

RESPECTABILITY AT SEA
CAPTAINS' CABINS ON MAINE-BUILT MERCHANT SHIPS, 1875-1900

by

Elisabeth M. Meier

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in American Material Culture

Spring 2017

© 2017 Elisabeth M. Meier
All Rights Reserved

RESPECTABILITY AT SEA
CAPTAINS' CABINS ON MAINE-BUILT MERCHANT SHIPS, 1875-1900

by

Elisabeth M. Meier

Approved: _____
Arwen P. Mohun, Ph.D.
Professor in charge of thesis on behalf of the Advisory Committee

Approved: _____
J. Ritchie Garrison, Ph.D.
Director of the Winterthur Program in American Material Culture

Approved: _____
George H. Watson, Ph.D.
Dean of the College of Arts & Sciences

Approved: _____
Ann L. Ardis, Ph.D.
Senior Vice Provost for Graduate and Professional Education

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the assistance of a number of generous people and institutions. Among the many helpful staff and volunteers at the Maine Maritime Museum, I am particularly indebted to Nathan Lipfert for his vast knowledge of the collection, for making the library available to a traveling and time-crunched student, and for his willingness to answer questions from afar. Martha Reifschneider kindly volunteered her time to sift through documents on my behalf, greatly easing the burden of long-distance research, and Amory Houghton freely shared his own findings. I am also grateful for the persistence and good will shown by the staff of the Bath Historical Society and by Willie Granston, both of whom leveraged their impressive research abilities to find pieces of information that proved crucial to this project. Many wonderful individuals at Mystic Seaport were very generous with their time, knowledge, and collections. The Penobscot Marine Museum and the Winterthur Library also provided valuable support. Finally, funding from the Friends of Rockwood made my research travels possible.

My deepest gratitude goes to my advisor, Arwen Mohun, for guiding me through this project. Her interest, wisdom, and gentle questions were instrumental in pulling this story from a sea of information. Thank you.

A special thanks is due to all the friends and family who buoyed this thesis along with their enthusiasm, perspective, or simple tolerance. I am particularly grateful to my classmates, for their camaraderie and willingness to talk through tangled ideas; to Sarah Parks, for her dedication to all things maritime; and to Sarah

Weicksel, for pointing me in the direction of material culture in the first place. And, for piquing the interest that eventually led to this project, I would like to thank Elysa Engelman, Tom Brillat, and whatever fillip of scheduling fate that led them, four years ago, to assign this new Midwestern intern to a summer in the captain's cabin of the *Benjamin F. Packard*.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	vi
ABSTRACT	viii

RESPECTABILITY AT SEA

Introduction	1
Building Respectability in Bath.....	8
Maintaining Respectability at Sea	44
Conclusion	70
FIGURES	75
REFERENCES	99

Appendix

A	CABIN FURNISHINGS PROVIDED BY SHIPYARDS	105
B	MERCHANTS AND INDEPENDENT CRAFTSMEN EMPLOYED TO FURNISH CAPTAINS' CABINS	110
	Retail Businesses	110
	Craftsmen	116
C	IMAGE PERMISSIONS	118

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Ship <i>Benjamin F. Packard</i> , c. 1900.....	75
2. Aft Cabin (Saloon), <i>Benjamin F. Packard</i>	76
3. Forward Cabin (Dining Cabin), <i>Benjamin F. Packard</i>	77
4. Aft Cabin, <i>Standard</i> , in New York, c.1894.....	78
5. Aft cabin, <i>Aryan</i> , in San Francisco, c. 1895.....	79
6. Aft cabin, <i>Carrie Winslow</i> , c. 1899.....	80
7. Aft cabin, <i>Carrie Winslow</i> , in context.....	81
8. Sleeping cabin, <i>Carrie Winslow</i>	82
9. Placement and Plan of an Aft Cabin.....	83
10. Day Cabin, <i>Charles W. Morgan</i>	84
11. <i>Birds Eye View of the City of Bath, Sagadahoc Co., Maine, 1878</i>	85
12. Parlor of the Houghton-Meeker house, 590 Washington St., Bath, Maine.....	86
13. Interior of James Murphy's home at 1023 High St., c. 1900.....	87
14. Arthur Sewall at his home, 1116 Washington St., Bath.....	88
15. Wylie Dickinson and family at home in Phippsburg, ME, 1916.....	89
16. 1116 Washington St., Bath, home of Arthur Sewall.....	90
17. 1054 Washington St., Bath, home of Guy C. Goss.....	91
18. 1111 Washington St., Bath, home of Samuel Sewall.....	92

19. 18 Dummer St., Bath, home of Elijah Sawyer.....	93
20. 44 Pearl St., Bath, home of Frederick D. Sewall.....	94
21. 37 Oak St., Bath, home of Captain Abel Work.....	95
22. 1071 Washington St., home of Captain Joseph Sewall.....	96
23. 1076 High St., Bath, home of Cleaveland Preble.....	97
24. 18 Circle St., Bath, typical of Bath's small houses.....	98

ABSTRACT

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, shipyards in and around Bath, Maine, specialized in the niche maritime market of building and managing large, square-rigged sailing ships for the global bulk commodities trade. The captains' cabins aboard these ships were elaborately domestic, full of carpets, sofas, mirrors, lamps, and numerous other furnishings that would have been perfectly acceptable in an upper-middle class parlor ashore. These cabins were a product of the tight-knit maritime communities of coastal Maine, reflecting cultural standards that the captains and ship owners shared. The material space of the cabin allowed captains to maintain an image of the same middle-class respectability at sea that they embraced ashore, and this respectability was essential for navigating the personal, genteel business networks of global maritime commerce.

RESPECTABILITY AT SEA

Introduction

In 1883, the *New York Sun* reported the arrival of a new ship in New York. In a harbor full of vessels of all types, the author brought his full arsenal of superlatives to bear on one lying at the foot of Wall Street. There, he wrote, the passer-by could see the “largest sailor afloat,” built on the finest clipper model in existence, with the “strongest frames ever put in a wooden ship.” When this massive vessel had her skysails set, she would display an imposing array of canvas. Her rig also bespoke technical innovation: the lower masts were of steel, “the first steel masts ever stepped,” supported by the “first complete suit of steel standing rigging.” The description continued as the eager reporter worked his way along deck: everything was the biggest, newest, or finest ever to float in New York Harbor. When the reporter got the chance to go below into the captain’s cabin, however, his description shifted subtly. Here, he found luxury rather than innovation. Solid ebony handrails set in silver sockets guided him down the companionway, and decorative brass plates kept his feet from slipping on the stairs. Stepping into the saloon, the reporter’s vision was transformed by the materials about him. The room was carpeted in the “best quality Brussels” and paneled with mahogany, rosewood, French burl and mountain

laurel. On either side, the cabin featured a pair of carved mahogany sofas upholstered in dark red plush, flanking a marble-topped sideboard made of the same woods that paneled the cabin. Lest his readers doubt the impact of the space, the reporter concluded: “the handsome little steam yacht Viking has a saloon of about equal elegance.”¹

Despite the *New York Sun*’s enthusiasm, there was little about this ship, the *John R. Kelley*, that would have seemed particularly remarkable to her builders. The ship, including her innovative iron masts and luxurious cabin, was characteristic of a succession of ever larger, ever finer, ever fancier square-rigged ships launched by shipyards operating in and around Bath, Maine in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.² Indeed, the description of her cabin could, with very few modifications, be applied to the cabin of the *Benjamin F. Packard*, built the same year at a neighboring yard, which survives at Mystic Seaport today (figures 1, 2). Like all of ships of her class, Bath shipyards designed the *Kelley* to carry low-cost, bulk cargoes like grain and coal around the globe as cheaply as possible, and built them to be efficient and

¹ “The Largest Sailor Afloat,” *New York Sun*, 10 November 1883; rpt. *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 20 November 1883, p. 4.

² This thesis will be specifically examining square-rigged sailing ships, as distinct from other types of wind-powered vessels. In the nineteenth century, the term ‘ship’ indicated a vessel with three masts, each carrying a full set of square sails. This ship rig was particularly well adapted to sailing long distances across oceans, and so ships, as described by contemporaries, were almost exclusively involved in the global grain trade. Vessels with other sail plans operated in different markets, creating a different cultural milieu for the captains’ cabin, and so are beyond the scope of this thesis.

capacious. They also built these ships with uniformly elaborate cabins, and, in a detail that the reporter crucially missed, outfitted them with a complete suit of parlor furniture—chairs, tables, looking glasses, lamps, and sometimes bibles—at a not-inconsiderable expense. Among Maine shipyards, these impractical, domestic, yacht-quality furnishings seem to have been as essential to the finished ship as the spars and sails that would propel the vessel.

Although the reporter for the *New York Sun* lavishly praised the *Kelley*'s aft cabin to impress his readership, he was describing a space aboard that few passersby would ever have the opportunity to see. Most sightseers would have had to content themselves with viewing the ship from the dock. From there, a discerning viewer might appreciate the *Kelley*'s size and technological improvements, but the ship's name, picked out in gilt block letters, would be the only visible hint of ornamentation. The *Kelley*'s cabin was meant for a distinctly private audience, composed of the captain and any friends, associates, and relations he chose to invite aboard. But why, then, would her builders at the Goss & Sawyer yard in Bath have gone to such lengths to impress such a limited group of people? Why put so much money and effort into decorating a space that neither directly contributed to the vessel's efficient operation nor advertised it to the outside world? And why did Goss & Sawyer decorate the cabin themselves, rather than passing off the expense and responsibility to the captain who would inhabit it? Because these cabins were interior spaces, understanding their value requires looking inward, at the ship, its captain, and the community of

shipbuilders who deemed it necessary to build him a living space suitable to either a yacht or a parlor.

In the late nineteenth century, ships like the *John R. Kelley* were the distinctive product of a distinctive maritime community. Though sailing vessels were continually loosing ground to increasingly efficient steamers, large, square-rigged ships like the *Kelley* capitalized on a niche in the shipping markets, namely, transporting massive cargoes that were too bulky and too inexpensive for steamships or railroads to carry profitably for long distances. The primary cargo for these vessels was California wheat bound to Britain, but they also carried British or American coal back to San Francisco, Appalachian oil to China and Japan, nitrates from Chile or Peru, timber from the Pacific northwest, sugar from Hawaii to the east coast, and, frequently, ballast for thousands of miles between ports where they could find a profitable cargo.³ This was a specialized branch of shipping, but a large and profitable one: in the 1881-1882 season, over 550 large ships loaded with wheat sailed from San Francisco alone.⁴

³ Roger F. Duncan, *A Maritime History of Coastal Maine* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992), 345-349; "The *Benjamin F. Packard*," *Log of Mystic Seaport* 35 no. 3 (Fall 1983): 97.

⁴ 1881-2 was a peak year for the industry, but 500 ships per year was a steady average. Rodman W. Paul, "The Wheat Trade between California and the United Kingdom," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 45 no. 3 (December 1958): 392, 403.

Although the grain trade was a global business, the American ships that participated in it were operated on an intensely local scale.⁵ Ships like the *Kelley* were built and, for much of their careers, owned, managed, and captained almost exclusively by men from coastal Maine, particularly from Bath and nearby towns along the Kennebec River. They hailed from communities that were essentially maritime, where, to use Daniel Vickers's definition, shipbuilding and seafaring were so ingrained into the fabric of life that going to sea was an unremarkable occupation—a respectable one, to be sure, but one that everyone understood well.⁶ When Maine shipyards built elaborate, domestic cabins that resembled homes ashore, therefore, they were usually building them for men that they knew, who were respected members of society, and who expected to retire ashore in their native towns. The cabins these yards produced therefore reveal as much about the assumptions of the community that built them as they do about the experience of life at sea.

What role, then, did captains' cabins have in the eyes of the men who built them? Within the slim subset of scholarship dedicated to understanding domestic spaces at sea, Lisa Norling has voiced the most prevalent interpretation by arguing that

⁵ American shipping never dominated the grain trade, accounting for no more than about 40% of the business in the 1870s and declining from there. The rest of the trade was handled by British vessels, built of iron, or by their German or Scandinavian counterparts. Paul, "The Wheat Trade," 403-404. In Maine, however, the grain trade was considered a large and valuable industry.

⁶ Daniel Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 3.

women carried domestic ideals with them as they accompanied their husbands aboard whaling ships, where they valiantly tried to recreate feminine spaces and feminine spheres of influence while confined largely to the captain's cabin.⁷ Taking a less common tack, Margaret Creighton wrote that the captain's access to the private space of his cabin, not the presence of a woman, allowed men to indulge in the personal, domestic emotions that were necessary to maintain conventional gender roles. The cabin, moreover, allowed for a proper, middle class division of the feminine home and masculine workplace.⁸ For both Creighton and Norling, however, cabins operate as something of an empty space in which men and women, respectively, asserted their values. But the cabins of Bath merchantmen were not empty. Before the captain had to set foot aboard, the shipyards filled them with the furniture and textiles necessary for a genteel parlor, and these objects encoded a firm and recognizable statement of their domesticity, morality, and culture.⁹ The material environment of the cabin, therefore, was an important (and consistently present) vector by which the parlor ideals of Bath made their way onto the ship.

⁷ Lisa Norling, *Captain Ahab had a Wife* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 238, 256-7. See also Megan Shockley, *The Captain's Widow of Sandwich* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 59-73, and Haskell Springer, "The Captain's Wife at Sea," in *Iron Men, Wooden Women*, ed. Margaret Creighton and Lisa Norling (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1996), 92-117, both of which treat the shipboard world as an entirely masculine environment.

⁸ Margaret Creighton, "Davy Jones Locker Room," in *Iron Men and Wooden Women*, ed. Margaret Creighton and Lisa Norling, 130-133.

⁹ Katherine Grier, *Culture and Comfort* (Washington DC: Smithsonian, 1996), 14-17.

If captains' cabins have been analyzed principally in terms of gender, so, too, have the domestic spaces they mimicked ashore. Parlor-making was an important activity in Victorian America, but it was a feminine one. Not only were women expected to undertake the work of creating a parlor, the finished room was understood as the seat of female authority in the home and an embodiment of the woman herself.¹⁰ Aboard Bath-built ships, however, the parlor-like, domestic cabins were furnished by men. And, while families could accompany the captain aboard, these cabins were frequently inhabited, and maintained, only by men.¹¹ Their effort to create and keep up these domestic spaces demonstrates that shipboard parlors were not merely a female preoccupation, but a matter of recognized importance to the community as a whole, including the captains themselves.

Maritime history, as Daniel Vickers has pointed out, tends to be told either as a story of happenings at sea, within what Marcus Rediker has termed the 'wooden world' of the ship, or as a story of communities that live by the sea and are defined by

¹⁰ Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 5, 8; Andrea Radke, "Refining Rural Spaces," *Great Plains Quarterly* 24 no. 4 (Fall 2004): 228; Beverly Gordon, "Women's Domestic Body," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31 no. 4 (1996): 282, 288.

¹¹ Men did furnish apparently domestic, parlor-like spaces in commercial contexts like railroad cars, passenger steamers, and photography studios; they also occasionally created parlors for male-only clubs. Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 57-63. But because ship's cabins were neither commercial nor communal, the parallel is not exact and deserves further examination.

their engagement with it.¹² But the people who went to sea crossed this divide on a regular basis. As captains circled the globe in the service of the grain trade, they had to successfully sail their vessels across oceans, and, equally crucially, maintain genteel business relationships with brokers in distant ports and the ship owners they knew well at home. The physical, material space of the cabin provided an important continuity in the captain's life. Deliberately constructed to mirror the middle-class dwellings that a captain might someday occupy at home, cabins carried the decorative and cultural norms of middle-class Maine into the far-flung realms of global commerce. Because domestic space was considered an essential element of a person's character, they also played a crucial role in allowing captains to maintain the personal networks that sustained Maine's participation in a global business.

Building Respectability in Bath

By the late nineteenth century, Bath, Maine, was the undisputed leader in producing large, wooden, square-rigged ships, a type that would later be known as 'downeasters,' for the global grain trade.¹³ Bath alone built approximately seventy

¹² Daniel Vickers, "Making Sense of Sailors," *Massachusetts Historical Review* 17 (2015): 157; Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

¹³ In the nineteenth century, vessels in Maine's grain fleet were simply called 'ships,' based on their sail plans, but later observers would christen them 'Downeasters'

percent of the nation's output of grain ships, and most of the remainder were produced by nearby Maine towns.¹⁴ This was an outsized impact for a small, out-of-the-way community with a population hovering just below 8,000, and, in return, the production and operation of grain ships had an outsized impact on the culture and society of the town. Captain's cabins were a distinctive product of this particular maritime community. Bath shipyards outfitted their vessels with cabins that were fashionable, domestic, and expensive; they did so because, according to local business custom, such cabins made sense. They made sense because Bath and its neighbors were places where the local business communities overlapped with family, social, and economic ties in town; where wealthy shipyard owners lived next to ship joiners and ship captains; and where it was assumed that captains would themselves become members

because so many were built in the state. These ships did become a distinct type, developed in the decades after the Civil War when transcontinental railroad lines diminished the need for the clippers that had provided the easiest, fastest route to California. At the same time, the development of California's wheat industry created a demand for large bulk carriers to bring the harvest to global markets. Maine builders responded with downeasters, which combined the sharp, flaring clipper bows with a wider, deeper midsection to make ships that were relatively fast and very capacious—indeed, they were then some of the largest vessels in the world. However, as 'downeaster' appears to be an apocryphal term, this paper uses the term 'ship' because that is how builders and captains referred to their vessels. Duncan, *Coastal Maine*, 345-349; Paul, "The Wheat Trade between California and the United Kingdom," 408; "The Largest Sailor Afloat," *New York Sun*, 10 November 1883; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu), 1 June 1894 p. 8.

¹⁴ William E.S. Whitman, *The Wealth and Industry of Maine for the Year 1873* (Augusta: Sprague, Owen & Nash, 1873), 357; *Report of the Industrial Commission on Transportation* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), 357.

of the upper middle classes in good time. Ornate cabins, like the one built for the *Kelley*, were products of this local cultural and economic logic.

The early 1880s were boom years for Maine's shipbuilding industry and for the grain trade. In 1883, the year that the *John R. Kelley* was launched, Bath produced 53 vessels; in 1882, the town had launched 59. In these two years alone, seventeen new ships were designed for the California grain trade.¹⁵ As a result, the shipyards along Bath's waterfront were hives of activity. May of 1882 found the Goss & Sawyer shipyard, which would build the *Kelley*, with four vessels under construction, one third of the twelve that the yard would launch that year. To maintain this level of production, the yard employed several hundred ship carpenters, joiners, blacksmiths, caulkers, riggers, and related tradesmen, some of whom had recently migrated from Canada to take advantage of wages which were averaging upwards of \$2.00 a day. Together that month, Bath's fourteen shipyards were said to employ almost 2,000 men, about a quarter of the town.¹⁶ On this scale, shipbuilding dominated Bath.

¹⁵ William Baker, *A Maritime History of Bath* (Portland, ME: Anthoensen Press, 1973), Appendix A. Although Bath yards built more grain ships than any other place in America, such vessels were never their primary output. However, since the schooners and other vessels that made up the majority of Bath's shipbuilding were employed in different, usually more local trades, which engendered a slightly different shipboard and business culture, they will not be considered here.

¹⁶ As recorded by the *Bath Daily Times*, 9 May 1882. Quoted in William Baker, *A Maritime History of Bath, Maine*, 612-3; Albert G. Donham, comp. *Maine Register, State Year Book and Legislative Manual* no. 49 (Portland, ME: Albert G. Donham, 1918), 880.

Next door to Goss & Sawyer, the shipyard of Arthur Sewall & Co. was producing vessels at the relatively modest pace of four per year. In early May 1882, the Sewall yard had two big grain ships in progress. One, the *Henry Villard*, was nearly complete and scheduled to be launched on the 17th. The remaining work on the *Villard* was mostly a matter of putting the finishing touches on the cabin: getting the carpets in, completing the upholstery, and adding the furniture, linens, and dining wares that would complete the ship's outfit. Once the *Villard* was launched, Captain James G. Baker, who had previously commanded the Sewall ship *Sterling*, would take charge. The other ship then in the Sewall yard, the *William F. Babcock*, was only partially complete and would not be launched until November. No captain had yet been secured for it: the Sewalls had offered the command to James Murphy, a Bath native, but he was on a voyage to California and no one would expect to hear from him until July. The *Babcock*, however, was almost ready for work on the cabin to begin, and the first shipment of fancy veneers would arrive in June.¹⁷

¹⁷ James Murphy left New York in the *Yorktown* on March 16th, 1882, and sent a letter concerning his interest (and ability to invest) in the *Babcock* to A. Sewall & Co. back with the tug that took him out of the harbor. The Sewall's offer of the command reached him in San Francisco when he arrived on July 31st, after a fairly average passage of 137 days. Most voyages that involved rounding Cape Horn took three and a half to four and a half months to complete. James Murphy to Arthur Sewall & Co., 16 March 1882; Murphy to A. Sewall & Co., 1 August 1882, Sewall Family Papers Box 523.1. Frederick C. Matthews' *American Merchant Ships 1850-1900* (New York: Dover, 1988) provides a good record of voyage times for vessels in the grain trade. The progress of work on the cabins of the *Henry Villard* and *W.F. Babcock* is drawn from the Sewall Family Papers MS 22 Box 332 Folder 4 (hereafter written 332.4) and 522.8-9.

