MARITIME MUSEUM ASSOCIATION OF SAN DIEGO



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MAINS'L HAUL



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A JOURNAL OF MARITIME HISTORY



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The bark STAR OF FINLAND was built as the KAIULANI by Arthur Sewall & Co. of Bath, Maine, in 1899. She represented the last glorious flourish of American square-rigged ships.

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On the cover . . .

Looking forward from abaft the mizzenmast during one of STAR OF INDIA's 1996 sailings, one sees her crew climbing the main rigging. This vessel is the world's oldest ship still sailing, and the most recent recipient of the World Ship Trust Award.

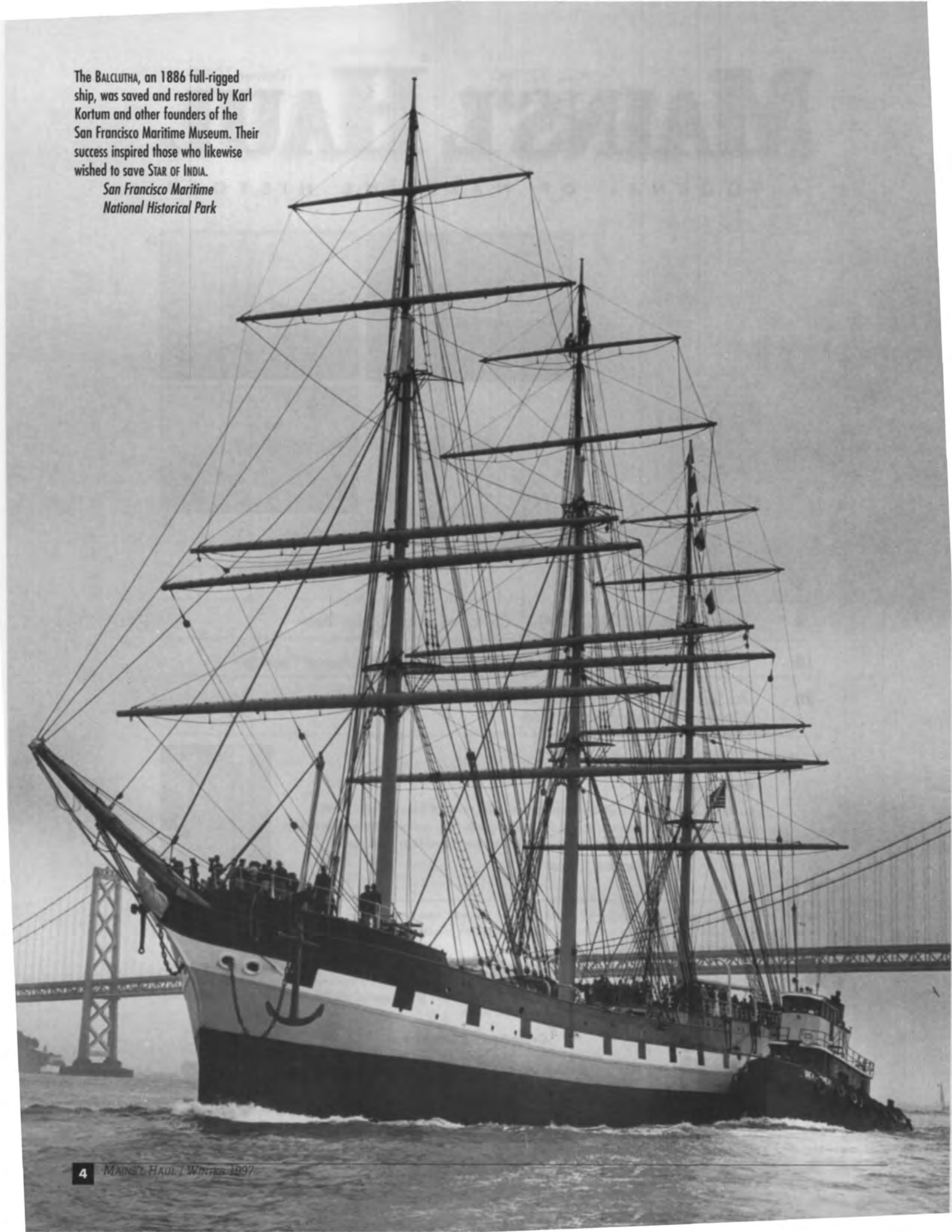
Photo by Elizabeth Schlappi

Mains'l Haul is the quarterly historical journal of the Maritime Museum Association of San Diego. Its mission is to engage our members and the public in the study of maritime history, expanding their knowledge and appreciation of this field. The journal is also a benefit of membership in the MMASD.

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Craig Arnold, Editor

"*Mains'l Haul*—An order in tacking ship bidding 'Swing the main yards.' To loot, steal, or 'acquire'."
—John Masefield



The BALCLUTHA, an 1886 full-rigged ship, was saved and restored by Karl Kortum and other founders of the San Francisco Maritime Museum. Their success inspired those who likewise wished to save STAR OF INDIA.

San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park

FROM THE HELM



We have just had a remarkable year for the museum in almost every category: exhibits, educational programs, publications, STAR OF INDIA sailings, museum events, financial improvement, and international acclaim. As we stand into a promising new year, it is appropriate to cast our eye over this wake and gauge its significance for our role in the community and how that role may be changing.

As they developed in this country, and ours is no exception, history museums have stood as something of an alternative to the traditional academic history all of us were exposed to in school. Museums differ from "normal" history in that they rely on material culture, objects rather than documents, to tell their story and transport us to the past. Until only a few decades ago, museums typically used their objects in only three ways: they collected them, they conserved them, and they interpreted them rather passively. Of the three, the latter formed the public face of the museum: all the labeled stuff in glass cases that brought curious visitors to the door and won the disdain of historians who saw little value in the "reading" of artifacts themselves as texts.

Yet, for academics and public alike, there has always been something different about historic ships and the quality of story they could tell. Early in this century, historic ship museums were recognized for their special ability to captivate and inspire, perhaps because of all utilitarian objects, ships are the most symbolically powerful of intellectual conveyances to the past and also perhaps the most inherently narrative of all material creations. As self-contained past worlds, historic and replica ships were, in fact, the first outdoor "living history" museums of any kind. Ultimately, the rest of the museum world came to embrace the historic ship principle with ever more complex, comprehensive, and elaborate arrangements of artifacts designed to immerse the visitor in past environments, eventually reaching spectacular proportions in places like Colonial Williamsburg.

As the artifact gained power in providing access to history, that power has also conveyed new roles and responsibilities to the museum. From educating people about historical artifacts, the museum has taken over an increasingly greater role in educating people about history. Again, maritime museums have a special place in this larger process because maritime endeavor has been decisive to the development of our society and because it is composed of endless intersections of science, technology, economics, politics, and art. No other historical process combines these elements with such intensity. None has comparable power to stimulate young minds by mixing in romance and adventure. Nothing can take you where you need to go intellectually like a real ship built of wood and iron and canvas.



How are we responding to this challenge? We are building upon our good beginning with the elementary-age living history program to develop a broad spectrum of programs for a variety of audiences. These range up to graduate courses in public history, university extension courses in the history of navigation and the scientific revolution and the history of sea power, community college level courses in maritime crafts such as boat building, and vocational training for the maritime trades. We are designing programs for middle school and upper elementary grades. In creating these programs we are partnering with other museums, three regional universities, San Diego County Schools, and public agencies such ESSENCE (Environmental Science Studies & Education for Non-traditional Careers). We are continuing to create interpretive exhibits (as opposed to displays) and produce events that carry educational value and underscore the contribution of seafaring to every facet of our lives. Our museum is beginning to function as the center of a network of education that will ultimately reach to every corner of our region.

Ships have always functioned to transfer ideas and knowledge as well as people and cargoes. It's good to know that our ships will maintain this course as they sail into a new year.

Raymond Ashley
Executive Director

THE CLIPPER SNOW SQUALL'S CALIFORNIA JINX

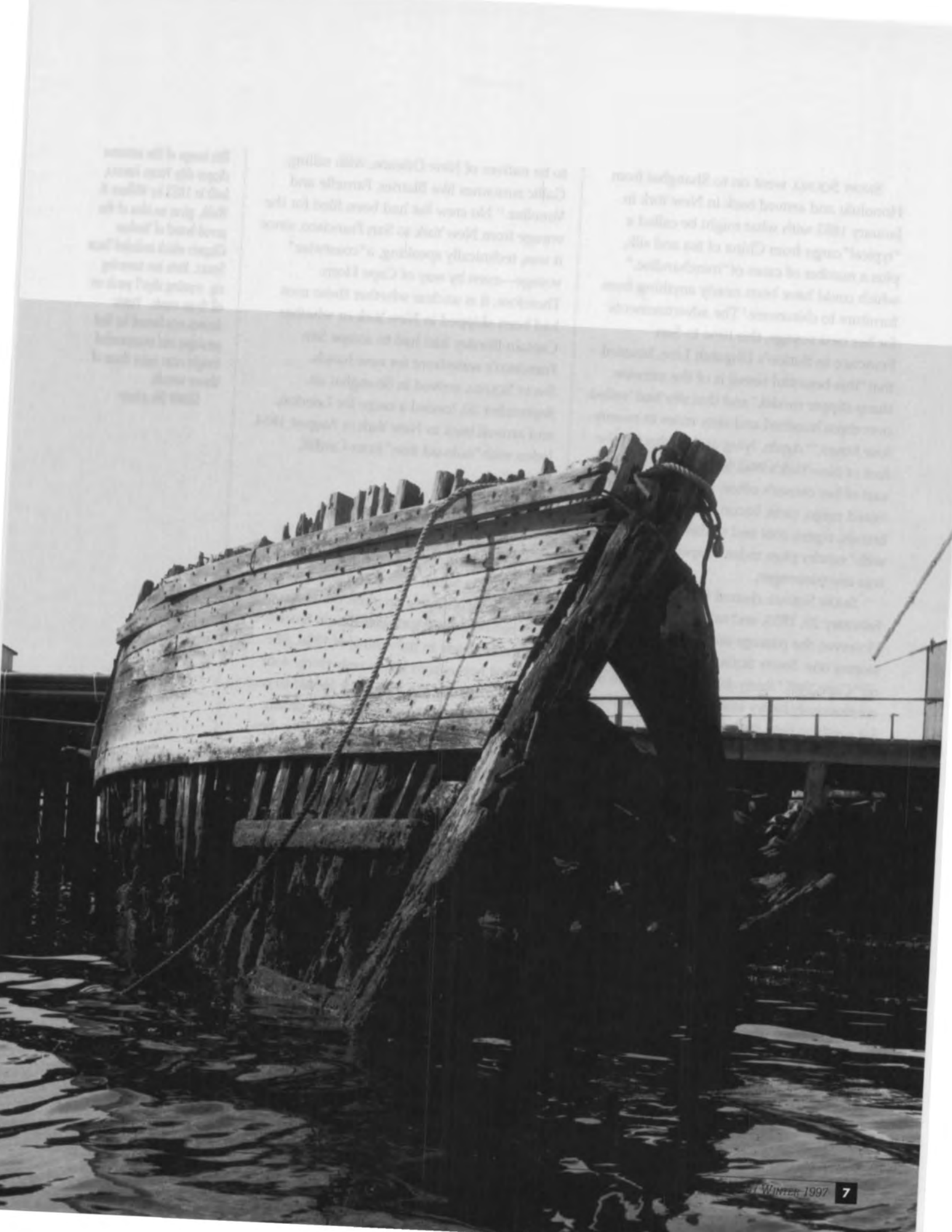
By Nicholas Dean

Launched from Cape Elizabeth, across the Fore River from Portland, Maine in 1851, the 742 ton clipper ship SNOW SQUALL joined the fleet of New York shipowner Charles R. Green at the end of the year. Green sent SNOW SQUALL out to China on her first overseas voyage from Boston early in 1852, bound for Shanghai by way of Honolulu under the command of Captain Isaac Bursley. On this maiden voyage SNOW SQUALL, advertised as having "very superior accommodations,"[1] carried three passengers including the Reverend and Mrs. Sturges. The reverend was headed for the island of Pohnpei to begin what proved to be a long and distinguished career as a missionary.

The 135 day passage around Cape Horn apparently was a miserable one, with "adverse wind and weather conditions throughout."[2] SNOW SQUALL's cargo out to the Pacific was hardly a glamorous one: everything from a buggy and a barrel of bone dust to tin boxes and a dozen yokes, with a large quantity of lumber and nails for growing Honolulu.[3] Why Honolulu and not, say, San Francisco? Because the California market was highly volatile and easily glutted. Clearances to California from Boston in 1851 were only thirty-five, roughly a third of what they had been in the boom years of 1849 and 1850.[4] It took roughly six weeks for news from California to reach the east coast. For example, in January word reached Boston that in San Francisco shoes were a glut on the market, which was rather hard news for a merchant who may have had a consignment already on the way by sea!

The hull of the 1851 clipper ship SNOW SQUALL, veteran of the Cape Horn run to California, rests forlornly at Port Stanley, Falkland Islands, in 1982.

Photo by the author



SNOW SQUALL went on to Shanghai from Honolulu and arrived back in New York in January 1853 with what might be called a "typical" cargo from China of tea and silk, plus a number of cases of "merchandise," which could have been nearly anything from furniture to chinaware.[5] The advertisements for her next voyage, this time to San Francisco in Sutton's Dispatch Line, boasted that "this beautiful vessel is of the extreme sharp clipper model," and that she had "sailed over three hundred and sixty miles in twenty-four hours."[6] Again, lying at the wharf at the foot of New York's Wall Street, a few blocks east of her owner's office, she loaded a very mixed cargo: carts, bacon, grindstones, brandy, cigars, coal and sardines, together with "sundry pkgs mdse unspecified."[7] There was one passenger.

SNOW SQUALL cleared from New York on February 25, 1853, and sailed the next day. However, the passage around the Horn was a stormy one. SNOW SQUALL was sixty-two days off "Cape Stiff," thirty-five of which were in continuously heavy seas. She was driven as far south as sixty degrees, nearly to the latitude of the South Shetland Islands. The mountainous seas "carried away all the iron work of the bow sprit and steering apparatus, started channels [the lower part of the standing rigging] and [caused] other damage."[8] After crossing the equator in the Pacific on June 23, SNOW SQUALL was beset by "light northerly winds and calms," then wallowed off Point Bonita outside San Francisco's Golden Gate for several days in "calm and thick fog."[9] The passage from New York had taken 155 days. On August 4, 1853, SNOW SQUALL began discharging at Vallejo Street Wharf with Green and Heath, a firm of commission merchants, handling affairs from their California Street offices.[10]

She left San Francisco for Shanghai on August 15, having shipped a crew of twenty before the mast, nearly all of whom claimed to be natives of New Orleans, with rolling Gallic surnames like Blatrier, Farnelle and Vonollez.[11] No crew list had been filed for the voyage from New York to San Francisco, since it was, technically speaking, a "coastwise" voyage—even by way of Cape Horn. Therefore, it is unclear whether these men had been shipped in New York or whether Captain Bursley had had to scrape San Francisco's waterfront for new hands. SNOW SQUALL arrived in Shanghai on September 30, loaded a cargo for London, and arrived back in New York in August 1854, laden with "railroad iron" from Cardiff, Wales.[12]

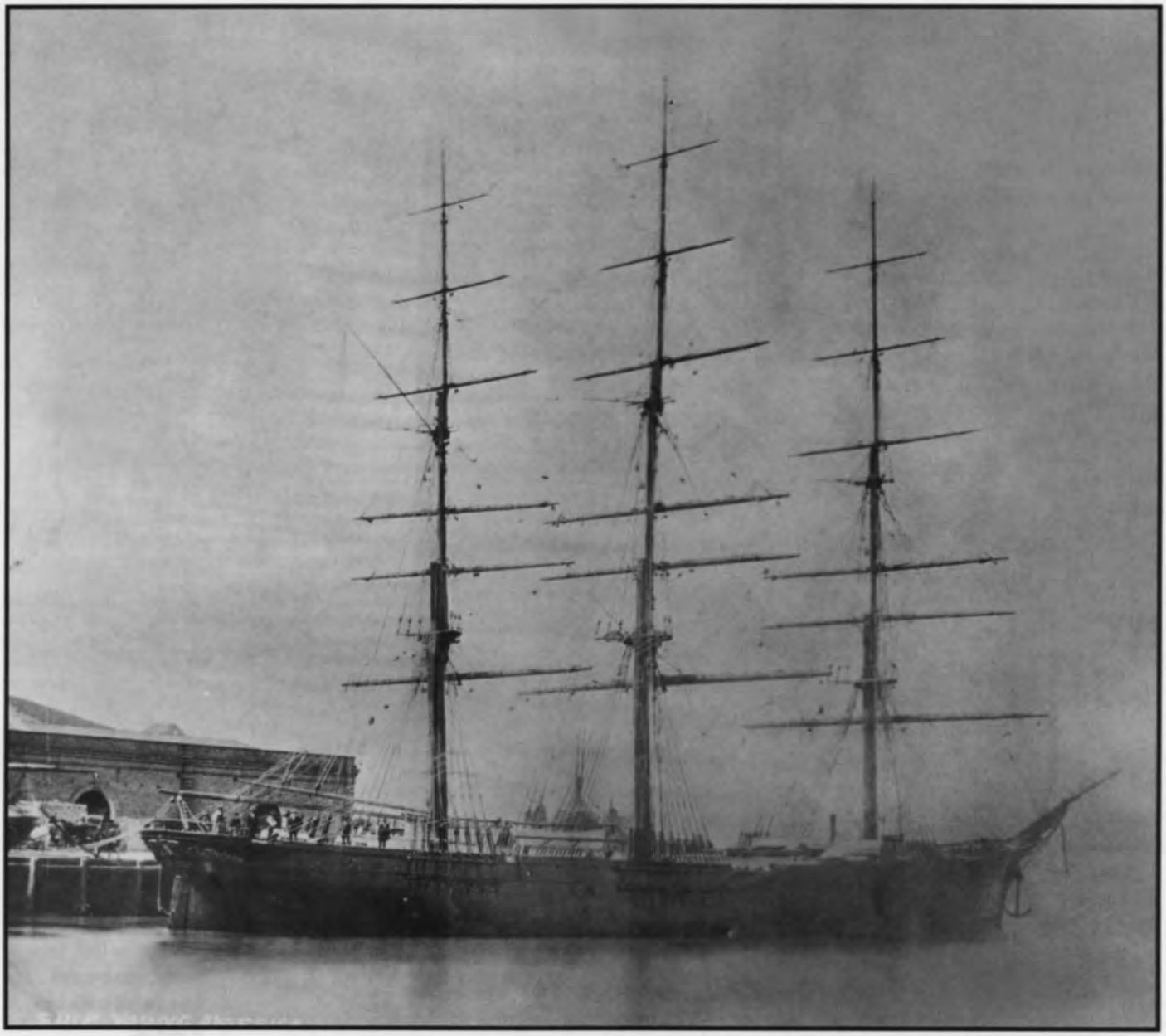


She next made a voyage to Sydney, New South Wales, and went home by way of Shanghai, then made a round trip between New York and Rio de Janeiro in the coffee trade in the spring of 1856. She romped home from Rio in only thirty-four days, prompting the New York *Herald* to comment, "When this voyage is beaten by any sailing vessel, we shall be ready to give her credit for it."[13] In July, owner Green decided to try his luck with San Francisco once more, sending SNOW SQUALL out this time in Annan's Eagle Line.

