heritage tours, and Stonington incorporated a generic display in its lighthouse museum, both settled as well-off residential communities that take advantage of quiet summer tourist activities.

The geography of Provincetown and Sag Harbor falls somewhere between the islands and the peninsulas as cape tips. Both places maintained better access to maritime transportation but lacked the position to maximize the benefits of railroad access. Both communities have a small museum, but Sag Harbor went the route of upper middle- and upper-class Yankee tourism, while Provincetown's continued involvement in commercial fishing into the 20<sup>th</sup> century resulted in the same Portuguese dominated emphasis of resources as New Bedford. Provincetown's slight advantage over Sag Harbor in its transportation access resulted in Sag Harbor settling into a



wealthy summer retreat, whereas Provincetown maintained its maritime activities for several decades longer. With a similar tourism economy as the island, Sag Harbor has also chosen to limit its active physical interpretation to a single building, but its walking tours are second to none in both number and diversity (Sag Harbor Partnership 2018c).

The degree which Mystic has embraced whaling tourism is somewhat of a geographic anomaly, but it was the determination of the founders of what became Mystic Seaport, who set in place the events responsible for the interpretive efforts that dominate the community today. Its lack of ideal location for the consolidation of the growing size of whaling vessels, lack of access to labor, and transition to terrestrial transportation networks resulted in fairly modest mid through late 19<sup>th</sup> century local reinvestment of whaling wealth into textiles and banking. The wealth carried on over through these newer industries was what funded the collection of preserved buildings and whaling memorabilia.

The remaining communities fall into obscurity as they lacked both the maritime advantages of the islands, peninsulas, and cape tips or the ideal access to both transportation networks needed to consolidate capital resources to extend the life of the industry. To varying degrees of intensity, whaling wealth was reinvested into the many dozens of commercial and financial institutions emerging throughout the golden age and into the industrial revolution.

***The Maritime Revival and Interpretation:***

The following section looks more specifically at museum art and images. Everything that was datable and at least 80% visual, with at least one reference to class, race, or gender, was analyzed to determine a change in the themes over time and observe any patterns of interpretation that linked to the appearance, rise and fall of the maritime revival period. Most of these images are portraits, paintings, drawings, sketches, lithographs (hand created images), or

photographs. This section looks at the period of origin of these interpretive objects, and not their actual dates of presentation and interpretation. Portraits were analyzed in their own right as a discrete category, as well as part of a larger category of hand-created images (also including paintings, drawings, sketches, and lithographs. All museum images combined (both hand-created and mechanical) were then analyzed over time.

### Class Comparison by Community

Table 62. Overall Class Comparison: Class in cm2.

<b>Community</b>	<b>Elite</b>	<b>Working</b>	<b>Indigenous/ Subsistence</b>	<b>Subsistence Yankee</b>	<b>N/A</b>
Provincetown	89,752 (40%)	122,632 (54%)	N/A	N/A	14,180 (6%)
Sag Harbor	90,038 (75%)	24,904 (20%)	3,252 (3%)	N/A	2,333 (2%)
Mystic Seaport	100,754 (20%)	353,349 (71%)	42,329 (9%)	N/A	N/A
Nantucket	107,718 (26%)	116,969 (28%)	93,116 (23%)	93,116 (23%)	N/A
New Bedford (overall)	913,752 (29%)	800,253 (25%)	866,948 (28%)	N/A	553,338 (18%)
NBWM (overall)	862,458 (30%)	608,260 (21%)	844,187 (30%)	N/A	532,205 (19%)
NBWM (excluding Shapiro and International galley)	305,040 (15%)	608,260 (31%)	546,897 (27%)	N/A	532,205 (27%)
NB Visitor Center	25,311 (12%)	150,938 (75%)	22,761 (11%)	N/A	3,484 (2%)
New Bedford Walking Tour	25,983 (31%)	41,055 (48%)	N/A	N/A	17,649 (21%)
Martha's Vineyard	6,555 (23%)	8,671 (31%)	13,162 (46%)	N/A	N/A

Sag Harbor was the only town where the clear majority of interpretation was dedicated to the elite (Table 62; Figure 98). Including the larger, less applicable galleries of the NBWM gives elite interpretation a slight edge in New Bedford, but excluding these galleries gives a much better distribution of the more common varieties of resource on display, and it shows New

Bedford as the most diverse and culturally inclusive community evaluated in this research. New Bedford's National Parks Service visitor center embraces a higher proportion of working-class themes than any other outlet and also has a heavy Indigenous (mostly Portuguese Islander) focus as well.

Sag Harbor Whaling Museum, established just after the end of the revival period, contains a high ratio of revival period artwork, and thus represents the elite roughly three and a half times more than it does the working-class, as well as having only a small proportion of Indigenous depictions. The museum intends to suit the largely Caucasian upper-class audience of its vacationers. In the Provincetown museum, elite depictions are about 25% less frequent than working-class depictions, including the captain's 3D bedroom and cabin displays. The entirety of the working-class themes are contained within the four large outdoor murals at Provincetown. Nantucket has a well-balanced diversity of resources, with the museum beginning with a large timeline map tribute to the Wampanoag and containing most of its elite representation in a range of Yankee portraits and two figureheads. Nantucket has chosen to balance the Yankee image its tourist audience expects with a desire to maintain an academic balance in representation.

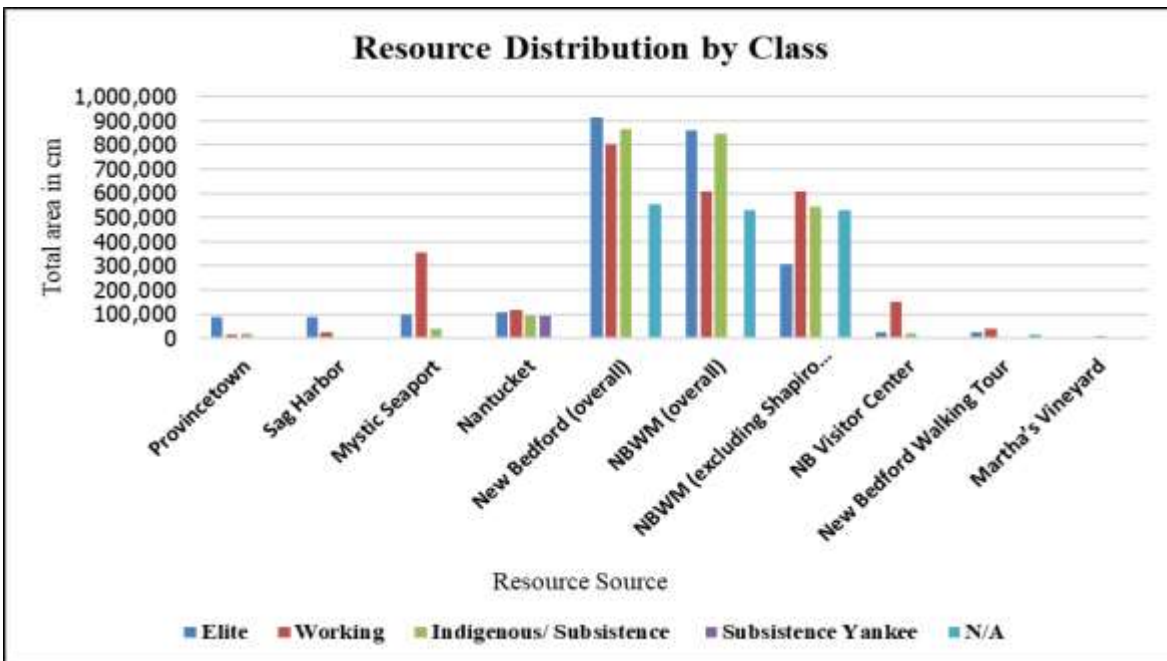


Figure 98. Resource Distribution by Class.

**Race and Gender Comparison (by town):**

Table 63. Overall: Race and Gender in cm2

Community	Yankee Male	Minority/Immigrant Male	Yankee Female	Minority/Immigrant Female
Provincetown	89,752 (36%)	14,180 (6%)	20,091 (8%)	122,632 (50%)
Sag Harbor	62,785 (52%)	4,144 (4%)	52,851 (44%)	0
Mystic Seaport	329,560 (66%)	122,416 (25%)	35,200 (7%)	9,256 (2%)
Nantucket	203,350 (49%)	92,280 (22%)	72,073 (17%)	47,497 (12%)
NB Overall	1,068,997 (34%)	1,161,711 (37%)	711,115 (23%)	205,494 (6%)
NBWM	980,924 (34%)	991,344 (35%)	695,252 (24%)	191,105 (7%)
NBWM (excluding Shapiro and International)	980,924 (48%)	842,699 (42%)	153,697 (8%)	42,460 (2%)
New Bedford Visitor Center	46,966 (23%)	136,227 (67%)	7,235 (4%)	12,066 (6%)
New Bedford Walking Tour	41,107 (50%)	34,140 (42%)	4,180 (5%)	2,323 (3%)
Martha's Vineyard	10,878 (37%)	11,923 (34%)	9,303 (29%)	0

By race and gender, Provincetown contains the highest proportion of minority/immigrant female representation, all of which is contained within the murals. Excluding the murals, Yankee men are represented to a substantially higher degree than other categories, with Yankee females (mostly contained within the 3D cabin and bedroom) being represented more than minority/immigrant males. Sag Harbor has the highest proportion of Yankee female representation, almost equal to that of Yankee males, and together accounting for 97% of all interpretation

In Mystic, Yankee females are represented three times as often as minority females (7% and 2%), with a similar proportion of Yankee males to minority/immigrant males (66% and 25%). As small as its relevant display was, Martha's Vineyard had a simple division between the two male categories (Yankee and minority/immigrant) and the Yankee female category, with minority females not depicted. New Bedford contains an excellent overall balance. Its largest interpretive resource are the Shapiro Gallery and International Gallery, which were included via a different standard of measurement (less applicable rooms evaluated as a single resource) discussed in Chapter VI. Excluding these resources drastically reduces the proportion of female representation and indicates a more accurate distribution of representation between white males (34%) and minority/immigrants males (42%). Nantucket features Yankee males more than twice as often as minority/immigrant males with 49% and 22% (Table 63; Figure 99).

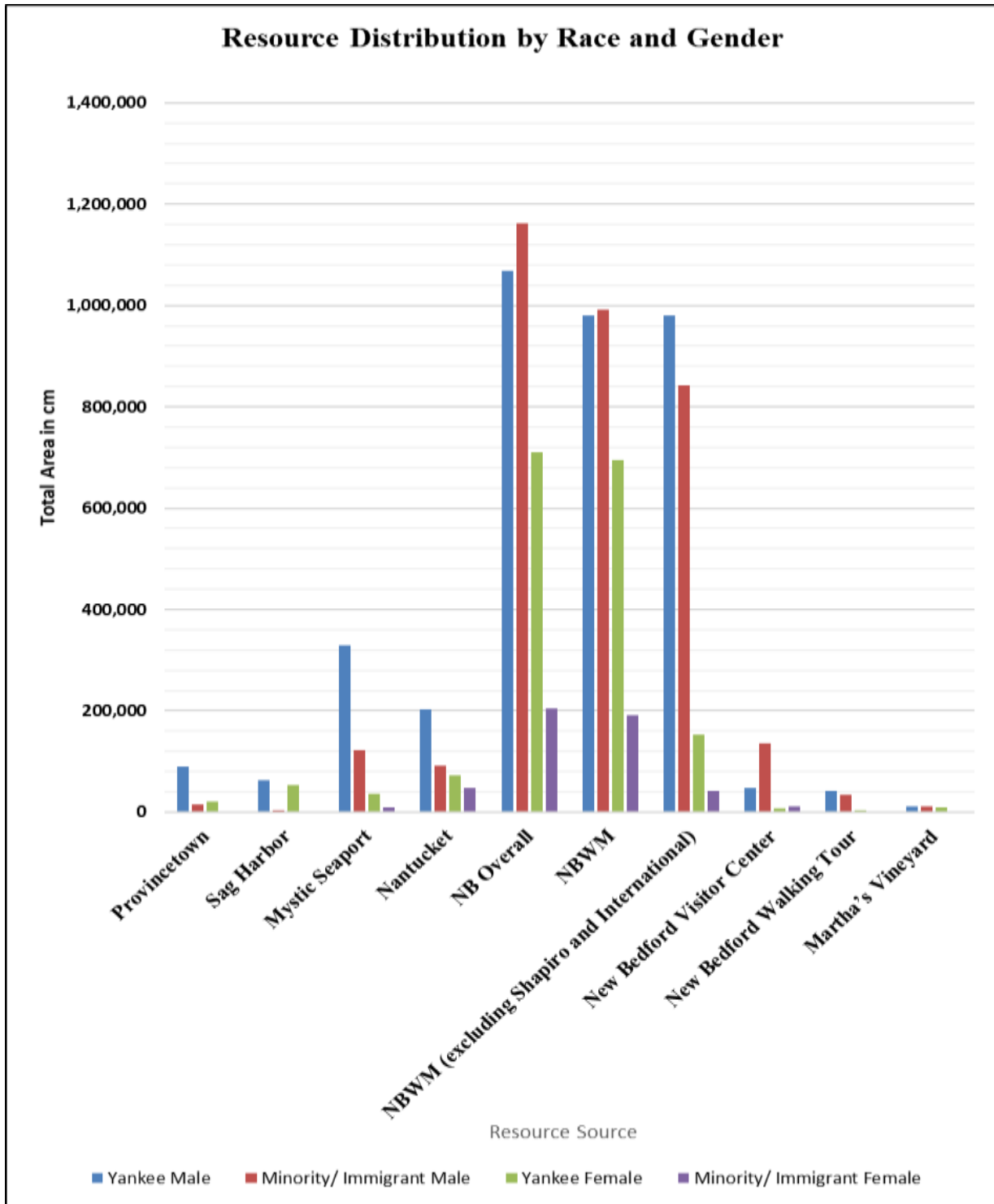


Figure 99. Resource Distribution by Race and Gender

**Class, Race, and Gender (by town):**

Table 64. Overall: Class, Race, and Gender in cm2

Community	Elite Yankee Male	Elite Minority/ Immigrant Male	Elite Yankee Female	Elite Minority/ Immigrant Female	Working Yankee Male	Working Minority/ Immigrant Male	Working Yankee Female	Working Minority Female	Indigenous/ Subsistence	Yankees in Indigenous/ working	N/A Yankee Male	N/A Minority Male	N/A Yankee Female	N/A Minority Female
Provincetown (overall)	67006 (54%)	N/A	19510 (16%)	N/A	21584 (17%)	7444 (6%)	N/A	8479 (7%)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Provincetown Museum	67006 (28%)	N/A	19510 (8%)	N/A	21584 (9%)	13018 (5%)	N/A	122632 (50%)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Sag Harbor	37249 (32%)	N/A	52789 (45%)	N/A	23293 (20%)	1549 (1%)	62	N/A	2323 (2%)	N/A	929	272	774	N/A
Mystic Seaport	68163 (14%)	21072 (4%)	10787 (2%)	732	261397 (53%)	67397 (14%)	24413 (5%)	N/A	33805(m) (6%) 8524(f) (2%)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Nantucket	85573 (21%)	2168 (1%)	19977 (5%)	N/A	67579 (17%)	39914 (10%)	1463	1045	93116 (23%)	93116 (23%)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
NB Overall	196884 (6%)	121156 (3%)	630348 (18%)	929	466885 (13%)	307564 (9%)	11415	14389	1089627 (31%)	160409 (5%)	245213 (7%)	179548 (5%)	89141 (3%)	18303
NBWM	174356 (6%)	93290 (3%)	593883 (21%)	929	408146 (14%)	200114 (7%)	N/A	N/A	518392(m) (16%) 171873(f) (8%)	154022 (6%)	245213 (9%)	179548 (6%)	89141 (3%)	18303 (1%)
NBWM (no Shapiro, Cuffe, or International Gallery)	174356 (9%)	387	36465 (2%)	929	408146 (21%)	200114 (11%)	N/A	N/A	369747(m) (20%) 23228(f) (1%)	154022 (8%)	245213 (13%)	179548 (9%)	89141 (5%)	18303 (1%)
NB Visitor Center	8593 (5%)	16718 (11%)	N/A	N/A	36631 (24%)	69458 (45%)	7235 (5%)	12066 (8%)	1742 (1%)	1742 (1%)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
New Bedford Walking Tour	13935 (17%)	11148 (14%)	N/A	N/A	22108 (28%)	12444 (15%)	4180 (3%)	2323 (3%)	4645 (6%)	9290 (12%)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Martha's Vineyard	5923 (23%)	623 (3%)	N/A	N/A	1858 (7%)	4955 (20%)	1858 (7%)	N/A	10065 (40%)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

By class, race, and gender, Provincetown Museum predominantly focuses on the Yankee elite theme, but its inclusion of the four outdoor murals makes it the only community to have such a degree of immigrant female representation. Sag Harbor remains a tribute to the elite Yankees. Mystic has overwhelmingly embraced the working-class Yankee theme but much of the discrepancy is the result of newer forms of interpretation that have enlarged Yankee images, either as wall backdrops or projections. The museum doors present a modern depiction of a diverse whaling scene, with the first display inside the entrance being a projection displaying a large, all Yankee revival period image (Appendix K.2). Jack tar (Joe Gomes), Cape Verdean Captain Antoine Descent, and the Inuit, have become the rising minority themes of today (Appendix K.2). The museum, however, having been founded based on golden era whaling, emphasizes the Inuit in its depiction of Indigenous American representation and largely ignores the participation of Native Americans in the early industry in mid-late 18<sup>th</sup> century Connecticut. Appendix A.1 includes a 1774 Native American population map that shows Native Americans largely clustered in Connecticut and Rhode Island whaling communities. The Pequot Museum presents a more unique exhibit featuring Austin George. It depicts a Native American whaleman manning the tryworks and is one of the few exhibits anywhere that feature Native Americans outside their subsistence origins (Appendix A.1).