In Bath, it was not at all unusual for a shipyard to begin construction on a new vessel without knowing who the captain would be. Shipyards like A. Sewall & Co., which managed their own vessels and offered their captains shares in the ships they commanded, provided both job security and a portion of the profits. Combined with their reputations as honest businessmen, this practice made their vessels so desirable that many officers preferred to “stay in your employ as long as you control sailing ships.”¹⁸ A notice in the local newspaper that a new keel had been laid usually produced a flurry of letters from aspiring captains requesting a command.¹⁹ Once a shipyard had selected a captain, there were still important, and often lengthy, negotiations to complete before the matter could be settled. The men who were picked to command a new grain ship were usually men who were already sailing in similar trades, who would have to notify their current employers, set the vessel’s affairs in order, and secure a new captain for the ship they were leaving.²⁰ Settling a ship’s affairs often required taking a final voyage, as James Murphy did before accepting command of the *Babcock*. In addition to the three or four months this voyage could

¹⁸ W.H. Curtis to A. Sewall & Co., 10 December 1908. Transcribed by Mark Hennessey, Mark W. Hennessey Collection, MS 53 25.10.

¹⁹ See, for instance, the correspondence of hopeful captains with Charles Minott as the *St. Charles* was being built in 1882. Charles V. Minott Shipyard Records, MS 90 154.9.

²⁰ These negotiations can be seen in James Murphy’s arrangements to take the *Babcock* (Sewall Papers, 523.1) and the arrangements Nathaniel Percy had to make before accepting command of the *Standard* (Minott Shipyard Records, 163.10).

take, captains then might need additional time to travel to Bath if they left their vessels in a distant port. Prospective captains might also change their minds midway through the process, adding an additional element of uncertainty.²¹ By the time all this was completed, a captain rarely appeared more than a few months before their new ship would be launched.

With no captain present (or expected) to help guide the construction process, Kennebec shipyards built their ships, and their cabins, according to their own standards. In doing so, the yards along the Maine coast produced cabin interiors that were remarkably consistent. The paneling that lined the aft cabins of the *Standard*, built in 1878 by Charles Minott in Phippsburg, and the *Carrie Winslow*, built in 1880 by Charles Russell in East Deering, looks extremely similar to that on the 1883, Bath-built *Benjamin F. Packard*, with flat, attenuated columns dividing arched panels of polished wood (figures 2, 4, 6).²² Materials, too, were relatively standard: the *W.F. Babcock* was paneled with the same profusion of walnut, mahogany, rosewood, birds-eye maple, and laurel burl as the *Packard*. Furnishings were also provided by shared convention. Surviving invoices show that the Sewall yard in Bath outfitted their

²¹ See the Minott Shipyard Records 162.6, 10 for an example on finding a captain for the *Standard*.

²² This particular design appears constantly in ships built in the 1870s and 1880s: see the Joanna Colcord Collection, Penobscot Marine Museum, Scrapbook #178/Box 52. In the 1890s, however, it seems to have gone out of style when domestic fashions shifted to rectilinear, “English” or Mission styles. See photographs of the *Aryan*, 1893 (figure 5) or *Shenandoah* (Maine Maritime Museum, reproduced in W.H. Bunting, *Live Yankees* [Gardiner, ME: Tilbury House, 2009] 300).

cabins with the same range of furniture, textiles, and crockery as the much smaller Minott yard down the river in Phippsburg (appendix A). As a result, the design and furnishing of Bath's cabins could be taken for granted by prospective captains. When Arthur Sewall & Co. uncharacteristically asked James Baker for his input on the cabin for the *Henry Villard*, Baker replied simply: "There is not much improvement to be made in the style of your cabins, according to my idea."²³ Baker could trust that the Sewalls would provide him with adequate accommodations because cabin design was commonly understood and consistently executed.

The cabin of Baker's *Henry Villard*, like the cabins of all Maine downeasters, reflected both shipboard hierarchy and the conventions of domestic interiors ashore. The captain's cabin was located in a deckhouse that also housed the ship's two mates and the steward, but the space inside was apportioned according to rank. Rooms reserved solely for the captain occupied over half of the area of the deckhouse, while the mates and steward had small cabins just large enough for a built-in bunk and, maybe, a small desk (figure 9). (In the crowded confines of the ship's living spaces, however, having any private space was a rare luxury.) Captain and mates shared the large dining cabin also housed in the after deckhouse, but the steward, the seagoing equivalent of a domestic servant, only occupied it while working. In the *Villard's* aft cabins, decoration and ornament was also allotted according to the rank of those occupying a room: the mate's cabins were simply finished and painted, the dining

²³ James Graham Baker to A. Sewall & Co., 2 November 1881. Sewall Papers 543.1.

cabin was decoratively paneled in varnished ash, and the captain's saloon, paneled in laurel burl with mahogany accents, was the most ornate of all (figures 2, 3).²⁴

In addition to reflecting shipboard hierarchies of rank, Maine captain's cabins also reflected finely tuned ideals of domestic space. The captain's saloon (more commonly called the aft cabin) was the fanciest space aboard; it also was furnished in almost exact imitation of a parlor, expected to be the fanciest, showiest room in the house. The *Henry Villard*'s aft cabin included custom fitted, wall-to-wall Brussels carpet, two built-in sofas upholstered in plush, a 'dog's head chair' worthy of being a reception chair, an assortment of light camp chairs and stools, a looking glass in a fancy setting, and an ornate, expensive lamp. Marble-topped sideboards or freestanding tables were also standard issue aboard Kennebec ships, though the *Villard*, unusually, does not seem to have had one.²⁵ All these items were purchased, not from specialized maritime tradesmen, but from Bath's leading home furnishing

²⁴ Sewall Papers 332.4. A photograph of a mate's cabin can be found in Paul C. Morris, *A Portrait of a Ship* (Orleans, MA: Lower Cape Publishing, 1987).

²⁵ The Sewall shipyard favored built-in sideboards with marble tops, and Minott yard in Phippsburg usually opted for marble-topped tables. The *Carrie Winslow* from East Deering, ME, appears to have been outfitted with a third option, a marble 'mantle' shelf. Though marble-topped tables were a canonical part of parlor furnishing by 1882, marble-topped sideboards, like the *Packard*'s, or mantle shelves, like the *Winslow*'s, were respectable, accepted substitutions. Edgar Mayhew & Minor Myers, *A Documentary History of American Interiors* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980), 202. Bath's stone and marble supplier, D.M. Melcher, particularly advertised his "mantle and pier shelves," indicating a healthy business in this type of furnishing in Bath. Business listings in W.A. Greenough & Co., comp, *Bath, Brunswick, and Richmond Directory* (Boston: W.A. Greenough & Co, 1883).

stores (appendix B).²⁶ If the shipyard had consulted a domestic advice treatise, they could hardly have produced a more orthodox parlor.²⁷

The dining cabin was treated with a similar decorative scheme. Ashore, dining rooms required an adequate table, a sideboard, and a reasonable supply of china in an appropriately cheerful space.²⁸ Accordingly, the dining cabins on downeasters came furnished with tables, sideboards, and a long list of dining wares.²⁹ The *Henry Villard* sailed with four types of plates: soup, dinner, breakfast, and tea. Drinking vessels included teacups, coffee cups, mugs, tumblers, wine, and champagne glasses. Serving wares, in addition to multi-purpose bowls and platters, extended to cream pitchers and molasses pitchers; sugar bowls, butter dishes, pickle dishes and boats; castors and

²⁶ *Henry Villard* construction records, Sewall Papers 332.4. Although Bath shipyards purchased standard-issue domestic items from the town's home furnishing stores, the stores were also well used to working with shipyards. They were, therefore, able to provide shipyards with "cabin," "forward cabin," "captain's" "mate's," "2nd mate's," "pantry," and "galley" lamps, priced according to the importance of the space they were intended to occupy. See, for example, invoices from S. Strout & Co., Sewall Papers 332.4 (*Henry Villard*), 367.5 (*John Rosenfeld*), and 417.4 (*Rainier*).

²⁷ Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 89-91.

²⁸ Juliet Corson, *Miss Corson's Practical American Cookery* (New York: Dodd-Mead & Co., 1885): 79.

²⁹ It is difficult to track the presence of sideboards in dining cabins because these were usually built-in by Bath joiners, and, therefore, not listed explicitly in shipyard records. However, when A. Sewall & Co. contracted with the joiners at San Francisco's Union Iron Works to refit the cabin of the *Kenilworth*, they specified that a sideboard be built at the forward end of the dining cabin. *Kenilworth* construction records, Sewall Papers 370.12. Tables and seats do occasionally appear as purchases, usually in the 1890s when more work was contracted out. See appendix A.

mustard spoons; crumb brushes with dustpans, and bells. A full range of silver-plated flatware and napkins completed the genteel table setting (appendix A). This impressive array of dining paraphernalia made no reference to the practical difficulties of dining at sea. It would, however, have allowed captains and to dine with all the manners and civility expected of a middle-class family ashore.

If the cabins of Bath's grain ships thus conformed to the standards laid out by domestic advice books, they also were very similar to coastal Maine's middle-class homes, a standard of living to which a captain could easily aspire. When Rufus Soule Randall, a semi-retired captain from Freeport, built a new home in 1877, he furnished it with items that correspond well to those purchased by Kennebec yards. Randall outfitted his parlor with a haircloth lounge, marble-topped table, and upholstered easy chair, all standard-issue items aboard downeasters. His new dining chairs were made of walnut, a popular furniture wood for shipyard outfitters.³⁰ Randall similarly opted for a complete table service that included five types of plates, several kinds of cups, and a full range of serving dishes that included pickle dishes, boats, and compotes.³¹ His table, therefore, could conform to genteel practice and maintain the standards he was likely accustomed to at sea.

³⁰ Bills for George E. Whitney & Co. and Charles E. Jose & Co., Portland, ME, November 28 1877. Rufus Soule Randall Papers MMM MS 038 4.3. Black walnut was a popular wood in the 1870s and 1880s, but was replaced by oak in the 1890s. Charles Minott Records, construction accounts for the ships *Ivy* (97.13), *Standard* (161.6), *St. Mary* (157.8), and *Aryan* (48.5).

³¹ Bill for Charles E. Jose & Co., Rufus Soule Randall Papers 4.3.

In some instances, ship cabins were actually fancier than Randall's home ashore. Where Randall purchased tapestry Brussels carpeting, for instance, Bath's shipyards reliably opted for the more expensive regular Brussels.³² In this, the cabin furnishings do not merely reproduce the standards of the local middle class. They also reflected the domestic tastes of the shipyard owners, who were counted among the town's economic and social elite. When Arthur Sewall furnished his new mansion in 1870, one of the largest houses in town, he finished it with a Brussels carpet purchased in Liverpool. Sewall also owned a haircloth lounge, despite the fact that national advice books counseled that haircloth was entirely out of fashion.³³ Though Sewall's furniture was likely of higher quality than that aboard his ships, the similarity in the materials he used points to continuity between his understanding of an appropriately furnished house and the cabins that he provided to his captains (figure 14).

In some cases, moreover, the shipyards were supplying cabins from the same upper-end businesses that furnished their own homes. Arthur Sewall purchased a marble hearth setting from Bowker, Torrey & Co. of Boston rather than patronize Bath's own D.M. Melcher; the Sewall yard also purchased marble for their cabins

³² Bill for Bailey & Co, Portland, ME, 28 November 1877, Rufus Soule Randall Papers 4.3.

³³ Bills from William Purdy, Liverpool, and Jon. Clark, Bath, Sewall Papers 593.11; Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 179; F. B. Goddard, *Furniture & Furnishing* (New York: Tradesman's Publishing Co., 1887), 58.

from Bowker & Torrey.³⁴ The last four wooden ships launched by the Sewall yard, built between 1888 and 1892, relied even more heavily on Boston businesses to furnish the cabins. The furniture mostly came from Paine's Furniture Company, where shipyard owner William T. Donnell had likewise purchased an elaborate mantelpiece for his own home at the south end of Bath. In a sharper departure from local tradition, the Sewalls also sent to Boston for the cabin paneling, for which they had traditionally employed specialized joiners in Bath.³⁵ In Boston, they contracted with Rand & Taylor, an architecture firm to whom they were likely introduced in 1882, when Samuel Sewall, Arthur's nephew and a young partner in the firm, hired them to design his new, Queen-Anne style house overlooking the family shipyard.³⁶ Designed and built by men trained for domestic architecture, this cabin paneling

³⁴ The Sewall ships *Chesebrough*, *Solitaire*, *Thomas M. Reed*, and *Iroquois* were outfitted with marble from Bowker, Torrey & Co., as was the Minott ship *Berlin*. Construction records for these vessels, Sewall and Minott papers.

³⁵ The four ships in question here are the *Rappahannock*, *Shenandoah*, *Susquehanna*, and *Roanoke*. For almost four decades before these four were built, the Sewall cabins were designed and built by Cleaveland Preble, the regularly employed 'boss joiner' at the yard. In Bath's flexible, sporadic economy of shipyard employment, Preble was respected for his unusually long tenure with the yard, and, presumably, for his skill in constructing cabins. "Death of a Prominent Ship Joiner," *Bath Daily Times*, 12 November 1892, p. 4.

³⁶ Rand & Taylor designed the cabin paneling, but subcontracted the construction to John F. Geldowsky, a maker of "Architectural and Ornamental Wood Carving and Papier Mache." Rand & Taylor to Arthur Sewall & Co., 17 May 1890, Sewall Papers 419.9; Bill, John F. Geldowsky for work on the *Susquehanna*, Sewall Papers 473.13; Maureen Meister, "Rand & Taylor" in Earle Shettleworth, ed., *A Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Maine* v. 7 (Maine Citizens for Historic Preservation, 1995), n.p.

formed a direct link between the captain's space aboard and the fashionable, wealthy interiors of Bath's maritime upper crust.

Though the shipyards outfitted their captains' cabins with items purchased from home furnishing stores, chosen according to theories of interior design laid out by texts on domestic advice and made of the same materials (and, occasionally, designers) as their own houses, cabins nevertheless had to be adapted to the fact that they were built aboard a ship. There were far fewer adaptations needed aboard the big grain ships than in their smaller predecessors, because there was enough room aboard to build living spaces above, rather than into, the structural timbers of the ship (figure 10). As a result, rooms could be reliably rectangular and tall enough to stand in, free from imposing beams except for a (concealable) mast. Windows were fragile in the face of heavy seas, so most cabins only had small ones for air circulation, augmented by skylights. However, windows were a decorative as well as functional element in Victorian homes, and so some ships were built with fancy but false ones to lend an appropriate atmosphere. On *Benjamin F. Packard*, these only opened into a companionway behind the inner wall of the saloon.³⁷

Perhaps the most difficult element of the terrestrial parlor to replicate was wallpaper. Walls were an important part of interior décor, and, in a culture that prized visual intricacy, plain ones were considered an affront to refined, genteel

³⁷ Samuel Sewall's house contained stained-glass windows for decorative effect; the *Packard*'s were likely frosted, indicating a similar aesthetic choice. Meister, "Rand & Taylor," n.p.

sensibilities.³⁸ Like most American homemakers, coastal Mainers usually used wallpaper to add the appropriate patterns to plastered walls (figures 12, 13).³⁹ However, in damp, humid climates, as would be common on a ship sailing through the tropics, wallpaper simply would not survive.⁴⁰ In this context, the highly figured veneers favored by Maine joiners in the 1880s appear to be a deliberate attempt to replicate the richly colored, visually intricate wall coverings demanded by parlor fashion. More durable than paper, polished wood veneers could be easily maintained at sea.⁴¹ The figures in the wood provided the desirable visual effects, or, as one writer waxed enthusiastically, offered “beauty loving eyes” the opportunity to “look into the wine-dark depths of mahogany, or upon burls in which nature’s own deft

³⁸ Henry T. Williams and Mrs. C. Jones, *Beautiful Houses* (New York: Henry T. Williams, 1878), 34-35; Diane Lawrence, *Genteel Women* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 104.

³⁹ Both captain Rufus Soule Randall’s Freeport house and merchant John G. Tolford’s Gorham house, both built in 1877, had plastered walls, which they presumably covered in wallpaper. Rufus Soule Randall Papers, 4.8; John G. Tolford Personal Expense Book, Winterthur Library Joseph Downs Collection, Doc. 1626.

⁴⁰ Lawrence, *Genteel Women*, 104.

⁴¹ The aft cabins were usually ‘polished,’ as opposed to varnished. Polishing was a technique originally developed to finish furniture and show off the wood used. The polish consisted of shellac dissolved in denatured alcohol rubbed into the surface of the wood. It could be refinished by applying a mixture of beeswax dissolved in turpentine, both common materials on a ship, or another application of dissolved shellac. This process was considerably less specialized and easier to refinish than varnish, and so was likely a regular part of shipboard maintenance. See, for instance, the receipt from N.C. Guilstrup for work on the *Thomas M. Reed*, Sewall Papers 494.4. For more on polishing, see *The French Polisher’s Manual* (1946; rpt. Woburn, MA: Woodcraft Supply Corp., 1978).

fingers have slowly wrought fantastic and exquisite devices.”⁴² Even though veneered walls like these do not seem to have had any counterpart ashore, as a vernacular adaptation they nevertheless maintained the key components of Victorian parlor aesthetics.⁴³

For the most part, though, Bath shipyards remained true to the domestic ideals of parlors and dining rooms, and conscientiously updated their spaces to suit changes in fashion. When central saltcellars went out of style in the late 1880s, the grain ships were accordingly outfitted with the individual salts that tastemakers preferred.⁴⁴

When matched parlor suites relinquished their decorative hegemony to mixed sets of

⁴² F.B. Goddard, *Furniture and Furnishing*, 30-31.

⁴³ Maine shipyards were certainly not alone in adapting parlor ideals to the reality of their circumstances. As Katherine Grier has argued, parlor-making was not so much a set of inflexible rules as it was a well-understood vocabulary of furnishings that were deployed in the parlor to make a rhetorical, visual statement that staked a family’s claim to be included in the respectable classes of American society. An aspiring parlor-maker without a proper parlor could, therefore, leverage cogent furnishings, like a draped center table or a couch piled with pillows, to create a parlor-like space. Conversely, in climates or locations where standard furnishings were not available or would not survive, parlor-makers found ways to suggest parlor conventions with materials suited to their situation. This inherent flexibility in the vocabulary of parlor making allowed the parlor, as a cultural and decorative form, to spread beyond its origins in the Anglo-American upper middle classes to aspiring families down the social spectrum and to locations at the very fringes of Anglo-American settlement. It also allowed parlors to go to sea. Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 15-17, 32; Lawrence, *Genteel Women*, 45; Angel Kwolek-Folland, “The Elegant Dugout: Domesticity and Moveable Culture in the United States, 1870-1900,” *American Studies* 25 no. 2 (Fall 1984), 21-37.

⁴⁴Corson, *Miss Corson’s Practical American Cookery*, 103

chairs, shipyards responded by purchasing a wider variety of seats than ever before.⁴⁵ And, when oriental rugs became fashionable in the 1880s, shipyards bought those, too (appendix A).⁴⁶ While the shipbuilders were clearly aware of shifts in fashion, their captains were similarly up-to-date and valued a fashionable space. Even James Baker, who thought there ‘was not much improvement to be made’ in the style of the Sewall cabins, did note that he would “prefer not to have a white cabin” aboard the *Henry Villard*.⁴⁷ There was more to this preference than Baker’s personal taste. White walls with gilt ornament had been in fashion for parlors in the early 1870s and the Sewall yard had built similar paneling for some of their ships, but, by 1881, the aesthetic was definitively going out of style.⁴⁸ Baker’s concern reflected this. The Sewalls had

⁴⁵ Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 91.

⁴⁶ Leonard M. Helfgoff, *Ties that Bind: A Social History of the Iranian Carpet* (Washington: Smithsonian, 1994), 82-88.

⁴⁷ James Baker to A. Sewall & Co., 2 November 1881. Sewall Papers 543.1.

⁴⁸ The *Chesebrough*, one of the last ships launched by A. Sewall & Co. to have a white cabin, was decorated with gilt beading, pilasters, and other ornament, painted by Neil C. Guilstrup, Bath’s leading decorative and fresco painter. Sewall Papers, 273.4; “Neil C. Guilstrup,” *Bath Independent*, 6 January 1899, p. 3. For contemporary thought on the merits of white vs. colored walls, see Mayhew and Myers, *A Documentary History of American Interiors*, 207; Almon C. Varney, *Our Homes and Their Adornments* (Detroit: J.C. Chillon, 1882), 214, 219; and F.B. Goddard, *Furniture and Furnishing*, 45.

already reached the same conclusion, not having finished a cabin in white in three years.⁴⁹

Both Baker and the Sewall yard therefore agreed that the *Henry Villard*'s cabin should be built in to mimic the current standards of domestic display used by Bath's upper middle class. However, neither assumed that that cabin, carefully built to evoke a house, would ever become Baker's permanent home. Both parties understood that a captain's real home was, and should be, his house in his hometown ashore, usually someplace close to Bath. Indeed, just two years earlier, Baker had written as much to Arthur Sewall, bluntly expressing a wish that his ship, the Sewall's *Sterling*, might be ordered 'home' after finishing business in Europe, because four years was too long to be away from friends and his hometown.⁵⁰ When the *Sterling* did arrive in New York in the summer of 1881, Baker decided that he needed more time to renew his connections at home, and left his ship under the command of his mate for the outward voyage to San Francisco.⁵¹ An established, town-based home was an important center

⁴⁹ While the *Chesebrough* (1878) had a white cabin, the *Solitaire* (1879), *Thomas M Reed* (1879) and *Iroquois* (1881), the next three grain ships launched in the Sewall yard, did not. Instead, they were finished with polished fancy veneers. Sewall Papers 356.5, 463.4, and 494.4.

⁵⁰ James Baker to A. Sewall & Co., 13 May 1880, Sewall Papers 543.1. It was not uncommon for captains in the grain trade to go four or more years without visiting home. A captain was tethered to a ship's business, and, unless business brought them to an east coast port like New York or Philadelphia where Bath was a short train ride away, it was difficult to take the time to travel home between voyages.

