

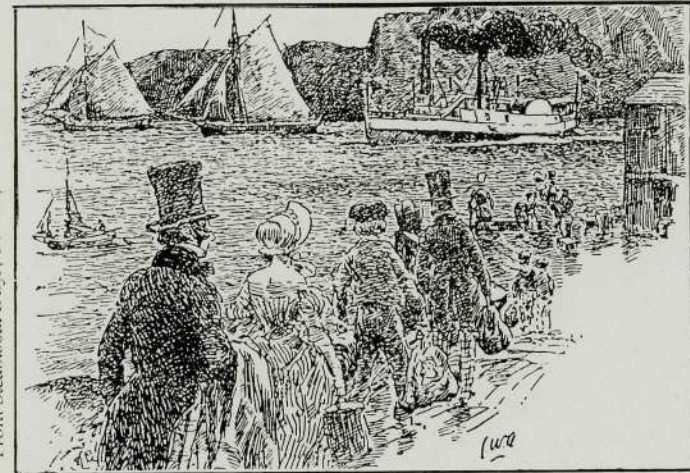


THE DUKES COUNTY INTELLIGENCER

VOL. 42, NO 1

AUGUST 2000

From Steamboat Days, Stokes, 1925



Steamer Bay State, which Henry took, is shown here.

Travel in 1851: Mississippi to Massachusetts, 30 Days by River, Canal, Lake, Rail & Ocean

by HENRY BAYLIES

Whaling: The Vineyard Connection

The Midas's First Voyage, in 1818, Was Profitable, But Hardly Pleasant

By EDWIN R. AMBROSE

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(Does not include spouse)	
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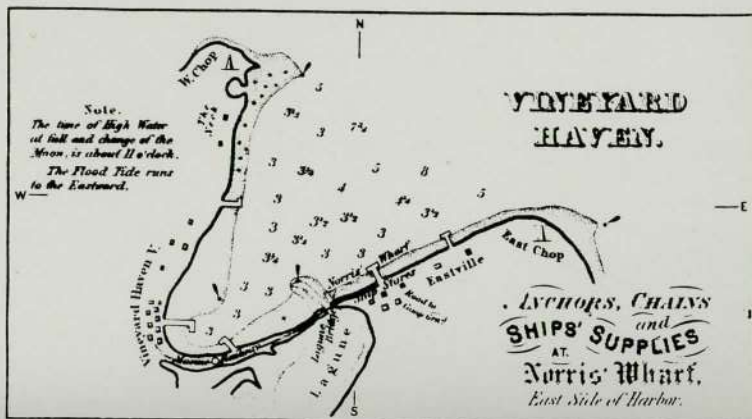
Dues are tax deductible except for
\$15 to cover the cost of this journal.

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CORRECTIONS

In our May 2000 issue, page 112, we asked in a footnote: "What are connackers?" -- a reference to a word used in the log of the whaleship Oscar. David Boak and Tom Hodgson quickly informed us that it was clearly a phonetic spelling of "Kanaka," which *The American Heritage Dictionary* defines as "A Hawaiian of Polynesian descent, a South Sea Islander . . . Often used disparagingly." Our thanks to the two members and a slap on the wrist to the Editor for not figuring it out for himself.

Bob Hughes, the unofficial historian of Oak Bluffs, wrote that Norris Wharf, mentioned in a footnote on page 132 of the same issue, was at the end of today's Eastville Avenue, not New York Avenue, as stated. New York Wharf was there. (See below.) Neither avenue existed in 1870 when Howes Norris published this advertisement. Thanks, Bob.



Gift of Greg Culley

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Editor: Arthur R. Railton
Research Editor: Edwin R. Ambrose
Founding Editor: Gale Huntington (1959-1977)

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Additional cause for disappointment is his failure to find employment as an educator despite his qualifications. Before they went south, he had been the headmaster of the Dukes County Academy in Tisbury (now West Tisbury) and when that school was closed for shortage of pupils, he became headmaster of the Island's first high school in Edgartown, the position he left when he took Hattie south for her health. He is convinced that it is the southern establishment's prejudice against Northerners and perhaps against Methodists, especially where education is involved, that has kept him from finding a position.

With money running out, the young couple, both still in their twenties, are going home. They are now on a steamer tied up in Columbus, Mississippi, and will head down the Tombigby River to Mobile, Alabama, on the first leg of an arduous journey that will take 30 days and cover 3500 miles, most of them on water.

It is 1851 and water transport is the best way to go long distances. There are few long-distance rail lines. Rail mergers will start within a few years and will make such water travel obsolete, but in 1851 it was still the easiest way. Travel by stage coach is out of the question for the ailing Hattie. She needs to be in bed much of the time.

The trip will take them on several rivers, the Gulf of Mexico, canals, across Lake Erie and finally on the Atlantic Ocean to the Vineyard. Their only extended land travel will be in New York State on seven connecting rail lines running between Buffalo and Albany, the end of the line. Not until later this year will trains run from Buffalo all the way to New York City.

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Wednesday April 2nd. The hour of leaving this morning was 12:30 – rather an unreasonable hour. . . By reason of the noises & general confusion, I did not get to sleep till 2 o'clock & then [did] not sleep very soundly. . . Harriette appeared to sleep very soundly -- rather more so than usual.

The day has passed rather quietly & slowly. Our company at first very small is still diminished. Only two ladies remain on board, one of whom I claim a right to & the other is so deaf as to render conversation quite impossible.

Breakfast over, I spent a little time in writing up yesterday's record. I have now taken my journal to write whatever is worth recording or not worth recording of today's' observations, but really from the above specimen of penmanship it were as well not written as written. However, I'll proceed & risk the interpretation some future day when I may have nothing else to do.

Well, to continue with the morning where I left off or just before. With my own eyes . . . this morning [I] actually saw . . . two ladies – ladies (one of them well dressed, very ladylike & very well dressed – the other a lady who sat under my preaching last Sab. night – yes, we did see these two ladies each holding a stick, say 2 or 3 inches long with one end of each stick chewed into a kind of brush ~ one of these ladies, the best dressed one – holding a wooden pill box filled with – with – with – snuff – these two ladies both Dipping, ~ i.e., as I have heretofore explained – eating snuff. We evidently caught them – took them by surprize yet they did not flinch, only blushed & excused themselves to one another by saying they were not in habit of dipping & such evidently flimsy excuses.

The dipping & journal writing together with a little smoking completed, I myself & my wife – I for want of sleep – felt disposed to bed down & slept. Thus, adding a little reading of "Mississippi Scenes" by Col. J. B. Cobb, passed the forenoon.

The afternoon has passed somewhat ditto with less variation. During the last night & all day our "superior" boat¹ has been calling at the 1001 "landings" on the river, landing & receiving the smallest assignable amount of freight. The last freight received

¹ Henry enjoys sarcasm. The *Cuba* apparently was advertised as "superior" and he feels that stopping so often, even for a single bale of cotton, doesn't match that claim.

before dark was a lone bay or bale of cotton which stood upon the bluff in lonely suppliance to be received on board. There seemed a peculiar loneliness & sadness of association with this one last bale of cotton remaining so mutely yet so suppliantly on this high bluff after all its thousand mates had taken passage to Mobile, perhaps to N. York or Liverpool. "The last of the Mohegans"!

Gainsville is a village of about 3000 inhabitants, settled I am told principally by Yankees. It is quite as visible from the river as Demopolis (i.e., very little seen) & is said very much to imitate or resemble a N. England village.

The river is now very low & the navigation difficult. Scarcely five minutes pass – not five minutes ~ pass without some bell jingling as a signal to the engineers to stop, back or make some change. I rather think the engine has been stopped on a average every quarter of an hour today to slacken headway so as to turn some corner. In one instance I observed we turned an angle of about 40 degrees & indeed the river is as sinuous & meandering as is possible to conceive. Not infrequently we run into the woods in attempting to turn these corners. In some places the tops of the trees are broken off 20 or 25 feet above the present water mark – done by the boats during the freshet. There is often great danger from this. . . from the branches of the trees penetrating into the state rooms & cabins. Very fortunately for the boats there are few dangerous snags or rocks & the shores are quite bold.

Thursday April 3. The passage of Thursday in some respects varied from the passage of yesterday. The river was wider – the forests more luxuriantly foliated – the company better acquainted & more social. Just after passing the confluence of the (Bigbee) Tombigbee & Alabama Rivers, the scenery was very picturesque. Frequent large "cutoffs," interspersed islands & bay-like recesses gave the river rather an imposing appearance in contrast with the little creeks we had been navigating. Fort S. Stephens, a fort of Gen. Jackson, is situated on a very high bluff or hill, a most eligible site commanding the river. What its state of preservation is I do not know & was unfortunate in seeing the hill [only] when we had quite passed.

Our last landing but one – some 60 miles above Mobile – was our pleasantest. As they were to stop nearly an hour to wood

I took a short stroll in company with Dr. H. D. Williams of Hopewell, Green Co., Ala. & Mr. D. Ritter, agent for the "Eclectic Review." Mr. Ritter is a citizen of N. York.

Upon the high bluff, we had the pleasure of seeing & visiting & plucking flowers from a little garden most beautifully decorated with flowers. A circle of some 12 feet diameter profusely carpeted with verberia presented an unusual attraction.

Mobile, Alabama

At about 9 o'clock P.M. we were, through divine protection, safely at the wharf in M[obile]. I immediately called on Dr. Walkley to inform him of our arrival, of Mrs. Baylies' health, etc. I am pleased to learn that the pain through her lungs & the raising blood does not arise from a disease of the lungs but from engorgement of the uterus, providing sympathetic pain. He is of opinion the going North will prove beneficial to her.² Should neuralgia again attack her, he advises a recurrence to his former practice. He will advise with me at any time. Retired about 11 & enjoyed an excellent 6 hours rest.

Friday, April 4. Friday morning before breakfast took a stroll through the market which in addition to its usual supply has pease, radishes, small turnips, new onions, parsnips, carrots, tomatoes. Pease have been in market some three weeks & are sold at 60 cents a peck. Strawberries have likewise been in market about as long. I ate of them both at dinner.

Started to see T. P. Underwood but met him in the street. He accompanied me to the *Cuba*³ where I found Dr. Wolkley according to app't. The Dr. advised as last night.

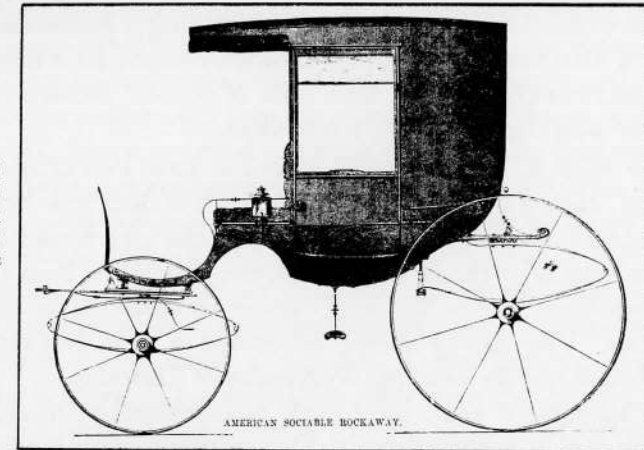
Hattie & myself are under very great obligations to Dr. W. for his constant skillful & gratuitous attendance upon her during her [earlier] severe sickness in Mobile. He even furnished most of the medicine for which he would receive nothing. The Lord reward him a hundredfold.

Underwood & I took a short stroll through the city during which I made a couple of necessary purchases of medicine, called

² Readers will remember that northern doctors told them going south would be beneficial to her health.

³ The river steamer on which they had come down from Columbus. They will soon leave her and go to New Orleans aboard the "sea" steamer *California*.

From 100 Years Progress, 1872.



at Bro. Redwood's & procured his rockaway to take Hattie over the city & to the steamer *California* for N. Orleans. (In margin: Population of Mobile about 20,000 -- about one-third are slaves.)

At 1 P.M. we left Mobile, the cottage city, with a large company for the Crescent City [New Orleans]. We passed in sight of the scene of our shipwreck & bade it farewell.⁴

Little of interest is to be seen on the passage. A certain "pass" called, I believe, Rancho Pass, is artificial & of great service to the communication between these two great cities of the South. It shortens the distance very much & saves the risks & unpleasantness of an outside passage through a part of the Gulf.⁵

About dark Round Hand, famous in the history of the "Cuban Expedition" of Gen. Lopez, was fair in sight.⁶ These Islands are very low & sandy.

Mr. Ritter still accompanied us & showed himself very friendly. He furnished me with a large number of news papers by

⁴ They were shipwrecked just off Mobile on the voyage from New York. See *Intelligencer*, November 1897, p. 102ff.