The elite Yankee male, largely depicted via portraits, continues to have an edge over the working-class Yankee male, with minority/ immigrants making up about half the representation and featured in large part via television projection screens and enlarged late 19<sup>th</sup> century photographs. The Vineyard is difficult to draw legitimate conclusions from due to its limited material, but New Bedford has by far dominated whaling interpretation, as it did the whaling industry. Indigenous representation was greatest in New Bedford, and even excluding the



International Gallery, Indigenous people (male and female) are included in similar proportions to working-class Yankee males. The elite Yankee male category was less than half the working-class male category and similar in representation to the working-class minority/immigrant representation and N/A minority/immigrant male representation.

Overall, the diversity of representation across the communities seems most influenced by the audience it intends to cater to, as the result of the socioeconomic conditions of the community. While New Bedford has taken the lead in presenting the most diverse platform as the result of its largely Portuguese immigrant population, Mystic, Nantucket, and Provincetown have also begun to shift to a more inclusive narrative through more recent interpretive additions. Sag Harbor, however, remains a perfect time capsule of the maritime revival through its elitist and unaltered display of Yankees in general, and specifically the Yankee elite.

New Bedford has dominated interpretation on most fronts, especially museums, statues, and outdoor signage/plaques; Sag Harbor has the most elitist museum but the most diverse and inclusive walking tours; Mystic, the anomaly in its embrace of interpretation, has dominated historic preservation, and Nantucket has made a point to include the Wampanoag but overly promotes the story of unity and hard work leading to success, as opposed to the genocidal exploitation of Indigenous people that made the Quaker whalers so wealthy. Its current tourism economy may not be conducive to sharing the darker aspects of the island's heritage. Provincetown, overall, does well to include the story of its most elite family, while also including substantial reference to the changing racial makeup of the later industry.

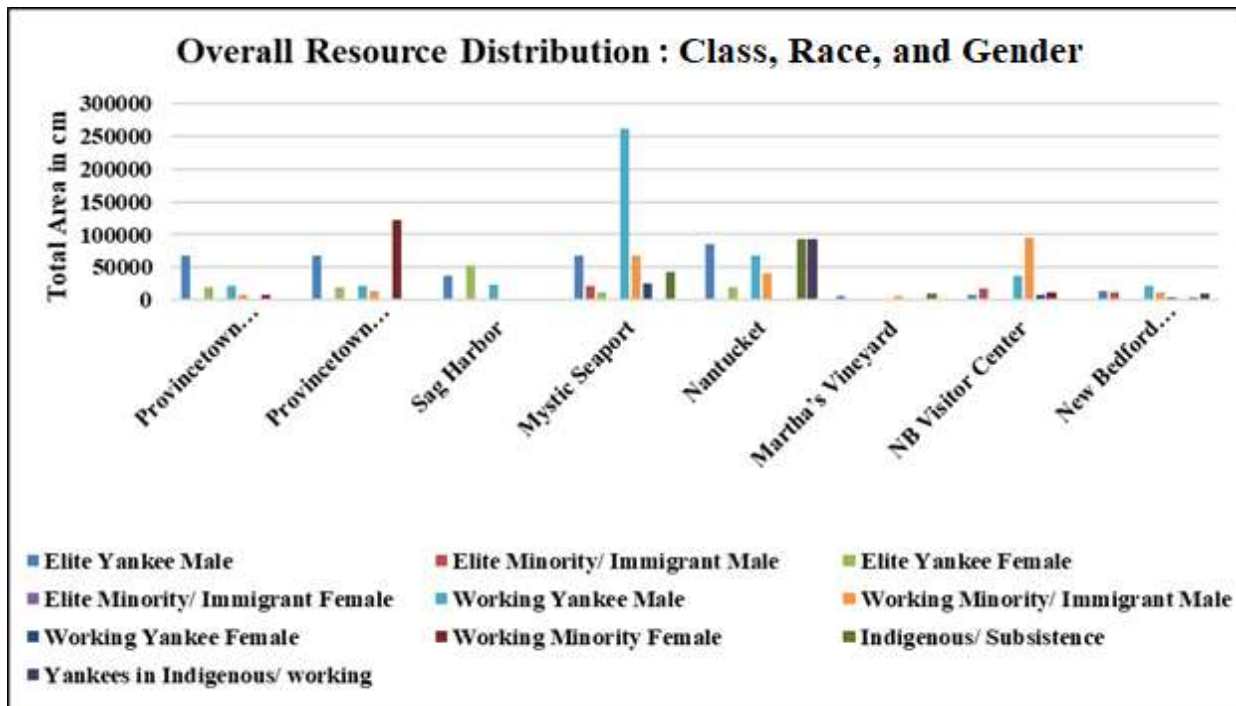


Figure 100. Overall Resource Distribution: Class, Race, and Gender.

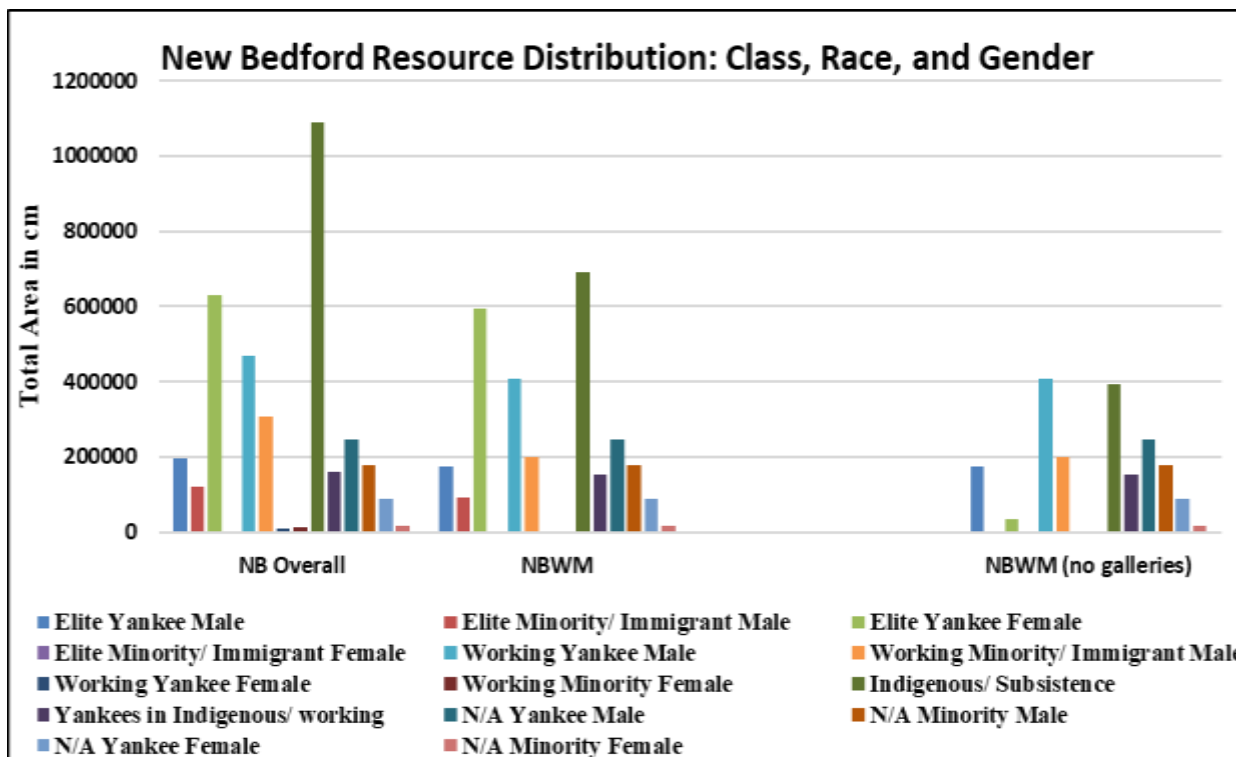


Figure 101. New Bedford Resource Distribution: Class, Race, and Gender.

### Overall Analysis (by material resource and over time):

The elite Yankee male theme is most noticeable in certain types of interpretive resource, particularly portraits. Across all towns there were 69 portraits occupying about 301,146 cm<sup>2</sup> of visual space. All portraits were representative of elite Yankee males. Elite Yankee females made up the second largest group, although at about half the representation of elite Yankee men. Fifty-eight percent of the portraits were white Yankee captains; 31% were the captain or owner's wife, either included with her husband or in an independent portrait; and nine percent was representative of elite minority/immigrant males. There were no minority females in any portraits (Table 65; Figure 102).

When looked at across time, 62 of the portraits dated to before the revival period, and seven were from the revival years. In the pre-revival period, almost two-thirds of the representation was elite Yankee male (Table 66; Figure 103). This dropped to half the total during the revival period after a few minority/immigrant men ascended to a position of importance. Minority/immigrant men represent 42% of the portraits produced during the revival period (Table 67; Figure 104). No portraits were painted during the post-revival period, as the industry had long been over.

Table 65. All 69 Elite Class Portraits in cm<sup>2</sup>

<b>Elite Yankee Male</b>	<b>Elite Minority/Immigrant Male</b>	<b>Elite Yankee Female</b>	<b>Elite Minority/Immigrant Female</b>
174,732	27,582	93,497	5,365

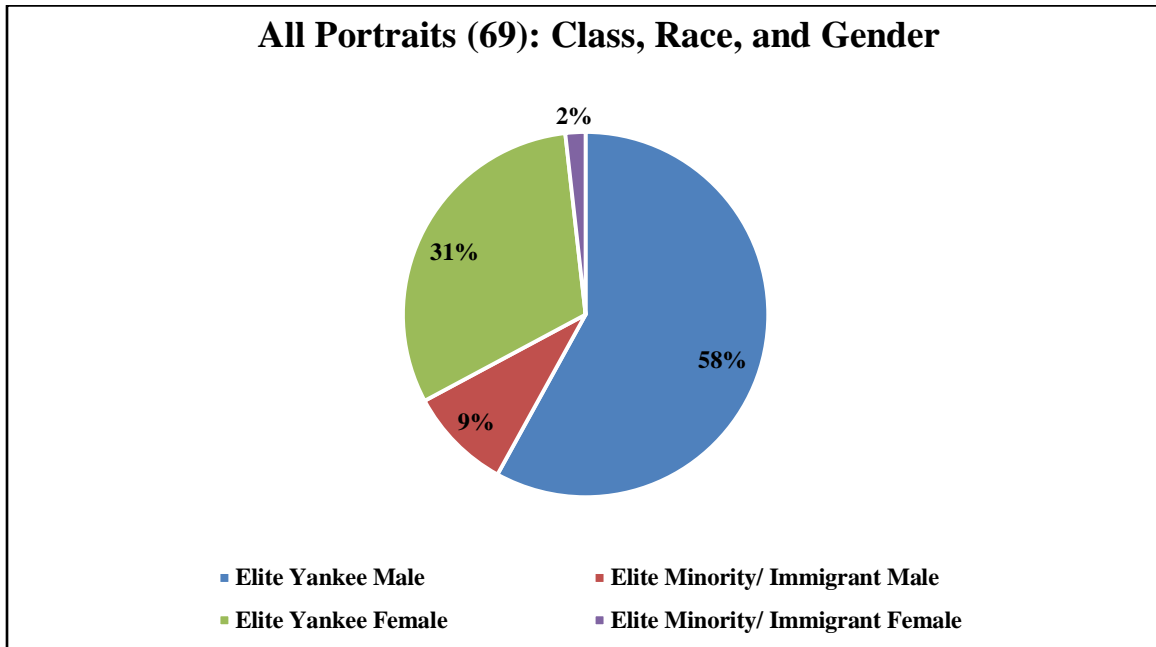


Figure 102. All 69 Elite Class Portraits.

Table 66. Pre-revival Portraits: Class, Race, and Gender in cm2

Pre-revival Portraits (62=196,304 cm2)			
Yankee Male	Minority/ Immigrant Male	Yankee Female	Minority/ Immigrant Female
159,556	16,104	75,202	0

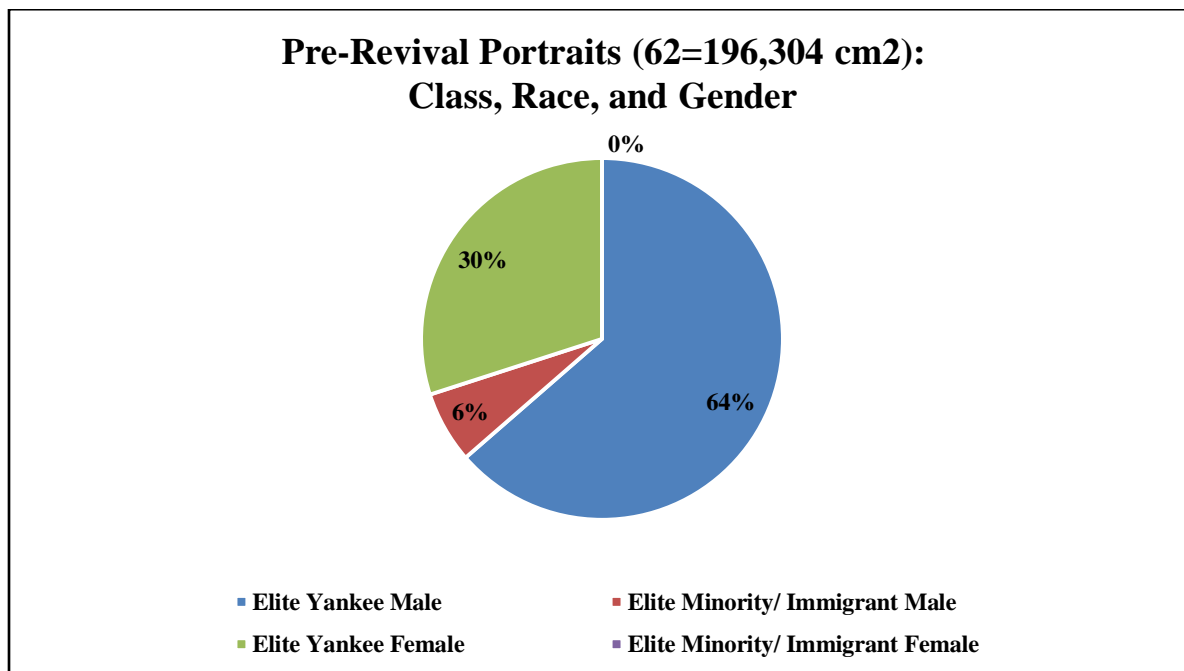


Figure 103. Pre-revival Portraits: Class, Race, and Gender.

Table 67. Revival Portraits: Race and Gender in cm2

<b>Revival Portraits: Class, Race, and Gender = (7=18,015cm2)</b>			
<b>Elite Yankee Male</b>	<b>Elite Minority/Immigrant Male</b>	<b>Elite Yankee Female</b>	<b>Elite Minority/Immigrant Female</b>
18,015	15,176	0	2,839

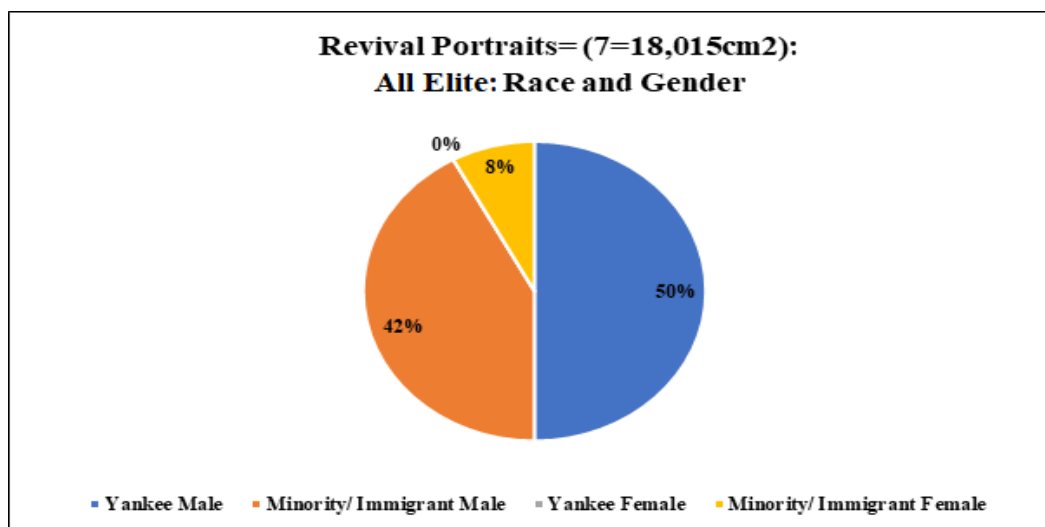


Figure 104. Revival Portraits: Class, Race, and Gender.