⁵¹ Baker apparently took very few of the cabin furnishings with him when he left the *Sterling* to his mate. When the Sewalls informed him that the ship would be sold on

for captains in the peripatetic grain trade. As Captain William P. Lincoln, a bachelor, reassured his unmarried sister in 1877, she should never worry about being financially dependent on him because he was also “dependent on [her] for a happy home when I visit Bath.”⁵² Like Baker, Lincoln had lived for years in a domestically appointed cabin, but home, to him, involved his family, his childhood house, and his native town.

Maintaining a sense of home ashore also had professional implications. Arthur Sewall likely would have never offered the command of the *W.F. Babcock* to James Murphy if Murphy had not come home for a visit in early 1882. While in Bath, Murphy strategically took the time to call on Sewall, and emerged from the meeting with an offer to command one of the older Sewall ships. However, the pair had also discussed the *Babcock*, which was in the early stages of construction, and, after Murphy returned to his ship in New York, he boldly asked for the new vessel on the grounds that he “should like to command the largest and best ship out of the river.”⁵³

its arrival in San Francisco, he requested that only two things be returned to him: his chronometer and his bedding. These two items, one expensive and the other personal, were some of the few items that the captain brought with them. That Baker did not ask for anything else indicates that he assumed very little ownership over the cabin furnishings that he had lived among for years. Indeed, he seems to have been much more attached to the ship than the cabin that he might have considered home. James Baker to A. Sewall & Co., 9 August 1881. Sewall Papers 543.1.

⁵² William P. Lincoln Letter Copy Book p. 188, Sewall Papers, 545.18. (Hereafter WPL Letterbook.)

⁵³ James F. Murphy to A. Sewall, 13 March 1882. Sewall Papers 523.1.

Not all of the captains that Sewall employed were as forward as Murphy, but almost all of them were men he knew, and most negotiated the offer of a vessel face to face. Very few captains who wrote to request a command were successful in their suits, and very few new commanders needed to resort to letters to arrange for their new ships.⁵⁴ Only two of the fourteen men to whom the Sewalls entrusted their new grain ships between 1878 and 1895 lived outside of Maine and an easy calling distance of Bath.⁵⁵ As a result, Arthur Sewall, like most vessel owners in Bath and beyond, selected captains whose lives were deeply rooted in the family, community, and economy of the town, the kind of men who could be trusted to come home. The young, brash James Murphy was one of these.

When James Murphy finally arrived home in August 1882 to take charge of the *W.F. Babcock*, he was still at the beginning of his career. Thirty-two years old, he had spent the last several years in command of the *Yorktown*, a ship built in nearby

⁵⁴ The few captains who succeeded at securing a command by mail were personally acquainted with the shipyard, like James Murphy or Nathaniel Percy of Phippsburg, who was able to negotiate for the command of the *Standard* while aboard his previous command in Pensacola. Nathaniel Percy to Charles V. Minott, 10 and 27 April 1877, Minott Records 163.10.

⁵⁵ One of these two was James Baker, who lived in Harwich, Massachusetts. Baker had joined the Sewall fleet as a captain sailing one of the older Sewall ships for a wage, but became a personal friend of Arthur Sewall and, perhaps as a result, was given considerable trust and opportunity in his later commands. This personal friendship seems to have made up for the Baker family's geographic separation from Bath. W.H. Bunting, *Live Yankees* (Gardiner, ME: Tilbury House, 2009), 177.

Richmond, Maine.⁵⁶ On the *Yorktown*, Murphy had been able to support a wife, two children, and (presumably) his widowed mother, but he had not yet had the professional privilege of commanding a new ship or, financially, the opportunity to own a share in one and receive a portion of the vessel's profits. Commanding the *W.F. Babcock* as a shareholding master was Murphy's opportunity to firmly establish his reputation in the Bath community of which he was already had a secure, if undistinguished, place. Happily for him, Bath was a town that expected that a relatively young mariner like Murphy might someday arrive as a member of the town's business classes; indeed, it provided him with a cabin that imitated the house he might someday own.⁵⁷

When James Murphy stepped off the train in Bath, he was stepping into a deeply maritime town, one with a distinctively local flair. Bath was a town that owed its prosperity to shipbuilding, a debt etched into the built environment. Bath was nearly three miles long along the waterfront, which was crowded with shipyards flanking busy wharves at the town center, but at no point was it more than six or seven

⁵⁶ Bunting, *Live Yankees*, 286.

⁵⁷ The experience of Maine captains in the late nineteenth century was quite different from that of British captains in the same trade. According to Valerie Burton, British captains inhabited a world defined by class, formal qualifications, and a permanent, professionalized, wage-earning status, which, she argues, was an inescapable result of the application of industrial capitalism to the maritime world. Valerie Burton, "The Making of a Nineteenth-Century Profession," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 1 no. 1 (1990): 97-118. Within the small, close-knit community of Bath, however, captains occupied a different place in the economic system, and issues of class and community took significantly different forms.

blocks wide (figure 11). Away from the commercial center, which boasted new, multi-story commercial blocks and a fine hotel, the town was almost entirely residential. Despite housing a large, somewhat transient population of waged laborers who worked in the shipyards, the Bath never developed the urban density of multi-unit row houses, large boardinghouses, or tenements familiar in cities like Boston or New York. Instead, the town's housing stock was almost entirely composed of detached homes, and most residents merely walked down the hill to work.

To meet with Arthur Sewall in March, 1882, James Murphy's downhill walk took him clear across town—a distance of about four blocks. At the time, Murphy was living in a rented house on High Street, which, aptly named, ran along the top of the second of two small ridges that paralleled the Kennebec River. Murphy occupied at least two addresses on High Street between 1880 and 1883, the first on the northern fringes of town, and, later, on a more densely developed block just above North Street. Between these two addresses, High Street was populated by a mix of citizens, including sea captains, retired shipbuilder William F. Moses, shipyard employees at all levels, from the chief joiner at the Sewall yard to unskilled laborers, and a few town-based trades like deputy sheriff and watchmen.⁵⁸ All of these families lived in relatively simple one-and-a-half or two-story houses, built with clapboard siding, plain gabled roofs, and muted ornamentation, each on an ample lot (figure 23). From High

⁵⁸ United States Census, Enumeration District 145, Bath, Sagadahoc, Maine, 1880. Digital copy of manuscript version provided by FamilySearch, <https://familysearch.org>

Street, Murphy would have walked down into a small valley where the railroad tracks entered town, and then up another ridge to Washington Street, where the housing stock was distinctly more fashionable. Here, next to larger versions of Bath's plain vernacular structures, shipbuilder Guy C. Goss, of Goss & Sawyer, had built an imposing Italianate house with an eye-catching array of heavy cornices, deeply carved brackets, and dentil moldings, all proclaiming the occupant's wealth and taste (figure 17). Arthur Sewall's relatively massive mansion was barely a block away, built on an unusually large lot that further set it apart from the town (figure 16). In less than a year, Washington Street would also be home to Samuel Sewall's brand-new Queen-Anne style house with its distinctively modern turrets, asymmetrical massing of form, and complex patterns of shingles, a house that would be designed by Rand & Taylor (figure 18).⁵⁹ These structures advertised the fashionable aspirations of their owners, but they were part of the same impulse of domestic respectability as their more humble neighbors up the hill. They were also very close to the industry that built them: on the other side of Washington Street, the shipyards were, quite literally, arrayed under the windows of Samuel Sewall's new home.

In 1882, James Murphy was still working his way up Bath's residential hierarchy. To begin with, he was renting his family's lodgings, a common solution

⁵⁹ Maureen Meister, "Rand & Taylor."

in a town where the workforce fluctuated with the needs of the shipyards.⁶⁰ Renting was also a relatively cheap option for individuals or young families that were still establishing themselves, for whom letting a room or two in an owner-occupied house was a step to purchasing property of their own. Boarding with a family was considered more genteel than boarding in a boardinghouse; it was also the most common solution for Bath's renting population as boardinghouses were scarce and the large homes on Washington Street had plenty of room for young couples or solo tenants.⁶¹ As a result, there was little meaningful segregation by class or occupation in town. On Washington Street, Guy C. Goss and Arthur Sewall lived near six ship carpenters, one of whom was the chief carpenter at the Sewall yard, as well as a rigger, joiner, blacksmith, barber, shoemaker, mariner, laborer, and another captain, some of whom owned houses and some of whom were tenants. Nearby, Elijah Sawyer, also of

⁶⁰ The Murphy does not appear in the Bath property tax assessments for the years 1879-1888, and so, presumably, were renting. Town of Bath, Property Tax Assessment Books, 1879-1888 (Microfilm, Bath Historical Society).

⁶¹ The reputation of boardinghouses suffered from the dual drawbacks of being closely associated with the marketplace, which was the antithesis of home, and of being associated with poor, lower-class, and immigrant neighborhoods. In contrast, boarding with a family preserved the sense of a private home, even if the distinction was nominal. Wendy Gamber, *The Boardinghouse in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 34-39; 60-62. Paul Groth, *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 60-62. In Bath, however, the distinction between boarding houses and boarding with family seems to have been quite clear cut, as households that let rooms to multiple, unattached men were universally described in the census as boardinghouses, while those listed as private homes almost never rented to multiple tenants. United States Census for Bath, Maine, 1880.

Goss, Sawyer, and Packard, counted two blacksmiths, a caulker, a clergyman, a photographer, and two ship captains among his nearest neighbors. On the less-fashionable Dummer Street, however, all of these occupied individual, if smaller homes.⁶² For everyone, encountering neighbors from across Bath's economic spectrum would have been daily routine, and, because Bath's housing market offered both affordable houses and respectable renting arrangements, even the town's most mobile residents, like James Murphy, could maintain an apparently genteel standard of housing that would have been difficult to accomplish in a larger city.

Though renting rooms was a common and respected solution, it was hardly the only option available. In contrast to the mixed tenancy patterns along Washington Street, residents of Bath's Centre Street lived in detached, single-family homes, a well-understood ideal of respectable family life that had developed in the face of the rapid urbanization of the nineteenth century.⁶³ In 1880, these families comprised many of Bath's least skilled workers, including 'laborers,' several boilermakers and rope makers, a rag peddler, stone mason, butcher, watchman and wheelwright, all of whom lived independently as neighbors without sharing an address or building.⁶⁴ At least one of them, the watchman Gilman Sprague, owned the house he occupied. Though the house was valued at a modest \$300, the title to helped Sprague achieve the

⁶² US Census, 1880.

⁶³ Gamber, *The Boardinghouse in Nineteenth-Century America*, 5.

⁶⁴ All trends in this paragraph are derived from the 1880 Census.

domestic ideal of a completely independent home that could serve as a refuge from the challenges of the marketplace.⁶⁵ Evidently, families at the bottom of Bath's labor pool could reasonably expect to maintain the sort of private, nuclear household that was a hallmark of Victorian respectability. Within that home, they could also, presumably, make space for the kinds of domestic parlor furnishings that were essential to claiming mainstream respectability, and which Bath's shipyards were sending to sea.⁶⁶

Though owning a detached, single-family home was an accessible goal in Bath, James Murphy was taking a different path to respectability. In 1880, Murphy shared his rented lodgings with his nuclear family as well as his mother, two teenaged siblings, an adult sister, brother-in-law and infant niece, in addition to subletting rooms to painter John Merrill's family of five.⁶⁷ Living with extended family was frowned upon by domestic advisors because it was thought to interfere with a young family's home life, but, for the Murphys as for generations of maritime families, it was a functional solution to the demands of seafaring employment.⁶⁸ James Murphy's

⁶⁵ Bath Property Tax Assesments, 1879-1888.

⁶⁶ Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 3-5, 86.

⁶⁷ US Census, 1880.

⁶⁸ Margaret E. Sangster, *The Art of Home Making* (New York: Christian Herald Bible House, 1898), 32. Examining New Bedford's whaling communities, Lisa Norling found that women used a diverse and flexible set of living arrangements to make do while their husbands were at sea. Many of these are similar to strategies used in Bath. Norling, *Captain Ahab had a Wife*, 227.

brother-in-law was also a captain, and, as both of them were usually away, maintaining two separate addresses would have been needlessly costly. Other maritime families followed similar patterns. Captain Joseph Sewall, Arthur Sewall's nephew, maintained an address at his father's home for several years after he married, a situation that raised no comment from the town. Next door, Addison D. Fisher was providing lodging for his adult daughter, her husband, Captain Abel Work, and their infant child. But multi-generational households were not limited to seafaring families. The Fisher household included several adult children, including Addison's son, a 39-year-old hardware merchant. Nearby, Elisha Mallet, the highly respected lead shipwright of the Sewall yard, was providing a room for his own son, a professional physician.⁶⁹ Though Murphy's household might have seemed unorthodox from the outside, the presence of tenants and extended family would have been both perfectly normal and perfectly respectable in Bath.

Perhaps most importantly, James Murphy's status as a fairly mobile renter did not diminish his connections to the town. To a prospective employer like Arthur Sewall, Murphy's housing strategy was entirely consistent with choices made by young families, one that might have even seemed respectably frugal.⁷⁰ The presence

⁶⁹ US Census, 1880; *Bath, Brunswick and Richmond Directory*, 1883. Joseph Sewall married in 1882, but was still boarding with his father in 1888. WPL Letterbook p. 268; E. Upton & Son, comp., *Bath Directory for 1888* (Bath, ME: Times Print, 1888).

⁷⁰ Frugality was considered an important virtue, particularly for young couples that had not yet made their fortune, and expansive spending taken as a sign of poor character. A family's home, and the expenses inherent in maintaining it, was thus

of Murphy's extended family, moreover, must have seemed like a good guarantee that this captain would maintain his local connections. This assumption was so strong that, five years later, when Maria Murphy decided to take a vacation from sailing with James aboard the *W.F. Babcock*, the local press reported that she planned to "remain at her home on High Street for a year or more."⁷¹ It apparently did not matter that the Murphy family did not own this house, or that neither James, nor Maria, nor their children had been near it in over four years. Maria Murphy, like dozens of local captains and their families, was coming home to Bath.

Even though young captains were away from town for years on end, they were quite aware of the social position that their families occupied ashore, and they worked hard to maintain their relatives in middle-class respectability. For William P. Lincoln, who supported three unmarried sisters, his mother, and aunt on his earnings, his family's gentility hinged on providing his sisters with a proper education. Writing from Cardiff, he urged them to pay close attention to their studies and not neglect their music lessons; later, when his sister Celia had to abandon her education to augment the family income working as a milliner, Lincoln counted his inability to provide adequate support as a personal failure.⁷² At that point in his career, Lincoln, like

frequently used as a measure for frugality and virtue. Judy Hilkey, *Character is Capital* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 134.

⁷¹ Newspaper clipping, published 2 June 1887. Mark Hennessey Collection, Maine Maritime Museum, 30.23.

⁷² WPL Letterbook p. 4 (February 1870), p. 11 (5 June 1870), p. 274 (25 May 1882).

James Murphy aboard the *Yorktown*, was likely captaining a ship for either wages or primage—five percent of the ship’s freight charter, less any commissions from a chartering firm.⁷³ This type of arrangement was sufficient to keep Lincoln and his sisters out of poverty, but not to maintain them in genteel, educated idleness suitable to young ladies, a distinction he felt keenly. Lincoln was so conscious of the social gap between his working family and Bath’s proper middle class that, when his sister Sadie (Sarah) got engaged to his friend, Captain Joseph Sewall, he cautioned her not to marry if she was not “accepted upon the most cordial and friendly terms” by Joseph’s family, as it would be better to be single than part of a family that looked down upon her relations.⁷⁴ The families in Bath, however, were evidently not nearly as concerned with such niceties of social stratification, and Sadie was soon married into the well-off Sewall clan.

When Arthur Sewall offered James Murphy the command of the *WF Babcock*, he was also offering the young captain an arrangement that Lincoln, some years

⁷³ In 1870, when Celia Lincoln abandoned her education for the milliners, William was still relatively young and at the beginning of his career. He would only join the Sewall fleet in 1873, when he took command of the *El Capitan*. However, it seems that he did not purchase a share in his new command until 1878, indicating that he had probably not been able to buy one when the ship was new and had been sailing for a monthly wage. Several years later, James Baker, unable to purchase a share in his first Sewall command, the new *Sterling*, had struck what was probably a similar deal with to sail her for \$150 a month. Primage was another option, which Murphy had agreed to at a similar point in her career—the downside was that, if the ship had no cargo, Murphy only made \$20 a month. Bunting, *Live Yankees*, 176, 286.

⁷⁴ WPL Letterbook, p. 246, nd (c. August, 1881).

earlier, was still working towards: a chance to own a share in the ship he commanded.⁷⁵ With that came the chance to secure a respectable social and economic position in the town that both captains called home. Maine builders had long divided both the profits and risks of vessel ownership by selling parts of their ships to neighbors and business partners, a tactic that spread the income from shipping across the community.⁷⁶ Arthur Sewall, like most of Maine's builder/owners, sought captains who could purchase one of these shares, usually an eighth, of their newly built commands. The *W.F. Babcock* was divided between sixteen owners, who, in addition to James Murphy, included five members of the Sewall family, several merchants and contractors who had assisted in building the vessel, and at least three other captains taking the opportunity to invest in a ship sailed by their friend and acquaintance.⁷⁷ These were expensive investments, and the master's share was one of the largest. In 1877, Nathaniel Percy offered twelve thousand dollars towards an eighth of Charles Minott's new ship *Standard*, and James Murphy proposed putting

⁷⁵ Lincoln did eventually purchase a master's share in his next command, the Sewall's *El Capitan*. Sewall Family Papers 298.1.

⁷⁶ Dividing ship ownership into shares was a common, long-established practice in many maritime communities. For a good analysis of the practice, see Helen Doe, "Waiting for Her Ship to Come In?" *The Economic History Review* 63 no. 1 (February 2010).

⁷⁷ Sewall Family Papers 546.17.

ten to fifteen thousand dollars into the *Babcock*.⁷⁸ These captain's shares cost thirty to forty times as much as Gilman Sprague's modest home on Centre Street and nearly equaled the value of Arthur Sewall's mansion, one of the largest homes in Bath.⁷⁹ Given the substantial savings needed to secure one of these commands, Murphy's decision to rent rather than buying a house for his family was logical indeed.⁸⁰

Owning a master's share was a major and potentially risky investment, but it allowed the captain to partake in the profits of the ship, a source of revenue that contributed considerably to the wealth of the community.⁸¹ Captains who shared in their ships' profits could reasonably expect, in Arthur Sewall's words, to join "the

⁷⁸ Nathaniel Percy to Charles V. Minott, 10 April 1877, Minott Records 163.10; James F. Murphy to A. Sewall & Co, 16 March 1882, Sewall Papers 523.1.

⁷⁹ Arthur Sewall's mansion was assessed at \$15,000 for property taxes throughout the 1880s. Bath Property Tax Assessments, 1879-1888.

⁸⁰ For many captains, taking on a master's share involved taking on considerable debt held by the shipyard, and not all of them were ready or able to commit to this. In 1881, when the Sewall yard offered Albert Nickels a captain's share of their the *Iroquois*, offering to let him take it on credit and pay off the debt though his earnings from profits and primage, he declined on the grounds that it would be more debt than he was comfortable taking on while his family's well being was dependent on his financial solvency. The two parties likely compromised on Nickels' counter offer to take a sixteenth rather than an eighth, and Nickels eventually commanded the ship. Albert Vinal Nickels to A. Sewall Esq., 27 May 1881, Sewall Papers 546.24.

⁸¹ In 1882, the business of owning and managing ships was "still earning handsome dividends," and the value of the ships owned in Bath alone was estimated to be \$3.7 million. Baker, *Maritime History of Bath*, 612-13. For more on the practice of dividing shares across a local maritime community, see also Doe, "Waiting for her Ship to Come In,?"

aristocracy of the town” by the end of their careers.⁸² Practically, the wealth and stability that vessel ownership represented usually correlated with a permanent home address. Abel Work was still boarding at his in-laws when purchased a captain’s share in the new *Thomas M. Reed* in 1880, though, by 1883, his family had moved to a rented property less than half a mile away. Later that year, Abel’s wife Augusta finally purchased a substantial home for the family less than half a block from the property they had rented.⁸³ For shipmasters whose families preferred to live ashore, the purchase of a home followed the purchase of a captain’s share within a few years, while families that preferred to live aboard the ship usually delayed buying a home until the captain was beginning to consider retirement.⁸⁴ In either case, however, the

⁸² Testimony of Arthur Sewall to the American Merchant Marine Commission, 1904. *Hearings of the American Merchant Marine Commission* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 110.

⁸³ US Census, 1880; *Bath, Brunswick and Richmond Directory*, 1883; Bath Property Tax Assessment 1879-1888. As in many maritime communities, it was not uncommon in Bath for women to make major financial decisions, while their husbands were away, whether those involved purchasing a house or investing in shares of ships. Emma Perkins to A. Sewall & Co., 11 January 1888, Sewall Papers 546.37; Mary D. Baker to A. Sewall & Co., 18 November 1898, Sewall Papers 543.4. For more on the role of women in maritime communities, see Norling, *Captain Ahab had a Wife*; Vickers, *Young Men and the Sea*; and Doe, “Waiting for her Ship to Come In?”

⁸⁴ Captain Samuel Dinsmore, who had seven children, purchased a substantial property soon after obtaining command of the *Undaunted* in 1869; Zaccheus Allen, whose wife rarely sail with him, also owned a house ashore early in his career. In contrast, James Murphy, who sailed almost exclusively with his family, and Joseph Sewall, who sailed regularly with his, did not buy homes until several decades after they got their first commands. US Census records for Samuel Dinsmore, Zaccheus Allen, James Murphy, and Joseph Sewall, 1850-1910; Bath Property Tax Assessments.

end result was the same: captains that survived their careers would invest in a home to retire to in their native communities.