⁵ He refers to a canal connecting Lake Ponchartrain with the Gulf.

⁶ Gen. Narciso Lopez attempted several expeditions to overthrow the Spanish rule over Cuba. In his third attempt, earlier this same year, his force gained a foothold on Cuban soil, but was soon overwhelmed. He was quickly executed. The site of his invasion was Cardena on the north coast east of Havana. The city is now more famous for being the birthplace of Elian Gonzalez, the six-year-old boy who survived a shipwreck off Miami, creating a long and bitter struggle over the right of his father to take him back to Cuba.

last mail which I reserve for Mississippi reading. I had some conversation with him relating to the business of agencies. He assures me I can do well should I take hold of it. Mr. Bidwell of the "Eclectic" would gladly secure my services.

Saturday April 5. The *California* arrived at Lake Pontchartrain R. R. Depot, distant from N.O., 6 miles, at 3½ o'clock this morning. At 6, we took the [rail] cars for the city, at the city, a hack for the boat landings & at the boat landings, the Cincinatti Boat *Charles Hammond*, Capt. Davis. We [will] remain on board till we arrive at Cincinatti.⁷ The day of sailing advertised is next Monday, but probably will not get away till Wednesday or Thursday.

We have a neat, good table & comfortable, though not rich, furniture & accomodations. This arrangement will afford me ample time to take a peek at the Crescent City.⁸

New Orleans, Louisiana

Baggage delivered, breakfast over, I strolled up Poydras St., along Camp into St. Charles & up Canal to the Jewish Synagogue. I saw little of interest differing from any large city. Now that the St. Charles is burnt down, N. Orleans it is said seems quite destitute of attraction.⁹ Canal is a beautifully laid out street. Along the center of this St. is a strip of sward, perhaps 20 or 30 feet wide, skirted with trees; on either side of this green is the usual carriage road way. Seeing a very pretty church edifice with doors open & inviting, I strolled in to see what might be going on. A very few men were sitting on each side of an open center, occupied in part with a raised platform & desk, with their hats on. I at once saw from the Hebrew reading, etc., I was in a Synagogue of the Jews. The building is very neatly & tastefully constructed for the purpose. The reading was very musical especially when performed quickly. A lad of 12 years who was according to custom admitted to read from the books of Moses. Several gentlemen were called up in turn to the desk & looked over the reading of the "reader." The individual then made known to the reader if there were any friends for whom he wishes prayers offered, received a blessing for the reader, replied

⁷ He spells the city incorrectly throughout.

⁸ New Orleans is known as Crescent City because of the great bend in the Mississippi River on which it is situated.

⁹ Two devastating fires in 1789 and 1794, had destroyed the old city.

with something like "whom the Lord blesseth let him be blessed," etc. I learned this from a young gentleman who sat before me of the tribe of Aaron – a graduate of Yale. After chanting, all done in Hebrew, the reader went into the pulpit & read his text in Hebrew at *Prov. 10*, which he translated most elegantly into English. . .

Having an engagement at 12 o'clock, I was obliged to leave before he had advanced far. Met Mr. Ritter at 92 Camp St., & walked a little with him but saw nothing to notice. By accident or carelessness, I [had] left our handbox containing books & valuables at the Steamer. I gave the baggage master directions & on going to 92 Camp found it safe. Mr. R. had paid the check, 75 cents for bringing it, but would not allow me to pay him.

Frequent showers during the day with vivid lightning & terrible thunder – tempests such as are seldom experienced save in this country. One just after tea was very severe – the flash & the report accompanying each other. Harriette & self with two ladies were conversing at the time, when at once the electricity so affected her nervous system as to throw her stiff in spasms. I, soon as she partially recovered, threw her into a mesmeric state¹⁰ where she was very comfortable & not at all, or but very slightly, affected by very near & severe lightning.

Expenses: Dray at Columbus, Miss., 50 c[ents], Passage to Mobile, \$16.00, Dray in Mobile, 20 c. Passage to Lake Pontchartrain R. R. Depot, \$10.00, on R. R. to N. O., 50 c. Hack \$1.30, Extra for Band box 75 + 10 c. Total from Columbus, Miss. to New Orleans: \$29.35.¹¹

Another week is closed. God is merciful! Amen & Amen.

Monday, April 7. Yesterday morning I strolled down to the Catholic dead house, i.e., house where funerals are attended & into the Catholic Cemetery nearby. The house was very antiquated & dilapidated. The cemetery evinced the care & remembrance of the living. In consequences of the humidity of the soil, the dead are all buried or entombed above ground. In many places, water stood on the surface or rather the surface was below the water & anywhere by plunging my cane into the ground 6 inches I could find

¹⁰ Henry is proud of his ability to hypnotize.

¹¹ This is a month's wages for a male school teacher.

water.¹² It is this [way] all over the city. Many of the tombs were costly & tasteful. Beside nearly every tomb was placed a vase or vases of flowers ~ fresh flowers, while on many were hung paper flowers & paper wreaths & crosses. Others were adorned by plaster or marble images of innocence with hands clasped or eyes raised in prayer. I admire these expressions of unforgetting friendship. In the Protestant Cemetery which I visited after tea, I saw none or but few tokens of the kind.

Catholic Worshippers

About the worshippers of the old dead house: first, an old foreigner passed within the railing & knelt before the altar, apparently praying. When concluded, he bent forward & kissed the lower step leading to the altar. He then arose with great apparent happiness & complacency & turning to the corner where stood the Virgin Mary, stepped forward to near it & kneeling, went through the same apparent forms not forgetting the kissing. When he arose, he deposited a bunch of Keys upon the step before the Virgin.¹³

Next an old negro – very old – leaning on a stout staff came forward muttering a prayer as he went & standing before the crucifix on the altar clasped his arms as if clasping it to his bosom. He then knelt & remained long on his knees, extending his hands & moving his head as if with profoundest worship. This concluded, he kissed not the step but the floor on which he knelt & rising with great difficulty he turned to the Holy Mother & did the same. He seemed wrapt in devotion & continued his prayers as he passed out to a seat near the door.

While the old negro knelt, a young lady, very neatly dressed in black, came forward & knelt beside me. I had taken a front seat near the old man that I might watch him more carefully. She opened her prayer book, took out her rosary & began to count her beads. These beads were strung on a silver or gold chain to which was attached a cross. She fingered the beads over one by one (8) eight minutes & tripped off “smartly.”

¹² An interesting image: young Henry strolling around, driving his cane into the ground deep enough to hit water.

¹³ This is strange: “a bunch of Keys”; but that very clearly is what Henry wrote.

The old man waited, I judge, a half hour. The time I spent in this building looking upon the devout worshippers was well spent. The devotional spirit seemed to pervade the place & my own heart caught the flame & I felt that God was peculiarly there. My bigotry, if I had any about my constitution, was dispelled & God met me there in that old Catholic house of worship.¹⁴

At 11 o'clock, I started to find where the Poydras St., M.E. Church worship, their house being burnt, but failing in this, I went in at Dr. Scott's Presbyterian [church], where I heard a very lame & unsatisfactory discourse from some one probably supplying his pulpit. A letter from Dr. S., written on his way from Cairo to Thebes was read. . .

Lafayette, Louisiana

This (Monday) morning soon after breakfast took an omnibus & rode up to Lafayette about 5 miles up the Mississippi from Canal Street. Lafayette is a separate corporation but connected with the City. The shipping extends up to this point. The construction of the Levee is there very readily seen. It is simply an embankment thrown up, lined on the river side with boards. In some places, the water washed over the Levee. The water in the Miss. is now 4 or 5 feet above the City foundations. The water [that] flows in through apertures in the Levee & the fallen rain is drained off back of the city, following the inclination of the land & is there pumped out by steam. There is a levee back on the Lake as well as on the river.

I rode up to Lafayette on Tchoupitoulas (pronounced Chopitoolah) St., & returned on Magazine St. There is very little of notable interest on either street. Magazine is not pleasant. On returning, I took the Bayou St. John Omnibus & rode some three miles down the river or rather back of the lower part. This ride was principally through the French & Creole part of the city. On mounting the box of the omnibus that I might see all to be seen & converse with the driver, I was quite mortified & disappointed to encounter a Frenchman for my driver who understands scarcely a word of English. I attempted to scare up what little of

¹⁴ This may have been the first time Henry ever witnessed a Catholic ritual.

French I once knew, but have now forgotten & almost succeeded in finding out what I wished to. My pronunciation appeared quite understandable but I experienced great difficulty in calling up & arranging my words. These rides each way cost me 10 cents.

The French portion of the city resembles very nearly the suburbs of European cities – so Miss Loomis, who has resided many years in Europe, informs me.¹⁵ The streets of the American part of the city are lighted with gass [sic] but in the other parts, so far as I have observed, by lanterns hung by ropes from long-armed cranes or midway the streets from ropes extended across on high poles. This latter method is exceeding awkward.

Each municipality has its water works, I am told. The water of the River is forced by steam engines into reservoirs from which it is conducted to the residences, etc. This water is excellent for drinking notwithstanding it looks so muddy & thick. . .

Franklin Square was a great place of resort on Sabbath by children & servants jumping roap [sic] while multitudes stood looking on. Franklin Hall or Municipality Hall, for I have heard it called by both names, is a new & elegant marble edifice opposite Franklin Square. The new & unfinished Catholic Cathedral opposite Jefferson or Jackson Squares (I was told both names) is a costly & splended edifice. On the upper side of this same square is a stately block of brick extending the whole length. In one of these residences Jenny Lind stayed while in New Orleans.

I can write no more tonight about N. O.

Hattie has today been quite unwell in bed & has not been dressed.¹⁶

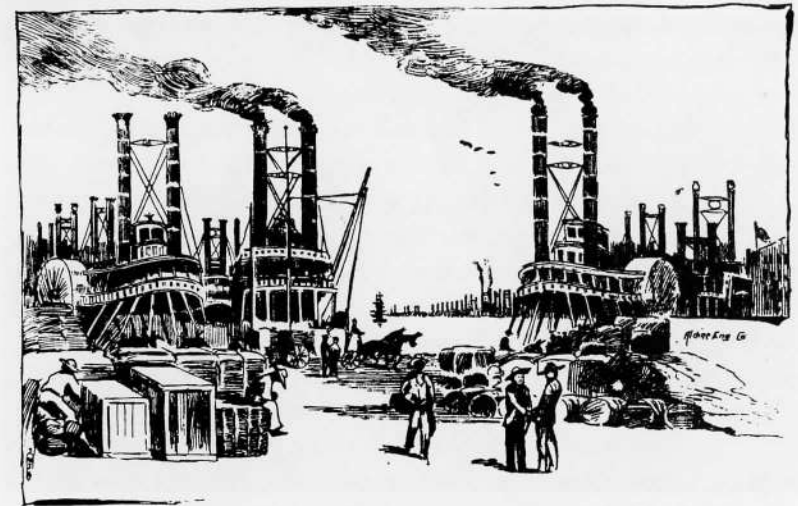
Tuesday, April 8. Last night after I retired, a terrible tempest arose of wind & continuous lightning, loud, deafening thunder & the heaviest rain I ever heard fall, together with strong winds. It did not last however very long & this morning opened brightly & pleasantly & comfortably cool for the season & climate.

Harriette as well as myself spent a very comfortable night es-

¹⁵ Miss Loomis must be another passenger on the boat.

¹⁶ In the margin he drew a symbol, which he sometimes does when Hattie is menstruating. He always underlines unwell when her "illness" is that. The fact that he keeps track of her periods would seem to indicate that they were, despite her condition, sexually active.

From Butler's Book, published 1892.



Steamer smokestacks line the levee in New Orleans as far as the eye can see.

pecially considering her sickness. After breakfast I strolled a way down Camp, Royal & R., etc., streets to the lower warehouses some three miles below our steamboat landing. The walk carried me through the French municipality but I saw nothing worthy of note. At the end of my walk on the River was the place for breaking up the flat boats which float down the produce of the upper country. These are sold I am told at from \$60 to \$100. I asked an Irishman at work on them what they were worth to which he replied "I don't know – perhaps four dollars," evincing his profound knowledge of property valuation.

Immediately on leaving the flat boats, the shipping begins: First, the large ships & all ships; then the Barques, brigs, schooners & sloops. This brings the shipping up to the steamboat landings, beginning with the Balize boats, Storekeepers, etc., following the river up till the Missouri River boats conclude the list. Succeeding these, still going up-river are the steam boats, sea boats, for Galveston, Tex., Chaqres, etc. Afterward, another range of shipping commences & extends quite up to Lafayette City. The whole extent of river occupied by shipping & boats, I should think a full eight miles. The ships lay not more than three abreast. The River steamers lie bow towards the Levee. Frequently along the Levee boatmen are seen with stacks of oranges,

lemons, pineapples, & shells [shellfish?], etc., waiting to trade with the passengers about to take boats up the river or with the boats [themselves].