The next section examines class, race, and gender representation in each period for all other hand-created art and images. There are 33 resources that fall into this category. Twenty-four represent the working-class, seven the elite, one Indigenous people, and one did not depict any kind of class representation. Yankee men accounted for 63% of this category, with Yankee women at 18%, and minority/immigrant men at 11% (Table 71; Figure 108). Of all the paintings, drawings, sketches, and lithographs, Yankee men made up 42% in the pre-revival period, followed by minority immigrant men with 19%, and Indigenous females tied with minority females at 14% each (Table 68; Figure 105).

By period, 15 of these images were created pre-revival, with 14 working-class, and one Indigenous (Table 68; Figure 105); fourteen were created during the revival period, with seven working-class and seven elite; four created after the revival period were working-class (Table 69; Figure 106). Possibly the most essential note of this research is that there were no minorities

depicted in any of the paintings, drawings, sketches, or lithographs created during the revival period. Instead, working-class Yankee men accounted for 41%, followed by elite Yankee females, with 31%, and elite Yankee males at 28% (Table 69; Figure 106). The post-revival period had only three examples in this category and consisted of 72% working-class Yankee men and 28% working-class minority/immigrant men (Table 70; Figure 107). Overall, more than half of the paintings, drawings, sketches, and lithographs represented the working-class Yankee man. Elite Yankee women and elite Yankee men were represented relatively equally, with 14% and 13% respectively, while working-class minority/immigrant men were represented in 11% of resources (Table 71; Figure 108).

Table 68. Pre-revival Paintings, Drawings, Sketches, and Lithographs: Class, Race, and Gender in cm<sup>2</sup>

<b>Working Yankee Male</b>	<b>Working Minority/Immigrant Male</b>	<b>Working Yankee Female</b>	<b>Working Minority/Immigrant Female</b>	<b>Indigenous Male</b>	<b>Indigenous Female</b>
16,522	7,297	1,445	5,365	2,682	5,365

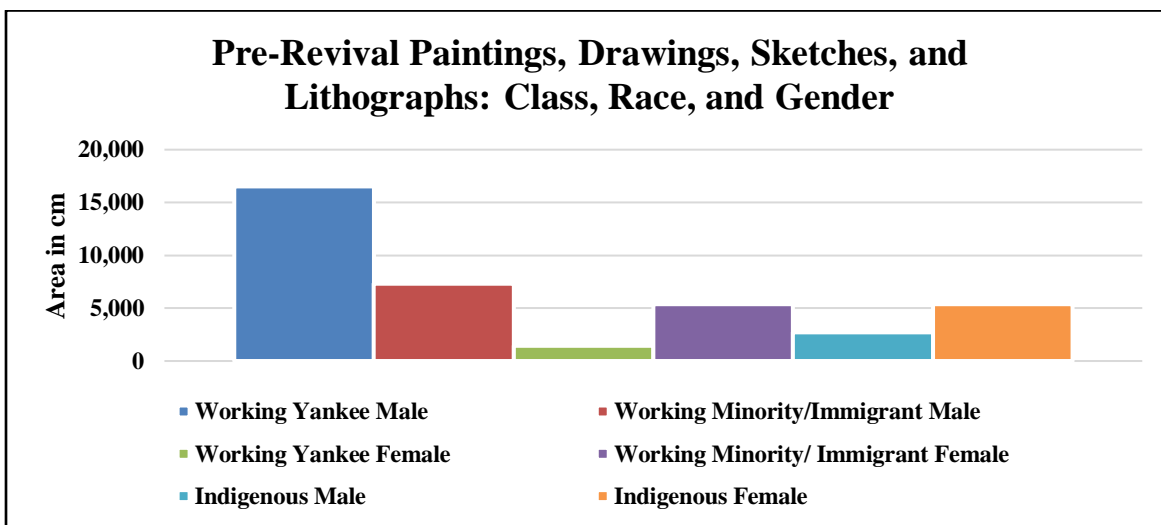


Figure 105. Pre-revival Paintings, Drawings, Sketches, and Lithographs: Class, Race, and Gender.

Table 69. Revival Paintings, Drawings, Sketches, and Lithographs: Class, Race, and Gender in cm2

Revival Paintings, Drawings, Sketches, and Lithographs: Class, Race, and Gender							
Elite Yankee Male	Elite Minority/ Immigrant Male	Elite Yankee Female	Elite Minority/ Immigrant Female	Working Yankee Male	Working Minority/ Immigrant Male	Working Yankee Female	Working Minority/ Immigrant Female
10,297	0	11,304	0	14,802	0	62	0

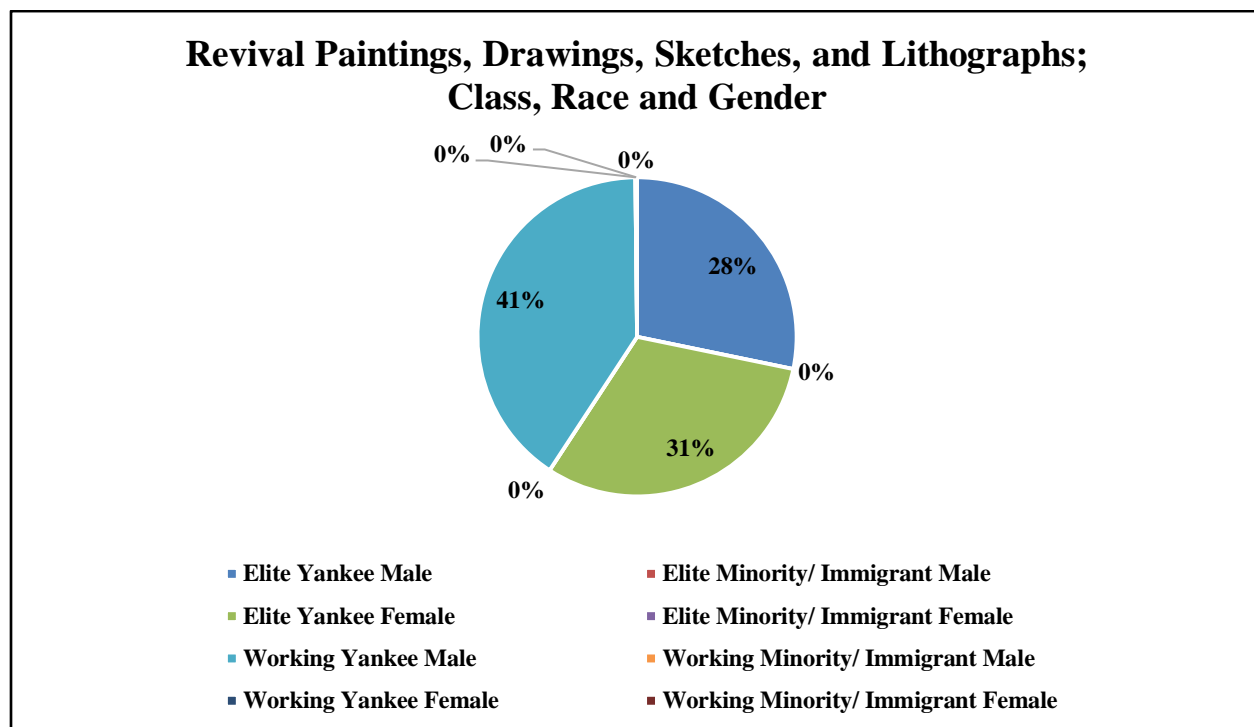


Figure 106. Revival Paintings, Drawings, Sketches, and Lithographs: Class, Race, and Gender.

Table 70. Post-revival Paintings, Drawings, Sketches, and Lithographs: Class, Race, and Gender in cm2

Working Yankee Male	Working Minority/ Immigrant Male
10,891	4,181

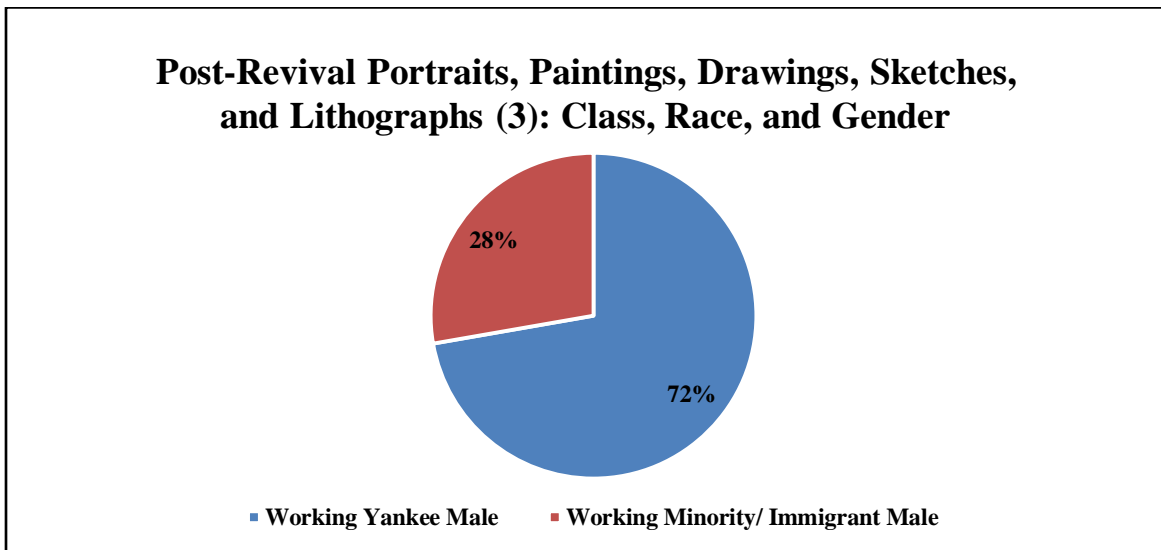


Figure 107. Post-revival Paintings, Drawings, Sketches, and Lithographs: Class, Race, and Gender.

Table 71. Overall Paintings, Drawings, Sketches, and Lithographs: Class, Race, and Gender in cm<sup>2</sup>

Elite Yankee Male	Elite Yankee Female	Indigenous Male	Indigenous Female	Working Yankee Male	Working Minority/ Immigrant Male	Working Yankee Female
10,297	11,304	2,682	5,365	42,215	8,796	1,507

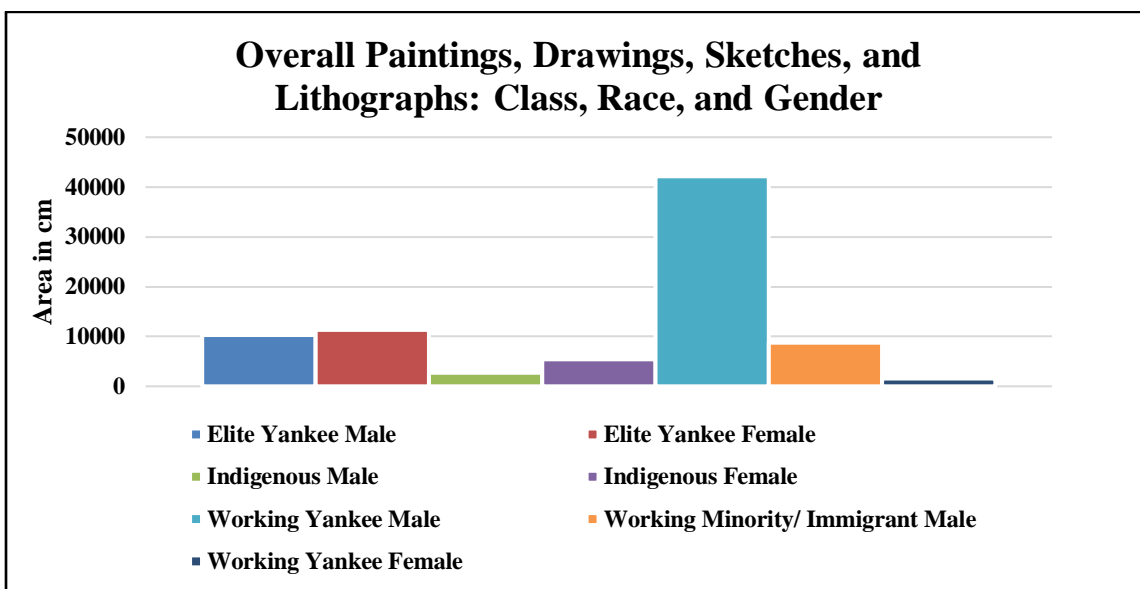


Figure 108. Overall Paintings, Drawings, Sketches, and Lithographs: Class, Race, and Gender.



When the portrait category is combined with other hand-created imagery, resources created before the revival period mostly depict the wealthy Yankee male, who are ten times more likely to be represented than minority elites; in contrast over a quarter depict elite Yankee women. Working-class white males and elite minority men are represented in six percent of resources each (Table 72; Figure 109). During the revival period 47% of the visual space was devoted to elite white men; while working-class Yankee men were near tied with elite Yankee females at a lower figure of 26% and 27% respectively (Table 73; Figure 110). The post-revival period has only two resources in this category, but nearly three-quarters represented working-class white men, while the remainder was working-class minority men (Table 74; Figure 111).

Table 72. Pre-revival Portraits, Paintings, Drawings, Sketches, and Lithographs: Class, Race, Gender in cm<sup>2</sup>

Elite White Male	Elite Minority/ Immigrant Male	Elite White Female	Elite Minority/ Immigrant Female	Indigenous Male	Indigenous Female	Working White Male	Working Minority/ Immigrant Male	Working White Female	Working Minority/ Immigrant Female
159,556	16,104	75,202	0	2,682	5,365	16,522	4,615	1,445	0

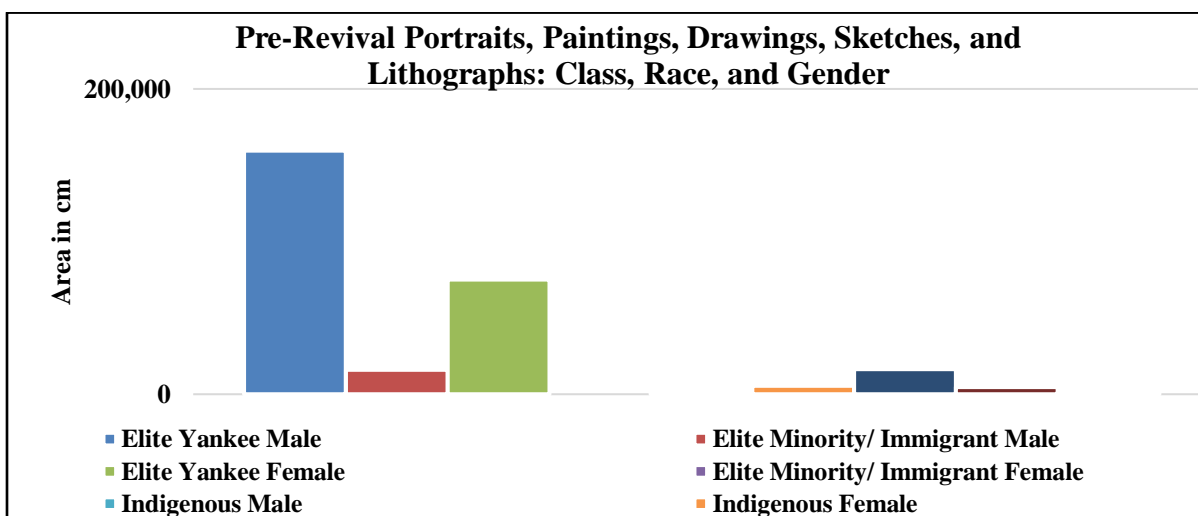


Figure 109. Pre-revival Portraits, Paintings, Drawings, Sketches, and Lithographs: Class, Race, Gender.