The beginning of the voyage was uneventful. Captain Thomas Lloyd sailed from New York on the afternoon of July 6, "discharged the Pilot and Tow Boat" at five, and by eight New Jersey's Navesink Highlands bore west by north, which Lloyd considered his point of departure.[14] The voyage continued south "with moderate winds and weather" until August 19, when hard gales began to blow from the westward. Shortly after midnight on August 24, "a heavy Squall from the SW took the Ship aback, & carryed away the Fore topgallant Mast, [and] Fore topmast Studding Sail Boom & yard." More was to come. Shortly

This image of the extreme clipper ship YOUNG AMERICA, built in 1853 by William H. Webb, gives an idea of the proud breed of Yankee Clippers which included SNOW SQUALL. Note her towering rig, crossing skys'l yards on all three masts. YOUNG AMERICA was famed for fast passages and commanded freight rates twice those of slower vessels.

SDMM file photo



after two in the morning of September 5, another gale brought down the main topmast, main topgallant mast, main topsail yard and main top and trestle trees. SNOW SQUALL also lost her mizzen topgallant mast and other gear. The swinging wreckage tore the mainsail to pieces and the mizzen staysail split. With a high sea running Lloyd made the decision to cut away the gyrating tangle of spars and rigging, fearing it would "pierce the Ship's bottom." After a hellish twenty-four hours, still in darkness, the crew began "clearing the Wreck." That evening the gale moderated somewhat and Lloyd set a double-reefed fore topsail and foresail. Next morning he wore ship and set a course for Montevideo for repairs. On the way in it was discovered that the bowsprit was sprung.

Repairs in Montevideo took forty-nine days. Just as SNOW SQUALL was nearly ready



Captain J. S. Dillingham, who commanded SNOW SQUALL on her final, tragic voyage, stands second from the left in this family portrait.

Photo courtesy of Mrs. Carl F. Ahlstrom

for sea, one of the sudden and violent South Atlantic storms known as *pamperos* caused the Spanish brig CORA (or CAIRO) to collide with her, which carried away the jibboom, fore topgallant mast and mainmast head, requiring another three weeks of repairs.[15] She at last arrived in San Francisco on January 30, 1857, after a week of light winds, two days of which saw her in her previous predicament—-just offshore but unable to come in. During the voyage "a seaman named Wm Brown fell from the anchor and was drowned."[16]

There is some confusion regarding SNOW SQUALL's captains during this period. A Captain Girard or Gerard was in command on her fast run home from Rio in the spring of 1856, and a Captain "Gerrand" shows up in the shipping news of her clearance from New York for San Francisco in July.[17] Yet Captain Thomas Lloyd signed the Montevideo protest [an affidavit] on October 1 [see Note 14]. Captain Gerard turns up again in the news of her San Francisco arrival.

Apparently there was also some confusion after her arrival at San Francisco's Broadway Wharf. On February 1, 1857, W. C. Annan & Company advertised that she was ready to discharge and that consignees were notified "to call upon the undersigned, pay freight and general average deposit, and receive orders for their goods."[18] In the same edition

of the *Alta California*, R. S. Haven, "Agent for Owners Snow Squall," called upon consignees to do the same at *his* Battery Street office as "the undersigned is alone authorized to receive the same and the goods will not be delivered until these requisitions are complied with."[19] Haven was the younger brother of a well-known San Francisco insurance adjuster, Jushua P. Haven. The acerbic Caspar T. Hopkins, whose memoirs of the early Bay Area insurance business were published in a number of issues of the *California Historical Society Quarterly*, was pretty hard on the Havens. The elder he called "uneven, unsystematic and unbalanced," the younger "a good adjuster when sober" which, Hopkins added gratuitously, "was seldom the case."[20]

Someone, though, had the wit to decide that after her South American adventures it might be worth hauling out SNOW SQUALL at the U.S. Navy drydock at Mare Island, and this was done the second week in February. On the morning of the eleventh, she went "on the dock" and "was found open on the starboard and a little copper off the keel and stern." Further examination the next day revealed that she was "generally open and requiring copper to be taken off, and calked and coppered all over." The weather was extremely bad for the next three days, but on the sixteenth SNOW SQUALL "came off dock."[21]

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Even before SNOW SQUALL underwent repairs R. S. Haven advertised her imminent departure for Manila. "The A-1 first class clipper ship" would be "dispatched for the above port on the 14th." For freight and cabin passage "apply to Captain Lloyd on board or to R. S. Haven."[22] SNOW SQUALL cleared on February 19, 1857, and sailed the next day. Meanwhile, at the corner of Sansome and Sacramento streets, Smiley Brothers, Auctioneers, announced a sale of clothing, "ex-SNOW SQUALL," which had been "damaged on voyage" and McRuer and Merrill auctioned off fifteen bales of "brown sheetings," both "for acct of underwriters."[23]

Other items from SNOW SQUALL's cargo went on sale as well. Washburn and Company advertised "Baltimore Prepared Peaches, new crop," while James Patrick offered a thousand kegs of assorted Old Colony nails, and Park and White, across from the post office, were wholesaling a Pittsburgh patent medicine, Hostetter's Bitters. This latter was a great favorite among malaria-ridden miners as it was a potent brew of alcohol and quinine. According to the copy on the label, "One wine-glass taken three times a day, before meals, will be a swift and certain cure for Dyspepsia, Liver Complaint and every species of Indigestion." Apparently the quinine stopped the shakes and pains and the alcohol soothed the psyche![24] Hostetter's was a popular nostrum well into the twentieth century.

SNOW SQUALL left Manila for New York in April with a cargo of hemp and arrived August 4 after two long weeks trying to get around the Cape of Good Hope.[25] Eighteen fifty-seven was a trying year for everyone, with a nasty, though short-lived, bank panic reminiscent of the savings and loan mess of recent years with land speculation as the cause. Owner Charles Green put SNOW SQUALL back in the coffee trade before sending her directly to China from Boston. The Pacific trade did not absorb all of Green's attention or tonnage however. He had vessels running in and out of New Orleans and Mobile freighting cotton. Some of his ships rarely touched at their home port of New York, but a detailed study of how he handled management in what we would consider an era of primitive communications must await the future.

In April 1861, just days before the bombardment of Fort Sumter, SNOW SQUALL arrived in New York with a cargo of tea, having made the shortest passage of the season: eighty-two days from Amoy and seventy from Java Head.[26] Not quite two weeks later another Green ship, HARRY BLUFF, came in from Havre via Mobile in ballast, apparently not having been able to load at that southern port. By fall the shipping news was grim. Insurers declined to take the risk of possible capture by Confederate privateers and news kept arriving of the sale of American flag vessels in England. Over a hundred American vessels lay in the harbor at Rio, "their sails unbent," for fear of privateers.[27]

Shipowner Green refused to join the panic. His only concession to political events, including the revolution then going on in China, was to switch routes somewhat. At the end of 1861 and during 1862 he sent SNOW SQUALL to Melbourne, then to Singapore and Penang, rather than to beleagured Shanghai. In April 1863 he lost one ship, the clipper DICTATOR, to the Confederate raider GEORGIA. Three months later, in July, it was only Captain James Dillingham's fine seamanship—and SNOW SQUALL's sailing qualities—that got her away from CSS TUSCALOOSA near the Cape of Good Hope, an exploit which made the front page of the *New York Times*.[28]

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At the end of 1863, Green was contemplating the purchase of two new ships—and contracted to send SNOW SQUALL to San Francisco in Comstock's Clipper Line. She left New York on the morning of January 2, 1864, again under Captain Dillingham. Young Hubert Taylor of Brooklyn, who had shipped as a "boy" at ten dollars a month, recorded that it was "very cold. Snow & Ice on deck, could hardly stand up, fingers & feet—nearly frozen."[29] Two weeks out SNOW SQUALL was "chased by two vessels supposed to be privateers," but as Taylor noted smugly, "We had a fast Sailing Vessel."[30]

At the end of February SNOW SQUALL was off the northern end of the Strait of Le Maire, which separates Staten Island from Tierra del Fuego. It is a broad expanse of water, framed by snow-capped peaks and low-hanging clouds, a somewhat starker version of parts of the Pacific Northwest. Le Maire's tide rips are legendary. Captain Nickels of the clipper FLYING FISH described them in 1852 as "ugly-looking customers—quite equal to those of the Pentland Frith [sic], in Scotland."[31] But nearly everyone agreed that taking the short-cut through the Strait saved roughly a day's sailing time around Cape Horn and was worth the risk.

On the afternoon of February 24, 1864, with rain falling and a light wind, SNOW SQUALL was in the Strait, standing along shore, when "the wind suddenly died away and the current rapidly swept the ship in towards shore, so that in a few moments, and before her anchors could be made ready, she was carried forcibly upon the rocks . . . where she remained fast."[32] Dillingham managed to work SNOW SQUALL clear, with the help of a newly fresh breeze, but "she was now found to be leaking badly and had several feet of water in her hold. Her rudder was much damaged and it was determined to bear up for the Falkland Islands, which was accordingly done."[33]

The Falklands, some three hundred miles off the mainland, are an archipelago of two large and many small islands. Port Stanley, at the eastern end of East Falkland, is a nearly landlocked harbor which, in the days of Cape Horn sail, became a major port of refuge for damaged vessels. In fact Captain Dillingham had come into Stanley in distress four years earlier in the leaking ship KIT CARSON. In that



This view of part of the San Francisco waterfront was taken in 1864, the year of SNOW SQUALL's last voyage toward that port. This shows the foot of Sansome Street, with a large full-rigged ship and four other square-riggers.
SDMM file photo

case some new pumps solved the problem and KIT CARSON proceeded on to Liverpool, but SNOW SQUALL's problems proved intractable. It just was not possible to find and repair the leaks, and Dillingham was running up a monstrous bill with the Falkland Islands Company for materials and labor. For one thing, by the time SNOW SQUALL arrived on March 3 his crew was exhausted from their labors at the pumps and locals had to be hired to take their places.

By the end of April, Dillingham gave up and wrote the Falklands' Governor MacKenzie, asking permission "to bring my ship in near the shore so that she will ground at about half tide that I may avoid the expense of pumping."[34] All of SNOW SQUALL's cargo had to be removed in looking for the leaks. This involved placing the black powder she carried in the government magazine. She carried eighty tons of "steamer lump coal." This had to be removed to a hulk (which proved to have some leaks of its own) and then reloaded once Dillingham managed to arrange for a chartered vessel, the bark ORSINI, to carry cargo on to San Francisco. Finally, to settle the bills, Dillingham auctioned off perishable cargo and SNOW SQUALL's fittings and sold the hull to the Falkland Islands Company.

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SNOW SQUALL, soon joined by other condemned vessels alongside, lay for more than a century as a hulk in Stanley, scavenged for her lumber in the treeless Falklands. Beginning with a survey in 1982, just a few weeks before the Anglo-Argentine war over the Falklands (or Malvinas), efforts began to

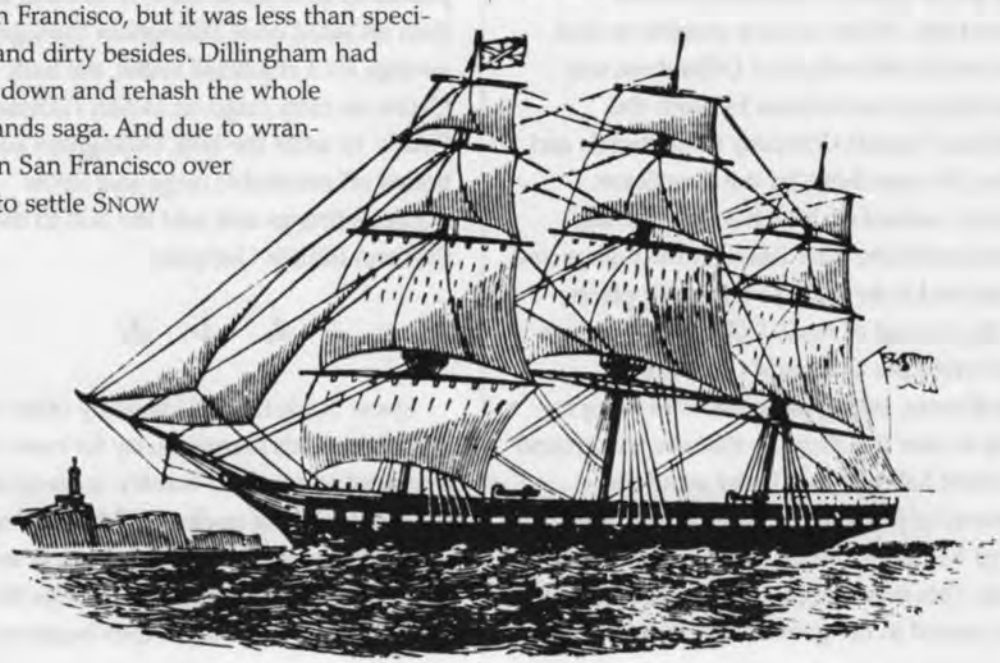
bring just over thirty feet of her bow back to the United States as the only remaining example of an American clipper. Final recovery took place in 1987, and portions of SNOW SQUALL are now at four museums, with the largest section at the Maine Maritime Museum in Bath. A cross-section is at the San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, to commemorate her California voyages.

It is worth noting that even after Captain Dillingham had settled SNOW SQUALL's affairs in the Falklands and headed home by way of Valparaiso and Rio, the jinx continued to work. He took passage from Rio to Baltimore in the little bark MONDAMIN. On September 26, 1864, a few days out, she was captured by the Confederate raider FLORIDA. The Confederates confiscated Dillingham's charts, books and navigational instruments (though they politely gave him a receipt). Through a further series of adventures Dillingham finally got home to Chelsea, Massachusetts, just in time for Christmas, apparently totally exhausted. The final blow came Christmas Eve when an irate letter arrived from Cornelius Comstock, of Comstock's Clipper Line, in New York. The coal had at last arrived in San Francisco, but it was less than specified, and dirty besides. Dillingham had to sit down and rehash the whole Falklands saga. And due to wrangles in San Francisco over how to settle SNOW SQUALL's accounts, owner Charles Green didn't see a penny from the voyage until March 1865, fourteen months after SNOW SQUALL had set sail.

[*Ed. Note:* Nicholas Dean is a maritime researcher and writer who has long kept up an interest in this clipper ship. He resides in Maine.]

NOTES

1 Boston *Daily Advertiser*, January 3, 1852.
2 Octavius T. Howe and Frederick C. Matthews, *American Clipper Ships 1833-1858* (Salem, MA: Marine Research Society, 1927), p. 582.
3 Boston *Shipping List*, January 21, 1852.
4 Ibid., January 3, 1852.
5 New York *Shipping and Commercial List*, January 26, 1853.
6 Ibid., February 9, 1853.
7 San Francisco *Alta California*, August 3, 1853.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.



An 1881 image of the Falkland Islands Company's jetty at Port Stanley shows the hulks of four historic windjammers. From left to right, they are VICAR of BRAY, MARGARET, W. SHAND, and SNOW SQUALL.
San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park



11 U.S. National Archives, Record Group 36, Records of the Bureau of Customs.
12 New York *Herald,* August 9, 1854.
13 Ibid., May 13, 1856.
14 Captain Thomas Lloyd, Protest and Declaration before U.S. Consul, Montevideo, October 1, 1856. U.S. National Archives, Record Group 84, Records of U.S. Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State.
15 *Alta California,* January 31, 1857.
16 Ibid.
17 New York *Herald,* May 12 and July 3, 1856.
18 *Alta California,* February 1, 1857.
19 Ibid.
20 "The California Recollections of Caspar T. Hopkins," photocopies from *California Historical Society Quarterly,* pp. 257, 352, n.d.
21 Transcription of Mare Island Naval Shipyard Records in letter from Mrs. Sue Lemmon, Shipyard Historian, May 26, 1992, to author.
22 *Alta California,* February 8, 1857.
23 Ibid., February 11 and 12, 1857.
24 Ibid., February 2, 7 and 12, 1857.
25 *Herald,* August 4, 1857.
26 Ibid., April 4, 1861.
27 Ibid., September 8, 1861.
28 *New York Times,* September 16, 1863.
29 Hubert Taylor Diary, Maine Maritime Museum, Bath, Maine. Entry for January 2, 1864.
30 Ibid., January 16, 1864.
31 Matthew F. Maury, *Explanations and Sailing Directions to Accompany the Wind and Current Charts* (Philadelphia: E.C. and J. Biddle, 1854), p.727.
32 James S. Dillingham in *Statement of General Average and Special Charges, Case of the Ship "Snow Squall."* Albert F. Dibblee Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Mss. No. 761, D 543, Vol. 41.
33 Ibid.
34 Dillingham to MacKenzie, April 26, 1864. Falkland Islands Archives.

Part 2 of 3

CALIFORNIA'S TUNA CLIPPER FLEET: 1918-1963

By August J. Felando





Captain Manuel G. Rosa, second from left in the back row, was one of the great pioneers of the tuna fleet in San Diego. He and his crew are seen here aboard their boat in the 1930s.
Photo courtesy of the author

[*Ed. Note:* In Part 1 of his three-part article, published in the Fall 1996 issue of *Mains'l Haul*, August Felando traced the early history of the California tuna-fishing fleet, from its origins to about 1935. In Part 2, he continues the story chronologically.]

