

SCHOONER ERNESTINA
(EFFIE M. MORRISSEY)
New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park State Pier
New Bedford
Bristol
Massachusetts

HAER MA-168
MA-168

PHOTOGRAPHS

WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA

HISTORIC AMERICAN ENGINEERING RECORD
National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior
1849 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20240-0001

HISTORIC AMERICAN ENGINEERING RECORD

SCHOONER ERNESTINA (EFFIE M. MORRISSEY)

HAER No. MA-168

RIG/TYPE OF CRAFT: Schooner

TRADE: Grand Banks fishing, Arctic exploration, U.S. military survey and supply, Cape Verdean packet trade, sailing school

OFFICIAL NUMBER: 136423

PRINCIPAL DIMENSIONS: Length: 114' overall (sparred length: 156'; length on deck: 106'; length at waterline: 93')
Beam: 24.5'
Depth of hold: 10.2'
Draft: 12'
Gross tonnage: 120 tons
Net tonnage: 98 tons
Displacement: 120 tons¹

LOCATION: New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park, State Pier, New Bedford, Massachusetts

DATES OF CONSTRUCTION: Winter 1893-94; Launched 1 February 1894; Restoration undertaken in 2008
See Appendix 2, Listing of Physical Changes Made to Schooner from 1925 to 2006

¹ Source of principal dimensions: "Ernestina" in *Inventory of Large Preserved Historic Vessels in the United States* ed. James P. Delgado, National Maritime Initiative (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1990); Paul Brawley, Schooner *ERNESTINA* Statistics, July 2008 in Schooner ERNESTINA Archives at State Pier or Carson Building Archives (hereafter cited as NEBE).

Slightly different measurements have been reported at various times, though the actual size of the vessel has not changed. The differences are the result of changes in the methods of measuring, e.g., in accordance with nineteenth-century conventions for documenting fishing vessels, measurements were once reported as length of 93.6', beam of 23.8' and draft of 10.2'. See James Delgado, "ERNESTINA," National Historic Landmark Study, 1990, available at <http://www.ernestina.org/publications/NHL.study.html>, also available as James P. Delgado, "Schooner Ernestina," Maritime Heritage of the United States, National Historic Landmark Theme Study-Large Vessels, April 18, 1990. The project plan developed for ERNESTINA gives the following dimensions: Tonnage: 98 tons; Overall Hull Length: 114'; Length on Deck: 106'; Length at Waterline: 93'; Breadth: 24'-5"; Overall Sparred Length: 156'; Main Mast: 76', 20' diameter; Fore Mast: 74', 21' diameter; Main Boom: 68'; Sail Area: 8,323 square feet. See Burnham Boat Building, Project Plan for Ernestina (Draft), June 2008-January 2009.

DESIGNER: George Melville McClain

YARD: James & Tarr, Essex, Massachusetts

BUILDER: Willard Burnham, Essex, Massachusetts

PRESENT OWNER: Commonwealth of Massachusetts

PRESENT USE: Maritime education

SIGNIFICANCE: ERNESTINA is an example of Essex fishing schooner design and has been used for a variety of purposes. She worked in Grand Banks fishing during the peak of sail and is the oldest surviving Grand Banks fishing schooner. Robert "Bob" Bartlett sailed her in Arctic explorations ca. 1926-45, which were conducted for both private research institutions and the U.S. military during World War II. A Cape Verdean purchased the ship and refitted her for the Cape Verdean packet trade, which involved carrying immigrants and cargo between these Portuguese islands off western Africa and the United States. The Republic of Cape Verde gifted her to the United States, and she returned to this country in 1982. Thereafter, she worked as a cultural ambassador and sail training vessel. She was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1990 and is now part of the New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park.

HISTORIAN: Christine M. DeLucia, Student Conservation Association Intern, June-August 2008

PROJECT INFORMATION: The Schooner ERNESTINA Recording Project is part of the Historic American Engineering Record (HAER), a long-range program to document historically significant engineering and industrial works in the United States. The HAER program is administered by the Heritage Documentation Programs of the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, Richard O'Connor, Manager. The project was undertaken in cooperation with the Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation (MA DCR) and the Schooner Ernestina Commission, Paul Brawley, Executive Director, with additional assistance provided by the New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park, Celeste Bernardo, Superintendent.

The project was prepared under the direction of Todd Croteau, HAER Maritime Program Manager. The historical report was produced by Christine DeLucia and edited by Justine Christianson,

HAER Historian. Drawings were produced during two field seasons. The 2008 field team consisted of Caleb Reed, Karolina Walichiewicz, and Katie Whalen, Council of American Maritime Museums Sally Kress Tompkins Maritime Intern. The 2009 field team consisted of Matthew Jacobs. Large-format photography was produced by James Rosenthal and Todd Croteau. Harold Burnham served as restoration manager and assisted the team with technical details about ERNESTINA and schooner construction.

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Introduction

The historic schooner ERNESTINA (originally called EFFIE M. MORRISSEY), an 1894 vessel currently home ported in New Bedford, Massachusetts, has emerged as a regional icon in recent years, a focal point for telling the history of New England maritime communities.² Yet her historical significance is global as well as local. Called the “Mayflower of the Cape Verdean people,” a “fisher of souls,” and a “goodwill ambassador,” she stands today as an emblem of boundary-crossing and intercultural exchange.³

In her diverse career of more than a century, ERNESTINA navigated an Atlantic world. She linked the United States with Canada and the British Maritime Provinces in her early fishing days, with Greenland and the Arctic as an exploration vessel, and eventually with Cape Verde and coastal West Africa in the packet trade. She has consistently returned to the northeastern United States over the years as a port and refitting point, and New England is her present berth. Her historical significance may lie in helping re-conceptualize U.S. history as more than a nation-based narrative. As ERNESTINA’s diverse exploits demonstrate, this past involved constant and ongoing interactions with peoples and places beyond the United States. The schooner established and maintained linkages between far-flung coastal communities. She is woven into a set of transnational histories that stress how deeply the post-Civil War United States was intertwined with sites beyond its borders and shorelines. U.S. history is often narrated as a westward-facing account of frontier conquest and territorial expansion, but ERNESTINA invites a different view, a history that looks north, south, and east as well as west for its formative moments and places.

Each stage of ERNESTINA’s career has been distinctive, yet there are a few common threads. Human struggle with the environment has been present at every moment of her sailing. Whether engaged in fishing the harsh north Atlantic seas; searching for Arctic flora and fauna in the name of science; responding to drought and famine in Cape Verde; or teaching environmental literacy in an age of eco-consciousness, she has put humans in touch with the natural world and the limitations of human technology.

Pursuit of economic prosperity, or at least subsistence, has also been constant. ERNESTINA was involved in the marketplace from the moment her wheel was cast in Gloucester and she

² Acknowledgement and gratitude for permissions and project guidance are due to Superintendent Celeste Bernardo and staff at New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park; Schooner Ernestina Commission Executive Director Paul Brawley; Annie McDowell at the ERNESTINA State Pier offices, New Bedford; Genevieve LeMoine, Anne Witty, and the Peary-MacMillan Arctic Museum, Bowdoin College; Daniel Hope, Richard Lindemann, and Special Collections at the Bowdoin College Library; the New Bedford Free Public Library; Catherine Dempsey at the Historic Sites Association, Canada; the New Bedford Whaling Research Library; Kurt Hasselbalch at the M.I.T. Hart Nautical Collection; and Russell Potter.

³ “Mayflower of the Cape Verdean People” quote from “Cape Verdeans Celebrate Their Own Mayflower,” *The New York Times*, 25 March 1977.

Several historical summaries of the schooner’s career have been written in recent decades. The most comprehensive to date is Laura Pires Houston and Michael K.H. Platzer, *Ernestina/Effie M. Morrissey* (New York: Friends of the ERNESTINA/MORRISSEY Committee, 1982). The authors were instrumental in organizing the return and write extensively on the Cape Verdean component of ERNESTINA’s history. The publication follows the schooner’s work up to the moment of return to the United States. A detailed structural history of ERNESTINA can be found in the National Historic Landmark Study written by James Delgado.

prepared to haul cod to market. The profit motive has been muted at some points, explicit at others. Those in charge of her have always sought to maintain her viability in the face of fiscal obstacles, from the Great Depression to the tightened historic preservation budgets of the twenty-first century.

Finally, the technical requirements of specific navigation and transport agendas have challenged designers and workmen. The special demands of Atlantic fishing, polar exploration and pack-ice movement, long-haul transatlantic cargo and passenger crossings, and sailing school operation have necessitated modifications to the vessel's physical plant. The ERNESTINA extant today bears traces of all these periods, some more pronounced than others.⁴

“Next to *USS Constitution*, *ERNESTINA* is perhaps the most significant surviving sailing vessel in our nation's maritime history,” her current (as of summer 2008) executive director, Paul Brawley, has said.⁵ Indeed, going a step further and identifying her as an internationally significant maritime artifact would not be hyperbole. Telling ERNESTINA's extended and multifaceted histories—at turns heroic and tragic, exploitative and progressive, divisive and unifying—suggests how integral this schooner is to the heritage of the United States, and to places beyond.

Design and Construction

The EFFIE M. MORRISSEY, as ERNESTINA was first called, was designed, built, and first used at the high point in U.S. fishing schooner operation, just preceding the transition to engine power and the decline—and eventual commercial disappearance—of sail. Emerging from one of the renowned Essex shipyards of the Massachusetts North Shore, MORRISSEY went on to sail actively under a succession of North American captains working the perilous but lucrative fishing grounds of the North Atlantic Grand Banks. This period in her career is emblematic of turn-of-the-century small-scale fishing operations, which had not yet yielded to large-scale commercial enterprises.

MORRISSEY was built in the James & Tarr Yard of Essex, Massachusetts, during a four month period in the winter of 1893-1894.⁶ Willard Burnham, a native of Essex whose other vessels included RIEGAL, PROCYON, CAVIARE, HAZEL ONETLA, W.E. MORRISSEY, and OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, built MORRISSEY for the John F. Wonson Company of

⁴ The ERNESTINA National Historic Landmark nomination gives an overview of physical modifications made to the vessel through 1990, including major changes to the interior and deck configuration resulting from a 1986 renovation project. Changes in her color scheme are also noted: originally painted black, the schooner was painted battleship gray during the Second World War, gray and white during her fishing and Arctic careers, and yellow and green (on deck structures) during the Cape Verdean packet trade. Delgado, “ERNESTINA,” National Historic Landmark Study.

⁵ Paul Brawley, Schooner *ERNESTINA* Statistics, July 2008, NEBE.

⁶ John F. James and Washington Tarr built 139 vessels together (Delgado, “ERNESTINA,” National Historic Landmark Study). For her original registration, see Inspector's Certificate, 15 March 1894, Gloucester, in General Index/Abstract of Title, Ernestina Archive 4, Carson Building Archives, New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park (hereafter cited as CBA NEBE).

Gloucester and Capt. William E. Morrissey at a cost of \$16,000.⁷ This was “a considerable sum of money for a 110-ton schooner” at the time, but Morrissey “knew what he wanted in a vessel and willingly paid the price.”⁸ She was the last vessel made for Wonson and Morrissey and was named the EFFIE M. MORRISSEY after Morrissey’s daughter Effie Maude. She retained this name until the 1940s. Her wheel, which she carried into the present period, was cast in 1891 by “A.P. Stoddart, Gloucester.”⁹

George Melville (“Mel”) McClain, a prolific and respected modeler of fishing schooners, designed MORRISSEY. Born in Bremen, Maine, in 1843, McClain had worked as a fisherman and took up schooner design as a hobby. He began making half models ca. 1880. The first schooner believed to come from his designs was the banker HENRY DENNIS, launched in 1883.¹⁰ McClain commanded thirty-five vessels, some of which he had modeled, over a fifty-six-year career. It is estimated that over 100 schooners (including sister ships) were built to his designs. At least fifty-five emerged from 1890-94, the most active period in his designing career. Along with MORRISSEY, McClain designed the following vessels: M. MADELINE, RALPH RUSSELL, FORTUNA II, FLORA L. NICKERSON, EVELYN L. SMITH, BESSIE M. DEVINE, KEARSAGE, and ALICE M. PARSONS. McClain’s design output began to taper off after this time, concluding in 1906 with GOOD LUCK.¹¹ The first fishing schooner identified as a McClain design was the PURITAN, built in Essex in 1887 by Moses Adams for Banks fishing.¹² A year before MORRISSEY, McClain designed the schooner HELEN G. WELLS, which Thomas Irving built at Gloucester in 1893. WELLS achieved notoriety in 1897 for rolling a full 360 degrees in the Grand Banks and surviving.¹³

“[P]robably there is no designer in the world today,” stated a *Gloucester Times* article in 1893, “who has such success for safety, speed and beauty as the vessels built by the McClain models.”¹⁴ In an 1894 speech at the Master Mariners’ Association, Mel McClain stressed his commitment to safe design: “It has always been my expressed conviction that deep vessels, properly ballasted are the safest.” His models, he said, were “designed for seaworthiness, as well as speed, to go winter and summer and not haul up in heavy weather.” In heavy weather, when “one of these monster seas strikes fair, down goes your vessel on her beam ends. Then comes the test; if she is well designed and well built and properly ballasted, up she comes again, if otherwise, sad is her fate.” He added, “I am yet a fisherman and would not model a fishing

⁷ Gordon Thomas, *Fast and Able: Life Stories of Great Gloucester Fishing Vessels*, ed. Paul Kenyon (Gloucester, MA: Gloucester 350th Anniversary Celebration, 1973), 44; Friends of Ernestina Morrissey, “Effie M. Morrissey,” *Fourth Chapter: Fifth Anniversary Commemorative* (Spring 1987), 12-13.

⁸ Frederick William Wallace, *Roving Fisherman: An Autobiography, Recounting Personal Experiences in the Commercial Fishing Fleets and Fish Industry of Canada and the United States, 1911-1924* (Gardenvale, Quebec: Canadian Fisherman, 1955), 101.

⁹ Delgado, “ERNESTINA,” National Historic Landmark Study.

¹⁰ Howard Chappelle, *The American Fishing Schooners: 1825-1935* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1973), 157.

Chappelle’s survey of American fishing schooners is the most intensive to date. MORRISSEY’s lines are not included in his text.

¹¹ Chappelle lists vessels known to have come from McClain’s designs, though the list is incomplete since all sister ships have not been identified. Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 157-58.

¹² Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 165.

¹³ Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 197.

¹⁴ *Gloucester Daily Times*, 25 Sept 1893, transcription, in News Articles 1893, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

vessel which I thought unsafe. The men who command and man these craft are my friends, many have been my shipmates in days gone by. Would I be liable to model for them vessels of unsafe design?"¹⁵ MORRISSEY's design was later described as combining "fair sailing qualities with weatherliness" and a "great hold capacity for salt fish."¹⁶

Design and construction of MORRISSEY took place at a high point in the building of North American fishing vessels. Development of the American fishing schooner began in the first quarter of the eighteenth century (ca. 1720), and ended ca. 1935.¹⁷ The most well-known vessel type that also had the "longest, most intensive evolution" was that used in the New England North Atlantic fisheries.¹⁸ Earlier fishing vessels from the American colonial period included "shallops" used for inshore fishing and generally bearing two masts with two gaff sails, and "barks" and "catches" used offshore.¹⁹ The schooner rig—sails set fore-and-aft, on two or more masts, rather than athwartships—proved popular because it was labor-efficient, permitting the vessel to carry a relatively generous spread of sail with minimal crew. A schooner "provides an effective use of wind power as a means of propulsion, needing only a small crew to handle it. Square-rigged vessels, by contrast, require a more complicated system of rigging to control and operate the sails and thus need larger crews."²⁰

Fishing schooners from Marblehead, Massachusetts, had already established reputations for steady, fast sailing prior to the American Revolution. Howard Chappelle notes these earlier vessels

need not have been of extremely large capacity for their dimensions. The full carrier in the fisheries would be most profitable only when the fishing grounds were a great distance from the home ports. Before the Revolution the New England fishermen did not need to fish the eastern Grand Banks and most of the colonial offshore fishing was on the banks of the Gulf of Maine, or on the banks between Cape Cod and the Bay of Fundy, relatively close to home.²¹

The American Revolution had a devastating effect on the colonial fishing fleet and a lack of capital in the post-war period made replacement of vessels difficult. Inexpensive two-masters were popular options, and construction increased in the early national period. "Chebacco" boats

¹⁵ *Gloucester Daily Times*, 1 Feb 1894, transcription, in News Articles 1893, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

¹⁶ Wallace, *Roving Fisherman*, 100.

¹⁷ On European antecedents to the North American schooner form, as well as transatlantic influences on the evolution of vessel types through the early twentieth century, see David MacGregor, *The Schooner: Its Design and Development from 1600 to the Present* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2001).

¹⁸ Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 15-16, 23.

¹⁹ These vessels are difficult to describe in technically precise terms. Chappelle's introduction discusses methodological challenges of reconstructing these vessels' historical development, such as limited or absent half models from the early period. Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 23. The naval architect and maritime historian William Baker, who consulted on the restoration of ERNESTINA, has explored early vessel forms, see William Baker, *Colonial Vessels: Some Seventeenth-Century Sailing Craft* (Barre, MA: Barre Publishing Company, 1962).

²⁰ MacGregor, *Schooner: Its Design and Development*, 9.

²¹ Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 24.

(having “pink” sterns, which overhung the rudder) and “dogbodies” (square-sterned) were popular fishing vessel types of the time. Fishing vessels began to grow in size, and by 1814 a few had lengths of 40’ to 48’ on deck.²²

The 1830s brought dramatic expansion of the New England fisheries, with consequences for vessel design. West Indian and European fish markets were being lost to Canadian competitors, but “home consumption of these products was increasing by leaps and bounds,” driven partly by the opening of inland markets by the Erie Canal and railroads and growth in coastal urban markets.²³ Small boats used for inshore fishing were inadequate to meet the rising demand, so larger vessels that could range further out to sea on longer trips (“market fishermen”) began to emerge. North Atlantic fisheries remained profitable after the Civil War, and by 1870 there had been a substantial increase in the number of schooners built.

Shipbuilding occurred at several sites along the eastern seaboard, extending as far north as Maine. Massachusetts, especially the Cape Ann area on the North Shore, was the epicenter of shipbuilding. Historian Howard Chappelle notes, “Essex, Boston, and Gloucester were setting the fashion in fishing schooners; their vessels were considered to be the most advanced in model, rig, and construction.”²⁴ Wooden shipbuilding had begun in Essex, then part of Ipswich, Massachusetts, in the mid-seventeenth century, and by 1668, “enough shipbuilding was going on to warrant setting aside an area of common land on the river bank at the center of town to be used for the building of vessels.”²⁵ Turning to the sea for subsistence had been a logical move for the people of Essex since the hardscrabble land of the shore made agriculture a struggle, though it furnished stands of timber useful in shipbuilding.²⁶

An Essex yard was a simple affair, especially in the early period, described as “no more than a plot of land beside the river.” The “river” was the tidal inlet or estuary, which wound in through salt marshes some 4 miles from Ipswich Bay. In the yards, almost everything was done by hand. Sawmills produced planks and large timbers, but the rest of the shaping was done with hand tools. Every workman provided his own tools; the yard owner furnished the few pieces of heavy equipment needed.²⁷ Construction of MORRISSEY occurred over four months in the winter of 1893-94, so builders had to weather the cold, snow, and wind of the New England coast in that season to complete her for launching. Winter construction meant shoveling out one’s worksite before labor could commence. Construction was an arduous and highly specialized process, involving hard physical labor by crews of men skilled in particular aspects of construction. Some men sawed the lumber, with young crewmen often spending their days standing in a pit, sawdust falling onto their heads and irritating their eyes and noses, as they pulled on the lower half of a saw. Others bored holes for the treenails (pronounced “trunnels”), which were wooden

²² Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 26.

²³ Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 58.

²⁴ Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 119.

²⁵ Dana Story, *Growing up in a Shipyard: Reminiscences of a Shipbuilding Life in Essex, Massachusetts* (Mystic, CT: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1991), xv.

²⁶ Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 77. Essex and Gloucester did face timber problems by the 1850s, as nearby stands had been exhausted and materials had to be imported by rail.

²⁷ Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, xvi.

pegs fastening the parts together. Still others fitted the planks, caulked the seams, and performed the myriad other tasks required to ready the vessel for launch. Several ancillary trades grew up around the Essex yards, such as shops for blacksmith work and construction of wooden tackle and blocks. Vessels were built, sparred, and rigged directly out of Essex in the early years, while later on partially finished vessels were tugged to Gloucester or Boston for the stepping of spars and installation of engines and machinery.²⁸

Construction of fishing schooners had become standardized by the 1870s, and North Shore vessels had earned reputations for superior workmanship.²⁹ Dimensions of sharpshooter clipper schooners increased between 1845-80, “from vessels 60 to 68 feet long, 17 to 18 feet beam and 7 to 8 feet depth, to vessels 85 to 95 feet long, 21 to 25 feet beam, and 7 to 8 feet 8 inches depth.”³⁰ Depth remained restricted in part because of the conditions of Gloucester Harbor, the extensive shallows and obstructions of which made replacement of shoal vessels by deeper ones a problematic proposition.³¹ The deeper vessels came out of Boston rather than Gloucester, where efforts to clear obstacles from the shallows were stymied; this gradually led to the decline in Gloucester vessels in the late 1890s and early 1900s.³² The years preceding the 1894 construction of MORRISSEY saw many changes in North Atlantic fishing schooner design. A trend emerged ca. 1884-90 “toward deeper, more seaworthy and weatherly vessels which were yacht-like and fast on all points of sailing.” Debate ensued in the 1880s about various technical remedies to address safety concerns, and the merits or drawbacks of deeper draft vessels.³³

MORRISSEY has been described as a “*Fredonia* model” vessel, a classification that needs clarification.³⁴ It was a longstanding practice at Essex to build several vessels using one model or design. These “sister ships” were not always identical and could “vary a good deal in register dimensions.”³⁵ Alterations—to lengthen or shorten a vessel, for example—could result in copies markedly different from the original in both performance and appearance.³⁶ For example, the “sister schooners” FREDONIA and NELLIE DIXON, launched in 1889, were both built according to designs by Edward Burgess, but their register dimensions varied slightly. Moses Adams built FREDONIA at Essex, and the name soon entered common parlance.³⁷ Yet “no evidence has been found to show that unidentified vessels were built on the Burgess plans,” Chappelle has contended, adding that

²⁸ Story, *Growing up in a Shipyard*, 18.

²⁹ Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 133.

³⁰ Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 134-35.

³¹ “Slips in this port were shoal, limiting berths to schooners not exceeding 12 feet draft, many slips were not over 10 feet deep. These could be used by clippers of about 70 to 85 feet on deck. As the shores of Gloucester Harbor were made up of granite ledges it was expensive to attempt the deepening of the slips. This eventually became a distinction between Boston- and Gloucester-owned vessels—the average Boston fishing schooner was deeper than the average Gloucester fishing schooner in the same class.” Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 75.

³² Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 135, 176.

³³ Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 135-38.

³⁴ See Delgado, “ERNESTINA,” National Historic Landmark Study, for one instance. The claim—like several others about the schooner’s history—has been repeated uncritically.

³⁵ Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 91.

³⁶ Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 93.

³⁷ Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 172.

journalistic use of the name presents a large number of instances where it was applied to the schooners by other designers. These vessels had the rocker in the keel, cutaway forefoot and gammon knee head that were to be seen in *Fredonia*, but that was usually about as far as any ‘copying’ of her seems to have gone. Hence the *Fredonia* model had become a type name, like sharpshooter or clipper, and no longer meant any sister ships of the *Fredonia* that may have existed.³⁸

FREDONIA sank in 1896, but the influence of her hull form remained in other vessels, including small fishing craft.

The FREDONIA design has been described in detail by Chappelle as having

a moderate, graceful sheer; a slightly rockered keel, but a straight keel rabbet carried forward from the sternpost about 48 feet, then rockered. The forefoot had much rounding, with a gammon knee head fitted, and with a small billet the *Fredonia* had a rather florid carved scroll, and a single wire bobstay. She was also coppered when used as a yacht.

The sternpost had much rake, above which was a short counter and a rather small, heart-shaped transom. The run was long and somewhat convex, without straight buttocks, but with very little rounding. The entrance was long and sharp with a slight hollow in the forefoot. The midsection was formed with a much hollowed garboard, a sharp rise of floor carried straight well outboard, a high and rather hard turn of the bilge, and strong tumble home in the topside. In these vessels Burgess seems to have been somewhat influenced by the then scientific ‘wave-line theory,’ in so far as the entrance was designed very sharp and long, with the run but full and short.³⁹

Fred Littleton, who sailed on MORRISSEY in 1940, made a model of the schooner, and served as commissioner of the vessel, has contended that she is not a FREDONIA type. He wrote, MORRISSEY “has a straight keel rabbet. The *Fredonia*’s curves upward slightly before meeting the stem. The stem rabbet of the *Ernestina* is straight while the *Fredonia*’s curves forward as in a clipper....Most significantly the *Ernestina/Morrissey* has relatively flat and unchanging floors...whereas *Fredonia*’s rise sharply fore and aft.”⁴⁰

Construction of MORRISSEY came at the zenith of American fishing schooner design. In the 1890s and early 1900s, it became fashionable and common for skippers to constantly carry a heavy press of sail, a hard-driving practice that demanded strongly constructed and rigged vessels. The result was the construction of schooners displaying “a high level in maximum seaworthiness and speed”—some “of the finest seagoing schooners that were ever built.”⁴¹ By the turn of the twentieth century, sail-only vessels faced new competition from engine power.

³⁸ Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 176.

³⁹ Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 175.

⁴⁰ Fred Littleton, “Why *Ernestina* Should Be Designated a National Historic Landmark,” in Fred Littleton files 1982-1993, *Ernestina* Archive 1, CBA NEBE.

⁴¹ Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 210.

Engines had the downside of needing large fuel supplies, but they also permitted a vessel to operate on more predictable schedules, without being subject to the vagaries of changing (or absent) winds. MORRISSEY's designer, Mel McClain, designed ca. 1901 two of the first large New England fishing schooners to be fitted at the outset with auxiliary gasoline engines: HELEN MILLER GOULD and VICTOR. There were some initial problems with the fitting and operating of these early engines, but "gradual conversion of the bulk of the fishing schooners to auxiliaries eventually led to the increasing suppression of sail, with the engine becoming the paramount propulsion by 1925." Introduction of "heavy oil engines and the appearance of the diesel trawlers and seiners after 1930" spelled the end of sail as a dominant mode of transport, "though a 'riding sail' was utilized in some vessels well into the 1930s."⁴²

MORRISSEY slid down the greased ways into the cold winter water at her launch on 1 February 1894, and no incidents were reported at the event. It was an unremarkable moment in some respects, one among thousands of successful launches from the North Shore yards. Shipbuilding would remain central to Essex life until the years following the Second World War, and MORRISSEY is an exemplar of the superior workmanship that became *de rigueur* during the heyday of wooden shipbuilding in the area.

North Atlantic and Grand Banks Fishing Career

The tug STARTLE towed MORRISSEY to Gloucester to be fitted for fishing. Her maiden fishing trip began on 14 March 1894 under Capt. William E. Morrissey, who took her salt banking. She operated as a dory trawler, which meant her fishermen would pair off in dories (smaller boats) and trawl for cod, haddock, or halibut, then row back to the schooner when full to deposit their haul for processing, storage, and transport to market. MORRISSEY returned to Gloucester on 28 July 1894 with her first haul totaling 250,000 pounds of salted cod, which was the largest that any schooner brought in that month.⁴³

The Grand Banks, underwater plateaus southeast of Newfoundland on the North American continental shelf, were renowned as unusually fertile fishing grounds owing to a mixture of warm and cold currents that created a nutrient-rich environment for fish. European fishermen had plied the waters since the fifteenth century and hauls from the Banks were crucial supports for imperial and colonial maritime economies. They were dangerous grounds as well, located far from shore and giving no shelter during rough weather. Loss of life in the fisheries during the high period of Grand Banking was massive. Rudyard Kipling gave the Banks a permanent place in the popular imagination only three years after MORRISSEY's launch with the 1897 publication of his novel *Captains Courageous: A Story of the Grand Banks*.

The schooner sailed under William Morrissey for a year, but he was forced to relinquish command in April 1895 to his 19-year-old son Clayton.⁴⁴ His obituary would later recall that Clayton "was on the Effie M. Morrissey, named after his sister, when his father was taken sick, after the first baiting. The youthful fisherman assumed command, and astonished the waterfront

⁴² Chappelle, *American Fishing Schooners*, 223.

⁴³ Houston and Platzer, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 8.

⁴⁴ For documentation of the various changes of master and owner, see certificates of enrollment and inspection in General Index/Abstract of Title, Ernestina Archive 4, CBA NEBE.

when he arrived after two months on the banks with a big fare of salt fish.” Over time, Clayton “ascended to the pinnacle of the salt fishing fleet of the North Atlantic. His record trip weighed out in the vicinity of 450,000 pounds, some 26 years ago, and what added to the achievements was that he clipped days off the usual time taken for salt fishing.” Clayton made three trips each season when the norm was only two, and “in his heyday he cleared the highest for his ventures, not to mention the wealth he brought into Gloucester.”⁴⁵ The absence of an engine in MORRISSEY, which left more space below decks for storage, partly enabled the extraordinary hauls. Clayton later achieved renown as skipper of the schooner HENRY FORD in the international fisherman’s race of 1922 against the BLUENOSE. (MORRISSEY lost.) Also captain of the JOSEPH ROWE, ARETHUSA, and WALRUS, Clayton was lauded upon his death due to his “reputation of having brought the largest catches of codfish ever landed in Boston or Gloucester.”⁴⁶ Clayton may have been the model in 1923 for Leonard Craske’s fisherman’s statue on Gloucester’s Western Avenue honoring “They That Go Down to the Sea in Ships.”⁴⁷

Clayton took MORRISSEY to Newfoundland in the winter of 1895-96, but he returned with a different vessel, the schooner PROCYON. MORRISSEY returned to Gloucester under another captain on 25 January 1896, carrying a cargo of herring bound for New York. MORRISSEY worked in seining (mackerel fishing with a special net) during the 1897 and 1898 seasons. The “Portland Breeze” of November 1898 drove her ashore at Smith’s Cove in Gloucester with other vessels from Wonson’s wharf, though she emerged with little damage.⁴⁸

John McInnis captained her to Newfoundland for herring fishing in the winter of 1898-99, with the catch again sold to New York. MacInnis (1867-1953), “affectionately known along the Atlantic coast as ‘Whipsaw,’” began skippering in 1892 and commanded several vessels for the John F. Wonson firm besides MORRISSEY, including JOHN W. BRAY, HENRY W. LONGFELLOW, and BELLE FRANKLIN.⁴⁹ The sole casualty of MORRISSEY’s fishing years came on 13 November 1899 when Nova Scotian Edward Rapp, age 22, was washed overboard on the Grand Banks.