Table 73. Maritime Revival Portraits, Paintings, Drawings, Sketches, and Lithographs: Class, Race, Gender in cm2

Elite Yankee Male	Elite Yankee Female	Working Yankee Male
25,473	14,143	14,802

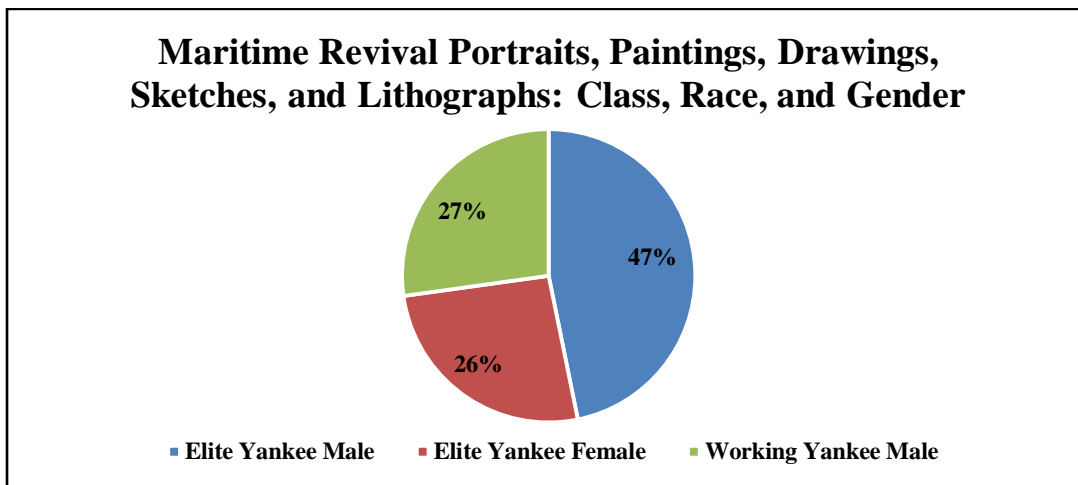


Figure 110. Revival Portraits, Paintings, Drawings, Sketches, and Lithographs: Class, Race, and Gender.

Table 74. Post-revival Portraits, Paintings, Drawings, Sketches, and Lithographs: Class, Race, Gender in cm2

Working Yankee Male	Working Minority/ Immigrant Male
10,891	4,181

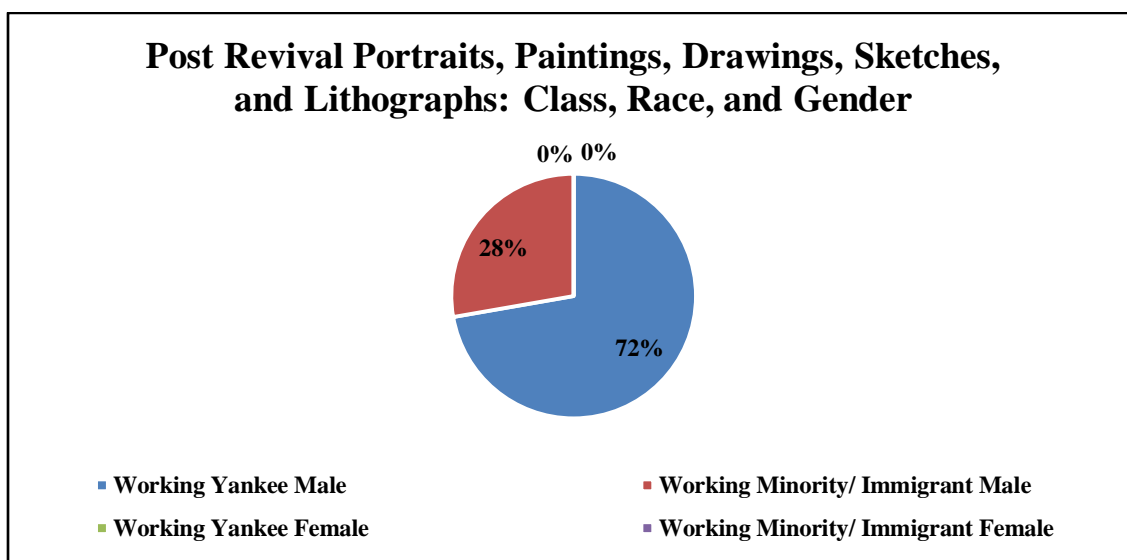


Figure 111. Post-revival Portraits, Paintings, Drawings, Sketches, and Lithographs: Class, Race, and Gender.

***Entire Museum Art and Images Data Set:***

Incorporating the entirety of the museum art and images data set together, representation in the pre-revival period is clearly swayed in favor of elite depictions, constituting 84% of the sample (Table 75; Figure 112). This is largely due to the substantial quantity of elite portraits. During the revival period, because of late-19<sup>th</sup> century improvements in photography, working-class figures accounted for 83%, while the elite representation shrunk to 16% (Table 76; Figure 113). This trend was even more pronounced in the post-revival period, when 82% of resources depicted the working-class, five percent the elite, and 11% had no class referent (Table 77; Figure 114).

The increase in the representation of the working-class is largely the result of revival and post-revival period interpretation magnifying several less costly forms of presentation. In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century photography had not developed sufficiently to capture active scenes of men working, and this technology did not sufficiently improve until the last few decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, during the revival period. Several large whaling scenes, classified as a working-class depiction, were used as large backdrops in museum displays, while portraits of captains and their wives and busts remain in modern museum settings. This does not imply that portraits were displayed less during any particular period, merely that most captains had their portraits done during the height of their success, before the revival period began. The ratio of the elite Yankee drops dramatically during the post-revival period.

Table 75. Museum Art and Images: Pre-revival Period (<1870): Class in cm2

<b>Elite</b>	<b>Working</b>	<b>Indigenous</b>	<b>N/A</b>
205,205	22,477	13,703	3,871

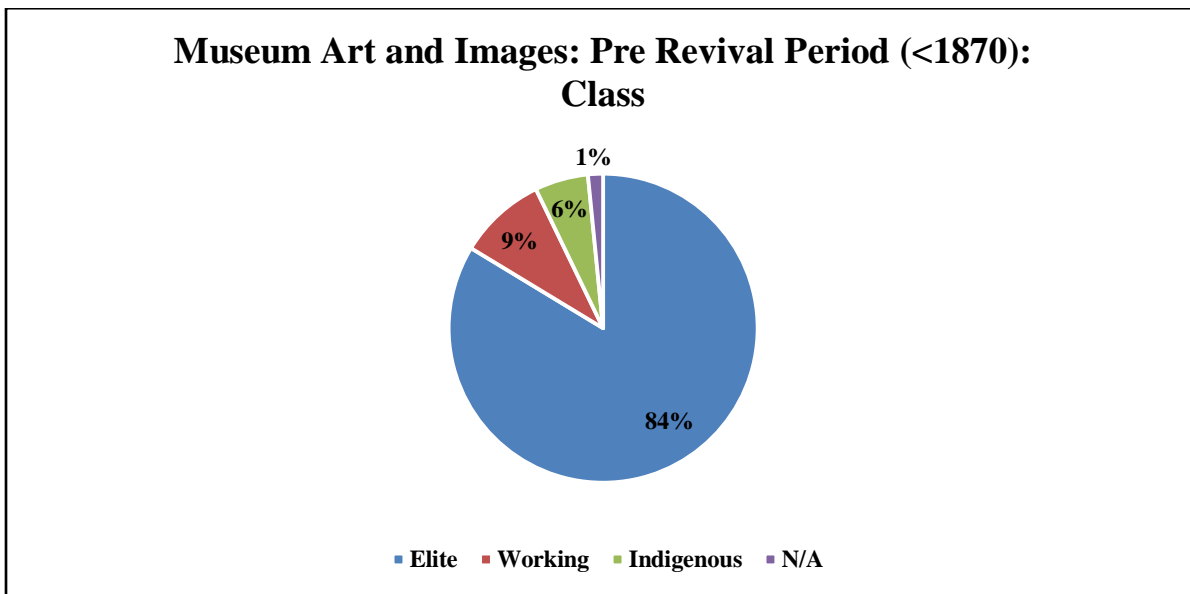


Figure 112. Museum Art and Images: Pre-revival Period (<1870): Class.

Table 76. Museum Art and Images: Revival Period (1870-1940): Class in cm2.

Elite	Working	Indigenous	N/A
86,196	432,094	3,623	2,123

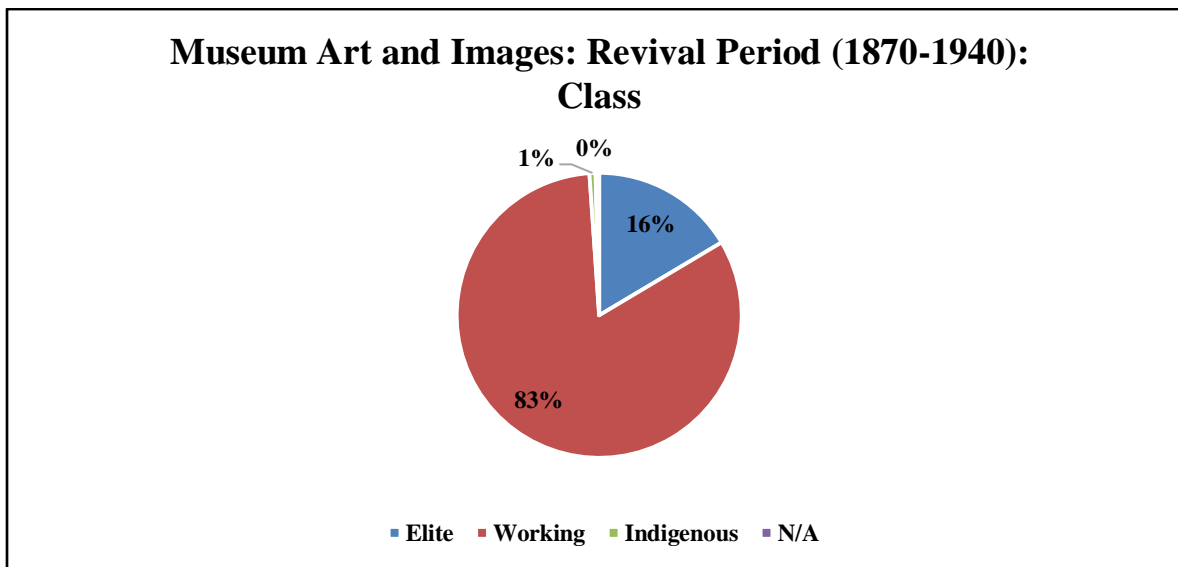


Figure 113. Museum Art and Images: Revival Period (1870-1940): Class.

Table 77. Museum Art and Images: Post-revival (>1940): Class in cm2

Elite	Working	Indigenous	N/A
5,574	86,202	2,504	11,149

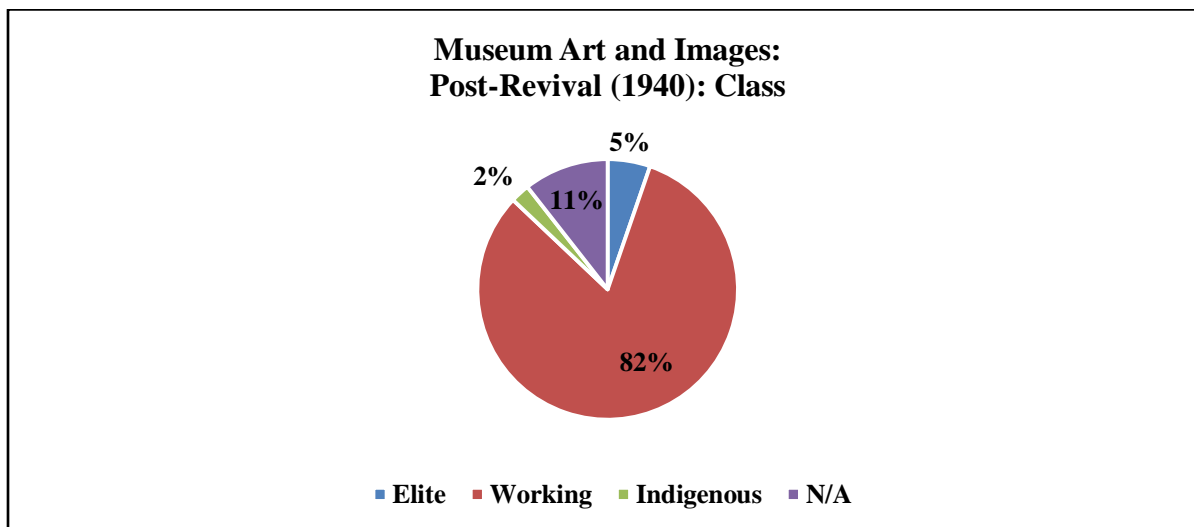


Figure 114. Museum Art and Images: Post-revival (>1940): Class.

Historically, it makes sense that many of these photographs ended up hidden away in descendants' homes or in curatorial storage facilities, given the background provided in Chapter II on the traditional American approach to interpreting history. The focus was once on whitewashing America under a national narrative of European descent. Also, far fewer visitors were scholars during and prior to the revival period, and visitors and guests traditionally preferred to see the beautiful, elegant, and rare. It was the portraits, paintings, and better-quality artifacts that therefore became the objects of interpretation, intended both to draw a profit and to promote the narrow version of the story the industry's founders intended.

As time progressed and museums developed, they no longer had to rely on the wealth and personal collections of a few Yankee elite as the sole interpretation of the story. The elite's wealth had not only afforded them the opportunity to create the interpretive pieces at the time, but also gave their descendants the ability to fund or inspire museums and their content, as seen with Mrs. Russel Sage's donation of Benjamin Hunting's house in Sag Harbor; Cutler, Bradley, and Stillman, in Mystic, along with the many other descendants who donated artifacts, money, and/or buildings to the Seaport; Colonel Green's acquisition and initial presentation of the

*Morgan* as a museum ship at Dartmouth; and Emily Howland Bourne's donation of the Bourne Whaling Museum in New Bedford. Descendants also had the financial ability to keep the whaling material they felt should be saved, and further, their money afforded them the leisure time to devote to such pursuits.

An increased presentation of diversity began well into the post-revival period. In New Bedford, today, most modern forms of interpretation promote the city's Portuguese whaling origin. Most representations of women in this category are as portraits from the pre-revival period, the most active years of whaling; while, to reiterate, the images used for modern displays are largely magnifications of revival period photography or artwork, that mostly featuring minority crews. Contemporary efforts to promote a more diverse, inclusive, and accurate history have given rise to many new forms of interpretation that counter the earlier representations.

The same scenario that impacted class representation, impacted the way that race and gender was depicted. In the pre-revival days, Yankee men and women accounted for 87% of the representation of future interpretive resources (Table 78; Figure 115). The interpretive material of minority/immigrant males, however, more than doubled during the revival period (Table 79; Figure 116), with another massive increase in the post-revival era (Table 80; Figure 117). Men made up 94% of the overall representation of museum artwork and images from the post-revival period, with Yankee men having a slightly favorable edge.

Table 78. Museum Art and Images: Pre-revival Period (<1870): Race and Gender in cm2

<b>White Male</b>	<b>Minority/ Immigrant Male</b>	<b>White Female</b>	<b>Minority/ Immigrant Female</b>
184,836	33,517	76,119	5,365

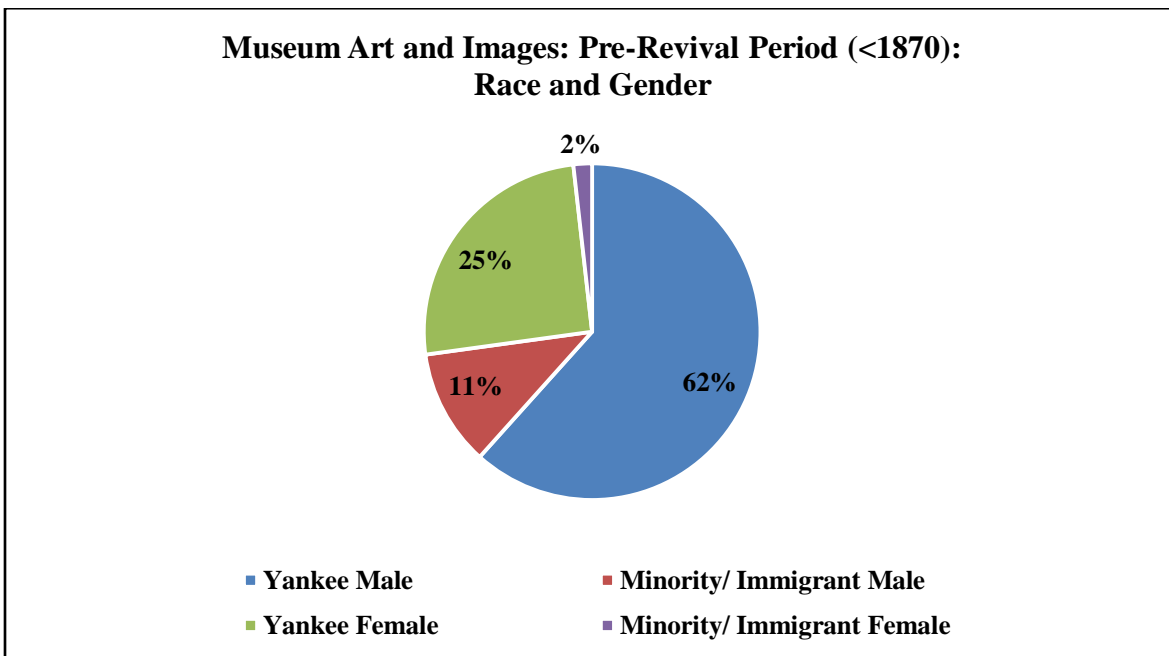


Figure 115. Museum Art and Images: Pre-revival Period (<1870): Race and Gender.