Years of Optimism: 1936 to 1940

In the period from 1936 through 1940, thirty-six tuna clippers entered the fleet, including three former purse seiners and three former Japanese flag vessels. San Diego shipyards built twenty-four of the thirty new tuna clippers. This second surge of new construction produced significant new vessel technology and designs that improved seaworthiness. Brine refrigeration was now standard for all new tuna clippers, and the raised deck feature became a standard for new and old clippers. By 1940, U.S. tuna canners packed about 3.9 million cases (forty-eight cans per case) of canned tuna for U.S. consumers. In 1925, production was about 1.1 million cases.

In 1936, Captain Joe M. Medina of the 126' CABRILLO left San Diego for the Marquesas Islands. His interest in French Oceania had been energized by correspondence to the American Tunaboat Association from French fishery biologist H. Rambke and by articles published in the PACIFIC FISHERMAN in 1935 and 1936. Rambke claimed that tuna fishing conditions and oceanographic features of the Marquesas Islands were nearly identical to those of the proven fishing grounds off the Galapagos Islands. The CABRILLO left the Marquesas after catching less than eleven tons of tuna. Captain Medina then moved to the Galapagos Islands, and quickly loaded the vessel with tuna for its return to San Diego. This remarkable trip lasted only fifty-seven days. This second failure of California-based tuna fishermen to discover new tuna fishing grounds in the Central and South Pacific confirmed the beliefs of most California fishermen that they should concentrate their efforts in the traditional tuna grounds of the eastern tropical Pacific.

Also in 1936, Captain Manuel H. Freitas of San Diego returned to the Philippine Islands to assist California Packing Corporation in its development of a tuna fishery. The 82' DEL MONTE, once owned and operated by Captain Freitas, was sold by California Packing Corporation to Philippine citizens. It was the first new U.S. tuna clipper to be sold to foreigners.

Nine new "baby tuna clippers," designed to concentrate on "local" fishing grounds, entered the fleet in the late 1930s. (This does not include the new and converted baitboats that were of less than one hundred gross tons.) Two of these "baby clippers" were built of steel by Shockey Boiler Works of San Diego in 1937 and 1938: first, the 67' SUN HARBOR, owned by Mariano Crivello and operated by Captain Sam Crivello, and then the 71' ST. MARY, managed and operated by co-owner Captain Louis Massa. The wooden-hulled vessels included the 84' BENITA, the 80' SANTA INES, the 80' DESTINY, the 82' WESTGATE, the 68' CAPE HORN, the 71' PACIFIC QUEEN, and the 70' MORNING STAR.

After two purse seiners failed as dedicated year-round tuna fishing vessels, they entered the tuna clipper fleet as "converted baitboats." In 1937, the 110' steel-hulled PARAMOUNT was built as a tuna purse seiner by Lake Washington Shipyard, of Houghton, Washington. She was the first steel-hulled seiner and the first seiner to rely exclusively on brine refrigeration. Campbell Machine converted the vessel in 1940 to a baitboat for operation by Captain Edward X. Madruga and associates. Captain Madruga and his group of "boys" had been extremely successful in operating the clipper LIBERTY for the two previous years. Also in 1940, the steel-hulled 148' FALCON was converted by Harbor Boat Building of San Pedro into a tuna purse seiner from the Navy tug TADOUSAC, which was built in 1919 by Ferguson Shipyard of Buffalo, New York. This seiner was owned and operated by Captain Nick Dragich of San Pedro. After the California Packing Corporation purchased the vessel in 1942, she was converted to a baitboat by Hodgeson Shipbuilders of Long Beach.

In 1937, the steel-hulled 100' baitboat AMANO entered the tuna fishery in competition with the U.S. fleet. The vessel was built in Japan and registered under the flag of Panama, and she commenced her maiden voyage from San Pedro after arrival from Japan. AMANO was owned by a wealthy Japanese resident of Panama. She entered the port of San Diego in August 1937 to unload her first catch of fifty tons of tuna. The vessel was designed and commanded by a veteran Japanese fisherman of Southern California, H. Shiraishi. Execept for one Dane, all the crewmembers were Japanese citizens.

Numerous Japanese-flagged vessels appeared at Magdalena Bay on the southwest coast of Baja California; one report said that eight of fifteen anchored boats there, at one point, were flying Japanese colors.

In 1937 and 1938, lawsuits were filed by the Department of Justice claiming that U.S. flag fishing vessels were illegally owned by Japanese aliens through a subterfuge involving U.S. citizens falsely registered as owners. T. Abe, manager of the Southern California Company, operators of Japanese-owned fishing vessels, explained that boats owned by Japanese aliens were "undocumented registered" vessels. Other inquiries by the government concerned the operation of Japanese-flag tuna vessels from ports of California. By late 1938, fines totaling $60,000 were paid by owners of over thirty baitboats and seiners operating from San Pedro and San Diego.

In 1937 and 1938, the following Japanese-owned tuna clippers changed documentation to become fishing vessels of the United States: the 98' COLUMBUS, the 95' CIPANGO, and the 90' ALERT. Early in 1938, the ALERT was seized by port authorities in Corinto, Nicaragua. Since the vessel was now a U.S. flag vessel, a prompt release was effected by the U.S. Embassy upon instructions from the Department of State.

In March 1939, published reports of "Japanese spying" were made by U.S. Attorney Benjamin Harrison of Los Angeles, claiming that a venture involving exploration

The launching of a tuna boat was always an occasion for ceremony. Here the SANTO AMARO is bedecked with floral creations and flags as she awaits launching at Campbell's Shipyard in San Diego in 1930.
Campbell Industries, San Diego



for tuna in the Caribbean area by a group of California-based tuna clippers was timed to observe war game maneuvers by the U.S. Navy. This charge was denied by Mr. T. Abe.

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In 1937 and 1938, new tuna clipper designs and technology were introduced by Campbell Machine Company of San Diego. Improvements were made on the successful CABRILLO, which pioneered the idea of using brine refrigeration to preserve tuna.

Vessels built during 1937 included the 128' BELLE OF PORTUGAL, the 128' PICAROTO, and the 129' VICTORIA, for operation by Captain Manuel G. Rosa and his brothers, Victor, Antonio, and Lionel. The BELLE OF PORTUGAL and PICAROTO were managed by co-owner Lawrence Oliver.[1] All three clippers were used to experiment with a brine cooling system. From the recent experiences of the EUROPA and the EMMA R.S. came the idea of lining the sides of the brine tanks with ammonia piping. The brine experimentation aboard the PICAROTO, BELLE OF PORTUGAL and VICTORIA to discard ammonia and ice in favor of the brine system was closely observed by a very interested industry because most felt that such a system would never replace the method of icing the fish in the hold using frosted ammonia coils.

The 136' QUEEN MARY was built in 1938 for managing owner and skipper Joe M. Medina. Also in that year, the 138' NORMANDIE was built, with M. O. Medina as managing owner and under the command of co-owner



Captain Joe Marques. It is waterfront lore in the San Diego fishing community that the NORMANDIE was stretched out on the orders of M. O. Medina so he could cinch his claim against his brother Joe of owning the longest newly built U.S. tuna clipper. The competition between these owners of tuna clippers was compared to that which existed between the English and French owners of the giant trans-Atlantic passenger liners R.M.S. QUEEN MARY and S.S. NORMANDIE.

Tuna canner Van Camp Sea Food joined with co-owners Manuel G. Rosa and Lawrence Oliver to commission two large tuna clippers: the 130' AZOREANA and the 129' AMERICAN BEAUTY (Captain Victor Goulart in command). On her maiden voyage in 1940-41, AMERICAN BEAUTY was used by refrigeration experts to experiment with a new brine freezing system. Upon her return to port, no tunas were rejected because of spoilage, and record low temperatures were attained in the tanks. More importantly, an experiment to remove the brine from three wells and carry the tuna "dry" was very successful. The ability to carry a load of tuna "dry" was meaningful to the entire U.S. tuna fleet because this method of refrigeration would allow the vessel to become more seaworthy during rough seas and weather. In early 1941, conferences on brine refrigeration were held in San Diego and San Pedro for purposes of educating vessel owners, crewmembers and canners. The 117-day trip of the AMERICAN VOYAGER was declared a "refrigeration epic" and testimony for the success of a 100 percent brine system.

In 1940, the much-hailed CHALLENGER was built. This 114' clipper was constructed by

The "Blessing of the Fishing Fleet" before they set sail is a hallowed tradition which goes back centuries. Here an unidentified priest performs the ceremony at Campbell's.
Campbell Industries, San Diego

and for San Diego Marine Construction. Her composite hull built of steel and hardwood "welded" construction cost $225,000. Seventy-five thousand board feet of Philippine mahogany was applied over an electrically welded steel frame. It was claimed that this was the first time in marine history that "a/c" power was used in main engine propulsion. The vessel's "cruiser" stern also represented a new trend in the fleet. In command was Captain Joe S. Rogers, the first engineer of the old ATLANTIC, and the crewmember responsible for obtaining the Japanese barbless "striker" hooks used by Captain M. O. Medina aboard the PEERLESS during her historic voyage of August 1920.

Earlier, in 1936, the 91' VANTUNA had been delivered by San Diego Marine Construction Company to Van Camp Seafood Company and its managing owner, Pioneer Pacific Tuna Company. The vessel capsized on her maiden voyage while making a sharp turn in the port of Ensenada, Baja California. It was later towed to the builder for repair. George and Dave Campbell, of Campbell Machine Company, which was a rival of San Diego Marine Construction, owned a dog that was well known to their customers. After the VANTUNA incident, the Campbell brothers trained their dog to perform for visitors by rolling over whenever they spoke the word, "Vantuna."

In other designs, Campbell Machine designed and built in 1937 two other large tuna clippers, the 116' TRIUNFO, and the 117' LIBERTY. The owners of the LIBERTY were a group of young, first-generation San Diego fishermen, all under the age of twenty-four. They were incorrectly considered by some of the pioneers in the fleet as "Young Turks" headed for failure. Frank Gonsalves, Jr., was managing owner, and the fishing operation of the vessel was in the charge of Captain Edward X. Madruga. During the summer of 1939, the LIBERTY joined with other San Diego baitboats in discovering large schools of albacore off the coasts of Oregon and Washington.

In 1937, Campbell Machine Co. delivered two mid-sized tuna clippers to the managing owner of Van Camp: the 93' YVONNE LOUISE, with Captain Louis Camillo in command; and the 87' MAJESTIC, with Captain John Tasso in command. The 88' NORTHERN LIGHT was built for William Hoss and J. A. Foster of San Diego, with Captain Oren Dickason in command. On the maiden voyage of the MAJESTIC, the vessel capsized while fishing. A film of the vessel slowly turning over was taken by a fisherman aboard a nearby vessel, and later viewed by employees of Campbell Shipyard.[2] The vessel was towed to San Diego keel-up and then rebuilt. Investigations concluded that her overturning was caused by failure to properly load the brine wells as the fishermen landed tuna and filled the aft and center of her main deck on the port side. New instructions for the loading of brine tuna vessels were distributed to the fleet.

This incident caused a temporary gloom among the employees of Campbell Machine about the shipyard's ability to compete for future tunaboat construction. Some waterfront wags recalled the Campbell brothers' mocking "dog" reaction to the capsizing of the VANTUNA.

The War Years: 1941-1945

During the early months of 1940, the war in Europe started to impact the U.S. tuna fleet's fishing operations in the Gulf of Panama. It was claimed that an armed vessel or "raider" was stopping tuna clippers and taking fuel and supplies. By the fall of 1940, U.S. Navy officials were explaining their need for fishing vessels and plans for expansion with owners of shipyards in San Diego and San Pedro. By October, tuna clippers were

reporting that U.S. Navy destroyers were on "neutrality patrol" and rigidly inspecting every vessel traveling between San Diego and Panama. One captain reported being stopped twice during a trip. He stated: "At Panama, extraordinary precautions are being taken against sabotage. Even Panama pilots have a military or naval guard which never leaves them until the ships they are piloting are safely through the canal."[1] By the end of 1940, about thirty former multi-purpose purse seiners had been sold to the government, and many had been converted for use by the U.S. Navy in its patrol of Alaskan waters.

Effective July 6, 1940, Lt. Carl B. Bowman, U.S.C.G., became Captain of the Port of San Diego, and was in charge of enforcing new regulations promulgated by the War and Treasury departments. It appeared to some that the port of San Diego was placed virtually on a wartime basis. The small tuna clippers fishing the local banks were not required to obtain permission from Washington, D.C. However, tuna clippers departing for Central and South America were required to obtain permission first from the Secretary of the Treasury.

By the fall of 1941, tuna clippers fishing off the Galapagos Islands were reporting that U.S. Navy trained wireless operators were operating a powerful radio station on Isabela Island, the largest of the group. Their employer was Pacific Development Co. of Delaware, but the purpose of their presence was unknown. By late October of that year, shipyards and fishermen were complaining about delays in receiving parts, materials and supplies. Tuna fishing gear from Japan, such as bamboo poles, hooks, etc. were no longer being received by suppliers in San Diego.

Prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, six tuna clippers were built that year. Two vessels were built in San Diego: the 71' DOROTHY LEE, and the 95' ST. ANN. The former vessel was constructed by Ed Hollinger and D. C. Millican, at a reported cost of $65,000. The latter clipper was built by Martinolich Shipbuilding Co. for Captain Manuel J. Machado, Jr. and associates, at a cost of about $145,000.

Three vessels were built in the Los Angeles area: the 90' ST. GEORGE, the 75' MONARCH, and the 66' NORTH AMERICA. The first-named vessel was delivered by Harbor Boat Shipbuilding Co. of San Pedro to Joe Balestreri of San Diego. The MONARCH had been built by Hodgeson Shipbuilders of Long Beach. Frank Hodgeson, designer of the vessel and its refrigeration system, had been a fisherman and engineer in the tuna fleet. Richard Oliver was designated managing owner by co-owners Hodgeson, Alfred Brum, and Antonio Rodriquez. The MONARCH was built on Terminal Island but was moved two miles to a shipyard for launching. It was claimed that this move was the longest transportation of a large vessel over a public highway on record. The third vessel of the trio, the NORTH AMERICA, was built for Agostino Ghio and Joe Bernardino of San Diego by the Al Larson Boat Shop.

The 101' ANNA M. was built by Western Boat Building Co. of Tacoma, Washington, for Captain William A. Magellan of San Diego. This vessel was on her maiden voyage when Pearl Harbor was attacked. Captain Magellan and other San Diego tuna fishermen were detained in Panama by the U.S. military after their vessels were "requisitioned" by the U.S. Navy. The reasons for this detention are presently unknown.



About eighty vessels in the U.S. tuna fleet were at sea when war was declared against Japan on December 8, 1941. All of these vessels were ordered to port by the U.S. government. On December 13, the ALERT, under the command of Captain Jose Silva, was attacked by U.S. military aircraft off Costa Rica and forced to enter

Two-pole teams engage in intense tuna-fishing action in this photo taken at sea. The poles were bamboo in those early days, and came from Japan. Shortly before Pearl Harbor, the supply of bamboo poles and other fishing gear made by the Japanese suddenly dried up.
SDMM file photo



the port of Puntarenas, Costa Rica. Seven Japanese crewmen were aboard. It was claimed that the vessel was attacked because she had not responded to radio calls. Charles Ammen, her wireless operator, explained that the wireless was inoperative and required shoreside repairs. The ALERT had been built in San Diego for resident Japanese aliens in 1930. She underwent documentation as a U.S. fishing vessel in 1937.

When Italy declared war against the United States on December 11, 1941, all Italian fishermen who were residents of San Diego but not U.S. citizens were summarily removed from their fishing vessels and denied work on the waterfront.

On December 20, 1941, tuna clippers in Balboa, Panama Canal Zone, were "requisitioned" by the U.S. military for temporary duty as patrol vessels. Some captains and crews were flown home to San Diego in time for the holidays, while others were detained under guard. No explanation for such discriminatory action has been uncovered. The tuna catches aboard the requisitioned tuna clippers were transported to San Diego by the QUEEN MARY and the NAVIGATOR. Although it was announced that the "time-charter" would last only a month, waterfront talk (later confirmed) was that the vessels would be used "indefinitely." The tuna clippers involved were the ANNA M., CALIFORNIA, CONTE BIANCO, EMMA R.S., EUROPA, SAN SALVADOR, SAO JOAO, and the ST. THERESE.

On February 16, 1942, Commander W. J.

Morcott, USN (Ret.), the San Diego Port Director, chaired a meeting attended by San Diego tuna fishermen at the Naval Reserve Armory. During the meeting, six hundred fishermen signed up for enlistment in the U.S. Navy. Commander Morcott explained that captains and engineers were to get warrant ratings, and others would be offered petty officer ratings.

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This article shall not attempt to describe the wartime activities of the fifty-two former tuna clippers that served in the military. As of the end of 1941, there were eighty-three tuna clippers active in the tuna fishery of the eastern tropical Pacific. Seven tuna clippers were built in 1942, of which four were taken by the military. By the end of 1942, numerically, about 58 percent of the tuna clipper fleet was engaged in the war effort. In terms of gross tonnage, about 70 percent was in military service. The impact of this military conversion was recognized by the government. When the remaining tuna vessels required repairs by San Diego shipyards, they had the same priority for gear and supplies as military vessels.[4]

To briefly illustrate the nature of wartime service performed by some tuna clippers converted to YPs (Patrol Craft), the CHALLENGER-YP 239 was responsible for towing to safety eleven damaged warships, shelling enemy positions, putting raiding parties ashore, landing vital supplies on Guadalcanal Island under fire, shooting down Japanese bombers, and rescuing survivors of sunken ships. In 1942, President Roosevelt ordered that frozen turkeys be provided for the troops fighting on Guadalcanal, as a special holiday treat. The turkeys were delivered by the PARAMOUNT-YP 289, under the command of Edward X. Madruga. Some tuna clippers were used to transport supplies and men to Army units stationed in the Galapagos Islands and to other bases in the eastern Pacific. Other tuna clipper YPs served as reliable "errand boys" to U.S. Navy warships throughout the Central, South, and Western Pacific.