The homes where Bath captains retired reflected a new place in Bath's society. The houses that Abel Work purchased at 37 Oak Street, Joseph Sewall eventually bought at 1071 Washington, and James Murphy retired to at 1023 High Street were all substantial homes near those of Bath's shipbuilding elite (figures 21, 22). The Work family's new house was valued at \$3,600, slightly more than shipyard owner Benjamin F. Packard's and three times as much as the home of Cleaveland Preble, the Sewall yard's longtime chief joiner and a "highly respected citizen" who had built Work's cabin on the *Thomas M. Reed*.⁸⁵ In design, all of these houses stood solidly between Preble's one-and-a-half story home and the fashionable architecture of the shipbuilding elite. As relatively simple, though large, gabled and clapboarded structures, they reflected the conservative style of successful Bath citizens like Fredrick Sewall, the local tax agent, or Elijah Sawyer, of Goss, Sawyer and Packard (figures 16-23). Captains who built new houses also did not usually embrace new fashions. When Rufus Soule Randall wrote his specification for a new dwelling in nearby Freeport, he requested a two-story, rectangular structure with an ell at the back, gabled roof, bay window, and two piazzas.⁸⁶ This was a typical Victorian design, very

⁸⁵ Preble's obituary also noted that he owned considerable shipping—evidently a corollary to wealth and respectability. "Death of a Prominent Ship Joiner," *Bath Daily Times*, 12 November 1892, p 4; Bath Property Tax Assessments.

⁸⁶ Rufus Soule Randall Papers, 4.8, 4.3.

different from the modern, asymmetrical, Queen-Anne style favored by urban professionals that shipyard owner Samuel Sewall would commission in Bath just five years later.⁸⁷ It seems, therefore, that captains did not return from their voyages as cosmopolitan trendsetters, at least in their architectural choices. Instead, they opted for conservative but substantial homes that placed them just below Bath's shipbuilding elite, homes that established their membership in a town where they been absent more often than present in their working careers.

Captains and their families seem to have approached interior decoration ashore much as they approached architecture, creating substantial, genteel spaces that, while a step below the homes of Bath's wealthiest residents, were eminently respectable and entirely congruent with the cabins where the captains had lived at sea. Rufus Soule Randall furnished the parlor in his new house with a haircloth lounge, a marble topped table, four stuffed chairs, one smoking chair, and one easy chair atop a tapestry Brussels carpet, a set of furniture that would have created the basis for an environment that was very similar in style, if not in expense, to the parlor of the Houghton shipbuilding family (figure 12), as well as the cabins of Bath ships.⁸⁸ The substantial home that James Murphy retired to on High Street some twenty-five years later shows a somewhat different mix of fashion and conservatism, with up-to-date oriental carpets

⁸⁷ Rand & Taylor designed many houses similar to Sewall's in Boston's well-to-do commuter suburbs like Newton, catering to an educated, urbanized, upper-middle-class clientele. Meister, "Rand & Taylor."

⁸⁸ Rufus Soule Randall Papers, 4.2.

and heavy doorway draperies framing outdated and antique furniture (figure 13). Arthur Sewall himself opted for a similar, though more expensive compromise, pairing an elaborate, high-end lounge with a Windsor chair (figure 14). While such furnishing decisions may not have been particularly fashionable, fashion was not the only marker of middle-class respectability. Equally, if not more, important was one's ability to maintain a respectably domestic interior and be completely comfortable in those rooms.⁸⁹ For Maine captains, this was an achievable goal. A photograph of retired Captain Wylie Dickinson in his Phippsburg home, taken in 1916, shows his family looking entirely informal and relaxed, all reading in front of a conspicuous piano and a table full of books (figure 15). Though not much of the room is visible, the photograph advertises that the Dickinson family was perfectly capable of mastering the cultural as well as decorative demands of middle class life.⁹⁰

Obtaining a genteel home was simply one expression of a successful sea captain's entry into the business and social circles of the town's maritime elite. One of the most successful captains to transition into managing ships was John R. Kelley, the son of a captain from neighboring Phippsburg, who commanded a large number of Bath vessels, invested in shares of more, and, eventually, operated his own fleet.

⁸⁹ Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 107.

⁹⁰ A piano and a table for books were among domestic advice writier Eunice Beecher's essentials for a sitting room in 1889, and she viewed these props to genteel sociability as more important than fashionable items like carpets or curtains. That the Dickinson family was evidently using these cultural markers reinforces their integration into middle-class respectability. Gamber, *The Boardinghouse*, 119-20.

When Kelley commissioned his namesake vessel from Goss & Sawyer in 1882, she was, as the *New York Sun* pointed out, a grain ship that was among largest and finest afloat.⁹¹ Wylie Dickinson would also attempt the same transition, entering an agreement with Arthur Sewall to manage the schooner *Dickey Bird*, in which they both owned shares.⁹² However, Dickinson soon discovered that managing was not a business that he enjoyed, and in 1893 was glad to take Charles Minott's offer to command the new ship *Aryan*, the last wooden grain ship built on the Kennebec.⁹³

Wylie Dickinson's decision to step out of managing did not affect his social standing ashore. He lived in Phippsburg alongside Charles Minott's family; their daughters were close friends that kept in touch through local gossip and gifts of sheet music whenever the Dickinson girls accompanied their father to sea.⁹⁴ Captains who had no interest in business also joined the social circles of their former (and often current) managers. James Baker routinely invited Arthur Sewall and his family to visit the Bakers at home, and Mrs. Baker tried hard to find Mrs. Sewall a present of

⁹¹ "The Largest Sailor Afloat," *New York Sun*, rpt *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 20 November 1883, p. 4.

⁹² Letters between Arthur Sewall and Wylie Dickinson, 1889-1894, MMM MS 22 Box 277 f. 1, 5.

⁹³ Wylie Dickinson to Charles Minott, 25 May 1893. Minott Records 50.5.

⁹⁴ Bessie Dickinson to Abbie Minott, 12 November 1895, Dickinson Family Papers 16.6; Abbie Minott to Bessie & Grace Dickinson, 7 August 1890, Dickinson Family Papers 16.8.

guava jelly when Baker's ship made an unusual visit to Rangoon.⁹⁵ Closer to Bath, Arthur Sewall and his brother, Edward, entrusted two of their young sons to Captain William Dunphy for a visit to New York while Dunphy and his wife were there in the ship *Occidental*.⁹⁶ James Murphy also joined the Sewall's circle toward the end of his career, to the extent that Arthur Sewall, either from courtesy or humor, at least once lent him a prize team of horses for a day trip to Brunswick.⁹⁷ While these men were all notably successful and trusted captains, the social world they occupied at the end of their careers demonstrates that captaincy was a valid ticket to social advancement, and that Bath's maritime elite expected that the men they hired might one day become friends and colleagues.

When Bath shipyards outfitted their ships with cabins that were built in the image of upper-middle-class homes in town, they were building them for men who they knew personally, who hailed from the same local community as the shipwrights and owners. Rather than forming a distinct maritime working class, moreover, captains were fully integrated into the town's social world, and, if they proved successful in their commands, could climb the ranks of Bath society to occupy the

⁹⁵ James Baker to A. Sewall & Co, 13 May 1880; James Baker to A. Sewall & Co., 9 August 1881, Sewall Papers 543.1.

⁹⁶ Bunting, *Live Yankees*, 123.

⁹⁷ This story, which was handed down in Bath's oral records, preserves the evidently memorable moment that the horses, sensing a new driver in the buggy, took off at top speed down High Street. Bunting, *Live Yankees*, 288.

same social niche that the interiors of their cabins represented. When captains took their ships away from Bath, then, they brought a tangible reminder of the social standards and opportunities of their hometowns, a reminder constructed materially in the fabric of their cabins. As voyages stretched into years-long wanderings in the service of the global grain trade, these cabins played an important role in keeping captains connected to the Maine towns that they considered home.

Maintaining Respectability at Sea

When James Murphy sailed the *W.F. Babcock* down the Kennebec River in December 1882, he was taking the ship away from the tight-knit maritime community in which she had been built and into a very different maritime environment. The *Babcock* would spend the rest of her career sailing between major ports like San Francisco and Liverpool, crewed by men who were strangers to each other, to the captain, and to the ship. It was Murphy's responsibility to shepherd the *Babcock* safely through this global maritime world, keeping her safe and profitable for her owners back home. This task required very different skills if the ship was in port or at sea. In port, Murphy would work with a network of commission agents and merchants that Arthur Sewall had developed. Because Sewall lived in Bath, Murphy would have to maintain these connections himself, employing his good character, business acumen, and social respectability, much as he maintained his relationship with Sewall

back home. At sea, however, Murphy needed a formidable set of practical skills to navigate his ship through some of the world's most difficult sailing routes, often working with underpaid, reluctant crews that had been shanghaied from the dregs of the waterfront workforce. On top of that, Murphy needed to maintain his connection to Bath, a place that he and his family would not see for years. Whether ashore or at sea, the cabin was a constant presence in a captain's life aboard, a comfortingly domestic space that made it possible for him to have a semblance of a balanced, middle-class life while at sea, thereby maintaining the character and business connections that were essential for Bath's participation in a trade that the town itself never saw.

James Murphy's cabin aboard the *W.F. Babcock*, like all Bath cabins, had been designed to replicate domestic interiors ashore, and so the elaborate furnishings that filled them were much better suited for a stable life on land than for the rolling and pitching of life at sea. Rather than packing these furnishings away as soon as ships left port, however, Maine captains did their best to keep the cabin as recognizably domestic, and as fully furnished, as possible. Calista Stover, who accompanied her husband to sea, recorded what was probably a usual routine when their ship left New York in 1882. On the first day out of the harbor, Stover spent her time getting "many comforts settled for sailing," including putting her shore clothes away, getting sea clothes out, securing the cabin chairs, baby's crib, and other movables, and changing

the cabin carpets.⁹⁸ Removing the carpet might have been a better choice: a mere two weeks later, when a wave flooded the cabin, the carpet must have been soaked.⁹⁹ However, Stover had sailed before and was likely well acquainted with this possibility. Her decision to keep the cabin floor covered with a civilized, softening textile shows that she was dedicated to maintaining a properly furnished domestic space at all times, even if she did use a different, presumably shabbier, carpet than the one she displayed in port. Other captains also shared this concern for keeping carpets down as long as was feasible. Searsport Captain Charles Nichols kept his carpets out for fifty-four days in 1874, and only had them routinely cleaned and put away when the ship was nearing Cape Horn.¹⁰⁰ British Captain James Barker took either a less practical or more determinedly domestic approach. Several weeks into particularly rough passage around Cape Horn, the hanging stove in Barker's cabin broke loose and went rocketing around with the swells, smashing furniture and paneling before overturning and scattering its coals onto the carpet—a carpet that was still out,

⁹⁸ Calista M. Stover, Diary, 28 March 1882. Calista M. Stover Papers, Mystic Seaport Museum Coll. 105.

⁹⁹ Calista M. Stover Diary, 8 April 1882.

¹⁰⁰ Millicent Dow Nichols, journal kept aboard the *Patmos*, 14 December 1875, Johanna Colcord Collection, box 72. Though the incident is recorded in Millicent's journal, she credits Charles with the decision to clean and put away the carpets, a routine she was evidently not familiar with at sea. Such deference indicates that Charles had been used to caring for carpets when sailing alone.

resolutely representing a parlor that was utterly inappropriate for the situation.¹⁰¹

Barker, like his American counterparts, evidently valued having his cabin look as much like a home ashore as possible, regardless of the situation.

As the travails of cabin carpets demonstrate, the realities of shipboard life posed several problems for furnishing plans designed for houses built on dry land. Weather was certainly one of these. Because of the nature of the grain trade, almost every voyage a ship undertook involved a passage around Cape Horn, where storms were strong and waves, able to endlessly circle the globe, were unusually large. Other routes took the ships across the North Atlantic in wintertime or into the South Pacific at cyclone season, also reliable locations to find rough weather. Families could, and did, adapt their cabins to support a genteel life amid the ocean's swells, although, as Maria Murphy wrote, "You would laugh to see us sometimes [playing cribbage] with our chairs tied to the table, bobbing and lurching about."¹⁰² Other times, storms simply disrupted life. Salt and sugar dishes were not nearly as useful when, in Calista Stover's phrasing, they chased each other over the cabin as when they stayed on the table, and the aftermath of a storm always involved substantial time putting things

¹⁰¹ James Barker, *Log of a Limejuicer* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936), 170-171.

¹⁰² Maria Murphy, writing a serial letter to family in Bath in 1896, as quoted in Bunting, *Live Yankees*, 298.

back to rights.¹⁰³ The weather also changed how people interacted with the cabin furnishings. Rounding Cape Horn, Maria Murphy experienced days so rough that it was impossible to eat at a table, rendering both the piece of furniture and the complete set of serving and dining wares useless. Instead, meals consisted of bread held in the hand and a mug of coffee consumed between lurches. On the same passage, she also found it impossible to lie securely enough in bed to sleep, and wedged herself between the bed and the cabin bulkhead to get some rest.¹⁰⁴ Even for the most determined of families, life at sea sometimes required that domestic manners be put on hold.

There were many more disruptions for captains attempting to recreate domestic life at sea than their families shared. Captains needed to be constantly alert to untoward happenings, whether related to weather or crew. Thomas Fraser once ran to deck to discipline a seaman for an insubordinate remark; he had been relaxing in his cabin, and heard the man's conversation with the mate through the skylight.¹⁰⁵ Making a speedy passage required the same constant attention to wind as Fraser gave to discipline. Samuel Samuels attributed much of his remarkable success as a packet captain to his habit of being on deck most of the night to ensure his ship was making

¹⁰³ Calista Stover, Diary, 8 April 1882; Millicent Dow, Journal aboard the *Patmos*, 20 October 1875.

¹⁰⁴ Maria Murphy, serial letter to family in Bath (hereafter, her 'Log,'), 11 March 1883. Sewall Papers 546.18.

¹⁰⁵ Marjorie Gee, ed., *Captain Fraser's Voyages* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1979), 93.

the best time possible.¹⁰⁶ Most captains in the grain trade were not nearly as vigilant about every minor wind shift as Samuels, but all expected to spend full days and nights on deck whenever necessary. In squally periods, Joseph Stover often not go to bed at all, instead preferring to nap, fully clothed, on the sofa. Lincoln Colcord spent so many nights on ship's sofas that, when his daughter drew up a plan of their cabin, he instructed her to draw him asleep in his habitual place.¹⁰⁷ Habits like these negated the cabins' ability to function exactly like the shore-side house they resembled, but they did not completely abrogate domestic norms. Even ashore, Americans expected that sofas might double-task as beds. By providing their captains with sofas, shipyards also gave them a socially acceptable place to sleep, fully clothed, at any time of day.¹⁰⁸

Most of the time, however, the weather was fine enough that life in the cabin went on much like life in any household. Breakfast, dinner, and tea made routine appearances at the dining table (perhaps heralded by a dinner bell), books and (outdated) newspapers were read lounging on the sofas, laundry washed, and salt-water baths taken as needed, just as the business of the ship happened routinely outside on deck. If captains' wives accompanied them to sea, they tended to occupy

¹⁰⁶ Samuel Samuels, *From Forecastle to Cabin* (New York: Harper, 1887), 254.

¹⁰⁷ Calista Stover, *Diary*, 8 April 1882; Plan of Joanna Colcord's cabin, Joanna Colcord Collection.

¹⁰⁸ Williams and Jones, *Beautiful Homes*, 253.

themselves with typically feminine pastimes like sewing, needlework, and, depending on the lady, piano-playing; if the couple's children were aboard, there were lessons to attend to and manners to teach.¹⁰⁹ Although captains were welcome to bring their families aboard and many women did accompany their husbands, domestic life in the cabin did not depend on their presence. Instead, the ship hired a steward, often an Asian, Hawaiian, or African American man that had limited employment options in the maritime world, whose primary task was serve meals, keep the cabin clean, and generally attend to the captain's domestic sphere whether or not his family was there.¹¹⁰ The steward was certainly not considered an equivalent to family in an idealized domestic sphere, or, as Bessie Dickinson wrote her father in 1894, he should bring at least one of the women in his family along for a voyage so that they "could kind of keep you fixed up right as regards food and lots of little ways that you know as

¹⁰⁹ All these activities are common in the written material left behind by Calista Stover, Maria Murphy, Millicent Dow, and others.

¹¹⁰ Burgess Cogill, *When God was an Atheist Sailor* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1990), 51. Because stewards lived and worked in the cabin, they occupied a marginal place in the shipboard hierarchy as they were neither fully a member of the crew nor one of the officers. As marginalized, 'feminine' jobs, they were increasingly relegated to minorities. W. Jeffrey Bolster, "'Every Inch a Man,'" in *Iron Men, Wooden Women*, 163-164. However, stewards sometimes did become long-term members of the crew who were close to the captain and his family, relying on personal patronage where a race-conscious labor market denied them the more anonymous work before the mast. James Murphy employed an African American steward for many years, and Albert Henry Sorensen similarly relied Bob Wakamea, of Hawaiian background, as he raised his daughters aboard. Bolster, *Black Jacks* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 225; Bunting, *Live Yankees*, 300; Cogill, *When God was an Atheist Sailor*, 106-108.

well as I.”¹¹¹ While Bessie was likely right that a hired steward would not entirely replicate a family’s attention to the highly personalized ‘little ways’ of life, in a broader sense, her focus on such details shows that the steward and the cabin together provided a lifestyle that was so reliably domestic that female family members could come and go as they pleased, without substantially interrupting the working of the ship or the routine of the captain’s respectable, middle-class life aboard.

Part of maintaining a respectable lifestyle at sea involved repairing and replacing furnishings as they wore out, a regular occurrence in the extremes of the maritime environment. Captain Peter Erickson felt so strongly that his cabin needed to look respectable that he hired men to repaint it at a time when no cargoes were in sight and, as a result, there was no income to cover the expense. Explaining his decision to Arthur Sewall & Co., Erickson wrote that paint had become cracked and dirty, and that he was willing to pay for the maintenance himself “for the sakes of having a clean cabin.”¹¹² Erickson was more scrupulous in his reporting than many captains, who simply included cabin maintenance in the routine of shipboard work. James Murphy had his cabins painted three times in the first two years of the *Babcock*’s life, more than enough to ensure that they were clean and neat.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Bessie Emma Dickinson to Wylie Dickinson, 15 November 1894. Dickinson Family Papers 14.6.

¹¹² P. Erickson to A. Sewall & Co., 21 March 1886. Transcribed by Mark Hennessey, Mark W. Hennessey Collection 25.20.

¹¹³ Maria Murphy, ‘Log,’ April 1883, December 1883, and June 1884.

Individual objects also needed regular attention, and owners allowed captains to charge replacements to the ship's account. Crockery and table linens were the most common expenses, perhaps because they were constantly in use on lurching tables and, therefore, most at risk of becoming broken or and stained. Though other furnishings were less frequently replaced, they also appeared on the ship's accounts.¹¹⁴ In 1878, William Lincoln spent more than twenty-seven pounds on upholstery in Liverpool at the end of a passage that had included heavy gales in the North Atlantic.¹¹⁵ Like Erickson, Lincoln was willing to spend a significant sum to have a cabin that was clean and livable. Because the cost of these refits came directly from the profits that were distributed to the ship's owners, the Bath community was evidently was similarly willing to invest in maintaining the cabin space.

As captains lived in, cared for, and updated their cabins over a period of years, they adapted the standard outfit of the cabins with items according to their personal tastes. Small knickknacks, doilies, photographs, pillows and other parlor ephemera are consistently visible in photographs of aft cabins, giving the space the same sense of personalization that a lady's handicrafts were supposed to lend a parlor ashore

¹¹⁴ Captains' accounts their ships, in the Sewall and Minott Papers, as compiled by Martha Reifschneider, March 2017.

¹¹⁵ *El Capitan* Accounts, Liverpool, 29 1878, Sewall Papers 298.17; William P. Lincoln to A. Sewall & Co. 5 April 1878, Sewall Papers 298.12.

(figures 4-6).¹¹⁶ Captains also, apparently, remained sufficiently in touch with parlor fashions that they chose up-to-date items to refurbish their cabins. An 1894 photograph of the Phippsburg ship *Standard*, taken nearly fifteen years after the ship was launched, shows a space that looked quite different than it had when it was new (figure 4). In keeping with the times, the updated cabin boasted a small oriental rug and heavy tapestry table cover in 1894, neither of which were part of the ship's original outfit.¹¹⁷ The curtains, or at least the curtain rods, were also a later addition that was fully in keeping with the trend towards heavy hangings, and may have served to soften the space to make it more domestic. Alternately, they may have been a functional adaptation of the cabin, providing privacy for a nap on the sofa. If so, they

¹¹⁶ Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 91. It is hard to track how many of these personal items captains brought with them to sea, as they frequently neglected to mention bringing aboard furnishings as sizeable as pianos. However, captains seem to have taken relatively little with them when they left a ship. When William P. Lincoln retired from the *El Capitan* for health reasons in 1882, he thought he could fit all his personal belongings into one trunk and two valises, and, when James Baker died at sea in 1898, his belongings were sent home in two trunks. WPL Letterbook p. 272 (21 May 1882); Mary Baker to A. Sewall & Co., 18 November 1898, Sewall Papers 543.4.

¹¹⁷ Minott Records 161.6. It is hard to know how much input women had on the redecoration of the cabins. In the case of the *Standard*, Mrs. Percy accompanied her husband on and off throughout his career and may well have dictated the furnishings. Edward Nickels, captain of the *Iroquois*, did note that his wife was present when he purchased table linens, toweling, rugs, and coverings for sofa pillows sometime between 1893 and 1895 (Sewall Papers 358.5). However, given the concern of apparently single men like Peter Erickson, many captains were apparently equally invested in maintaining cabin spaces, even if wives were occasionally involved in the design.

were a genteel addition to the realities of shipboard life, one that, as far as was humanly possible, supported a recognizably domestic lifestyle at sea.