MORRISSEY had a strong year in the haddock fishery under Josh Stanley, her captain from September 1900 to September 1901. Henry Atwood captained her from September 1901 doing haddocking and “shacking” (making a trip in which fish caught early were salted, while later catch was brought in fresh and iced). William Harding took her salt banking in 1903. Ansel Snow of Digby, Nova Scotia, acquired MORRISSEY in March 1905 and owned her until 1909. Snow later captained the Canadian racing vessel and fishing schooner BLUENOSE. He kept

⁴⁵ “Noted Skipper Dies Suddenly of Heart Attack,” *Gloucester Daily Times*[?], 2 July 1936, in News Articles 1936, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

⁴⁶ “Skipper is Dead,” *Boston Herald*, 2 July 1936, in News Articles 1936, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA, NEBE.

⁴⁷ Louise Morgan, “Who was the Fisherman of Gloucester?” *Yankee Magazine*, Aug. 1964, 16-18. Letters to the editor disputing this claim appeared in the November 1964 issue of *Yankee*. All in green binder, Ernestina Archive 4, CBA NEBE.

⁴⁸ Thomas, *Fast and Able*, 43.

⁴⁹ “Capt. John MacInnis, Great Mariner, Fisherman,” newspaper unknown, 14 Aug. 1953, in News Articles 1898, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

MORRISSEY under American registry, but the vessel sailed out of Digby with a Canadian crew.⁵⁰

The changes in MORRISSEY's ownership and the movement of the ship between U.S. and Canadian waters were not atypical of the period, though these shifts could pose legal and logistical difficulties. Fishing rights in the fertile North Atlantic had long been disputed by Canada, the British maritime provinces, and the United States. Though several legal settlements had been attempted in the nineteenth century (e.g., giving U.S. crews limited permissions to ply certain waters and make use of coastal areas for processing), nothing had been firmly settled by the early twentieth century. It was a problem requiring multi-national resolution. Nova Scotia, which joined the Canadian Confederation as a founding member in 1867, was Canadian, though other key coastal fishing areas remained British colonies or domains until the mid-twentieth century. MORRISSEY retained her U.S. registry, which allowed her to "fit out in Canadian ports and sail with Canadian crews and run [her] fish into American ports free of duty," though she had to meet U.S. requirements by having a "nominal captain" who held the papers of a U.S. citizen. For an annual fee she could acquire a *Modus Vivendi* license that permitted her entry into and use of Canadian ports for "fitting out, procuring bait, ice, supplies, and shipping crews," though selling her catch in Canada or fishing within 3 miles of Canadian territory was forbidden.⁵¹

A notable event in 1907 was the birth of Betty Koharek, one of Ansel Snow's granddaughters, on the schooner. MORRISSEY made her first visit to Gloucester in three years when she arrived there on 5 July 1908, bearing shad from the Bay of Fundy. Snow sold MORRISSEY to Frank Swett of Marblehead, Massachusetts, in 1909 for \$4,500. In 1911, MORRISSEY landed catch at Portland, Maine.

MORRISSEY endured a record run from Portland, Maine, to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, from 10 to 11 December 1912, racing 200 miles in twenty hours and at times reaching 16 knots. Frederick William Wallace, a journalist and maritime historian who sailed on her that trip, later recounted his voyage in *Roving Fisherman* (1955). As Wallace tells the story, he had been invited to Portland to sail on MORRISSEY, but prior to departure, he had to help round up the crew "carousing" on shore. MORRISSEY "was a hard-looking packet" at that point in her career, and "[m]uch of her paint-work had vanished from off her deck and sides, and her rails and houses showed the scars of eighteen years of seafaring." Her captain, Henry Ross, said, but "I cal'late we'll wash her down a bit when we get outside." Soon after passing Cape Elizabeth, MORRISSEY "was logging 12 knots and running along like a scalded hog." As the crew continued to toss back rum, "the schooner stormed along before the wind and the taffrail log was spinning to a rate of knots seldom before attained by her." The sea battered her decks, the crew wrestled with her sails, and a poker game continued below. She eventually pulled into Yarmouth harbor, lying "to her chain like a tired horse." MORRISSEY had averaged 10 miles per hour, using only her foresail for the last seven-and-a-half hours of the voyage. "Not too bad for the 'old plug' that they called her," Wallace wrote, adding that her later captain, Robert Bartlett,

⁵⁰ Thomas, *Fast and Able*, 43.

⁵¹ Wallace, *Roving Fisherman*, 101.

loved the story. “Give her the wind abaft the beam and she’d run like a hound,” Bartlett would say. “Not so good in closehailed sailing like the modern round-bows, but in running in a breeze and sea, she’d trim ‘em all.”⁵²

Wallace composed a ballad immortalizing the run, substituting the name MARY L. MACKAY for EFFIE M. MORRISSEY:

We slammed her to Monhegan as the gale began to scream,
And the vessel started jumpin’ in a way that was no dream,
With a howler o’er the taffrail, boys, we steered her east away,
Oh, she was a hound for runnin’ was the *Mary L. MacKay*

The secret to the successful run, the ballad intimates, was bravado born of fiery liquor:

From Portland, Maine, to Yarmouth Sound, two hundred miles we ran
In nineteen hours, my bully boys, and beat that if you can!
The gang, they said ‘Twas seamanship!’ The skipper he was mum,
For he knew that *Mary* traveled on the power of bootleg rum!⁵³

William Ryder of Port Wade, Nova Scotia, and Harry Ross captained MORRISSEY in 1913.⁵⁴ Harold Bartlett of Brigus, Newfoundland, bought MORRISSEY in 1914 and changed her registry to British. He converted her to a freighter and hauled salt and coal along the coasts of Nova Scotia and Labrador.⁵⁵ The freighting work was less than glamorous and has received comparatively little attention in the histories written about MORRISSEY. It was vital work in an industrial era of high energy demand, however, and the schooner had much company in the business. In January 1917, she was stranded on the Petrie Ledges off Sydney, Cape Breton, but came off successfully.⁵⁶ She remained in harbor at Halifax, periodically in and out of use, from 1917-24.⁵⁷

Arctic Exploration and “Cap’n Bob” (Robert Abram Bartlett)

The second chapter of MORRISSEY’s history saw her embarking on even more northern seas as she began a career in Arctic voyaging. In 1925, Harold Bartlett sold her to his cousin, the Arctic captain and explorer Robert Bartlett (1875-1946). Under Bartlett’s command (ca. 1925-45), the “little *Morrissey*” made annual voyages to the stark lands and seas above the Arctic Circle. This

⁵² Wallace’s full account of the trip is in *Roving Fisherman*, 99-109.

⁵³ See Wallace, *Roving Fisherman*, Appendix. The ballad was published as “The Log of a Record Run” in *Canadian Fisherman* (1914) and later collected by Helen Creighton in *Songs and Ballads from Nova Scotia* (1932). Tom Goux and Jacek Sulanowski recorded the ballad in *Born of Another Time: Songs of the Sailors—Songs of the Sea* (Folkway Records, 1982). A modified version of Wallace’s verses, along with other songs later written about the schooner, is in *Songs of Ernestina*, in Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

⁵⁴ Thomas, *Fast and Able*, 43.

⁵⁵ Wallace wrote about this period in her career in “Life on the Grand Banks,” *The National Geographic Magazine* XL, no. 1 (July 1921): 11; Delgado, “ERNESTINA,” National Historic Landmark Study.

⁵⁶ Thomas, *Fast and Able*, 43.

⁵⁷ Houston and Platzer, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 12.

work, some of the best publicized of MORRISSEY's career, established Bartlett as a major figure in the history of Western exploration of the polar region.

Bartlett and his crews were notable, but late, entries into the region. Indigenous peoples had long inhabited parts of the Arctic, including the Inuit of Greenland and the Inupiat of Alaska (both called "Eskimos" by Bartlett and his peers). The Arctic sustained a diverse range of distinctive cultural subgroups that understood and worked within the challenges of high northern ecosystems. Europeans had begun exploring the area in medieval times, and the sixteenth century brought an intensified search for a "Northwest Passage" to expedite commerce between Europe and the lucrative markets of the East. This search, pursued famously and futilely by explorers like Martin Frobisher and Sir John Franklin, would be in vain until the twentieth century, because ice halted the vessels.

In the Heroic period of polar exploration, "conquest" of the North Pole was the objective, and international competition for that honor was intense. The focus of explorers such as Robert Peary and Roald Amundsen was on fast progress towards a geographic goal. Pursuit of the poles, both North and South, was internationally significant around the turn of the twentieth century as various countries jockeyed for precedence. Explorers from the United States had more success in the Arctic than in the Antarctic competition. Early in his maritime career "Captain Bob" had skippered Peary's ship ROOSEVELT on two North Pole expeditions (1905-09). Peary claimed to have reached the Pole in 1909, in the company of black explorer Matthew Henson and four natives. Bartlett was captain on this trip, but he did not accompany the party on the expedition's final leg.⁵⁸

At the time Bartlett acquired MORRISSEY, the North Pole had already been "achieved" (with claims proffered and contested by Frederick Cook and Peary, and the first conquest by air claimed by Richard Byrd in 1926). By the mid-twentieth century, the Arctic had become an object of scientific and ethnographic interest, with surveys of the area's topographic, geologic, and ecological systems completed, accompanied by intensive collecting of specimens for study and display in North American scientific collections. It also gained in strategic importance, military as well as economic, as world wars showed the potential for air control and military bases. The work done by Bartlett and the MORRISSEY is representative of this middle stage in polar exploration. Official collections reports from the institutions for which Bartlett worked, the mainstream press (which tracked the ship's comings and goings), and popular literature have extensively chronicled details of these expeditions.⁵⁹ Bartlett's own memoirs—*The Log of*

⁵⁸ Bartlett claimed in his writings to hold no grudge against Peary, though his private sense of being left out of this accomplishment, however dubious the Pole claim, is unknown. A 1923 poem described Bartlett as a "good sport," and imagined him telling Peary before the final push, "I guess you know the way from here; no need for me to linger." Ernest Harold Baynes, *Polaris: The Story of an Eskimo Dog* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1923), 99. For a critical account of Peary, see Matthew Henson's narrative of the expedition, *A Negro Explorer at the North Pole: The Autobiography of Matthew Henson* (Montpelier, VT: Invisible Cities Press, 2001).

⁵⁹ Various chronologies of the Arctic work have been compiled. See Appendix 1 of this report for a condensed version. Dartmouth College, which received selected papers from Bartlett's estate, has published a chronology vetted by nephew Rupert Bartlett. See "The Papers of Robert Abram (Bob) Bartlett in the Dartmouth College Library," Rauner Special Collections Finding Aids, available at <http://ead.dartmouth.edu/html/stem193.html#d1e401>.

“Bob” Bartlett (1928) and *Sails Over Ice* (1934)—gave especially detailed accounts of routes taken, personnel aboard, and collections formed.⁶⁰ Some highlights stand out: progress made far into the Fury and Hecla Strait (1933); traversal of Melville Bay three times in a single season; attainment of the schooner’s furthest north point (1940); acquisition of biological and geological specimens, including rare species, for prominent North American collections; capture of live specimens for North American zoos, including polar bears, walruses, and musk oxen; and corrections to cartography of the region.

Biographers and historians have both neglected and lionized Bartlett. Some have lamented and aimed to correct his omission from the annals of Canadian exploration history (though Bartlett was not a “Canadian” citizen during his lifetime, since Newfoundland and Labrador became the tenth Canadian province in 1949, three years after his death). Close acquaintances, like George Palmer Putnam and Fitzhugh Green, have written biographies reveling in the “sea salt” image of Bartlett and magnifying the man to larger-than-life proportions.⁶¹ The *Literary Digest* put Bartlett on its cover in August 1935, calling him “the kind of man about whom legends gather. Powerful, heavy-set, with a voice that booms even when he is trying to speak softly; a quaint, Elizabethan manner of speaking, and a powerful love of the sea, he probably knows more about the arctic than any man living.”⁶² Bartlett’s personality inspired inventive descriptions: he was a “walrus in a china shop,” with a “temper sudden and savage as a waterspout, and as quick to subside,” wrote George Palmer Putnam, who diagnosed the captain as “one of the worst afflicted with *dementia exploratia*,” an insatiable appetite for adventuring.⁶³ Fitzhugh Green’s biography tells Bartlett’s life as a story of emerging manliness, the transformation of a “skinny, pale-faced lad, with spindling legs and hands like a pianist” into a man weighing “210 pounds, all solid bone and muscle, one of the most powerful men that ever passed a reef” due to the conditioning effects of maritime labor.⁶⁴ Bartlett’s childhood among the sealing and fishing communities of Brigus, Newfoundland, formed the backdrop to his later achievements, and he and his biographers often referenced his formative years aboard such vessels as PANTHER, ICELAND, NIMROD, ALGERINE, NEPTUNE, and BONAVENTURE.

Bartlett acquired the MORRISSEY at the nadir of his career. His early life had been active and often in the public eye. From 1897-1909, he was occupied by sealing and numerous travels with Peary.⁶⁵ He then commanded the doomed KARLUK under Vilhjalmur Stefansson and led a

⁶⁰ These memoirs must be read with caution, Bartlett’s biographer Harold Horwood has noted, since Bartlett’s anecdotes sometimes “show a taste for embroidery at the expense of historical accuracy.” See Horwood’s Foreword for a summary of archival pitfalls related to Bartlett materials. Harold Horwood, *Bartlett: The Great Canadian Explorer* (New York: Doubleday, 1977).

⁶¹ For biographies of Bartlett, see Fitzhugh Green, *Bob Bartlett: Master Mariner* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1929); George Palmer Putnam, *Mariner of the North: The Life of Captain Bob Bartlett* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1947); Horwood, *Bartlett: The Great Canadian Explorer*.

⁶² “He Answers Call of the Arctic,” *The Literary Digest*, 17 Aug. 1935, in News Articles 1936, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

⁶³ Putnam, *Mariner of the North*, 8, 12.

⁶⁴ Green, *Bob Bartlett: Master Mariner*, 12, 19.

⁶⁵ Wally Herbert, *The Noose of Laurels: Robert E. Peary and the Race to the North Pole* (New York: Atheneum, 1989).

daring rescue effort in 1913 and 1914.⁶⁶ In 1917, he was in charge of the Crocker Land relief expedition to North Greenland and led wartime marine transport work for the U.S. Army.⁶⁷ During 1925, he did airbase surveying in Alaska.⁶⁸ This early work sparked media attention and led to speaking engagements.⁶⁹ After this initial flurry of celebrity, Bartlett found himself unemployed, adrift in New York, and lacking a vessel of his own by the mid-1920s. He had become, in his own words, “just a mangy lion, a has-been who was being carted around to a free dinner here and there in hopes that he would break out into some rich sea tale and stage a freak monologue free of charge.”⁷⁰ Bartlett wanted to continue working in the Arctic, however, and he even developed ambitious plans for an Arctic surveying expedition that would drift long distances. His close acquaintances had some doubts about his ability to lead such an undertaking. “In a crisis he becomes tense, and if he meets human contrariness he sometimes becomes violent,” Putnam would write after his death. “Also, he is too conservative for such a responsible job as a drift across the Arctic Sea where new conditions must be met and emergencies will arise that call for a mental resourcefulness that he does not possess. He is in his element as an ice navigator, not as a thinker or manager of scientific men.”⁷¹ These colleagues planted seeds of an idea to finance a ship for Bartlett, which could be used for expedition work directed by others. Cdre. James Ford, the wealthy vice president of the U.S. Rubber Company, gave Bartlett money to acquire a vessel in 1925, and Bartlett eventually settled on the MORRISSEY for \$6,000.⁷²

Bartlett took the schooner on a lackluster codfishing voyage to Labrador during the summer of 1925, but that was her last season in the fisheries.⁷³ The schooner had a close call in hard weather that trip. Bartlett had locked Jim Dove, his nephew, into the after cabin to keep him safe in the rough seas. He heard pounding on the door, and opened it to find Jim “looking like a drowned rat” because a “sea had smashed down on our deck and stove in a deadlight.” The men

⁶⁶ On the KARLUK episode and Bartlett’s role in the strenuous rescue efforts, see William Laird McKinlay, *Karluk: The Great Untold Story of Arctic Exploration* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1976); Jennifer Niven, *The Ice Master: The Doomed 1913 Voyage of the Karluk and the Miraculous Rescue of Her Survivors* (New York: Hyperion, 2000).

⁶⁷ Bartlett captained the NEPTUNE on this rescue voyage, which retrieved Donald MacMillan who later became captain of the Arctic schooner BOWDOIN. On MacMillan’s Arctic career, see Donald MacMillan, *Four Years in the White North* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1918), and Everett Allen, *Arctic Odyssey: The Life of Rear Admiral Donald B. Macmillan* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1963).

⁶⁸ For Bartlett’s own accounts of his early career, see Robert Bartlett, *The Log of Bob Bartlett: The True Story of Forty Years of Seafaring and Exploration* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1928).

⁶⁹ Bartlett crossed paths with another polar icon, the Antarctic explorer Robert F. Scott, when he witnessed preparations onboard Scott’s TERRA NOVA in 1910. Bartlett had been invited to Great Britain with Peary to receive medals from the Royal Geographical Society. Bartlett, *Log of Bob Bartlett*, 223-24. A listing of Bartlett’s medals and awards, mostly predating his MORRISSEY work, is in Horwood, *Bartlett: The Great Canadian Explorer*, 185.

⁷⁰ Bartlett, *Log of Bob Bartlett*, 20.

⁷¹ Putnam, *Mariner of the North: The Life of Captain Bob Bartlett*, 134.

⁷² Bartlett had previously considered acquiring COLUMBIA, owned by Ben Pine of Gloucester, but the asking price of \$25,000 was too high. Houston and Platzner, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 12. Bartlett’s own account of the acquisition, perhaps embellished, is related in his second memoir, *Sails Over Ice* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1934), 2-7.

⁷³ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 12-30.

repaired the damage and arrived in Brigus to find “that not a drop of water had got through to the fish.”⁷⁴

Bartlett convinced the wealthy New York publisher George Palmer Putnam to finance an expedition to Greenland in 1926. To go north, MORRISSEY had to be refitted to meet the peculiar demands of polar sailing. In Brigus, MORRISSEY’s hull was sheathed in greenheart to weather the seas of the far north, which were not only frigid but often choked with ice that could shred a vessel’s unprotected hull. Bartlett described the installation of greenheart.

In order for this Greenheart to conform to the shape of the hull the planks were steamed and made pliable. They were fastened to the hull with five inch galvanized spikes. It took ten to fifteen days but it was a great job and I hope it will last for at least ten years. The greenheart has a smooth hard surface, like that of marble and the more it is rubbed with the ice the smoother it becomes. The added twenty tons of weight increased her draft only about two inches and did not retard her sailing or steaming abilities. In fact, it improved if anything.⁷⁵

An auxiliary diesel engine and radio were added, and other refits were necessary. Recalled Putnam,

the midships hold where cod once was stored was changed so that it became a messroom with skylight, lined with bunks. Coal for the galley fire was stowed in place of ballast beneath the cabin floor, a space for collectors’ cargoes arranged abeam the engine, a power winch on deck replaced the old hand capstan, and even a modern contrivance with a hand pump, down below, became available for those who were squeamish about straddling the bowsprit stays in the good old-fashioned way—which, in a high sea, was at least aseptic if chilly.⁷⁶

“Nothing fancy or extravagant,” recalled Bartlett, “just a good sensible seamanly outfit, not for looks or comfort, but for service.”⁷⁷ Prior to departure, MORRISSEY anchored off the American Yacht Club. Bartlett recalled MORRISSEY “looking very trim and smart, with sleek black hull, black rigging, and scraped and varnished yellow spars contrasting with the white paint of our upper works. On deck she wasn’t so attractive, I’ll allow, for there wasn’t much room” given all the gear, supplies, and small craft she carried.⁷⁸

As a wooden polar sailing vessel, MORRISSEY was in rare company. Few wooden polar exploration ships survive. Among them are FRAM (a three-masted topsail schooner used in the Arctic and Antarctic by Fridtjof Nansen, Otto Sverdup, Oscar Wisting, and Roald Amundsen ca.

⁷⁴ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 27-28.

⁷⁵ “The Norcross-Bartlett Expedition to the Greenland Sea—1931,” in M8.3 Box 5 Folder 55, Robert Abram Bartlett Papers, George J. Mitchell Department of Special Collections & Archives, Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, Maine (hereafter cited as RAB papers, BCSC).

⁷⁶ Putnam, *Mariner of the North*, 143-44.

⁷⁷ Bartlett, *Log of Bob Bartlett*, 322.

⁷⁸ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 37-38.

1893-1912 that is now in Oslo, Norway); GJØA (an auxiliary sloop used by Amundsen in his traversal of the Northwest Passage ca. 1906 that is now in Oslo, Norway); DISCOVERY (a three-masted steam barque used by Robert Scott in his first Antarctic expedition ca. 1901-04 that is now in Dundee, Scotland); and BOWDOIN (a two-masted auxiliary schooner used by Donald MacMillan in Arctic exploration ca. 1908-54 that is now at the Maine Maritime Academy).⁷⁹ BOWDOIN, built in East Boothbay, Maine, in 1921 as a “knockabout” schooner (lacking bowsprit), has been a frequent point of comparison for MORRISSEY.⁸⁰ MacMillan’s service with Peary, along with his subsequent explorations in Greenland until mid-century with crews of students and researchers, make him an apt counterpart to Bartlett as well.⁸¹ These polar vessels varied in design, following different theories about the best structure to navigate frigid, ice-choked waters. FRAM had a nearly keel-less bottom and was designed to rise up in pack ice rather than be crushed by the pressure. DISCOVERY, modeled on the Dundee whalers, was intended to push through ice rather than settle into it. Some were purpose-built for polar work (e.g., FRAM, DISCOVERY, BOWDOIN), while MORRISSEY, like GJØA, was an adaptation of a pre-existing vessel. All shared one feature: thick sheathing to provide strength and insulation in the ice. Wooden construction was considered superior to iron, since its elasticity permitted it to flex rather than crack under tremendous pressure and cold.

Bartlett received backing from major American research and exploration institutions, including the American Museum of Natural History, Museum of the American Indian, National Geographic Society, Chicago Zoological Society, Smithsonian Institution, and Explorers Club of New York. The voyages were conceived of and marketed as scientific missions. Crew surveyed the northern seas and landmasses for data, conducted oceanographic sampling and collected plant and animal specimens. Conducting scientific work required transport of and care for diverse scientific apparatus. On one voyage, the inventory included microscopes, wire dip nets, centrifuge tubes, formaldehyde, brass strainer, plant press, vials, scalpels, forceps, hypodermic syringes and needles.⁸²

Bartlett took his orders from the institutions for which he was collecting. “I am always glad to go north for the Smithsonian because they think of so many interesting things to look for,” he wrote in a report on his 1938 cruise to northwest Greenland. “They gave me a long list this year: walrus pups, narwhals, porpoises, birds, marine invertebrates, and plants. Not only were birds desirable, but their skeletons and stomachs as well. A lot of useful information has come out of the ‘innards’ of birds, for we know so little about their feeding habits and migrations which can

⁷⁹ On these ships and their design and work histories, see Fridtjof Nansen, *Farthest North: Being the Record of a Voyage of Exploration of the Ship “Fram” 1893-96 and of a Fifteen Months’ Sleigh Journey by Dr. Nansen and Lieut. Johansen*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1897); Roald Amundsen, *The North West Passage: Being the Record of a Voyage of Exploration of the Ship “Gjoa,” 1903-1907* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1908); Robert Falcon Scott, *The Voyage of the “Discovery”* (London: Smith, Elder, 1905); and David Yelverton, *Antarctica Unveiled: Scott’s First Expedition and the Quest for the Unknown* (Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado, 2000).

⁸⁰ James Delgado, “Bowdoin (Arctic Exploration Schooner,” National Historic Landmark Study, 1989, available at <http://www.nps.gov/history/maritime/nhl.bowdoin.htm>.

⁸¹ MacMillan, *Four Years in the White North*.

⁸² “Contents of Boxes for Captain R.A. Bartlett,” [1940?], in M8.2 Box 4, Folder 76, RAB papers, BCSC.

often be traced through the food found in the crop.”⁸³ The scientific work was not always a “pure” research agenda alone because commercial implications were also on Bartlett’s and his sponsors’ minds. After collecting plankton in 1935, Bartlett reported that the material “forms the subsistence of animals larger than its component elements, and these in turn form the food of still larger forms of prime importance to man, such as schools of fish and various valuable marine animals. Knowing this, it is easy to appreciate the important role that plankton plays in the economy of the sea, and to see why a search for further knowledge is desirable.”⁸⁴

The earliest voyages aboard the schooner, undertaken in 1926 and 1927, are among the best documented of the MORRISSEY’s travels, and they helped establish a pattern that most subsequent voyages under Bartlett would follow.⁸⁵ Departing from New York in early summer, the schooner would stop in Bartlett’s hometown of Brigus to visit his mother—often carrying along a cow as a gift—before heading north. The schooner would return to New York in late summer or early autumn.

The inaugural Arctic voyage on MORRISSEY left New York in July 1926, bound for North Greenland and operating under the auspices of the American Museum Greenland Expedition.⁸⁶ The object was to collect specimens for a new “Hall of Ocean Life” at the American Museum of Natural History. By the voyage’s conclusion, Bartlett could proudly report, “by great luck we brought back everything we went after, which is more than many a more elaborate expedition can say.”⁸⁷

Daniel Streeter wrote one of the most colorful descriptions of the 1926 expedition in *An Arctic Rodeo* (published 1929).⁸⁸ Streeter sought not to document the voyage in technical or scientific terms, but to evoke the human experience of Arctic sailing on the MORRISSEY, often in wry, acerbic terms. He took aim at the ship’s close quarters; at the toil and monotony of maintaining sail; and most of all at any pretenses of scholarly, cultural, or sporting superiority that members of the expedition might display. Writing for a lay audience rather than maritime specialists, he described northern navigation without jargon, and with an eye towards communicating the strangeness of such an undertaking to U.S. audiences with little sailing experience.⁸⁹

The process of navigating pack-ice and floes could be hair-raising, Streeter recalled. Off Labrador,

⁸³ “Explorations and Field-Work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1938,” in M8.3 Box 4, Folder 95, RAB papers, BCSC.

⁸⁴ “Greenland Expedition of 1935,” from “Explorations and Field-Work of the Smithsonian institution in 1935,” in M8.3 Box 4, Folder 98, RAB papers, BCSC.

⁸⁵ Monroe Barnard kept a detailed journal on the 1927 voyage, which included an Inuit language dictionary he compiled. It is available on the ERNESTINA website (<http://www.ernestina.org/history/M8blog1927.html>) and in Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

⁸⁶ Bartlett, *Log of Bob Bartlett*, 320.

⁸⁷ Bartlett, *Log of Bob Bartlett*, 322.

⁸⁸ Daniel Streeter, *An Arctic Rodeo* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1929).

⁸⁹ For Bartlett’s take on Streeter, see Bartlett, *Sails over Ice*, 40.

the ship was woven like a shuttle through the threadlike openings [of open water]. At the masthead a lookout selected the line of least resistance. His cry of 'port,' 'starboard' or 'hard over' was echoed by the helmsman and the wheel whirled accordingly. His voice was never silent. As a result our course became serpentine, inebriated, zigzag, devious and diabolical. . . . At times the helm did not respond quickly enough and then we would strike a pan with a thump that made the crockery rattle.⁹⁰

"Small isthmuses of rotten ice" impeded the schooner's progress.

The schooner would ride up on them until she was almost out of water before breaking through and proceeding on her way. This was interesting. Running into a blind pocket was also more or less of a sporting proposition, for as like as not the pans would close in behind us and seal us up in a nice little lagoon. Then the only thing left to do was 'crash the gate,' so to speak, and the schooner would shiver to her very keel from the impact.⁹¹

For all the challenges of the northern seas, the voyage was not a foray into the utter unknown, nor a constant risking of life. Unlike earlier polar expeditions that were truly isolated from contacts at home and "civilization" for months or years at a time, MORRISSEY benefited from the wireless age and remained in touch with sponsors, press, and family. Edward Manley operated the radio station VOQ on the 1926 expedition as the official station of the American Museum Greenland Expedition. The station broadcast the project's progress across the world: "next to WNP [MacMillan's Wireless North Pole], there is no expedition station familiar to more amateurs than good old VOQ. Both the 'Bowdoin' and the 'Morrissey' have nearly each year for ten years or more pushed their bows across the Arctic Circle and relied on amateur radio for their contact with the world behind."⁹²

There were dangerous moments. At one point, the schooner ran aground off Greenland. The schooner's stranding amused Streeter even as he appreciated the gravity of the predicament. "It was not a vulgar, flashy wreck," he wrote. "It was probably the dullest wreck that ever took place."⁹³ As the schooner grounded,

there was just a series of nasty bumps as our keel locked itself into the jagged spikes of a volcanic picket fence. That was all. There were no crashing spars, wild screams, frenzied humanity fighting for life or any of the natural concomitants of shipwrecks. Nevertheless, we were fastened to that reef with an irrevocable permanency. We had become an integral part of the local geology.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Streeter, *An Arctic Rodeo*, 53-54.

⁹¹ Streeter, *An Arctic Rodeo*, 54.

⁹² Clinton DeSoto, *Two Hundred Meters and Down: The Story of Amateur Radio* (West Hartford, CT: The American Radio Relay League, 1936), 149, in News Articles 1938, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

⁹³ Streeter, *An Arctic Rodeo*, 199.

⁹⁴ Streeter, *An Arctic Rodeo*, 202.