I should have noted that just above the sea steamers is the dock for the flat boats loaded with corn, pork, apples, coal, etc. At Lafayette, above the shipping is the depot for flat boats loaded with livestock which are sold from the boats or kept on shore in large [corrals?] fitted for the purpose. Some of these boats are a long time floating down. One loaded with apples from the Monongahale River floated down in about six weeks. They are arriving every day while the steamers are arriving & departing almost every hour.

During my morning walk I passed two or three Slave markets. The slaves, men & women, were all very neatly dressed: the men with black beaver hats, blue short jackets & blue pants, with turned down shirt collars; the women with blue, small plaid gowns, white aprons, white handkerchiefs neatly pinned over their shoulders. They were young, healthy & likely looking and apparently cheerful. As I passed by, I looked them each steadily in the eye to see what their expression would be when they supposed they were looked at with the idea of purchase. They all looked me fully in the eye & indicated a desire to look as well as they could & yet an anxiety relative to their fate. I acknowledge a feeling of self condemnation for causing them a moment's anxiety or suffering. At the slave market in Columbus, Miss., the slaves were very cheerful & gleeful, singing, playing marbles, etc., etc. Up to this time, I have seen only one surly, unhappy looking slave since I came south & that one was richly deserving a good flogging if I judge right.

"Most wicked of cities"

After dinner went to 92 Camp St., where I met Mr. Ritter & spent an hour in conversation with him & Mr. Lotham, an Insurance Ag't., formerly of Vermont. Tonight, I ventured up the city to see what might be seen in this most wicked of wicked cities, as it is generally considered. I deigned to go up last night but feared to risk my life abroad after dark. With cap & overcoat (for it has been quite cool today & tonight, uncomfortable without overcoat) & club cane, I sauntered forth, & ignorant of the lo-

From A Concise History of the United States



Slave auction in Virginia, c. 1855. Henry describes one in New Orleans.

calities of peculiar wickedness – the “five points”, “black seas” of the city,¹⁷ I went wherever I might happen to walk.

I think I saw the “fashionable” & the “unfashionable,” the high & the low, of this order. I was not accosted by a “feminine” during the evening, although I saw quite a number sitting & standing in their own doors & windows. I heard scarcely an oath, although there might have been many in French & Spanish which I did not understand. I did not see one drunken person & indeed have not seen more than one since I came to the city. I saw nor heard of any rows or mobs or anything of the kind. I am of the opinion that for open immorality, N. Orleans is more unexceptionable than any city I ever visited. This opinion is the direct opposite of my previously formed opinion. Other gentlemen with whom I have conversed are of the same opinion. These evils doubtless exist to a great extent &, in addition, gambling in every variety & however accessible these places may be they are still within doors & remain within doors. I should walk through the streets of N.O. with less fear than through the streets of N. York. Rows, fights, murders & stabbing do exist & so they do in every city, but they here take place usually among the lower classes – the low Irish, boatmen, draymen, etc.

Wednesday, April 9. After breakfast, I started for a ramble but on

¹⁷ Henry had investigated “Five Points” in New York on their trip south.

seeing the sign of John Ball, Bookseller, a name for a long time familiar, formerly of the firm of Sourin & Ball, Phila., I thought I would stop in, see Bro. Ball & perhaps see some of the preachers & pass out again without making myself known. I had however hardly seated myself when Rev. Bro. Fisher of the Ala. Conf. with whom I had several times met in Mobile, came in & my Reverendship was made known. Rev. Bro. McTrier, Ed. of N.O. Ch. & Rev. Bro. Milburn of Mobile & Bro. Ball & Rev. Bro. Kenyon, P.C. of N. Orleans. Thus I was fairly in for introductions & company.¹⁸ We conversed a while on matters & things in general when Bro. Milburn & myself made engagement to call on Henry Clay at Dr. Mercer's at 1 o'clock. At the time appointed we met at Bro. Ball's Bookstore & added Rev. Keever, P. Elder of N.O. District to our company & went to pay our respects to Mr. Clay.¹⁹ To our disappointment, Mr. Clay could not see company, a consequence of illness. We sent up our cards with respects & left. In consequence of his illness, Mr. Clay disappointed the expectations of the citizens of N. O., who had prepared to greet him with their orator, etc. I made an appointment to meet Bro. Milburn again at 6 to 7 o'clock provided our boat did not leave. I went up but he did not come, probably because of positive & unconditional engagements.

I learned from Bro. M. that I had not visited the worst part of the city.²⁰ So this evening, I returned to see that also & wandered far away off into the French municipality. Here was licentiousness, but as before its feminines confined themselves at home, at their windows or doors. I felt myself perfectly safe although I understood scarcely one word spoken. This finished my investigation of New Orleans' morals & have no further reason to change my views recently formed of this city.

Hattie dressed herself for dinner today but feels very weak & feeble. The vaccination is taking finally, notwithstanding she was vaccinated when a child & has a fine mark on her arm. Mine

¹⁸ It seems that bookstores are a gathering place for clergy in these years.

¹⁹ Henry Clay, of course, was the great compromiser, who as a southern senator tried to bring together the pro and anti-slavery political forces. He is old and ill at this time and died within a year.

²⁰ Ministers seem to have an unusual interest in streets of sin.

does not take.

Thursday, April 10. Advertised to leave for several days, at different hours. We did not however get away from N. Orleans till about 1½ o'clock this afternoon. On Tuesday, the fires were started & steam got up in order to get freight & passengers under the impression the boat was just on the point of starting. The same was gone through with yesterday & in addition the wheels were put in motion.²¹ This, I understand, indeed I saw, is frequently done by boats on this river & it works I judge very well. Our boat was advertised to start on Monday, Tues., Wed. & Thursday. We have a large number of passengers on deck & in cabins: those in the cabin are mostly Californians²² & those on deck Irish immigrants.

Our passing up the river gave us a fine view of the shipping in the upper part of the city. These were mostly ships & barques together with two or three steamers. One very pretty Barque built & just towed down from Cincinnati lay among the shipping – a promise of future triumphs in navy building in the West.

Our first landing was at a wood yard to supply our hungry furnaces. One of the first flat boats we saw on the river was a trading boat with the sign out of "Tin Ware, Stoves & Groceries." These boats float down long distances & trade at the various plantations & settlements along the river. Till night we were passing Plantations, very thickly settled considering the business of large Planters.

During the evening I went below, saw the Irish Emigrants in their wretchedness yet comparative comfort that is compared doubtless with their former situation either at home or on ship-board. The crowding together of so many men, women & children together in one room must have a decidedly vicious tendency.

While looking at the firemen constantly putting in wood & stirring up the fire, a great moral & religious thought seemed hovering around my mind but what it was for some moments did

²¹ "Wheels" indicate she is a sidewheeler. Sternwheelers are not yet in use.

²² The Californians had probably crossed the isthmus of Panama from the Pacific and then come by boat to New Orleans. The state had just been admitted to the Union. This, of course, is during the Gold Rush.

not appear. The Engineer came forward & ordered the firemen who were constantly & vigorously busy to hurry up the fire. At length the thought appeared in this form: These firemen are by order of the Engineer vigorously employed in producing steam which may burst the boilers & destroy many lives or it may serve to propel us on our voyage. The order to the firemen is to make fire without any reference to the consequences – this is their business. It is the Engineer's business to see that the steam is properly & safely managed.

Thus is it with all Christians when God gives the order: the order is to be faithfully executed without reference to the consequences – the Chief Engineer, God, will take care of the consequences.²³

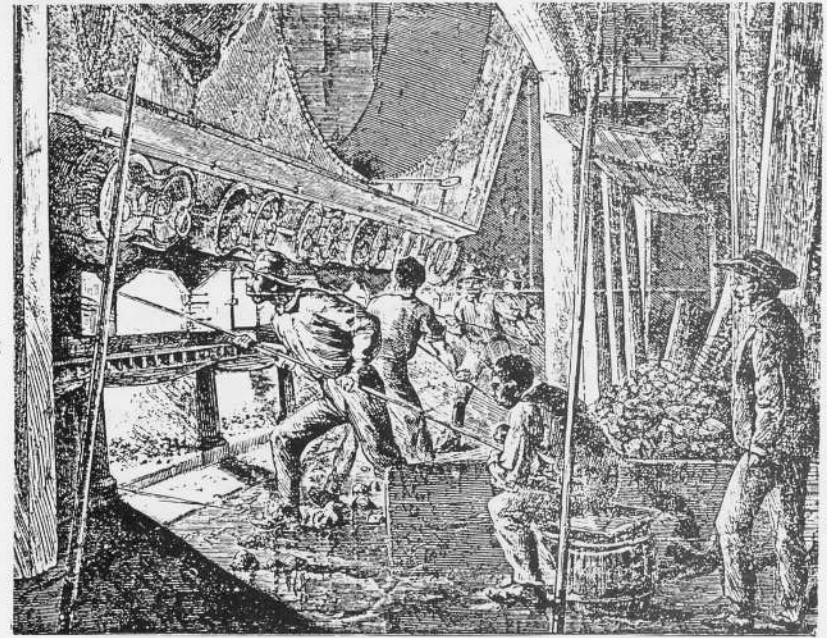
Our second stopping place, I should before have stated, was at a Sugar Plantation where we took in perhaps forty hhds. [hogsheads] of sugar. This detained us some time so that I took a short stroll along the Levee. I took the liberty to go into a sugar field & cut one of the stocks. It resembles very like Indian corn, perhaps more like broom corn. The planters, as are most along the "coast," are French. From N. O. to Baton Rouge the shores are called "The Coast" probably from the French, i.e., the peculiar application to the river boats.

Before I left this morning I visited the splendid steamer *Aleck Scott*. I here saw on the person of the chamber maid that ear rings can be put to some use, for she had drawn her black curly braids through them thus giving support & place to her hair.

The day has been delightful. H. has felt very feeble today.

Friday, April 11. Another delightful day & delightful sailing or rather steaming. About sunrise, the boat stopped at Donaldsonville, a very pretty little village on the East (right) bank near Bayou Laforeche [?]. Along the river from N. O. to Baton Rouge, planters' residences & Negro quarters completely (thickly) line the river banks & afford a pleasing change from the business hurry of N. Orleans. There is a peculiar appearance of quiet cheerful comfort about these Planters' residences seldom seen

From Steamboats on the Mississippi, American Heritage Library.



Henry describes watching firemen stoke the boilers with wood on his steamer. This sketch was drawn a few years later and by then they were using coal.

elsewhere. The Negro Quarters are mostly very neat, tidy looking buildings arrayed on opposite sides of a common passageway or street. In front of them may sometimes be seen rows of trees. So neatly whitewashed & usually inclosed near their masters mansion, they appear as a family appendage.

Have frequently seen droves of these black human cattle at work in the fields on the sugar plantations & in a few instances repairing the broken Levees or "Crevasses." One crevass I saw was very near a costly brick mansion & threatens great damage to the plantation, if it is not already effected. Large numbers of negroes, men & women, were busily employed in repairing the Levee by driving piles by means of wooden "pounders" which were raised by roaps [sic] by hand & then let drop. They had succeeded in closing it to within perhaps 50 feet. Through this pass the water was rushing with powerful rapidity.

At about 4 o'clock this P.M., we arrived at Baton Rouge, the capital of La., 140 miles by river from N. O. Through this whole extent there is a continuous Levee on both banks of the

²³ Henry hasn't forgotten his minister's role. A sermon is being born here.

river. This is certainly a costly & magnitudious work & of incalculable benefit to the country. The Levee however is becoming of less value every year in consequence of improvements along the River above & along the tributaries & Bayous. By Leveeing these, the water is confined to the channels & prevented flowing off as they used to into the immense swamps. Hence there is more water in the River than used to flow down, producing (causing) the late overflows.²⁴ Above Baton Rouge, the banks are generally above the river or at least the land rises above the water as it recedes from the river.

Baton Rouge, State Capital

Baton Route, the Capital of La., is delightfully situated. . . its population I do not know, but should judge perhaps 2000 – perhaps not. The state house is a very respectable building of brick plastered or cemented & painted or whitewashed – which I could not determine at the distance of the shore. The U. S. Barracks are most delightfully located at the upper end of the place & are quite extensive. The low, white one-story dwelling where Gen. Taylor quartered after his return from Mexico is quietly & pleasantly half concealed beneath the luxuriously blooming China tree.