Maine captains' genteel, albeit modified, lifestyle at sea was well suited to the business relationships that they were expected to maintain in port, relationships that were forged along the same patterns as personal and business ties in Bath. Maine ship-owners did not dispatch their vessels randomly into the global commodities market, but worked hard to develop the tight networks of merchants and ship brokers who could find cargoes and look after their ships in port. Since Maine builders could not be present in the global grain ports themselves, they relied heavily on telegraphs, fast mail, and brokering firms like Williams, Dimond & Co., of San Francisco to keep them updated on changing markets and possible cargoes on a weekly, if not daily, basis. These brokers might also take on something of a managerial role themselves, reporting on the arrival and progress of Maine ships and commenting on captains' decisions and skills.¹¹⁸ To cement these close business relationships, Bath owners

¹¹⁸ In 1893, Williams, Dimond & Co. wrote to Charles Minott that they had seen captain Banforth Percy of the *Standard* often, that, under his guidance, the ship was discharging cargo quickly, and that Nathaniel Percy, Banforth's father, was expected to come back and take command. Such a mix of information was standards in letters that Maine owner/managers received from the brokers they worked with. Williams Dimond & Co. to Charles Minott, 10 August 1893, Minott Records 163.3.

also frequently offered their business partners shares in new vessels, thus giving them personal incentives to take good care of Maine's merchant fleet.¹¹⁹

As in Bath, personal relationships were often overlaid on professional ones. One of Arthur Sewall's nephews, Oscar, was dispatched to San Francisco to work with Williams, Dimond & Co, eventually joining the firm as a partner. Oscar's brother Sam, meanwhile, spent time in New York with Van Vleck & Co, and later in Liverpool with Charles Russell, the Sewall Company's preferred business partner there.¹²⁰ As generations of younger sons had done before, their travels provided a family connection in distant ports that the company could trust.¹²¹ Arthur Sewall was also personally acquainted with many of his business partners, indeed, he was close enough to Andronicus Chesebrough, a leading partner in Williams, Dimond & Co.,

¹¹⁹ For example: M.F. Pickering & Co. to Charles Minott, 23 July 1883, Minott Records 154.9; Sutton & Co (Philadelphia) to Charles Minott, 22 November 1888, Minott Records 157.12; Charles T. Russell to Charles Minott, 3 December 1878, Minott Records 162.6.

¹²⁰ Bunting, *Live Yankees*, 124, 157-8.

¹²¹ The importance of kinship in maintaining long-distance business relationships has been studied extensively in the eighteenth century context. See Richard Grassby, *Kinship and Capitalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) and David Hancock, *Citizens of the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 83-4. In the nineteenth century, this emphasis on kinship is often put aside for a focus on partnerships and corporations. Naomi Lamoreaux, "The Partnership Form of Organization: Its Popularity in Early-Nineteenth-Century Boston," in *Entrepreneurs: The Boston Business Community* ed. Conrad Edick Wright and Kathryn Viens (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1997), 269-296. For Maine shipowners, however, these older patterns of kinship networks seem to have been effective and useful though the turn of the twentieth century.

that Chesebrough named his son after Sewall.¹²² Personal and professional relationships also collided in the names that Bath builders chose for their ships. By the early 1890s, Chesebrough, along with his fellow San Francisco brokers John Rosenfeld and William F. Babcock, and their east-coast partners and rivals James Elwell, William R. Grace, and E.B. Sutton in New York, all had the opportunity to arrange cargoes for ships that bore their names.¹²³ Having a namesake ship was an honor for the broker, one that had real results for owners back in Bath. When Andronicus Chesebrough wrote to Charles Minott in 1879 to notify him that his new ship *Standard* had sailed, he noted that only one ship had been chartered on better terms since he had negotiated the *Standard*'s agreement, and for that one, the *Chesebrough*, "one must think the name had a little something to do with it."¹²⁴

However much effort Bath shipyards put into establishing business relationships with distant merchants and brokers, the connections had to be strengthened and maintained in person by the captains. Though captains had less autonomy when it came to arranging cargoes than they had in decades before the

¹²² Bunting, *Live Yankees*, 123-4.

¹²³ The Sewalls built the *Chesebrough* (1878), *WF Babcock* (1882), *John Rosenfeld* (1884), and *Willie Rosenfeld* (1885; named for John's son). Other Bath yards produced the remainder: the *W.R. Grace* was built by Chapman & Flint in 1873, the *E.B. Sutton* by Zina Blair in 1881, and the *James W. Elwell* by Kelley, Spear & Co. in 1892. All Maine firms in the grain trade worked with these merchants, whose firms dominated the bulk cargo business in the relevant ports. Baker *Maritime History of Bath*, Appendix A.

¹²⁴ Andronicus Chesebrough to Charles Minott, 9 August 1879. Minott Records 162.7.

telegraph, many still undertook the bartering and arranging of business themselves. In 1895, Wylie Dickinson had barely recovered from a cold before he began hunting San Francisco for a cargo for the *Aryan*. Having determined that Liverpool grain freights were too low, that nothing was needed in Hong Kong, and that the *Aryan* was the only ship available to take a cargo to New York, he therefore began urging Charles Minott, the *Aryan*'s builder and manager in Phippsburg, Maine, to take advantage of the situation in San Francisco and press for a better charter to New York than Minott had been able to arrange from afar.¹²⁵ Brokers understood that captains would search widely to find good rates, particularly if their firm had little to offer. During a particularly dismal month in 1887, Williams Dimond & Co. observed that, though they saw Captain Purington of the *St. Charles* often, they could only guess that, "without a further advance in wheat freights, think he is considering coal," likely arranged with another broker.¹²⁶ But captains, like Bath managers, fully understood the importance of maintaining close relationships with these brokers in port, and worked hard to develop them. Wylie Dickinson convinced both the brokers John Rosenfeld's Sons and a stevedoring firm they favored to take shares in the *Aryan*, with the presumption that they would get the ship's business and treat her favorably.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Wiley Dickinson to Charles Minott, 8 March 1895. Minott Records 50.7.

¹²⁶ Williams Dimond & Co to Charles Minott, 28 July 1887. Minott Records 154.12.

¹²⁷ John Rosenfeld's Sons to Wiley Dickinson, 20 June 1893, Minott Records 50.16; Wiley Dickinson to Charles Minott, 14 February 1894, Minott Records 50.6.

Involved with every aspect of the ship's affairs in port, captains had to be fluent in the niceties of conducting business.¹²⁸

In practice, most of the negotiations of securing a new cargo and getting it loaded took place ashore, not aboard ship. Like Wiley Dickinson, captains routinely recorded visiting multiple brokers ashore in search of cargoes, and, while brokers could, and occasionally did, visit captains aboard their vessels, this was usually reserved for extraordinary circumstances.¹²⁹ This arrangement made practical sense, as a captain could count on merchants being at their offices and therefore find them efficiently, but a broker could not count on a ship being in the same dock, or anchorage, from one day to the next. In addition, the cabins of Bath ships were not well designed to serve as offices for business deals. Cabins almost always came outfitted with a substantial desk so that the captain could manage the detailed accounts demanded by managers in Bath, but these desks were usually located in the sleeping cabin, a private space that both parties would have understood was not suitable for

¹²⁸ Some owners, including Arthur Sewall & Co., did take a substantial portion of decisions off their captains' hands, including seemingly trivial details as arranging for stevedoring firms in Liverpool. However, even in these cases, it seems that they were rarely opposed to a captain negotiating a better deal. WPL letterbook, p. 202; Bunting, *Live Yankees*, 288.

¹²⁹ Andronicus Chesebrough once visited George Curtis aboard the *Solitaire*, but only because Curtis was sick and the account needed to be resolved quickly. For other business, Curtis visited him at the office. Andronicus Chesebrough to A. Sewall & Co., 20 December 1879. Sewall Papers 123.3.

business.¹³⁰ Instead, the most public rooms of the officers' quarters, the dining cabin and parlor-like aft cabin, were furnished in the distinctively domestic pattern of dining rooms and parlors, equally unsuitable for business in an era of professional offices. As a result, the cabins that Bath shipyards poured so much energy into building took a decidedly ancillary role in the practical business of the ship.

If the ship's cabin played little, if any, part in securing charters for the ship, the character and reputation of the captain it housed played a significant role. Good brokers had long memories for the men they worked with. After loading the Minott's new ship *Standard*, Andronicus Chesebrough wrote Charles Minott that, though he had not seen captain Nathaniel Percy for thirteen years, he "found him just as genial and pleasant as of old," and, as a result, business had gone smoothly.¹³¹ Percy's reputation may also have helped Minott sell a share of the *Standard* to broker Charles T. Russell of Liverpool, who was willing to discuss the proposition solely because he "entertain[ed] a very high regard for Captain Percy." (Russell had previously tried to

¹³⁰ The desk from the *Benjamin F. Packard* is in the sleeping cabin, and built asymmetrically with the camber of the deck so that it would be difficult to place elsewhere. A period description of the *Shenandoah*'s cabin also notes that the desk is in the sleeping cabin, even though the *Shenandoah* had ample space to create a dedicated office. "Our Merchant Marine," *The Illustrated American* 9 (January 9, 1892): 354. The *Carrie Winslow* also had a desk built into her sleeping cabin, though Mrs. Montgomery appears to have appropriated it as a dressing table (figure 8). In this case, Captain Montgomery appears to have adapted by moving his bookcase into one of the spare staterooms, rather than carve out space in the parlor-like aft cabin (figure 7).

¹³¹ Andronicus Chesebrough to Charles Minott, 91 August 1879. Minott Records 162.7.

back out of the agreement because a Captain Lowell, who he knew well, was no longer slated to command the new ship and he felt no obligation to purchase a share in a vessel sailed by a different captain.)¹³² A captain's personality, and the relationships they formed, evidently shaped the type of business they could conduct in port cities around the world. While maritime newspapers habitually assisted brokers' memories by noting when a captain had last called at a port (occasionally a decade or more in the past) and which ships they had sailed in, it was up to the captain to make an impression for their business associates to remember.¹³³ If Bath ship owners wanted their vessels to be successful, therefore, their captains had to have good characters. And, in the late nineteenth century, having a respectable cabin to live in was an essential part of maintaining a respectable reputation.

According to Chesebrough's assessment of Nathaniel Percy, geniality and pleasantness were evidently two of the qualities that made a captain a good business partner in Bath's extended business network; honesty, sobriety, kindness, generosity, and other "Gentlemanly qualities" also were on that list.¹³⁴ By picking captains almost

¹³² Charles T. Russell to Charles Minott, 3 December 1878. Minott Records 162.6.

¹³³ For example: "Loss of the Rappahannock," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, 20 May 1892, p. 7; "A Great White Sailing Vessel," *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu), 24 March 1902, p. 10; "A Crack Steel Ship," *San Francisco Call*, 20 August 1898, p. 7.

¹³⁴ Honesty and sobriety were listed alongside energy and good business skills in a letter of recommendation written by J.H. Winchester for captain Jonathan W. Dunham. J.H. Winchester to the Local Inspectors of Steam, 13 November 1897, Sewall Papers 95.22. The last three were listed by captain William P. Lincoln in

exclusively from their own home communities, Maine's builder/managers could be as sure as possible that their captains were meeting these standards, or, at least, that they had been raised in a community that valued gentlemanliness in business. But Maine owners also likely knew that these same characteristics were almost antithetical to the skill necessary for sailing a ship. Ashore, businessmen valued captains who could sail ships quickly and safely; at sea, this translated to the qualities of boldness, to take full advantage of any available wind, decisiveness, to make instant decisions according to minute shifts in weather, and competitiveness, which lead captains to prove their (and their ships') abilities by racing other ships into port.¹³⁵ Captains also added a strong strain of indomitability and aggression to these qualities, which they viewed as essential to maintaining authority over their motley, discontented crews. As Peter Erickson succinctly reported the qualifications of a new mate, the young man was "a

assessing businessman Charles Abbott. More specifically, they were qualities that Lincoln remembered that "Mr. Sewall and Mr. Peabody" had been favorably impressed by, and, while it is unclear which Mr. Sewall Lincoln was referring to, it seems as if these were generally favored characteristics in the Bath community. WPL letter copybook, p. 227.

¹³⁵ As Maria Murphy described her husband, "Jim is up all times of night, he watches his ship as a cat watches a mouse—some of the time all sail is set, and the next hour under lower topsails. He loves to carry sail, but is not reckless." This type of sailing required constant attention and quick reactions, as well as the nerve to set sail that, if not taken in quickly, could damage the ship and rigging. Maria Murphy, "Log," 18 January 1897. While quick passages were appreciated by shippers and brokers, captains of grain ships often translated this desirable speed into full-blown races undertaken against ships sailing the same routes, often pushing themselves, and their ships, to the limits of prudence. See Baker, *Log of a Limejuicer*, for his race with the *Susanna*.

good sailor, and bigg enough to take his own part against the men,” and, therefore, possessed all necessary talents for promotion.¹³⁶

Boldness, decisiveness, competition and individual achievement had long been used to define the seagoing characteristics of sailors and officers alike.¹³⁷ At the end of the nineteenth century, moreover, they fitted perfectly into popular valorization of an aggressive muscular style of manhood.¹³⁸ Captains who wrote retrospectives of their careers in the 1880s and 1890s celebrated their successes in fistfights and physical altercations with the crew, all of which were presented as just and judicious interventions to discipline with men who had challenged their authority. Combined with feats of stamina and seamanship involved in getting their ships safely through bad storms, men like Samuel Samuels wrote their careers as testaments to their own physical strength.¹³⁹ At the same time, the brutal reality of this style of authority

¹³⁶ Peter Erickson to Arthur Sewall, 27 May 1887. Transcribed by Mark Henessey, Henessey Collection 25.20.

¹³⁷ Margaret Creighton has found that the one-dimensional masculinity represented by characteristics like boldness, decisiveness, and competition is not an accurate assessment of either captains or crew, who both found ways to maintain more balanced personas in a shipboard environment. Creighton, “Davy Jones’s Locker Room,” 118-121. However, in the late nineteenth century, when sailors and captains opposed each other and the public was looking for easily understood symbols, such stereotypes were an easy, uncritical way to portray seafarers, and so were widely used.

¹³⁸ E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 3-7, 224-5.

¹³⁹ Samuel Samuels, *From the Forecastle to the Cabin*; Marjory Gee, ed., *Captain Fraser’s Voyages*.

came under increasingly concerted attack from reform-minded groups. In widely distributed publications like the *Red Record* that graphically described officer's abuse of sailors, the National Seaman's Union was not shy about accusing captains and ship owners, many of them from Maine, of hypocrisy for their willingness to condone and participate in cruelty at sea while calling themselves gentlemen ashore.¹⁴⁰ But, while captains realized that their enforcement tactics might not be culturally acceptable off their ships, they were unwilling to cede the right to use violence to enact authority. Bath native William Lincoln begged his brother not spread news of a shipboard incident—that appears to have left a sailor dead—about town. Instead, Lincoln wrote, the “world ought to thank” his friend, a Mr. C., for “putting the infernal rascal out of the way,” and that the blame should instead fall on the captain, who “[shrank] away like a whipped cur” rather than confront a discipline problem early or aggressively enough to diffuse the situation. Having absolved Mr. C. of murder on the grounds of just and necessary intervention, Lincoln had no qualms about requesting that his sisters send him letters and photographs to maintain a friendship. Since the dead sailor was not from Bath's maritime community, no stories would be told to contradict Lincoln's interpretation of events.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ *The Red Record*, National Seamen's Union, 1895, rpt. Stephen Schwartz, *Brotherhood of the Sea* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books for the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, 1986), 24-26.

¹⁴¹ Contemporary observers often found that instances of shipboard cruelty were significantly less likely to occur in the coasting trades or on voyages bound to American ports, because in either case word of the incidents was much more likely to

Even if public opinion, including that of the Bath community, was sensitive to the disjuncture between violence at sea and a captain's gentlemanly character ashore, neither Maine captains nor the managers and brokers that they worked with saw themselves as hypocrites. Instead, they seem to have rationalized their behavior within period gender norms. Popular thinking on gender embraced multiple forms of manliness, not all of which were congruent. Men could be bold, aggressive, competitive, and resolutely individualistic; they could also embrace self-control, compassion, diligence, sobriety, and scrupulous honesty.¹⁴² The captain diligently carrying out his business and making sociable calls in port was a man well schooled in the latter set of traits, but the captain enforcing respect and diligence with his fists on deck was unabashedly invoking the former. Even though these two versions of character were somewhat antithetical, men could, and did, combine them. Indeed, success manuals often argued that a man who combined strength and virility with self-

reach authorities, and communities, ashore. Thomas Fraser even suggested that cruelty could never be a problem on British ships because public opinion was so strong that no officer would dare to upset it. "Hearings Before the Merchant Marine Commission (Washington, GPO, 1904): 212; Gee, ed., *Thomas Fraser's Voyages*, 52. In the global grain trade, however, sailors were rarely of the same community, or even same nationality, as the officers. Brian Roleau, *With Sails Whitening Every Sea* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), 196-198; W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 224. As a result, violence could be employed with relative impunity, and seamen's testimony disparaged, or their silence bought. See the complaints entered in the *The Red Record*, National Seamen's Union, 1895, rpt. Stephen Schwartz, *Brotherhood of the Sea*.

¹⁴² E. Anthony Rotundo, "Learning About Manhood," in *Manliness and Morality*, ed. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 36-41.

discipline and good character was most likely to succeed in business.¹⁴³ This combination, which allowed for both the manners necessary for genteel relationships and the desire to prove strength and skill at sea, no matter the cost, also seems to have made for a good captain.

Masculine character traits were not merely bifurcated theoretically, they were also ascribed to different physical spaces in a man's life. The working world, generally, was considered to be a rough-and-tumble masculine place, one that stood in stark contrast to the feminine, moral virtues of the refuge-like home.¹⁴⁴ Because it was feared that the male traits of competition and aggression might inevitably pull society apart at the seams if left unchecked, the home acquired a new moral urgency as a location to civilize men by instilling them with the more gentlemanly traits of character.¹⁴⁵ Women, presiding over the domestic sphere, were entrusted with this civilizing mission. However, since women were so closely associated with domestic space and because Victorians embraced a "domestic environmentalism" that granted interior space the ability to exert a moral influence over its inhabitants, the material fabric of the domestic interior also adopted the role of civilizing and uplifting the people within.¹⁴⁶ When Bath shipyards built cabins that looked like parlors, therefore,

¹⁴³ Judy Hilkey, *Character is Capital*, 167.

¹⁴⁴ Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 6; Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 195.

¹⁴⁵ Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 4; Grier, *Culture and Comfort*, 5.

¹⁴⁶ Grier, 6-9.

they encoded the space with moral expectations along with social class. As captains maintained and acquiesced to the material demands of their cabins, they were also reinforcing their commitment to the civilizing, and therefore character-building, influence of the home, even if they were far from family on the open sea. Stepping back on deck, captains re-entered the working world, a place that, conceptually, did not have to meet the same moral standards of the home, where they could exercise violently masculine forms of authority, apparently with a clear conscience.

When shipyards built elaborate, expensive, domestic cabins for their ships, then, they provided their friends and neighbors with the kind of surroundings that could maintain Bath's standards of genteel character in port towns around the world. In practice, captains' cabins did seem to have provided their inhabitants with an image of genteel character that was unique in among seafarers. Where sailors were routinely derided as simple, heathen, or child-like for their participation in a masculine shipboard culture and mates deemed 'bucko' or disciplinarian (and often hired explicitly for such qualities), captains alone were able to maintain the civilized, 'feminine' side of maleness.¹⁴⁷ In 1885, Nathaniel Percy was jailed for abusing a sailor along with both of his mates, but quickly received a pardon because a committee from the Maritime Exchange convinced President Cleveland that, based on their "personal knowledge of the character of the captain," Percy could never have

¹⁴⁷ Roleau, *With Sails Whitening Every Sea*, 9, 120-122; Baker, *Log of a Limejuicer*, 171; *Hearings of the American Merchant Marine Commission*, 1904, 211.

committed the violence of which he was accused. After holding a reception for the committee aboard his ship, Percy immediately departed for home to let the incident blow over.¹⁴⁸ Though Percy's mates were convicted on the same evidence, they were not given the benefit of the doubt, perhaps because they did not have the material means to demonstrate a gentler side of their character. For that, they would have needed a captain's cabin.

Whether or not Nathaniel Percy's friends at the Maritime Exchange were being willfully oblivious to the reality of violence in the maritime world, their willingness to vouch for his character shows just how successful captains could be at creating and maintaining networks of business and personal relationships in the ports that they visited. Even if cabins were not used to conduct business, they did serve as essential props for this personal sociability. While in port, many captains maintained a social schedule equal to any ashore, and Sunday afternoons, after church when business was suspended, were excellent times for visiting friends and families in the cabins of other ships.¹⁴⁹ Maine captains often took this chance to renew friendships originally formed in their hometowns. Joanna Colcord, who grew up aboard her father's ship in the 1880s and 1890s, recalled that she routinely met friends from home in distant ports,

¹⁴⁸ "Justice to Sailors," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 22 September 1885, p. 2.