Table 79. Museum Art and Images: Revival Period (1870-1940): Race and Gender in cm2

White Male	Minority/Immigrant Male	White Female	Minority/Immigrant Female
376,240	140,172	12,320	3,159

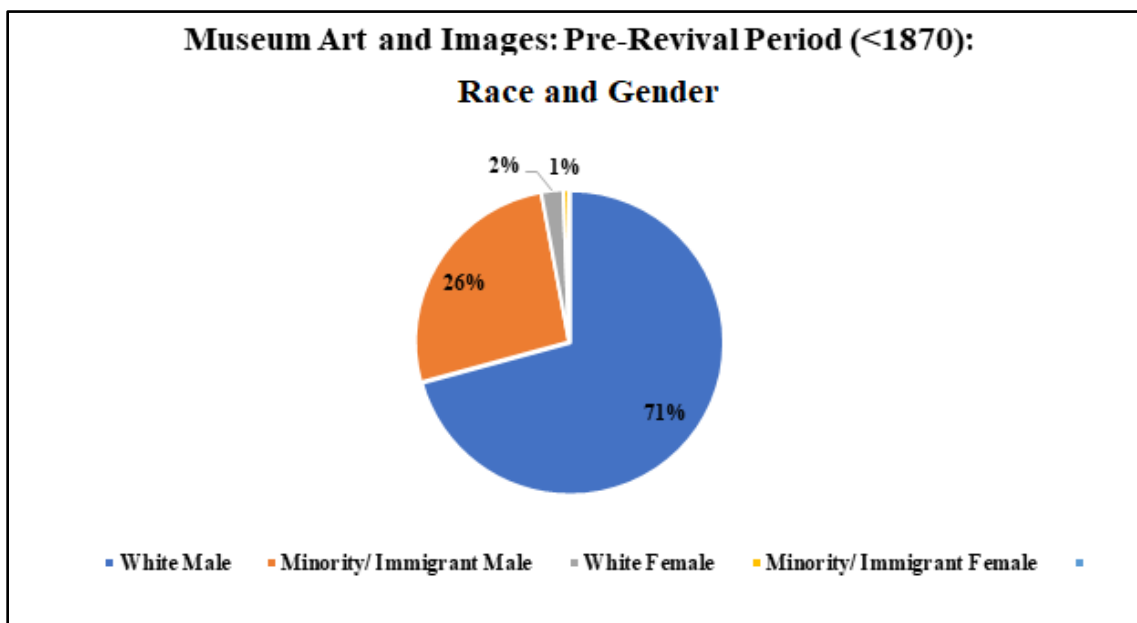


Figure 116. Museum Art and Images: Revival Period (1870-1940): Race and Gender.

Table 80. Museum Art and Images: Post-revival Period (>1940): Race and Gender in cm2

White Male	Minority/ Immigrant Male	White Female	Minority/ Immigrant Female
50,329	40,841	929	5,342

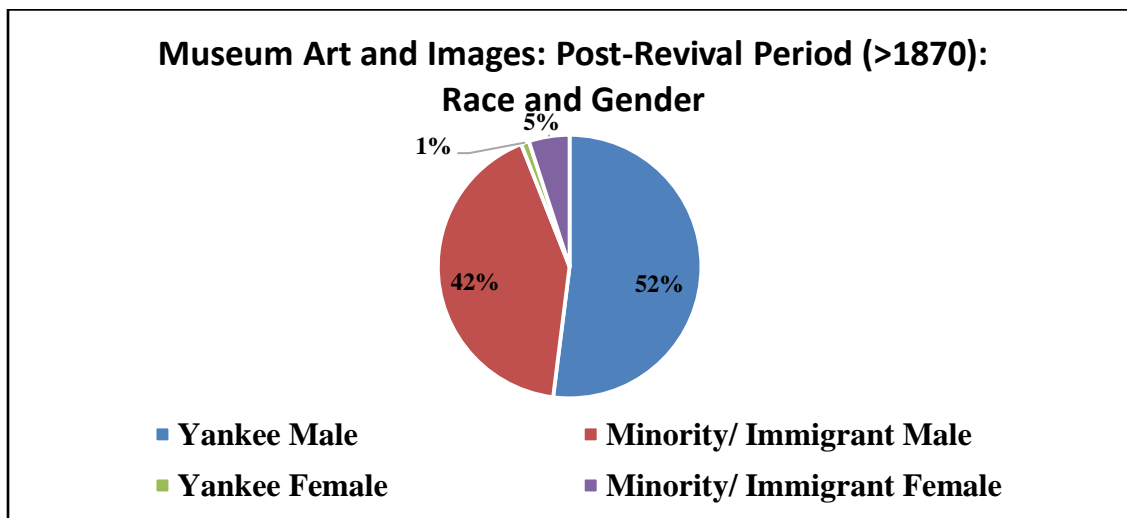


Figure 117. Museum Art and Images: Post-revival Period (>1940): Race and Gender.

In terms of the overall division by class, race, and gender, elite white Yankee males held a solid majority of the representation of objects produced in the pre-revival period, with working white males making up 18% (Table 81; Figure 118). Indigenous scenes, in two images, made up nine percent, while working-class minority men were just behind at eight percent.

Representations from the revival period shifted from the Yankee elite to the Yankee working-class man, with representation of minority working-class men increasing four-fold, as reflected by over a fifth of the total interpretable resources. The portion of newly interpretable resources now representing the elite Yankee male was only 11% (Table 81; Figure 118; Table 82; Figure 119). During the post-revival period, more modern interpretive efforts shifted the narrative to an even division of new material between working-class white men and working-class minority men. As a result, elite white males share the same post-revival period representation as minority/immigrant females, at six percent (Table 83; Figure 120).



In accounting for class, race, and gender, there was a massive drop in the depiction of elite Yankee men from the pre-revival period to the start of the revival—from 61% to 11% of the new material being produced. There was also a substantial increase in the depiction of working-class Yankee men, as hypothesized in this research. Working minority/immigrant men more than quadrupled during this time (Table 81; Figure 118; Table 82; Figure 119). The post-revival period saw an even production of interpretive material depicting working Yankee men and working minority/immigrant men, with 44% and 41% respectively (Table 84; Figure 121). Overall, working-class white men make up 39% of representation in this category; elite white men hold 24% of representation; followed by working-class minority men with 19%; and elite white women with 10% (Table 85; Figure 122)

Table 81. Museum Art and Images: Pre-revival Period (<1870): Class, Race, Gender in cm2

Elite White Male	Elite Minority/Immigrant Male	Elite White Female	Elite Minority/Immigrant Female	Indigenous Minority/Immigrant Male	Indigenous Minority/Immigrant Female	Working White Male	Working Minority/Immigrant Male	Working White Female	Working Minority/Immigrant Female
55,903	0	0	0	8,256	5,365	16,522	4,615	1,445	0

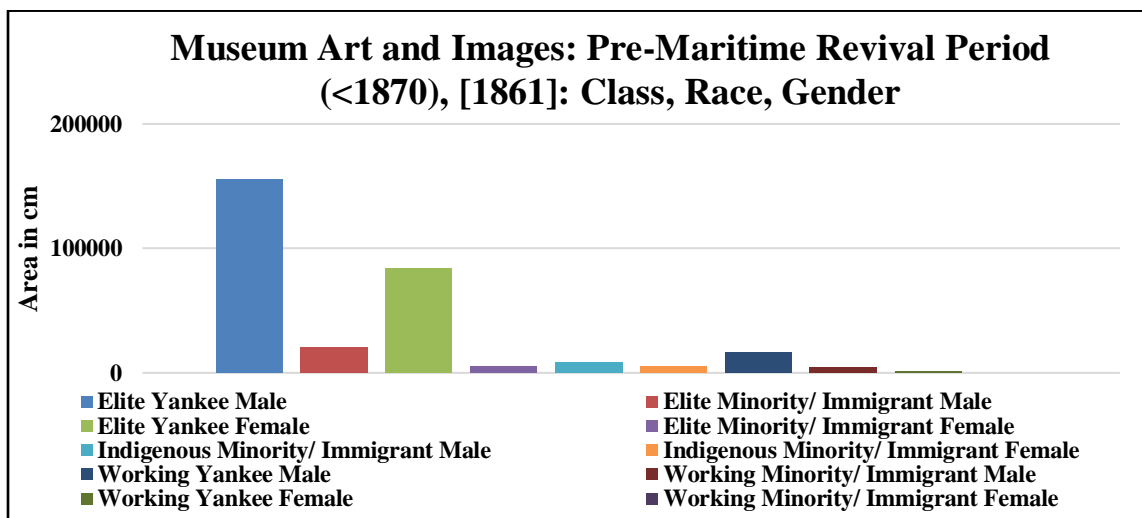


Figure 118. Museum Art and Images: Pre-revival Period (<1870): Class, Race, Gender.

Table 82. Museum Art and Images: Revival Period (1870-1940): Class, Race, Gender in cm<sup>2</sup>

Elite White Male	Elite Minority Male	Elite White Female	Elite Minority/Immigrant Female	Indigenous Male	Indigenous Female	Working White Male	Working Minority/Immigrant Male	Working White Female	Working Minority/Immigrant Female
67,465	9,394	9,339	0	465	3,159	376,240	129,779	12,320	3,159

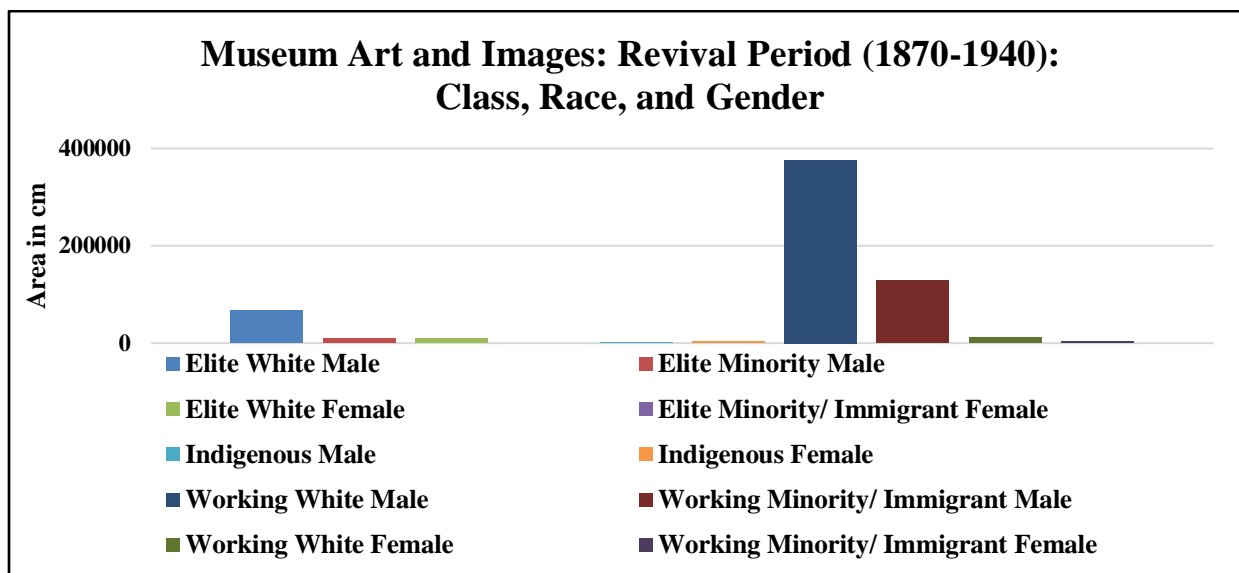


Figure 119. Museum Art and Images: Revival Period (1870-1940): Class, Race, Gender.

Table 83. Museum Art and Images: Pre-revival and Revival Period (<1940): Class, Race, and Gender in cm<sup>2</sup>.

Elite White Male	Elite Minority/Immigrant Male	Elite White Female	Elite Minority/Immigrant Female	Indigenous Minority/Immigrant Male	Indigenous Minority/Immigrant Female	Working White Male	Working Minority/Immigrant Male	Working White Female	Working Minority/Immigrant Female
123,368	9394	9,339	0	8,721	8,524	392,762	134,394	13,765	3,159

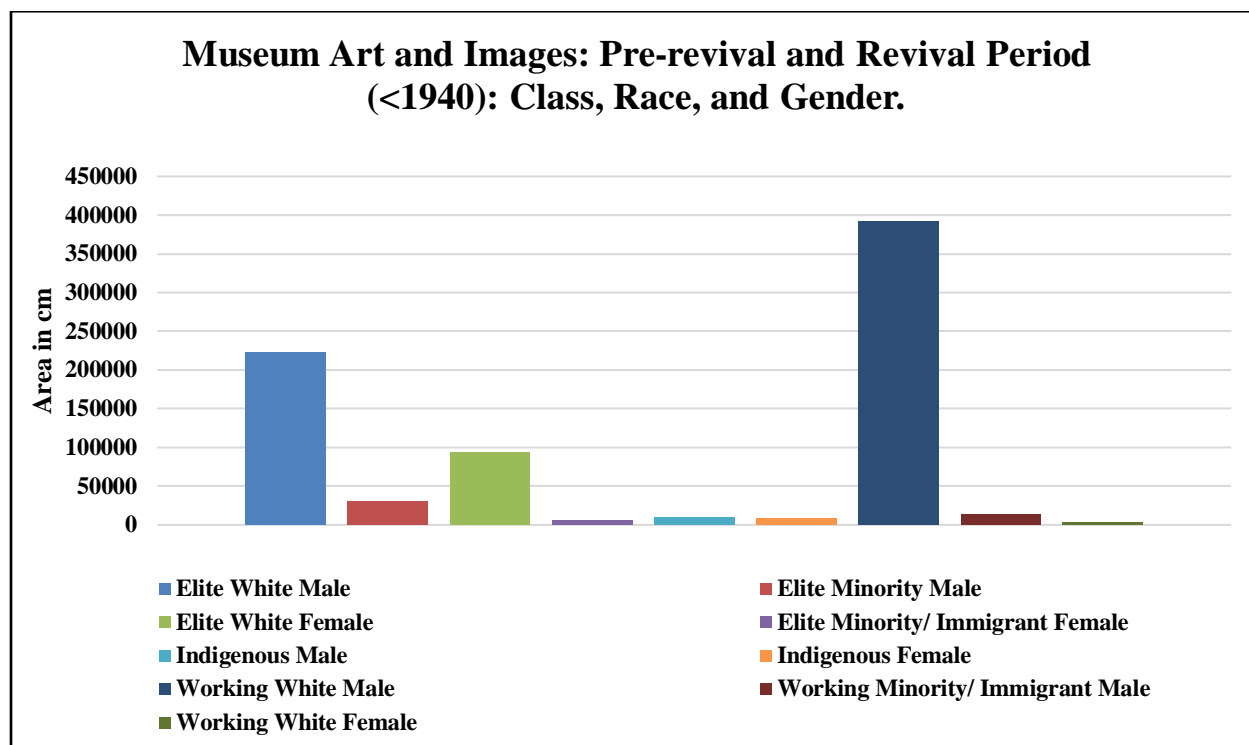


Figure 120. Museum Art and Images: Pre-revival and Revival Period (<1940): Class, Race, and Gender.