Just below the house, on the green slope towards the river, “Old Whitey” used to eat with majestic dignity the rich flowing grass. He had returned from the roar & was now reaping his reward.²⁵ The residences of B.R., present an appearance of comfort, not however equally those of the planters along the river below.

During the evening, our boat made a stop at Bayou Sava, the Capt., expecting, as he said, to receive on board five lady passengers. But some misunderstanding or from other cause they did not appear. I went on shore & found the “right smart” village all under water – that is the ground upon which it was built is under water. I passed around one or two blocks on the elevated tempo-

rary side walks or stagings thrown up in order to communicate one with another. Farther back from the river I saw boats & bat-tous & canoes tied, which are used nowadays instead of carriages or horseback. A gentleman informed me that many families away from the river in the back part of the village had been obliged to leave their residences. The land rises toward the river, hence the water usually flows in back of the village . . .

More About Sin City

A few words more about N. Orleans’ morals, etc., which I learned from conversation with a couple of gentlemen who are intimately acquainted with that city. The Police regulation of the city was superior. Every few moments, as I saw, the Policemen strike their iron shod clubs upon the sidewalks giving notice of quiet or if required giving the note of alarm. In case a person should miss his way in the night, the Police will take him to the end of his beat & pass him over to the Policeman of the next beat who passes him along in like manner to his home & they dare not receive a dime for their services.

Prostitution in N.O. is carried to great extent. If a man chooses to cohabit with a woman during his stay in N. O. he does do & nothing is said or thought of it. The Quadroons are often preferred since they are more clean & not as is sometimes said because they are more amorous. Merchants seldom ask their clerks where they spend their nights so common is the habit of cohabitation. Men often live with their quadroons & raise families although the law does not allow intermarriage. It is said prostitution in higher circles is not uncommon even among those considered respectable. Women at the age of 45 in this country are not effected like women in colder climates, but continue their womanhood.

One reason of the familiar civility of the city is the common use (carriage) of weapons. If a man insults another by word or otherwise, he expects to be introduced to a revolver or bowie knife which might not prove a very friendly introduction. Thus, one evil cures another.

Mr. W. says he never saw as much drinking in any place as in N. O. & yet he has seldom seen a man drunk so that he could not walk. To use his own expression, he thought sometimes

²⁴ He seems to be saying that as more water flows into the Gulf there is less accumulating upstream to cause floods in rainy season. In fact, it made matters worse downstream, as there was no place for flood water to be held upstream.

²⁵ General Taylor is Zachary Taylor, “Old Rough and Ready,” was elected president in 1848. He died in office, after serving only 16 months. He owned a plantation near Baton Rouge. Whitey was his faithful horse.

when he saw men pouring down spirits they must have holes in their legs to let it run out, the effects were so slight. Possibly the climate may in some way account for this peculiarity. Yet its effects are at length seen in gouty & rheumatic complaints.

Gambling is not legalized in the state. Both fines & imprisonment are the rewards of gambling. Billiards, etc., are played for the amusement usually & not for money. That gambling exists there is no question yet it is secretly. At the horse races, a room is fitted up with gaming tables of all kinds but concealed from the public gaze.

Last evening & this evening Hattie has suffered from spasms. She is quite feeble & has been especially for some days past. The excitement of travelling is rather unfavourable to her.

Saturday, April 12. Very little of interest has occurred today. We have breakfasted, dined & supped, walked out on the deck & sat down in the cabin, layed down in my birth & got up again, done this thing, that & this other, just as yesterday & as it probably will be every day during the voyage. Some agree. Many are sitting at their tables in the forward cabin playing cards – some for money, others for passing time.

Since leaving Baton Rouge, the scenery has very much resembled that of the Tombigbee River, possessing little of interest.

At about 1½ this P.M. we stopped a moment at Natches [Natchez], not long enough however to allow my going on shore. "Natches under the Hill" is a small assemblage of stores & residences presenting rather a mean appearance. "Natches on the Hill" is quite invisible from the river. Two or three steeples & towers, a few buildings may however be seen as the boat recedes from the shore up river. A few miles below Natches are "Ellis Bluffs Cliffs," the first highland I have seen on the Mississippi.

Have been conversing with a Mr. Winston, I believe, whose family resides in Cincinnati while he is doing business in N. Orleans. He appears to be very well acquainted in Ohio & Indiana & recommends Evansville, Ia. [Indiana] as the most promising place with which he is acquainted in either state. It is a flourishing place & must still flourish & become a larger place. His opinion of Southerners is they are overestimated for hospitality & generosity – either of friendship or favor of any kind –

From Steamboats on the Mississippi.



"Mean" settlement of Natchez under the Hill, 20 years after Henry saw it.

that they are exceedingly selfish & will sacrifice as much for a dollar as any people.

Harriette has been feeling quite feeble today yet rather better than for several days.

Thus has passed another week – a whole week on board a Steamboat – yes even ten days of steamboat life & on the whole it has passed quite pleasantly.²⁶ Another week of such life, if it be continued at all, will probably be of the same, to us, unusual style of living. I have not yet become sufficiently acquainted to describe our companions of travel. Presuming that time will soon begin to drag, I design to take them in the Ladies' Cabin at least one by one & set them for a portrait. My portraits may be poor & unlikelike, still they will be portraits – dobs or something.²⁷

Vicksburg, Mississippi

Monday, April 14. Sabbath & Monday have so far – 5 P.M. – passed with little of change from the days before. At about 7 yesterday morning, we stopped a moment at Vicksburg. This is a place of considerable importance in Mississippi & is most picturesquely situated on walnut hills. Its location is very much like that of Norwich, Conn., with respect to hill & valley. It more nearly suits my peculiar ideas of the picturesque than any place I

²⁶ He is alluding to the fact that they had lived aboard the ship for three days before leaving New Orleans.

²⁷ This is his first reference to his artistic talents. In later journals, he sketched a number of landscapes to record the scenery.

have seen in the South. Several churches or other public buildings appear prominent on the hills.

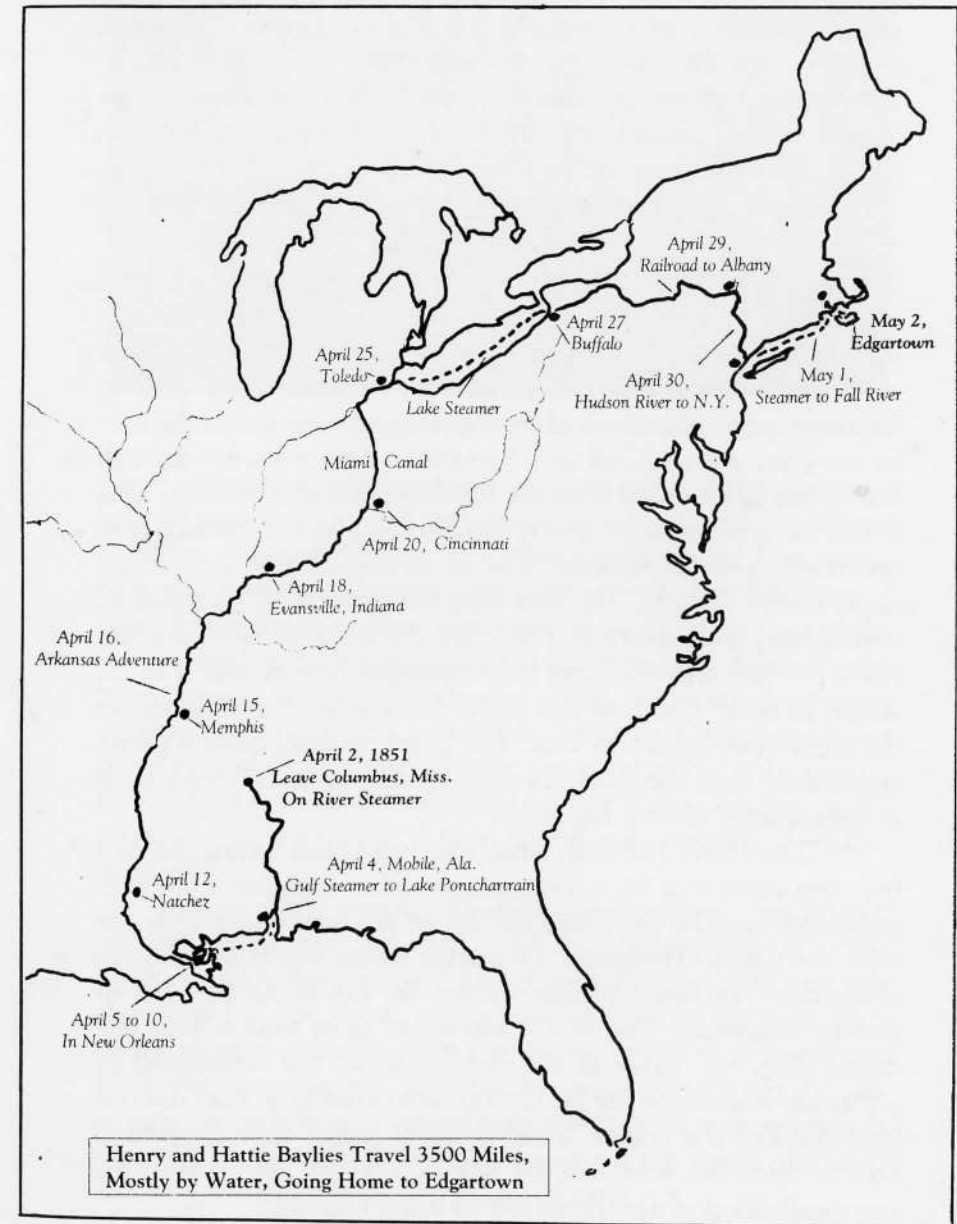
A more delightful day, the Sabbath, 14 April 1851, never passed. It was, too, a very quiet day on our boat. Not a card was displayed – not a table surrounded with gamblers – no gatherings for loud disputes or discussions.²⁸ All was quiet & peaceable. There are 80 passengers in the Cabins & yet oftentimes they are almost entirely vacated. In the place below, called “on deck,” there are 100 Emigrants & they too were unusually quiet.²⁹

I spent most of the day in my Stateroom reading and meditating. The evening was delightful with the bright full moon cheerfully sleeping on the quiet waters or tracing with indistinct loveliness the tortuous river banks & the deep shadowed forest borders. Life quickened within my veins as I briskly paced the hurricane deck conversing with a new friend & for-the-purpose-formed acquaintances on the subject of Religion.

Today has passed drolly. The temperature has been unusually low so that when out of the cabin have almost suffered from the cold. We are however getting into a higher latitude, though the forest foliage scarcely indicates it, & might expect cooler weather. Still this change is a change, for yesterday was exceedingly warm.

The tables have all day, except when cleared for the meals, been surrounded with the passengers gambling to “Kill time.” At times, there have been five or six tables with their separate companies at cards. At least (9/10) nine-tenths of the passengers in the Gent’s Cabin play cards. Not infrequently, money is staked in small quantities (sums).

Have conversed with the Capt., the clerk & two other gentlemen relative to Evansville. They all agree that it is a very thriving & growing place of already 5000 or 6000 inhabitants yet all are unacquainted with its educational interests. Mr. Harbison suggests that all these places of an easy access are usually taken up, while the more remote are often vacant. It will cost me at



Travelling for a month with an invalid wife could not have been easy before wheelchairs and ramps. What about bathing, toilet facilities, laundry, meals? Henry doesn't tell us.

²⁸ Riverboats forbade card playing in the saloon on Sundays, but gamblers went to a stateroom on the upper deck behind the wheelhouse where the games continued unseen. (Fred Erving Dayton, *Steamboat Days*, 1925, p. 347.)

²⁹ Passage from New Orleans to Cincinnati “on deck” cost \$3 to \$6. (*Ibid.*)

least \$18 to stop there and look around unless I should succeed in getting a place. Had I the means I would not hesitate, especially would I not hesitate if Hattie was well. As it is, I must think further before I decide & perhaps it would be more advisable we should return immediately to N. E., that she might rest from her labors. We will ask directions from above.

Hattie's health has rather improved yesterday & today.