Nine tuna clippers were constructed in 1942-43, and four of these vessels were acquired by the military. These were the 101' QUEEN AMELIA, the 128' COMMODORE, the 135' CONTE GRANDE, and the 95' SEA WOLF. The latter three were not documented as commercial fishing vessels because they were sold to the government before the vessels were finally completed. The COMMODORE was ordered by the Giovanni Vattuone family at a reported cost of $225,000, and was launched on February 8, 1942. The CONTE GRANDE was ordered by the Andrea Castagnola family, and the SEA WOLF was being built for Frank Perry and associates. The QUEEN AMELIA was delivered on March 15, 1942, and was built at a reported cost of $200,000. Co-owner George Campbell was designated as managing owner. Naval authorities permitted the QUEEN AMELIA to depart on her maiden fishing voyage before service as a YP.

The steel-hulled 73' SUNSET was built by the Hollinger-Millican Shipyard of San Diego for the Bregante and Ghio families at a cost of about $75,000. Three other "baby tuna clippers" were built during these years: the 88' VIKING, with Anthony Madruga as managing owner, and her sister vessel, the SEA LION, managed and operated by Captain Frank Perry, were built by Hodgson-Greene-Haldeman Shipbuilders of Long Beach. The 78' VICTORY was built for M. O. Medina by Marine View Boatbuilding Co., of Tacoma, Washington, then towed to Lynch Shipbuilding in San Diego for final outfitting.

During these years, a number of former multi-fishery purse seiners of less than 100 gross tons were converted to baitboats, such as the SANTA ROSALIA, GENEVIEVE H., SENORITA, SUN MAID, SUN GODDESS (ex-GALICIA), and the CITY OF NAPLES. Even sport-fishing vessels were converted to tuna baitboats, such as the SPORTFISHER II and SPORTFISHER III. During the war years, this fleet of small baitboats and "baby tuna clip-

Two-pole fishing teams are inundated by the Pacific. Pole fishing was arduous work in the best weather, but the men would fish in rough seas as well.
SDMM file photo



pers" was highly productive.

During the early months of 1944, reports that the government was granting permission for new tuna clipper construction by San Diego and Los Angeles area shipyards were circulating within the tuna industry. In March of that year, Martinolich Shipbuilding Co. of San Francisco announced the launching of the 109' CHARLENE. This vessel was built for managing owner Dr. Ohmer M. Warner, Captain Joe Penacho, and other San Diego co-owners. Later during the year, this shipyard built the 109' LIBERATOR for Joe and George Soares of San Diego. Seven additional vessels were built elsewhere during 1944, four of them in Tacoma, and three in Long Beach.

A record seventeen new tuna clippers entered the fishery in 1945. The building of nine steel-hulled vessels firmly established this trend. In addition, one multi-fishery purse seiner was converted to a baitboat, the 80' NORTH AMERICAN, managed by Captain Sverre Jangaard. Strong competition to Southern California shipyards arose from shipyards located in San Francisco, Tacoma and Seattle.

Besides the construction of these eighteen vessels in 1945, Pacific Coast shipyards completed the construction of thirty YP wooden-hulled vessels for the Navy. This order was founded upon the Navy's recognition of the usefulness of the tuna clipper's design capability to carry fuel and refrigerated cargoes as well as troops.

Within two years most of these Navy vessels would be sold to members of the industry. This flood of new construction was joined by a new surge of tuna clipper building by tuna canners investing with fishermen returning from military service.

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During the first twenty years of the industry, from 1926 to 1946, fifteen tuna clippers were lost at sea while engaged in the fishery. The first vessel lost was the GREYHOUND. On August 9, 1929, homeward bound and fully loaded, this vessel became stranded at San Hipolito, Baja California. Only two of these fifteen casualties resulted in loss of life: the 1934 disappearance of the BELLE ISLE, with twelve lives, and the explosion of the OLYMPIA on February 1, 1938, with the loss of three lives.

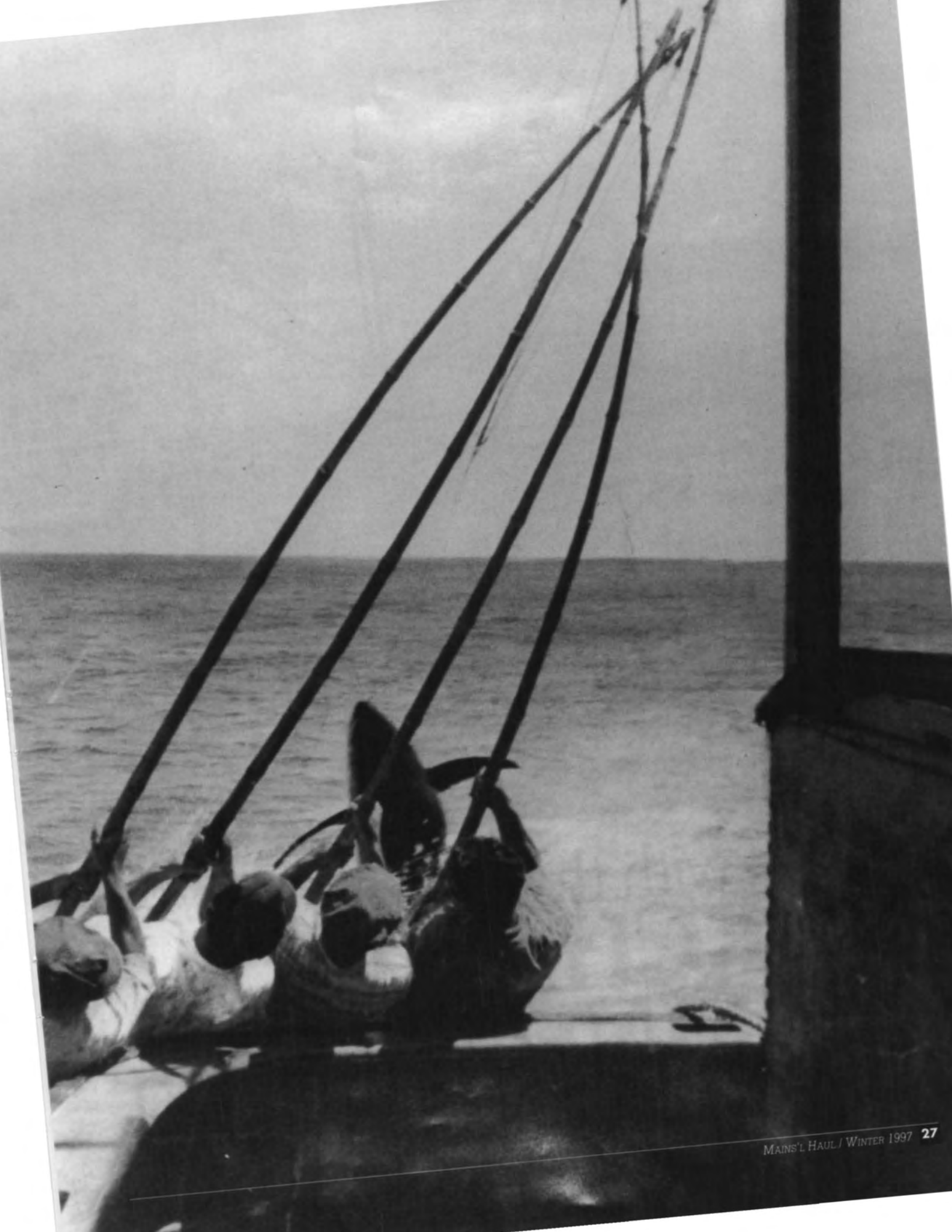
During 1942-45, ten YP tuna clippers were lost at sea or destroyed while in military service. The total number of lives lost in these casualties is unknown. Four vessels were destroyed by enemy action: TRIUNFO—YP 277, PROSPECT-YP 346, ENDEAVOR-YP 284, and YANKEE-YP 345. On December 7, 1945, the 95' CIPANGO-YP 504 was destroyed by the U.S. military. The word "Cipango" means "Japan" in Spanish. It may be a coincidence that such a vessel was destroyed on the anniversary of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Eight other YP-tuna clippers were lost or destroyed in military service in 1946 and 1947; the surviving vessels became available to their previous owners.

[*Ed. Note:* August J. Felando is a trustee of the San Diego Maritime Museum, and has had a long association with the tuna industry.]

NOTES

1 Highly productive tuna fishing areas were discovered by the Rosa family, such as the Alijos Rocks, the Lusitania Bank, the Picaroto Bank, and the Rosa Bank. As captain of the 92' LUSITANIA, Manuel G. Rosa was recognized for many years as the most successful tuna fisherman in the U.S. tuna fleet. In 1929, the LUSITANIA completed 13 fishing trips, landing about 1300 tons. In 1935, the vessel landed 1170 tons, second to the 125' MAYFLOWER, which landed 1273.
2 Personal communication from Harold Cary, an employee of Campbell Machine in 1937.
3 *Pacific Fisherman,* September 1940, p. 26.
4 Personal communication from Harold Cary, former General Manager, Lynch Shipbuilding Company, 1942-48.

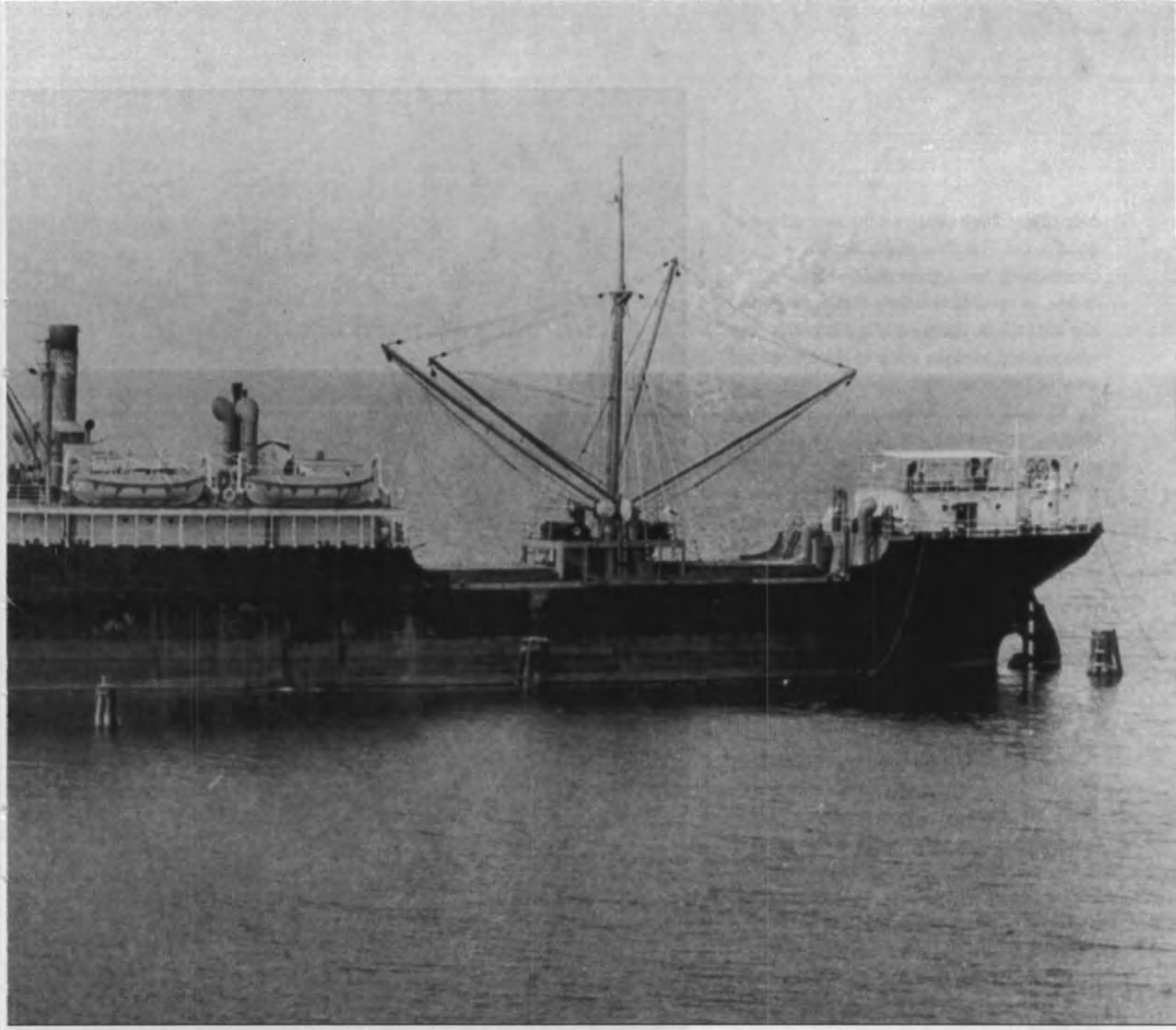
Four-pole fishing teams manhandled the largest tuna aboard.
SDMM file photo





At Sea with the MERCHANT MARINE: 1939-1946

By Captain Eugene Harrower, U.S. Merchant Marine



MS WEST CUSSETA, one of the author's first ships, loading chrome ore in the Philippines, October 1941. The WEST CUSSETA is a good example of a "three islander," a common type of freighter in the years between the two world wars. The name comes from their three superstructures.

Photo courtesy of the author

In 1938, when I was eighteen, I applied to the U.S. Maritime Commission for status as a cadet. At this time it was necessary to find your own position with a steamship company. This I was unable to do as it required political or financial connections, and I had neither. I was advised of the nationwide competitive exam to be given in April 1939. Upon receiving the results of this exam, all future cadet assignments would be made by the Maritime Commission. I took the exam and was advised that I had passed. It was then a matter of waiting for an assignment, which I anticipated would be at least a year off. How wrong I was.

In September 1939 I was advised to report to the Office of the Maritime Commission in New York to arrange to get my seaman's papers. Then I was advised to report to the S.S. COLDBROOK in Seattle, which I did and we sailed from that port to Yokohama on September 29. This was the beginning of almost seven years of continual life aboard ship.

Adjusting to shipboard life was not too difficult, and was made easier through the

help of the ship's officers who were all quite good to me. The chief mate, Mr. Eric Granneberg, had a great dislike for most cadets, as up until this time they were generally the college-age sons of wealthy shippers who wanted to make a trip to the Orient and were not interested in a career at sea. He gave me all sorts of hard and dirty jobs, such as washing down the flying bridge while crossing the North Pacific in winter time, scraping the varnish off the bridge railings, crawling in the bilges to check valves, etc. Although not pleasant work, it was educational. After six months of this, Mr. Granneberg was satisfied that I was sincere in my desire to be a Merchant Marine officer, and he then gave me a navigation book, and later lent me his sextant to use while learning navigation from the second mate, Mr. Otto Ford.

Captain J. R. Mitchell was the master. He was gruff and standoffish and had all the mates except Mr. Ford scared of him. I was too dumb to be afraid of him and went about and did what I was told. He was relieved by Captain A. W. Peters after two voyages and I learned later that Otto Ford and I were the only ones to get good reports from Captain Mitchell.

In October 1939 the COLDBROOK crossed the Pacific and visited, in succession, the ports of Yokohama, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Manila, Iloilo, Cebu, Kobe, Nagoya, and finally Yokohama again before returning to Seattle in late December.

Visiting the Oriental ports was very eye-opening and educational. We were in small outports as well as large cities and met a wide diversity of people. The Japanese were very hostile during the period from fall 1939 to spring 1941. They were at war with China and their country was on a war footing with severe shortages of things like sugar, and semi-blackouts were maintained as protection against air raids. The main thrust of these actions was to impress their own citizens.

Shanghai was under control of the Japanese except for the International Settlement. There was sporadic gunfire during the night and we stayed away from areas outside the International Zone. There was great poverty and want amongst the Chinese and there were large populations of White



The Bund at Shanghai was a crowded, colorful place during the 1920s and 1930s. The author visited this port several times on his voyages.
SDMM file photo



Russians and other refugees from European countries. The American dollar went a long way and a poor underpaid cadet could enjoy very sumptuous evenings ashore in this "Paris of the Orient."

Hong Kong was somewhat the same except there were more signs of prosperity. There was no war in the vicinity and the Crown Colony was well run by the British. Life was tamer here but one could enjoy himself immensely while ashore.

Manila was a fine place to visit once you adjusted to the heat. The favorite places of amusement were a couple of air-conditioned movie houses and the Jai Alai Palace, also air-conditioned. The southern ports of the Philippines, then under American rule, were a mixed bag ranging from fairly nice cities like

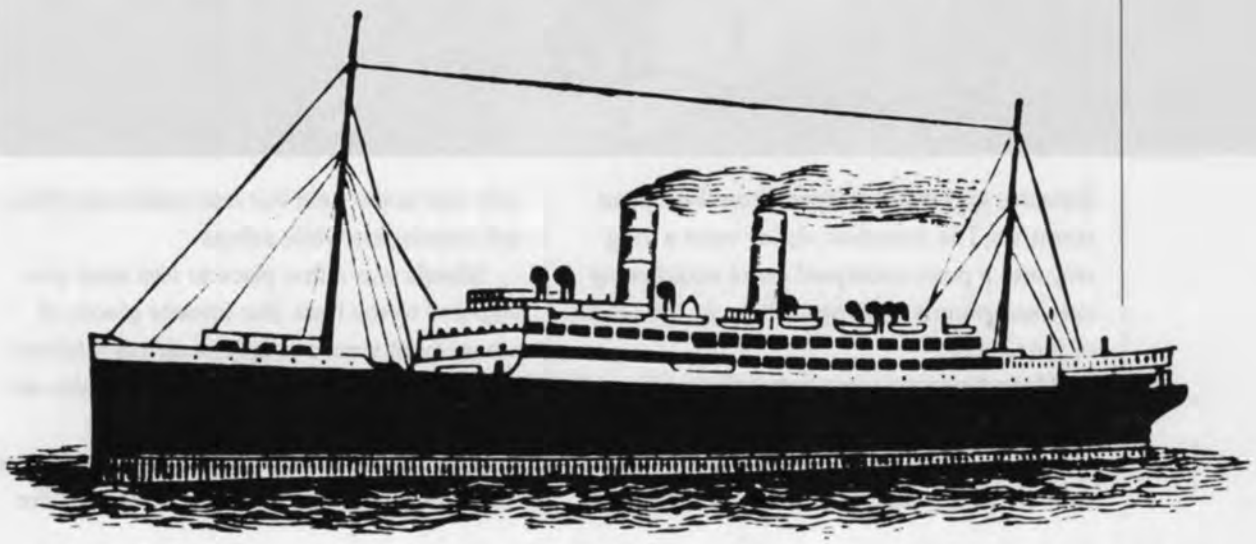
Cebu and Dumaguete to small dog holes with nothing to offer. There would be swimming pools such as at Talisey near Cebu, and we could usually arrange to rent an outrigger canoe for paddling around. At Bugo in northern Mindanao there was a pineapple cannery which we toured, guided by one of the American supervisors. There was one part of it where four hundred Filipinas prepared the pineapples for the cans.