Table 84. Museum Art and Images: Post-revival Period (>1940): Class, Race, Gender in cm2

Elite White Male	Elite Minority/Immigrant Male	Elite White Female	Elite Minority/Immigrant Female	Indigenous Male	Indigenous Female	Working White Male	Working Minority/Immigrant Male	Working White Female	Working Minority/Immigrant Female
5,574	0	0	0	2,181	323	41,271	38,660	929	5,342

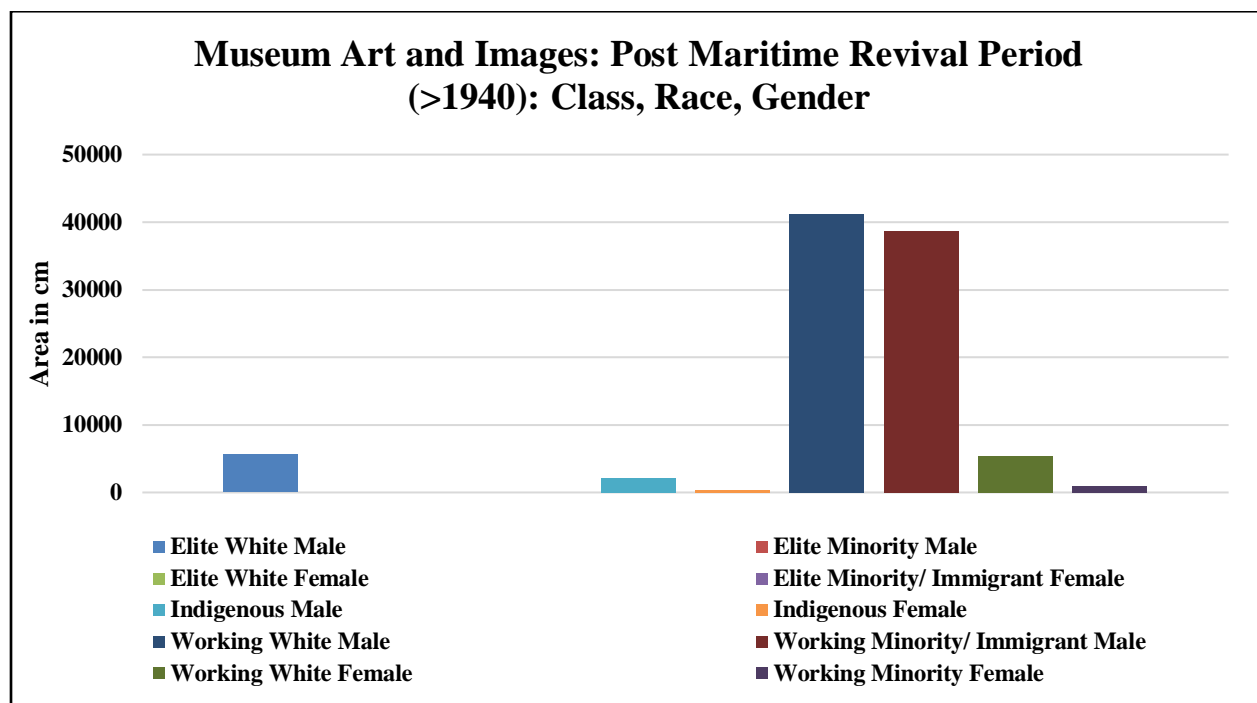


Figure 121. Museum Art and Images: Post-revival Period (>1940): Class, Race, Gender.

Table 85. Overall Museum Art and Images: Class, Race, and Gender in cm2

Elite White Male	Elite Minority Male	Elite White Female	Indigenous Male	Indigenous Female	Working White Male	Working Minority/Immigrant Male	Working White Female	Working Minority/Immigrant Female	N/A Yankee Male	N/A Minority/Immigrant Male	N/A Yankee Female
228,192	30,040	93,303	10,902	8,847	365,019	173,054	5,355	5,342	5,033	504	7,665

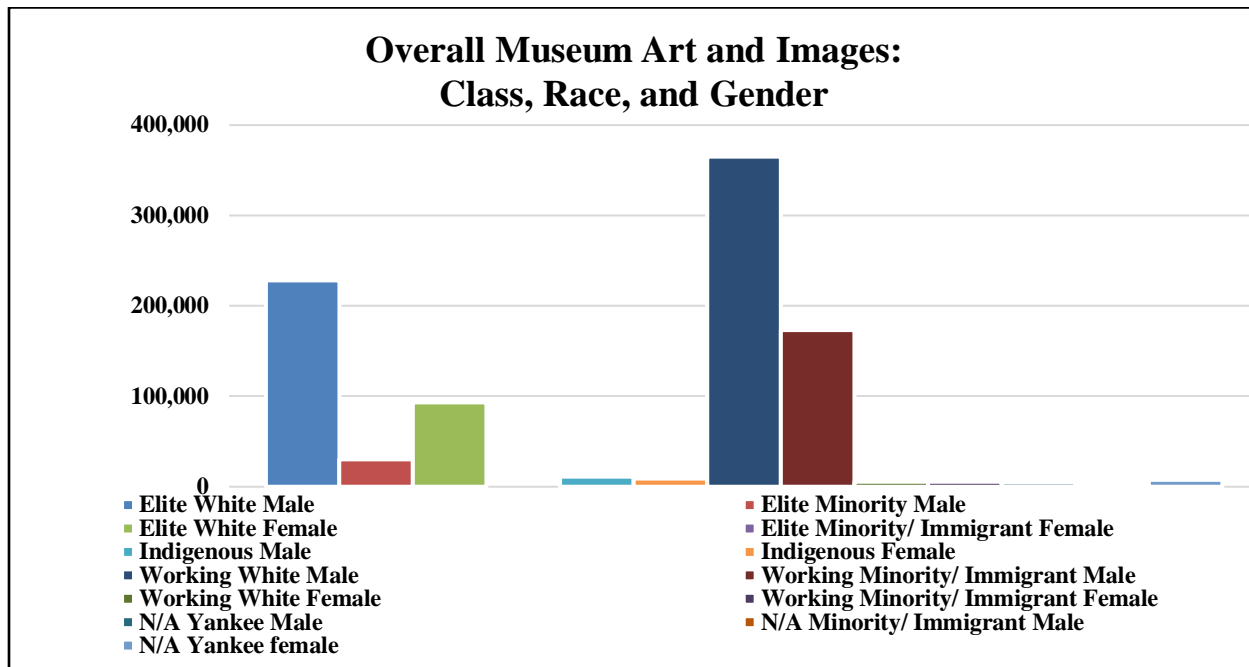


Figure 122. Overall Museum Art and Images: Class, Race, and Gender.

Table 86. Museum Art and Images: Pre-revival and Revival Period in cm2

Yankee Male	Minority/ Immigrant Male	Yankee Female	Minority/ Immigrant Female
561,076	173,689	88,439	8,524

**What degree of misrepresentation still exists, if any, with regards to Native American, African, Native Islander, and other minority groups’ contributions to the whaling industry in today’s historic landscape and public interpretation platforms?**

How do these variations in interpretation relate to the actual composition of whaling crews and the industry itself? To understand how misrepresentative such interpretations might be, one of the most important components of this research involves a determination of what an ‘appropriate’ representation of the overall industry looks like. While Carl Cutler, the other proprietors of Mystic Seaport, and wealthy Yankee elites in general sought to encapsulate a tale

of “Yankee domination” within the presentation of maritime history, the story, today, has made great strides in telling a more inclusive tale. However, the artwork, captains’ busts, and other related heritage materials funded by wealthy descendants are largely what people expect to see, and what will initially capture their attention. Many variables can be used to interpret the breakdown of diversity contained within Yankee whaling logs and crew lists, and the assessment involves some level of subjectivity where unclear or where incomplete information can be inferred from other information.

The graphs that follow track changes in the composition of mostly New London whaling vessels from 1803 to 1875 and show several trends. A figure for the overall breakdown of the 19<sup>th</sup> century New England whaling industry is included (Figure 123; Figure 124; Figure 125; Figure 128), as is a chart showing the overall breakdown and changes to the composition of the crew of the *Charles W. Morgan* (Table 87; Figure 126; Figure 127). The crew breakdown of the *Morgan* shows the change in crew diversity as vessels were transferring to San Francisco for Pacific whaling in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These figures demonstrate the percentage of labor that was domestic born, the percentage that was foreign born, and the percentage that was considered white and of European descent. Figure 128 and Figure 129 average the data collected to determine the overall 19<sup>th</sup> century diversity of whaling participants out of Connecticut. The historical context is also provided to account for such differences.

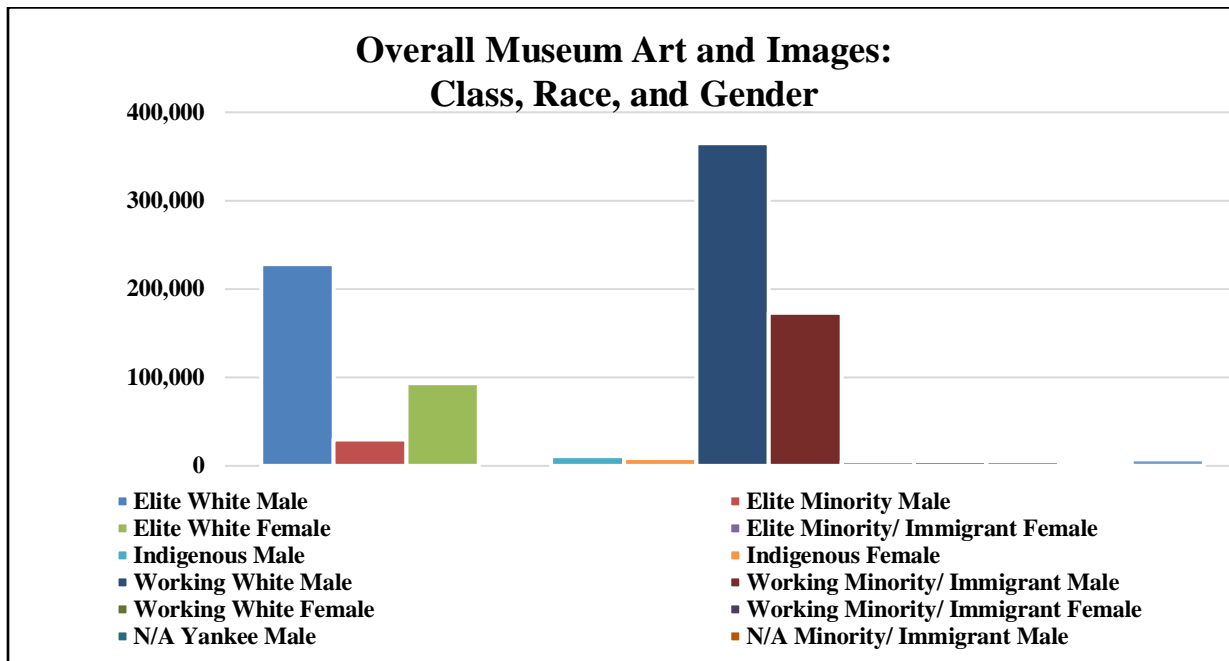


Figure 123. New London Crew Diversity of Race and Nationality (1803-1875) (Appendix A.2).

**Crew Samples of Diversity:**

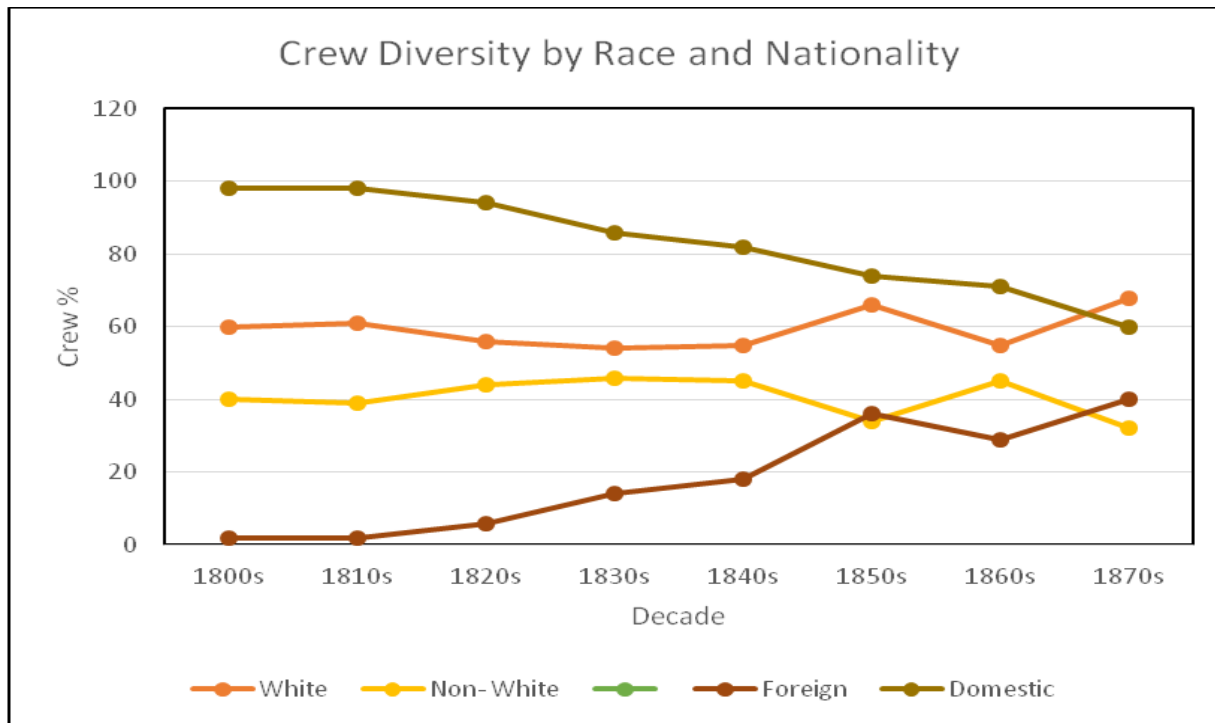


Figure 124. New London Crew Diversity by Race/Nationality (1803-1875) (Appendix A.2).

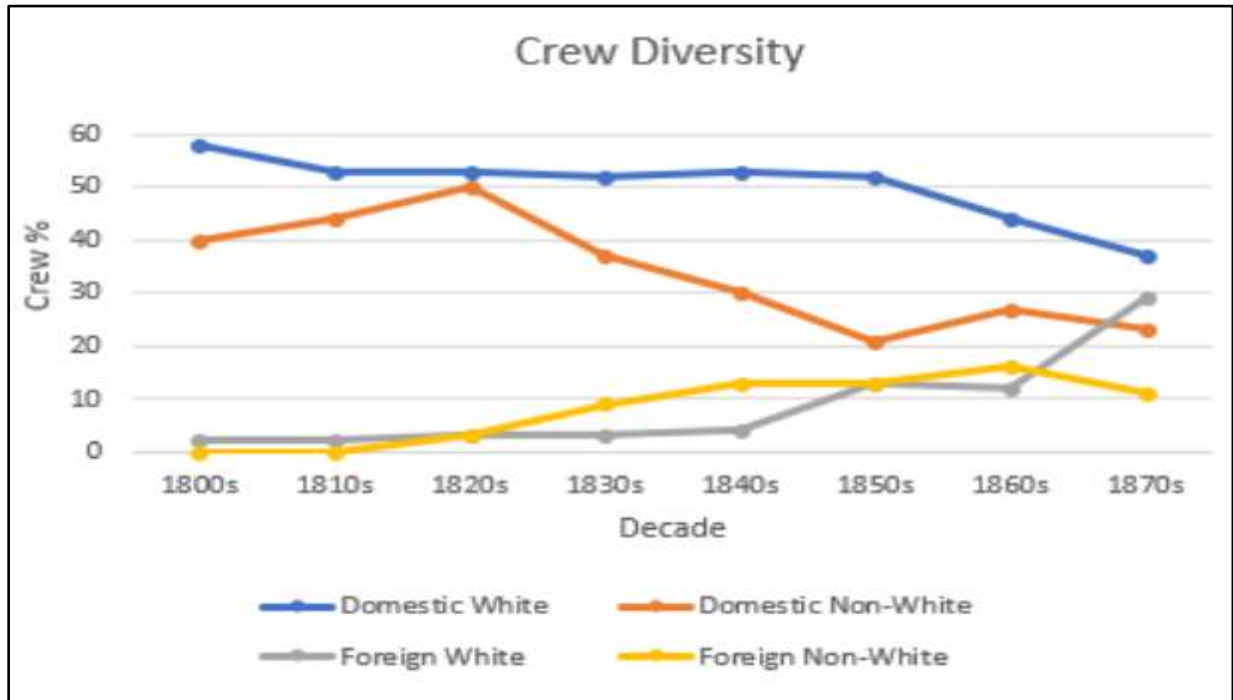


Figure 125. New London Crew Diversity.

Table 87. Charles W. Morgan voyages by year (1841-1900).