Memphis, Tennessee

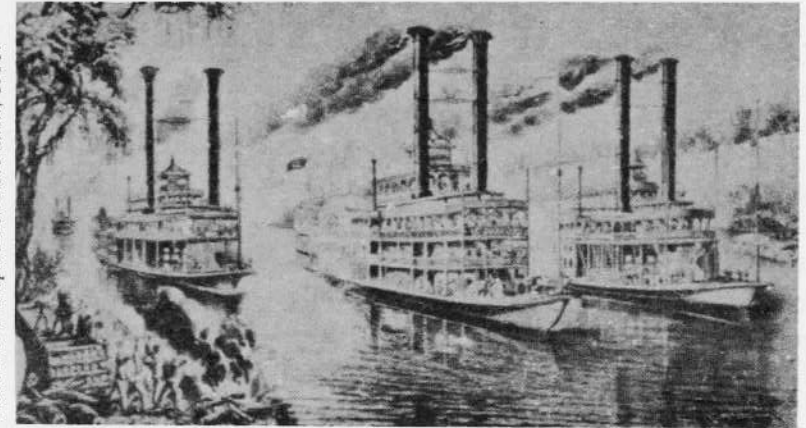
Tuesday April 15. A delightful but cool day. At about 5 this P.M. reached Memphis, Tenn., at which city we tarried about an hour. Memphis is delightfully situated on a high bluff on the East bank of the river commanding a picturesque³⁰ of the noble river & luxuriant green islands which centre the river just above the city. In company with a Cockney, I strolled a few moments through the streets & viewed at least the business portion of the city. This is said & appears to be a very flourishing place of considerable businesses, a shipping point. The U. S. has a Navy Yard at the upper end of the city. The new long brick roapwalk³¹ is about all that appears from the river. I'm told a few steam vessels have had masts put into them & have been cordaged here & that it is the design to build vessels at this point. Several small vessels are on the stocks just below the city. The place presents quite a pretty appearance from the river, the bluff having been cut down so as to open a small view of the place.

The *Harry Hill* with which we have been sailing the last two days came into M. a few moments after us & left a few moments before. The *St. Cloud* left M. at the same time with our boat, the *Charles Hammond*. Of course, racing was & is the order of the day. The first consequence was the loss of our flag staff to coming in contact. The *St. C.* was ahead & by mutual boat understanding, had rights to the shore, but our boat attempted to get inside whereupon the *St. C.* shot across our bow. Had not our boat checked the engine, a sad accident might have happened. Shortly after, we were side by side & not five feet apart with every indication of a collision but we again escaped.

³⁰ Henry often uses "picturesque" as a noun. Apparently, it was current usage.

³¹ A rope walk is a long, low building used to make braided rope from thin, single strands. Rope, like berth, is regularly misspelled by Henry.

From *The Transportation Revolution*, 1951.



Steamboats race on the Mississippi. A common stunt that frightened Henry.

While I now write, both boats are racing with all vengeance. I went out to see Capt. Davis after we escaped a second collision to enter a protest & to my surprize found him sitting near the Ladies' Cabin in conversation with Mr. Harbison. I asked him if he knew how near we were to a collision, to which he answered in the negative & affirmed there is no danger. I protested against such risk & exposing of life, but received the same assurance still from both gentlemen. Soon the Clerk came & sat down near the Ladies' Cabin door, the safest place in the Gent.'s Cabin. I did not like the appearance. Capt. Davis, very much of a gentleman in every way, I hope would not conceive of endangering life.

Now, while writing the above, we are in race with two if not three boats, The *Susannah No. 2* is on one side, the *St. Cloud* on the other & both within half a stone's throw of us & probably the *Harry Hill* just before us. I am surprized to see the passengers on all these boats so anxious for the success of their own boat. Hollering, shouting, etc., is constantly going on between the passengers on each boat. I exceedingly dislike such maneuvering & pray we may be safely forwarded on our voyage despite the recklessness of human life on part of the officers.

Just above Memphis are congregated quite a number of flat boats from up river. Some however appear to be fixtures & yet I do not know but they are all itinerants. One had a sign out,

"BOARDING." Another exposed the sign, "BARROOM, GROCERY & BAKERY." Another, rather better got up than most others, with red & white flags & small bell hung on deck was called the "J. S. Sayre" with 1851 in big figures on the side. The "Indian Ocean" flat boat had her name pointed in large red & black letters on her side. Several lads in log canoes, a remembrance of those who formerly navigated this noble river, came out to ride over the waves produced by the motions of our boat.

Wednesday, April 16. The last night passed, through divine protection, without accident & in quiet. The day opened rather cool & has continued so, with some indications of rain this evening. Just before breakfast our boat stopped at a wood yard on the Arkansas side of the River & here follows my *Adventure in Arkansas*.

Adventure in Arkansas

No sooner had the boat touched alongside a flat boat loaded with wood than I leaped on shore & entered into conversation with a gentleman of good appearance on the bank in front of one of those primitive log cabins seen on this river. I had scarcely asked a question of this aforesaid, well-bred, well-looking gentleman, a question relative to a probable scarcity of minerals in that section, when I heard the bell over the engine jingling & looking behind me saw the boat leaving the bank. I had mistaken the fastening of the ropes to the flat boat for the usual tying up at the woodyard where the boat has been accustomed to tarry for a half to two or three hours. No time however was to be lost for the paddles were in active motion & the bow of the flat boat was already out of reach. Appearing to take it coolly, although a little startled, I asked the mate if he was leaving although my eyes had already fully assured me. He pointed me to the stern of the flat boat towards which I hastened & leaping down a steep bank several feet into the soft mud half way up to my knees, I leaped for the flatboat & just reached, my head hanging inside & my feet dangling in the water – a pretty plight for a Rev'd. Gentleman with a hundred men looking & laughing at my misfortune. I got off with soaked shoes, socks, drawers & pants, a jammed-up pencil case & most serious of all, almost a broken knee. My poor left knee bruised, stiff & soar [sic]. I have been obliged to nurse it nearly all day & still find it rather painful.

"But why, dear Harry," Hattie asks, "did you go ashore?" A very important question after a long & short story.³² Well, the fact is I had determined to go to Arkansas & if possible in my devotion to mineralogy to get a stone, if nothing more than a pebble. The first I accomplished, for I did go to Arkansas & am the only passenger on board that affected a landing, but I did not get even a pebble. Yet I did get a certain quantity of mud upon my shoes & my feet washed in the muddy waters of Father of Waters.

This evening with Britisher friend, Mr. Dix, I ventured down on deck among the Paddies.³³ We found them dancing, in companies of two & four. As one party finished, a new party was ready for a relay. The poor fools of girls would dance till they fairly danced the hair down over their eyes & themselves into a perfect sweat. The space devoted to the dance would not be more than seven feet in diameter, for it must be remembered there were more than 150 Paddies & others. What a hubbub & mingling of small & large or all sorts & conditions, except *good* conditions! It was a perfect curiosity shop as indeed the general world of mankind appears to be.

One, more officious than the rest, demanded of us half a dollar each for the sight, saying it is customary for cabin passengers to pay that sum whenever they came into their quarters. We refused to pay, not having cash to spare for giving. As we were leaving, another demand was made & opposition offered to our leaving. Putting on my severe dignity, I demanded a passage & no more trouble & we were suffered to pass.³⁴

"City" of Cairo, Illinois

Thursday April 17. About sunrise, our boat tied up at the "City of Cairo." Having heard the aforesaid "City" spoken of as a place of magnificent intentions & equally, as yet, magnificent failure, I was up in a trice, dressed, & on deck to see a place of some size & real importance. The name, "City of Cairo," & the large blot designating it on the large Homographic map of the Mississippi hanging up in our cabin led me to arouse within myself the idea

³² A rare insight into their marriage: she calls him "Harry."

³³ The more than one hundred Irish immigrants traveling "on deck," heading for work in the midwest building canals and railroads, no doubt.

³⁴ We are sure Henry was capable of mustering considerable "severe dignity."

of seeing a place worth seeing. Let me then imagine my own surprise, for no one else can imagine it, when, going on deck, scarce anything appeared amid barren sand, flat boats on underpinnings & a positive vacuity.

When I shall have copied my list of buildings written at the seeing, about all is told of that which exists. First, hotels & boarding houses for entertaining strangers appears to be the principal business of the city. The "Cairo Hotel" is a building about as large as all the rest together. "Tavern," "Coffee House," "Members Hotel," "Delta House" by Martin Lawkowescz. These are buildings on land, originally constructed for home residences. Beside these were flat boats, superannuated probably, raised on block underpinnings from which were hung out or rather painted on, "Produce & Bread, Boarding, Bakery," "U. S. Groceries." On some afloat were signs, "Travellers Accomodations," "Ivanhoe Boarding Boat." Besides these were liquor boats, an "Insurance Office" or Agency, "Bakery", etc. This too is favored with a "Telegraph Station." A part of a steamboat cabin had a sign, "Tailor Shop."

Now this idea of doing business in boats is excellent considering the occasional overflow of the Delta on which the place is marked out. A few years since, splendid maps of the delta with steamships, English & others, discharging & receiving freight, etc., were issued by speculators & the place, on those representations, was bought up. Many of these lots are now owned in England. At one time some business was done there but an overflow swept off a portion of the buildings while the miasma destroyed many lives, so says Mr. Harbison.³⁵

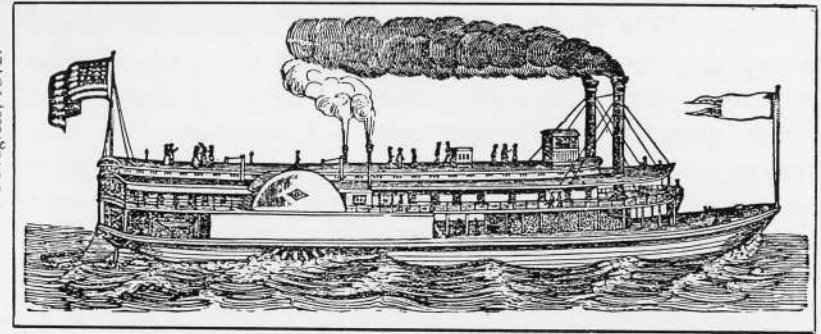
Paducah, Kentucky

Paducah, at the mouth of the Tennessee River, is a place of some importance & I believe prosperity. I should have said of Cairo, that it is a point where many travellers stop & take boats either to Cincinnati or to St. Louis. Aside from these two places, we have so far today seen no village of importance.

The scenery of the Ohio is quite a relief from that of the Mississippi, being more abrupt & varied as to its banks. The low

³⁵ There were, no doubt, many instances of speculative fever with resultant lost dreams in this period, sort of the "dot com" investments of the era.

From 100 Years Progress, 1872.



Sidewheel Mississippi steamer similar to the one Henry was on. Note the wood stacked on deck forward of wheelhouse, outside the boiler room.

land of the Miss. became very monotonous. The natural scenery of the Ohio is not magnificent like the Hudson but is more like the Connecticut. Mr. Hix, my English friend, considers the scenery magnificent, but as yet he has seen nothing of the wild scenery of these United States.

The expenses of this boat in a trip from N. O. to Cin. & back is \$5000. Forty cords of wood are burnt daily & the bill for fuel is from \$1200 to \$1500.

The atmosphere this morning was severely keen, the most so I have experienced this winter, keen & clear.

An occurrence, unpleasantly suspicious, took place last night. A professional gambler & a Mr. Byrd are the suspected actors. It is privately known to officers.³⁶

[In a feminine hand:] By permission of my dear. . . [now back to Henry's handwriting:] So begins to write a little woman I call my wife, but from the jarring of the boat is unable to proceed. Had she continued, there is no telling what kind of a "dear" would have been mentioned!³⁷

Evansville, Indiana

Friday April 18. Quite a pleasant day till about 5 P.M. when the rain began to fall. At sunrise, we were at Evansville, Indiana, a thrifty [?] place of perhaps 7000 inhabitants. Like all places on the river, it is located on a bluff of the river, but has a most excel-

³⁶ River gamblers were infamous for their victimizing of innocent card players.

³⁷ This is the only sample of Hattie's handwriting in the journal.

lent landing, the bluff having been sloped down to the river. I had a nearly formed purpose to stop at E. by advice of, or rather by recommendation of, a Mr. Denison, I think. Doubting however the propriety of the experiment as it would incur an additional & perhaps unwarranted expense by so doing, I inquired of one or two gentlemen relative the schools in E., from whom I learned that there are an abundance of schools, some of which are classical schools. Still, I had a kind of yearning to remain. The place is connected by canal with Lake Erie & the Wabash River & by a R. R. contemplated with Indianapolis. It likewise receives & ships the produce (Tobacco) from Green River & is doomed, it is thought, to become a greater city than Cincinnati. I purchased two papers, dailies, a Dem., & Whig.

At about 4 P.M. stopped at Cannalton[?], Indiana, a newly started manufacturing place. As the boat remained some time to discharge machinery for the latter mill, the passengers have opportunity of visiting the Mill & other localities. The Mill is a very fine, free-stone building, four stories high with central towers. The stone is of varied hue & at a short distance appears like the surface was painted. It is quarried from the hills very nearby. Coal likewise is mined within forty rods of the building of a very good quality. I procured a specimen of the coal & sandstone. The rain came up before I had sufficient time for observation of the quarries & disappointed & wet I returned to the Boat. We have passed several little villages on both sides of the river.