Combating a leak caused by the wreck demanded constant yet marginally effectual pumping (“a hydraulic picnic absolutely devoid of inspiration”).⁹⁵ The schooner was eventually taken ashore (“dragged up on the beach as far as bad language and a couple of ropes would take her”), but this re-positioning did not permit sufficient access to the lacerated hull for caulking.⁹⁶ Eventually the fortuitous arrival of Danish administrator Knud Rasmussen and the Danish patrol boat ICELAND FALK allowed a diver to go underwater and repair the bottom.⁹⁷ A survey at the trip’s conclusion revealed the extent of damage to MORRISSEY from the mishap.

The false keel was gone from the main rigging aft, and the oakum in the garboard seams on both sides had worked out for a distance of thirty feet from the rudder post. This was true also of the oakum in several of the butts in various places under the engine bed. Where she lay on the sharp corners of the rocks, in two places along the port side, she was bruised, but the greenheart sheathing had saved the oak planks from being gouged almost through. Lastly, quite a number of the treenails had been started a little. And that was all, a remarkably clean slate considering what she had been through.⁹⁸

The two decades of Arctic work resulted in continuous repairs to the ship. MORRISSEY lost her propeller on 8 September 1926. As recounted by Streeter, “that damned wheel had popped off as neatly as you please, and we were a simon-pure sailing vessel from then on.” She dropped “several more” propellers the next year. The problem, workers eventually determined, involved damaging electrolytic action caused by interaction between the steel screw shaft, copper sleeve, and bronze propeller.⁹⁹ Occasionally used parts would find their way into other uses, such as when new spars were put on MORRISSEY. “The old ones were so good,” recalled Bartlett, “that the foremast was cut up into lumber which, when mother saw it she had Jack Spracklin, the man about the place, bring it up and stow it away in the store where later we would use it for flooring in one of the rooms at Hawthorne,” the family cottage in Brigus.¹⁰⁰

In preparation for the 1927 Foxe Channel expedition, MORRISSEY went to the yard of Tietjen and Lang in Hoboken, New Jersey. The shipyard made a few repairs to the deck planking. Bartlett was most excited about the addition of a new mechanical windlass “to take the place of our old-fashioned barrel one, which was not at all suitable for our work in ice and in harbors where ice abounded, with the constant threat of having to move out in a hurry.” Bartlett paid for the windlass “by writing an article called ‘My Troubles with Women.’ I reckon everybody has had troubles with women, or else they don’t know any females, and so the title proved good enough to sell the piece.”¹⁰¹ He also acquired “an extra whaleboat with a Palmer engine,” and had new anchors and chain, a new rudder, a special ice propeller, a “small, tough wheel something like a towboat’s,” and a “ten-horsepower Husky to hoist the sails” installed. Bartlett

⁹⁵ Streeter, *An Arctic Rodeo*, 217.

⁹⁶ Streeter, *An Arctic Rodeo*, 232.

⁹⁷ Bartlett gives a detailed description of the physical damage and repair work in *Sails Over Ice*, 45-67.

⁹⁸ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 73-76.

⁹⁹ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 73-76.

¹⁰⁰ “Norcross-Bartlett Expedition, 1933,” in M8.3 Box 4, Folder 106, RAB papers, BCSC.

¹⁰¹ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 77-78.

stated, “It’s all very well to talk about the days of iron men and wooden ships—so long as you just talk about it. It sounds romantic and all that, but let me tell you that life at sea is happier in the present day when you have machinery to do the work that men used to have to do themselves.”¹⁰² The sum of these “modernizing” additions, Bartlett concluded, meant a transformation of the schooner.

When we tied up at Brigus [in 1927] I couldn’t help contrasting the *Morrissey* then as she was when she was last there. At that time she was just an old fishing schooner, a well-found, sturdy vessel, with none of the conveniences of life afloat, as you might say. And now—why, my dear man, she was an auxiliary schooner with some pretensions to respectability. She had new sails, a new deck, a modern automatic windlass, electric lighting, a new galley stove, and many other things that don’t come to mind that weren’t there in the earlier days.¹⁰³

Life aboard MORRISSEY could be physically and mentally taxing given the extreme environment and close quarters. Streeter gave a tongue-in-cheek description of the ship’s interior configuration ca. 1926.

There was a combination forecabin and galley, sort of a boudoir-kitchenette containing six very narrow bunks for the crew, a table and stove. Then came a storeroom, followed by the main hold, which formerly had served as a mausoleum for dead cod, and now by a strange irony of fate was to house twelve members of the Expedition in two tiers of bunks. Except for a corner given over to the wireless, the dining table occupied most of the remaining space. Next came the fifty-seven horse-power Diesel engine and a storeroom for specimens to be acquired later. A small door about three feet high led into the after-cabin, which was furnished with six bunks, a table, one chair and a very strong odor of bilge. There was also a wash-hand basin, small stove and storage spaces under the floor and in the overhang of the stern.¹⁰⁴

The close quarters, consisting of “twenty-five men crowded into a wooden hull not much bigger than a second-hand coffin,” could be stifling but also helped “constitute a positive guarantee against dullness.” Streeter added, “The bunks were curtainless, so conscious or unconscious one’s life story was a matter of public record. The most intimate personal details were subjected to the microscopic scrutiny of twelve pairs of curious eyes.”¹⁰⁵

Summering in the high North meant constant daylight, which could disrupt the daily rhythms to which crew were accustomed at lower latitudes. “Our existence became unnatural,” wrote Streeter, “permanently flooded with light. It hammered incessantly against one’s eyes. There was no escaping it. One slept fitfully, regardless of time, whenever he became exhausted, to

¹⁰² Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 79.

¹⁰³ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 81.

¹⁰⁴ Streeter, *An Arctic Rodeo*, 10-11.

¹⁰⁵ Streeter, *An Arctic Rodeo*, 57.

dream of the soothing narcotic effect of black velvet darkness.”¹⁰⁶ When not at work or ashore, the boys and crew passed time learning about the North from an Arctic-themed library. It set a somewhat dour tone for the voyage, Streeter mused. Titles included *Last Cruise of the Karluk*, *Last Cruise of the Miranda*, and *Moby-Dick*, reading that “definitely established two points—the successful explorer apparently always swims home, and arrives in a lisping condition of toothlessness.”¹⁰⁷ An onboard orchestra of fiddles, banjo, and lute also helped pass the hours. Streeter remembered, “Individually we were not bad; collectively we were rotten.”¹⁰⁸

Earlier expeditions tended to subsist on nutritious but monotonous menus, with the lard-and-dried-meat pemmican figuring prominently, but the varied menu served on MORRISSEY was hardly the stuff of privation. Streeter had mixed praise for the food cooked by Billy; he “made marvelous bread; his soups were a culinary caress and most of his other dishes never failed, but his boiled potatoes were lead—they would kill at twenty paces. His bacon was an oily horror, while his coffee was nothing short of hell-broth.”¹⁰⁹ By 1933 the provision list catered to the urbane tastes of the boys on board and included apple sauce, Grape Nuts, blackberry preserves, Alaska Red Sockeye Salmon, seedless raisins, fruit cakes, cranberry sauce, quahog chowder, ginger ale, chewing gum, and Life Savers.¹¹⁰ Never were these expeditions beset by dangerous scarcity or starvation. Commercial sponsors donated a great deal of the provisions as well as assorted equipment for the schooner. Bartlett dutifully acknowledged these contributions, sometimes having the boys and crew pose with products for photographs to be used in marketing back home.

The commercial aspects of the voyage extended to the science. Bartlett and the crew were under some pressure to produce specimens—physical evidence of the expeditions’ successes—for their sponsoring bodies, items that would be studied, archived, and sometimes displayed for profit back in the United States. Hunting and acquisition of specimens, both live and dead, were key goals of several years’ work. The 1927 expedition brought along two “specialists” for these purposes: Art Young, an archer retained to shoot at animals; and Carl Dunrud, a cowboy from Montana, to lasso and truss them. Their work was part serious science and collecting, part theater. Dunrud wore a cowboy hat, checkered shirt, and fringed vest that translated well into the motion and still pictures being produced, while the archer resembled a northern Daniel Boone in his frontiersman’s cap. Daniel Streeter declined to buy into the bravado and posturing of the enterprise, and described one of the walrus hunts in less than impressed terms: “The dory pitched and tossed so that George [Putnam] emptied his rifle respectively toward the sky, the bottom of the sea and the approximate location of Amsterdam.”¹¹¹ Even the eventual killing of the target was inglorious: “A two mile row, dragging a dead walrus, is our idea of the worst that can happen to one in a rowboat. There is positively no glamour in it.”¹¹² Two live polar bears were secured off Baffin Land for zoo exhibition, and were named “Tom and Jerry.” Putnam

¹⁰⁶ Streeter, *An Arctic Rodeo*, 74.

¹⁰⁷ Streeter, *An Arctic Rodeo*, 42.

¹⁰⁸ Streeter, *An Arctic Rodeo*, 47.

¹⁰⁹ Streeter, *An Arctic Rodeo*, 59.

¹¹⁰ “Food list 1933,” in M8.2 Box 4, Folder 78, RAB papers, BCSC.

¹¹¹ Streeter, *An Arctic Rodeo*, 256-57.

¹¹² Streeter, *An Arctic Rodeo*, 283.

later wrote, “the Zoo people, on closer acquaintance and better information, determined that more appropriate names would have been Mary and Minnie.”¹¹³ One of the lassoed bears left an enduring imprint on MORRISSEY. Bartlett remembered: “That bear, baffled in his efforts to get us, had taken it out on the rail, and the marks left by his teeth are on the *Morrissey* to this day. Whenever I look at them I think that the worst bucko mate that ever lived would have had no fault to find with the way our crew went aloft that day.”¹¹⁴

David Binney Putnam, son of George Palmer Putnam, traveled twice on MORRISSEY (1926-27) and wrote up his experiences for publication in two children’s books.¹¹⁵ David’s writings, which may have been substantially edited, were a mix of action-focused narration and boyish thoughts on “right” conduct in the north. He wrote often about hunting, concluding, “We all hate to kill anything and have it wasted. As a matter of fact I thought I was going to be awfully excited about killing things, but while it’s exciting all right I don’t think I care an awful lot about it. Getting animals for food or for museums is all right. But I don’t believe I want any trophies just to look at.”¹¹⁶ Upon return to New York in 1926, the deck scene of MORRISSEY showed the marks of hard travel and wildlife harvest. “We were streaked like a zebra with rust and dirt,” wrote Streeter, “our sails had gone into deep mourning, our rigging was full of odds and ends from bird carcasses to kayaks, while our decks were invisible under their load of empty drums, dories, bears, and tanks full of cadavers.”¹¹⁷

Each of MORRISSEY’s Arctic voyages had its own character with a distinctive exploration and collecting mission; a different crew, with a few “regulars” on hand year after year; a fresh set of landscapes seen, natives encountered, and rough weather conditions endured; and, as Bartlett delighted in later recounting, a new bundle of “close shaves” that sometimes tested the fabric of MORRISSEY and the nerves of her crew, but never sunk the vessel or sent its men to “Fiddler’s Green.” The schooner’s safety record was remarkable, as was the continuation of these voyages throughout the Great Depression and into the Second World War. Individual histories could be written of each of these years’ voyages, and of the later lives of the young men who sailed on MORRISSEY, several of whom went on to prominent academic and public careers. Examples include Junius Bird, archaeologist and putative inspiration for the movie character “Indiana Jones,” and Deric Nusbaum, expert on ancient Puebloan cultures. Across the two decades of Arctic work under Bartlett, however, several more general themes can be identified.

From a cultural standpoint, MORRISSEY’s presence in the North American popular imagination was distinctive and unprecedented for the time. Bartlett and MORRISSEY have been compared

¹¹³ Putnam, *Mariner of the North*, 165.

¹¹⁴ Bartlett, *Sails over Ice*, 90.

¹¹⁵ David Binney Putnam, *David Goes Voyaging* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1925); *David Goes to Greenland* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1926); *David Goes to Baffin Land* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1927).

David’s trips on MORRISSEY were not his first travels to far-off locales. He had traveled on ARCTURUS with William Beebe to the Pacific in 1925, where he also participated in extensive exploration and specimen collection. Putnam and Sons marketed David’s writings as part of a series of boys’ adventure stories, a best-selling genre of the period. Deric Nusbaum, who authored two travel accounts about the American Southwest also published by Putnam, accompanied David on MORRISSEY.

¹¹⁶ Putnam, *David Goes to Greenland*, 132-33.

¹¹⁷ Streeter, *An Arctic Rodeo*, 353.

to maritime researcher Jacques Cousteau and the mobile laboratory and diving base CALYPSO in terms of impact on the public consciousness and success in bringing maritime topics into popular discourse.¹¹⁸ This owed largely to remarkable media coverage of MORRISSEY's work. MORRISSEY's comings and goings generated enthusiasm among the media and public, both regionally and nationally. "When she arrives in New York Harbor, as she does every autumn, the little schooner gets attention that the great *Normandie* and *Queen Mary* might, with justification, envy," reported one journal in 1936. "The harbor shipping gives her a rousing reception—an echoing chorus of whistles. Reporters pile aboard—for the *Effie M. Morrissey* and her daring skipper, Captain Robert A. Bartlett have never failed to bring into port a cargo of good stories for the amazement of landlubbers."¹¹⁹

The New York Times ran dozens of stories over the years chronicling the movements of Bartlett and his "little *Morrissey*." The schooner sent regular wireless updates about its whereabouts and activities, which the paper printed regularly, making MORRISSEY a familiar staple of its pages. Readers in New York and beyond received a very stylized version of events since each expedition authored its own press releases, most of which highlighted onboard action, near-mishaps, and exotic findings. Headlines like "Eskimos Thrilled by Morrissey Trip," "Morrissey Gropes Up Coast in Fog," "Morrissey Dodges Greenland Blow," "Ice Floes 'Maul' Morrissey in Fog," "Bartlett Party and Walrus Clash" (only a sampling of hundreds) suggest the kind of rough-and-tumble image projected for the public during the Bartlett years.¹²⁰ The near-instantaneous coverage of the expeditions' progress contrasted with the polar expeditions of only a few decades prior. During Scott's British DISCOVERY voyage of 1901-04, for instance, the exploration ship remained in near-isolation for several years in the Antarctic. Upon the ship's return north, the scientific findings were lavishly published in large volumes produced under the careful oversight of the British Museum. MORRISSEY's public presence developed rapidly and in the vernacular by comparison, marking a new era in public relations.

The expeditions actively courted media coverage and even produced their own multimedia documentation of the Arctic work for popular distribution. Footage taken on board for the Pathé Newsreels, black-and-white short films shown in movie houses throughout the United States, brought live-action images of MORRISSEY trips to movie audiences.¹²¹ The "film man" Maurice Kellerman directed much of this coverage. The Pathé clips aimed to showcase life on board and ashore, dramatizing the labors of maintaining the ship, launching boats, collecting natural resources and mingling with natives. For a nation in the grips of the Great Depression and later the Second World War, these far-off voyages furnished instruction, entertainment, and even escape. Some of the written accounts of the voyages indicate how much of the action was staged for the benefit of the cameras, such as rehearsal of certain picturesque activities,

¹¹⁸ Delgado, "ERNESTINA," National Historic Landmark Study.

¹¹⁹ "Cap'n Bob's Going North!" *Oil-Power*, Dec. 1936, in News Articles 1936, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

¹²⁰ *The New York Times*, 15 Sept. 1932, 11 June 1930, 13 Sept. 1931, 11 July 1931, 17 July 1930.

¹²¹ Pathé Newsreels were produced ca. 1910-56. They were initially silent, with voice-over narration added in the 1930s. The Bartlett reels are available at the Library of Congress and the Peary-MacMillan Arctic Museum at Bowdoin College.

selectively omitting individuals from shots, and so on.¹²² The extent and diversity of the visual record was remarkable. Though a relatively small set of images became the “iconic” representations of MORRISSEY through circulation and publication in major papers, sometimes in full-page spreads, hundreds of other images were also produced.¹²³ Early polar explorations had one photographer, if that, but these trips had many working alongside the “official” photographer (and sometimes at odds with his lens, capturing more candid day-in-the-life scenes). Personal photography was widespread by this point, and several crew members assembled private photographic collections as well.¹²⁴

Pedagogy, and the financial support that came with it, was important to Bartlett. From 1930 onward he staffed the ship with school- and college-age students. They, or their families, paid a fee for participating in the voyage, which was a crucial source of income for Bartlett during the lean years of the Great Depression.¹²⁵ Coming from elite preparatory schools and colleges, including Groton, Dartmouth, Yale, and Vanderbilt, the students departed for the Arctic at the close of the academic year and returned to port in the northeast in time for the start of classes in September, requirements that helped dictate Bartlett’s collecting schedule. Most had little or no previous experience with seamanship, or in some cases with any kind of intensive physical labor, but they quickly gained skills as they worked alongside seasoned crew from Newfoundland. Some boys came on one voyage only; others, like Dartmouth undergraduate David Nutt, returned year after year and developed deeper relationships with Bartlett. (Nutt became the scientific collections director for subsequent expeditions.¹²⁶) A number maintained fond correspondence with Bartlett over the years, expressing gratitude for their experiences on MORRISSEY, and testifying to the enduring influence of the voyages on their character and careers. “My experience on the MORRISSEY has had a greater effect on my life than any other,” recalled Fred Littleton, an alumnus of the 1940 voyage who later championed the schooner’s U.S. return.¹²⁷ Alumni have held “Bartlett Boys” reunions and were active in efforts to bring the schooner back to the United States in the 1970s and 1980s.¹²⁸

Bartlett believed that the shipboard experiences were salutary for the young men. The Arctic was a testing ground in which attributes of American manliness—physical strength, endurance, teamwork, leadership—could be cultivated. The media came to seek out Bartlett for commentary on these qualities, establishing him as a spokesperson for the merits of old-

¹²² Marie Peary Stafford, whose 1932 experience on MORRISSEY is described below, recalled how she was sometimes asked to step out of the frame during the filming of certain scenes, thereby leaving only the men present in the visual record.

¹²³ These oft-reproduced images included MORRISSEY in front of an iceberg, Bartlett at the helm, and the polar bears and walrus cubs brought aboard.

¹²⁴ Personal photograph albums include those kept by Monroe Barnard and Jim Dove, in CBA NEBE.

¹²⁵ Some boys received scholarship assistance, recalls Fred Littleton, who sailed in 1940. His statement counters images of participation solely by privileged young American men. Bartlett met his other expenses through lecturing fees, product endorsements, salaries from Pathé News, and publications. Horwood, *Bartlett: The Great Canadian Explorer*, 160-61.

¹²⁶ Nutt’s correspondence with Bartlett, housed in the Dartmouth and Bowdoin Libraries, indicates the degree to which Bartlett relied on his input in formulating collecting plans.

¹²⁷ Fred Littleton, “The 1940 Bartlett West Greenland Expedition,” *Lines and Offsets: Journal of the Traditional Wooden Boat Society* 45 (31 March 1986): 1-10.

¹²⁸ A preliminary listing of all the Bartlett Boys is compiled in Putnam, *Mariner of the North*, 232-33.

fashioned physical labor in an age of rapid social change and increasing reliance on technology. Bartlett had definite ideas about the type of boy suitable for Arctic work. He wanted “young men, really little more than older boys,” who possessed “plenty of courage, an aptitude to work with their hands, and must never get weary.” The “most useful” were those with “a knack of being handy, and who are always busy doing something.” Such young men, with “physical endurance and courage and the moral qualifications, is just the type an explorer wants—a fellow who is able to do things and who goes ahead and does them without being told.” Bartlett had a particular behavioral code in mind as well, preferring boys “who do not smoke, never use intoxicating liquor, and who do not sit around mooning about some girl back home. It’s the clean out-of-doors, type of man who does the best job, the fellow who glories in living in the open and who gets more fun stretching his muscles and doing masculine things, than in being popular with the girls.” These types needed to be steadfast as well: “Lads who won’t admit they are hungry when they are hungry, who aren’t tired when they are really tired enough to drop in their tracks—the kind who never give up. They must be men who glory in keeping their bodies clean, and who will do it in spite of every adverse condition. They must be alert—they won’t get their hands and feet frozen through carelessness. A man on our expedition who gets his feet frozen is as helpless as a boat that has lost its oars.”¹²⁹

Bartlett’s understanding of gender roles and relationships was complicated. He adored “Mother,” calling her the “biggest influence in my forty years of going to sea,” and he faithfully wrote daily letters to her.¹³⁰ He also began his *Log* with a chapter on “The Trouble with Women” and bought into maritime superstitions about the female presence aboard. He and his commentators liked to assert that women never traveled on the MORRISSEY. “He has never let a woman sail on his ship,” wrote the *Literary Digest* in 1935, but this was more an artful boast than a statement of fact.¹³¹ Eskimo women often came aboard to trade or visit, though in the cultural frameworks of the time these natives were not considered “women” quite on par with Anglo females.¹³² Bartlett benefited from and appreciated the labors of the Eskimo women in aiding men’s survival in a challenging climate, yet tended to view them as skilled domestic laborers. Dorothy Putnam, whose husband George Palmer Putnam and son David Binney Putnam both sailed on the early expeditions (1926-27), traveled on MORRISSEY as far as Brigus. Dorothy was an experienced world traveler, and she even earned praise from Bartlett for being an untroublesome passenger. Her involvement with the ship and crew was more than a benign, passing acquaintance, however. Unbeknownst to George Putnam—who would eventually divorce Dorothy and marry the celebrated aviatrix Amelia Earhart—Dorothy and one of the Bartlett boys, George Weymouth, carried on a romantic relationship. George Putnam had hired Weymouth, a young Yale undergraduate, to tutor David Binney Putnam aboard the

¹²⁹ “Qualities of North Pole Explorers,” fragment, [1940?], in M8.3 Box 4, Folder 119, RAB papers, BCSC. Bartlett detailed his own habits of diet, exercise, and conduct at the semi-didactic conclusion of his first memoir (e.g., “when I have a choice between walking or riding, I walk”). See *Log of Bob Bartlett*, 350.

¹³⁰ Bartlett, *Log of Bob Bartlett*, 5.

¹³¹ “He Answers Call of the Arctic,” *The Literary Digest*, 17 Aug. 1935, in News Articles 1936, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

¹³² Despite Bartlett’s statement in *Log*: “You might say it is not fair to look on Eskimos in the same light as one would look on white women. That is not true. An Eskimo woman cooks and sews, gossips and laughs, loves her babies and worries about her husband every bit as much as any white wife does.” Bartlett, *Log of Bob Bartlett*, 5.

MORRISSEY.¹³³ (This tangled triangle of affections did not make it into “official” accounts of the voyage.)

Marie Peary Stafford, daughter of explorer and Bartlett idol Robert Peary, traveled to Greenland on MORRISSEY in 1932.¹³⁴ She helped direct construction of the Peary Monument, erected at Cape York, Greenland, to commemorate her father’s exploits and to honor the contributions of Eskimo communities to exploration. Stafford traveled with her two sons, ages 12 and 14, aboard MORRISSEY from June to September 1932. Her diary of the trip gives a strikingly different view of Bartlett and his men. At turns admiring their resilience, Stafford is more often critical of what she perceived as rampant, if understated, misogyny. She felt marginalized from the expedition’s activities and sensed that information about progress was being withheld from her despite her key role in financing and planning the mission. In her telling, the Cape York monument—an obelisk bearing two northward-facing “P”s, the materials for which had been hauled north on MORRISSEY—was only grudgingly completed by the men.¹³⁵ Her account suggests how shipboard experiences on MORRISSEY could vary substantially for individuals depending on position, race, and gender. Whereas the men and “Boys” tended to celebrate the camaraderie of the close quarters, Stafford felt keenly the isolation of being the only woman on board and the physical and mental strains of shipboard living conditions to which she was unaccustomed. MORRISSEY made room for her physically, but the social space produced in that time and place seemed not to accommodate such an outsider.

Gender was one axis along which the males of MORRISSEY defined themselves; race was another, and possibly more powerful. The relationships between Bartlett and his crews to the area’s indigenous inhabitants were products of their time, marked by limited though sometimes perceptive understandings of social and cultural dynamics and framed within then-current understandings of cultural “progress” and the comparative developments of civilizations. Some of these relations can seem paradoxical. Bartlett sustained personal connections with natives and was familiar with their individual and family histories. He valued their navigational guidance and willingness to trade. He especially delighted in visiting the Smith Sound Eskimos he had known many years before with Peary and finding them “in such good shape.”¹³⁶ His crew deemed the visit “Old Home Week” for Bartlett because he was reunited with “a lot of old Peary men, fine chaps like Kudlooktoo, Poodloona, Metak, Sipsu, Inyoughitog.”¹³⁷

¹³³ Sally Putnam Chapman documented the life of her grandmother, Dorothy Putnam, and her grandmother’s relations to the MORRISSEY and its crew members in *Whistled like a Bird* (New York: Warner Books, 1997).

¹³⁴ Peary Stafford was born in Greenland and spent much of her young childhood there. She recounted these experiences in magazine articles later in life. Josephine Peary, her mother, wrote a children’s book about her daughter’s northern life. See Josephine Peary, *The Snow Baby: A True Story with True Pictures* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1901). Peary Stafford’s personal archives are at the Maine Women Writers’ Collection, Portland, Maine. Reference here is to the journal typescript, “Stafford Journal 1932,” in Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

¹³⁵ Stafford’s journal gives one of the most critical pictures of Bartlett and of Anglo interactions with the Eskimo communities, among whom she had been raised. She too had her own biases, likening the Eskimos at one point to contented plantation slaves. Her journal, not written for publication, must be read carefully, as it may have focused on the hardships of the voyage because she had few other outlets for her concerns. (This is not to discredit her criticisms, however.)

¹³⁶ Bartlett, *Log of Bob Bartlett*, 324.

¹³⁷ Bartlett, *Log of Bob Bartlett*, 323-24.

Bartlett tended to make sweeping generalizations about the natives and their “primitive” practices. His commentary was almost always comparative, using native lifeways as points of contrast to modern “civilized” life in the south. He found the northern natives “about the most isolated and primitive people in the world,” living a “life absolutely remote and entirely their own.”¹³⁸ Bartlett also thought they were “far happier than the average run of so-called civilized people in the softer environments of the south.”¹³⁹ Targeting with special vehemence what he perceived as native over-hunting in the years since contact, he denounced the effects of Western hunting technology: “as killing became easier, they have killed, probably, too much.” He deemed natives “a simple-minded people, pretty well without forethought. The word ‘conservation’ means nothing to them. So they have gone ahead, and with sheer waste have cleaned out their game pretty well. At least, it seems to me to be getting cleaned out. It’s pretty pathetic.”¹⁴⁰

For the crew members who wrote accounts of their encounters with the native peoples, the brevity of their contact—a few hours of trading on board, several days on shore—precluded more substantive and nuanced kinds of understandings that might have emerged from sustained immersion in native communities.¹⁴¹ Ethnographic commentary could be glib but trite, as in Putnam’s comments about a native society with “perfect economic partnership[s] in which woman’s place is in the igloo.”¹⁴² The ethnographic remarks by Bartlett and others who wrote about the expeditions might be taken as expressions of anxiety about contemporary urban life as much as direct anthropological observation.

The native peoples had an active and complex relationship with MORRISSEY, coming aboard to participate in trading, meals, and entertainment. They likely “used” the visitors from the south for their own purposes as much as the North Americans did them.¹⁴³ When natives at Arctic Harbor sighted a vessel with “schooner rig” in August 1938, they reported its appearance and course to the local Royal Canadian Mounted Police office—one example of how these communities knew and actively monitored vessels like MORRISSEY.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁸ Bartlett, *Log of Bob Bartlett*, 324.

¹³⁹ Bartlett, *Log of Bob Bartlett*, 325.

¹⁴⁰ Bartlett, *Log of Bob Bartlett*, 325.

¹⁴¹ The French anthropologist Jean Malaurie, for example, lived among the Thule Eskimos in the 1950s, not long after Bartlett’s voyages had visited the same area. In the widely translated *The Last Kings of Thule*, Malaurie observed all aspects of culture. His work is notable both for the detail of observation and the pronounced theoretical framework of cultural primitivism that colors his accountings. See Jean Malaurie, *The Last Kings of Thule: With the Polar Eskimos, as They Face Their Destiny*, trans. Adrienne Foulke (New York: Dutton, 1982). The relationship between the MORRISSEY crew and the native communities in the Arctic has not yet been narrated from the perspective of the native peoples. There has also been no discussion of how the story of the MORRISSEY’s visits has been incorporated into native oral traditions and remembrances of the encounters.

¹⁴² Putnam, *Mariner of the North*, 176.

¹⁴³ Peary Stafford recalls a trading incident where she feared the natives would be taken advantage of by the Americans, only to have the reverse happen.

¹⁴⁴ A commissioner in the Northwest Territories, Canada, subsequently contacted Donald MacMillan about the sighting and asked for his help in identifying the vessel. MacMillan suggested it might be MORRISSEY from the description, though he urged confirmation from other records. See R.A. Gibson to Donald MacMillan, 25 Nov. 1939, in News Articles 1938, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

“Contemporary Americans will find aspects of the Bartlett period vexing,” acknowledged a 1992 programming report on the schooner and its historical role in education. It goes on to state, “the ‘Bartlett Boys’ were sons of privileged families, there were no ethical prohibitions against killing animals for the advancement of science, the treatment of the Eskimos was paternalistic, and women were ignored.” In assessing Bartlett and his work, the verdict must be complex: “If we can make allowance for prevailing historical condition, Captain Bob can be seen as a superlative teacher who influenced generations of youth through belief in the character-building potential of life aboard ship.”¹⁴⁵ Man and myth, Bartlett sustained a complex combination of private and public personas that were sometimes at odds with one another but always centered on the far North as the source of identity and value.