#	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Year	1841	'45	'49	'53	'56	'59	'63	'67	'71	'74	'78	'81
#	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Year	'87	'88	'89	'90	'91	'92	'93	'95	'96	'97	'98	'99



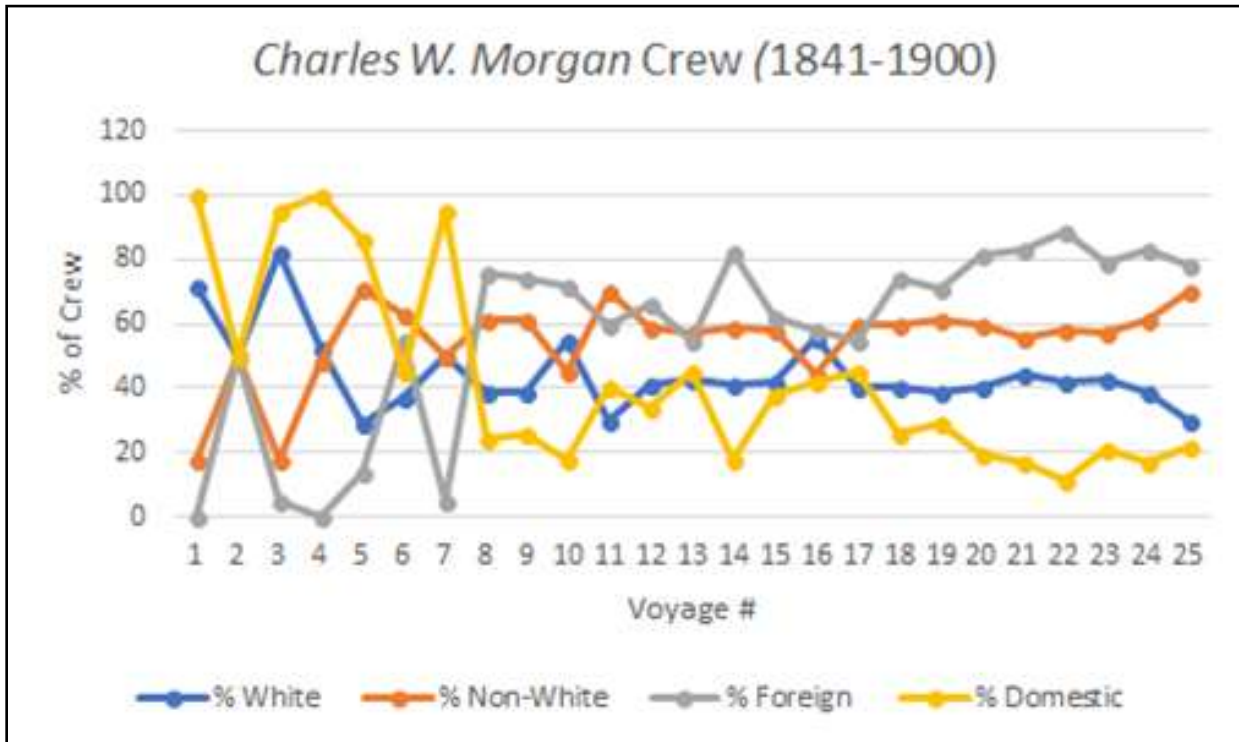


Figure 126. *Charles W. Morgan* (1841-1900): Race and Nationality.

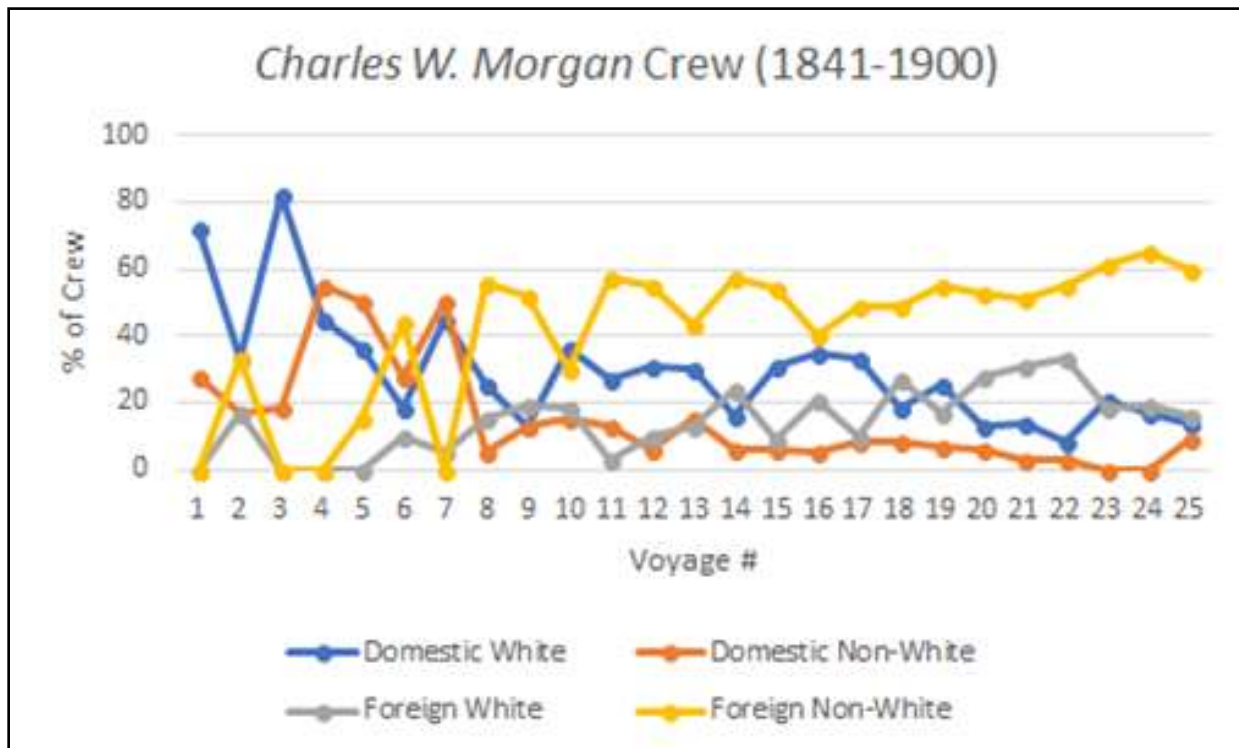


Figure 127. *Charles W. Morgan* (1841-1900): Race/Nationality.

The above figures paint a different picture from the old salt image that became popular during the maritime revival, as at no time did Yankees ever hold a substantial majority in the whaling industry. Figure 124 and Figure 125 shows that Yankee whalers were most prominent in the first decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and consistently accounted for roughly half of those shipping out of New England whaling ports until a significant decline in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. By 1848 the Arctic whaling grounds had been discovered, the same year as the California Gold Rush, and many ships and men relocated to San Francisco on the west coast. The old salt image did not emerge until after the decline, a few decades later.

In comparison, the crew list of the *Morgan*, also migrating to San Francisco for a time (1886-1904), shows a somewhat different trend (Table 87; Figure 126; Figure 127). Early in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the domestic born, non-white crew were mostly Native American and African American whalers, gradually trending toward a higher percentage of the latter due to intermarriages and a declining Native American population. This category increased steadily for the first two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century before beginning a moderate to steep drop around 1820, the start of the Golden Era. This coincides with a rise in non-white, foreign labor, overwhelmingly composed of those from Cape Verde, the Azores, and islands off the coast of Brazil. After two decades of increased foreign minority labor, foreign white labor began to steadily rise after 1840.

As opportunity and whaling profits were reaching their zenith, an increasing number of non-white men and white European men found themselves in the forecastles of American ships. White immigrants were substantially more common on smaller vessels sailing for shorter durations in the Atlantic. On vessels still outfitting on the east coast, there was a substantial increase in Irish-born crew from the 1850s to the 1860s, and a similar spike in German

participation in the 1860s to the 1870s. Vessels based on the west coast, as seen with the *Morgan*, show a steep decline in white participation overall in favor of South Sea Islanders and Hawaiians.

Domestic born white labor based in the Pacific dropped to 20% of the industry by mid-century, and, although there was a brief spike that paralleled foreign born white labor, this category never again reached 30%. There was also a decrease in the likelihood that the domestic born white whalers category was composed of actual Yankees (white people whose families were in New England, before 1700), rather than being a first-generation Caucasian immigrant. The sloops, brigs, and schooners in the Atlantic used a higher percentage of domestic born labor and foreign white labor, and, overall, only about half of the Yankee whaling industry was likely to have been Yankee.

Looking at the chart of the crew of the *Charles W. Morgan* (Table 87; Figure 126; Figure 127), there is a substantial increase in foreign born minority whalers, directly proportional to the decrease in domestic born white whalers. This trend takes off in 1867, the year the *Morgan* was re-rigged as a Bark and headed to the North Pacific and continued into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. If other data were included, such as factoring in the crew lists and whaling logs of Yankee ships operating out of San Francisco, the trend would show an even greater proportion of foreign-born minority participants in the American whaling fleet. Overall, New London crews from 1803 to 1875, were 81% domestic born, 59% white, and only half Yankee (Table 88; Figure 128), while the crews for the *Charles W. Morgan* from 1841 until 1900 were only 45% domestic born, 45% white, and only 30% Yankee (Table 89; Figure 129).

Table 88. New London Crew Sample (1803-1875): Race and Nationality.

White	Non-White	Foreign	Domestic	Domestic White	Domestic Non-White	Foreign White	Foreign Non-White
3264	2287	1108	4514	2749	1721	510	564

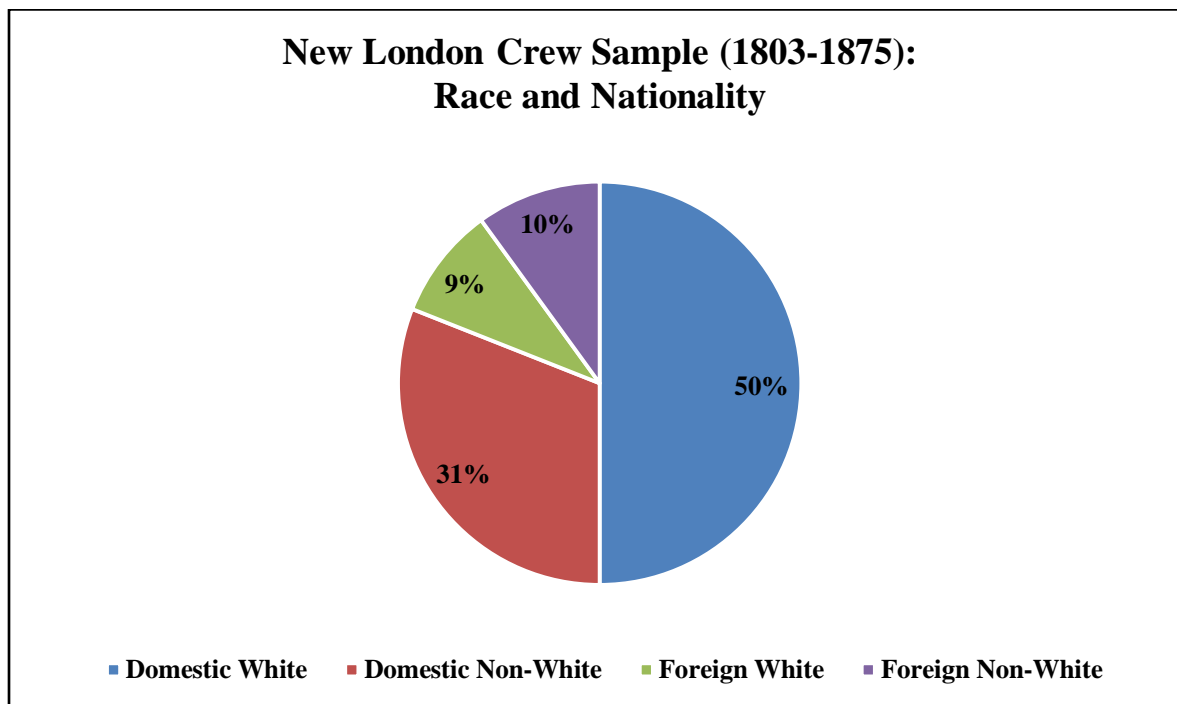


Figure 128. Overall New London Crew Diversity (1803-1875): Race and Nationality (Appendix A.2).

Table 89. *Charles W. Morgan* Crew Sample (1841-1900).

Domestic White	Domestic Non-White	Foreign White	Foreign Non-White	Domestic White	Domestic Non-White	Foreign White	Foreign Non-White
546	228	371	1066	0	1042	499	663

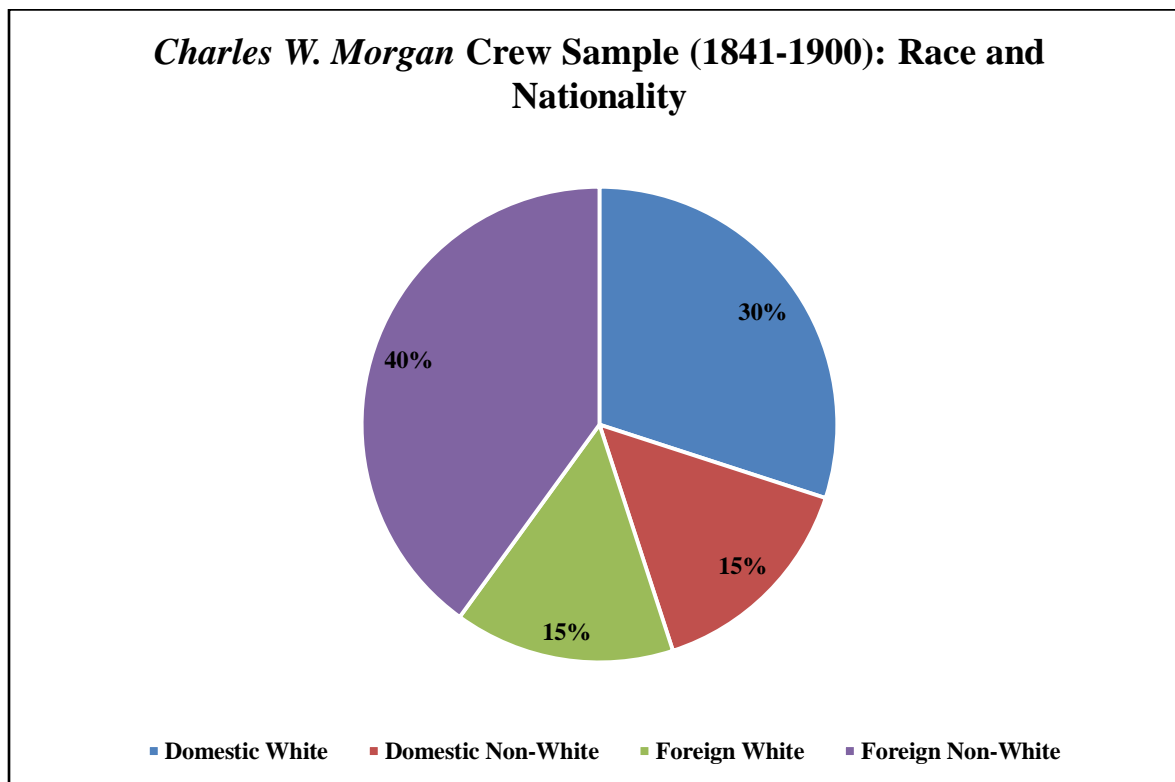


Figure 129. Overall Crew Diversity of the Charles W. Morgan (1841-1900) (Appendix A.3).

The above two samples are incorporated into Table 90, along with historic data, to assist in comparing the presence of those who participated in the whaling industry over different periods, in different places, with the representations in interpretive material created before the post-revival period's incorporation of maritime museums, as well as with those it now represents in museum interpretive platforms. The comparative table also includes the evaluation of Sag Harbor Whaling Museum, Nantucket Whaling Museum, Mystic Seaport, and New Bedford Whaling Museum, as well as overall averages, with and without galleries and murals included.

Table 90 was created to compare whaling participation over four different periods (somewhat overlapping). It also presents the hand created museum images (paintings, drawings, lithographs, etc.) as a separate category and, finally, representation from more recent years, since the mid-late 20<sup>th</sup> century push for corrective history within Provincetown, Sag Harbor Whaling

Museum, Nantucket Whaling Museum, Mystic Seaport, and overall, with and without the larger galleries and murals. While discussions of who was involved during different times in different places have occurred throughout this dissertation, and various authors have been cited giving their individual assessments based on their data sets, as well as quoting historical figures from the time, the following section summarizes the overall evolution of participation in the New England whaling industry.

Out of the three principal variables of class (elite versus working/Indigenous), gender (male versus female), and race (Yankee white versus minority/immigrant), gender was somewhat difficult to compare, since the overwhelming majority of those directly participating in this industry were male, with active female whalers estimated to be about 15 in total (1:1000 of about 15,000 total voyages). Thus, women account for as little as a few percent of the tens of thousands of New England men, and tens of thousands more foreign men, who directly participated aboard ship. Alternatively, there were hundreds of whaling wives (Jernegan 2010:9). Bercaw-Edwards (2017) estimates that if one-fourth of the crew on mid-19<sup>th</sup> century ships had wives, then this puts their overall numbers between two and three thousand. The degree of female participation could subjectively be argued to be anywhere from the two percent directly involved to 50% indirectly involved, depending on the extent one considers subsidiary roles to be associated with the industry (Table 90).

Table 90. Comparative Table: Participation Period (red), Pre-revival and Revival period museum 'type' resources (blue), modern Interpretation (green).