H. is quite comfortable.

Saturday, April 19. About noon of today we reached New Albany, a flourishing town nearly opposite Louisville, Ind. [Kentucky]. Steamboat building & its accompaniments of labor is carried on quite extensively. We were soon at Louisville, Ky. Or rather were at the mouth of the canal a couple of miles, perhaps, below L. The Capt. informed me that we should be detained in passing the lock & canal³⁸ probably (3) three hours &, in company with my "Britisher," I took a general stroll about the crack city of Kentucky. Main St., is a very respectable business St. The residences are generally substantial & pleasantly arranged, yet on

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*By her own wish of my dear, So begins to write
a letter. I call my wife but for the
purpose of the boat is unable to proceed. And
she continues there is no telling what kind
of a day would have been something!
Quite a pleasant day this about 5 P.M.*

The first four words were written by Hattie; her only writing in the journal.

the whole it appears like most other cities of its size. I saw no buildings particularly worthy of notice. The landing is particularly bare of boats & business.

Just as I left the boat I called into a groggery & cigar store to see the Ky. Giant by name of James Porter. He is 7 feet 8 in. high, rather stooping, badly put together, pale & in ill health. His gait is quite like an Elephant's. His rifle & cane stood in a corner of the room. His rifle measures about (8) eight feet long. His cane is perhaps five feet by 3 or 4 inches in diameter. He stated to me that his parents were of normal size, his father, 5 ft. 8 in. & he is the only exception to ordinary size in his family. It is said by Mr. Harbison, he is a mere brute. I however saw nothing of it.

I procured several mineralogical specimens. At the landing is a suspension bridge of perhaps 75 feet, the first I have ever seen. Instead of wires or rods, bar iron is used. Near this bridge was a flat boat fitting out for traveling down this & the Mississippi Rivers. The sign painted on the side is "I. Carter, Wholesale Dealer in Books, Stationery & Fancy Goods."

While [I was] sitting in the Louisville Hotel, a Negro waiter came in to get the *Louisville Democrat*, for a boarder probably. As he could not read, he fumbled over the papers when a gentleman asked what paper he was looking for. He replied, the *Democrat* & said he could tell it because it had "niggers" in it & he was looking for the niggers, i.e., for negro advertisements headed with cuts of negroes.

Between 7 & 8 this evening we left Louisville for the Queen of the West.³⁹ Gambling has been carried on quite exten-

³⁸ A canal allowed steamers to bypass treacherous rapids opposite Louisville.

³⁹ Cincinnati, Ohio, we assume.

sively today. Not that more tables or so many have been filled, but that more money has changed hands. A young man this morning lost about \$50 at Farro & then laid down about \$90 as funds of another bank. Poor fool. He suffers himself to be swindled -- picked by a couple of professional gamblers travelling for the purpose of gambling & nothing else. Almost every one gambles & swears.

Sabbath, April 20. Early this morning an accident happened to our machinery by which we were delayed in making Cincinnati till 7 P.M., whereas we should have arrived at noon. One of the piston heads blew off & likewise the follower which burst into several pieces. The 2nd Steward narrowly escaped death, but by hopping aside escaped with only a wound on his leg. We hobbled along with one wheel all day.

Fifteen miles below Cincinnati is North Bend, the former residence & present resting place of Wm. H. Harrison. The family mansion is a very plain, durable two-story farm house. Several log cabins are on or near the premises, but I was told, Harrison never lived in a log cabin, only politically.⁴⁰

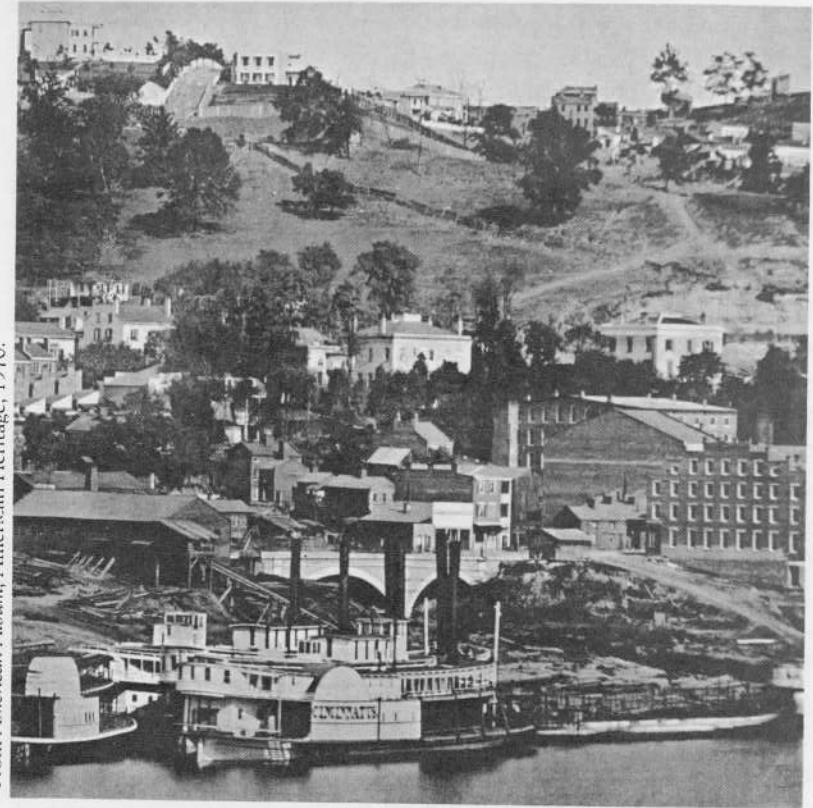
His tomb is the most delightfully situated possible on the beautiful Ohio. A green, high and softly (smoothly) rounded hill with a prospect [a view] of the river up & down for several miles is the spot where rest the remains of Harrison. The hill is spotted with flourishing evergreens & surrounded with a neat, white panel fence. The Tomb is indistinctly seen from the river & I was unable to determine of what or how it is made, but think of marble with a green turf roof, somewhat in form of a dwelling.

The scenery just below Cincinnati is very abrupt & imposing. The vineyards rising on the southern slope almost to the skies presented to me a peculiar & striking feature. The poles for sustaining the vines are placed with exact precision, as a fancy vegetable gardener would pole his beans.

In arriving at C., I immediately called on Lippist at the Methodist Female College & likewise met with Johnson who was in college with myself. Conversated on various subjects & returned

⁴⁰ The 9th President, elected in 1840 with the slogan "Log cabin and hard cider." He caught pneumonia at the inauguration and died in 1841.

From American Album, American Heritage, 1970.



Daguerreotype of Cincinnati in 1848. College is off the picture, left at top.

in good season to the Boat where we remain tonight.

Monday, April 21. Again called this morning to see Lippist & was at the so-called college while the young ladies were assembled for prayer. They were all kneeling, but many appeared to be affected with devotion as little as the southern girls while they powdered their faces, whitening. They are a homely set & among the 200 or 300 there are not as many good looking ones as I could pick out in Edgartown. . .

We spent a portion of the P.M. in visiting within the Machinist Library Reading Room -- a magnificent and munificent building erected for the benefit of the young men. 144 steps took us to the roof from which I had a commanding & entire view of the "Queen of the West" so-called, but better called Hog Town

or City. There are no public buildings worth seeing save the Burnett House, a hotel of the largest & best class. The streets are narrow & dirty. The residences present none of that desirable appearance of neatness & social comfort & flower garden environment. Mt. Adams is a rough, uninviting hill & the observatory at a distance by no means attractive. . . If this is "Queen of the West", she is an unamiable, unwinning, musty [?] one.

After dinner took a room at the R. Road House near the boat landing. Did design to leave this morning but was finally induced to stay till tomorrow. The change from boat to house has a very favorable influence on Hattie. We had now been on board of steam boats three weeks.

Tuesday, April 22. At 11 o'clock this morning we, with baggage, were on board the Canal Packet *Fashion No. 2* for Toledo with about fifty passengers. Such a crowd in such a cramped-up place & so many crying, squealing babies is horrible beyond description. Such was the confusion & noise that by dark poor Hattie was in spasms. I would have acceded to any terms almost to have her set down in Buffalo or even in Cincinnati, but the play had gone too far & to go back would be as bad as to go forward. The Capt. kindly had fitted up a back stateroom which she occupies, quite retired from the confusion.

The country through which we travelled today is some of the most delightful I ever saw – the valley of the Miami [River].

Wednesday, April 23. Last night was a night of anxiety, labor & careful restlessness. The ladies allowed me to sleep in a birth [sic] near Hattie or rather to lie down in one. I felt grateful for the privacy. The effect of yesterday's confusion was very general upon her system. She had spasms, headache, diarrhea with choleric pains & restlessness. She slept a little towards morning. I slept about "cat naps," if I slept at all. Have felt about sick all day. H. is feeling more comfortable but far from well.

We reached Dayton about 8 this morning where I purchased medicines necessary. D. is about the prettiest place I have seen since leaving N. Eng. It is the county town & has 14,700 inhabitants & is still flourishing. Troy & Piqua are pretty villages.

At P. we landed one or two passengers & took on board

several. After ten, I counted the babies & there were twelve, most of them sucking, squealing, puking, diapered babies!!! O horrible!~ horrible!!

Besides, there are several children over 5 years old. The passengers are every night laid up on shelves, suspended by hooks & strings, three high. Fifty, perhaps sixty, lodge in a space scarcely large enough for five persons! On entering the boat, I observed red & yellow strings or loops suspended all along the boat & could discover no other use to which they might be put except to put one's head in & sleep, resting on the chin suspended from the floor. I afterwards saw they are to contain hats & not heads.

Tuesday, April 24. Another delightful & a milder day notwithstanding the appearance of rain last night. . . We have a helmsman who has never before been over this route & is unacquainted with the idiosyncrasies of the canal. He gets along very well by daylight, but in the dark, most cruelly. During last evening, we passed through thirteen locks in seven miles. After which there were, I believe, 20 miles without locks. Whether he was asleep or what I know not, but this I do know, & many can testify, that from a sound slumber & unusual quiet, we were aroused by a terrible collision of the boat against a "lock" of solid rock, which nearly tossed us all off our shelves and then such startings & exclamations, such a universal squealing & bawling of a dozen babies, I think was never heard in a canal boat before. Some sprang from their shelves thinking the boat was about sinking, some one thing & some another. This thump was only a sample in a rather exaggerated proportion of what followed till daylight. . .

To me, sleeping near the bow of the boat where I staid the first night, the sound of the rushing water at the prow when passing up through a lock is almost terrific, especially when you add the thumping & dashing against the sides. This forenoon, we stopped at "Sec. X" & to our great joy parted with, I believe, eight of the babies. One of these babies, a little round-headed, round-pouched Dutch-head with a mother in a red dress, was the busiest, most ungoverned & perhaps ungovernable, most crying & squealing young one I ever saw. It slept neither at night or day & cried incessantly & for no other reason than it could not get

what it wishes & did not know what it did wish. Thank heaven, it is gone, but a few more are still left.

Just before tea, arrived at the "Junction" of Miami & Indiana Canals. Being detained here a couple of hours waiting for the boat from Fort Wayne on which we are to go to Toledo, the Capt. & several others took up fishing in the Canal. Not wishing to be behind, I fitted up a line of a piece of cotton twine, a hook from a pin & a pole of a lath. I was not very successful for a while with my pin hook & procured a regular-built establishment, leaving my line to fish on its own hook. The pin hook however triumphed over the regular & caught two or three fish.

At about 7 o'clock we changed from the Packet boat "Fashion No. 2," Capt. James Read, to the Packet boat "Ohio," Capt. Davis. We took one of our crying babies with us & find one other, a very quiet one, on board. Our company is quite small, comparatively.

We have [gone] through a very variable section of country from Cincinnati. The Miami [River] is, I judge, rightly reputed for its richness & the swamps in Northern Ohio equally rightly reputed for their deadly misery & fever & ague. I would not risk a passage through these vast swamps in the Summer.

Friday, April 25. A fine day, mild & cheering. Enjoyed a very comfortable night with quiet & undisturbed sleep. Our boat passed the locks more quietly & the babies kept mum.

Reached Toledo about 11 A.M. Before we reached T. we discovered that H.'s cashmere shawl is missing, having been left on the "Fashion No. 2." I wrote Capt. Davis to send it to my address by Express. In making some inquiries of the Capt. relative to his going along side the steamer, I learned he lands a mile from the steamer. I took a hack & dray & conveyed ourselves & baggage to the boat. On presenting my ticket to the Capt. of the Buffalo steamer *Superior*, he seemed at a loss to understand the ticket even with my explanation, but admitted it as correct & so we went on board. On presenting it to the Clerk, I found some difficulty in getting it through as current. It was however admitted & I procured a check.