In 1940, during my third or fourth voyage in the COLDBROOK, I had an appendicitis attack while in Hong Kong, but suffered through it and recovered as I did not want to leave the ship there. Then, in November while in Puget Sound, I was admitted to the Marine Hospital in Seattle and had my appendix removed. While I was convalescing I was given odd jobs by the American Mail Line. It was pleasant, but I was anxious to get back to sea. In a month that happened and I was assigned to the MS WEST CUSSETA. I joined her in Tacoma on January 18, 1941, as a deck cadet, and remained in her until August 8 of that year, during which period she made two voyages to the Far East.

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The WEST CUSSETA was a delightful ship to be in. The chief mate, Mr. Reinhold DeLein, treated me like a son and I worked like a junior officer. At sea I stood watches with the second or third mates and in port stood cargo watches with the chief mate. The captain was Richard J. Healy and he was excellent as a ship's master, but very quiet and reserved. He seldom spoke to anyone unless there was a need for it. The ship's office which I used was right next to the captain's office. I would check it from time to time as the captain would put things on the desk for me to do and expect me to do them.

Although designed as a freighter, the WEST CUSSETA had been altered to carry twelve passengers. We carried none at this time, and Taylor Anderson, the engine cadet



In March 1941, the West Cusseta loaded copra at Legaspi, Philippine Islands, using prodigious numbers of native laborers. Each Filipino carried one 100-pound bag of copra per trip from a nearby warehouse.

Photo by Taylor Anderson, courtesy of the author



and I had one of the smaller passenger cabins for our quarters.

The second mate was Kenneth Dodson who went into the Navy during the war and put his experiences on record with his novel, AWAY ALL BOATS. Kenny was a great shipmate and I learned a lot of celestial navigation from him.

The six voyages I made before the war—-four in the COLDBROOK and two in the WEST CUSSETA—-had differences in the cargoes we carried in each direction. The early voyages saw the normal Northwest cargoes of flour and lumber with quite a bit of scrap steel going to Japan. The scrap ended and we thereafter would bypass Japan on the westbound leg of the voyage, making Shanghai our first port. Homeward-bound cargoes were very slim, as the Japanese got most of that and ran ships against ours. We might call in ports like Shimidzu, Japan, for two hundred tons of cargo. Then when there was a shortage of ships in 1941, we called at Hong Kong to pick up cargo for Vancouver, B.C. On the last voyage in the WEST CUSSETA we loaded quite a bit in Hong Kong and then filled up completely in the Philippines, with our last port being Zamboanga on Mindanao. From there we went directly to Los Angeles at a speed of eight knots, whereas normally our speed would have been ten knots. Our No. 6 cylinder exhaust valve had broken and we had to disconnect it and run on five cylinders. We were well south in summertime and the ocean was like a mill pond.

As my first voyage in the WEST CUSSETA progressed, from January to April, 1941, we enjoyed many visits in the interesting ports of



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the Orient. The third mate chose to over-imbibe alcoholic beverages and at times was not competent to stand his watches in port, or at sea when departing from a port. The captain directed me to stand the third mate's watches a number of times, and this was excellent experience for me.

By March, we were steaming through the Philippines. Loading copra at Legaspi in eastern Luzon was an interesting process. The only piers there were of bamboo and stuck a short distance into the sea, there being no harbor at all. The ship put down both anchors and then backed in so that the stern was just a few feet from the outer end of the pier. Stern lines were run to the beach to hold her in place. Thus moored, we cut out a section of the pipe railing at the after end of the poop deck and two parallel planks were placed from the pier to the ship. This allowed one-way traffic on each plank to board and leave the ship. Almost all males from the surrounding area were hired to carry the one hundred pound sacks of copra from the warehouse uptown, a short distance away, to the proper hatch on the ship. The lines of men were blocks long as they carried the sacks aboard, where they were emptied into the holds and the sacks returned ashore for refilling.

A problem developed after the cargo had been loaded and we left the port to proceed to Tabaco. WEST CUSSETA was a motor ship with a huge early diesel engine. We were not able to start this engine at slow revolutions and then build up to a faster speed. This created difficulties, as when you wanted the ship to go from stop to slow, the engine would start off at half speed or more and then be slowed down to the desired revolutions. When this happened on departure from Legaspi, the propeller wash wiped out the pier. This resulted in drawn-out litigation which was probably forgotten after December 7, 1941.

The route from Legaspi to Tabaco in eastern Luzon is normally a long voyage around some islands that lie between the two ports. Captain Healy as usual elected to take the shortest route and took us through these islands, which required us at one place to back down to make the turn through a very narrow channel. During the first 8 to 12 p.m. watch out of Legaspi on the night of March 10, the third mate was not able to stand his watch and I was directed to take it. Captain Healy gave me terse and clear instructions as to what to watch for and to call

him if we got off the course laid down.

Being very nervous about this watch, but at the same time having sufficient self confidence, I enjoyed the experience, and did not hesitate to call the captain if there was the slightest doubt in my mind. Although he left me alone on the bridge for long periods of time, I am quite sure he spent much time at the forward porthole of his office. It was a clear moonlit night and during this four-hour period, Captain Healy gave me a lot of instructions in piloting, and said more to me than he did in all the rest of the six months I sailed with him.

The port of Tabaco did have a wharf where we tied up and loaded the copra with ship's gear. It too was a very small town, consisting of bamboo huts, a store and a saloon. The crew enjoyed the saloon during the short time we were there, and when it came time for the ship to leave a number of them were still there. Although it was past the time posted on the sailing board, they were not worried about being left behind. It seems they had met the only pilot for the port and were plying him with drinks, knowing the ship could not sail without him to take her away from the wharf. Eventually the ship's agent from Manila and the captain got him aboard and the crew had to follow. Captain Healy kept a close eye on the actions of the pilot during the few minutes it took to clear the wharf.

In August 1941, my second and final voyage in WEST CUSSETA ended in San Francisco. When the war started in December I had just bought a 1935 four-door Ford, and was ordered to Wilmington, California, to join the SATARTIA on December 17. The captain was Reinhold DeLein who was previously chief mate on the WEST CUSSETA. We were back home again!

We sailed from Los Angeles harbor on December 21, bound for the Columbia River. This was a very bad time as Japanese submarines were operating along the coast. Our only "protection" was a fresh coat of gray paint, acquired in Los Angeles. Captain DeLein kept the ship as close to the coast as possible but we did not zigzag. At a top speed of ten knots, we just wanted to get to port as quickly as possible!

It was during this period that the tanker MONTEBELLO was sunk off the coast of central California, while we were in the vicinity. The Japanese submarine I-21 fired at least two torpedoes at her, one of which struck and sent her to



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the bottom. All hands safely abandoned ship and no lives were lost. The second torpedo, by the way, was later recovered and now rests in the San Diego Maritime Museum. Recently a search team using a submersible vessel found the wreck of the MONTEBELLO, now covered with fishing nets.

We were luckier than the tanker. We made it to the Columbia River Bar, arriving on Christmas morning and finding no lightship and no pilot boat. Captain DeLein had pilotage for the bar and took us in where a river pilot boarded and we headed up river. All the navigation lights had been turned off and at dark we had to anchor until daylight, thus arriving in Portland on the morning of the 26th.

After some time in a shipyard in Portland, SATARTIA was equipped with guns and quarters for a Navy Armed Guard crew under Ensign Golay. The ship also had a new skipper, Captain Clark, who replaced DeLein. We loaded all underdeck cargo and departed for San Francisco Bay on February 19, 1942, for a deckload of construction equipment. We then proceeded in convoy to Honolulu. After discharging in Honolulu and Pearl Harbor, we went to Kauai for a full load of raw sugar for Crockett, California.

Arriving in Crockett, I was paid off, went to San Francisco and sat for my license for third mate. I finished the exam in three days and was told that was a record time. The examining officer suggested I see the American Hawaiian Line for a job, but I told him I would give the American Mail Line a call first. I was then assigned to the MS CAPE ALAVA as Junior Third Mate. This was a four-mate ship and as the chief mate did not stand a watch, the second and two third mates were the watch standers.

It was a surprise to board the CAPE ALAVA and find that Captain Clark and Ensign Golay of the SATARTIA were also on board. I had my doubts about Captain Clark and also the chief mate, Mr. John Osol, because both were very erratic in their way. But being the junior third, I kept it to myself.

We took a full load of military cargo to Brisbane, Australia, with a stop at Wellington, New Zealand, for orders. We arrived at Brisbane on June 3, 1942, not more than a few days after the Battle of the Coral Sea had been fought and won not far away. Then we loaded in Sydney and Newcastle for Noumea, most of the cargo being coal. Upon completion of discharging at Noumea, we sailed

empty for Chile and on arrival at Tocopilla on July 10, took on a full load of nitrate in bulk and sacks for Charleston.

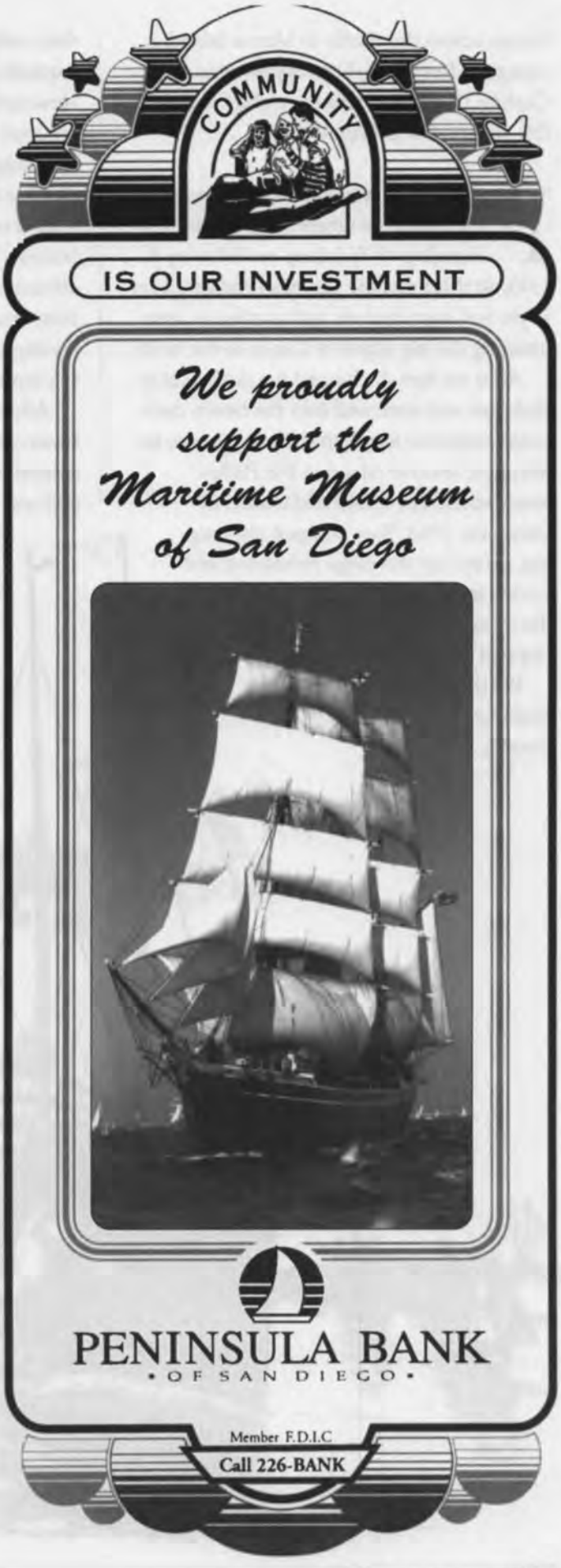
The trip from the Panama Canal to Charleston was most interesting. We were the Commodore's ship in the convoy to Guantanamo and the ineptness that Captain Clark and Mr. Osol had shown throughout the voyage came to the fore. We made port okay, but the Commodore, a retired Navy commander recalled to duty, had a very nervous time of it. At this time the Caribbean was hot with German U-boats but we had no problems.

Our departure from Charleston on September 18, 1942, saw us headed south with orders to Karachi via Trinidad and Cape Town. These were modified and we went through the Panama Canal and then down the west coast of South America and around Cape Horn to Cape Town as the South Atlantic was infested with U-boats and German raiders. After a brief visit at Cape Town we headed for Karachi around a sub-infested area off southeast Africa. We blew a generator and had to divert to Durban for repairs, picking up the crew from one of many lifeboats from the British ship MENDOSA, which had been torpedoed the night before our morning arrival at Durban.

When we left Durban on December 16, we were in a convoy that proceeded due east. When clear of the coast, we dispersed, with each ship going independently to her destination. We discharged our cargo in Karachi and then went to Bombay and Colombo, where we loaded for New York. Our route was southeast around Australia and New Zealand to the Panama Canal, with a brief stop in Hobart. Upon arrival in New York I paid off and sat in that city for my second mate's license. Upon completing the exam I took some leave and then shipped out as second mate in the WILLIAM CUSHING, a Liberty ship.

In this ship I made two voyages from the east coast to the Mediterranean, from May 1943 to January 1944. After getting my chief mate's license, I shipped out as such in the GEORGE H. WILLIAMS and was aboard her from February to October, 1944, during which time we made three voyages across the North Atlantic to the U.K., including a period off Omaha Beach, Normandy, shortly after the Allied invasion.

In October 1944, after obtaining my master's license, I went aboard the ANTHONY RAVALLI as chief mate in New Orleans. After eleven days in that port the ship was in good shape and loaded for the Philippines, so we headed out independently to the Panama Canal and



thence across the Pacific to Manus Island, a voyage of forty days. Our skipper was Captain Hiller, who had been chief mate in this ship on the previous voyage.

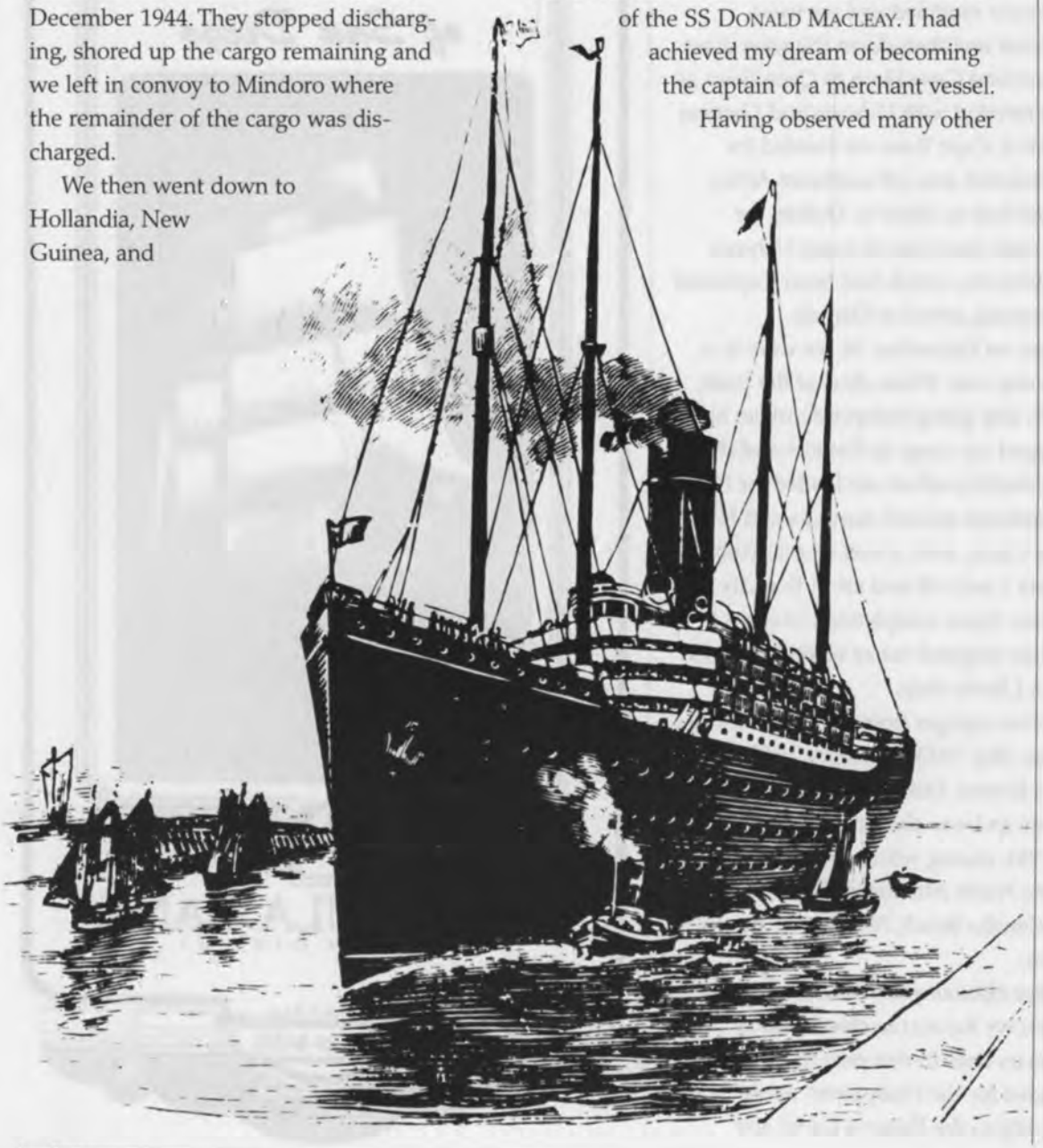
From Manus we went to Hollandia and then to Leyte where we started discharging off Tacloban, on February 6, 1945. At this time, the Japanese resistance on Leyte had been broken, and our forces were invading the big island of Luzon to the north.