¹⁴⁹ Diary of Joseph P. Sweeter, 1871. Typescript in the Joanna Colcord Collection, Box 14.

encounters that kept her connected with the social world of Searsport, Maine.¹⁵⁰ Like many of their shore-bound peers, captains' families memorialized these personal relationships in the more permanent, tangible form of photographs.¹⁵¹ Captains regularly sat for and exchanged photographs of themselves with friends and family at home and at sea, and surviving images of captains' cabins almost always include photographs, prominently displayed.¹⁵² One such image, taken in 1894, records Captain Joseph Sewall's visit to fellow Kennebec captain Banforth Percy aboard the latter's ship, the *Standard*, while both were in New York (figure 4). A copy of the photograph appears in a later image of the *Aryan*, captained by family friend Wylie Dickinson (figure 5). In this way, captains' cabins provided an appropriately genteel space to both host friends and display mementos of those connections, practices that kept the coastal Maine community strong even when its members were scattered across the sea.

Captains' personal networks were not limited to acquaintances from home, however: they also maintained close relationships with their business partners in port. The photograph of the *Standard* illustrates these links between land and sea. Besides

¹⁵⁰ Joanna Colcord, Interview with Dave Elmore, 1941. Transcript in the Joanna Colcord Collection #178 p. 7.

¹⁵¹ For one perspective on the role photographs played in cementing Victorian relationships, see Elizabeth Siegel, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame* (New Haven: Yale, 2010), 10-11.

¹⁵² WPL Letterbook p. 1-2 (February 20, 1870); Calista Stover Diary, 28 March 1882.

the two captains, the image shows Joe Jenks, a New York pilot, and, seated comfortably in the middle of the sofa, a man identified only as a “stevedore.” While these men likely both did business with the ship, such professional relationships often deepened to personal ones. As captains maintained genteel rounds of activity ashore, like attending church or the theater, they had the opportunity to mingle socially with their business partners.¹⁵³ In 1894, the busy broker John Rosenfeld spent a day taking in the sights of the California Midwinter International Exhibition with Captain Wylie Dickinson, and the two presumably spoke as friends as well as business associates.¹⁵⁴ The daughters of both men also became friends, exchanging gifts of cake doilies and art goods while the *Aryan* was in port. This relationship mirrored the Dickinson girls’ friendship with Abbie Minott back in Phippsburg, much as their father’s resembled his friendship with his managing ship-owner, Charles Minott. Such congenial friendships extended Bath’s personal business networks to the ports where the ships called, networks that depended on captains’ gentility as well as their honesty and business acumen. By providing a proper space for genteel living, their cabins played both a material and social role in keeping these personal networks alive.

When captains took their ships away from Bath, they left behind a close-knit maritime community in which they held a respected place in polite society. However,

¹⁵³ Wylie Dickinson to Charles Minott, 14 April 1895, Minott Records 50.7; Andronicus Chesebrough to A. Sewall & Co., 20 December 1879, Sewall Papers 123.3; Calista Stover Diary, 27 March 1882.

¹⁵⁴ Wylie Dickinson to Charles Minott, 14 February 1894. Minott Records 50.6.

the cabins they took with them carried along the decorative and cultural norms of that community back home in Maine. Although the reality of command at sea strained the conventions of parlor life, both physically, with rough weather, and culturally, with a tradition of violent authority, captains did their best to maintain the material space of the cabin and the distinction between genteel life within it and working life on deck. Such distinctions helped Maine captains retain their cultural connections to Bath society, and with that, to maintain the type of character necessary to reliably and efficiently negotiate Bath's business abroad.

Conclusion

In 1929, sale # 3796 at the American Art Association included an unusually large item in the Max Williams Collection of Maritime Relics: a 244-foot long full rigged ship.¹⁵⁵ This ship, the Bath-built grain ship *Benjamin F. Packard*, had arrived in New York some four years earlier after being towed through the Panama Canal with a cargo of Pacific coast timber. On her arrival, she was hailed as a lone survivor of the “famous square-rigged ships” or “old-time clippers” whose day was past. In keeping with this nostalgia, the *Marine Exchange Bulletin* carefully noted that, “as showing the wonderful craftsmanship of the Maine shipbuilders of other days,” the *Packard* had

¹⁵⁵ *Benjamin F. Packard* file, Mystic Seaport Archives.

been built to the highest standards, including a cabin and furnishings made of the “finest mahogany.”¹⁵⁶ The ship, the *Maritime Exchange* concluded, ought to be saved on sentimental reasons, so that “present and future generations...could have the privilege of actual contact with such a remarkable example of the ship-builder’s art.”

That the *Packard* was sold as a maritime relic and not as a coal barge indicates the rapid changes that occurred in New York’s maritime community in the previous two decades. The *Packard* had made regular visits to load cargoes in New York until 1908, barely a generation before she was sold as a curiosity. Even by then, however, the niche in global markets that she and her sister ships had been built to exploit was rapidly disappearing. California wheat production, the lynchpin of the world bulk markets that the *Packard* had served, was declining fast in the early twentieth century.¹⁵⁷ Meanwhile, the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 finally made steamship service between the American coasts feasible, effectively negating the sailing ship’s advantage in fuel savings for the long trip around South America. Given these changes, Maine owners began building different types of vessels to exploit new niches in the market, and started selling their sailing grain fleets wherever possible. The *Packard*, like many of her sister ships, was bought by a salmon canning company in Alaska, and spent eighteen years serving as a seasonal dormitory and mobile

¹⁵⁶ “Ship Benjamin F. Packard,” *Marine Exchange Bulletin* 13 no. 5 (September, 1925): 39.

¹⁵⁷ Rodman W. Paul, “The Wheat Trade between California and the United Kingdom,” 411.

warehouse before being replaced, once again, by a steamer.¹⁵⁸ When she arrived in New York in 1925 as a seagoing barge, the *Packard*'s prospects for commercial use were dismal. But interest in the 'distant' maritime past that she represented was growing.

The *Packard*'s earliest memorializers tended to write about the ship in one of two ways. The one adopted by the *Maritime Exchange Bulletin* focused on the skilled craftsmanship and commitment to quality that Maine craftsmen of yore had invested in their ships. In an almost colonial revival-esque fashion, this strain of eulogy held the *Packard* as an example of a more careful, more moral, handcrafted past. The other type of memorialization was equally nostalgic, but far more active. Building on the rhetoric of muscular manhood, the passing of the American square-rigged sailing fleet inspired a slew of literature glorifying the feats of daring sailors battling Cape Horn in their beautiful ships.¹⁵⁹ The domestic pleasures of cabin life formed no part of these accounts, but captains like James Murphy, re-christened "Shotgun" or "Shenandoah" Murphy for full dramatic effect, took on larger than life characters as the press

¹⁵⁸ Bent Gestur Sivertz and Tracy O'Hara, *The Life of Bent Gestur Sivertz* (Victoria, BC: Trafford Publishing, 2000), 52-66.

¹⁵⁹ Historiography from Margaret Creighton, "Davy Jones's Locker Room," 119, and Robert Foulke, "Life in the Dying World of Sail, 1870-1910," *Journal of British Studies* 3 no. 1 (November 1963).

gleefully recounted and embellished vivid incidents of life at sea—often, while the captains themselves were still alive and sailing.¹⁶⁰

While both of these versions of the *Packard*'s story were based on some kernel of truth, they are much more representative of the authors' ability to read their own concerns into the vessel than they are of either the captains or their cabins. By the time the ship arrived in New York in 1925, many of the elements essential to understanding the cabin, and the ship, had disappeared. Though the walls, table, and built-in furniture survived, all the moveable furnishings—chairs, carpets, mirrors, doilies—that made the space into a passable Victorian parlor were long gone. Also absent were the people who had inhabited her cabin when fully furnished, as was the dense maritime community kept the captains in touch with Bath during the *Packard*'s global wanderings. With them, the unique historical moment that had made ornately domestic cabins an essential element of bulk cargo ships had passed into history.

The captains' cabins of the *Benjamin F. Packard* and her sister ships were products of a particular community, at a particular time, for a particular purpose. At the end of the nineteenth century, Bath, Maine, was a small town that had invested heavily in a global market, and it relied on social and professional networks built on personal relationships to maintain a foothold in this branch of world commerce. Captains were an essential part of this business abroad; they were also neighbors and,

¹⁶⁰ See, for instance, "Story of the Shenandoah Now a Coal Barge," *Fuel* v. 15 (1910), 1010.

often, friends of the men who built and managed their ships in Maine. The cabins that they lived in at sea carried the social and cultural ties of their hometowns across the globe. These domestic spaces allowed captains to maintain the appearance of character and class required to carry out Bath's far-flung maritime business until they returned to take up an equally respectable place in society ashore.

FIGURES



Figure 1: Ship *Benjamin F. Packard*, c. 1900.
Built in Bath, Maine by Goss, Sawyer, & Packard, 1883.
Photograph by Charles E. Bolles, Brooklyn, NY.
Library of Congress.



Figure 2: Aft Cabin (Saloon), Benjamin F. Packard.
Photo by J. Ritchie Garrison, courtesy Mystic Seaport.



Figure 3: Forward Cabin (Dining Cabin), *Benjamin F. Packard*.
The mizzenmast is concealed behind the paneling between the doors at the back of the cabin.
Courtesy Mystic Seaport.



Figure 4: Aft Cabin, *Standard*, in New York, c.1894.

Built in Phippsburg, ME, by Charles Minott, 1878

From left to right (as identified on the back of the photograph): Banforth Percy (son of Nathaniel Percy, the *Standard*'s first captain), "a stevedore," Joseph Sewall, and New York pilot Joe Jenks.

Courtesy Maine Maritime Museum.



Figure 5: Aft cabin, *Aryan*, in San Francisco, c. 1895.
Built in Phippsburg, ME, by Charles Minott, 1893.
Captain Wylie Dickinson and family.
Courtesy Maine Maritime Museum.



Figure 6: Aft cabin, *Carrie Winslow*, c. 1899
Built in East Deering, ME, by Charles Russell, 1880.
Captain Adelbert Montgomery, his wife, Mary Thorpe Montgomery, and friend Annie
Adams.
Courtesy of the Penobscot Marine Museum.



Figure 7: Aft cabin, *Carrie Winslow*, in context.
The dining cabin, uncarpeted, is through the open doors behind Captain and Mrs. Montgomery. To the right, another door opens onto a spare stateroom, evidently transformed into an office with a desk and bookcase.
Courtesy of the Penobscot Marine Museum.



Figure 8: Sleeping cabin, *Carrie Winslow*.

Mrs. Montgomery seems to have appropriated the built-in desk and bookcase at right as a dressing table, perhaps prompting the addition of a desk to a spare stateroom (figure 7).

A small portion of the wall is visible beneath the mirror: note that it is made of plain, vertical boards, a contrast to the elaborate joinery of the aft cabin.

Courtesy of the Penobscot Marine Museum.

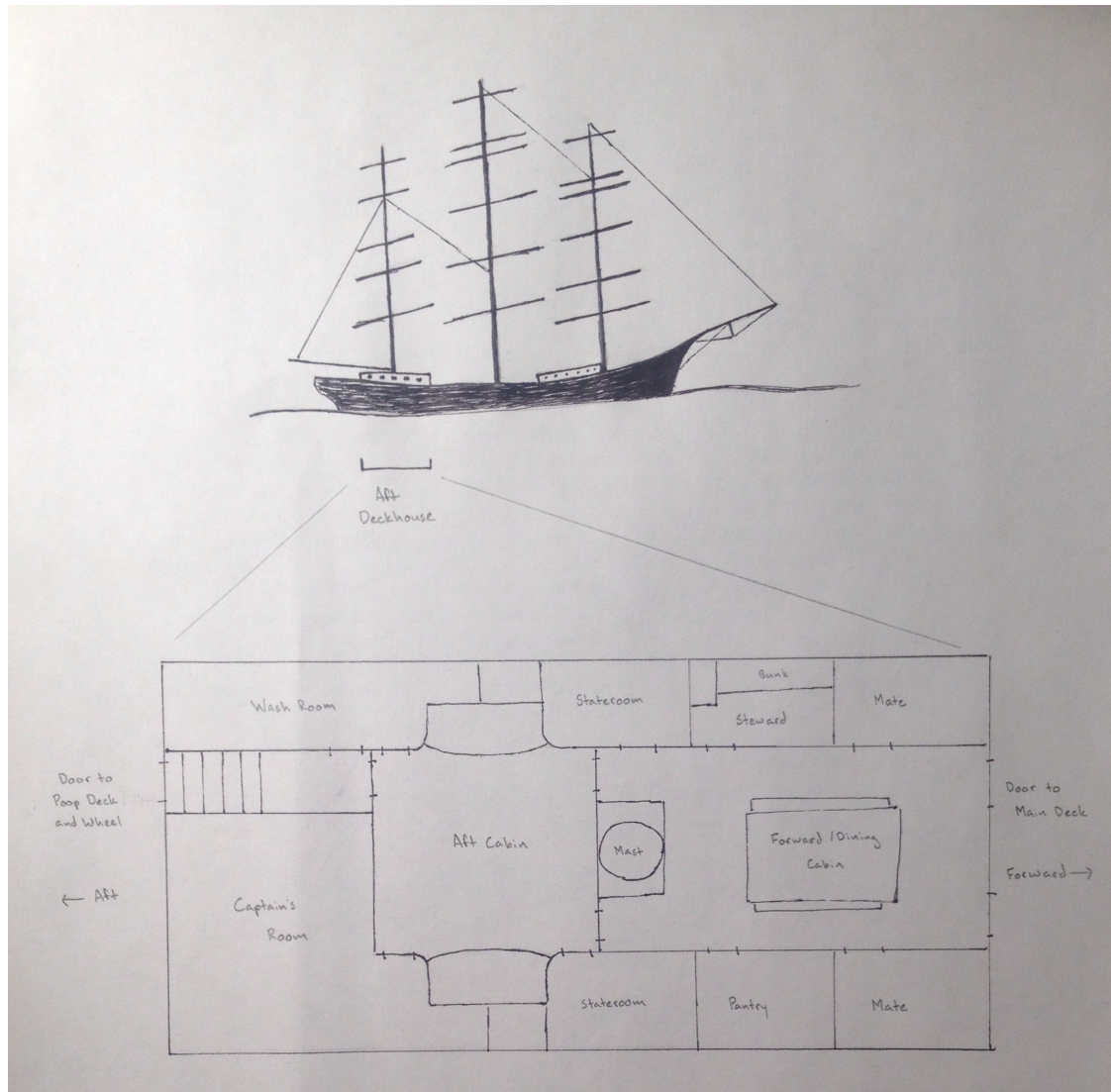


Figure 9: Placement and Plan of an Aft Cabin.
Based on the *Benjamin F. Packard*.
Drawing by author.



Figure 10: Day Cabin, *Charles W. Morgan*

Built in New Bedford, MA, by Jethro and Zachariah Hillman, 1841.

The *Charles W. Morgan* was built for whaling. About one third of the size of Maine's grain ships, her captain's cabin is considerably smaller; it is also built beneath the main deck of the ship at the very back of the vessel. The heavy structural beams and slanting transom are an inescapable part of the cabin, making a distinctively maritime space despite the elegant sofa.

Courtesy Mystic Seaport.

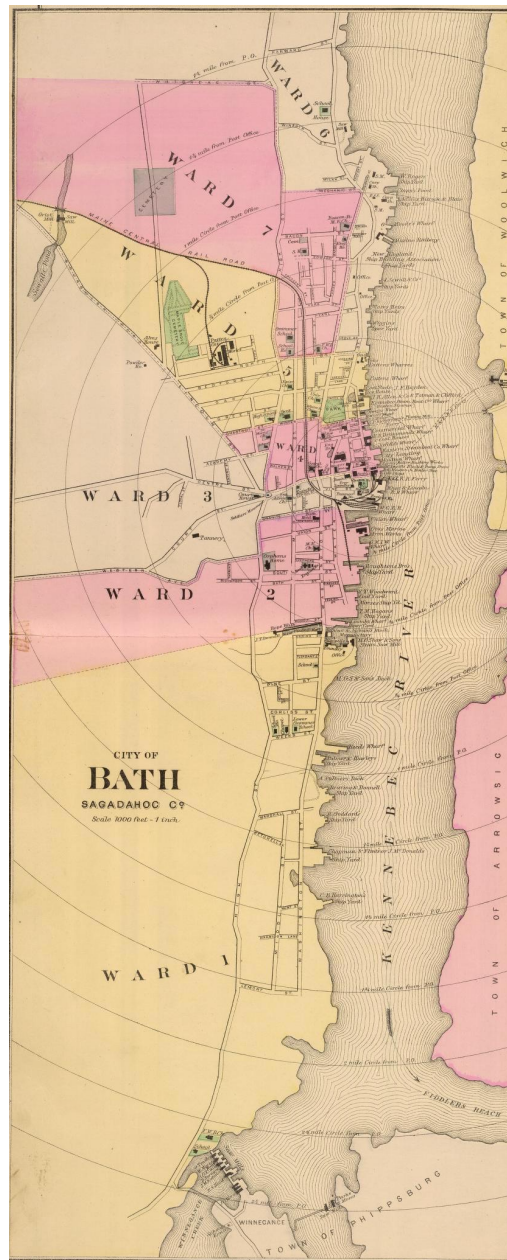


Figure 11: *Bath, Sagadahoc Co., Maine, 1885.*
 Detail image from George N. Colby, *Atlas of the State of Maine*, (Houlton Maine:
 George N. Colby, 1885).
 Image from the David Rumsey Map Collection,
www.davidrumsey.com.



Figure 12: Parlor of the Houghton-Meeker house, 590 Washington St., Bath, Maine.
The Houghton family owned a shipyard in Bath's south end, which also produced
ships for the grain trade.
Courtesy of the Maine Maritime Museum.



Figure 13: Interior of James Murphy's home, 1023 High St., Bath, c. 1900.
Courtesy Maine Maritime Museum.



Figure 14: Figure: Arthur Sewall at his home, 1116 Washington St., Bath. The marble mantelpiece is likely the one that Sewall purchased from Bowker, Torrey & Co. of Boston in 1870. Like the lounge behind Sewall, it is of higher quality but similar materials and function to furnishings on Bath ships.

Courtesy Maine Maritime Museum.



Figure 15: Wylie Dickinson and family at home in Phippsburg, ME, 1916.
Courtesy Maine Maritime Museum.

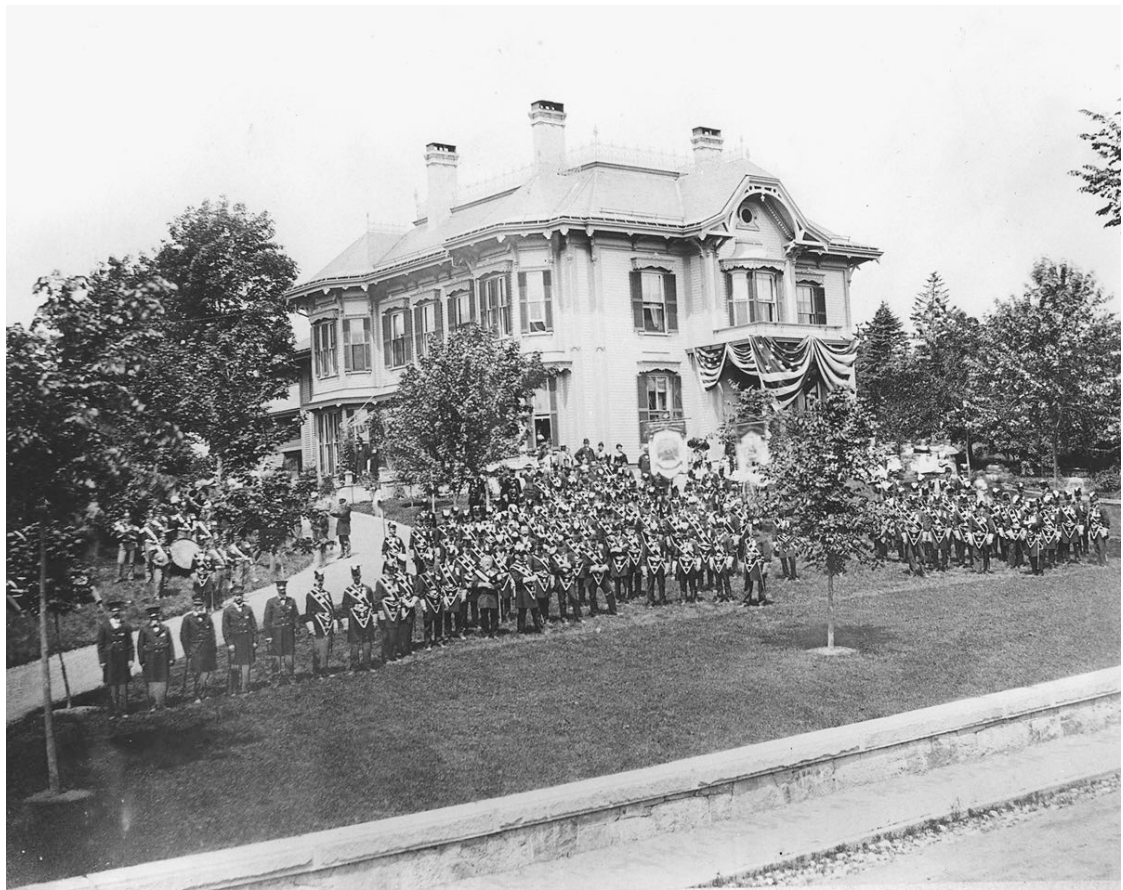


Figure 16: 1116 Washington St., Bath, home of Arthur Sewall.
Courtesy Maine Maritime Museum.



Figure 17: 1054 Washington St., Bath, home of Guy C. Goss.



Figure 18: 1111 Washington St., Bath, home of Samuel Sewall.
Designed in 1883 by Rand & Taylor of Boston.



Figure 19: 18 Dummer St., Bath, home of Elijah Sawyer.
Photo by author.



Figure 20: 44 Pearl St., Bath, home of Frederick D. Sewall.
Captain Joseph Sewall, Frederick's son, continued to board here for several years after
his marriage.
Photo by author.