Western Arctic Work and Second World War Military Service

While MORRISSEY’s Arctic travels took her predominantly through the eastern Arctic and Greenland waters, she did travel west on a voyage that covered more than 25,000 miles. The Stoll-McCracken Siberian Arctic Expedition (1928), which explored the Aleutian Islands and Bering Strait, returned Bartlett to the region he knew from the KARLUK tragedy fifteen years earlier. The mission aimed at another “first,” the location and collection of mummified bodies of Aleutian people. The very existence of these mummies at the time was conjectural among Western researchers. “Looking for that paleontological needle in the vast haystack of the stormbound, fog-shrouded Aleutian islands was an out-chance gamble,” one of Bartlett’s biographers has stressed—a gamble that paid off for the collectors.¹⁴⁶ Charles Stoll undertook the expedition in cooperation with the American Museum of Natural History. Edward Moffat Weyer also went along to oversee archaeological and anthropological research.¹⁴⁷

MORRISSEY left New York in February 1928, passed through the Panama Canal, and traveled up the western coasts of the United States and Canada via Seattle, Prince Rupert, and Juneau. The team examined and collected specimens at Port Moller, Alaska, Diomed Island, and mainland sites, including excavation of an Aleutian burial in Unalaska.¹⁴⁸ Contents of the burial were shipped by rail to the American Museum in New York as “excess baggage” and studied by Margary Loeb.¹⁴⁹ The collecting project, deemed intellectually valuable at the time, is today one of the more problematic moments in MORRISSEY’s history, since research institutions

¹⁴⁵ John Braman, “Status Report on the Development of The Ernestina Program” (New Bedford, MA: Ernestina/Morrissey Historical Association, 8 January 1992), 8-9, in EMHA/Ernestina, Ernestina Archive 1, CBA NEBE.

¹⁴⁶ Horwood, *Bartlett: The Great Canadian Explorer*, 198.

¹⁴⁷ Weyer published his findings on the region’s indigenous peoples in Edward Weyer, *The Eskimos: Their Environment and Folkways* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1932). He also traveled on MORRISSEY during the 1932 Peary Memorial trip. Weyer related his experiences to ERNESTINA supporters in Friends of the Ernestina Morrissey, “The 1928 Stoll McCracken Arctic Expedition,” *Fourth Chapter: Fifth Anniversary Commemorative* (Spring 1987), 22.

¹⁴⁸ Weyer described the 1928 findings in Edward Moffat Weyer, “An Aleutian Burial,” *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 31, no. 3 (1929).

¹⁴⁹ Horwood, *Bartlett: The Great Canadian Explorer*, 206.

presently seek to treat indigenous artifacts, especially human remains from grave sites, with more circumspection and respect for the wishes of their originating cultures.¹⁵⁰

The 1928 expedition resulted in further changes to the ship's physical appearance. "We built a stateroom forward, fitting it with lockers, drawers, tables, and a radiator," recalled Bartlett. "Next we installed an Arcola heater and a little motor to drive the warm air to the radiators. We put in electric lighting throughout, including riding and running lights."¹⁵¹ The voyage itself was beset by physical problems, beginning when MORRISSEY collided with a submerged wreck in the Hudson just after departure from New York: "ten feet of the keel had been ripped off right up to within a few inches of the garboard strake," though the schooner "didn't make a bit of water. Not a drop."¹⁵² Mishaps with the propeller and shaft necessitated repairs in Seattle and points north. Rough sailing on the return trip, Bartlett remembered, "convinced [him] that the Oregon-pine bowsprit would have to be shortened. With the jib and jumbo tacked down to it, the weight of water it picked up when the *Morrissey* nose-dived into a swell put too much strain on the upper structure of the bow and on the pawl post, where the heel of the spirit was mortised into it." Not least, the schooner became "overrun with maggots from the skeletons stored in loose salt on the deck. That was the result of careless work, and it took a long session with the hose, and then with lye, to get rid of them."¹⁵³

One of the vessel's achievements from its later period of Arctic work was the setting of a record in 1940 for the most northern point reached by wooden ship. She attained a latitude of 80 degrees 33' N, coming within 578 miles of the Pole when sailing in Kennedy Channel on the northeast shore of Ellesmere Island. This has been disputed by Fred Littleton, a participant in the voyage, who contends, "she reached 80 degrees 22' N on Aug 5, 1940 (not 80 degrees 33' as in some reports—see the Trade Chart of the 1940 voyage which appeared on the reverse side of the 1941 First Quarter Projected North Atlantic Current Chart)."¹⁵⁴

By 1940 events on the world stage helped spell an end to the strictly scientific cruising of MORRISSEY. Bartlett authored an account of MORRISSEY's Greenland voyages that appeared in *National Geographic* in July 1940, during the early stages of the Second World War.¹⁵⁵ He detailed the area's topography and climate, its mineral resources, indigenous communities, and wildlife. He gave a glimpse, too, into the daily activities of his "boys" on

¹⁵⁰ Photographs of McCracken posing with a bundle of native remains while displaying the flag of the Explorers' Club of New York are in the Harold McCracken Collection, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska, Fairbanks. The collection also contains photographic portraits of living people on the Diomed Islands. McCracken, who went on to write prolifically about North American archaeology and the frontier, described his trip on the MORRISSEY in Harold McCracken, *God's Frozen Children* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1930). Horwood discusses some of the archaeological and anthropological understandings of the time, though with more dramatic flair and romance about "ancient" mummies than academic precision. Horwood, *Bartlett: The Great Canadian Explorer*, 195-207.

¹⁵¹ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 103-04.

¹⁵² Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 105-06.

¹⁵³ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 142-46.

¹⁵⁴ Fred Littleton, "Why Ernestina Should be Designated a National Historic Landmark." Littleton recounts the voyage as a whole in Fred Littleton, "The 1940 Bartlett West Greenland Expedition," *Lines and Offsets: Journal of the Traditional Wooden Boat Society* 45 (March 1986): 1-10.

¹⁵⁵ Robert Bartlett, "Greenland from 1898 to Now," *The National Geographic Magazine* (July 1940), 111-140.

board. The thrust of the piece was political, though, as Bartlett argued that Greenland had strategic military and economic potential and therefore ought to be acquired by the United States. Peary, his former commander, had advised as much decades before, in the midst of the First World War, and Bartlett echoed Peary's recommendation, finding added urgency in the escalating tensions in Europe. The Arctic was no longer a remote and exotic outpost for adventurers and scientists alone, but a transitional zone, central to international geopolitical struggles over "spheres of influence."¹⁵⁶

The years leading up to and during North American involvement in the Second World War found MORRISSEY engaged in work for the U.S. government. Government officials were interested in the Arctic as a potential staging ground or transit point en route to the European theater of war. In 1941, Louise Boyd directed an expedition to Greenland with Bartlett as skipper of MORRISSEY. Boyd, a silver heiress from San Rafael, California, who self-funded the trip, had previously traveled throughout the Arctic and Greenland. The Boyd mission researched atmospheric conditions in the Arctic and their implications for military communications. The expedition sailed from Washington, D.C., on 11 June 1941, and returned there 3 November 1941 "after a successful voyage up the west coast of Greenland and down the coast of Baffin Land and Labrador." The goal was to "secure data on radio-wave propagation in the areas traversed," with priority given to "determining characteristics of the ionosphere," the "electrically conducting region high in the earth's atmosphere which makes long-distance radio transmission possible." The effects of magnetism and the aurora were also examined.¹⁵⁷ The U.S. Navy kept details of the voyage confidential and sought to apply these findings to the "predetermination of radio transmission conditions, selection of optimum frequencies, distances of communication, power requirements, etc., for communication to Europe and the North Atlantic area." The work was "considered to be of value for the national defense."¹⁵⁸

Carrying magnetic equipment lent by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C., the Boyd expedition was a serious undertaking in the early days of the Second World War.¹⁵⁹ The U.S. press was enraptured, even bemused, by the notion of a female heading such an undertaking. The "picture of a woman outfitting her own expedition, to sail on a useful mission for the government, is more than a little thrilling," wrote one dispatch, even as it acknowledged Boyd's longstanding expertise in the region. Boyd had traveled previously to eastern Greenland, it

¹⁵⁶ See Bernard DeVoto, "The Falsity of Geopolitics in an Air Age: The Arctic Ocean the Center of Today's Political Geography," *New York Herald Tribune Weekly Book Review*, 24 Sept. 1944, collected in M8 Box 7, Folder 30, RAB papers, BCSC. DeVoto reviewed a volume edited by Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Bartlett's one-time commander on the KARLUK. Critiquing the German "Heartland" geopolitical thesis, which regarded central Eurasia as key to political domination, DeVoto countered that the Arctic was the significant zone connecting continental possessions: "The routes of international communication and international access lead across them; here the lines converge which will be lines of cleavage or of co-operative organization hereafter."

¹⁵⁷ "Return of Louise A. Boyd Arctic Expedition," *Technical News Bulletin of the National Bureau of Standards, U.S. Department of Commerce*, no. 296 (Dec. 1941), 103-104, in News Articles 1941, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

¹⁵⁸ Lyman Briggs to Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department, 22 May 1941, in News Articles 1941, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

¹⁵⁹ "Arctic Expedition Brings Back Data on Radio Waves," *The Evening Star* [Washington, D.C.], 28 Nov. 1941, in News Articles 1941, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

noted, and “contributed so much to the knowledge of that ice-bound coast that the Danish Government named a part of it Louise A. Boyd Land.”¹⁶⁰ A *Washington News* correspondent interrogated Boyd about her fashion in the far north.

‘Do you lacquer your fingernails when you are out on such a trip?’ I asked her as I noticed the deep red polish which she uses.

‘No. I give the old nails a rest. But I always use lipstick no matter where I am. And I take very good care of my skin. Those northern glares of sun on ice can play havoc with it if you don’t keep it properly creamed and softened.’

And Louise Boyd has that transparent, lovely complexion.¹⁶¹

Bartlett’s reactions to this media treatment are unrecorded.

From 1942 to 1945, Bartlett and MORRISSEY held a charter from the U.S. government and worked on expeditions to Frobisher Bay, the Hudson Strait, and coastal Greenland, with Cdre. Alexander Forbes of the U.S. Navy jointly commanding the schooner. During this period, MORRISSEY was ranked as an Army Transport, falling under jurisdiction of the North Atlantic Division of the Engineer Corps.¹⁶² Forbes described her involvement in a Canadian-American surveying effort in *Quest for a Northern Air Route* (1953). Forbes’ account gives a glimpse of Bartlett returning to terrain he had visited years before and working under military rather than civilian orders for a sometimes-elusive objective.

In early 1942 Forbes received notice that he would be traveling north with Bartlett on MORRISSEY with orders to reach Ungava Bay and survey the entrance of the Koksoak River.¹⁶³ Plans later changed to an exploration of Frobisher Bay. Charles Hall of Cincinnati had charted the bay and published a map of it in 1865, which had been replicated, errors and all, in government documents through the 1940s.¹⁶⁴

MORRISSEY needed special supplies for the work, including surveying instruments, buoys to mark channels, wire-drag gear, a range-finder for measuring distance from shore, in addition to the echo-sounding fathometer already on board.¹⁶⁵ The vessel was also equipped with weaponry, recalled Forbes, though the provision of arms may have been more *pro forma* than actually effective.

As I was discussing plans with Captain Bartlett [before departure], an Army officer entered the cabin and said, ‘Bob, I’m giving you a couple of machine guns.’

¹⁶⁰ “Arctic Bound,” n.d., n.p., in News Articles 1941, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

¹⁶¹ Evelyn Peyton Gordon, “Louise Boyd—Style Picture—but Never When in Greenland,” *The Washington News*, n.d., in News Articles 1941, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

¹⁶² Alexander Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953), 45.

¹⁶³ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 42-44.

¹⁶⁴ The map’s “portrayal of the most important group of islands is so inaccurate as to be extremely confusing,” wrote Forbes in *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 33.

¹⁶⁵ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 44-45.

‘Fine!’ said Captain Bob, ‘We’ll use ‘em on walrus.’
 ‘Those aren’t for walrus, they’re for submarines,’ said the officer.
 ‘To hell with submarines!’ said Captain Bob. ‘We’ll use ‘em on
 walrus.’¹⁶⁶

There were three main entrances to Frobisher Bay, but “with his characteristic independence, Captain Bob used none of these, but pioneered his way through a narrow passage, probably new to white men, between Resolution Island and an outlying island off its western shore.”¹⁶⁷ Ice floes choked the way, Forbes recalled in a passage reminiscent of Daniel Street’s *Arctic Rodeo* description, but

[i]t was an old story to this seasoned crew. The man in the barrel at the foremast head picked the lanes through the ice and directed the man at the wheel, and as he yelled, ‘Port’ or ‘Starboard,’ the schooner zigzagged dizzily. When feasible, he followed leads of open water; when these didn’t serve, the schooner simply rammed the pans with a jarring crunch that would have terrified a yachtsman and pushed them aside, leaving a streak of red bottom paint on the ice as it floated away on the quarter. These men knew what the ship could take and they let her take it.¹⁶⁸

Forbes admired Bartlett and his command of the vessel, however unorthodox by military standards: “Few skippers have ever been more considerate of their crews than Bob Bartlett. There was no military smartness about the ship, but morale was high, and the competence of the crew and their readiness for any task proved that he had the kind of discipline that makes men happy and at the same time eager and efficient.”¹⁶⁹ Bartlett, he decided, was “colorful, vibrant, fiercely independent, and at times explosive.”¹⁷⁰

Charter duty for the U.S. government during wartime brought a new set of protocols to MORRISSEY’s work. Bartlett received a set of “confidential” identification signals to use.¹⁷¹ A memo that read: “WARNING: Approaches to Boston are mined. All vessels entering or leaving Boston Harbor must stay in the Channels below designated. Passage in or out of the Harbor by any other route is strictly forbidden, and may prove fatal to your vessel” apprised him of the new cautions needed for entering and leaving Boston Harbor.¹⁷² The crew was well-fed during the operations, as the galley was stocked not with spartan rations but with such items as ham, sausage, beef, chicken, lamb, oranges, apples, blueberries, apricots, fruit cocktail, and sweet mixed pickles.¹⁷³ Boosting morale of the surveying crew was necessary now and again, Forbes

¹⁶⁶ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 45.

¹⁶⁷ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 54.

¹⁶⁸ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 57.

¹⁶⁹ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 67.

¹⁷⁰ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 44.

¹⁷¹ M8.2 Box 4, Folder 52, RAB papers BCSC.

¹⁷² M8.2 Box 4, Folder 53, RAB papers BCSC.

¹⁷³ “Requisition for the ‘Morrissey,’” 5 July 1944, in M8.2 Box 4 Folder 57, RAB papers BCSC.

noted, since the men occasionally felt that “Frobisher Bay was far from the fighting front and our survey was too trivial to bother with.”¹⁷⁴

Daily the crew scoured the bar in Cincinnati Press Channel with their fathometer, “in search of any pinnacle or rock rising above the prevailing depth of 2 fathoms.”¹⁷⁵ Finding a suitable airbase site near Koojesse Inlet, they then began hydrographic sounding of the harbor and its approaches. The crew used a “cruder” method of sounding, which involved running a whaleboat carrying a fathometer between landmarks to create a “continuous profile of the bottom on the moving paper roll.”¹⁷⁶ Sam Bartlett worked as secretary while Forbes read aloud the data, a painstaking process.¹⁷⁷ Cincinnati Press Channel had drawbacks, “with its two-fathom bar requiring deep-draft ships to wait for high tide before crossing,” but they found a new, narrow, and deep strait that they named “Bartlett Narrows.”¹⁷⁸

The crew spent time escorting steamers up the bay to the base, which was beginning to be transformed.

Here at this harbor, where less than a month before the icebound shores knew no sign of life but the seal, the sea trout, the eider duck, and an occasional fox, where probably no white man had ever trod, a turmoil of sea-borne traffic was already in evidence. The curtain was rising on the drama of landing vast stores for the building of Quonset huts, storehouses, and electric power lines, while high-ranking officers of the Army and Navy were examining the airport site and the preparations for its development.¹⁷⁹

The emerging airbase site was “an aquatic madhouse,” filled with the “turmoil of traffic” as “motorboats whizzed to and fro between the steamers and the beach, carelessly steered and barely missing the reefs we had surveyed.” The chaos “got terribly on Captain Bob’s nerves as he watched from the deck of his beloved *Morrissey*. It was a relief to him and to all on board when we decided to go down the bay and commence a proper survey of Bartlett Narrows.”¹⁸⁰

The survey was effective but improvisational. Forbes remembered that in the absence of professional surveyors the crew: “built cairns and painted spots on the steep faces of the rocks on all the islands in the vicinity. From these landmarks we took angles by transit or sextant. Sometimes the weather favored this pursuit; at other times cold winds, sleet, and snow clouded sextant mirrors, nearly paralyzed aching fingers, and made the soggy notes almost illegible.”¹⁸¹ The crew headed for home on *MORRISSEY* on 20 September 1942, two months after first

¹⁷⁴ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 121.

¹⁷⁵ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 68.

¹⁷⁶ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 71.

¹⁷⁷ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 72.

¹⁷⁸ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 73.

¹⁷⁹ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 77.

¹⁸⁰ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 82.

¹⁸¹ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 84.

entering the bay. Dogged by a few worries about submarines in Strait of Belle Isle, the men and MORRISSEY nevertheless returned south unscathed.¹⁸²

A second survey aboard MORRISSEY was planned for 1943, this time to conduct hydrographic surveying of the Koksoak River and Frobisher Bay. Forbes headed out in June 1943.¹⁸³ On this trip he observed an ingenious method of anchoring overnight.

In the twilight the Captain decided to tie up to a large ice pan for the hours of near darkness. This was a maneuver I had not seen before. Running slowly to the edge of a pan some 2 or 3 acres in area, he stopped the ship as the bow touched the ice. Two of the crew dropped from the bobstay to the ice, carrying a small anchor and a pickax. Running a few yards up the icy slope of the pan, they cut a deep hole with the pick, drove a fluke of the anchor into the hole, then climbed back aboard. With the warp pulled taut, the ship lay snugly secured in the lee of the pan until the dawn brightened enough for further progress through the floe.¹⁸⁴

During the day, the men commenced surveying, using a triangulation network of tripods.¹⁸⁵ They spent days “exploring and putting up tripods on many islands,” joined by airplanes equipped with surveying cameras from the Hydrographic Office “to photograph Frobisher Bay with both vertical and high oblique shots and thus provide the makings of a map to be built on the basis of our triangulation.”¹⁸⁶ Bartlett, aloft in one of the planes, delighted in the new perspective on his familiar sailing grounds. “The Navy had played Santa Claus and provided a vast quantity of Kodachrome film with which we could take scenic views and experiment at recording the position of shoals by the color contrast of the brown kelp with the dark blue of the surrounding deep water,” wrote Forbes. “Captain Bob, sitting in the nose of the plane with only plexiglass between him and the wide panorama before him, drank it all in with the enthusiasm of a boy.”¹⁸⁷

The “biggest thrill” of the mission, Forbes reported, was the sight of station boat ARLUK leading three freighters down the bay from Koojesse Inlet via Bartlett Narrows to the sea. “Into the fog they plunged and disappeared,” he recounted, a maneuver that showed “our reconnaissance survey of the previous year had provided data reliable enough to enable the skipper of the *Arluk* to zigzag through the passage between Scylla and Charybdis, virtually with his eyes shut, and take this convoy of big ships safely on their way to the open sea.”¹⁸⁸

The military work undertaken on MORRISSEY was “futile” in certain respects. A northern air route had begun to wane in importance for at least two reasons. Flights over the Greenland icecap resulted in losses of men and planes, which “bred a great fear of that route” in airmen,

¹⁸² Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 90.

¹⁸³ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 100-01.

¹⁸⁴ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 116.

¹⁸⁵ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 117.

¹⁸⁶ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 120.

¹⁸⁷ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 121.

¹⁸⁸ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 122.

wrote Forbes. Increasing American success in circumventing submarines meant that fighter planes could be shipped on fast freighters overseas with less risk.¹⁸⁹ Thus, Forbes noted, the “northernmost air route, deemed so vital by the High Command in 1941, was never used; and the airports along the way, built at such prodigious cost, found their main utility in the conduct of the war was that of weather observation—a valuable contribution to be sure, for on the weather reports from the far north depended much of the safety of air operations farther south.”¹⁹⁰ While abandonment of the original objective led to what Forbes called a “sense of futility and dejection,” he did note that the collection of oblique and vertical photographs of Frobisher Bay taken during the expedition did find use in the field of photogrammetry, giving surveyors and chart-makers “ideal material with which to experiment on rectification of obliques,” the technique of transforming visual data taken from one angle into another.¹⁹¹

Bartlett’s demeanor evolved over the course of the two missions. Forbes reflected: “In 1942 he found the assignment harassing at times. Accustomed to be the undisputed autocrat aboard his ship, it seemed to irk him to be tied in any way to military demands. In 1943 he had mellowed to a remarkable degree. Signs of irritation were rare and humor prevailed in his mood.”¹⁹²

In 1944, MORRISSEY was surveyed upon her return for the purpose of “[a]scertaining the extent of damage said to have been sustained by the vessel being jammed in ice floes in Greenland waters” between July and November 1944. Hauled out at Parkhurst’s Marine Railway in Gloucester in December 1944 and January 1945, the vessel was found to be “leaking badly.” The stern bearing had been badly damaged after the ship had operated for 300 miles with a bent propeller. In addition, the time MORRISSEY had spent beached for repairs had resulted in “badly scarred” sheathing and some of the timbers splitting. Overall the schooner was intact, however, and planking and timbers remained “sound with no signs of rot.”¹⁹³

By the end of 1945, Bartlett had owned and operated MORRISSEY for two decades, during which major transformations in northern transit dawned. Bartlett’s mode of Arctic exploration marked the end of an era, George Palmer Putnam wrote in a posthumous biography. Putnam called the Newfoundlander “about the last of the Arctic explorers of the sail, steam, foot, sledge, and dog era.” Exploration by mid-century “was not dead,” he stressed; instead, “it had taken wings. It was a new era, the epoch of the adventurers of the air whose objects were not only discovery but also economic development.”¹⁹⁴ Bartlett sensed this approaching obsolescence, Putnam reported. “I’m a derelict, boy,” he claimed the captain once told him, “a hang-over from an era that’s gone.”¹⁹⁵ By the 1940s, Bartlett had witnessed changes in Arctic seamanship since his early days with Peary. The navigational possibilities afforded by new technologies fascinated Bartlett, but he also defended traditional seamanship and technical knowledge.¹⁹⁶ He continued

¹⁸⁹ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 134-35.

¹⁹⁰ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 135.

¹⁹¹ Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 135.

¹⁹² Forbes, *Quest for a Northern Air Route*, 132-33.

¹⁹³ Certificate of survey of the “E.M. Morrissey,” in M8.2 Box 4, Folder 12, RAB papers, BCSC.

¹⁹⁴ Putnam, *Mariner of the North*, 208.

¹⁹⁵ Putnam, *Mariner of the North*, 142.

¹⁹⁶ On his technological ambivalence, see especially Robert Bartlett, “Servicing Arctic Airbases,” *The National Geographic Magazine* (May 1946), 602-608.

sailing almost to the end of his life, spending much of each year living in a New York City hotel, but he was never fully at ease ashore. A “seafaring man is closer to the Almighty when he goes out to sea,” he wrote, “with the sky overhead and nothing in sight, than he is when he is jostling his way through a crowd of struggling human beings in a city.”¹⁹⁷

Fire and Resurrection

Bartlett died in New York on 28 April 1946 from complications of pneumonia at the age of 70.¹⁹⁸ As stipulated in his will, the executor of his estate sold MORRISSEY and gave the proceeds to his sisters.¹⁹⁹ Three Navy veterans purchased MORRISSEY for under \$50,000 for use in the South Pacific.²⁰⁰ The new owners—Sidney Richmond, Melvin Hoffman Jackson, and Michael Wassell, from New York—told the papers, “we’re doing it for fun and because we want a vacation from the insurance and real estate businesses. Maybe we’ll sell the boat after a few months.”²⁰¹ Inspection of the schooner at that point “revealed that almost all gear and souvenirs assembled by Capt. Bob have been removed.”²⁰² An appraisal of the vessel in September 1946 found MORRISSEY in good condition, with extant ice sheathing and new spars and rigging dating from 1944.²⁰³

The Jackson brothers outfitted MORRISSEY for southern sailing and departed for Tahiti, ultimately bound for Port-au-Prince, Haiti, late in 1946. The transom leaked, however, and repairs in Bermuda were necessary. The schooner returned to New York, deemed not sufficiently seaworthy for this kind of venture.

MORRISSEY’s career nearly ended soon after. She caught fire on 2 December 1947 while docked in Flushing Boat Basin, New York, where she had been berthed for several months. Fire was discovered at 9 p.m. in the galley, and two hours later it had spread to the forward section. Although firemen brought the fire under control and eventually extinguished the flames, a major portion of the interior had been destroyed and the vessel was scuttled (sunk) in the process.²⁰⁴ Later commentators have referred to the fire as MORRISSEY’s attempted “suicide,” claiming she would rather perish than be relegated to a life of tropical leisure cruising.

Following the fire, MORRISSEY was raised and towed to Rowayton, Connecticut, where she changed hands several times. In January 1948, the Pequot Marine Corporation of New London, Connecticut, announced its purchase of the vessel for \$500 from the Coastal Carrier Corporation

¹⁹⁷ Bartlett, *Log of Bob Bartlett*, 352.

¹⁹⁸ “Capt. Bob Bartlett, Explorer, 70 Dies,” *The New York Times*, 29 April 1946.

¹⁹⁹ Houston and Platzer, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 17.

²⁰⁰ Other accounts reported that MORRISSEY has been taken over by “a group of 11 war veterans, all experienced sailors, who plan to sail her on cruises from Florida ports to Bermuda and the Bahamas.” See *Boston Post*, 10 March 1947, in News Articles 1947, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁰¹ Sidney Jackson, Registry/Yacht License, 13 Sept. 1946, in Ern. Registries, Ernestina Archive 4, CBA NEBE. Melvin Jackson went on to become the Curator of Maritime History at the Smithsonian Institution. He died in 1983.

²⁰² “‘Capt. Bob’'s Ship to Sail Pacific,” *The Sunday Star* [Washington, D.C.], 6 Oct. 1946, in News Articles 1946, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁰³ Chan Moser Yachts, Survey/Appraisal, Sept. 1946, in News Articles 1947, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁰⁴ “Bartlett Schooner Swept by Fire Here,” n.p., n.d., in News Articles 1947, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

of New York City. The Coastal Carrier Corporation had acquired it from the Bartlett estate.²⁰⁵ Louisa Rosary Mendes of Egypt, Massachusetts, then purchased MORRISSEY for \$7,000. Her father-in-law, Henrique Mendes, wanted to repair the ship for use in the Cape Verdean packet trade.²⁰⁶ (“Packet” meant a regularly scheduled ship carrying cargo and/or passengers.) Louisa made the purchase on behalf of her father-in-law because she was an American citizen. Henrique, who had worked in an East Weymouth, Massachusetts, wool factory during the war to raise the purchase money, renamed the schooner ERNESTINA after his daughter. The schooner was Mendes’ second ERNESTINA, his daughter told the press during the vessel’s 1982 return to the United States. His earlier, larger schooner had been lost in a 1932 storm, she said, a catastrophe that “wiped out” Mendes financially for sixteen years.²⁰⁷

Cape Verdean Packet Trade

The packet trade connected the eastern coast of the United States to Cape Verde, an archipelago 370 miles off the western coast of Africa, near Senegal. The involvement of ERNESTINA in this business of moving peoples and goods marked a radically different stage in her career, one characterized by the rigors of transatlantic sailing; the distinctive needs and aspirations of individuals and communities from a harsh, tropical island environment; and the boundary-crossings—geographic, racial, cultural—involved in an immigrant experience defined by hybridity, adaptation, and periodic departures and returns. The schooner spent nearly three decades in the packet trade, a period that transformed her physically and led to her eventual “repatriation” to the United States.²⁰⁸

The islands of Cape Verde are believed to have been uninhabited until the mid-fifteenth century, when Portuguese explorers landed there, although earlier navigators may have been aware of the islands. Since the Portuguese first settled on the islands, they assigned Portuguese names. There are ten main islands, traditionally grouped into the “windward” and “leeward” islands, composed of volcanic rock with many mountainous sections. Environmental conditions vary from lush, tropical greenery to high winds and drought coupled with erosion. Sandstorms from the mainland sometimes affect them.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ Coastal Carrier Corporation, Registry/Yacht License, 27 Sept. 1946, in Ern. Registries, Ernestina Archive 4, CBA NEBE; Pequot Marine Corporation, Registry/Yacht License, 9 March 1948, in Ern. Registries, Ernestina Archive 4, CBA NEBE; “Bartlett Arctic Schooner Sold,” *New York Herald Tribune*, 4 Jan. 1948; “Bartlett Exploration Ship is Sold,” *Sunday Standard Times* [New Bedford, MA], 4 Jan. 1948, in News Articles 1948, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁰⁶ Louisa R. Mendes, Registry, 21 June 1948, in Ern. Registries, Ernestina Archive 4, CBA NEBE.

²⁰⁷ “Original Ernestina rides a wave of emotion as namesake nears,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 23 Aug. 1982, in August 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

²⁰⁸ For an overview of Cape Verdean history as it relates to ERNESTINA and immigration, see Houston and Platzer, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 24-32. This report, now more than twenty-five years old, stresses longstanding cultural and economic ties between the islands and the immigrant communities in the United States. It highlights the central role of literary and musical imaginings of the immigrant experience; the political changes wrought in the immediate post-independence period; and the challenges of development that have accompanied decolonization, concluding that “[o]fficial assistance from abroad is critical to the development of Cape Verde,” as well as “people-to-people assistance” in the forms of goods and remittances. Houston and Platzer, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 31.

²⁰⁹ Michael Whatley and Shirley Sabin, *From Cape to Cape: The Story of the Cape Verdean People of Cape Cod, Southeastern Massachusetts and Rhode Island* (Eastern National, 2002), 2.