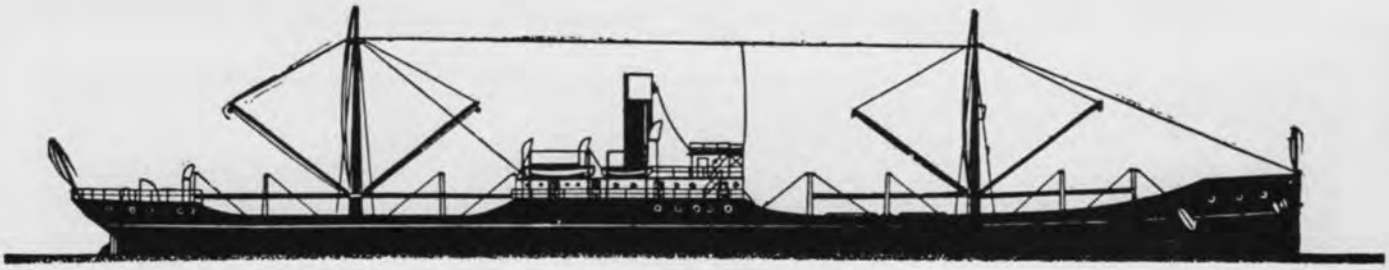
After we had discharged the deck load at Tacloban and were well into the tween deck cargo, someone found that the cargo was for Mindoro, another island in the Philippines, where our forces had landed in December 1944. They stopped discharging, shored up the cargo remaining and we left in convoy to Mindoro where the remainder of the cargo was discharged.

We then went down to Hollandia, New Guinea, and then over to Port Kembla and Sydney, Australia. We subsequently took coal from Newcastle to New Caledonia, where we steamed northwest inside a reef to an anchorage that looked like we were in a lake as there were islands all around us. Here we loaded ore for Tacoma in a long, manual process. The native longshoremen lived aboard in No. 4 tween deck and had a fire there where they cooked their meals. After leaving on May 23, 1945, twenty-four days at sea brought us to Tacoma.

After a short stay in Bellevue, Washington, I was called to our company's office and offered a master's position. I readily accepted and was sent to San Francisco to be master of the SS DONALD MACLEAY. I had achieved my dream of becoming the captain of a merchant vessel.

Having observed many other



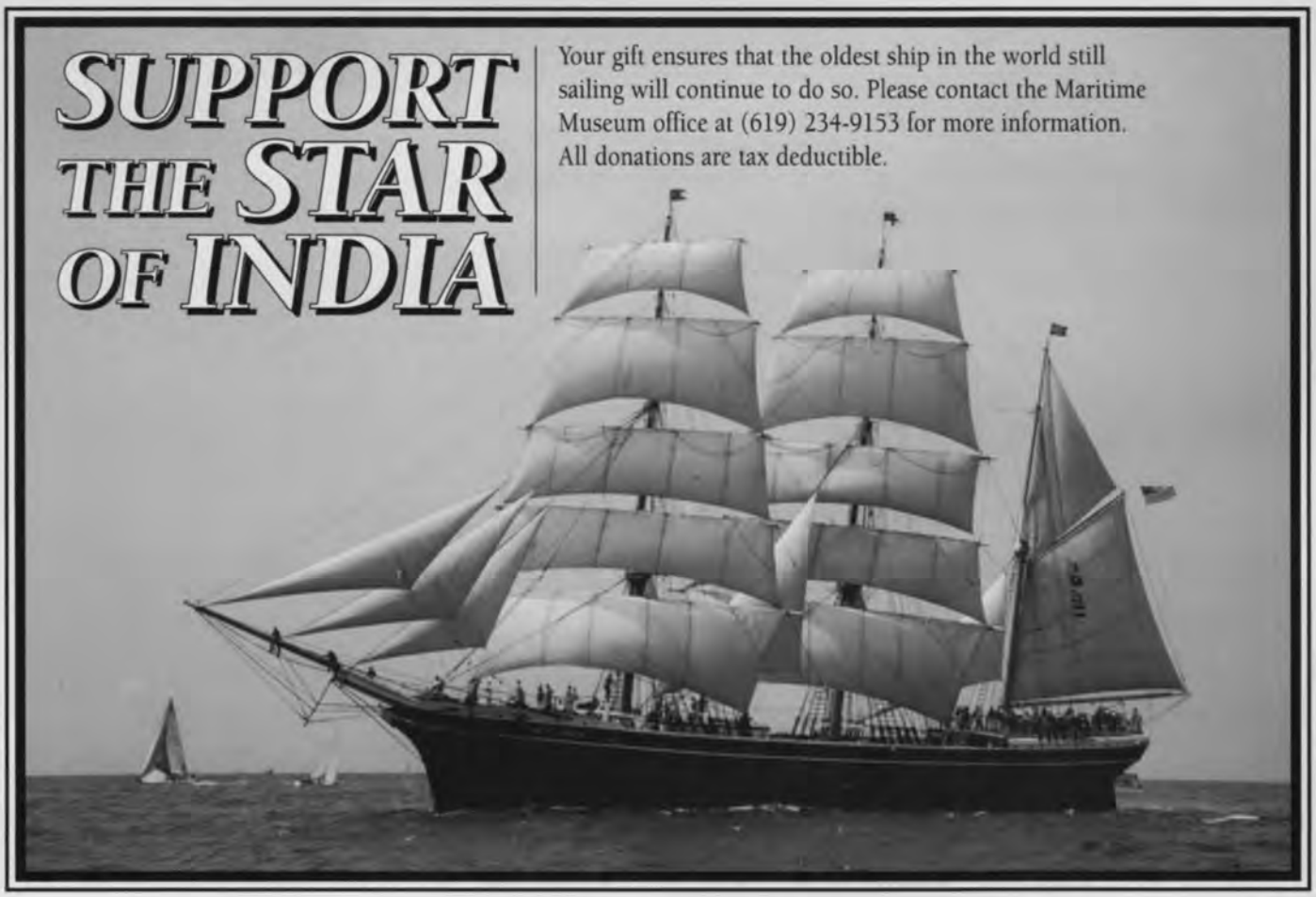


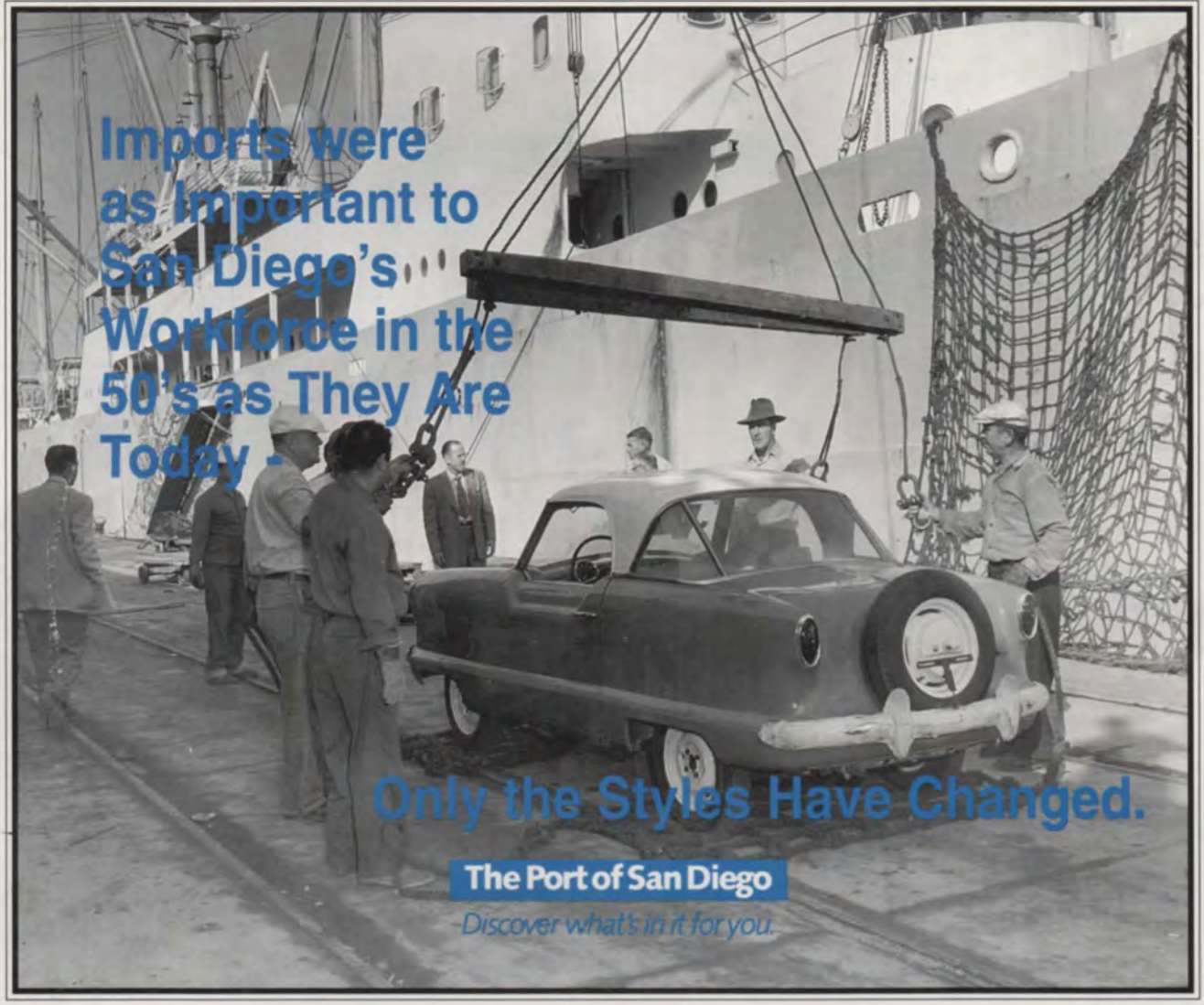
captains, I followed the practice of those that were most successful and did not mix much with the other officers except for the chief mate. Blaine Claypool, our chief mate, was a very good officer and ran the deck department well. The chief engineer, on the other hand, was not too efficient and was removed at the end of the voyage. The other engineers were competent and there were no problems keeping the machinery running. This made it quite easy for me, although I did make daily sanitary inspections that upset a few of the crew when they had to keep their workplaces and quarters cleaner than they cared to.

On the return of the DONALD MACLEAY to Seattle in November 1945, we were put in idle status and this provided me with a nice vacation. The war was finally over, and things were getting back to normal.

In February 1946, we loaded a full military cargo for Yokohama and after delivering it, returned to Seattle in ballast. During the return voyage I decided that since I had achieved my goal to become the master of a merchant ship, there was no further reason to go to sea, so I planned to go ashore at the completion of the voyage. On arrival I so advised Captain Adrian Raynaud, the port captain, and agreed to stay until he assigned a proper relief. Thus when I came ashore in May 1946, my seagoing career ended.

[*Ed. Note:* Captain Eugene Harrower is a resident of Portland, Oregon, where he serves in the Oregon Maritime Center, which he helped found. He winters in Southern California, and during those months is an active volunteer and researcher at the San Diego Maritime Museum.]





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MAINS'L HAUL



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A JOURNAL OF MARITIME HISTORY

Bringing The War To An End:

USS San Diego (CL–53)
at Yokosuka, Japan August 30,1945.



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Tugboat eases STAR OF INDIA into berth at Broadway Pier, on June 2, 1976. Astern of her is the EVELYN DA ROSA, a tuna seiner.
Union-Tribune photo

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On the cover . . .

Crew of USS SAN DIEGO, CL-53, moors the ship near a gantry crane at Japan's Yokosuka Naval Base, on August 30, 1945. She was the first Allied warship to dock in Japan at the end of World War II. Three days later, Japan signed the surrender documents aboard USS MISSOURI.

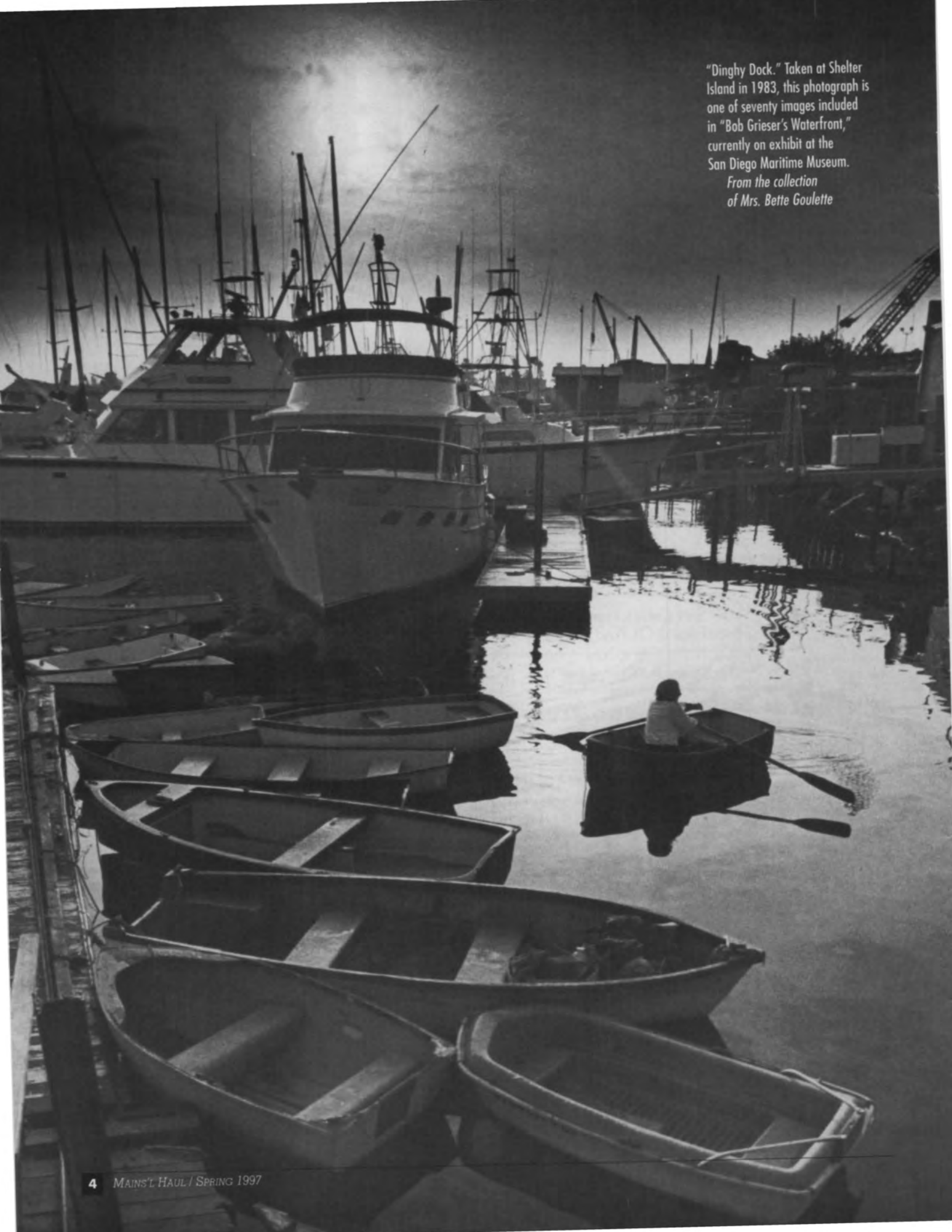
U. S. Navy Photo.

Mains'l Haul is the quarterly historical journal of the Maritime Museum Association of San Diego. Its mission is to engage our members and the public in the study of maritime history, expanding their knowledge and appreciation of this field. The journal is also a benefit of membership in the Maritime Museum Association of San Diego.

Articles on West Coast and Pacific Ocean maritime history subjects are welcome. Send all submissions and inquiries to Editor, Mains'l Haul, at 1306 N. Harbor Drive, San Diego, CA 92101. Contributors' guidelines are available on request. For advertising rates and information, please contact the Editor at (619) 234-9153. No portion of this journal may be reproduced or stored in any electronic retrieval system without the written permission of the Editor.

Charles A. Bencik, Editor

"*Mains'l Haul*—An order in tacking ship bidding 'Swing the main yards.' To loot, steal, or 'acquire'."
—John Masefield



"Dinghy Dock." Taken at Shelter Island in 1983, this photograph is one of seventy images included in "Bob Grieser's Waterfront," currently on exhibit at the San Diego Maritime Museum.
From the collection of Mrs. Bette Goulette

FROM THE HELM

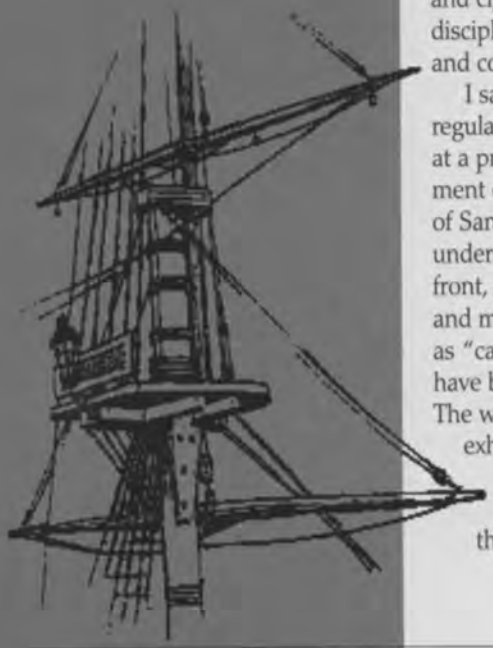


On the Waterfront

For the past few months, *Star of India* has been host to a varied and interesting exhibit of photographs called "Bob Grieser's Waterfront." The show consists of several dozen images Bob has culled from a lifetime spent on the water as a professional photographer, ever attempting to capture the elusive essence of a moment composed of people, water, boats, and shoreline. The images span considerable geographic range and subject material: half of them come from the Chesapeake, the rest from California. They feature racing yachts, classic ships, fishing boats, modern merchantmen and warships, waterfront dives, fish houses, and public gatherings. They also include the detritus of the sea: abandoned derelict boats rotting at the high water line, decrepit wharves, and the lined leathery face of a one time seaman, now homeless. It is the signature of Bob's talent that each image conveys to its viewer the structure of a complex story captured in an instant's synopsis of lighting and mood.