So much for the canal route [by way of] Toledo to Buffalo.



Canal boat at the time Henry and Hattie were on one in an unpleasant trip.

We did not get through in 60 hours as represented by the agent, but in 72 hours! We shall not arrive in Buffalo on Sat. morning early, but on Sabbath morning. The canal boat did not go alongside the Steamer so that we could step on board her, but she stopped a mile off, requiring us to take a hack & procure an extra hack or go without it⁴¹ & last of all as yet I am near having my ticket refused. When I spoke to the Capt. of the *Ohio* relative to the impositions, he flared up & thought I was fortunate to get off with so little imposition! So goes the world of poor sinners.

Toledo is a mean looking place. I should think everybody had "set up a shop keeping." The place looks like the odds & ends of creation thrown together.

At 4 P.M., we left Toledo for Buffalo & are now out in Lake Erie, probably very near Sandusky. The boat stops at Sandusky & at Cleveland & perhaps at other places. The *Superior* is a large boat, rigged with high-pressure engines. I supposed all the Lake boats were low pressure but am told that only about half are low pressure.⁴² As yet we have only three lady passengers with Hattie & it really appears very quiet. H. had another spasm this morning on the [canal boat] *Ohio*, but this afternoon & evening appears very comfortable.

The engine stopped. I suppose we are at Sandusky. 9 P.M.

⁴¹ He must be referring to their baggage: trunks, etc.

⁴² High-pressure engines had a reputation for exploding, hence his concern.

Cleveland, Ohio

Saturday, April 26. On arising this morning I found our boat tied up at Cleveland, Ohio. Not knowing how long the boat would remain, my ramble about the city was hasty & limited. My impression of the city is very favorable. There is an appearance of wealth & comfort about the residences & the business streets present a busy & businesslike aspect.⁴³ Our boat did not, however, leave till about noon. At C. we took on board 700 hog passengers, well fattened & ready for the knife, the salt & the barrel or smoke house. Considerable merriment as well as sympathy was excited by hog fishing from the river or rather lake: about 20 of the swine got overboard & when pursued by boats on the rescue they evaded them as much as possible . . . The whole number were at length recovered & the owner was obliged to pay a dollar a head for their recovery.

On leaving C., we had a very favourable view of Cleveland & Ohio City on the opposite side of a narrow river. Our Cabin passengers in Ladies Cabin were two ladies besides Hattie & myself – a very small company. We regretted to part with Mrs. Champion of Maumee City, a lady of very amiable parts who stopped at Cleveland.

Nothing of interest occurred during the day. Have this evening been reading Channing's letter on the subject of American slavery in the Vth vol. of his works. A speech of Henry Clay is the occasion of the letter. . . .⁴⁴

Hattie from the change in the weather (raining) in the evening suffering somewhat from spasms.

We follow along the American shore in plain sight.

Buffalo, New York

Sabbath, April 27. Arrived at Buffalo early this morning. Hattie, not feeling so well as usual, did not get up at once so that our leaving the boat was protracted till after seven o'clock. Took lodgings at Fouff's [?] Merchants Hotel.

⁴³ Cleveland at the time had 6000 inhabitants.

⁴⁴ Rev. William E. Channing, 1780-1842. Often called the "apostle of Unitarianism," he was not a strong abolitionist, but opposed extension of slavery.

Visited several churches & at length concluded to find a seat in the 2nd Presbyterian Church, where I heard a discourse little if any above mediocrity, having little point or effect. In P.M., heard Rev. Allan Steel at the M. E. Church preach a very respectable discourse designed to contrast infidelity & skepticism. The church is little attractive, I think, to the young or to strangers. There may be richer M. E. churches, but I did not see them.

In consequence of raining, I did not go out in the evening but spent a portion of the time in conversation with a "Disciple" or Campbellite on points of doctrine in dispute.⁴⁵

Monday, April 28. At 9 o'clock took my seat in a R. R. Car for Niagara Falls. After riding 22 miles, we took [to] our feet en route for the falls, etc. Falling in with a young man like myself, about visiting the Lions & Elephants, I proposed companionship, which was accepted & we proceeded together.

Niagara Falls

We first viewed the falls from the steps at the ferry on the American side. Thence we took seats in the car & were let down to the bottom of the long slope to the river side. This railway was made at considerable expense, the motive power is the Niagara itself. After arriving at the bottom, we were obliged to wait till another arrival from the upper regions & six of us took seats in a ferry boat for the Canada side. Our oarsman urged our boat safely across amid the tumultuous waters just below the falls. The heavy spray from the dashing waters did not scruple to christen us children of adventure.⁴⁶

From the ferry, the view of the Falls on both the Am. & Can. sides is scarcely surpassed. On the Canada side, we (five of us) chartered a carriage for \$1.00 to take us to the Table Rock, Lundy's Lane, the Suspension Bridge & back to the Ferry. We went under the Table Rock & alone I ventured an attempt to pass behind the sheet of water. Fifty cents apiece was charged for

⁴⁵ The Disciples of Christ or Campbellites had about 120,000 members, mostly Methodists who did not accept the doctrine of the Trinity. (Clifton E. Olmstead, *History of Religion in the United States*, Prentice-Hall, 1960, p. 306ff.)

⁴⁶ He has taken a funicular railway to the base of the Falls where the group boards a large rowboat to go out into the turbulent water. Anyone who has made the trip in *The Maid of the Mist* must be impressed by their oarsman.

the use of a change of clothes suitable for the enterprize & for a guide, but halves are not too plenty⁴⁷ & I attempted [to do it] with my buttoned up coat & oil cloth cap. I entered perhaps 20 feet amid the dashing spray & finding I was getting soaked re-treated. Niagara washed my face & my old coat!

We rode through Lundy's Lane battleground & thence to the Bridge.⁴⁸ The drawings of the bridge convey a very accurate idea of the structure. I stepped on the bridge & looked over the side but did not pass across for quarters as well as halves are scarce. We were returned to the ferry & returned to American side. In Canada, I procured several mineral specimens & purchased a pair of Indian mocassins as remembrances.

The passage down the railway & ferriage is 18¾ cents each way. We came back in ample time to take the cars at ¼ to 3.

Now what shall I say about Niagara Falls? To say nothing is perhaps wise for the most that might be said will but mock description. Niagara is Niagara, the "Thunderer of Waters"! Yet my ideas of this greatest wonder of the world were at first not fully met. My disappointment was like that of one who has but a moment in which to see a celebrated painting. Each point must be especially noted, each part & peculiarity observed & the whole then concentrated into one great whole before Niagara becomes to the beholder, Niagara.

Just as we reached Buffalo the rain began to fall. An early hour found us in bed preparing for tomorrow's journey.

Tuesday April 29. At 7 o'clock left Buffalo in the cars⁴⁹ for Albany, 328 miles. The day was pleasant but rather cool. Passed through many very beautiful places & delightful country. The scenery on Lakes Geneva, Canandaigua, etc., surpasses my highest conception.

⁴⁷ A half dollar is half-a-day's pay for a schoolmaster.

⁴⁸ The Battle at Lundy's Lane in 1814 was the biggest land battle between American and British forces in the War of 1812. Although the Americans were forced to retreat, the battle was close, giving them a boost in morale.

⁴⁹ "In the cars" refers to taking a train or tram in the idiom of the day. Going from Buffalo to Albany meant riding on seven different railroads, but apparently did not require a change in cars. The New York Central, a merger which included the seven, was not created until two years later.

From Smith's Atlas, circa 1850.



Snaking across N.Y. between Buffalo and Albany were seven connecting railroads, shown here. Henry was most impressed with the ride and speed (average 30 mph).

Hattie endured the journey finely. The road was good & in sections superb. We rode at the rate of about 30 miles an hour, 328 miles in 12½ hours, stoppings included. At Albany, we embarked on the Palace steamer *Isaac Newton*.

New York City

Wednesday, April 30. Arrived at N.Y. at about 7 o'clock. Had a comfortable night's rest. About 9, took H. & baggage on board the *Bay State* for Fall River. Called at the Office of the *Eclectic* & saw Mr. Bidwell, the Editor, with whom I effected certain conditional arrangements.⁵⁰ . . . In consequence of rain, remained on board the *Bay State* most the time. At 5 P.M. left for Fallriver, with very few passengers for so large a boat. Met with Capt. A. Osborn⁵¹ from whom I heard favourable reports of home.

Thursday, May 1st. At 3¼ arrived at Fallriver after a boisterous passage around Point Judith. Still cloudy & threatening rain. At 6¾, left Fall River for N. Bedford where we arrived at about 8 ½. To avoid changes, took H. & baggage directly on board Packet *Escort* for Edgartown. I called at Father Wilcox's⁵² & Kent's [?]. Mother W. is very feeble, having been very sick. Others usually

⁵⁰ You may recall that he met an agent for the *Eclectic* on the steamboat on the Mississippi, who thought he would be able get a position with the magazine.

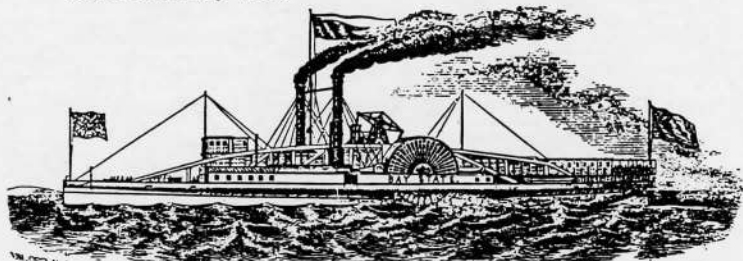
⁵¹ Capt. Abraham Osborn of Edgartown was the son of Henry and Betsey Osborn, a member of one of the Island's best-known families of mariners.

⁵² Wilcox is the father of Hannah, Henry's first wife, who died at 22, three years earlier. Henry is very fond of the Wilcox family, more so than of Hattie's.

BAY STATE LINE.

This Route is by steamer from New York to Fall River, 180 miles, and thence by railroad, 53 miles, (one hour and forty minutes,) to Boston. On this route are the well-known steamers

METROPOLIS,	2300 tons burthen,	Capt. William Brown.
EMPIRE STATE,	1650 " "	" Benjamin Brayton.
BAY STATE,	1600 " "	" Thomas G Jewett.
STATE OF MAINE.	1000 " "	"



These boats are not surpassed, either in strength or safety, by any other boats ever constructed, and are elegantly and substantially fitted up with every thing calculated to contribute to the ease, comfort and safety of travelers. One of them leaves New York every afternoon, (Sundays excepted), at 4 o'clock P. M. (at 4 o'clock A. M. in winter months,) and arrives at Fall River at an early hour in the morning, wh/e'er, after a comfortable night's rest, the traveler may proceed direct to Boston by steamboat train.

Passengers from Boston to New York take the steamboat train, which leaves the Old Colony and Fall River Railroad Depot, Boston, every afternoon, (Sundays excepted,) for Fall River, arriving at the latter place in time for an early supper on board one of the above boats, which start for New York immediately on arrival of the train.

Providence passengers are forwarded to and from Fall River by steamers Bradford Durfee, Canonicus, or Metacombus.

For all further particulars see bills and advertisements of the day.

Steamer Bay State, aboard which they travelled from N.Y. to Fall River.

well. At 10¾ with fair wind, left wharf for Edgartown. Chas. R. Wilcox called down to see Hattie.

Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard

At 3:40 o'clock, we were at wharf in Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard. Massachusetts, New England. Parents & all friends were taken with great surprize at our arrival. They thought we were in Cincinatti, Ohio.

Their surprise was only equalled by their gratification. Never were we more grateful to see friends & home than now. "Home Sweet Home, There is no place like Home." A kind Providence has restored us in safety & has preserved to us all our friends in life & usual health. Just one month tonight since we left our dear Brother Neely in Columbus, Mississippi, in which time we have travelled, I believe, about 3500 miles. This to us is Alabama. That is by interpretation: Here we rest.⁵³

After a month's journey, Henry and Hattie are home in Edgartown, the town they left seven months ago, hoping a warmer climate would cure her. Her condition has worsened, not improved. She will die within a year.

⁵¹ Alabama is from the Indian word for tribal town. Perhaps that is how he interprets it: they have returned to their "tribal town" to rest.