Inhabitants have long been diverse. Portuguese settlers brought slaves from the African mainland to assist in agriculture. Immigrants of Moorish, Arab, Chinese, Jewish, and Indian heritage also arrived, and much inter-racial and –cultural mixing occurred. Miscegenation flourished, especially in the absence of laws against interracial relationships.²¹⁰ The native language is *Crioulo*, rooted in Portuguese and West African languages.²¹¹

The internal economy has been varied, if not always robust. Sugar and cotton plantations, first attempted by the Portuguese, have struggled in the harsh climate.²¹² The islands' location made them a strategic way station for slaves and goods and an important site for replenishment of ships. Residents developed sophisticated seafaring skills, and many participated in maritime economies. Cape Verdeans became esteemed on U.S. whaling ships operating out of New England for their harpooning prowess.²¹³

Portugal governed the islands for five centuries. In 1951 the islands went from being a colony to an overseas province, and on 5 July 1975, the Republic of Cape Verde achieved independence. The United States recognized the nation that same day.²¹⁴ The United States has had longstanding connections with the islands and people, beyond whaling ties. The American "Africa Squadron" was based out of the islands in the 1850s, where it worked to curtail slave trafficking.²¹⁵ At several points, the United States provided aid during drought and famine, sending emergency provisions authorized by Congress as well as local aid from fundraisers in areas including New England.²¹⁶

The most sustained ties may have developed through migrant movement between Cape Verde and the United States. Emigration was a crucial means of survival during periodic droughts and famines. Initially the goal for émigrés was to earn enough money working in the United States to return home to the islands and live comfortably. Work in places like the New England cranberry bogs and mills, ventures that demanded a steady supply of laborers, furnished wages. Over time, more permanent settlements were established in the United States.²¹⁷ Immigration from the islands to the United States held steady from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, dipped following the 1922 Immigration Control Act, and accelerated post-independence in 1975. Today Cape Verdean communities are concentrated in Massachusetts in New Bedford, Fall River, Roxbury, and Dorchester, as well as on Cape Cod; and in Rhode Island in Providence and Pawtucket. Other enclaves are located in Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. The contemporary Cape Verdean population in the United States is estimated at 350,000, on par with the islands' own population.²¹⁸

²¹⁰ Whatley and Sabin, *From Cape to Cape*, 4-5.

²¹¹ Whatley and Sabin, *From Cape to Cape*, 7.

²¹² Whatley and Sabin, *From Cape to Cape*, 2.

²¹³ Whatley and Sabin, *From Cape to Cape*, 9.

²¹⁴ Whatley and Sabin, *From Cape to Cape*, 5-6.

²¹⁵ Whatley and Sabin, *From Cape to Cape*, 7.

²¹⁶ Whatley and Sabin, *From Cape to Cape*, 6.

²¹⁷ Whatley and Sabin, *From Cape to Cape*, 14.

²¹⁸ Whatley and Sabin, *From Cape to Cape*, 16.

Packet ships were crucial linkages between immigrant and home communities.²¹⁹ As steam power forced sail into decline over the course of the twentieth century, Cape Verdeans purchased whalers, schooners, and other sail vessels at lowered prices. The “Brava Packet Fleet” comprised of refitted vessels sailing under the Portuguese flag emerged at the end of the nineteenth century.²²⁰ Packet ships tended to winter in the islands and return to New England in time for the cranberry harvest. They permitted visitation back home to the islands, rendering the move to the United States neither a necessarily permanent one nor a total severance of connection with the homeland.²²¹ The packet ships made the Cape Verdean immigrant experience distinctive. Unlike most immigrant groups, Cape Verdeans maintained ownership and control of their own means of transport.²²²

A legacy of “invisibility” has complicated attempts to determine the extent and nature of Cape Verdean immigration to the United States. As documented by anthropologist Marilyn Halter, a lack (or ambiguity) of traces in the archival records can make accurate counting and classification of migration difficult. Use of packet ship passenger and crew lists can be one means of making this population “visible,” albeit imperfectly. Halter has used these lists to track arrivals from the islands to New Bedford beginning in 1860. New Bedford—the schooner’s current homeport—was a major entry site for Cape Verdeans. Immigration was slow in the early period, averaging twenty-eight passengers annually from 1860-87. The stream became more regular after that. During the years of mass migration (1900-21), an average of 896 immigrants arrived annually. Between nine and twenty-two packets arrived in New Bedford annually during that period. Strict U.S. immigration laws and Portuguese restrictions substantially curtailed immigration from 1921-34, leading to a “long period of dormancy that contributed heavily to the demise of the packet trade itself.” Doors again opened in the mid-1960s.²²³ Halter estimates that “between 35,000 and 45,000 Cape Verdeans immigrated [to the United States] in the years 1820-1976.”²²⁴

Data from New Bedford suggests, in Halter’s interpretation, that “as many as 85 to 90 percent of those immigrating to this country came through New Bedford’s harbor.”²²⁵ New Bedford city newspapers of the time (*Evening Standard* and *Morning Mercury*) would typically compile information on arriving packets, including details on the voyage, passengers, captain, and cargo. Providence was another port of entry, but only a small number of immigrants arrived there. The New Bedford harbor was more amenable, and overland transport to Providence was readily available.²²⁶

²¹⁹ For a detailed history of the packet trade, authored by a maritime supporter instrumental in the vessel’s eventual return to the United States, see Michael Platzer, “The Cape Verde Packet Trade: Part I,” *Sea History* (Summer 1977), 19-21; “The Cape Verde Packet Trade: Part II,” *Sea History* (Fall 1977), 27-30.

²²⁰ Whatley and Sabin, *From Cape to Cape*, 12.

²²¹ Whatley and Sabin, *From Cape to Cape*, 13.

²²² Whatley and Sabin, *From Cape to Cape*, 14.

²²³ Marilyn Halter, *Between Race and Ethnicity: Cape Verdean American Immigrants, 1860-1965* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 36-38.

²²⁴ Halter, *Between Race and Ethnicity*, 45.

²²⁵ Halter, *Between Race and Ethnicity*, 39-40.

²²⁶ Halter, *Between Race and Ethnicity*, 39-40.

Passenger lists indicate that a majority of immigrants came from the Leeward Islands, particularly Brava and Fogo. The Windward Islands were “less populated and have generally faced less acute hardship,” writes Halter, “so that they have contributed fewer numbers for immigration.”²²⁷ It is also possible that lighter-skinned *mestizos* had the option of voluntary migration to the United States, while darker-skinned individuals were more likely to be coerced into labor in brutal conditions on the island plantations. Immigrants were initially more likely to identify themselves as coming from a particular island than from “Cape Verde.” The gender mix skewed heavily male for many years.²²⁸

The persistence of clandestine immigration complicates demographic counts. Manifests did not always contain complete listings of everyone who had been onboard at one point. Some boats would secretly pick up passengers in the islands and deposit them in secluded locations in Buzzards Bay. From there, the passengers would travel onward. Extra immigrants could be smuggled in by manifesting them as crew members, thereby circumventing regulations on passenger limits. Besides “padding the crew,” stowaways were also present. In fact, the introduction of literacy laws increased the incidences of clandestine immigration. False linings in ship holds could hold these clandestine immigrants until the ship had been inspected upon arrival in the United States. Ship owners could be fined for harboring illegal immigrants.²²⁹

Within this complex historical context of migration and resettlement, Henrique Mendes and his new schooner ERNESTINA took up packet operations. In April 1948, under the ownership of Mendes, ERNESTINA arrived in New Bedford for hauling out at the Casey Boatbuilding ways in Fairhaven for scraping and painting. Her engine had already been removed, and the propeller and shaft were also scheduled for removal since she was to operate without auxiliary power. Mendes’ son Adilino and his friends performed repairs over the next six months. The ship became a social locus for area Cape Verdeans, and the local press tracked the progress of work.²³⁰ The elder Mendes announced the schooner would enter the packet trade in May 1948, though circumstances delayed her inaugural voyage until mid-August. New Bedford was home to another packet vessel at the time, the three-masted schooner LUCY EVELYN captained by John Costa.²³¹

The schooner’s crew needed to be three-quarters American to sail. Citizenship had been on locals’ minds since the thirteen-member Portuguese crew of the LUCY EVELYN had been detained at the East Boston Immigration Center, where they awaited return to Cape Verde. Use of the ERNESTINA for this purpose was considered, though ultimately not pursued.²³² ERNESTINA eventually moved to the State Pier in New Bedford and readied for departure, which included fitting her with a new boom for the foremast, equipping the galley with a stove,

²²⁷ Halter, *Between Race and Ethnicity*, 40.

²²⁸ Halter, *Between Race and Ethnicity*, 43, 46.

²²⁹ Halter, *Between Race and Ethnicity*, 51-52, 56-58.

²³⁰ “Arctic ‘Effie’ Tapers Off for Island Run,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 7 June 1948, in News Articles 1948, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²³¹ “2nd Craft Enters Packet Trade,” *New Bedford Standard Times*, 11 April 1948, in News Articles 1948, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²³² “Effie Morrissey Nearly Ready to Enter Cape Verde Trade,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 13 June 1948, in News Articles 1948, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

and readying her holds for cargo.²³³ Cargo included 100 bags of used clothing for the islanders from a concerned New Yorker.²³⁴

Finally, after “days and days of delay, berthed at State Pier so long she seemed a part of the pier,” she pulled out of the New Bedford mooring at 10 a.m. on 18 August 1948. She went out under tow and was turned loose at the outer harbor entrance by the fishing vessel VIKING. Portuguese consul Vasco Villela was on hand for the departure, but there “was little ceremony and no pomp at all in her sailing,” reported the *New Bedford Standard-Times*. “The captain and his crew of six waved casually. The cat, ship’s mascot, prowled the deck in deep unconcern.” Crew members included Henrique Mendes; Captain Jose Pereira of New Bedford; Manuel Andrade of New York; Benjamin Duarte of Jersey City; Joseph Lopes of North Carver; and Peter Silver and Manuel Sylvia, both of New Bedford. On board, “three goats, some hens, the dog, the cat and her kitten made their various noises, either in dismay or jubilation.” ERNESTINA carried a lone passenger: Antonio Gomes, age 65, a railroad worker who had not been to the islands (where his wife lived) since 1938. Onlookers seemed less than confident in the vessel’s prospects for the long voyage ahead. The paper reported, “someone said, ‘My, my, no auxiliary, only the sails,’ and whether the words were in praise or despair, no one could be told.” With not a little nostalgia, the report concluded that these spectators

were there more in spirit of an elderly woman seated in a dusty attic fingering wistfully an old brocade, or in the mood of a child curious to see what life was like before the radio serial. Or, perhaps, more in the spirit of men who realized this was something that would not pass their way more than a few times.

For what they were seeing was a part of the past, reluctantly dying. But, reluctant or not, the past that had need and room for the ocean-going sailing vessel, leaning on the wings of chance, is fast-going, all but gone.²³⁵

News of the schooner’s safe arrival in Cape Verde came to the United States in autumn 1948 when Mendes wired an update to Mary Mitte of New Bedford. The crossing had taken thirty-four days, and Mendes reported plans to return to New Bedford with cargo in a week or two.²³⁶ Plans changed, however, and the schooner wound up sailing between Cape Verde and Providence in its later years. Indeed, Providence, a local maritime reporter contended, “has supplanted New Bedford as the American port for the only remaining transatlantic windjammers.” ERNESTINA (along with the brigantine MADALAN) appeared to him more seaworthy than previous packet vessels, meeting “a new standard which sets them apart from the slovenly and often unseaworthy schooners of the 1930s.”²³⁷

²³³ “Schooner Readied for Cape Verde,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 30 June 1948, in News Articles 1948, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²³⁴ “Morrissey Due to Leave Here July 29,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 21 July 1948, in News Articles 1948, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²³⁵ “Schooner Sets Sail for Verdes on First Trip,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 18 Aug. 1948, in News Articles 1948, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²³⁶ “Schooner Arrives at Cape Verde,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 1 Oct. 1948, in News Articles 1948, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²³⁷ Robert Cool, “Brava Packet Trade Takes on New Vigor,” *Providence Sunday Journal*, 6 Nov. 1949, in News Articles 1949, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

In August 1949, nearly a year after leaving New Bedford, the schooner pulled into Providence waters carrying five passengers and twelve casks of tobacco.²³⁸ She had worked in the inter-island trade during winter and spring and would continue to do so when not making Atlantic crossings. (This work involved transporting *liceu* students to residential schools on Mindelo and Praia for the semester, as well as contract laborers headed for plantation work on Sao Tome.²³⁹) ERNESTINA bore the physical marks of a strenuous year overseas: “Her weather-beaten hull, rusted windlass and chipped paint bore silent testimony to the toll of time and neglect.” There was no electric power, instead a “lantern hung near the bowsprit...and kerosene lamps lighted the below-deck spaces.”²⁴⁰

ERNESTINA’s arrival in Providence brought controversy. Four crewmen filed suit against the owners and masters of ERNESTINA for wages and maintenance totaling over \$5,000. The newspapers reported the men claimed that “they performed their voyage duties [from New Bedford to Cape Verde] until the schooner arrived in the port of Brava. There, they say, without cause, they were turned ashore by the master and were prevented from performing the remainder of the voyage. They returned to this country aboard the Ernestina as passengers.”²⁴¹ The U.S. District Court eventually ordered payment to the crewmen in the amount of \$2,500.²⁴²

Docking was not the end of the journey for crew and passengers. After weeks at sea, they still had to navigate immigration requirements. Upon arrival in Providence, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization officials required everyone to remain on board until the proper clearances had been settled, a scenario that would be repeated on subsequent voyages. “In the shrouds near the rough gangway leading aboard from the pier was a long board with the words ‘No Admittance’ painted on it. The same sentiments were chalked in Portuguese on a slate set in the fold of the main sail,” reported the papers. While passing the time, “Two were peeling potatoes in a small deck house and tending the big aluminum pots on the galley range there.”²⁴³

Mendes made a second trip to the United States in 1950. He taught passengers basic English and the Pledge of Allegiance en route. The vessel carried fresh vegetables, lobsters, live pigs, a lamb, goat, and cow. Passengers and crew celebrated the saints’ days, and romance and even marriage at sea flourished.²⁴⁴

²³⁸ “Cape Verde Packet Comes to Providence,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 8 Aug. 1949, in News Articles 1949, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²³⁹ Houston and Platzer, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 20.

²⁴⁰ “55-Year-Old Schooner in Harbor with Passengers from Cape Verde,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 14 Aug. 1949, in News Articles 1949, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁴¹ “4 Crew Members File Suit for Pay,” n.p., 12 Aug 1949, in News Articles 1949, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁴² “Schooner’s Owner Must Pay Seamen,” *Providence Journal*, 27 Oct. 1949, in News Articles 1949, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁴³ “17 Men on Packet,” *Providence Journal*, 17 Aug 1949. In “News Articles 1949,” Ernestina Archive 2, CBA, NEBE.

²⁴⁴ Houston and Platzer, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 20.

ERNESTINA continued periodic sailings between Providence and the islands. By an odd coincidence in August 1950, two former polar vessels were both docked in Providence, ERNESTINA and CITY OF NEW YORK, which had been operated by Richard Byrd in the Antarctic.²⁴⁵ The presence of the schooner captivated the press, although they were not quite sure what to make of the spectacle of an antiquated vessel and her crew from afar. The local papers, especially the *Providence Journal and Bulletin*, and the *New Bedford Standard-Times*, faithfully documented the vessel's comings and goings over the years, often focusing on scenes of dockside celebration and chaos that accompanied the arrivals and departures. The anomalous appearance of the vessel—a windjammer in ports filled with engine-driven craft—often caught reporters' eyes.

As both the MADALAN and ERNESTINA readied for sailing in September 1950, the *Providence Bulletin* reported that

tourists snapped pictures of the picturesque sailing vessels, tied close to the heavily-traveled bridge. Like scenes from an issue of the National Geographic Magazine, dusky Brava crewmen repaired sails in the sunshine while several Fox Point boys dived from the shrouds into the gray waters of the Providence River. Other seamen worked high up on yards of the Madalan, using hand tools more often seen nowadays in a marine museum than in a sailor's hands.²⁴⁶

When ERNESTINA left in October 1950, she flew the code flags V, P, and Q, international code for “obliged” or “thank you,” referring “to the gifts sent to people of the Brava islands and to the summer-long reception given the crew while in Providence.”²⁴⁷

After leaving Providence in October 1950, the boat did not return to the United States for three years. She suffered some misfortunes during that period, including a dismasting that necessitated replacement of both masts. A return voyage made in 1953 under Capt. Joao Baptista, Jr., brought a becalming, without engine or radio, off Nantucket for fifteen days. Two hurricanes then lashed the schooner, which was towed into Providence.²⁴⁸

When ERNESTINA came to Providence in August 1954, eleven of her crew, “regarded as alien risks who might try to enter the U.S. illegally,” were detained aboard.²⁴⁹ That year a second-hand diesel engine, purchased in New Bedford, was slated for installation at the Newport Shipyard.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁵ “Three Sailing Ships Moor in Harbor,” *Providence Bulletin*, 18 Aug. 1950, in News Articles 1950, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁴⁶ “Ready for Sea,” *Providence Bulletin*, 12 Sept. 1950, in News Articles 1950, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁴⁷ “Schooner Ernestina Sails for Cape Verde,” *Providence Bulletin*, 31 Oct. 1950, in News Articles 1950, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁴⁸ Houston and Platzer, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 20-21.

²⁴⁹ “Waterfront: Ernestina Arrives,” *Providence Bulletin*, 20 Aug. 1954, in News Articles 1954, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁵⁰ “Cape Verde Schooner Gets a Diesel,” *Providence Bulletin*, 8 Oct. 1954, in News Articles 1954, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

The year 1955 was to be a milestone for ERNESTINA since Henrique Mendes, then age 75, had declared his intention to make a final crossing before retiring in Fogo and turning over command to his son Arnaldo.²⁵¹ It would be Mendes' fifty-fourth Atlantic crossing and a dramatic conclusion to a long career at sea. At age 18 he had run away from farming and Fogo, the papers reported, and headed to sea on the New Bedford packet SERPA PINTO, arriving in the United States on 2 May 1898. Mendes earned money sailing on a New Bedford whaler and then on coastal schooners, keeping a store in Wareham, Massachusetts, and picking cranberries on Cape Cod. He pooled funds with friends to purchase an old schooner and begin his Brava packet career. Mendes skippered fourteen vessels over the course of his career, four of which sunk under him from 1914-35: WILLIAM A. GROSIER (1914), ERNEST T. LEE (1919), CHARLES L. JEFFREY (1927), and FRANK BERNARD (1935). No lives were lost.²⁵²

Plans changed once again, and Mendes did make another crossing, returning to Providence in 1956. (Mendes' subsequent Atlantic crossing would be made by airplane. He died in Cape Verde in 1970 at the age of 90, and his death was reported in New Bedford.²⁵³) The *Providence Journal* celebrated the schooner's return that year, marveling at the long history of small packets that had crossed the Atlantic "with all the nonchalance of ducks splashing across a barnyard pond." It is "impossible," the paper wrote, "to look at the little ERNESTINA lying there and not feel a lift of the spirit at the thought that this city still has a link with the great Age of the Windjammers.... One hopes that the day will never come when there are no more little Cape Verde packets to which Providence can say hail and farewell."²⁵⁴ When ERNESTINA cast off in November 1956, she carried as one of her passengers Maria Santos, age 104. Born in the islands in 1852, she was returning to Fogo after a long absence.²⁵⁵

The schooner's future was clouded by the mid-1950s. Mendes commented on the dire prospects for packet crossings in September 1957, noting competition from the Belgian Line, which made regular runs between African ports and New York. The line charged the same fee as the packets (\$250 one way), but made the trip in seven days instead of twenty-seven and offered better accommodations. Additionally, the Portuguese government "seem[ed] to be cracking down on packet ship safety at long last" and required expensive repairs to maintain the vessel's certification.²⁵⁶ Major repairs to rotten planking on ERNESTINA took place in 1957 under the supervision of Adriano Britu and cost Mendes \$7,000.²⁵⁷

²⁵¹ The logbook of 1954-55 has been translated and digitized on the ERNESTINA website (<http://www.ernestina.org/history/Gil/voyages54-55index.html>). It is also available in Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

²⁵² "Captain, 75, to make last packet trip," *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 28 Sept. 1955, in News Articles 1955, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁵³ Obituary, Henrique Mendes, *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 17 Oct. 1970, in News Articles 1970, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁵⁴ "Welcome Home!" *Providence Journal*, 20 Aug. 1956, in News Articles 1956, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁵⁵ "90-Ft. Schooner Ernestina Sails for Cape Verde," *Providence Bulletin*, 8 Nov. 1956, in News Articles 1956, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁵⁶ "Pier Pessimism—End of an Era in Sight?" *Providence Journal*, Sept. 1957, in News Articles 1956, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁵⁷ Houston and Platzer, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 21.

ERNESTINA continued to sail and perform vital commercial and human functions linking the islands to the United States. In November 1958, she carried “pen-crated chickens, allowed to roam on deck,” as well as “a 2 1/2 –ton truck lashed on deck and covered tarpaulin, household effects and foodstuffs, comprising 18 drums containing 9,900 pounds of dried beans.” A bell donated by a Wareham man and bound for the new St. Lawrence Church in the port of Praia was also on board.²⁵⁸

ERNESTINA made no trips to Providence from 1959-63. During that time she was active in inter-island transit, where she made runs carrying an array of goods and foods, with merchants usually accompanying their wares. She returned to Providence in September 1964 with food and gifts.²⁵⁹ The arrival was inauspicious because she ran aground at the entrance to Bristol Harbor near Poppasquash Point and Hog Island. A Coast Guard harbor tug helped her off.²⁶⁰ Cape Verdean visitors flocked to the docks to reconnect with the crew and the islands. The *Journal* reported, “Often the visitors to the Ernestina, dressed in their Sunday best just stand or sit stiffly and admire the men of their homeland. At other times they talk animatedly about Uncle Pedro’s new cow, or how cousin Manuel feels.”²⁶¹

She eventually docked at Norlantic Diesel in Fairhaven, Massachusetts, and a rebuilt 180 horsepower engine was installed to replace her existing 75 horsepower one.²⁶² In anticipation of her autumn departure, students from Rhode Island College donated goods for the islands: boots, crayons, blankets.²⁶³ During this period U.S. Immigration and Naturalization officers imposed fines upon the crew for making unauthorized visits ashore (to take baths, the men claimed).

The papers marveled at ERNESTINA’s return in August 1965, admiring her persistence even as they noted her ungraceful aging: “Her decks are faded and splintered; her masts pale orange poles with only a hint of better days. From the open doors of the deckhouse, a battered stove and cushionless bench can be seen and the black paint on her hull has buckled and peeled in large splotches. But still the color is there.”²⁶⁴ The cost of repair and upkeep had become onerous. Then-Governor of the islands Luis Silvo Randell put up most of the \$25,000 spent on repairs in 1963, thereby acquiring the schooner from his father-in-law Henrique Mendes. Alberto Lopes acquired her in 1967 and soon had to overhaul her. A leaking propeller, broken motor, and torn sails dogged her in the following years. Lopes repaired her bottom, renewed frames, keel

²⁵⁸ “Ancient Ernestina Chugs Off to Cape Verde Again,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 15 Nov. 1958, in News Articles 1957, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁵⁹ Houston and Platzer, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 22.

²⁶⁰ “Ship Run Aground off Bristol,” *Providence Evening Bulletin*, 16 Sept. 1964, in News Articles 1964, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁶¹ “Like a Glimpse of the Isles,” *Providence Journal*, Sept. 1964, in News Articles 1964, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁶² “Cape Verdean Schooner Ernestina Arrives in Harbor,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 17 Sept. 1964, in News Articles 1964, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁶³ “RIC Loads Ernestina with Gifts,” *Providence Bulletin*, 4 Oct. 1964, in News Articles 1964, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

²⁶⁴ “Ernestina, an Old but Gay Deceiver, Returns,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 28 Aug. 1965, in News Articles 1965, Ernestina Archive 2, CBA NEBE.

sections, and hull timbers, and sheathed the hull with aluminum below the waterline in 1972, but the most active years of her usefulness as a packet vessel had passed.²⁶⁵

Return to the United States

The schooner came to the United States from Cape Verde in 1982 after several years of intense debate over her future. Cooperation, intercultural dialogue, and the power of grassroots organizing have been dominant motifs in histories of the transfer process, which took place in the politically and culturally energized wake of Cape Verde's achievement of independence from Portugal. Indeed, the process of raising funds and orchestrating complex repairs and the final transatlantic crossing brought together diverse groups and individuals who felt passionate about the schooner and lobbied for her preservation. The transfer process was not without problems, and the friction that did arise is historically notable because it underscores the political, cultural, and economic stakes involved in planning the vessel's future. To tell the story of ERNESTINA/MORRISSEY's return as a seamless success would gloss over the many diverse and compelling "stakeholders" who found, and continue to find, her history and contemporary presence to be important. They understood that such practical decisions as where to berth the schooner, how to celebrate her return, and who to charge with administrative responsibilities all affect the ways that her history is understood, and the direction in which her future unfolds.

ERNESTINA is home ported in New Bedford, Massachusetts (as of summer 2008), but this was not inevitable. There were several options for her home port, given the schooner's geographically far-ranging previous careers and the fact that she had had numerous owners from a variety of places and ethnic backgrounds. Canada considered the vessel's place in that nation's fishing and Arctic histories to be significant. The provincial government of Newfoundland explored the possibility of acquiring the schooner in 1971, aiming to set it up in the town of Brigus as a museum that would help preserve remnants of the area's banking history.²⁶⁶ This plan did not materialize. Later news of U.S. efforts at repatriation elicited some dismay in Canada: "[I]t's a pity that the 'repatriation' is not being made to this province," lamented the newspaper in St. Johns, "where, in the true sense, the ship rightfully belongs, having been in Captain Bob's possession for most of her seafaring life and under British registry as early as 1914."²⁶⁷ The Grand Banks and Bartlett legacies that tie the schooner to coastal Canada remain strong, and a "Celebrate Bartlett" series of events is planned for 2009.²⁶⁸

Interest in acquiring the ship for the United States began at least as early as the 1960s. The South Street Seaport Museum in New York City and the Bartlett Exploration Association in Philadelphia made inquiries. A Cape Verdean group in Providence also investigated whether she

²⁶⁵ Houston and Platzter, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 22-23.

²⁶⁶ "Province will try to purchase vessel formerly owned by Capt. Bob Bartlett," *The Evening Telegram*, 5 May 1971, in News Articles 1971, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE. On Newfoundland efforts to contact Arnaldo Mendes about the schooner's whereabouts, see Sherman Wengerd to Frank Stevens, 2 Sept. 1972, in Dan Turners Col., Ernestina Archive 4, CBA NEBE. Other correspondence in the folder documents the Canadian interest ca. 1972.

²⁶⁷ "The Morrissey 'repatriated,'" *St. Johns Evening Telegram*, March 1976, in News Articles 1976, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

²⁶⁸ The history of Bartlett and the schooner is partly told at Hawthorne cottage in Brigus, Newfoundland, administered by the Historic Sites Association.

could be sent over for the American Bicentennial of 1976.²⁶⁹ A “Save the Morrissey” campaign raised funds for the ship’s restoration with a goal of making ERNESTINA ready to participate in the Tall Ships parade at Newport in late June, then in Operation Sail in New York, 1 to 4 July 1976. The Cape Verdean government advanced \$15,000 to then-owner Alberto Lopes to make repairs, while U.S. supporters raised other funds.²⁷⁰ Harry Dugan, a friend of Bartlett’s who had been sponsored by Bartlett for membership in the Explorers Club, was especially active in the fundraising drive through work with the Bartlett Exploration Association. So too were Michael K. H. Platzer from the United Nations and Laura Pires Houston, who worked closely with Cape Verdean groups to advocate for the return. Correspondence between these parties raised questions about “rights” to ownership and the relative “historical significance” of different periods in the vessel’s career. Financial support and the ultimate berthing site were key components of these discussions. Because of the major financial commitments involved in purchasing, rehabilitating, and returning the schooner, interested parties wrangled over every step of the process, debating the asking price, the relative obligations of different parties and governments, and the nature of physical changes to be made.²⁷¹

In June 1974 in San Vicente, Cape Verde, a survey of the schooner revealed considerable physical deterioration of the structure. Focusing on the suitability of the vessel for purchase and transatlantic crossing, surveyor Cyrus Hamlin urged substantial repairs.²⁷² (She had previously been surveyed in September 1972, which yielded a report of “good” condition. A March 1973 survey found her sails and riggings poor, some rot in the deck framing, and a leak around the shaft log.) Hamlin’s report concluded that the vessel was capable of a crossing, pending repair. Decay in the ends of deck beams and some knees could be fixed, as could a “wormy sternpost.” The deck appeared generally sound, though “there has been so much worn away from cargoes, etc., that in some places the fastenings stand ½” to ¾” above the surface.” It was a “certainty” that the deck would need eventual replacement. What was “shocking,” Hamlin reported, was the “deformation of the ‘Ernestina’ from her original shape,” as determined from comparison of her present condition with the sheer taken in Staten Island in 1931 and shortly after entering packet service. There was much hogging at the chain plates and an “unsightly droop of the stern.” Hamlin’s verdict was that “it would be a shame to bring the ‘Morrissey’ back to the U.S. to be displayed in her present shape—or lack of it. Although such a move might be justified solely on the basis of her historical importance, it would seem to me a cruel thing to bring her back a travesty of the lovely craft of 25 years ago.”

ERNESTINA sailed from Porto Grande for New York on 11 June 1976, with Marco Lopes as captain. Anticipation peaked on both sides of the Atlantic. Engine trouble developed that night,

²⁶⁹ Houston and Platzer, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 23.

²⁷⁰ “This Tall Ship was once very low in the water,” *Providence Sunday Journal*, 23 May 1976, in News Articles 1976, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

²⁷¹ On these financial matters, see especially records of the Ernestina/Morrissey Committee and Bartlett Exploration Association, in Ernestina Archive 1-3, CBA NEBE.