We might just as easily have called the show "stories from the edge of the sea." It has been a frequent observation that when visitors get to this exhibit they often slow down, forgetting for a moment the child tugging at their arm or the parking meter outside about to run out. They stare not so much at the images as through them, mentally constructing for themselves the chain of circumstance leading to the frozen moment, unable to pass to the next image until they have assimilated the unexpected encounter of the present one. Having come to San Diego's waterfront in search of *something*, they find it; less perhaps in the outside environment than within the confines of an old square-rigger redolent of countless stories.

The implied thesis of the exhibit is that really there is only *one* waterfront, variations of which we experience first hand or hope to when we reach a geographical spot where the city meets the shore. Geographical waterfronts are about business and likewise the waterfront of our expectations is an interface dense with people, structures, and vessels actively engaged in the enterprise of the sea. A grand narrative now more than five thousand years old, history in our expected waterfront is everywhere apparent: for every sea story about to begin there is ample evidence of those that are ending or that ended long ago. Most of all, the waterfront of our expectations is dense with probability for the *unexpected*, as stories intersect and collide. Unexpected encounters might evolve through an instant's impression like those captured in Bob Grieser's lens, or the way Conrad's Marlow told them, drawn out over a long evening of brandy and cigars. Like any good story, our common waterfront has a well-defined structure, but that discipline exists to permit and emphasize the unanticipated encounters that we find so desirable and colorful and romantic.



I say this because a new waterfront story has just begun. In mid-May, delegates from the five regulating agencies that control development of the San Diego waterfront formally announced at a press conference aboard the *Berkeley* their creation of a new task force to consider development of the North Embarcadero, where our museum now resides. Identified as "the front porch of San Diego" and the "most valuable piece of waterfront property in the state," it is also understood to be presently bereft of essential elements that make any urban shoreline a waterfront, certainly a correctable condition and long overdue. It is good to know that our ships and museum are considered by all agencies to be necessary ingredients of the new waterfront, as "catalysts" and "anchors." This is entirely appropriate and more or less what we ourselves have been saying all along. But it is also appropriate to emphasize why they are essential. The waterfront is a very tricky and fragile thing, as even the briefest tour of the Grieser exhibit will attest. If the North Embarcadero is to become part of the waterfront of our expectations, whatever else it has, it must have the ships, it must have the stories, and it must provide reasonable probability for the unexpected encounters that go with them. These, of course, are our stock in trade.

Raymond Ashley
Executive Director

USS San Diego:

The Unbeatable Ship That Nobody Ever Heard Of

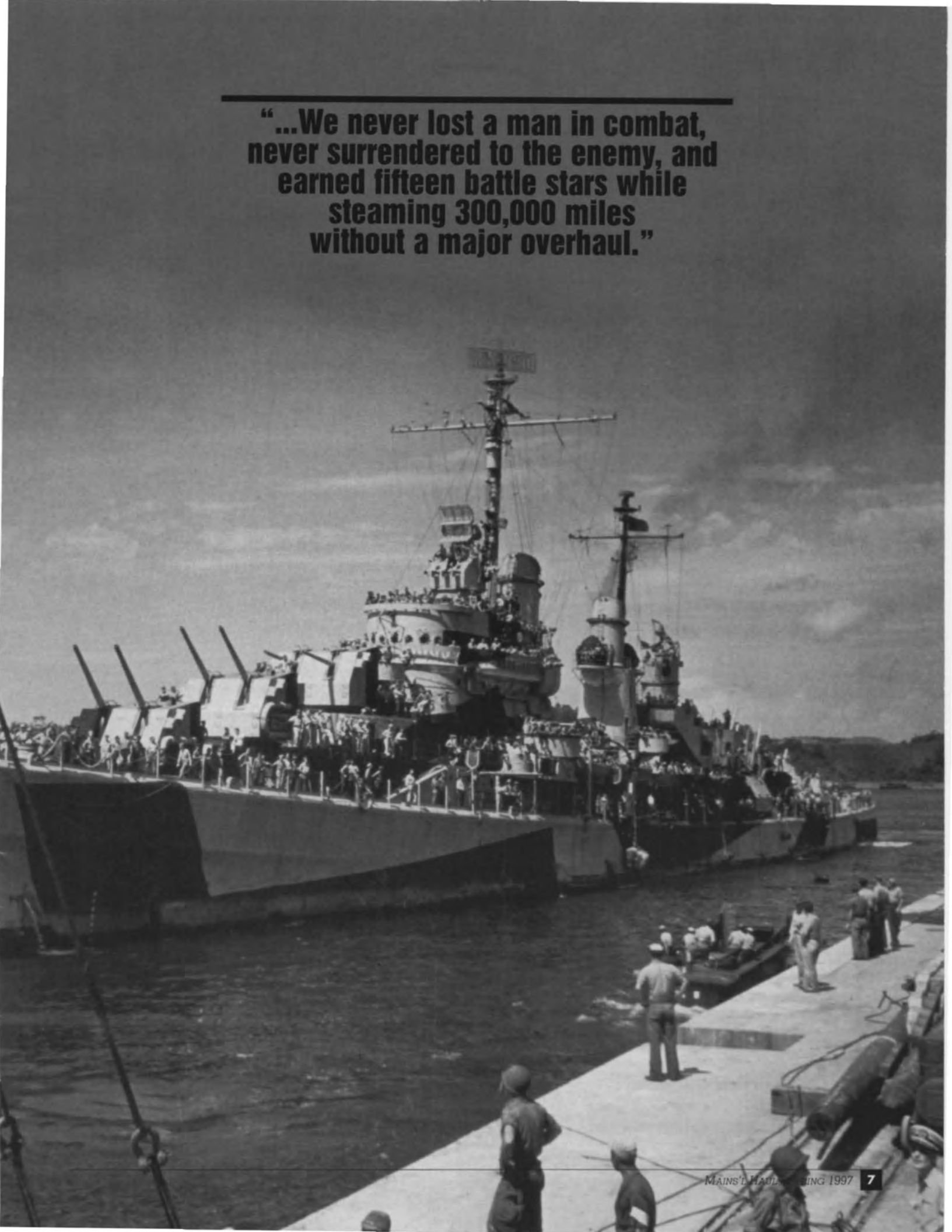
by Fred Whitmore



Line handlers stand by as USS San Diego draws alongside at Yokosuka Naval Base, Japan on August 30, 1945. Her topsides are packed with crew, witnessing the historic arrival.
Photo courtesy of William Templeton

Few knew of her during World War II, and few know of her even today: a ship named for the city of San Diego. The light antiaircraft cruiser USS San Diego (CL 53) received the honor of being the first victorious American warship to enter Tokyo Bay. A former crewman, Bill Butcher, gunners mate second class, wonders about the San Diego and her place in history books. He recently wrote, "... Nothing ever happened to us that was 'headline news' until we were the first major Allied warship to enter Tokyo Bay. We were straddled by bombs, dodged torpedoes and [were] attacked by suicide planes that missed. We never lost a man in combat, never surrendered to the enemy, and earned fifteen battle stars while steaming 300,000 miles without a major overhaul." [Butcher now lives in Massachusetts and is petitioning Congress and the Postal Service to put the San Diego on a commemorative postage stamp.]

John Supino, seaman first class, was assigned to a specialized damage control party whose duties were to make repairs when the ship got hit. Supino maintains that since



"...We never lost a man in combat, never surrendered to the enemy, and earned fifteen battle stars while steaming 300,000 miles without a major overhaul."

the ship never got hit, the damage control people virtually had a pleasure cruise.[1] [Supino, who entered the Navy from Everett, Massachusetts, still lives at the same address.]

World War II went out with two stupendous, thundering booms in August, 1945. The atomic bombs brought the Japanese to the peace table. On August 15 Japan gave up, and everything changed. Only a few months earlier, everyone believed that to end the war, Japan would have to be invaded at a cost of a million lives or more.

Now the ship's crew suddenly realized the end of the war was at hand, and got to wondering about going to Tokyo. It turned out that a little delay going home via Tokyo was quite acceptable, especially when they were being honored to act as flagship as well as the first ship to dock in Japan. That would fulfill a promise made back in Boston in January 1942, "that she wouldn't stop until she dropped her hook in Tokyo Bay."

On August 12, Admiral William "Bull" Halsey, colorful commander of the huge United States Third Fleet, sent a message to a light cruiser, the USS SAN DIEGO (CL 53), as follows: "SAN DIEGO designated as flagship for Commander Task Force 31, and thus in the center of all activity."[2] Seeing an imminent end of combat, Halsey hand-picked the SAN DIEGO to be the first major warship to enter Tokyo Bay once the enemy surrendered unconditionally. That event happened two days later, on August 14, signaling the end to the long and vicious fighting that started with the Japanese sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941.

The crew of the SAN DIEGO felt that they had rightfully earned the honor with a remarkable wartime record. She'd won 15 battle stars. She took part in 34 major battle actions; steamed an incredible 300,000 miles at sea with only short stops at such out-of-the-way places as Majuro, Eniwetok and Ulithi atolls; and never took a direct hit or lost a man in combat from the day she was commissioned in January, 1942.[3] Bob Alderson, yeoman third class, attributed the success of the SAN DIEGO to his shipmates. He said, "I think it was the accuracy of our aim. The more our ship was in battle, the greater our chances of survival because we knew what we were doing. We had complete confidence and good skippers."[4]

Then there was the design of SAN DIEGO, which made life a nightmare for the enemy aviators. As one officer observed, "When seven turrets with fourteen five-inch guns were all firing at the enemy, it looked like the ship itself was on fire."

A rather crusty Rear Admiral Oscar Badger had been selected by Admiral Halsey to be Commander Task Force 31 on the SAN DIEGO.[5] The accompanying minesweepers, destroyers, seaplane tenders, and high-speed transport making up Task Force 31 had also compiled exceptional combat records. The task force headed into the narrow but heavily fortified entrance to Tokyo Bay after taking some Japanese navigational pilots aboard. Heeding Admiral Halsey's warning "to be vigilant in light of the enemy's reputation for treachery," all ships stayed at General Quarters, manning their battle stations while en route to their anchorage in the Bay just outside the Yokosuka Naval Shipyard.

The previous day, Rear Admiral Badger had given Lieutenant Junior Grade Will Templeton, the SAN DIEGO Officer-of-the-Deck (OOD), a sample of his personality. A Japanese tug with thirteen military personnel waiting to board the ship was standing off some distance away. When Templeton asked the admiral what signal he should send the tug, the Admiral barked that when *he* was ready, *he* would say what *he* wanted to do. "Yes sir!" said Templeton, who now lives In Oceanside, CA. Rear Admiral Badger had a mean look and a nasty disposition when encountering those Japanese.[6]

Rear Admiral Robert B. Carney was scheduled to take command of Yokosuka Naval



Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz debarks from the SAN DIEGO to Japanese soil, followed by Admiral William F. "Bull" Halsey. Capt. William A. Mullan, the ship's commander, is at the quarterdeck.

Photo from the author's collection



Vice Admiral Carney accepts the surrender of the Yokosuka Naval Base at 1030 on August 30, 1945, from Vice Admiral Michitare Totsuka.

Photo from the author's collection

Shipyard the next morning after the SAN DIEGO had moved from her anchorage to a dock in the Shipyard at 1000 (10 a.m.).[7] By then a coxswain and sideboys piped aboard and saluted Fleet Admiral Chester Nimitz, Admiral Halsey and a bevy of V.I.P. admirals, generals and civilians, plus about 20 press and radio people.[8] The radio group set up on the bridge for a direct broadcast to the USA.

Gun captain and coxswain Earl Burton said, "It was the damnedest day I ever spent on this ship, with more gold and silver aboard than any ship has ever had at one time. During all this, I had the Bos'n Side Boy watch and piped nearly all the big boys either aboard or over the side. I was glad when the sun set. Almost everybody aboard has all sorts of souvenirs."[9] Burton now lives in Endwell, N.Y.

Soon after Admiral Halsey came aboard, he decided he needed a haircut. With little ceremony, the Admiral was escorted down to



With carrier HORNET dead in the water and cruiser NORTHAMPTON (CA 26) taking her in tow, SAN DIEGO fires at enemy planes on October 26, 1942, while circling the carrier. HORNET and NORTHAMPTON were both later sunk. SAN DIEGO brought 200 of HORNET's survivors to New Caledonia.

U.S. Navy photo

the ship's barber, Harry McIlvaine, a young seaman first class, who easily clipped the Admiral. When Admiral Halsey was finished, he wanted to tip the barber, who said, "No thanks, but I sure would like one of your cigars." The admiral gladly gave him one, the start of one more true sea story.[10]

After the SAN DIEGO completed her historic mooring to mainland Japan, Admiral Badger decided he needed seven staff cars, so he summoned a Marine orderly. He bellowed to the Marine to go get seven staff cars. The bewildered orderly departed the ship with seven Marines following. They disappeared over a small hill nearby. Soon seven Japanese cars paraded up the dock. The Admiral smiled. The Marines had found a busy street right over the hill and simply went out and stopped traffic, commandeering seven decent cars.[11] (Yeoman third class Bob Alderson, who was the Captain's yeoman, was witness to the show. He is retired in San Diego.)

This and other incredible events capped the exceptional career of an exceptional ship and her crew.

* * * * *

The saga of the SAN DIEGO dates back to 1938, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed a large appropriations bill to build new warships. The President believed what few did then, that Adolf Hitler was building a powerful armed force preparing to go to war against the Atlantic alliance, a conflict we could not avoid.

A strong contingent of energetic San Diegans went to Washington to support rebuilding the Navy, and to persuade the President to name a new cruiser after the city of San Diego. They were successful.

The keel was laid in March, 1940, for the



Air reconnaissance photo of Tokyo Bay taken November 8, 1944. Yokosuka Naval Base, set in hilly terrain, guards entrance to Bay. Yokohama, lower right, is south of Tokyo
U.S. Navy photo

new cruiser USS SAN DIEGO (CL 53) at the Bethlehem Steel Shipyard in Quincy, Massachusetts. She was the first of eight of a new design that came to be known as the SAN DIEGO Class, essentially constructed to produce heavy anti-aircraft fire from eight twin five inch 38 caliber gun turrets, along with many secondary machine guns. She had a three and a half inch armor belt, with two inches of deck armor. The three tiered mounts forward and aft gave her a beautiful silhouette. In July, 1941, the San Diego sponsoring group went to Quincy to take part in the christening and launching festivities. Mrs. Grace Benbough, wife of Mayor Percy Benbough, splashed the champagne for the launching. San Diego Chamber of Commerce members and other dignitaries attended.[12]

The ship fitted out at the Boston Navy Yard, and about a month after Pearl Harbor the SAN DIEGO was commissioned on January 10, 1942. It was snowing, and the weather was cold and miserable, perhaps a portent of the tough year ahead. A nucleus crew of officers and senior crewmen had been assigned months prior to the completion of the ship. The full complement of 650 men arrived on commissioning day, consisting largely of graduate recruits from boot camp and reserve officers, to supplement the experienced regular Navy petty officers and Naval Academy-trained officers.[13]

The ship's Commanding Officer, Captain Benjamin Franklin Perry, commendably was a man of few but measured words. In the sub-zero temperature and eight inches of snow, Captain Perry said, "This ship will be an honor to the city of San Diego. The time for talk is over; let's get going." The executive officer was Commander Timothy O'Brien, who later made admiral.

The new light cruiser was 541 feet in length with a beam of 53 ft. Her full load displacement was 7,500 tons. She was des-

tined to build a formidable record and set a high example for her seven sister ships.

SAN DIEGO went through a condensed shakedown and training period in the Portland, Maine, area. She then headed for the Panama Canal, en route to her namesake city for special training before heading out to the Pacific combat zone.

From day one of the War, a cloak of secrecy surrounded all ship and personnel movements. Nearly everyone in the city of San Diego was unaware that her namesake had arrived in port on May 17, 1942. While the training exercises continued until the end of May, the crew took every opportunity for liberty when in port. One anonymous young fireman from the engineering department went on a royal "toot." At length, he encountered a local policeman who noticed his instability. As the hour was late the policeman asked, "Where are you from, sailor?" The sailor: "SAN DIEGO." Policeman: "What part of San Diego?" Sailor: "The forward boiler room." The policeman led the sailor off to the drying-out tank, having never heard of a ship with that name.[14]

The ship's disbursing officer (paymaster), Ensign Len Shea, had handled millions of dollars with great integrity throughout his regular Navy career. But finding himself a bit shy on funds while ashore on liberty, he sauntered into a bank to cash a check. His uniform said he was in the Navy but when the cautious teller asked what ship he was on Ensign Shea stalled a bit before finally revealing the name "SAN DIEGO." The teller rather sourly said, "Get outa here! There's no ship named SAN DIEGO."[15] (The former paymaster retired as captain, and lives in Coronado.)

Two weeks later, on June 1, 1942, the ship departed San Diego. (It would be 41 months before the city and the USS SAN DIEGO would get together again, and that for a huge post-war victory jamboree.)