Whaling: The Vineyard Connection

The *Midas*'s First Voyage, in 1818, Was Profitable, But Hardly Pleasant

By EDWIN R. AMBROSE

THE OLDEST LOG in the Society's collection records a whaling voyage off the coast of Brazil by the ship *Midas* of New Bedford from May 1818 until June 1819, a total of 387 days. It was her first whaling voyage. She returned with 1750 barrels of oil from 33 whales, a profitable voyage.¹

Profitable, perhaps, but not pleasant. Numerous entries describe abusive, threatening incidents:

July 8, 1818. Manuel the Cooper and a black man by the name of Sep has treated the officer of the watch with very unhandsome language and refused to obey his orders.

July 18. Imanuel the Cooper slept in [his] watch on deck and dared the officer to prevent it.

August 19. By order of the master of this Ship, I insert in the ship's Log the following, viz., Emanuel Runsker and Benamin H. Lawton, seamen on board, both made use of verry unhandsome language to the Master and several of the officers, sutch as daming them.

Emanuel shook his fist at the Capt. and then put it up near his face. Likewise when checked for his unhandsome behavior, swore he would curse Officers when he pleased and dared the captain to punish any man on board for any crime whatever.

August 27. At 51/2 A.M. [no name given] being called to passe water, did [not] come until the third time called and then verry reluctantly, grumbling and murmering. The chief Officer being on deck tels him if he did not quit grumbling and come to his duty without so many calles, he would fetch him with a rope end. The negro says, No you will not. I dare you to doe it. The mate orders him again to passe water, upon which the said negro turns upon the mate and strikes him with his fist on the quarter deck of the ship. The said negro gets lashed up to the mizon rigging and has a decent flogging and promises never to be guilty of the like act.

Sept. 21. Discovered unmanly conduct in ----- [name not given], which is not the first time.

¹ She had shipped 90 barrels of oil to Boston on July 30, 1818, on the Brig *William and Thomas*, Capt. Neal, making her total catch 1840 barrels.

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Sept. 22. A contention arrizes betwixt the Cooper and a T. Smith, was shortly descided after the said Cooper promised to behave himself.

Dec. 3. Peter ---- a seaman is verry abusive and threatens life. Disobeys the orders of the Capt. and mate.

Jan. 5, 1819. One Peter, the Capt.'s Boatsteerer, is verry abusive, so much that we confined him and he promises to doe better.

Feb. 10. William Lane, the Second Officer of this Ship, is very abusive to the other Officers and threatens to mutinize, which is verry evident from his countenance [that] he has had [it] in contemplation for some time past.

March 25. William Lane [Second Officer] is verry abusive and threatens future abuse, forbids the Capt.'s orders being fulfilled.

April 18. Bil, the present cook, Peter Amy and Isac Jay were all verry mutinous. The said Bil on being ordered to draw some fresh water utterly refused several times. Peter sayeth that himself and four others would take comand of the ship and went so far as to forbid the Officers proforming thare duty of good order and command. Isac steps aft and forbids a man obeying the chief Officer.

May 22. William Lane denies his duty. The chief mate says to the said William, "When the People have eaten thare breakfast you will send two of them a loft with these blocks." The said William sayeth, "I will not. You have had the blocks taken of and you shall put them on for I will not."

These unhappy incidents didn't deter our logkeeper, First Mate Charles Smith of Holmes Hole, from writing rhymes to entertain himself. On a Sunday, the 31st day out, he wrote:

This is a day we richly keep.

From work we refrain and Pudding eat.

On August 14, 1818, "79 days from America:"

This is quite a lonesum day

It is fast we sail and yet slo on ower way

This 79 from home have ben

And 30 more will not ower passag end.

The head wind, a southerly, slowed their progress:

This day is like the last I spend,

The wind is a head, though I am content

If the wind should shortly shift about

We should then pursue our southern rout.

Sundays were days of rest, if there were no whales to chase. On the 86th day out, he wrote:

Of all the days that is spent on the Seas,

A Sailour's days has the most ease.

On the 112th day:

The wind it blows an unstiday gale,

We tack, we hand, and take in sail.

On the whaling grounds, his versifying ended. He was too busy. And depressed. A series of blunders and accidents cost them whales. He was ready to quit:

From the consideration of the bad luck that has attended us of late, I have all most determined to quit the Whaling.

Illness and accidents plagued the voyage. So many officers were ill in the first month that our log keeper had little time to rest. On the 34th day, he wrote:

I find myself quite fatigued after being on deck 20 hours out 24 for a number of days past. Several of the Officers off duty, likewise several of the people. Contrary winds, sick officers and people, green hands and lazy ones, puts me quite out of sorts.²

But he added an upbeat couplet:

But to conclude this tedious day,

I will put trouble far away.

He may have wanted to put trouble away, but the sickness and accidents continued:

August 24. Opened a sore on Mr. Lane's leg which I think ran ½ a pint of matter, he has had a verry painful leg for 10 days past, occasioned by sticking the flue of a Harpoon¹ in pam [palm?] of his nee In which he took a cold.

September 3. Peter, a Black man, sick and gets no better. I think he has a sto [?] fever.

September 26. Got a Whale alongside and when about one half out in the fall rendered round the winlis [windlass] the piece came down and struck one man and broke his thy bone. The Whale parts the fluke rope and sinks.

October 14. Tisdale is very much unwell and gets no better. He has kept in his cabbins for the last 3 days . . . pain in the back and stomach, likewise a sore breaking out on his knee.

October 28. 4 men off duty with sores and lameness.

November 23. Tisdale taken unwell again.

November 30. The sick and the lame are all in a fair way to recover.

December 19. Capt. Tobey taken verry ill with pain and numnes [numbness] in the rite side.

January 12, 1819. We have at this time 6 Cripples.

And then this matter-of-fact entry about a death:

March 16. At 11 A.M., Deceased Lover [?] Williams after a lingering illness of 3 or 4 months.

Twice, he recorded personal entries, both rather curious:

December 17. Last night I was verry exercised with dreams and among others I was at the Funerel of my natural Mother which dream appeared to me to be rayal [real?].

² He calls the crew the "People," usually capitalized, although not here.

¹ The flue is the barb on the harpoon point.

February 18. Received this day a Letter in perusing it I have taken the greatest pleasure imaginable.

There was nothing in the journal stating they had met another vessel, so the letter must have been written by somebody on board the *Midas*. He gives no explanation, nor of why he wrote "my natural Mother." There is nothing in the family genealogy to indicate that he had been adopted.

Off Brazil, their luck improved. In the early months of 1819, they averaged more than one whale a week. The whaling was so good that on the 273rd day, February 26, 1819, this:

Whales are plentier than I ever saw them before. We have kiled and cut in three [today] and might have kiled a number more. These Whales are all of a small size. I have seen no large ones.

In the next three weeks, they killed 12 more. The ship was filling up with heavy casks of oil. Then, on April 18th, he changed the page heading from "Cruising on the Brazile Coast" to "Homeward Bound." For two months they sailed north. Finally, June 17, 1819, logkeeper Smith wrote, no doubt happily:

At 2 P.M. we made Block Island. At 5 A.M. took a Pilot. At 10 came to anchor in Bedford rivver above Parmers Island. In the afternoon of the same day got up to the wharf. After 387 days returned to the port left.

That ended the *Midas*'s first whaling voyage, but it was only the beginning of a very long career. For 60 years, she went awhaling, 27 voyages in all. In 1878, her career ended when she was condemned at Flores Island. She had worn herself out.

As for our log keeper, Charles Smith, he also had a long and successful career. He retired from whaling at 40 to spend the rest of his life on Main Street, Vineyard Haven (his house on the corner of Union Street was one of those destroyed in the disastrous fire of 1883, the year after he died) He was one of the wealthiest men on the Island, investing wisely in real estate during the boom years in the mid-1800s. The 1850 Census shows him owning real estate worth \$6000. Only two men in the village owned more.

He died in 1882, at 96 years. He and his wife, Polly (Davis), who died in 1845, had three children, their only son, Davis, did not marry and was for a time a minister in Tisbury.

(Continued from back cover)

4	Abner Clark	2 nd pr. Pumped 220'	\$4 20
12	Joseph Cornwell	1 pr. Shoes	2 20
5	John Johnson	1 pr. Trousers	2 75
7	James Robinson	1 pr. Trousers	2 75
	Mr. Tapp	1 pr. Shoes	2 20
2	Nathan Waddle	1 pr. Shoes	2 20
12	Albert Cook	1 pr. Shoes	2 20
4	Abner Clark	1 pr. Trousers	2 75
14	Thos. Gist	1 Shirt	2 20
9	John Clarkson	1 pr. Trousers	3 75
5	John Johnson	1 Shirt	3 20
		1 pr. Trousers	3 75
7	James Robinson	1 pr. Trousers	3 75
12	George Johnson	1 pr. Trousers	3 75
9	John Clarkson	1 Shirt	2 20
		1 pr. Trousers	3 75
5	John Johnson	1 Shirt	3 20
		1 pr. Trousers	3 75
2	Benjamin Sumner	1 Checked Shirt	1 87 1/2
		1 pr. Duck Trousers	1 26
	Stephen New	1 pr. Duck Trousers	1 86
1	Joseph Cornwell	1 pr. Duck Trousers	1 26
1	Albert Cook	1 Shirt	1 87 1/2
1	Henry Fair	1 Shirt	1 87 1/2

There was a new captain in command of the *Midas* on her second whaling voyage, 1819-1820. He was Charles Smith of Holmes Hole, the First Mate and log keeper on the voyage described in this issue (see page 45ff.). It was his first command.

We don't have a log of that voyage, but we know it was successful, bringing back 2200 barrels of whale oil, valued at about \$235,000. We do have the record of slops sold on the voyage (above and on the back cover). Slops were sold from the slop chest, a ship's "store" of items likely to be needed by the men on the cruise.

Nineteen men bought from the slop chest: 15 bought clothing -- trousers, shirts, shoes, caps and hats, stockings and waistcoats; 10 bought knives, including Captain Smith, who bought two; 5 men bought soap, 30 pounds at 25 cents a pound; only 4 bought tobacco, 24 pounds at 50 cents a pound.

The most puzzling transaction involved Captain Smith. He exchanged a keg of tobacco, apparently from his personal supply, for a "fouling piece valued at \$14.75." Why the slop chest would carry firearms is hard to understand.

There was another "store" selling clothing on board. On a page headed "Slops Sold for W. & G. Allen," Smith listed 29 purchases by the same whalers. The items are all clothing. The Captain bought six pairs of shoes and in another strange transaction "exchanged 4 pairs for 2 monkey jackets."

1219 Slops sold to the crew of the Ship Alice

Aug	John Jones, 1 Knife	\$ 00. 11. 50.
2	Nathan Madell, 4 lb. Soap	1. 11. 50
3	Stephen Kew, 3 lb. Soap	. 75.
4	George H. Smith, a Sundrunt	9. 11. 00
Oct	George Johnson, 1 Knife	00. 11. 50
	John Johnson 1 Knife	00. 50
2	Geo. Johnson 1 Cap	00. 60.
17	James Robinson 1 Cap	00. 60.
	Benny Summerton 1 Knife	00. 50.
9	Henry Bar - 1 Knife	00. 50
9	Nathan Madell 1 Knife	00. 50
	Francis Neal 1/2 Stockings	1. 11. 25
	Francis Neal 1 Leather Shoe	2. 11. 00
	George Smith 1 do. Foot	
	He has paid on over-riding home in a first rate pair of shoes today	
	Charles Smith 2 Knives	0. 11. 50.
	Benjamin Summerton 1 Knife	0. 11. 50.
	Abner Clark 1 Knife	0. 11. 50.
11	William Johnson 1 Knife	0. 11. 50.
5	George Johnson 2 lb of Tobacco	1. 11. 00
14	Wm Johnson 5 lb Tobacco	2. 11. 50
11	Wm Johnson 1 Cap	0. 11. 60
5	George Johnson 5 lb Tobacco	2. 11. 50.
12	Albert Cook 1 Musticant	2. 11. 50.
11	Wm Johnson 5 lbs of Tobacco	2. 11. 50.
12	Emmanuel Hopkins 2 lb Tobacco	1. 11. 00
14	Charles Church 2 lb Tobacco	1. 11. 00
	Benjamin Summerton 3 lb Tobacco	1. 11. 50.
	John Jones 1 waistcoat	2. 11. 25.
	Charles Smith exchanged a bag of tobacco for a fouling piece valued at	
		14. 11. 7 1/2
1	Henry Bar 1 Knife	0. 50.
14	Charles Church 2 lb of Soap	9. 11. 25.
14	James Robinson 2 lb of Soap	1. 11. 50.
2	Stephen Kew 4 lb Soap	1. 11. 50.
14	Wm Johnson 1 lb of Soap	1. 11. 25.
	1/2 Stockings	1. 11. 25.