²⁷² Cyrus Hamlin, Synopsis Report: Survey of Schooner “Ernestina,” 27 June 1974, in Exhibit 4, Bartlett Exploration, Ernestina Archive 1, CBA NEBE.

and in the morning her masts toppled, shredding her new rigging and sails. She had to return to Cape Verde, where she would remain for the next six years.²⁷³

The Republic of Cape Verde, which had attained independence from Portugal in 1975 following political upheaval and some armed struggle, purchased the schooner from its private owners in 1977 and gifted the vessel to the United States in 1982 as an “expression of the high regard of the people of Cape Verde for the people of the United States.” This was a “significant gesture,” Platzter and Houston later wrote in their history of the vessel and its transfer, “bespeaking goodwill but also acknowledging the centuries-old and vital connection between the two peoples, and the understood expectation that the gift from a small and economically-poor country would be honored and protected.”²⁷⁴

Efforts to orchestrate ERNESTINA’s return continued in the United States. Michael Platzter, affiliated with the United Nations’ African bureaus and the National Maritime Historical Society, conferred with Cape Verdean President Aristides Pereira about the project. Laura Pires Houston, who chaired the national Friends of the Ernestina/Morrissey organization, called the ship representative of “an indomitable, rugged spirit that has crossed thousands of miles, crossing the mixing geographical, cultural and ethnic boundaries.” The Friends committee, officially launched in New York following the dismasting of the first crossing, aimed to unify several interest groups angling for the schooner’s return. It worked within the auspices of the National Maritime Historical Society and took as its mission creating and maintaining local support structures, fundraising for the restoration and return, and planning for future use.²⁷⁵ The national Friends organization had several regional chapters, located in New Bedford, Wareham, Providence, Gloucester, Rye (New York), Bridgeport, Scituate, and New York City.

The overall return effort was broad-based and diverse. Hundreds of individuals and organizations participated in different phases, with intense investment from the Northeast. Input and support came from social and cultural organizations, research and academic institutions, and municipal and state groups. These included the Cape Verdean Relief Association of Wareham, Cape Verdean Vets of New Bedford, Cape Verdean League of Harlem, America-Cape Verdean Auxiliary of N.Y.C., Third World Alliance (New York), Tchuba Committee of Boston, Cape Verdean Educators Collaborative of Massachusetts, Tri-City Citizens Union for Progress (Newark, New Jersey). Sacred Heart University, the United Nations, Southeastern Massachusetts University, Massachusetts Maritime Academy, African-American Institute of New York, Seaman’s Church Institute of New York, Whaling Museum of New Bedford, among others, provided institutional support.²⁷⁶ A Mystic Seaport conference held in February 1982

²⁷³ Houston and Platzter, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 23. Horwood’s biography of Bartlett, published in 1977, erroneously reports that the schooner appeared at the American Bicentennial celebrations “still hale and hearty.” See Horwood, *Bartlett: The Great Canadian Explorer*, 179.

²⁷⁴ Houston and Platzter, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 7.

²⁷⁵ The most comprehensive overview of the Committee and return efforts is in Houston and Platzter, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*.

²⁷⁶ Julius Britto and Massachusetts Schooner Ernestina Commission, “Ernestina/Effie Morrissey Restoration Project, Report Submitted to National Trust for Historic Preservation, Maritime Preservation Office,” 26, in “Ernestina/Effie M. Morrissey Restoration Project 1979,” Ernestina Archive/Corson Building Archives, NBE, 1979.

focused on requirements of preservation, Coast Guard certification, and programming for the vessel.

Social and fundraising events included a Cape Verdean outing to a Dodgers-Mets game.²⁷⁷ Songwriter and maritime history supporter Pete Seeger made a plea for support of the campaign in 1980, appealing to “all who value the brotherhood of the sea.” The Hudson River sloop CLEARWATER, operated by Seeger and associates to raise awareness about environmental pollution of waterways, sailed on behalf of the ERNESTINA project in July 1978 to build support for sail training.²⁷⁸

Individual small donations and contributions from larger organizations provided funding. The Cape Verdean government had invested more than \$200,000 by 1982.²⁷⁹ Friends of the Ernestina/Morrissey donated another large sum. The National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) awarded three grants totaling \$30,000 to the National Friends Committee in 1977 and 1978.²⁸⁰

The damaged schooner was hauled out at the Mindelo shipyard at San Vicente where a restoration survey commenced. James Brighton, president of LeCompte Creek Marine, who previously worked on restorations of the schooner BOSTON PILOT and Portuguese barkentine GAZELA PRIMERO and helped build MARYLAND DOVE and ADVENTURE, served as Restoration Coordinator.²⁸¹ Brighton traveled to Cape Verde in 1979 to prepare a restoration feasibility study of ERNESTINA.²⁸² Considering whether a partial or full restoration in Cape Verde was feasible, Brighton, along with Sophia and Frans Meijer, surveyed the vessel’s conditions and capabilities of the local shipyard.²⁸³ Frans Meijer, the restoration shipwright and on-site project supervisor, was a boat carpenter from the Netherlands who had previously restored schooners, and constructed the wooden vessel SEJAS FELICES.²⁸⁴ Meijer sailed this vessel to Cape Verde, bringing with him hand tools, caulk, nails, mast hoops, and other materials for the project.²⁸⁵

The team concluded that a “large percentage of frames” needed replacement or sistering and significant deterioration had occurred in the midsection. Some planking needed replacement, as did deckbeams “due to loss of shape and deterioration in the ends.” The deck, “sound but well worn,” was also slated for replacement. Certain parts would be saved and recycled, since the

²⁷⁷ Dodgers captain Davey Lopes, of Cape Verdean descent, wrote a public letter urging support for the ship in 1978. See Davy Lopes, 6 June 1978, reprinted in Britto, Appendices.

²⁷⁸ Britto, “Ernestina/Effie Morrissey Restoration Project,” 23.

²⁷⁹ Houston and Platzer, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 7.

²⁸⁰ Houston and Platzer, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 6.

²⁸¹ Britto, “Ernestina/Effie Morrissey Restoration Project,” 28.

²⁸² The full text of Brighton’s “Evaluation: Restoration Feasibility” study (published 18 March 1979), along with a detailed listing of repair tasks to be completed, is reprinted in Britto, “Ernestina/Effie M. Morrissey Restoration Project.”

²⁸³ Britto, “Ernestina/Effie M. Morrissey Restoration Project,” 33.

²⁸⁴ Britto, “Ernestina/Effie M. Morrissey Restoration Project,” 28.

²⁸⁵ “Tools reach Cape Verdes for Ernestina shape-up,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 18 Aug. 1978, in News Articles 1978, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

team found that availability of materials could be a problem in Mindelo (though not cost of labor). The Cummins diesel engine and related equipment were “not salvageable.” Local shipyard conditions were also assessed, and the team deemed the yard

capable of doing the complete restoration of the hull. Equipment is archaic but sound. The men are skilled and competent. The shipyard also has a foundry and forges on the premises. Assistance will be needed in acquiring some materials, all spars, and skilled labor will be needed during the rigging.

They estimated a fifteen-month restoration costing \$250,000.²⁸⁶

The National Trust for Historic Preservation provided funding and expertise to design the sails for ERNESTINA. Naval architect and restoration consultant William Baker assisted. The National Maritime Historical Society (NMHS) had been interested in ERNESTINA/MORRISSEY since ca. 1967 and was active in furnishing research and technical assistance. NMHS president Peter Stanford promoted the project.²⁸⁷

During the restoration, workers consulted historic plans and drawings and used high-quality materials from Lisbon and Guinea-Bissau.²⁸⁸ Hand-crafted wood and traditional workmanship were emphasized.²⁸⁹ New renovations began, and support came in the form of goods, services, and money. The Cape Verdean government gave monies for the salaries of local carpenters.²⁹⁰ The Seaboard Corporation shipped new masts donated by a Canadian company for free from British Columbia through the Panama Canal, and the longshoreman’s union in Providence agreed to loan them free of charge on the next transport to Cape Verde.²⁹¹

The Massachusetts Schooner ERNESTINA Commission was established in 1977, under the legislative sponsorship of State Representative Thomas Lopes. The commission initially consisted of five gubernatorial appointees, with seats reserved for members from Gloucester, Wareham, and New Bedford, Massachusetts. The commission was authorized to accept title to the schooner from the Republic of Cape Verde and to oversee and administer funding and programming.²⁹² The city of New Bedford and its then-Mayor John Markey pledged promotional support of the vessel and provision of a permanent berth on the city’s waterfront in 1979, including \$40,000 for related improvements in the waterfront area.²⁹³

²⁸⁶ Britto, “Ernestina/Effie Morrissey Restoration Project,” 35.

²⁸⁷ Britto, “Ernestina/Effie Morrissey Restoration Project,” 28-29.

²⁸⁸ “Ernestina restoration hits snags,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 18 Jan. 1978, in News Articles 1978, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

²⁸⁹ Houston and Platzer, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 7.

²⁹⁰ Laura Pires Houston, “Ernestina Project Update,” Oct. 1979, in Bus. Letters Con. Restoration, Ernestina Archive 1, CBA NEBE.

²⁹¹ “250 plan effort,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 3 Feb. 1977, in News Articles 1977, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

²⁹² “182A: An Act Establishing the Schooner Ernestina Commission,” Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1977, in Commission Enabling Legislation 1977, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE. Houston and Platzer date the establishment of the commission to 1978, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 7.

²⁹³ Houston and Platzer, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 6.

New Bedford made the case for harboring the state's new vessel because its waterfront had undergone revitalization in the 1970s and the city had been a focal point for Cape Verdean immigration to the United States. Julius Britto, chair of the Massachusetts Schooner ERNESTINA Commission, presented the case for bringing the schooner to the city to the City Planner's office in New Bedford. He argued that the arrangement would be mutually beneficial to the schooner and the city.

The historical significance New Bedford has for Cape Verdeans around the World has made New Bedford an overwhelming home portsight [sic] for the Ernestina not to mention the technically sound reasons for docking there: The Skill Center, major boatyards, safe harbor from storms and New Bedfords [sic] central location to Gloucester, Wareham, Providence, Rhode Island, Connecticut and New York. The role of steamship and cold pocket piers will play a major part in revitalizing the waterfront New Bedford. The Ernestina's inclusion can be one of the leading factors in making those revitalization efforts a model for many other coastal cities to admire. Not to mention the many years of community support and appreciation that will become the 'pride' of New Bedford's sea heritage.²⁹⁴

New Bedford's "loss" of the whaler CHARLES W. MORGAN to Mystic Seaport in the 1940s remained a sensitive point in local memory, and it galvanized supporters into avoiding a repeat with ERNESTINA.²⁹⁵

Supporters were adamant that the schooner remain active. "The best way to keep a ship in shape is to have her manned by a crew," said Platzer. "Keeping a vessel tied alongside a pier is certain death. Why, the Ernestina just might attempt suicide again if she is tied to a pier," a reference to the "suicide" fire of 1947.²⁹⁶ "It will not be a museum boat that sits at the harbor all its life," said Julius Britto, then-chair of the Massachusetts Schooner Ernestina Commission.²⁹⁷

The return of ERNESTINA created a rallying point for local Cape Verdean communities. She furnished an occasion to research, write, and tell histories of these peoples and the places to which they were connected.²⁹⁸ Support for ERNESTINA's rehabilitation and return occurred at a dynamic moment in understandings of the past. The rise of multiculturalism in the United States and beyond during the later decades of the twentieth century drew new attention to peoples previously marginalized from the historical record. Historians began to re-assess national narratives that focused on the activities of an elite subset of Americans. New narratives

²⁹⁴ Julius Britto to Richard Walega, 27 Jan. 1979, in Correspondence, Ernestina Archive 1, CBA NEBE.

²⁹⁵ "Something to cheer about: the Ernestina finds a home," *New Bedford Standard-Times*[?], 16 Aug. 1982, in August 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

²⁹⁶ "The schooner Ernestina, dating from 1893, is scheduled to tie up in Rye," *The New York Times*, 20 June 1982, in June 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

²⁹⁷ "Plans call for Ernestina to be more than a museum boat," *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 6 June 1982, in June 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

²⁹⁸ Intern Patricia Rodrigues collected and digitized oral histories recounting the Cape Verdean immigrant experience for the ERNESTINA archives and website in summer 2000. Sound files and transcriptions are available at <http://www.ernestina.org/history/CapeVerde/index.html>.

retrieved the contributions of diverse peoples of many races, classes, and genders, while an approach of “history from the ground up” looked at everyday laborers and their formative roles in the nation’s economy, politics, and culture.²⁹⁹ The diversified, anecdotally rich histories that emerged from this period, often making direct connections between the past and current political and cultural causes in an “activist” context, marked a major intellectual shift. Such changes enabled the writing of ERNESTINA histories that highlighted the daily lives, labors, and struggles of individuals like Henrique Mendes, and the transatlantic communities in which he and his passengers traveled.³⁰⁰ “Everyone” in Cape Verde “knew of Ernestina,” John Braman, later a commissioner of the vessel, recalled in 1992. Braman had visited the islands in 1977 and found that “[s]he connected. It seemed that almost anyone could relate a story that had to do with the way Ernestina helped them achieve something, whether it was visiting a relative far away on another island, or having enough food, or even finding ultimate freedom on American soil.” There was, he found, “a spiritual quality in the reminiscencing [sic], but always a practical accomplishment...accompanying the memory.”³⁰¹

ERNESTINA became the public face for a more inclusive history of the U.S. immigrant experience, a tangible reminder that migration to a “New World” involved more than the well-known Anglo colonies at Jamestown and Plymouth or the later arrivals at sites like Ellis Island. The “saga of the *ERNESTINA* helps to democratize American history by including the contributions that Africans have made to American economy and culture,” concluded a report on the schooner’s educational value made to the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1979. “As a cultural minority, Afro-Americans need [Alex Haley’s] *Roots* and *Ernestina* sagas to help reduce the cultural alienation that has been wrought by slavery and racism.”³⁰² The schooner was historiographically significant for generating discussion about and reflection upon the newly independent Republic of Cape Verde and the identities of its peoples. Community ties among these peoples, and with non-Cape Verdeans, were strengthened through such fundraising activities as dinners, dances, concerts that raised consciousness as much as funds. An eight-panel exhibition titled “The *ERNESTINA*—A Human Story” was completed in 1981 with

²⁹⁹ For a history of Cape Verdean immigration, and especially details of individuals involved in the packet trade and other maritime ventures, see Raymond Anthony Almeida, ed., *Cape Verdeans in America: Our Story* (Boston: The American Committee for Cape Verde, 1978).

³⁰⁰ Large-format photographs of ERNESTINA and portraits of crew and other Cape Verdeans associated with her going about their daily activities, were taken ca. 1976 by T. Steven Tegu and are located in Ernestina Archive 4, CBA NEBE.

³⁰¹ John Braman, “Fragments of a Vision,” 9 Aug. 1992, in EMHA/Ernestina, Ernestina Archive 1, CBA NEBE.

³⁰² Britto, “Ernestina/Effie Morrissey Restoration Project,” 12. Given the long history of racial and cultural mixing in Cape Verde, it can be problematic to consider the ERNESTINA history as a narrative of “Afro-American” or “black” experiences. Halter has noted that Cape Verdeans have historically defined themselves in relation to both “black” and “white” communities in the United States, and have struggled to fit in with either of these groups. On the changing social construction of racial identity (and hierarchy) among Cape Verdean immigrants, see Halter, *Between Race and Ethnicity*, 6-8. Britto’s larger point, that ERNESTINA can be used as a vehicle for telling the histories of minorities in maritime context, is well taken. For a more extended consideration of the presence of minority, particularly African and African-American, seamen in the maritime history of the United States, see W. Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997). Bolster’s work highlights the active leadership roles performed by some of these mariners, even while enslaved.

financial assistance from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) and toured the Northeast telling the histories of the schooner and Cape Verdeans.³⁰³

After sea trials, loading of sand and iron ballast, and departure ceremonies in Mindelo, ERNESTINA departed Cape Verde at 10:30 a.m. on 15 July 1982. Marcos Lopes was captain with a crew of six Cape Verdeans and six Americans. Mindelo gave her a rousing send-off, a “clamoring, clanging, cheering salute” as ships and cars sounded their horns, and Captain Lopes set off firecrackers.³⁰⁴ Margaret “Peggy” Lyons of New York was the sole woman aboard.³⁰⁵ Stephan Platzer, brother of Michael, had traveled from New York to Lisbon to pick up the mainsail before flying to Cape Verde.³⁰⁶ Norman Gomes of New Bedford served as a “liaison-translator” since two languages were used aboard. “You hear the Creole and the English flying across the deck, echoing along the water,” he later recalled. “Surely understanding each other is at the heart and core of the long voyage to come.”³⁰⁷

On board, the “only concession to modern equipment” was a “battery-powered single-side band transceiver,” broadcasting every day to ham radio operators in the United States who monitored the schooner’s progress and relayed messages to families.³⁰⁸ Newspapers also kept tabs on the journey.³⁰⁹ The crossing took place without an engine, and the schooner made steady progress, slowed only by mild winds in the “horse latitudes” southwest of Bermuda.³¹⁰ There was a close call when a “Liberian-registered freighter missed slicing into the Ernestina by two yards,” but the schooner carried on unharmed.³¹¹ She took along pigs and chickens, and the crew ate *doprados* (“dolphin fish”) en route. Using a sextant and stars for navigation, the crew took her west to the Bermuda area, then north to Newport, Rhode Island.³¹² “The helm is loose,” crewman Gomes later reported. “The ship is sloppy when she’s becalmed. But in a storm she handles like a charm. She loves the rough stuff.”³¹³ Preparing a proper berth in New Bedford caused some

³⁰³ Laura Pires Houston, “Friends of the Ernestina/Morrissey: Ernestina Update 1982,” in Bus. Letters Con. Restoration, Ernestina Archive 1, CBA NEBE.

³⁰⁴ “Ernestina receives a very warm welcome,” *Cape Verdean News*, Sept. 1982, in Sept 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

³⁰⁵ “Ernestina Repatriated in Emotional Ceremony,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 30 Aug. 1982, in August 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

³⁰⁶ “Historic schooner sails home,” *Sunday Star-Ledger*, 12 Sept. 1982, in Sept 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

³⁰⁷ “Ernestina receives a very warm welcome,” *Cape Verdean News*, Sept. 1982, in Sept 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

³⁰⁸ Linda Cardillo, “A Berth with History,” *Tufts Criterion* (Winter 1982), 9, in Sept 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

³⁰⁹ John Gonsalves, “Ernestina on Its Way to the United States,” 23 July 1982, in July 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

³¹⁰ “Cape Verde schooner sailing for Newport,” *Newport Daily News* [Newport, RI], 11 Aug. 1982; “Ernestina Heads for Newport before New Bedford Visit,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 14 Aug. 1982, in August 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

³¹¹ “Freighter nearly shivers Ernestina’s timbers,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 18 Aug. 1982, in August 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

³¹² “Historic schooner sails home,” *Sunday Star-Ledger*, 12 Sept. 1982, in Sept 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

³¹³ “‘She handles like a charm,’ New Bedford seafarer says,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 25 Aug. 1982, in August 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

last-minute problems since the site originally proposed appeared too shallow to accommodate ERNESTINA's draft (depth of 12" was needed).³¹⁴ Eventually a berth at the Steamship Authority pier, rather than the original site of Waterfront Park, was chosen.³¹⁵

ERNESTINA landed at Fort Adams, Newport, at 8:30 p.m. on 24 August 1982, greeted by "100 jubilant well-wishers floodlit by television klieg's."³¹⁶ She bore the colorful emblems of her many affiliations: a red and white pennant with her name, the blue and white United Nations flag, the courtesy ensign of the United States, and the red, green, and yellow flag of the Republic of Cape Verde, draped over her transom.³¹⁷ A tug took ERNESTINA from Newport to New Bedford on 28 August 1982. "There was pandemonium on the pier at 8 last night as a throng of 2,500 saw tall masts, rope rigging and sails of canvas returning to the waterfront of the Whaling City," reported the *Standard-Times*. "The celebration resembled New Year's Eve. Car horns blared, cheers and chants of 'Viva' resounded, and the Coast Guard cutter Unimak joined in, sounding its bell and horn." Her papers were transferred to the Massachusetts Schooner Ernestina Commission on 29 August.³¹⁸ During a two-hour transfer ceremony on the pier, the Cape Verdean flag was lowered and the American flag was raised.³¹⁹

During the return ceremonies in August 1982, the *Standard-Times* reported that "Cape Verdean-Americans said this weekend that the ship has given them a focus for longings for an identity, a visible symbol of the travails of their forebears."³²⁰ The event's symbolic significance earned praise from Jose Luis Fernandes Lopes, Cape Verdean ambassador to United States.

For Cape Verdeans forced by centuries of drought and the politics of colonialism to leave our Islands and make new lives in distant lands, the Schooner ERNESTINA is a symbol of the interdependence which binds us together as one people, united in our relationship to our common reference point, the Cape Verde Islands.

For over a century, the people of Cape Verde have looked to the people of America as a reliable partner whenever we found ourselves caught in the death grip of drought. Our hope is that the ERNESTINA will serve as a tangible symbol of these historic ties and our continuing people-to-people partnership.

³¹⁴ "Carefully charted trip of Ernestina could end in better-prepared port," *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 9 Aug. 1982, in August 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

³¹⁵ "Ernestina heads for Newport before New Bedford visit," *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 14 Aug. 1982, in August 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

³¹⁶ "'She handles like a charm,' New Bedford seafarer says," *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 25 Aug. 1982, in August 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

³¹⁷ "Wave of Jubilation sweeps ship emerging from the mist," *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 25 Aug. 1982, in August 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

³¹⁸ "Ernestina's Here: Welcome home," *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 29 Aug. 1982, in August 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

³¹⁹ "Ernestina Repatriated in Emotional Ceremony," *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 30 Aug. 1982, in August 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

³²⁰ "Ernestina Repatriated in Emotional Ceremony."

“Viva a amizade entre os povos Americano e Caboverdano!” he concluded. “Boa viagem, ERNESTINA, e que Deus te acompanhe!”³²¹

An image of the *Palhabote ERNESTINA* (“two-masted schooner *ERNESTINA*”) has appeared on the 200-escudo banknote of Cape Verde since 1992.³²²

“Long-standing links between the United States and Cape Verde are a source of great pride to both of our nations,” commented Peter Jon de Vos, United States ambassador to Cape Verde, “and the great success of the ERNESTINA/MORRISSEY venture reflects the depth of these traditional ties....In this era of space, it is important that we continue to nurture the kind of human connection and indomitable human spirit that are represented by this historic Schooner.”³²³ President Ronald Reagan sent a message of thanks to the government of Cape Verde for the ship.³²⁴ “What has emerged from this collaboration across the seas,” Platzer and Houston later wrote, “is a sturdier, visually magnificent, and symbolically strengthened ERNESTINA.”³²⁵

Following the return, ERNESTINA was towed to the Gloucester Marine Railways to be outfitted with a new engine. Daniel Moreland, an experienced and able mariner, was hired as captain. ERNESTINA traveled to festivals throughout New England in fall 1983, where the public could visit and learn about her heritage. Arrival in New Bedford marked a beginning for ERNESTINA rather than a conclusion. Post-return challenges included generating reliable funding to cover insurance, proper docking space, permanent staff, and maintenance expenses, as well as developing long-range operational plans to make ERNESTINA a financially, politically, and culturally viable part of greater New Bedford communities.³²⁶

Education and Ambassadorship

ERNESTINA’s career ca. 1982 to the present has centered on maritime education and ambassadorship. Public interest in maritime heritage, exemplified by the success of “Tall Ships” parades and by maritime education programs at places like Mystic Seaport, Connecticut, and Woods Hole, Massachusetts, helped make the schooner’s pedagogical projects robust in the late decades of the twentieth century. Maritime programs have also supported urban and waterfront regenerations. As economically depressed regions in New England have struggled to reinvent

³²¹ “Ernestina/Effie M. Morrissey,” n.p., July 1982, in July 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE. For official documentation of the transfer in August 1982, see Deed of Gift, Ernestina Archive 4, CBA, NEBE.

³²² On efforts by U.S. supporters to put the schooner’s image on currency in the late 1970s, see Bus. Letters Con. Restoration, Ernestina Archive 1, CBA NEBE.

³²³ “Ernestina/Effie M. Morrissey,” July 1982, in July 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

³²⁴ “Reagan Thanks Cape Verde for Gift,” n.p., 1982, in August 82 subfolder, News Articles 1982, Ernestina Archive 3, CBA NEBE.

³²⁵ Houston and Platzer, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 7.

³²⁶ Defining and implementing a working relationship between the Massachusetts Schooner Ernestina Commission and the private support group Friends of Ernestina Morrissey proved a recurrent sticking point. For one episode in this negotiation of a public-private partnership, see “Two groups fight for control of schooner *ERNESTINA*,” *Gloucester Daily Times*, 13 April 1983.

themselves in a post-industrial era, heritage tourism—anchored by preservation and interpretation of “authentic” artifacts like the schooner—has turned to history-focused entertainment and education as engines of financial resurgence. The viability of such projects can be precarious and politically contingent, however, as the current challenges facing ERNESTINA and her preservation demonstrate.

Selection of New Bedford as ERNESTINA’s home port has meant that the schooner participates in educational and interpretive programming focused on the city’s maritime history. Bordering the Acushnet River and Buzzards’ Bay, New Bedford has long drawn upon the sea for resources and for identity. Europeans first explored the area in 1602 when Bartholomew Gosnold sailed for England along the coast and partway up the river. Quakers, Baptists, and others from the Plymouth Colony were the first white settlers. In 1652 settlers bought land from the Wampanoag that included the present sites of New Bedford, Acushnet, Fairhaven, Dartmouth, and Westport. Whaling was introduced to the area in the mid-eighteenth century, and shipbuilding and related industries developed ca. 1760. Larger ships began making long-haul voyages late in the eighteenth century. The post-Revolutionary period brought a fluctuating economy, but after 1818 whaling profits increased, with the industry peaking in New Bedford ca. 1857. The second half of the nineteenth century saw a decline in whaling, owing to the longer voyages needed to obtain increasingly scarce whales, challenges from the Gold Rush and the U.S. Civil War, and lowered prices in a flooded market. Mid-century brought a shift to land-based industries, especially textile mills and other manufacturing. These sustained the city until the late 1920s, the beginning of a decades-long period of economic stagnation. Some reinvigoration has come to the city from the 1960s onwards with the addition of a hurricane barrier (1965-1966) to create a safer harbor, rehabilitation of wharves and growth of fish processing facilities, restoration of the historic district and waterfront, and cultivation of tourism.³²⁷

A fall cruise in 1983 brought ERNESTINA to several Northeastern ports to raise support and funds. The Waterfront Historic Area League (WHALE) in New Bedford provided office space and fundraising support.

A principal goal set in 1986 was completion of historic refitting in time for the vessel to participate in Operation Sail 1986, which celebrated the legacy of immigrants in the United States. ERNESTINA joined the Tall Ships Parade in “OpSail 86” as the only vessel in the procession to have actually carried immigrants to the United States, and as the last sailing vessel in regular service to bring immigrants to this country. Contributions from the Commonwealth, individuals, and organizations were crucial to getting underway.³²⁸ Addition of safety and navigational equipment to meet Coast Guard certification requirements for an educational vessel was another priority.

³²⁷ Barbara Clayton and Kathleen Whitley, *Guide to New Bedford* (Montpelier, VT: Capital City Press, 1979), 14-18, 20-30.

³²⁸ “ERNESTINA sails forth on Liberty trip,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 28 June 1986; “CT Friends Contribute Over \$25,000 to Schooner ERNESTINA in Month of July,” *Fourth Chapter: Fifth Commemorative* (Fall 1986).

ERNESTINA sailed to Michigan in summer 1987 for the state's sesquicentennial where Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis was attending a meeting with the National Governors Association. Her Great Lakes tour brought her to U.S. and Canadian cities along the St. Lawrence and northeastern lakes, including Montreal, Quebec, Toronto, Detroit, and Halifax.³²⁹ From 1987 to 1988, there were efforts to achieve Coast Guard certification, which would permit a new career as a sail training vessel for educational purposes. The National Trust for Historic Preservation honored Moreland and ERNESTINA in 1987 for the historic restoration project.

Education, with focus on maritime and citizenship skills, became the vessel's new mandate. Joseph Cardozo assumed directorship of programming and development in 1988, launching a new phase for the vessel as a "sailing school ship, living history museum and goodwill ambassador."³³⁰ Inner-city public school students, private school groups, youth-at-risk, educators, and senior citizens were among the many participants in an imaginative and substantive array of programming.³³¹ Programs for the general public included themed day sails like "The Great Gloucester Schooner Race Cruise" and the "Herman Melville: Call Me Ishmael Cruise." ERNESTINA sailed to Captain Bartlett's hometown of Brigus, Newfoundland, in August 1988, accompanied by several of the original Arctic crew and Bartlett Boys.

In the wake of a state audit that raised concerns about financial practices, the ERNESTINA offices closed in 1990 and staff were terminated, though charges of misappropriations were ultimately dropped. A new slate of commissioners was appointed following resignation of the previous board.³³²

ERNESTINA earned National Historic Landmark status in 1990.³³³ She was designated because of her status as "the oldest surviving Grand Banks fishing schooner; the only surviving 19th century Gloucester-built fishing schooner...one of two remaining examples of the *Fredonia* style schooners, the most famous American fishing vessel type, and...the only offshore example of that type...[O]ne of only two sailing Arctic exploration vessels left afloat in the United States" (the second being MacMillan's schooner *Bowdoin*, which had sailed from Provincetown, and is also a National Historic Landmark).³³⁴

An active sailing and educational season occupied 1991, followed by repairs and preparation for long-distance voyaging. Ambitious plans developed for a six-month transatlantic voyage to Bermuda, the Azores, Portugal, Cape Verde, Barbados, and the Caribbean. Trainee sailors would accompany new Capt. Gregg Swanzey on this ambassadorial and educational venture. Difficulties arose almost immediately after the October 1991 launch, however.³³⁵ The schooner

³²⁹ "ERNESTINA 'couldn't pass up trip,'" *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 19 June 1987.

³³⁰ "At age 94, ERNESTINA begins a fourth career," *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 11 Dec. 1988.

³³¹ "Schooner ERNESTINA sails on new maritime ventures," *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 14 May 1989.

³³² "ERNESTINA in Storage; Crew Laid Off," *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 12 Oct. 1990; "Schooner ERNESTINA Bouncing Back after Critical State Audit Report," *The Barnacle* [Fairhaven, MA], 23 May 1991; "New Commission to Take Helm July 5," *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 29 June 1991.

³³³ "ERNESTINA Wins Landmark Status," *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 18 Dec. 1990.

³³⁴ Maritime historian James Delgado identified these features, see Delgado, "ERNESTINA," National Historic Landmark Study.