	Elite	Working/ Indigenous	Yankee Male	Minority/ Immigrant Male	Yankee Female	Minority/ Immigrant Female	Overall Yankee	Overall Minority/ Immigrant	Source
<b>1640s- 1740s</b>	c. 15%	c. 85%	25%	75%	0%	0%	25%	75%	Historic Data
<b>1740s- 1790s</b>	c. 15%	c. 85%	c. 50%	c. 50/40%	0%	0%	c. 50	c. 50	Historic Data
<b>1803s- 1875 (New London Crew Sample)</b>	c. 15%	c. 85%	59%= White; 50%= Yankee	41%= Non- White; 50%= Non- Yankee	2%- 50%	0%	50%	50%	Figure 128
<b>1841- 1900 (Morgan Crew Sample)</b>	c. 15%	c. 85%	45%= white; 30%= Yankee	55%= Non- white; 70%= Non- Yankee	3%- 50%	0%	30%	70%	Figure 129
<b>Pre-revival and Revival Period Museum Images)</b>	59%	41%	67%	21%	11%	1%	78%	12%	Figure 120
<b>Maritime Revival (Museum Hand-made Images)</b>	27%	73%	74%	0%	26%	0%	100%	0%	Figure 110
<b>PTown Museum</b>	70%	30%	71%	6%	16%	7%	87%	13%	Table 62; Table 63; Table 64
<b>SHWM</b>	75%	23%	56%	3%	41%	0%	97%	3%	Table 62; Table 63; Table 64
<b>NWM</b>	26%	74%	49%	22%	17%	12%	71%	29%	Table 62; Table 63; Table 64
<b>Mystic Seaport</b>	71%	29%	66%	25%	7%	2%	73%	27%	Table 62; Table 63; Table 64
<b>NBWM</b>	12%	70%	42%	43%	7%	8%	49%	51%	Table 62; Table 63; Table 64

<b>Overall Interpretation</b>	30%	56%	42%	32%	20%	6%	62%	38%	Appendix A.6
<b>Overall Interpretation (without galleries or murals)</b>	18%	55%	52%	35%	10%	3%	62%	38%	Appendix A.6

***Summary Overview:***

Historically, while Native Americans on both coasts of America, as well as Europeans, have been whaling for centuries, joint efforts only began in the early-mid 17<sup>th</sup> century on Long Island, and quickly spread to Nantucket and Martha’s Vineyard. From roughly the 1640s to the 1690s, shore whaling was composed of three-fourths Native American crews. Boats were five to six men and usually headed by a Yankee captain. The increase in employable technology during the subsistence plus years, and the slow accumulation of capital, allowed for a heavier investment in the pursuit of the industry. In turn, while the Yankees got richer, the effects of disease and alcoholism from the increased degree of contact, exploitation, and debt slavery, took their toll on Native American crews.

As Indigenous populations declined, and intermarried with free black families, American whalers reached the Azores and Cape Verde, and restocked their crews from there. “Black” participation overall began to increase by the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, and with increasing overall profits and the arrival of the mercantile/market economy period in the 1760s, a greater number of Yankee men signed aboard. As American whalers pushed into the Pacific in the 1790s, South Pacific Islanders became a new, abundant source of exploitable labor.

***Crew List Sample:***

The crew lists that were required after 1803 make it clear that less than 60% of the industry was white, and only half the industry was Yankee in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. On the *Morgan*,



from 1841 until the end of the century, less than half the crew was white, and less than a third was Yankee. Women composed only about two to three percent of the whaling industry at sea by this time. Photographic and historical evidence strongly indicates an even greater number of dark-skinned and foreign whalemens during the last few decades of American involvement, but even more so on voyages outfitted on the west coast. Overall, those of Yankee tradition never made up more than 50% or one-half of whaling participants.

*Interpretive Resource Division by Period:*

Most pre-revival interpretation is encompassed within portraits and features elite Yankee men and women, with men represented more than twice as often. Revival period art, including portraits, paintings, lithographs, drawings, sketches, etc. feature an even greater number of Yankees, but show a transition from the elitist narrative to the more romantic, working-class Yankee narrative. Overall, 67% of the resources available for museum interpretation, by the end of the revival period, were Yankee men, with pre-revival mostly encompassed in elite portraits, and revival period images, mostly in Yankee whaling paintings. Twenty-one percent of the representation featured minorities, mostly included in the photography, and 11% featured white women, mostly elite, within portraits (Table 83; Figure 120) resulting in 78% overall Yankee representation versus 12% minority/immigrant representation. Regarding only handmade pieces of museum art (paintings, portraits, lithographs, drawings, etc.) created during the revival period, 100% was Yankee, without a single minority depicted in any art produced between 1870 and 1940, thus even more dramatically demonstrating the misrepresentation of true whaling history when compared to historic data. The summary of this section is presented in the following chapter concluding this research.

## Chapter X. Conclusion

According to Richard C. Kugler of the NBWM, the latest compilation of whaling voyages undertaken between 1667 and 1928 out of the United States lists nearly 15,000 (14,983) voyages from 110 whaling ports (Tamburello 2006:3). Of these, about 2,200 vessels were launched between 1784 and 1923. These originated from 72 whaling ports, 57 of which were in New England (Coelho 1971:5). Of these 72 ports, 20 sent out vessels on single voyages; 25 sent between two and ten voyages; ten had between 11 and 25; eight between 26 and 100; six between 101 and 500; and five between 501 and 1,000; with two ports, New Bedford and New London, sending more than 1,000 voyages. Seven ports were responsible for two-thirds of all whaling vessels sent from the US and three-fourths of all voyages (GWBWL 2007:6).

Whaling produced an annual income of \$7 million, with another \$100 million coming from associated industries; at its height, whaling was New England's third largest industry (Hare 1960:118). According to officialdata.org, \$7 million mid-19<sup>th</sup> century US dollars is equivalent to \$215,000,000 in today's spending power, and \$100 million equals \$3.07 billion. As many as 400 islands (depending who you ask) were "discovered" by whalers, and they almost always were named after a Yankee ship, captain, or home port, but there have been more recent attempts to correct this with Indigenous names (Raupp 2015:42).

### *Significance:*

The significance of this research relates to the effects of capitalism on the preservation and interpretation of the material remains and memory of the "Yankee" whaling industry to determine the accuracy and inclusiveness of this industry's representation. Within archaeology, many researchers have assumed the role of correcting, or at least revealing, the social injustices that capitalist society has imposed upon its most vulnerable and exploitable. In many respects,

historical archaeology is recognized by many as the study of the archaeology of capitalism (Handsman 1983; Johnson 1996; Leone and Potter 1999; Leone and Knauf 2015). This field ultimately discusses how the powerful became so and the degree of exploitation imposed in the creation of class, class conflict, and increasing inequality and historical misrepresentation. Some of the most recognizable names in the archaeology of capitalism include Russell Handsman, Charles Orser, Mark Leone, Randall McGuire, James Deetz, and Parker Potter Jr. These authors, and many others, strive to uncover the degree of inequality and misrepresentation once rampant, but still present, in many silenced minority communities and to disseminate the truest story of the shared historical experience: 'Every field of academia, particularly archeology, benefits from having more studies that help clarify the role of capitalism and class struggle in economic crisis, unemployment, global warming, wars, famines, barbarism, and the distorted ideological ways of thinking' (Ollman 2014:373).

The archaeology of capitalism is particularly relevant to questioning the public interpretation of power and capitalism through historical representations of past people and practices. Inequalities in historical representations have a conscious and subconscious effect on all peoples' perceptions of the world, as well as of themselves. Ideology, according to post-processual archaeology, is based on this perception: that of how people see themselves and their role in society (Burke 1996:206), but it is not a direct reflection; rather ideology is the means which wealth and power imbalances are hidden and legitimized, and how the operation of capitalism is misrepresented. Material culture can alienate people who do not feel they are being accurately or fairly represented in a group's collective identity. This research sought to investigate the effects of a developing capitalist system on the ways the past is presented, in this case, the past of the New England whaling industry, and to reveal the economic, political, and

social consciousness that can occur when evaluating any industry's historic narrative. "Each historical narrative renews a claim to the truth." (Trouillot 1995:6).

The results show that individual interpretations varied considerably by community, as well as varying when small changes were made to the variables of the criteria tested. When evaluated together, New Bedford dwarfs the interpretation of the other communities combined, with an approximate total of 3.5 million square centimeters included in the analysis (excluding the three statues discussed subjectively). Mystic had more than one-half million square cm, and Nantucket had just over 400,000 square cm. If the massive murals, viewable only from a distance, are included, then Provincetown has nearly as large a representation as Mystic and Nantucket combined. If they are excluded, then Provincetown contributes only about 176,000 square cm of interpretation, only slightly larger than the area of representation in Sag Harbor, with around 134,500 square cm. Overall, 70% of all the interpretive resources selected were for visual display. About 12% were artifacts, and 18% was informational text.

The overall message of this visual interpretation of the Yankee whaling industry leans in favor of working-class (34%), with a reasonable proportion (30%) still emphasizing elite representation (Table 90; Figure 122; Appendix A.6). There is also a fair representation of the Indigenous groups involved in, and impacted by, whaling (22%). These figures, excluding galleries and murals are 37%, 18%, and 18% respectively (Appendix A.6). Breaking down the distribution of exhibit space by race and gender shows a very even distribution between white men and dark-skinned men/immigrants, with white women included about half as often as white men. Minority women, as discussed throughout, are highly underrepresented due to the lack of minority captains/merchants whose careers would have enabled their wives to be remembered. This lack of inclusion is mostly due to few women actively participating in the direct pursuit of

the industry at sea, and minority and immigrant men not being able to afford a portrait of themselves, let alone their wives, as Yankee elite men made common practice.

All 69 painted portraits, by their nature, fell into the elite category. In this study, only three were not Yankee elite, with about twice as many elite Yankee males represented as elite Yankee females (Figure 102). Most of these portraits were from the pre-revival period, while whaling was still active, and the pre-revival period produced the most enduring representation of the elite class. Looking just at paintings and other handmade images created during the pre-revival period, and excluding individual portraits, over two-fifths depict working-class Yankee males, with one-fifth showing working-class minority/immigrant males (Figure 103).

The greatest discovery of this research is in looking at the images from the revival period. Out of 14 images created by hand during this time, half were working-class, and half were elite, although nearly three-fourths of the visual space was working-class. Including portraits, 21 images were created by hand during the revival period, but not one of them depicts a minority/immigrant whaler. This shows the impact that elite portraits have on shifting the story, as pre-revival (>1870) hand-created images of working-class scenes show a more diverse representation of whaling crews compared to those created during the revival period (1870-1940). Revival period artwork shows both a shift closer to the working-class narrative in general and a dramatic shift to the white Yankee narrative overall with a clear restriction of the minority and immigrant involvement.

While pre-revival work, such as Herman Melville's 1851 "Moby Dick" depict a diverse industry, using four harpooners from four different nationalities among his characters, an analysis of museum art and statues together shows a clear shift to the white working-class narrative a century before minorities/immigrants began seeking their inclusion once again. The

revival period, whether through movies, art, statues, or literature, shows a deliberate expropriation of the whaling story by the Yankee elite in favor of the overall Yankee narrative, essentially using the working-class story of Yankee whaling origins to justify their success and social standing. It took several decades after the decline of the revival period before minority groups were finally able to emerge from the shadows and backdrop of the story in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Combining the pre-revival and revival hand-created images to determine the interpretive material available toward the end of the revival period, and the rise of maritime museums, shows the heavy influence that portraits of the wealthy elite had on blurring this shift to the Yankee working-class theme, as images of Yankee elite men and women were still more numerous than images of working-class Yankee men when the periods are combined (Figure 120). Donated historic houses also tend to influence the interpretive resources available. The influence of the elites' way of thinking carries over through the extent to which they financed particular forms of representation, the extent their descendants funded forms of representation, and the gender politics of the last two centuries, specifically the misogynistic way that the value of labor was constructed, discussed somewhat in Norling (2000), all of which ensures that representations remain overwhelmingly male, regardless of the time period. Wealth, of course, has given favor to the inclusion of elite women. Overall, 33 resources fell into the hand-created revival period, and only three images into the hand-created post-revival period, all of which were working-class themes depicting males and females, white and minority.

Incorporating all images, including photography, 84% of overall interpretation during the pre-revival years was elite. Sixty-two percent depicted white men, 25% depicted white women, 61% depicted elite white men, 18% working-class white women, and nine percent Indigenous

people (Table 75; Figure 112). Of resources created during the revival period, 83% depicted the working-class; 71% depicted white men; 26% were minority/immigrant men; 62% were working-class white men; 21% working-class minority/immigrant men; and 11% elite white men (Figure 119).

Overall interpretation from the revival period shows a shift in the way these subjects were presented as the formal scenes of portraits transitioned to more photographic scenes of the working-class life. Material from the post-revival period depicted 84% elites, 52% white men, 42% minority/immigrants, 44% working-class white men, and 41% working-class minority/immigrant men (Figure 121). Overall, 'museum type' art and images today depict 39% working-class white men, 24% elite white men, and 19% working-class minority/immigrant men (Figure 122). Today's interpretation still shows the influence of older works, largely due to their more elegant nature as artistic objects, and therefore a greater temptation to display them, but it also shows the clear post-revival period influence of newer forms of interpretation largely displayed through video projections and enlarged late 19<sup>th</sup> century working-class photographic images.

The interpretation of whaling heritage throughout the 12 New England communities chosen for this research has come a long way from the early days of interpretation as a slowly but gradually increasing number of immigrants and minority communities reached economic stability. This afforded them the position of participating in the interpretation of national narratives, visible in this study through the stories of Paul Cuffe, Lewis Temple, Antione Desant, Absalom Boston, Joseph Gomez, and several other notable minority participants. Interpretation today has become impressively diverse, with New Bedford sharing an immense area of interpretation, and an impressively inclusive narrative. While the working-class shift occurred

under the national banner of unity created during the Second World War, the shift to an increased representation by race only occurred in the post-Vietnam War era during the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Both minority and Indigenous stories became better told, particularly in towns like New Bedford, and overall, became better represented than the formerly dominant story of the Yankee male elite.

Summarizing each community's preservation and interpretation data reveals clear ideological messages embraced by these communities, consciously or not. Sag Harbor's museum epitomizes the Yankee elite image; Westport has owned the story of Paul Cuffe; Provincetown pays its tribute almost exclusively to its prideful Portuguese. New Bedford acknowledges both, with a shift from the Angry Whaleman and Barnard Memorial to a more diverse Cuffe/Lewis Temple message over the last few decades (Appendix E.4). Jason Mancini is among those leading the charge in Connecticut, acknowledging the contributions of Native Americans in "Yankee" industries, as is Nathaniel Philbrick regarding the Offshore Islands; and Warren acknowledges the diversity of the industry through local literature, but has no active theme and lacks the appropriate outlets to present this story to a larger audience.

Museum and community heritage tour interpretations, while still lacking in some areas, have shifted the focus to minorities and immigrants to counter the traditional narrative that drove American history for nearly a century. It took the establishment of many social programs from the 1930s to the present to bring minorities and working-class immigrants into a better position from which to voice their presence. Even as monopolistic oligarchs concentrate their wealth, we push toward an increasing degree of social equality every day, and we fight to create an inclusive, shared story; a spiral of individual wires bound into a stronger national coil, rather than a single thick wire produced from the same machine. Mele (2016) explores the rethinking of



a capitalist system that no longer serves the many, and as we continue the inevitable march toward social democracy, and social safety nets continue to lift disenfranchised groups into a position of socioeconomic security, additional wires of interpretation will continue to thicken the spool representing true ‘Americanism’, a diverse melting pot of heritages tempered into increasingly longer and stronger threads. Refer to Catlin and Cowen (2015), Congleton and Bose (2010), Economist (1999), Hansan (2011), Kennedy (1961), NLIHC (2015), US Congress (1961), and US Department of Labor (1938) for more on the rise of social welfare programs.

As a particular form of commodity capitalism, the history of whaling is very repetitious and spirals into Schumpeter’s creative destruction model. A new species is discovered, maritime communities figure out how to kill it, huge profits are attained, whales become scarce, and the industry dies until the next whale/whaling ground is discovered (Robotti 1962:200). “Over and over again New England whalers have been practically driven from the sea only to reappear in greater number and with greater strength, determination and success.” (Verrill 1916:9). Over the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries the whaling industry continued to increase its strength, technological influence, and degree of exploitation until every ounce of profit was extracted. For most whales, the California Grey excluded, the 20<sup>th</sup> century came just in time to prevent their extermination. By 1900 petroleum was producing over 200 products that replaced every use for whale oil (Bockstoce 1986:166).

The system of capitalism remains a constant tug-o-war, today, as the wealthy seek to increase their degree of control over the masses and the environment, and the people struggle to unify so as to resist these relentless attacks. While the wealthy convince the ignorant that redistribution of wealth is class warfare and bad for capitalism and democracy, it is they who have discreetly declared war on those they increasingly seek to exploit for their benefit alone and

to the overall detriment of socio-technological progress. Capitalism has the continued ability to bring growth and progress to the masses until such time as we arrive at a fully automated, post-industrial economy, but the speed we arrive at this post-industrial economy will depend upon the degree the masses are able to ensure a vibrant, educated middle-class, promote hope and opportunity for self-betterment and upward class mobility, regulate the extent the wealthy seek to dominate and stagnate progress through the preservation of fixed economic infrastructure, unify as one non-xenophobic race of human beings, and end the 'individualist' propaganda message that ensures the maintenance of the Caucasian dominant status-quo and the suffering of those born into a lower tier of the socioeconomic ladder.

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