Figure 21: 37 Oak St., Bath, home of Captain Abel Work.
Photo by author.



Figure 22: 1071 Washington St., home of Captain Joseph Sewall.
Photo by author.



Figure 23: 1076 High St., Bath, home of Cleaveland Preble.
Preble was the chief joiner at the Sewall shipyard for forty years.
Photo by author.



Figure 24: 18 Circle St., Bath, typical of Bath's small houses.
Photo by author.

REFERENCES

Manuscripts

Benjamin F. Packard File, Mystic Seaport Archives.

Calista M. Stover Papers, Mystic Seaport Museum Collection 105.

Charles Minott Shipyard Records, Maine Maritime Museum MS 90.

Dickinson Family Papers, Maine Maritime Museum MS 423.

Joanna Colcord Collection, Penobscot Marine Museum.

John G. Tolford Personal Expense Book, Joseph Downs Collection, Winterthur Library, Doc. 1626.

Mark W. Hennessey Collection, Maine Maritime Museum MS 53.

Rufus Soule Randall Papers, Maine Maritime Museum MS 38.

Sewall Family Papers, Maine Maritime Museum MS 22.

Town of Bath, Maine. Property Tax Assessments, 1879-1888. Microfilm, Bath Historical Society at the Patten Free Library.

United States Census. Maine, Sagadahoc County, Bath, 1880. Population Schedule, Enumeration District 145. Digital Images provided by FamilySearch and Ancestry.com in conjunction with the National Archives and Records Administration.

United States Census. 1850 – 1910. Digital images provided by FamilySearch.com and Ancestry.com.

Published Primary Sources

Balano, James W. *The Log of the Skipper's Wife*. Camden, ME: Downeast Books, 1979.

Barker, James. *Log of a Limejuicer*. New York: The Macmilian Company, 1936.

Bath Daily Times, 12 November 1892.

Bath Independent, 6 January 1899.

Briggs, L. Vernon. *Around Cape Horn to Honolulu on the Bark "Amy Turner," 1880*. Boston: Charles E. Lauriat Co., 1926.

Cogill, Burgess. *When God was an Atheist Sailor: Memories of a Childhood at Sea, 1902-1910*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1990.

Cook, Clarence. *The House Beautiful*. 1881. Reprint New York: Dover, 1995.

Corson, Juliet. *Miss Corson's Practical American Cookery*. New York: Dodd-Mead & Co., 1885.

Daily Evening Bulletin (San Francisco), 20 December 1880 to 20 November 1883.

Gee, Marjorie, ed. *Captain Fraser's Voyages*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1979.

Goddard, F.B. *Furniture and Furnishing*. New York: Tradesman's Publishing Co., 1887.

Hearings of the American Merchant Marine Commission. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904.

Hichborn, Philip. *Cruise of the Dashing Wave: Rounding Cape Horn in 1860*. Edited by William H. Thiesen. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010.

New York Herald, 20 January 1877 to 3 August 1880.

"Our Merchant Marine." *The Illustrated American* 9 (9 January 1892): 353-355.

Pacific Commercial Advertiser (Honolulu), 1 June 1894 to 24 March 1902.

Philadelphia Inquirer, 22 September 1855.

Report of the Industrial Commission on Transportation. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900.

Samuels, Samuel. *From Forecastle to Cabin.* New York: Harper, 1887.

San Francisco Call, 20 August 1898.

Sangster, Margaret E. *The Art of Home Making.* New York: Christian Herald Bible House, 1898.

Seattle Post-Intelligencer, 20 May 1892.

“Ship *Benjamin F. Packard.*” *Marine Exchange Bulletin* 31 no. 5 (September 1925): 39.

Sievertz, Bent Gestur and Tracy O’Hara. *The Life of Bent Gestur Sivertz.* Victoria, BC: Trafford Publishing, 2000.

“Story of the *Shenandoah* Now a Coal Barge.” *Fuel* 15 (1910): 1010.

Upton, E. & Son. *Bath Directory for 1888.* Bath, ME: Times Print, 1888.

Varney, Almon C. *Our Homes and Their Adornments.* Detroit: J.C. Chillon, 1882.

W.A. Greenough & Co., comp. *Bath, Brunswick & Richmond Directory.* Boston, W.A. Greenough & Co., 1883.

Whitman, William E.S. *The Wealth and Industry of Maine for the Year 1873.* Augusta: Sprague, Owen & Nash, 1873.

Williams, Henry T. and Mrs. C. Jones. *Beautiful Homes.* New York: Henry T. Williams, 1878.

Secondary Sources

Ames, Kenneth. *Death in the Dining Room & Other Tales of Victorian Culture.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992.

Baker, William. *A Maritime History of Bath and the Kennebec River Region.* Portland, ME: Anthoensen Press, 1973.

- Bolster, W. Jeffrey. "Every Inch a Man." In *Iron Men and Wooden Women*, edited by Margaret Creighton and Lisa Norling. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1996.
- . *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Bunting, William H. *Live Yankees: The Sewalls and their Ships*. Gardiner, ME: Tilbury House, 2009.
- Burton, Valerie. "The Making of a Nineteenth-Century Profession: Shipmasters and the British Shipping Industry." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 1 no. 1 (1990): 97-118.
- Creighton, Margaret. "Davy Jones's Locker Room." In *Iron Men and Wooden Women*, edited by Margaret Creighton and Lisa Norling. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1996.
- Doe, Helen. "Waiting for Her Ship to Come In? The Female Investor in Nineteenth-Century Sailing Vessels." *The Economic History Review* 63 no. 5 (February 2010): 85-106.
- Donham, Albert, comp. *Maine Register, State Year Book and Legislative Manual* no. 49. Portland, ME: Albert G. Donham, 1918.
- Duncan, Roger F. *Coastal Maine: A Maritime History*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1992.
- Foulke, Robert D. "Life in the Dying World of Sail, 1870-1900." *Journal of British Studies* 3 no. 1 (November 1963): 105-136.
- Foy, Jessica and Thomas J. Schlereth, eds. *American Home Life, 1880-1930*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992.
- Gamber, Wendy. *The Boardinghouse in Nineteenth-Century America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2007.
- Gordon, Beverly. "Women's Domestic Body." *Winterthur Portfolio* 31 no. 4 (Winter, 1996): 281-301.
- Grassby, Richard. *Kinship and Capitalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Grier, Katherine. *Culture and Comfort*. Washington DC: Smithsonian, 1996.

- Groth, Paul. *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United States*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Hancock, David. *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Helfgoff, Leonard M. *Ties that Bind: A Social History of the Iranian Carpet*. Washington: Smithsonian, 1994.
- Hilkey, Judy. *Character is Capital: Success Manuals and Manhood in Gilded Age America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.
- Kwolek-Folland, Angel. "The Elegant Dugout: Domesticity and Moveable Culture in the United States, 1870-1900." *American Studies* 25 no. 2 (Fall 1984): 21-37.
- . "Gender as a Category of Analysis in Vernacular Architecture Studies." *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 5 (1995): 3-10.
- Lamoreaux, Naomi R. "The Partnership Form of Organization: Its Popularity in Early-Nineteenth-Century Boston." In *Entrepreneurs: The Boston Business Community 1700-1850*, edited by Conrad Edick Wright and Kathryn P. Viens. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1997.
- Lawrence, Diane. *Genteel Women*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012.
- Matthews, Frederick C.. *American Merchant Ships 1850-1900*. New York: Dover, 1988.
- Mayhew, Edgar and Minor Myers. *A Documentary History of American Interiors*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980.
- Meister, Maureen. "Rand & Taylor." In *A Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Maine*, edited by Earle Shettleworth. Vol. 7. Maine Citizens for Historic Preservation: 1995.
- Morris, Paul C. *A Portrait of a Ship, the Benjamin F. Packard*. Orleans, MA: Lower Cape Publishing, 1987.
- Norling, Lisa. *Captain Ahab had a Wife*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.
- "The Benjamin F. Packard." *Log of Mystic Seaport* 35 no. 3 (Fall 1983).

- The French Polisher's Manual*. 1946. Reprint, Woburn, MA: Woodcraft Supply Corp., 1978.
- Thornton, Tamara Plakins. "The 'Intelligent Mariner': Nathaniel Bowditch, the Science of Navigation, and the Art of Upward Mobility in the Maritime World." *The New England Quarterly* 79 no. 4 (December 2006): 609-635.
- Paul, Rodman W. "The Wheat Trade between California and the United Kingdom." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 45 no. 3 (December 1958): 391-412.
- Radke, Andrea. "Refining Rural Spaces: Women and Vernacular Gentility in the Great Plains, 1880-1920." *Great Plains Quarterly* 24 no. 4 (Fall 2004): 227-248.
- Rediker, Marcus. *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Roleau, Brian. *With Sails Whitening Every Sea*. Ithaca: Cornell, 2014.
- Rotundo, E. Anthony. *American Manhood*. New York: Basic Books, 1993.
- , "Learning About Manhood." In J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds., *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.
- Schwartz, Stephen. *Brotherhood of the Sea*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1986.
- Shockley, Megan. *The Captain's Widow of Sandwich*. New York: New York University Press, 2010.
- Springer, Haskell. "The Captain's Wife at Sea." In *Iron Men and Wooden Women*, edited by Margaret Creighton and Lisa Norling. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1996.
- Thiesen, William. *Industrializing American Shipbuilding*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006.
- Vickers, Daniel. *Young Men and the Sea*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- , "Making Sense of Sailors." *Massachusetts Historical Review* 17 (2015): 157-160.

Appendix A

CABIN FURNISHINGS PROVIDED BY SHIPYARDS

Notes on the following data:

These are compiled from the construction accounts of new ships built by A. Sewall & Co. and Charles V. Minott between 1876 and 1895. They show furnishings that were purchased or commissioned from third-party merchants and craftsman, but not for joinery work that was undertaken by shipyard employees. Paneling, ornament, and built-in pieces like sideboards, desks, and beds are therefore not represented. Sofas are indicated where upholsterers were employed to finish them. For entries where the number of items cannot be easily quantified, the object is indicated with an 'x.'

The Sewall yard was extremely consistent with their purchases, particularly during the busy years in the early 1880s. Ships that were built for well-established captains, like James Baker's *Henry Villard* or Abel Work's *Thomas M. Reed*, boasted substantially similar furnishings to ships without a shareholding master, like the *Solitaire*. It seems that the Sewall yard did not usually alter their furnishing plan for a captain's wishes.

The exception to this rule is James Murphy's *W.F. Babcock*. The *Babcock* seems to have been a rare case where the captain did decide to furnish the cabin himself. The Sewall Papers include a complete record for outfitting the cabin with fancy veneered paneling, a marble-topped sideboard, and hardware to match, but have few receipts for moveable furnishings. Murphy arrived in Bath four months before his ship was finished, too late to direct the cabin woodwork, but in time to purchase furniture. One of the surviving receipts, from George H. Nichols, bears Murphy's name, an unusual sign of his direct involvement. Since Murphy's wife, Maria, was unusually committed to accompanying her husband to sea, the couple may have opted to furnish the cabin themselves as one of the first private spaces they had been able to share.

	Cabin Stove	Ship's table and seats	Desk	Marble Slab	Sofa	Lounge	Easy Chair	Dog's Head Chair	Armchair	Folding Chair	Camp Chair	Chair	Rotary Chair	Lamp Chair	Rocker	Morris Chair	Stool	Parlor/Library Table	Table Cover	Looking Glass	Lamps	Clock	Bible	Carpeting	Mats (Brussels, Velvet, etc.)	Rugs (Smyrna, Oriental, Etc.)	Mats (Coir, Corn, Manila, etc.)	Oil Cloth	Linoeum	Chamber Set	Chiffonier	
Sewall Ships:																																
Chesebrough (1878)	1	1	1	x	x	1	1		2	1	2						4			3	4		1	x	4		x					
Solitaire (1879)		1	1	x	x	1		1	2	2	2						4			3	6	1		x		3	x					
Thomas M. Reed (1879)	1	1	x	x	x	1		1	2	1	2						4			3	5			x								
Iroquois (1881)	1	1	x	x	x	1		1	2	2	2						4			3	5		1	x	2		2	x				
Henry Villard (1882)		1	1		x	1		1	2		2						4			3	5	1		x	3			x				
W.F. Babcock (1882)	1			x	x															2												
Rainier (1883)	1	1	1	x	x	1		1	2	2	2						4			3	5		1	x	3		3					
John Rosenfeld (1884)	1	1	1	x	x	1		1	2		2						4			4	5		1	x				x				
Willie Rosenfeld (1885)		1	1	x	x	1	1		2				6	2			4	1		3	5			x		4	2	x				
Kenilworth (1890)	1				x				2								4	1		1	5			x		2	1			1		
Rappahannock (1890)		1	x	2	1	2			2			11			1			1	3	2	2			x	x	x	3	x				
Sherandoah (1890)	1	1	x		1	2			2	2	2	4			1			1	2	3	x	1		x	x	5		x				
Susquehanna (1891)	1	1			1	1		1	1	5	7	5	7	1	1		1	1	1	5	3	x	1	x	x	6	x	x		1		
Roanoke (1892)	1	1	x	2	1	6			6											2			1	x		7	5	x				
Minott Ships:																																
Ivy (1876)		1		x	1	1					1						4	1		2	3			x	5		2	x				
Standard (1878)	1	1		x	1	1			2				1				4	1		4	3			x	2		2	x				
Berlin (1882)	1	1		x	1	1				2		2	1				4	1		1	3			x	2		2	x				
St. Mary (1890)	1		x		x					4	3						6	1		3	6			x		2	3	x				
Aryan (1893)					x				1						1		6			2	6			x		4	3	x				

Furniture and Carpets for Captains' Cabins
Purchased for new grain ships by A. Sewall & Co of Bath and Charles V. Minott of
Phippsburg, 1876-1895.

	Bowls	Platters	Dish	Boat	Sauce Tureen	Vegetable Dish	Covered Dish	Glass Dish	Salad Dish	Fruit Dish	Pickle Dish	Scallops	Bean Pot	Baker	Soup Tureen	Ladle	Castor	Sugar Bowl	Butter Dish	Salt/Salter	Butter Knife	Mustard Spoon	Sugar Spoon	Meat Knife	Carving Set	Bread Knife	Tea Tray	Cabin Coffe & Tea Pot	Pitcher	Ewer/Serving Pitcher	Cream Pitcher	Molasses/Syrup Pitcher	Rockingham Pitcher	Water Pitcher	Beakers	Jug/Jar	Bell	
Sewall Ships:																																						
Chesebrough (1878)	4	4			1		4						2		1		1	1	1		1	1					1	1	4	1			1					
Solitaire (1879)	4	4			1		3				1		2	4			1	1	2	1	1	1					1	1	4	1			1	1			1	
Thomas M. Reed (1879)	4	3		1								1	2	3	1	2	1		1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1			1	2		2			
Iroquois (1881)	4	3		1		2					1	2	1		2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	2	3		1
Henry Villard (1882)	4	3		1	1	2					1	3	1		x	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	2	3		1
W.F. Babcock (1882)						3							1															1					1					
Rainier (1883)	4	3		1	1	2					1	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	2		1	
John Rosenfeld (1884)	4	3		1	1	2					1	2	2	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1				1	1	1	1			1	1	1	2		1	
Willie Rosenfeld (1885)	2	3		1	1	2					1	2	2	3	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	2		1	
Kenilworth (1890)	6	2	3			15						2			2	2	1	2				1	1		2	1	1	1	1	3			2					
Rappahannock (1890)	10											3	5			1					2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1					1	1	2		5	
Shenandoah (1890)	10	2	3					1				6	3	5	1	2	1				2	1		1	2	1	1	1					2	1	2		7	
Susquehanna (1891)	10	2						1	1	1		6	3	5			1				12	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1				2	1	2		10	
Roanoke (1892)	10	2						1	1	1		6	3	5			1				12	2	1	1	2	2	1	1					2	1	2		10	
Minott Ships:																																						
Ivy (1876)	8	4	4	1			3					4						1	1	2													1					
Standard (1878)																									1													
Berlin (1882)	6	4	22	1			2					3					1	1	12		1	1		1	1	2		1	3			1	1					
St. Mary (1890)															1	1					1																	
Aryan (1893)	7	2	2									2	3		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3		1	7				1	2			1	

Serving Dishes and Tablewares
Purchased for new grain ships by A. Sewall & Co of Bath and Charles V. Minott of
Phippsburg, 1876-1895.
Note: Receipts may be missing for the *Standard* and *St. Mary*

	Plates	Plates--Soup	Plates--Dinner	Plates--Breakfast	Plates--Tea	Plates--Dessert	Plates--Sauce	Plates--Scrap	Dinner Set	Egg Cups	Cups--Mugs	Cups--Tea	Cups--Coffee	Tumblers	Wine Glasses	Champagnes	Forks	Knives	Rubber Handled Knives	Spoons	Table Spoons	Tea Spoons	Dessert Spoons	Dessert Knife	Tea Knife	Ice Cream Knife	Set of Knives and Forks
Sewall Ships:																											
Chesebrough (1878)	12	12												12	12		12	12	12	12	12		12			x	
Solitaire (1879)			12	12	12	12	12	12			12	12		12	12		12	12	12	12	12	12		6			
Thomas M. Reed (1879)		12	12	12	12						12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12				1	
Iroquois (1881)			12	12	12			12			12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12				1	
Henry Villard (1882)		12	12	12	12			3			12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12				1	
W.F. Babcock (1882)	18					24	12																				
Rainier (1883)		12	12	12	12						12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12				1	
John Rosenfeld (1884)		12	12	12	12			3			12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12				1	
Willie Rosenfeld (1885)		12	12	12	12						12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12				1	
Kenilworth (1890)	6	6			6				1								18	6				18	18				
Rappahannock (1890)							12		1		12			12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12				1	
Shenandoah (1890)		12	12	12	12		12		1		12			12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12		12	12	1	
Susquehanna (1891)	12	12	12	12	12		12		1			12		12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12		12	12	1	
Roanoke (1892)		12	12	12	12		12		1		12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	24	12	12	12	12	1	
Minott Ships:																											
Ivy (1876)	42	6									4	12	12					12	12		12	24				6	
Standard (1878)																											
Berlin (1882)	24		12	12						6	8	12						12	12		6	12				1	
St. Mary (1890)																	12	12	12		24	12					
Arvan (1893)	6	12	9		6				1		4			24	3		12	12	12		12	12					

Dishes and Flatware

Purchased for new grain ships by A. Sewall & Co of Bath and Charles V. Minott of
Phippsburg, 1876-1895.

Note: Receipts may be missing for the *Standard* and *St. Mary*

	Damask (in yards)	Colored Damask (Yards)	Crash Fabric (in yards)	Velveteen (yards)	Curtains (pair)	Table Cloth	Table Cover	Spread	Napkins	Towels	Sheets	Pillow Cases	Blankets	Quilts/Comforters	Mattress--Wool Top	Mattress--Patent or Spring	Mattress--Hair	Mattress--Soft Top	Mattress--Husk	Beds	Pillow	Pillow--Hair
Sewall Ships:																						
Chesebrough (1878)	12	3							12	24	6	3	3	3					3			3
Solitaire (1879)	12	3							12	24	2	1	1	1					1			1
Thomas M. Reed (1879)	12	3							12	24	4	2	2	2					2			2
Iroquois (1881)	12	3							12	24	4	2	2	2					2			2
Henry Villard (1882)	12	3							12	24	4	2	2	2					x			2
W.F. Babcock (1882)	21	3	25						12	24	8	4	4	2					x			2
Rainier (1883)	12	3							12	24	8	4	2	2					x			2
John Rosenfeld (1884)	12	3							12	24	8	4	2	2					x			2
Willie Rosenfeld (1885)	12	3							12	24	8	4	2	2					x			2
Kemilworth (1890)		x	19			x	x		24	33		4	x			1	1		x			2
Rappahannock (1890)			12				3		12	30	2	2	2	2				2			2	2
Shenandoah (1890)					1	x	6	5	24	24	6	14	6		1		1	3	2	1	3	
Susquehanna (1891)	x	x						2	36	24	8		4		1		1				1	4
Roanoke (1892)	x	x						2	36	24	x	4	4					2				4
Minott Ships:																						
Ivy (1876)											2	1	2		1				1	1	1	1
Standard (1878)											2	2	2		3						2	
Berlin (1882)	6	3	1						24					1	2							1
St. Mary (1890)								1			3	3	2	1	1	3					1	2
Aryan (1893)							1											3				1

Linens and Small Textiles
Purchased for new grain ships by A. Sewall & Co of Bath and Charles V. Minott of
Phippsburg, 1876-1895.

Appendix B

MERCHANTS AND INDEPENDENT CRAFTSMEN EMPLOYED TO FURNISH CAPTAINS' CABINS

Based on representation in the Sewall and Minott Shipyard records, Maine Maritime Museum MS 22 and MS 90. Quoted descriptions are taken from the merchants' billheads.

Retail Businesses

Fancy Wood:

A.K.P. Buffum & Co.

Summer St., Gardiner, ME

“Manufacturers and Dealers in Doors, Sash, Blinds, Door & Window Frames, Mouldings and Gutters/Planing and Sawing of all kinds done promptly.”

Cummings, Leavitt & Widber

220 Commercial St., Portland, ME

“Dealers in All kinds of Building Lumber/ Doors Sashes and Blinds, Black Walnut, Cherry, White Wood, Mahogany, Ash, Roofing Slate, Hard Wood, Ship Plank, &c.”

Palmer, Parker & Co.

Veneer Mill and Warehouse, 133 & 137 Portland St. and 10-14 Travers St., Boston

“Importers, Manufacturers, and Dealers in Rosewood, Mahogany, Cedar and Fancy Woods...French walnut and Cigar Box Lumber a Specialty”

Rufus Deering & Co.