³³⁵ "ERNESTINA Sails after Insurance Dispute is Settled," *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 25 Oct. 1991.

sailed into the infamous “Perfect Storm” off the New England coast.³³⁶ Hurricane Grace forced ERNESTINA off course, and she had to be re-routed to Puerto Rico for safety. The detour meant optimal time for crossing the Atlantic had passed. Shipboard conflicts among trainees added complications when several left the ship earlier than scheduled, causing the apprentice seaman program to be discontinued.³³⁷ The ship returned to New Bedford from Miami under a different crew in April 1992, the cruise aborted.³³⁸

The city-based *ERNESTINA-Morrissey* Historical Association, a 501(c)(3) non-profit, assumed control of daily operations in spring 1992.³³⁹ Capital improvements in 1993 earned the schooner dual certification as a sailing school and passenger vessel.

Massachusetts legislation designated ERNESTINA the “official vessel” of the Commonwealth in 1994 and placed the schooner within the Department of Environmental Management. The commission expanded from five to nine members that year, called a “new era” for the vessel by Governor William Weld.³⁴⁰ A new white-pine mast from western Massachusetts was added in 1994, the vessel’s hundredth year.³⁴¹ Centennial celebrations in 1994 brought together local performers and individuals connected to the ship.³⁴² Maritime musician Tom Goux and packet trade researcher Traudi Coli, among many others, investigated and publicized diverse aspects of the schooner’s heritage. Gregg Swanzey became executive director.³⁴³

Beginning in 1994, capital improvements and educational programming expanded ERNESTINA’s community connections. Operating primarily in her home waters between Cape Ann, Massachusetts, and Providence, Rhode Island, ERNESTINA galvanized a year-round calendar of activities, both onboard and dockside, and ranging from a few hours to multi-day sails. As a mobile classroom and laboratory, she was used to teach young people about math, science, history, and ecology in the context of a maritime setting. Special emphasis was placed on environmental literacy, the development of understandings about how natural systems work and human actions affect them. With an educational mission to “establish educational, cultural and experiential programs in a context that celebrates human diversity, creativity, value and dignity,” ERNESTINA facilitated practical and historical understandings of a diverse, multifaceted past, and participated in teacher instruction and curriculum development. A high

³³⁶ Sebastian Junger’s *The Perfect Storm* popularized the storm (also known as the “Halloween Nor-easter”) and the ill-fated Gloucester fishing boat ANDREA Gill. See Sebastian Junger, *The Perfect Storm* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1997).

³³⁷ “Cancel Cape Verde Voyage, *ERNESTINA* Captain Says,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 13 Nov. 1991.

³³⁸ “Crew with a Mission Departs; *ERNESTINA* Will Leave for Home Soon,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 10 April 1992; “Home is the sailor, home from the sea,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 23 April 1992.

³³⁹ “Operating group named for the *ERNESTINA*: Commission confines itself to oversight,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 5 May 1992.

³⁴⁰ “Commission Will Steer *ERNESTINA* into the Future,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 3 June 1994.

³⁴¹ “A New Log for an Old Ship,” *Boston Globe*, 29 May 1994.

³⁴² “Schooner *ERNESTINA* is Made Whole Once Again,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 8 July 1994.

³⁴³ Biographical sketches of the many volunteers and staff who contributed to *ERNESTINA*’s sailing and programming in the 1990s are available at <http://www.ernestina.org>.

mark in ERNESTINA's educational programming came in 2000, when the vessel served more than 7,000 schoolchildren, 360 teachers, and 100,000 visitors.

ERNESTINA's educational programming was neither staid nor antiquated. Focusing on the multicultural character of maritime heritage and its resonance among contemporary area youth, this programming had a pronounced political quality, a commitment to progressive, revisionist approaches to knowledge and community. A 1992 report on ERNESTINA's educational mission drew inspiration from Captain Bartlett and the Cape Verdeans, "prizing...diversity, human rights, and social justice." Many sail training programs, it wrote, "lack sensitivity to issues of race and class, they lack a curriculum that would stand up to an educator's scrutiny, and they operate in isolation, not partnered with schools and families." Ideally ERNESTINA's programming, by contrast, would respond to "current research from the school reform movement about cooperative learning, anti-bias training, and interdisciplinary studies...methods that motivate people to care, in an active, 'break the mold' program design."³⁴⁴

Shore-based outreach included programs like "Working on the Water," a dockside hands-on technology and history program for fourth- and fifth-graders, which used ERNESTINA and the half-scale replica whaling bark LAGODA, housed in the New Bedford Whaling Museum, to explore technologies of fishing and whaling. "Watershed to the Bay," a dockside program for third-graders, collaborated with regional environmental education partners to explore the concept of "communities connected by water," and the social and historic linkages between coastal and inland communities. Underway programs included "Coastal Connections," which introduced students on board to the dynamics of maritime ecology. Its curriculum stressed, "to understand our water planet means to understand what makes the oceans tick...temperatures, soundings (depth), life on the ocean floor, life in the skies over the ocean, sea life and the food webs which make up this complex environment." Teams of teachers designed and pilot tested course units for possible inclusion in curricula as part of summer institutes for teachers of science, history, mathematics, and other disciplines. Among these were "Sea Connections," "Portraits of a Port," "Maritime Mathematics," and "Environment as an Integrating Context," the last of which used the "culturally and historically rich setting of New Bedford and the environmentally diverse Buzzards Bay region."³⁴⁵

ERNESTINA's local areas of outreach have included the North Shore, the Boston metropolitan area, Cape Cod and the islands, and southeastern Massachusetts. Greater New Bedford's peoples have been diverse from the start, and ERNESTINA has been used as a vehicle for telling the histories of distinctive ethnic and racial communities. The area first sustained Wampanoags, then Quakers and Baptists, Africans (some free, who worked on whalers), Indians and West Indians. In the early 1800s Irish and Portuguese, and people from the Portuguese islands of

³⁴⁴ John Braman, "Status Report on the Development of The Ernestina Program" (New Bedford, MA: Ernestina/Morrissey Historical Association, 8 Jan. 1992), 10-11, in EMHA/Ernestina, Ernestina Archive 1, CBA NEBE.

³⁴⁵ Educational programming records from the 1990s through 2004 are housed in the ERNESTINA offices at the State Pier, New Bedford.

Madeira, the Azores, and Cape Verde, arrived. The late 1800s brought other Europeans, as well as French Canadians who worked the mills.³⁴⁶

Today, ties with Cape Verdean communities in New England are prominent. ERNESTINA and her crew have participated in parades commemorating Cape Verdean Independence Day (5 July). A membership program fostered individual and family involvement through Member Sail opportunities and generated financial support. The New Bedford Harbor Sea Chantey Chorus formed to learn and perform traditional songs of the sea. ERNESTINA hosted a visit in summer 1998 by the bark ENDEAVOUR, a full-scale replica of Capt. James Cook's exploration ship. In 2000, ERNESTINA sailed on the eastern seaboard as part of OpSail events from the Chesapeake to Halifax, Nova Scotia, and participated in the maritime environmental conference "Ships to Save the Waters."³⁴⁷ Several programs and individuals earned awards for recognition of educational and community contributions.

Research into the vessel's history and crew has kept alive connections with the past. Bartlett Boys held an onboard reunion in July 1998 that was coordinated by Fred Littleton of the 1940 Greenland voyage. Youth interns compiled an extensive genealogy of descendents. The Morrissey family, descendents of original captain William Morrissey of Gloucester, sailed on ERNESTINA in September 2002, and later that month the schooner hosted members of the 1982 transatlantic crossing from Cape Verde. An award-winning website developed by Eric Swanzey amassed and publicized a digital archive of historical materials about the schooner, including ships' logs, oral histories, and photographs from all periods of her career.³⁴⁸

Flooding during a July 2002 sail in Long Island Sound required quick Coast Guard intervention. ERNESTINA returned to port safely, but costly repairs curtailed subsequent programming.³⁴⁹ Extensive work was done on the forward frames at the keel in 2003, and the entire rig was pulled for inspection. Fundraising to counteract budget shortfalls was successful.

From July to October 2004, ERNESTINA connected with more than 5,500 people from southeastern Massachusetts, primarily underserved youth from New Bedford and Fall River, in programs exploring the historic waterfront and Buzzards Bay. The ECHO initiative, "Sharing Cultures/Connecting Oceans: A New Bedford Collaboration," taught about global connections between the port of New Bedford and islands of the Atlantic, Hawaii, and Alaska. It involved

³⁴⁶ Clayton and Whitley, *Guide to New Bedford*, 30-32.

³⁴⁷ The seasonal ERNESTINA newsletter, *Log of a Record Run*, published ca. 1994-2003 includes programming details.

³⁴⁸ Available at <http://www.ernestina.org>, the website was a dynamic connection to the vessel's actual movements during its most active period, including onboard cellular uplinks, an online logbook, and onboard GPS and electronic charts. Participants in the schooner's voyages and their descendents reviewed and edited its historical contents. The correspondence, much of which focuses on correction of genealogical detail, is collected in Historical Connections, Email/Letters, Ernestina Archive 4, CBA NEBE.

³⁴⁹ "A 108-Year-Old Schooner Lives to Sail Another Day," *The New York Times*, 25 July 2002.

ERNESTINA, the New Bedford Whaling Museum, New Bedford Oceanarium, University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth, and the New Bedford Global Charter School.³⁵⁰

Current Status

ERNESTINA has not sailed since 2004, and programming has been substantially reduced from the high levels of the 1990s. Some shipboard, dockside, and traveling interpretation have continued as of summer 2008.

ERNESTINA is docked at the New Bedford State Pier as of summer 2008. She is now part of the New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park (NEBE), established in 1996 to recognize, protect, and interpret the area, deemed notable as the “19th century capital of the world’s whaling industry.”³⁵¹ This legislation integrated ERNESTINA into the historic downtown and waterfront district and put in place some administrative provisions for support of the schooner. Public-private partnerships and cooperation among federal, state, and community entities are the cornerstones of the park’s and ERNESTINA’s current operations.³⁵² Changes in funding allocation have posed challenges to continuation of her educational programming.

The schooner did not achieve U.S. Coast Guard certification in 2005 as a small passenger and sailing school vessel due to her deteriorated stem, stern, and transom. The inability to sail compromised her capacity to earn funding through grants as well as program and event fees, which had averaged half of her \$800,000 annual operating expenses. Program staff and crew were laid off after loss of these funds. This deferred some maintenance of the vessel and eliminated maritime and environmental science programs. In 2006 Preservation Massachusetts named the Massachusetts State Parks System to its “10 Most Endangered Historic Resources Program” and cited ERNESTINA as a prime example of neglect.

In May 2006, NEBE Superintendent Celeste Bernardo convened a team of maritime experts at a Maritime Summit to develop preservation and operation recommendations for ERNESTINA. Experts recommended that a condition survey of the vessel be undertaken and urged development of a “specific regimen of daily, weekly and monthly maintenance tasks” to combat further deterioration.³⁵³

Rehabilitation of the keel, frames, and planking below the waterline took place in early fall 2006 at D.N. Kelley’s shipyard in Fairhaven, Massachusetts. The State Historic Preservation Office and the Massachusetts Historical Commission reviewed the work in September 2006 and

³⁵⁰ Gregg Swanzey to Lee Heald, “Final Report 2004: The Ocean Learning Program Aboard Historic Schooner Ernestina,” 23 Nov. 2004, NEBE. Funding came from a grant from the Education through Cultural and Historical Organizations (ECHO) program of the U.S. Department of Education.

³⁵¹ S.608, “A Bill to establish the New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park in New Bedford, Massachusetts,” 16 Sept. 1996.

³⁵² For an overview of the historical scope of the park’s work in the decade since its establishment, see *The First Decade: A Retrospective* (New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park, National Park Service, 2006).

³⁵³ “Schooner Ernestina Summit Recommendations,” 24 May 2006, NEBE. Team participants included John Bullard (Sea Education Association), Dana Hewson (Mystic Seaport), Walter Rybka (Erie Maritime Museum), along with affiliates of the schooner and state agencies. The full report outlines programming and funding recommendations as well.

determined it had “no adverse effect” on the schooner’s significant historic characteristics. Work was completed in compliance with the Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for Historic Vessel Preservation Projects.

The survey recommended by the Maritime Summit team took place between August and October 2006 at D.N. Kelley’s shipyard. Capt. Paul Haley of the marine surveying firm Capt. G.W. Full Associates conducted the survey. His November 2006 report documented substantial deterioration of the midships and forward sections of the vessel, due mostly to rot in the forepeak, forecastle, hold, engine room, aft cabin, lazarette, deck, and superstructure areas. Being “inactive without a crew” in recent years “has accelerated the maintenance problems,” the report determined. The poor condition of the deck was particularly problematic. Fresh water had leaked below for several years and entered the hull and the areas between framing and planking and over deck beams. (Whereas salt water helps preserve wood, fresh water is detrimental to a wooden vessel.) Exposed to constant moisture, ERNESTINA’s interior suffered progressive rotting. Deck replacement would be necessary to protect any new work done to the hull. Other areas in poor condition included the stem, transom, some frames, deck beams, and other important structural elements. “ERNESTINA has come to a critical time,” the report concluded. “Without attention to her condition that has developed over time, she will rapidly continue to deteriorate.”³⁵⁴

Paul Brawley, a U.S. Navy Reserve lieutenant, was named executive director of ERNESTINA in July 2007. Surveys of the ship’s mechanical and electrical systems, along with rigging and sails, were completed in February 2008. ERNESTINA was towed to Boothbay Harbor Shipyard, Maine, in June 2008 for repairs. Harold Burnham, an eleventh-generation Essex master shipwright, served as the Commonwealth’s liaison with the shipyard.³⁵⁵ Work will include repairs to the stem, foredeck, and planking above the waterline alongside the foredeck, along with temporary repairs to the main deck to halt leaking.³⁵⁶

A National Park Service “Save America’s Treasures” matching grant of \$500,000, which singled out ERNESTINA as one of the United States’ “cultural and historic treasures” that can “contribute to our national narrative,” partially funded the work.³⁵⁷ Other funding came from a \$250,000 grant from the Partnerships Matching Funds Program administered by the Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation (DCR), along with \$130,000 from ERNESTINA’s operating budget.³⁵⁸ The total cost of rehabilitation, outfitting, and manning is estimated to be under \$3.5 million.³⁵⁹ DCR contracted with the Historic American Engineering

³⁵⁴ Paul Haley, “Ernestina Survey Summary,” 9 Nov. 2006, NEBE. For a detailed survey of deterioration, see “Findings and Recommendations” section.

³⁵⁵ Massachusetts Schooner Ernestina Commission, “Meeting Minutes,” 23 May 2008, NEBE.

³⁵⁶ “Schooner Ernestina Heading to Maine for Necessary Repairs,” news release, 5 June 2008, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Department of Conservation and Recreation.

³⁵⁷ “Save America’s Treasures Grant Program Announces \$7.6 Million in Awards,” press release, National Park Service, 12 Dec. 2007.

³⁵⁸ Paul Brawley, Letter to Friends of ERNESTINA, July 2008, NEBE; “Schooner ERNESTINA: An American Treasure,” *The Toggle Iron: Park News* (New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park, National Park Service), spring 2008, 1-2.

³⁵⁹ Paul Brawley, “Schooner ERNESTINA Executive Director’s Report,” 11 July 2008, NEBE.

Record (HAER) to develop drawings, a history, and photographs of the vessel, which will be used to guide future work.³⁶⁰ DCR will set aside state forest acreage for ERNESTINA, where white oak, along with white and yellow pine, will be grown to furnish lumber for future repairs.

Repairs and restoration will continue in 2008, with a goal of achieving U.S. Coast Guard certification to reinstitute afloat educational programs. Pending satisfactory seaworthiness, ERNESTINA may participate in 2009 events including Sail Massachusetts, “Celebrating Bartlett” in Newfoundland and Labrador, the Gloucester Schooner Festival, New Bedford Working Waterfront Festival, and in 2010 the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Republic of Cape Verde’s independence. A preventative maintenance plan is being developed and an endowment fund established to provide for the vessel’s long-term preservation and operation. Federal and state funding, along with contributions from foundations, corporations, and private citizens, will be sought.

Historical Significance and Legacy

“There is nothing quite like this ship—the word ‘ship’ or ‘schooner’ seems an insufficient communicant of what this thing called Ernestina is,” wrote educator and former ERNESTINA Commissioner John Braman in 1992, a moment when different “visions” for the vessel’s future were being explored. “Ship or schooner is too small to contain all that 98 [now 114] years has told us about living well, exploring, finding knowledge, and being frail, yet persistent human beings in search of our freedom.”³⁶¹

Different stages of ERNESTINA’s career can be incorporated into larger-scale historical narratives about an “American” past. Her work can provide case studies of free-market enterprise (the fishing days and packet trade); of exploration and scientific pursuit (the Arctic voyages); of the immigrant experience, the multi-racial and -cultural character of the modern United States, and its capacity to absorb and aid diverse peoples from around the world (the Cape Verdean transports). Among the schooner’s “many, many stories,” Houston and Platzer wrote in 1982, “one can discover...the common themes of perseverance, ingenuity, and survival. They demonstrate again what can be accomplished with determined human effort.”³⁶²

Critical as well as celebratory historical understandings can emerge from ERNESTINA’s archive. Her banking days dramatize the harsh labor conditions of small-scale fishing enterprises dependent on the north Atlantic, and the ecological stresses that can result from intensive, even reckless, harvesting of natural resources. Arctic exploration was never a “neutral” undertaking but a project enmeshed in the politics of scientific knowledge-production and anthropological study. Naval surveying in the far north during wartime was highly political and marked the beginnings of international Cold War-era struggles for power and territory in the Arctic. The history of Cape Verde, first as a Portuguese colony and later as an independent Republic, speaks to the burdens of colonialism, devastating drought, massive out-migration, and formation of post-colonial governments and identities. ERNESTINA’s struggle to stay afloat—literally and

³⁶⁰ “Rebuilding the *ERNESTINA*,” *New Bedford Standard-Times*, 20 July 2008.

³⁶¹ John Braman, “Fragments of a Vision,” 9 Aug. 1992, in EMHA/Ernestina, Ernestina Archive 1, CBA NEBE. Other programming “vision statements” are included in this file, some of which came to fruition in the 1990s.

³⁶² Houston and Platzer, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 32.

figuratively—during her sail training years encapsulates challenges of preserving and administering historic sites, at a time when such places compete intensely for limited funds.

During the negotiations of the schooner's transfer from Cape Verde to the United States in the 1970s and 1980s, several parties debated which period in her career was most "historically significant."³⁶³ The construction of such "significance" is itself a topic of historiographical interest. Is it to be judged by the number of similar vessels still in existence? The singularity, or representativeness, of the mission? The percentage of population affected? The prominence in local and national media? Depending on the parameters chosen, arguments could be made for the relative import of each period. Even the act of classifying the schooner (calling her EFFIE M. MORRISSEY or ERNESTINA; or identifying her as a vessel of Gloucester, Canada, the United States, Portugal, Cape Verde) can be contested.³⁶⁴ The schooner has meant different things to different peoples, and telling these micro-histories—seeking out the circumstances that made her Bartlett's "magic carpet," or a "floating moving van," or so on—is one step towards acknowledging these diverse, profoundly felt attachments.³⁶⁵

Yet there is interpretive value in considering the full sweep of MORRISSEY/ERNESTINA's history, rather than chapters taken in isolation. The sum of her work, from 1894 to 2008 and onward, extends the range and kind of individuals and communities who can be seen as vital contributors to regional and national heritages. Captains and financial backers have been instrumental in her work, but so have fishermen and deckhands, scientists and immigrants, schoolboys and educators—and the myriad families and supporters who remained ashore. ERNESTINA is significant for historians, who have begun to look at hemispheric and transnational relationships as well as nation-based narratives; for present-day maritime communities, which can view their livelihoods within a heritage of struggle and innovation; and for the public, from New England and beyond, who can be immersed in narratives of the past that are diverse and open to addition and revision.

³⁶³ See especially correspondence from the 1970s and 1980s in Bartlett Exploration, Ernestina Archive 1, CBA NEBE.

³⁶⁴ Daniel Moreland recounted arguments for and against keeping the name ERNESTINA in the present period ("the vessel as the ERNESTINA included the MORRISSEY history. But the vessel as the MORRISSEY did not include the ERNESTINA history"). He also explained the rationale for physically encapsulating her many careers by using forward name boards that read ERNESTINA, but do not fully obscure the letters of Effie M. Morrissey. Daniel Moreland, "A Schooner by Any Other Name," n.d., copy in green binder, Ernestina Archive 4, CBA NEBE.

³⁶⁵ Frank Way, who encountered the schooner while serving on the USS ARCADIA, used this epithet in describing the deck, filled with "beds, bureaus, boxes, mattresses, dressers, chairs, tables, chickens, and barking dogs, with people milling about and conversing in a foreign language all at the same time." Quoted in Houston and Platzer, *ERNESTINA/Effie M. Morrissey*, 34.

Appendix 1: Voyages of the EFFIE M. MORRISSEY with Robert Bartlett, 1925-45³⁶⁶

- 1925 First voyage of Robert Bartlett with the EFFIE M. MORRISSEY. Labrador fishing trip.
- 1926 American Museum Greenland expedition to North Greenland. Auspices of the American Museum of Natural History, with University of Michigan. George Palmer Putnam, leader.
- 1927 Western Baffin Island. Auspices of the American Geographical Society, Museum of the American Indian, and Heye Foundation. George Palmer Putnam, leader.
- 1928 Stoll-McCracken Siberian Arctic expedition to Aleutian Islands, Bering Strait, and Arctic. Auspices of the American Museum of Natural History. Charles Stoll and Harold McCracken, leaders.
- 1929 Labrador Motion Picture expedition along Labrador Coast. Maurice Kellerman, leader.
- 1930 Northeast Greenland expedition. Auspices of the Museum of the American Indian. "Bartlett Boys" groups begin here.
- 1931 Norcross-Bartlett expedition to Northeast Greenland. With Smithsonian Institution, Heye Foundation, American Museum of Natural History, New York Botanical Gardens.
- 1932 Peary Memorial expedition. Erected monument to Robert E. Peary at Cape York, Greenland. With Marie Peary Stafford.
- 1933 Bartlett Northwest Greenland expedition, through Hudson Strait and across Foxe Basin to Strait of Fury and Hecla. With American Museum of Natural History, Museum of the American Indian, American Geographical Society, Navy Department.
- 1934 Greenland and Ellesmere Land expedition. Auspices of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences.
- 1935 Northwest Greenland expedition. Auspices of the Field Museum and the Smithsonian Institution.

³⁶⁶ Drawn from Dartmouth College Library Archives; Putnam, *Mariner of the North: The Life of Captain Bob Bartlett*, 229-31; Horwood, *Bartlett: The Great Canadian Explorer*, 183-84. Where there are inconsistencies, the Dartmouth College and Putnam chronologies are used. For a chronology of Bartlett's entire life and career (1875-1946), see Putnam, *Mariner of the North: The Life of Captain Bob Bartlett*, 227-28. Horwood, *Bartlett: The Great Canadian Explorer*, 181-84.

- 1936 Bartlett Northeast Greenland expedition. Auspices of the Smithsonian Institution, American Geographical Society, Chicago Zoological Society, Field Museum.
- 1937 Bartlett Northwest Greenland expedition. Auspices of the Smithsonian Institution, Cleveland Museum of Natural History, United States National Museum.
- 1938 Northwest Greenland expedition. Auspices of the Smithsonian Institution, Cleveland Museum of Natural History, United States National Museum.
- 1939 Northeast Greenland expedition. With New York Zoological Society and the Smithsonian Institution. MORRISSEY's "furthest north" for the east coast of Greenland attained on this trip, at 77 degrees 15'.
- 1940 Northwest Greenland expedition. Auspices of the Smithsonian Institution, Vassar College, U.S. Navy Department. MORRISSEY's overall "furthest north" attained on this trip, at 80 degrees 33'.
- 1941 Northwest Greenland expedition. With Louise Boyd, the U.S. Government.
- 1942 U.S. Government expedition to Frobisher Bay.
- 1943 U.S. Government expedition to Hudson Strait.
- 1944 U.S. Government expedition to southern and east coast of Greenland.
- 1945 U.S. Government expedition to northwest coast of Greenland.

Appendix 2: Listing of Physical Changes Made to Schooner from 1925 to 2006

This is a non-exhaustive listing of the physical changes to the schooner as well as descriptions of the interior at different points. It is a mixture of anecdotal and technical reports.

- 1925 The status of the schooner when Robert A. Bartlett acquired her: “No gasoline or Diesel engines for her; no fancy wire rigging; no turnbuckles. She was just a good, honest, beautiful craft. Her masts were seventy-four and seventy-six foot sticks from the pine forests of Maine, and her booms, gaffs, and bowsprit came from the same place. Locust treenails and Swedish iron fastening the white oak knees and stanchions and the white pine deck made the whole one common bond of security.”³⁶⁷

When Bartlett took the schooner fishing off Labrador that year, he noted there was “one of the old-fashioned barrel windlasses aboard.”³⁶⁸

- 1926 As part of the preparation for the 1926 Putnam/Greenland expedition, a small diesel engine was installed on deck. She went into drydock 1 June 1926 for the installation of fuel tanks. Bartlett stated: “We worked in a terrific rush, something that I have been paying for ever since...the result of our haste was that things were not as shipshape or as well organized as they might have been. The platform bed for the engine, the installation of which is a job requiring great care and time, was very well done considering how hurriedly it was made, but from any other point of view it left something to be desired. The fuel tanks should have been made to fit the contour of the hull, instead of being square and taking up far too much room. And the propeller shaft should have been lined up correctly, as would have been the case with a proper engine bed. But it was a rush job, and day and night work continued until June 4, when we went overboard again, and began to paint, overhaul the rigging, fix the crew’s quarters.”³⁶⁹

Refits for the Greenland voyage included alterations to “the midships hold where cod once was stored.” The space was altered to accommodate a messroom with a skylight that was lined with bunks. “Coal for the galley fire was stowed in place of ballast beneath the cabin floor, a space for collectors’ cargoes arranged abeam the engine, a power winch on deck replaced the old hand capstan, and even a modern contrivance with a hand pump, down below, became available for those who were squeamish about straddling the bowsprit stays in the good old-fashioned way...which, in a high sea, was at least aseptic if chilly.”³⁷⁰

Descriptions of the exterior and interior are available from 1926. Bartlett stated that the schooner appeared “very trim and smart, with sleek black hull, black rigging and scraped and varnished yellow spars contrasting with the white paint of our upper works.

³⁶⁷ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 1.

³⁶⁸ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 10-12.

³⁶⁹ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 27-28.

³⁷⁰ Putnam, *Mariner of the North*, 143-144.

On deck, she wasn't so attractive, I'll allow, for there wasn't much room to talk about. Gasoline and Diesel oil barrels lashed here and there, with our two whaleboats forward, saw to that."³⁷¹ The interior, according to Daniel Streeter, consisted of a "combination forecabin and galley, sort of a boudoir-kitchenette containing six very narrow bunks for the crew, a table and stove. Then came a storeroom, followed by the main hold, which formerly had served as a mausoleum for dead cod, and now by strange irony of fate was to house twelve members of the Expedition in two tiers of bunks. Except for a corner given over to the wireless, the dining table occupied most of the remaining space. Next came the fifty-seven horse-power Diesel engine and a storeroom for specimens to be acquired later. A small door about three feet high led into the after-cabin, which was furnished with six bunks, a table, one chair and a very strong odor of bilge. There was also a wash-hand basin, small stove and storage spaces under the floor and in the overhang of the stern."³⁷²

As Bartlett describes the schooner hitting a ledge near Murchison Sound, he notes his thankfulness that the old pumps had been removed when the schooner was at Staten Island and that "two new Gardiner pumps, with three sets of rubber washers" had been installed. Emergency repairs had to be made to stop the leaks in her hull.³⁷³

On 8 September and a number of other times throughout the year, the schooner lost a propeller. Bartlett stated "the cause of it all was electrolytic action. The screw shaft was steel, and was fitted into a copper sleeve, while the propeller itself was bronze. The salt water set up an action that ate the metal away very rapidly. The wheel, as a matter of face, did not drop off altogether, as it was held in place by the forward edge of the rudder, but it was useless."³⁷⁴

1927 In preparation for 1927 expeditions, the schooner was sent to the yard of Tietjen and Lang in Hoboken. Bartlett stated "new planks were needed for the wake of the forward part of the raised deck, where she had been strained quite a bit. There were a number of rotten spots in her deck, although not a drop of water had got through to impair any of the deck beams, knees, or stanchions in line with the waterway or underneath the deck." In addition, Bartlett wanted a "new mechanical windlass to take the place of our old-fashioned barrel one, which was not at all suitable for our work in ice and in harbors where ice abounded, with the constant threat of having to move out in a hurry." He paid for the new windlass by publishing an article entitled "My Troubles with Women." Bartlett also acquired "an extra whaleboat with a Palmer engine, and I installed a ten-horsepower Husky to hoist the sails."³⁷⁵

The propeller and shaft were lost again and repairs were made in Kamaktorvik Bay. Bartlett noted, "the ice had split the sleeve of the propeller shaft, and this gave us a

³⁷¹ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 37-38.

³⁷² Streeter, *An Arctic Rodeo*, 10-11.

³⁷³ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 55-67.

³⁷⁴ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 73-76.

³⁷⁵ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 77-79.

perpetual leak. The shaft was out of line more than it was before, and that caused its share of trouble.”³⁷⁶ Rough waters later caused the schooner to run aground causing additional damage. In addition, “the sleeve of the propeller shaft was leaking badly, the propeller itself was in bad shape, and the oakum needed to be pounded into her seams aft.” Temporary repairs were made until the schooner headed home. According to Bartlett, “we had trouble getting a good ice propeller, but finally succeeded, and in addition fitted a new steel shaft. I put more sheathing on her, renewed the sternpost, using Douglas fir instead of oak, which was expensive and hard to get, and replaced the planking stove in when she was on the rocks. The engine was overhauled and the reversing gear and clutch renewed.”³⁷⁷

- 1928 There was more trouble with leaking around the propeller shaft sleeve during the 1928 season. Alterations were made to MORRISSEY as she lay off the Manhasset Bay Yacht Club, including construction of a stateroom with lockers, drawers, tables and a radiator. An Arcola heater with a motor was installed, as well as electric lighting. The construction had been completed by 4 February.³⁷⁸

During the 1928 season, MORRISSEY sustained damages. When docked at Seattle, Bartlett discovered that “ten feet of the keel had been ripped off right up to within a few inches of the garboard strake,” so that section of the keel was replaced. In addition, a new sleeve was installed on the propeller shaft, and the crosstrees on the foremast were replaced. The exhaust pipe malfunctioned, resulting in boiling water emptying into flour sacks instead of overboard. To fix the problem, the crew “made a wooden box around the exhaust pipe and ran in concrete.”³⁷⁹ As the schooner headed for the Bering Straits and the Arctic Ocean her engine stopped and a shaft broke inside the sleeve. The crew made temporary repairs that enabled her to get to Nome where repairs were made.³⁸⁰

On 26 September, as MORRISSEY head for Unalaska, “hundreds of dollars of damage” was done to the gear. Bartlett recalled, “the beatings we took convinced me that the Oregon-pine bowsprit would have to be shortened. With the jib and jumbo tacked down to it, the weight of water it picked up when the *Morrissey* nose-dived into the swell put too much strain on the upper structure of the bow and on the pawl post, where the heel of the spirit was mortised into it.” MORRISSEY’s “upper works” were repainted that year with “two coats of white lead.”³⁸¹

- 1931 In advance of the Norcross-Bartlett expedition of 1931, the schooner was clad in greenheart. “In order for this Greenheart to conform with the shape of the hull the planks were steamed and made pliable. They were fastened to the hull with five inch galvanized spikes. It took ten to fifteen days but it was a great job and I hope will last

³⁷⁶ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 84-85.

³⁷⁷ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 97-100.

³⁷⁸ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 103-104.

³⁷⁹ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 105-107, 109-111.

³⁸⁰ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 122-31.

³⁸¹ Bartlett, *Sails Over Ice*, 142-146.

for at least ten years. The greenheart has a smooth hard surface, like that of marble and the more it is rubbed with the ice the smoother it becomes. The added twenty tons of weight increased her draft only about two inches and did not retard her sailing or steaming abilities. In fact, it improved if anything. In addition to this I had new bow plates from the turn of the stem up to the light load line and had these welded on to the stem plates. I drove lots of iron in her keel as that part of her anatomy receives hard usage.”³⁸²

- 1933 In advance of the Norcross-Bartlett expedition of 1933, new spars were installed on MORRISSEY.³⁸³
- 1935 By 1935, a description reveals “the sails mostly new, with spare suit, good Columbian rope, plenty of it, and new spars, new wire rigging, and around the hull we have the greenheart sheathing, this keeps the American oak plank from being broomed...the strength of it, two inches thick and wrapped around here like cellophane from the deck line to the keel on either side.”³⁸⁴
- 1943 A Service Report from 14 June 1943 reveals that a new guide and link bearings were installed as well as a steering repeater.³⁸⁵
- 1945 The schooner was hauled out for survey at Parkhurst’s Marine Railway in Gloucester on 15 December 1944 and 11 January 1945. On 18 January 1945, the schooner was surveyed in Boston, Massachusetts, to determine the “extent of the damage said to have been sustained by the vessel being jammed in ice floes in Greenland waters” between July and November 1944. The surveys found “she was leaking badly,” although the source could not be determined because of the oak sheathing. The rudder was raised and jammed, “the stern bearing was worn out of round” because MORRISSEY had “steamed three hundred miles with a bent propeller, and “the butts of some of the planks under the stern were opened approximately seven-eighths of an inch.” In addition, “the quarter timber on the port side was split full length” while the “first timber to the port side of the horn timber was started off seven-eighths of an inch.” All planking and timbers, however, were found to be “sound with no signs of rot.” Repairs made that year included the following: “renew quarter timber full length”; “shimm space between the horn timber and the first timber to the port side; secure both timbers together by bolting through athwartships with three bolts 14” x ½”; “renew and caulk all planking removed from stern”; “renew and caulk all removed sheathing”; “paint bottom of vessel one coat of anti fouling, as the sheathing was badly scarred when she was beached to install spare propeller”; “reset rudder”; “draw tail shaft, true it up in lathe and replace (4” bronze)”; “renew stern bearing.”³⁸⁶

³⁸² “The Norcross-Bartlett Expedition to the Greenland Sea—1931,” in Bowdoin College RAB papers, M8.3 Box 5, Folder 55.

³⁸³ “Norcross-Bartlett Expedition, 1935,” in Bowdoin College RAB papers, M8.3 Box 4, Folder 1106.

³⁸⁴ “Morrissey Trip—1935,” in Bowdoin College RAB papers, M8.3 Box 5, Folder 37.

³⁸⁵ “Service Report of Morrissey,” 14 June 1943, in Bowdoin College RAB papers, M8.2 Box 4, Folder 70.

³⁸⁶ Certificate of survey of the “E.M. Morrissey,” in Bowdoin College RAB papers, M8.2 Box 4, Folder 12.

- 1946 Chan Moser Yachts surveyed and appraised the vessel in September and found the schooner in good condition.³⁸⁷
- 1947 A fire started in the galley, destroying a major portion of the interior.³⁸⁸
- 1948 MORRISSEY arrived in New Bedford to be hauled out at the Casey Boatbuilding ways in Fair Haven for scraping and painting. Her engine had already been removed, which would be followed by her propeller and shaft since she would no longer be equipped with auxiliary power for the packet trade.³⁸⁹ While at the State Pier, MORRISSEY was fitted with a new boom for the foremast, a stove was installed in the galley, and the holds were readied for cargo.³⁹⁰
- 1954 An article noted, “a second-hand, 80-horsepower diesel has been installed.... The engine, purchased in New Bedford, will be hooked up to the shaft and the propeller installed at the Newport Shipyard as soon as there is room on the ways to haul the vessel out.”³⁹¹
- 1964 The schooner was docked at Norlantic Diesel in Fairhaven to have a rebuilt, 180 hp engine installed to replace the 75 hp one.³⁹²
- 1974 A survey completed in June in San Vincente, Cape Verde, revealed considerable physical change to the schooner as a result of her packet service duties. Cyrus Hamlin found considerable physical deterioration during his assessment of the vessel and her ability to cross the Atlantic. (A survey in September 1972 found her in “good” condition, but a March 1973 survey found her sails and rigging in poor condition, rot in the deck framing, and a leak around the shaft log.) Hamlin concluded that the schooner could make the crossing but that some repairs were necessary. These included repairing the decay in the ends of the deck beams, some knees, and the “wormy sternpost.” He found the deck to be generally sound, although “there has been so much worn away from cargoes, etc., that in some places the fastenings stand ½” to ¾” above the surface.” Hamlin reported as most “shocking” the “deformation of the ‘Ernestina’ from her original shape,” which he determined by comparing her present condition with the sheer taken in Staten Island in 1931 and shortly after entering packet service. Hamlin concluded “it would be a shame to bring the ‘Morrissey’ back to the U.S. to be displayed in her present shape—or lack of it. Although such a move might be justified solely on the basis of her historical importance, it would seem to me a cruel thing to bring her back a travesty of the lovely craft of 25 years ago.”³⁹³

³⁸⁷ Survey/appraisal by Chan Moser Yachts, September 1946, in NEBE Ernestina Archive 2.

³⁸⁸ “Bartlett Schooner Swept by Fire Here,” n.p., 1947(?) in NEBE Ernestina Archive 2.

³⁸⁹ “2nd Craft Enters Packet Trade,” *New Bedford Standard Times*, 11 April 1948, in NEBE Ernestina Archive 2.

³⁹⁰ “Schooner Readied for Cape Verde,” *New Bedford Standard Times*, 30 June 1948, in NEBE Ernestina Archive 2.

³⁹¹ “Cape Verde Schooner Gets a Diesel,” *Providence Bulletin*, 8 Oct. 1954, in NEBE Ernestina Archive 2.

³⁹² “Cape Verdean Schooner Ernestina Arrives in Harbor,” *New Bedford Standard Times*, 17 Sept. 1964, in NEBE Ernestina Archive 2.

³⁹³ Cyrus Hamlin, Synopsis Report: Survey of Schooner ‘Ernestina,’ 27 June 1974, in “Exhibit 4,” Bartlett Exploration, NEBE, Corson Building Archives, Ernestina Archive 1.

- 1979 James Brighton, President of LeCompte Creek Marine who had previously worked on restorations of the schooner BOSTON PILOT and Portuguese barkentine GAZELA PRIMERO and helped build MARYLAND DOVE and ADVENTURE, traveled to Cape Verde to prepare a restoration feasibility study of ERNESTINA, which was published on 18 March 1979. Brighton, along with Frans and Sophia Meijers assessed the schooner's condition and concluded that a "large percentage of frames" required replacement or sistering. They found significant deterioration in the mid-section. Some plankings needed replacement, as well as deck beams "due to loss of shape and deterioration in the ends." The deck, "sound but well worn," was also slated for replacement. Certain parts would be saved and recycled due to a shortage of materials. The Cummins diesel engine and related equipment were deemed "not salvageable."³⁹⁴
- 2006 Rehabilitation of keel, frames and planking below the waterline took place in early 2006 at D.N. Keely's shipyard in Fairhaven, Massachusetts. The State Historic Preservation Office and Massachusetts Historical Commission reviewed the work in September 2006 and determined it had "no adverse effect" on the significant historic characteristics of the schooner.

Between August and October 2006, Capt. Paul Haley of the marine surveying firm Capt. G.W. Full Associates undertook a survey of the vessel. Haley's November 2006 report documented substantial deterioration of the midships and forward sections of the vessel, due mostly to rot in the forepeak, forecastle, hold, engine room, aft cabin, lazarette, deck and superstructure areas. Being "inactive without a crew" in recent years "has accelerated the maintenance problems," the report determined. Fresh water had leaked below for several years, entering the hull and areas between framing and planking and over deck beams. Exposed to constant moisture, ERNESTINA's interior suffered progressive rotting and deterioration. Deck replacement would be necessary to protect any new work to the hull. Other areas in poor condition included the stem, transom, some frames, deck beams, and other important structural elements. "ERNESTINA has come to a critical time," the report concluded. "Without attention to her condition that has developed over time, she will rapidly continue to deteriorate."³⁹⁵

³⁹⁴ Britto, "Ernestina/Effie Morrissey Restoration Project."

³⁹⁵ Paul Haley, "Ernestina Survey Summary," 9 November 2006. For a detailed survey of deterioration, see "Findings and Recommendations" section.

Appendix 3: “Ernestina Frame Replacement Report” Transcription

Burnham Boat Building & Design of Essex, Massachusetts, completed the “ERNESTINA Frame Replacement Report” as part of the restoration process. On September 21, 2008, measurements were taken of Bow-frame #15, and on December 17, 2008, measurements were completed of Frames 16-24. The following is a transcription of the report with minor copy edits.

Notes about the measurements:

1. Measurements for this report were taken from the bottom of the deck sheer.
2. All new timbers were cut from white oak. Stanchions were cut free of the pith and top timbers were mostly free of the pith. There was no sapwood or wane in the new work.
3. “Jungle wood” is the yard’s term for the numerous species of tropical hardwoods used in the vessel. Although it is hard to identify exact species, a few of the different types that appear in different parts of the vessel are Green heart, Purple heart, and African mahogany. The term “sound” meant that the exposed surfaces were solid, hard, and resisted both poking and rapping.
4. Shims were made of tropical hardwoods wana or African mahogany and glued to the frames with epoxy. They were fit well, and 403 filler was used. The reason for so many shims was two-fold: first the existing frames were fit well to the planking, and second, the shape of the bow of the vessel was altered fair. In places, the cap rail was moved in about 3”, and the shims ranged in thickness from a point to about 1-1/2”.
5. Except as mentioned below, all futtocks that were not replaced were nail-fastened and not full of trunnel holes.

PORT SIDE

KNIGHT HEADS AND HAWS TIMBERS—NEW TO STEM

FRAME #1P

- FORWARD TIMBER: New and in one piece keel to cap rail
- AFT TIMBER: The top futtock is new down 27” from the deck. The second futtock is new to keel.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP: There is only one futtock joint in after timber and none in forward one.

STANCHION: Aft of #1P is left out as the forward timber on frame one goes to the cap rail.

FRAME #2P

- FORWARD TIMBER: The top futtock is new down 6’ from deck. The next futtock is jungle wood and is sound.
- AFT TIMBER: Top futtock is new down 8-1/2’ from the deck.
- Futtock overlap is about 30”.

STANCHION: Aft of #2P is new and runs 4’ below the deck.

FRAME #3P

- FORWARD TIMBER: The top futtock new down 9' from sheer. The next futtock was well below where vessel had been opened up but sound.
- AFT TIMBER: The top futtock new down 6' from sheer. The next futtock was jungle wood and was sound where planks were off.
- Futtock overlap is about 3'.

STANCHION: Aft of #3P is new and runs 3-1/2' below deck.

FRAME #4P—COLLISION BULKHEAD

- FORWARD TIMBER: The top futtock new down 7' from the deck. The next futtock is jungle wood and is sound.
- AFT TIMBER: The top futtock is new 5' from sheer. The next futtock is jungle wood and is sound.
- Futtock overlap is 25".
- Note: Sealing was cleaned and shimmed; stop waters were installed. New timbers were bedded in cotton and sicka flex I.A.W. the July 8 bulkhead letter.

STANCHION: Aft of #4P is new and runs 3-1/2' below deck.

FRAME #5P

- FORWARD TIMBER: The top futtock new 8-1/2' from the deck. The next futtock is jungle wood and sound down below the existing planking.
- AFT TIMBER: The top futtock is new 7' from the deck. The next futtock is sound jungle wood but is not very accessible.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 19" as it had been on this frame for a long time. Without opening up the vessel further this was the best that could be done. It was brought to the attention of the Coast Guard who agreed it was the best we could do. The long overlap on the next frame aft and the bulkhead on the next frame forward should be considered when looking at the strength in this area of the vessel.

STANCHION: Aft of #5P is new and runs 3-1/2' below deck.

FRAME #6P

- FORWARD TIMBER: The top futtock is new 8' below the deck. The next futtock is sound, although it is not accessible for clear inspection.
- AFT TIMBER: The top futtock is new 5' below the deck. The next futtock is jungle wood and is sound shimmed jungle wood.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 33".

STANCHION: Aft of #6P is new and runs 3' below deck.

FRAME #7P

- FORWARD TIMBER: The top futtock is new 5' below deck. The next futtock is jungle wood and is sound.
- AFT TIMBER: The top futtock is 2' below the deck. The next futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 38".

STANCHION: Aft of #7P is new and runs 3-1/2' below the deck.

FRAME #8P

- FORWARD TIMBER: The top futtock is new 5' below deck. Next futtock is jungle wood and sound.
- AFT TIMBER: The top futtock is new 2-1/2' below the deck. The next futtock is also new 7-1/2' below the deck.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 29" from the top one and 27" for the next one.

STANCHION: Aft of #8P is new and runs 3' below the deck.

FRAME #9P

- FORWARD TIMBER: The top futtock is new 4-1/2' below the deck. The next futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood.
- AFT TIMBER: The top futtock is new 2' below the deck. The next futtock is new 6-1/2' below the deck.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 33" for the top one and 23" for the next (that was the best that could be done without tearing the vessel further apart).

STANCHION: Aft of #9P is new 3' below the deck.

FRAME #10P

- FORWARD TIMBER: The top futtock is new 5' below the deck. The next timber is sound shimmed jungle wood.
- AFT TIMBER: The top timber is new 3' below the deck. The next futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 26".

STANCHION: #10P is new 3' below the deck.

FRAME #11P

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 5' below the deck. The next timber is sound shimmed jungle wood.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood. It starts 8" below the deck and runs down to 8' below the deck.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 55".

STANCHION: #11P is new and runs 3' below the deck.

FRAME #12P

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 5-1/2' below the deck. The next futtock is sound jungle wood.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 3' below the deck. The next futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 32".

STANCHION: #12P is new and runs 3' below the deck.

FRAME #13P

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 4' below the deck. The next futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood and runs 7-1/2' below the deck.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP in jungle wood, futtocks are 44" as existed.

STANCHION #13P is new and runs 3' below the deck.

FRAME #14P

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 4' below the deck. The next futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 6' below the sheer. The next futtock is jungle wood and is hidden behind the existing planks.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 25".

STANCHION #14P is new and runs 3' below the deck.

FRAME #15P

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 4' below the deck. The next futtock has some wane but for the most part is sound shimmed jungle wood.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP in jungle wood, futtocks are 32" as existed.

STANCHION #15P is new and runs 3' below the sheer.

FRAME #16P

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 3-1/2' below the deck. The next futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top timber is new 6' below the deck. The second futtock down runs 9-1/2' below the deck.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP: The top futtock overlap is 26", and the second futtock overlap down is 45".

STANCHION aft of #17P is new and runs 3' below the deck.

FRAME #17P

(This frame is located on the bulkhead between the forecastle and hold. The new timbers were bedded in 5200, and the shims and 5200 were fit in between the existing timbers and ceiling anywhere accessible. Also behind the new timbers the ceiling seams were splined and filled in with 5200.)

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood and runs from 6" below the sheer down to 7-1/2' below the deck. The second futtock down is inaccessible.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is new down 5' below the deck. The second futtock down is jungle wood. Although it was solid where it was exposed down where that futtock met the existing planking, we found a hole that followed the grain. We cleaned out the hole and filled it with epoxy and a trunnel because replacing the futtock would

have been impossible without removing several more planks. The bulkhead backing up that frame should add a great deal of strength in that area.

- FUTTOCK OVERLAP: The top joint in the futtocks overlaps 27".

STANCHION aft of #17P is new and runs 37" below the deck.

FRAME #18P

- FORWARD TIMBERS: Top timber is new 3' below the deck. The second futtock is sound shimmied jungle wood and runs down 9' below the deck.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top timber is sound shimmied jungle wood and runs down 6' below the deck. The second futtock is sound shimmied jungle wood and runs out of sight.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP: 39" top joint and 33" second joint

STANCHION aft of #18P is new and runs 38" below the deck.

FRAME #19P

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top timber is new and runs 6' below the deck. The second futtock down is sound shimmied jungle wood and runs out of sight.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top timber is new and runs 4' below the deck. The second futtock down is sound shimmied jungle wood and runs out of sight.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP: The top futtock overlap is 25".

STANCHION aft of #19P is new 39" below the deck.

FRAME #20P

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top timber is sound shimmied jungle wood and runs down 5-1/2' below the deck. The second timber down is sound shimmied jungle wood and runs out of sight.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top timber is new and runs 3' below the deck. The second futtock down is sound shimmied jungle wood. Although it has some wane on it, it is a natural crook that nicely fits the vessel and runs out of sight.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 26".

STANCHION aft of #20P is new and runs 39" below the deck.

FRAME #21P

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is sound shimmied jungle wood and runs 5-1/2' below the deck. The second futtock down is sound shimmied jungle wood and runs out of sight.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is new and runs 3' below the deck. The second futtock is sound shimmied jungle wood and runs 9' below the deck.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP: The top overlap is 33".

STANCHION aft of #21P is new and runs 39" below the deck.

FRAME #22P

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is new and runs 3' below the deck. The second futtock is a sound shimmied jungle wood natural crook. It does have some wane on it; however, it nicely fits the shape of the hull and runs down 9' below the deck.

- AFT TIMBERS: The top timber is new 5-1/2' below the deck. The next timber is sound shimmed jungle wood and runs out of sight.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 38".

STANCHION aft of #22P is new and runs 3' below the deck.

FRAME #23P

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top timber is new and runs 3' below the sheer. The next futtock is a sound shimmed jungle wood natural crook that runs out of sight. Again it has some wane on it, but it would be difficult to find a natural crook like this one with the grain running with the shape of the hull.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top timber is new and runs 5-1/2' below the deck. The next futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood and runs out of sight.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 25".

STANCHION aft of #23P was left out given its proximity to the freeing port and grub beam.

FRAME #24P

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top timber is new 6-1/2' below the main deck. The second timber down is sound shimmed jungle wood and runs out of sight.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top timber is new and runs down 4-1/2' below the main deck. The next timber is sound jungle wood.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 25".

STANCHION aft of #24P was not replaced as it is inaccessible and will be done as part of the next phase of restoration.

STARBOARD SIDE

KNIGHT HEADS AND HAWS TIMBERS—NEW TO STEM

FRAME #1S

- FORWARD TIMBER: The top futtock is new from the cap rail to the bottom.
- AFT TIMBER: The top futtock is new from the deck to the bottom.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP: There are no futtock joints.

STANCHION #1S is left out as the forward timber on frame one and goes to the cap rail.

FRAME #2S

- FORWARD TIMBER: The top futtock is new down 4-1/2' from the deck. The next futtock is sound jungle wood with new shims on it.
- AFT TIMBER: The top futtock is new down 7-1/2' from the deck.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is about 38".

STANCHION #2S is new and runs 3-1/2' below the deck.

FRAME #3S

- FORWARD TIMBER: The top futtock is new down approximately 8' from the deck down below the cement. The next futtock was well below where the vessel had been opened up but was sound oak (assumed new 2003).
- AFT TIMBER: The top futtock is new down 5' from sheer. The next futtock was sound shimmed jungle wood.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is about 3'.

STANCHION #3S is new and runs 3-1/2' below deck.

FRAME #4S—COLLISION BULKHEAD

- FORWARD TIMBER: The top futtock is new down 7' from the deck. The next futtock is jungle wood and is sound.
- AFT TIMBER: The top futtock is new 5' from sheer. The next futtock is jungle wood and is sound.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 25".
- Note: Sealing was cleaned and shimmed, stop waters were installed and new timbers were bedded in cotton and sicka flex I.A.W. the July 8 bulkhead letter.

STANCHION #4S is new and runs 3-1/2' below deck.

FRAME #5S

- FORWARD TIMBER: The top futtock is new 4' from the deck. The next futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood and appears to run to keel.
- AFT TIMBER: The top futtock is new and runs down 6' from the deck. The next futtock is sound jungle wood and only 37".
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 27" at top. The forward second futtock down runs to the keel. The next joint is 37" away (the length of the second aft or dummy futtock).

STANCHION #5S is new and runs 3-1/2' below deck.

FRAME #6S

- FORWARD TIMBER: The top futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood and runs 7' below the deck. The next futtock is mostly hidden behind existing work but appears sound.
- AFT TIMBER: The top futtock is new 5' below the deck. The next futtock is jungle wood and is sound with a new shim glued on it.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 23".

STANCHION #6S is new and runs 3' below deck.

FRAME #7S

- FORWARD TIMBER: The top futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood and runs from 9' below the deck.
- AFT TIMBER: The top futtock is new 6-1/2'.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is about 32".

STANCHION #7S is new and runs 3-1/2' below the deck. Under Stanchion #7 is a sister futtock that runs from 4' below the deck to 7-1/2' below the deck.

FRAME #8S

- FORWARD TIMBER: The top futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood 5' below the deck. The next futtock is jungle wood and runs about 9'-8" below the deck. Interestingly it had 1-1/4" trunnels in it. The exposed surface was soft, so about 2" were removed to sound timber and a large shim was glued on it. Thus the forward sister futtock under Stanchion #7S.
- AFT TIMBER: The top futtock is new 2-1/2' below the deck. The next futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood and runs 7-1/2' below the deck.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 29" for the top one and 27" for the next one.

STANCHION #8S is new and runs 3-1/2' below the deck.

FRAME #9S

- FORWARD TIMBER: The top futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood and runs from 9" below the deck to 5' below the deck. The next futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood.
- AFT TIMBER: The top futtock is new 3' below the deck. The next futtock is sound jungle wood and runs down 9-1/2' below the deck.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 28" for the top one and 29" for the next.

STANCHION #9S is new down 3-1/2' below the deck.

FRAME #10S

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood and runs from 6" below the deck to 6' below the deck. The next futtock is sound jungle wood and runs down 6-1/2' below the deck.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 4' below the deck. The next futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 27".

STANCHION #10S is new and runs 26" below the deck. Under STANCHION #10S is a sister futtock that runs from 2' below the deck to 7' below the deck.

FRAME #11S

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 5'-3" below the deck. The next timber is sound jungle wood with new shims glued on it.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 6'-1" below the deck. The next timber was soft jungle wood and had trunnels in it.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 10". Note sister futtocks under STANCHIONS #10S and STANCHION #11S.

STANCHION #11S is new and runs 2' below the deck. Under it is a sister futtock that starts 2-1/2' below the deck and runs down to 7' below the deck.

FRAME #12S

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 64" below the deck. The next futtock is sound jungle wood.

- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 57" below the deck. The next futtock is soft jungle wood and has trunnels in it, although a window opened up two planks down showed it got harder.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 9". Note sister futtocks under STANCHIONS #11S and #12S. STANCHION #12S is new and runs 28" below the deck. Under it is a sound shimmed jungle wood sister futtock that runs from 29" below the sheer down 7' below the sheer.

FRAME #13S

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 5-1/2' below the deck. The next futtock is jungle wood and appears sound but is buried behind the existing planking.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is new down 3'. The next futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood and runs out of sight.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 27".

STANCHION #13S is new and runs 3' below the deck.

FRAME #14S

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood and runs 5-1/2' below the deck.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood and runs from 2-1/2' below the deck out of sight.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 35".

STANCHION #14S is new and runs 3' below the deck.

FRAME #15S

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood and runs 5' below the deck.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood and runs from the deck out of sight.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is unknown.

STANCHION #15S is new and runs 3' below the sheer.

FRAME #16S

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 7' below the sheer with a nice fit behind the planks. The second futtock is way down in the boat.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 5' below the deck. The second futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 25".

STANCHION aft of #16S is new and runs 3' below the deck.

FRAME #17S is on the bulkhead between the forecastle and hold. The new timbers were bedded in 5200 and cotton. Shims and 5200 were fit in between the existing timbers and ceiling anywhere accessible. Also behind the new timbers the ceiling seams were splined and filled with 5200.

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood. It runs from 6'' below the deck to 7' below the deck. The second futtock is down in the vessel and inaccessible.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 5' below the deck. The second futtock is sound jungle wood mostly buried in the boat.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP: 23'' is the best that could be done reasonably.

STANCHION aft of #17S is new and runs 3' below the deck.

FRAME #18S

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood and runs from 6'' below the deck to 7' below the deck. Second futtock is buried in the boat out of sight.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 5' below the deck. The second futtock is sound jungle wood and runs out of sight.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 24''.

STANCHION aft of #18S is new and runs 3' below the deck.

FRAME #19S

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is new and runs 6-1/2' below the deck. The second futtock is out of sight behind the planking.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is new and runs 4' below the deck. The second futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood and runs out of sight.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 25''.

STANCHION aft of #19S is new and runs 36'' below the deck.

FRAME #20S

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 5-1/2' below the deck. The second futtock is out of sight.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 39'' below the deck. The second futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood and runs out of sight.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 24''.

STANCHION aft of #20S is new and runs 30'' below the deck. There is a sister timber butting under the stanchion of sound shimmed jungle wood that runs out of sight.

FRAME #21S

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is new and runs about 6' below the deck out of sight. The second futtock is out of sight.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is new and runs 4' below the deck. The second futtock is sound shimmed jungle wood and runs out of sight.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is about 24'' from the bottom of forward futtock out of sight.

STANCHION aft of #21S is new and runs 3' below the deck.

FRAME #22S

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is new down 6' from the deck. The second futtock is buried out of sight.

- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 3-1/2' below the deck. The second futtock is sound shimmied jungle wood.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 27".

STANCHION OVERLAP aft of #22S is new and runs 37" below the deck.

FRAME #23S

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 5' below the foredeck. The second futtock is sound jungle wood running out of sight.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is new down 40" below the deck. The second futtock is sound jungle wood running out of sight.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 24".

STANCHION aft of #23S is new and runs below the deck. It is the stanchion that the grub will land against.

FRAME #24S

- FORWARD TIMBERS: The top futtock is new 6' below the main deck. The second futtock is sound jungle wood and runs out of sight.
- AFT TIMBERS: The top futtock is new and runs 30" below the main deck. The second futtock is sound oak from a previous repair and runs down at least 8' below the main deck out of sight.
- FUTTOCK OVERLAP is 30".

STANCHION aft of #24S is part of the next rebuild.

Bibliographic and Archival Notes

Archival abbreviations:

CBA NEBE: Corson Building Archives, New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park

NEBE: Schooner ERNESTINA offices at State Pier or Corson Building Archives

RAB papers BCSC: Robert Abram Bartlett Papers, George J. Mitchell Department of Special Collections & Archives, Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, Maine

New Bedford Whaling National Historical Park

33 William Street

New Bedford, Massachusetts 02740

Archival material is located on floor 3, Corson Building, 33 William Street, New Bedford, MA 02740. Access is by consultation with the Park Superintendent. Documents, ephemera, and some objects are housed here. Holdings have not been formally accessioned, though a preliminary survey (2008) of holdings here, at the State Pier offices, and in Miles Standish State Forest, serves as a general finding aid. News articles in CBA NEBE are collected with varying amounts of source information, sometimes preserved as clippings, transcriptions, scrapbooks, etc., so archival location references have been retained in citations.

Schooner *ERNESTINA* Offices

State Pier

New Bedford, Massachusetts 02740

Records of administration, educational programming, research materials (e.g., newspaper clippings) are among holdings. Access is by consultation with the executive director of ERNESTINA.

ERNESTINA website

Available at <http://www.ernestina.org>, this website has been active since 1996 and maintains some original research materials, such as oral history interviews, genealogical documentation, and online charts and logbooks. The website was being redesigned in summer 2008.

Bowdoin College

Brunswick, Maine 04011

1. Robert Abram Bartlett Papers, George J. Mitchell Department of Special Collections & Archives, Bowdoin College Library

An extensive collection of materials relating to Bartlett's life and work, including correspondence, legal materials, manuscripts, finances. Some of the manuscript materials were eventually incorporated into Bartlett's two published autobiographies, but other material remains unpublished.

2. Peary-MacMillan Arctic Museum

Copies of the Pathé Newsreels featuring Bartlett and the MORRISSEY. Some footage has sound and voice-over narration by Bartlett.

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