Hobson's Wharf, Foot of High St., Bath

“Lumber Dealers, Spruce dimension, Eastern, Canada and Michigan Pine, Black Walnut, Cherry, Chestnut, Ash, Whitewood, Doors, Sashes, Blinds, Clapboards, Shingles, Laths, &c”

Paneling and Pre-Fabricated Ornament:

Haley & Richardson

25 Commercial St., Bath, ME

“Machine Planing done to order/All kinds of straight Mouldings made, and a great variety constantly kept on hand/Ship plugs and wedges of best quality on hand and to order/Also, door and window frames of all sizes and dimensions, at prices to suit customers”

John F. Geldowsky

Corner Second and Otis Streets, East Cambridge, MA

“Architectural and Ornamental Wood Carving and Papier-Mache”

John W. Campbell & Co

Mill and Wharf 101 and 103 Commercial St., Bath

“All kinds of Long and Short Lumber/Doors, Windows, Blinds, Mouldings and Gutters”

Sawed ventilators for cabins

McCorrison & Thompson (after 1878, James F. McCorrison)

Broad St., Bath

“Cabinet makers and Veneerers of Ship’s Cabins/Ship & Office Furniture Made to Order”

Page & Littlefield

Box No. 166 Merchant’s Exchange, No. 35 Hawley St., Charlestown, Boston

“Interior Finish Stairs, Mantels, Bank and Office Furniture a specialty. Planing, Circular and Jig Sawing, Turning, &c.”

Rand & Taylor

25 School St., Boston

Architects

W.W. Webster

51 Commercial Street, Boston

“Manufacturer of Papier Mache and Composition Carved Ornaments, for the embellishment of buildings outside and inside, ship cabins, &c., Also forms, for the display of clothing of boys, youths, gents and ladies, with and without heads, made lights, strong and cheap. Ventilating centre pieces and Webster’s Patent Paper cornices for ceilings, of great variety of patterns.”

Furniture and Textiles:

A.D. Stetson & Son

38 & 40 Center Street and 189, 191, 193, 195 Water St, Bath

“Manufacturers of and Dealers in Furniture, Carpets, Window Shades and Bedding/ Upholstering a Specialty”

Atkinson House Furnishing Co

Middle, Pearl & Vine Sts., Portland, ME

“Outfitters and Furnishers for all Mankind,” wholesale and retail.

Benjamin F. Butler

152 Commercial St., Boston

Flatware, serving wares, and cabin stove

D.T. Percy (earlier, Percy & Bancroft)

Front St., Bath, ME

“Dry Goods, Carpets, Crockery, Paper Hangings, &c.” “and silver plated ware”

George H. Nichols

Granite Block, Front St., Bath, ME

“Wholesale and retail Dealer in Woolens, Dry and Fancy Goods”

George Snell

Front St., Bath, ME

“Manufacturer and Dealer in House and Ship Furniture, Feathers, Mattresses, Looking Glasses, &c”

Henry E. Palmer & Co.

Center St., Bath, ME

“Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Dry and Fancy Goods”

Hiram A. Turner

Under Columbian House, Bath, ME

Furniture dealer and upholsterer; also capable of fitting carpets

Paine’s Furniture Company

48 Canal and 141 Friend St., Boston

Percy & Mitchell

110 Front St, Bath, at the “Old Stand of D.T. Percy” (1892)

“Dealers in low price, medium, and fine grades of Furniture and Bedding/Vessel Outfits a Specialty”

Swett Brothers

Front St., Bath, ME

“Dealers in Groceries & Provisions, Crockery and Glass Ware, Table Cutlery, Plated Ware, &c.

W & J Sloane

Broadway, Eighteenth & Nineteenth Sts, New York

Carpets & Upholstery

Williams, Page & Co. (Page Bros. & C.)

24 and 26 Beach St, Boston

“Railroad Supply Dealers/Manufacturers of Railway and Steamship lamps/Burners, Car Trimmings, and Fine Brass Goods”

Crockery and Dining Wares:

David T. Percy

Union Block, Front St., Bath, ME

“Wholesale and Retail Dealer in Crockery, China and Glass Ware, Chandeliers, Table Cutlery, and Silver Plated Ware”

S. Strout & Co

Corner Oak and Front Sts., Bath, ME

“Dealers in Provisions & Groceries, Crockery, Glass Ware, Ship Lamps, Cutlery and Plated Ware”

Marble and Mirrors:

A. Wentworth, Roberts & Co.

15,17,19 & 60 Haverhill St., 4, 6, 8, 10 & 12 Beverly St., Boston

“Manufacturers and Dealers in Foreign and American Marble, and Scotch Granite Monuments”

Bowker, Torrey & Co.

Cor. Portland and Chardon Sts., Boston, MA

“Marble Workers/Importers & Dealers in Foreign & American Marble”

R. Sherburne

20 & 22 Canal St., 19 & 21 Merrimac St, Boston

“Importer of Polished Plate, French Window and Picture Glass, Silvered Plates, American Window Glass” “Sole agent for IC Chance’s Crystal Sheet”

Hardware, Plumbing, and Glass:

A.L. Cutler & Co.

147 Milk St., Boston

“Wholesale Dealers in Paints, Oils and Varnishes, Drugs, Medicines and Dye
Stuffs, Importers of Genuine English White Lead and Fine Colors”

Also sold glass for windows and skylights of Bath ships

G.H.W. Barton

Front St., opposite the park, Bath ME

“Ship Plumber, Tin, Sheet Iron and Copper Worker”

J.A. Winslow & Son

Broad St., Bath, ME

“Ship Plumbers, Manufacturers and Dealers in parlor, office, cabin and cooking
stoves. Tin, Copper, Iron ware, lead and iron pipe. Sole agents for Magee
Furnace Co.’s goods.”

S.J. Watson

Front, Head of Broad Street, Bath

“Brass Founder, ship plumber, manufacturer and dealer in Cooking, parlor, and
cabin stoves, and cambooses. Also, a general assortment of ship and kitchen
furnishing goods” “House and ship pumps, copper, britannia, japanned, enameled,
tinned and plain tin ware, bath tubs, bath pans, water closets, wash basins, vessel
lamps, sauce pans, brick and portable furnaces of the most approved patterns, sheet
lead and lead pipe, tin, sheet iron, lead and copper work done at short notice”

Swanton, Jameson & Co.

Corner of Front and Broad Streets, Bath, ME

“Ship Chandlers and Hardware Dealers, Agents for Revere Copper Company, and
Plymouth Cordage Company/Dealers in Chains and Anchors, Duck, Cordage,
Oakum, Paints, Oils, and Naval Stores”

Thomas F. McGann

104 & 106 Portland St., Boston

“Brass Founder and Finisher, Household Art Goods, Gas Fixtures, and Railings of
all kinds to order” “Will furnish designs, or make from designs furnished”

Torrey Roller Bushing Works

Commercial St., Bath, ME

“Brass and Iron Founders/Manufacturers of Torrey’s Patent Compressed Roller
Brushings, Torrey’s Patent Compressed Butt and Bilge Bolt, Torrey’s Patent Cold
Hammered Block Pin, and all kinds of Brass and Iron Castings”

Watson & Mars

Made silver rails for the edges of marble sideboards

Winslow & Gerry

Broad St., Bath, ME

“Ship Plumbers/Manufacturers and Dealers in Parlor, Office, Cabin and Cooking Stoves, Tin, Copper and Iron Ware”

Bibles and Chronometers:

Albert G. Page, Jr.

Sagadahock Bank Block, Bath

“Diamonds, Watches and Chains/Sterling Silver, French Clocks, Etc./Spectacles and Silver Plated Ware/Fine Engraving and Repairing”

Charles A. Harriman

106 Front St., Bath

“Dealer in Watches, diamond, jewelry, clock, silver & Plated ware, chronometers and nautical goods, spectacles and eye glasses”

Charles W. Clifford

Front Street, Bath

“Dealer in American Watches, Gold and Plated Jewelry, Silver and plated ware, clocks, spectacles and eye glasses”

John O. Shaw

Under Sagadahock House, Bath, ME

“Bookseller, Stationer, and Dealer in Fancy Goods, Toys, Cutlery, materials for wax flowers, newspapers, and periodicals”

Howland & Hayden

Front St, opp. Broad, Bath, ME

“Dealers in Watches, Clocks, Jewelry, Solid Silver and Plated Ware, Spectacles & Eye-Glasses, Telescopes, Marine & Opera Glasses”

Craftsmen

Dunning, R.A.

Corner Washington and Centre Streets, Bath

“Upholstery and Cabinet Work,” done “well enough to suit such firms as Arthur Sewall & Co., the New England Co., and I think every ship building concern in Bath.”¹⁶¹

Eibell, Joseph

Painter; painted and finished captains’ cabins

Fisher, Charles A.

Carpenter and furniture maker, produced ship’s tables and seats

Partnered with Joseph Wyman, a ship-joiner, in the firm Fisher & Wyman

Gielstrup, Niel C.

Bath’s leading fresco and fancy painter; painted and finished woodwork in captains’ cabins

Hyde, Thomas W.

Sawed ventilators and sofa arms, in addition to turnings and mouldings for cabin exteriors

Piper, John C.

Bragg’s Block, Centre St., Bath, ME

“Dealer in Works of Art/Paintings, Chromos, Engravings, &tc., constantly on Hand/Picture Frames, Ship Caps, &tc, Made to order/All kinds of gilding done in the best manner”

Made column capitals and other fancy moldings for cabin interior

Potter, Woodbury A.

361 Front St., Bath, ME

“W.A. Potter, Dr. Ship and Ornamental Carver”

Carved sofa arms and other ornament for cabin interiors

Sampson, Charles A. L.

Ship carver, produced carved arms for cabins’ built-in sofas

¹⁶¹ R. A. Dunning to C.V. Minott, 14 January 1893. Minott Records 48.10.

Sawyer, Edward H.

Front St., Foot of Elm, Bath

“Sign and Decorative Painter, Cabin Polishing a Specialty”

Southworth, William

Front Street, Bath, ME

“Ship and Ornamental Carver and Gilder”; made sofa arms and other ornaments for cabins

Tallman, John C.

Painter, Bath, ME

Appendix C

IMAGE PERMISSIONS

Maine Maritime Museum:

Elisabeth Meier <emeier@udel.edu>
To: Nathan Lipfert <lipfert@maritimeme.org>

Mon, Oct 17, 2016 at 1:21 PM

Dear Mr. Lipfert,

I finally have an opportunity to return to Maine and continue some of the research I started this summer. I'd like to come next Tuesday and Thursday, October 25th and 27th if that works for you. If not, let me know and I'll try to find some other dates.

In addition to doing some more archival work, I'd like to begin the process of getting photo reproductions and permissions. I would need permission to use the images for research purposes, public presentations, publication online, and possibly publication in print as well.

At the moment, I only need two photographs. One is of the ship 'Standard' with Capt. Danforth Percy, a stevedore, Capt. Joseph Sewall, and Joe Jenks; #2006.687.03.1. The other is the photo of Captain Wiley Dickenson and two ladies in the cabin of the 'Aryan'; unfortunately, I did not record the accession number for this.

Thanks for your help,

Libby Meier

Nathan Lipfert <lipfert@maritimeme.org>
To: Elisabeth Meier <emeier@udel.edu>

Mon, Oct 17, 2016 at 2:06 PM

Dear Elisabeth -

We will expect you on the 25th and 27th of October - no problem there.

We have no problem with you using the images for research and in public lectures, like PowerPoint presentations. For publication, either online or in print, we need to know more details - how would they be published, where, and how many copies (in print)?

Those two images are easily identified. What format do you want them in, and how are you going to use them? How high a resolution? Do you want to pay the publication fees at the same time as you pay for the images?

Elisabeth Meier <emeier@udel.edu>
To: Nathan Lipfert <lipfert@maritimeme.org>

Tue, Oct 18, 2016 at 2:28 PM

Dear Mr. Lipfert,

If it's possible, I would like digital copies of the images in TIF format at 300 dpi, or the highest resolution in an alternate format available. I don't need hard copies, and can bring my own CD or flash drive if that would help.

At this point, I know that these would be published with my paper online, as part of a PDF, in ProQuest's Dissertations and Theses database. This is available by subscription only and not generally searchable online. One hard copy would be printed for the library at Winterthur. I may submit my paper for wider publication later, but, if that is a separate fee, perhaps it would be best to address that when the time comes.

I can pay publication fees now or in the future, whichever is best for you. How much do you expect they will be?

Thanks,
Libby

[Quoted text hidden]

Nathan Lipfert <lipfert@maritimeme.org>
To: Elisabeth Meier <emeier@udel.edu>

Fri, Oct 21, 2016 at 2:54 PM

Libby -

For those purposes, we will not charge a publication fee. We will only charge a fee of \$20 per image. We can do the TIF scans next week when you are here, and if you can bring a flash drive to load them on, that would be very helpful. You can pay at the time we do the scans.

See you next week.

Best regards,

Nathan

Photo permissions--captains' cabins

7 messages

Elisabeth Meier <emeier@udel.edu>
To: Nathan Lipfert <lipfert@maritimeme.org>

Mon, Apr 3, 2017 at 12:37 PM

Dear Nathan,

As I'm wrapping up my project, there are several more photographs in your collection that I would like to include. If it is possible, I would need digital copies with a resolution of 300 dpi or better, and permission to publish them with the thesis. At the moment, they would have a minimal distribution: online in the subscription-only ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database, and in a single hard copy at the Winterthur Library.

Here is a list of the photos I am interested in, with the best identification I can find:

Photograph of Arthur Sewall's house, published in WH Bunting, *Live Yankees*, p. 220
Photograph of Arthur Sewall at home, published in WH Bunting, *Live Yankees*, p. 393
Photograph of the interior of James Murphy's house on High Street, published in WH Bunting, *Live Yankees*, p. 437 (the one at the bottom of the page)
Photograph of Wylie Dickinson and family at home, 1916--image attached for reference
Photograph of the interior of the Houghton-Meeker mansion, from scrapbook 98.121.5--image attached for reference

If the scrapbook is too delicate to make a reproduction, I can use the snapshot I took for research if that is all right with you.

I'm sorry I don't have better identifying information for you. Please let me know how I can pay the reproduction fees, etc.

Thank you for your help,

Libby

2 attachments

Nathan Lipfert <lipfert@maritimeme.org>
To: Elisabeth Meier <emeier@udel.edu>

Tue, Apr 4, 2017 at 10:09 AM

Dear Libby -

Attached is the picture of the Houghton house parlor at 590 Washington Street. This picture, and all the ones from Live Yankees we already have scanned, and so I will not charge you for this type of publication.

The photo of the Dickinson family I am not familiar with - do you know where it came from, what collection it came out of? I will have to charge you \$20 for scanning it.

Best regards,

Nathan

Captain's Cabins

5 messages

Nathan Lipfert <lipfert@maritimeme.org>
To: "Elisabeth Meier (emeier@udel.edu)" <emeier@udel.edu>

Fri, Apr 7, 2017 at 10:03 AM

Libby -

Here are the other photos, including the new scan of the Dickinson family at home. Interesting to see him in as modern and inexpensive a chair as an arts-and-crafts rocker. I don't suppose many people used rockers at sea. The painting on the wall I think must be the 1890 *Rappahannock* - his only vessel to carry double-topgallants as well as skysails, as far as I can tell. There is a confusion in the spelling of his name - Wylie or Wiley - and he always signed his letters W. R. Dickinson. But I think Wiley is right - have found it on some official documents.

Best of luck with the project.

Nathan

Nathan R. Lipfert, Senior Curator

Maine Maritime Museum

243 Washington Street

Bath, Maine 04530

Mystic Seaport:

Photo permissions

15 messages

Elisabeth Meier <emeier@udel.edu>

Mon, Apr 3, 2017 at 2:35 PM

To: dan.mcfadden@mysticseaport.org, permissions@mysticseaport.org

Hello,

I would like to use an image of the *Benjamin F. Packard* cabin, published on the Mystic Seaport website, to illustrate my master's thesis. In particular, I am interested in the photograph of the *Benjamin F. Packard's* dining cabin, at <https://www.mysticseaport.org/benjamin-f-packard-cabin/>.

I'm not sure who to contact for this, and my apologies if I've reached you incorrectly. Please let me know what other information you will need me to provide, as well as any fees involved. The photograph would not be distributed commercially.

Thank you,

Libby Meier

Lois F. McNeil Fellow
Winterthur Program in American Material Culture

Louisa Watrous <louisa.watrous@mysticseaport.org>

Mon, Apr 3, 2017 at 3:59 PM

To: Elisabeth Meier <emeier@udel.edu>

Cc: Mary Anne Stets <mary.anne.stets@mysticseaport.org>, Dan McFadden <dan.mcfadden@mysticseaport.org>

Hello,

I'll be glad to help with it. I'm out of the office today, however, I will be in touch with you asap to confirm the arrangement.

Do you need a higher res scan, or does the web copy work for your purpose?

Best regards,
Louisa Watrous
Intellectual Property Manager
MYSTIC SEAPORT
[860-572-5383](tel:860-572-5383), ext. 4703

Elisabeth Meier <emeier@udel.edu>
To: Louisa Watrous <louisa.watrous@mysticseaport.org>

Tue, Apr 4, 2017 at 9:38 AM

Hi Louisa,

I'll plan on using the web copy. That should be just fine.

Thanks so much,
Libby
[Quoted text hidden]

Elisabeth Meier <emeier@udel.edu>
To: Louisa Watrous <louisa.watrous@mysticseaport.org>

Thu, Apr 6, 2017 at 1:15 PM

Dear Louisa,

A second question regarding photo permissions for my master's thesis: may I use photographs that I've taken personally of the *Packard* cabin and other Seaport objects on public display?

Thanks,

Libby
[Quoted text hidden]

Louisa Watrous <louisa.watrous@mysticseaport.org>
To: Elisabeth Meier <emeier@udel.edu>

Thu, Apr 6, 2017 at 2:58 PM

Hi, I'm sure they're fine, but if you can send me copies to double-check, I'll confirm.
Louisa

Elisabeth Meier <emeier@udel.edu>
To: Louisa Watrous <louisa.watrous@mysticseaport.org>

Fri, Apr 7, 2017 at 4:01 PM

Dear Louisa,

These are the two images that I would like to use at this point. Will that be ok?

Thanks,
Libby

[Quoted text hidden]

2 attachments



Mystic Packard cabin copy.jpg
312K



Mystic Morgan cabin copy.jpg
297K

Louisa Watrous <louisa.watrous@mysticseaport.org>
To: Elisabeth Meier <emeier@udel.edu>

Fri, Apr 7, 2017 at 4:16 PM

Sure!

Elisabeth Meier <emeier@udel.edu>
To: Louisa Watrous <louisa.watrous@mysticseaport.org>

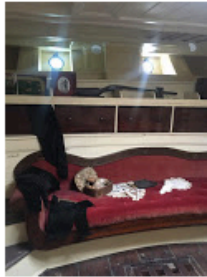
Tue, Apr 18, 2017 at 9:22 AM

Dear Louisa,

I have one more image of Mystic that I would like to include in my thesis (which I took myself). Is this one all right?

Thanks,
Libby

[Quoted text hidden]



Morgan cabin.jpg
1162K

Louisa Watrous <louisa.watrous@mysticseaport.org>
To: Elisabeth Meier <emeier@udel.edu>

Tue, Apr 18, 2017 at 9:30 AM

Sure! I re-sized it somewhat to a smaller output size and 150 dpi (which is still low res), and hope it works for your purpose.

Please use the same credit.

Best wishes,

Louisa

Penobscot Marine Museum:



Kevin Johnson

Apr 11 (10 days ago) ★

to me ▾

Elizabeth,

Here are your images. The Square invoice will follow shortly. Thanks for your interest in our collections! Good luck with your thesis! kj

...

3 Attachments



Elisabeth Meier

Apr 17 (4 days ago) ☆

Dear Kevin, Thanks for sending these along so quickly! I hope you have receiv...



Kevin Johnson

Apr 20 (1 day ago) ☆

to me ▾

Hi Elizabeth,

You have permission to use the Ruth Montgomery Collection images LB1990.49.73, 185, and 420 in your thesis. Thank you for completing the permission form.

Best,
Kevin

David Rumsey Map Collection:

Images copyright © 2000 by Cartography Associates. Images may be reproduced or transmitted, but not for commercial use. For commercial use or commercial republication, contact <mailto:carto@davidrumsey.com> This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons License](#). By downloading any images from this site, you agree to the terms of that license. Users are expected to abide by all copyright laws. Distribution, reproduction, or other use requires the written permission of any copyright and other rights holders unless the materials are in the public domain or authorized by fair use or other statutory exemption. It is the user's obligation to determine and satisfy copyright or other use restrictions when publishing or otherwise distributing materials found in this collection. For maps not in the public domain that we know are being sold by their makers, we do not allow downloading or printing and we attempt to provide a link to the maker's site in our metadata for the map.

Library of Congress:

Title: Ship Benj F. Packard

Creator(s): [Bolles, Charles E. 1847-1914](#), photographer

Date Created/Published: c1900.

Medium: 1 photographic print.

Summary: Photograph shows schooner sailing at full sail.

Reproduction Number: LC-USZ62-39473 (b&w film copy neg.)

Rights Advisory: No known restrictions on publication.

Call Number: SSF - Ships -- Ben F. Packard -- 1900 [item] [P&P]

Repository: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540
USA <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pp.print>

Notes:

- Copyright 1900 by Charles E. Bolles, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- Bolles fecit.
- No. 1231.
- Title from item.

Subjects:

- [Sailing ships--1900.](#)

Format:

- [Photographic prints--1900.](#)

Collections:

- [Miscellaneous Items in High Demand](#)

Bookmark This Record:

<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2012649646/>

View the [MARC Record](#) for this item.

Rights assessment is your responsibility.