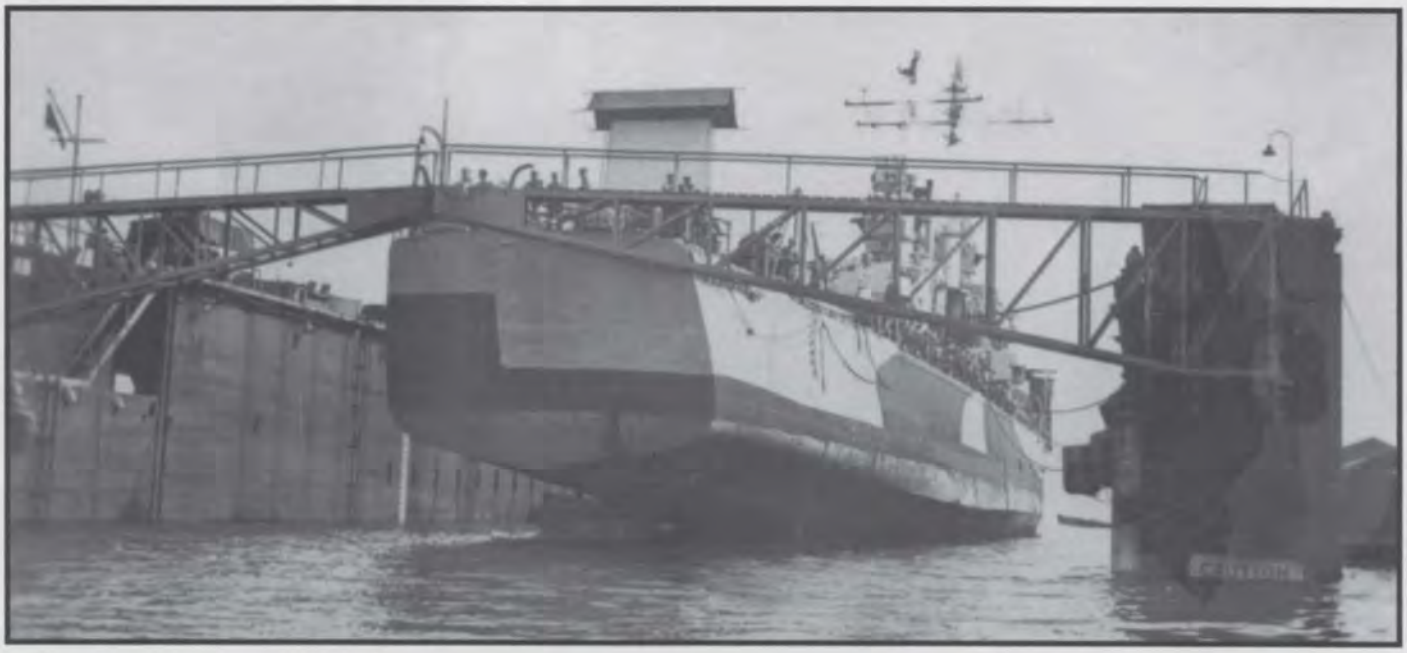
The ship escorted the SARATOGA, a large carrier, to Pearl Harbor. Further training exercises over four weeks brought the feeling of war closer, until in mid-August the SAN DIEGO got underway as part of Task Force 17 escorting carriers and tankers to the battle area in the southwest Pacific. She arrived a week after the tragic Battle of Savo Island.

For 41 days the ship was at sea supporting the Marines' invasion of Guadalcanal. Fierce fighting called for periodic reinforcements for both the Marines and the Japanese. While on patrol off Guadalcanal, the ship's crew saw the carrier WASP sunk by torpedoes from a Japanese submarine, which also damaged the destroyer O'BRIEN and the battleship NORTH CAROLINA.[16]

Toward the end of September, Task Force 17, headed up by Rear Admiral George D. Murray, sailed into Noumea, New Caledonia. After provisioning in four days, they set out to sea for what proved to be the first action of the War for the SAN DIEGO. A raid on enemy islands Buin and Faisi earned the ship her first battle star.

At the end of October came the Battle of Santa Cruz Island, considered by the crew as the first major action of their careers. American naval forces were beginning to threaten Japan's control of the sea and the air around Guadalcanal, in the Solomon Islands. The enemy mounted a large force of carriers and heavy ships to wipe out the threat. The SAN DIEGO was stationed to protect the port side of the valiant USS HORNET which had been bombed and torpedoed on the starboard side. The carrier could not be saved, but the SAN DIEGO took off 200 survivors. Her five inch guns were credited with bringing down three planes. Gunner's mate Tom Kane, manning a 20 millimeter machine gun on the aft end of the ship, shot down a torpedo plane directly astern. The gunnery officer, Lieutenant Commander Brooke Schumm, witnessed and confirmed the kill. (For 30 years after the war, Kane was a writer for actor John Wayne.)[17]

The enemy, failing to unload a large contingent of infantry reinforcements, suffered



USS San Diego in floating drydock at Guiuan Roadstead, the Phillipines, June 26, 1945.
Photo courtesy of the author

three damaged cruisers, a wounded battleship and 123 planes knocked down, and they withdrew from the fray as did the enemy troop ships. The SAN DIEGO survived without casualties or real damage, and won its second battle star. Santa Cruz was decisive because the expansion of Japan's power was stopped cold by a US force whose warships were outnumbered 46 enemy ships to 33 of ours.

Nearly everyone on board the SAN DIEGO remembers well the days their task force spent near Guadalcanal at night. An enemy twin-engined plane, nicknamed "Washing Machine Charley," flew over nearly every night. His engines were out of synchronization, and made a loud, annoying noise, enough to keep everyone awake. He'd drop a few bombs but never hit anyone.

Many of the crew recalled tying up alongside anchored sister ship SAN JUAN, in one of several atolls. In the evening, while awaiting movies on the fantail, a potato fight would break out between ships, amid hearty insults flying back and forth. That would bring some officers roaring back to the fantail to halt "the disrespectful treatment of Navy food."[18] Entertainment was difficult to come by.

November 1942 found the enemy making a last desperate attempt to reinforce their beleaguered troops and regain control of the Island and Henderson Field. At the conclusion of the decisive Naval Battle of Guadalcanal, all 11 Japanese troop ships involved were destroyed —either sunk or beached — with an estimated 24,000 personnel losses.[19] This time the SAN DIEGO was with the carrier ENTERPRISE, whose planes helped demolish the reinforcement effort. The action earned the light cruiser another battle star.

Early in February 1943, the Japanese frantically sent 20 destroyers at high speed "down the Slot" to Guadalcanal. It appeared to be still another reinforcement action, but was, in fact, a clever evacuation of 11,000 enemy troops, which Admiral Nimitz praised.[20] That ended the Guadalcanal stalemate. From then on, the American forces took the offensive that led to Tokyo, as a relentless flow of new ships and planes established superiority over a weakening enemy. The SAN DIEGO survived the darkest days, fighting in nearly every battle to finally turn the tide.

Over the next six months or so, the SAN DIEGO operated in and around Espiritu Santo and Noumea, either on patrol or on



View from the SAN DIEGO as clarinetist/bandleader Artie Shaw entertains crews aboard USS SAN JUAN (CL-54). Big-time entertainers brought a feeling of home to war-weary sailors.
Photo courtesy of the author

exercises, with one large interlude. On March 14, the ship got underway bright and early. At 0600, Captain Perry announced over the public address system that "this ship is underway for Auckland, New Zealand, for about a 12-day stay. We will steam at 26 knots." It was an electrifying message. New Zealand was a dream place for liberty, dining and friendliness.

Auckland was magnificent, as were such treats as fresh milk, fresh vegetables and excellent waitress service. (Americans tipped handsomely, contrary to Kiwi practices). The crew favored the nightlife at the Peter Pan Ballroom, especially the New Zealand girls from 15 to 50 who mobbed the place. During their stay, a special national holiday festival was held to honor the Maori natives. Prime Minister Peter Fraser and the King and Queen of the Maori tribe attended. Seventy-five sailors from the ship were invited. Some hostesses were present, but most of the sailors arranged their own dates. What a highlight!

On March 19, Captain Perry was relieved of command by Captain J. L. Hudson. Under the firm leadership of Captain Perry, SAN DIEGO had established a solid reputation for being dependable and always ready to go. He'd fashioned a fine ship while earning the first four of fifteen battle stars.

Except for 30 days from the end of June, when the SAN DIEGO joined Task Force 14 to provide support for the successful invasion of Munda, a British protectorate in the Solomon Islands, the ship sailed mostly in and around New Hebrides and New Caledonia. Bill Butcher, a gunner's mate second class, recalled that before arriving in New Hebrides someone removed some water from a flask on a life raft and replaced it with some raisins. With the normal motions of the ship at sea, the flask got quite a shaking, so much so that when the



SAN DIEGO in Tokyo Bay, in final wartime configuration and camouflage scheme. Marines in landing craft head for Yokosuka, to assure that area is secure enough for ship to enter port.

U.S. Navy Photo

ship entered port in New Hebrides, it blew up. Since there were many mines in those waters, some sailors celebrated, thinking the ship had taken a hit, and would be heading home.[21]

Starting in November, SAN DIEGO and her "playmates" were assigned to the Central Pacific theater, joining the Third Fleet, which became the Fifth Fleet by a flick of the numbers. Many new ships were steadily arriving and the task forces were burgeoning into powerful groups.

In November, the SAN DIEGO participated in two raids on the Japanese stronghold base of Rabaul (another battle star) followed by the invasion and capture of the Gilbert Islands (still another battle star).

With her sister ship SAN JUAN, SAN DIEGO was dispatched to Mare Island in December for more extensive yard work. The weather en route was pretty rough. Cliff Rayl, seaman first class, (now retired in California) was assigned a bunk directly below five inch twin gun turret number eight. While the ship tossed about in the rough seas, he and four shipmates were enjoying a friendly poker game.

For a card table they were using the closed hatch to the ammunition magazine below; the hatch to the gun mount above was open for ventilation. On one bad roll, a five-inch shell broke loose , and fell down the hatch. It landed on their "card table" with a live nose fuse. An alert sailor picked up the shell, rushed it topside and threw it overboard.[22] That wasn't the end to their troubles.

Two new four-bladed propellers that had been welded and chained to the deck for transit to the States started to come loose in heavy seas. In the dark of night, deck hands were summoned topside to secure them. The decks were awash. Coxswain George Horton was hit by a wave coming over the port side that carried him through the lifelines. Just as it looked like he was a "goner," he was able to grab the middle guard line, when another wave hit him and carried him right back on board. If it hadn't been for that lucky wave, Horton would have been the first and only crewman lost from the ship.[23]

Throughout the War, the USS SAN DIEGO softball team compiled an outstanding record of 34 wins and only three losses, giving them the right to claim the title of "Fleet Softball Champions."[24] They beat teams from battleships, carriers, cruisers, destroyers, Seabees, shore-based units, and even a Marine outfit here and there. By all accounts, the former champion team of the cruiser HELENA was tough, but SAN DIEGO's was even tougher.

The breather period for minor repairs in the San Francisco area ended suddenly in early 1944. The ship returned to the war zone

and joined Task Group 58.2 to conduct air strikes on Kwajelein, Truk (again) and Jaluit Atoll in January and February.

Then, surprisingly, on February 28, the SAN DIEGO got word that a five-week yard availability was their next immediate assignment. Morale soared. Everyone cleaned up his liberty uniforms, and checked to see how much pay he had coming.

At Mare Island, SAN DIEGO got new air and surface search radar, a new Combat Information Center and new 40 millimeter machine guns to replace the much less effective 1.1" antiaircraft mounts. All the crew got leave and liberty. They left Mare Island on April 14 and headed for Pearl Harbor, rejuvenated and ready to get back into the fight.

After training with other ships in the Pearl area, the ship rejoined the Fifth Fleet in early May. From then on, there was almost never-ending action: air strikes, invasions, scouting, shore bombardments, sometimes as a unit of Third Fleet, other times with Fifth Fleet.[25] In June, Task Group 58.4 struck again at the Mariannas, the Bonins and Iwo Jima, and then participated in the first Battle of the Philippine Sea and the capture of Saipan.

On July 13, Captain William Mullan came aboard in Eniwetok Atoll to relieve Captain Hudson. According to the records, Captain Hudson had taken the SAN DIEGO through 17 months of mixed activity, but enough combat to win five battle stars. The crew respected him as an able, reserved, consistent, no-nonsense skipper.

Captain Mullan came from the States where he'd commanded various naval activities. He had been recovering from serious injuries sustained in the Battle of Savo Island August 9 and 10, 1942. Mullan was Executive Officer of the cruiser VINCENNES when she was sunk with 332 dead and 258 injured.[26] He received the Silver Star and the Purple Heart for his valiant performance of duties.

During September, the SAN DIEGO escorted Third Fleet units supporting air strikes on Palau, Anguar, Peleliu, Midinao, Samar, Leyte, Manila and the central Philippines, with carriers ESSEX, PRINCETON, CABOT, FRANKLIN and MONTERREY. In October there were more air strikes against Okinawa and Formosa (Taiwan), and then the ship shifted to Task Group 38.1, which struck at Manila and Leyte.

In the latter part of the month, the historic Battle of Leyte Gulf took place. The SAN DIEGO was part of the 65 ship force that Admiral Halsey sent north — a controversial decision that sent them dangerously distant from the main body of the Seventh Fleet at Leyte Gulf. However, turning south and steaming at 31½ knots brought the group close enough to launch air strikes on fleeing Japanese capital ships. Afterward, SAN DIEGO headed back to Ulithi Atoll for replenishment of supplies, her first chance in 60 days.

In early November, SAN DIEGO left Ulithi with Task Group 38, and immediately encountered a typhoon which lasted four days. Heavy pitching buckled the forecastle and split a seam. Damage control teams struggled as four feet of water came in. But the ship continued to operate as the carrier force launched air strikes against the Leyte and Manila areas. On November 20, the SAN DIEGO was detached to return to Ulithi for "minor" repairs to their forecastle.[27] The atoll erupted with excitement as three Japanese midget submarines sneaked into the lagoon. One of the subs torpedoed a tanker loaded with aviation gas; it went up in a huge fireball.

On December 18, the seas were monstrous as a horrendous new typhoon approached the northwest Philippines, the same direction the task group was headed. Aboard the SAN DIEGO, chief machinist mate Frank Fenton decided to check if the emergency diesel generator was ready. It had been set to "off;" he reset it for "automatic on." It proved to be a sound decision. Later that night, the ship rolled twice at extreme angles, which caused the main generator to shut down. The emergency diesel



Celebrating the War's end, a flotilla of San Diego pleasure and harbor craft welcome SAN DIEGO on her return, October 26, 1945. Celebration is said to have been one of the most festive the City has seen.

Photo courtesty of San Diego Historical Society

generator came on automatically with no interruption of electrical power.[28]

The wind speed rose rapidly to over 100 mph. SAN DIEGO took rolls of 37°, then 45°, then 50°. A huge wave came over her amidships, tore the #1 motor whaleboat off the davits and sent it reeling into the superstructure, smashing it in two. Three men were injured when five-inch ammunition came loose and bashed them. Over 120 planes on board the carriers were wrecked by the fierce storm. Three destroyers capsized; they had been light on fuel and hadn't sufficient ballast. A dozen other ships were damaged. It took four days for this worst of typhoons to fade, and was the most frightening, vicious storm in memory.

About mid-December Lieutenant Commander Joe Eliot, the gunnery officer, put out a special notice about a threat worse than typhoons – kamikaze attacks.[29] More and more, the Japanese kamikaze tactic was seen as the last possible hope for Japan's badly decimated air arm. These suicide missions caused tremendous damage to over one hundred ships. The gunnery officer set about training gun crews to fire the guns manually, in case all electrical power was lost. It wasn't much fun. But it paid off.

The Third Fleet became the Fifth Fleet in the first part of February as the same ships in the same groups took off to support the invasion of Iwo Jima. As March came in, the SAN DIEGO joined Rear Admiral F. E. M. Whiting with VINCENNES (CA 44), MIAMI (CL 89) and Destroyer Squadron 61 for a shore bombardment of Okino Daito (or Borodino) Island, 195 miles east of Okinawa. The force made three firing runs on a reported enemy radar station there.

In mid-March, and for the next two months, life for the SAN DIEGO crew was an endless schedule of sorties to support invasion landings in the Okinawa area. The one important diversion involved towing and escorting the USS HAGGARD (DD 555), a destroyer that was terribly damaged by a kamikaze. The SAN DIEGO took off 31 of the badly wounded while en route to Kerama Retto, a protected island repair base off Okinawa. The crew turned from fighting to tending the sick, giving up their bunks to the seriously wounded. They provided food, candy, ice cream, new uniforms and comfort.[30] A few days later, the survivors were transferred to a hospital ship, and the SAN DIEGO rejoined its formation.

At the end of May, another switch in fleet

numbers put everyone back in the Third Fleet, in support of the Okinawa campaign. Admiral Halsey commanded the Third Fleet, Admiral Spruance the Fifth.

For two days at the end of June, the ship was dry-docked in the Philippines for minor repairs, a routine inspection of her bottom, and rest for the crew. In mid-July, SAN DIEGO skipper Captain William Mullan passed word to the crew that the ship would be going back to the States for a yard availability, or maintenance period, in mid-August. The crew exploded with joy.[31] At the end of three years in the combat zone without a full overhaul, the ship and crew deserved a little relief. However, it was not to be; such are the Navy's ways. The U.S. forces began massive and incessant B-29 bombing attacks and shore bombardment of the Japanese seacoasts by powerful naval forces — aggressive preparations for the invasion of Japan. SAN DIEGO was ordered back to operate with the Third Fleet through July into early August, when Admiral Halsey sent all fleet units to rendezvous 200 miles east of Tokyo. But two atomic bomb blasts virtually ended the War, and the Japanese finally surrendered unconditionally in mid-August.

* * * * *

The climax of SAN DIEGO's war career was her selection to be flagship of Task Force 31. With her dramatic entry into Tokyo Bay, the United States accepted the surrender of the giant Yokosuka Naval Shipyard. The ship had been winning battle stars right up until September 2, when, weary of the great long battle, she headed for home, having thereby earned the Japanese Occupation Medal as well.

On the last of the three days they were docked in the Yokosuka Naval Shipyard, all of the SAN DIEGO's crew were allowed to set foot in Japan. One clever sailor put it, "It was like thirty seconds over Yokosuka," but everyone was proud to be number one.

On September 1, they pulled away from the dock to anchor a short distance offshore, where they took aboard 250 officers and men as passengers. They were fully qualified for discharge and were eligible to go home. The following morning, SAN DIEGO pulled her hook out of the Tokyo Bay mud and steamed out at 27 knots on a direct course for home — San Francisco. That same day, the formal surrender by Japan took place aboard the USS MISSOURI, as 258 allied ships filled the bay to celebrate their victory.[32]

From the SAN DIEGO's cruise book: "Anchoring in Tokyo Bay will be remembered for two things. We saw a real setting sun over Fujiyama, and we had movies on the fantail. If we needed any last assurance that the war was over that was it."[33]

San Francisco gave a giant welcome to the decorated ship passing under the Golden Gate upon arrival in the USA.

The city of San Diego then invited the USS SAN DIEGO to a much larger celebration on Navy Day, October 27th, the most extravagant bash the city ever hosted.

Chief electrician's mate Mike Lawless, of the Navy Veterans Association, composed this tribute:

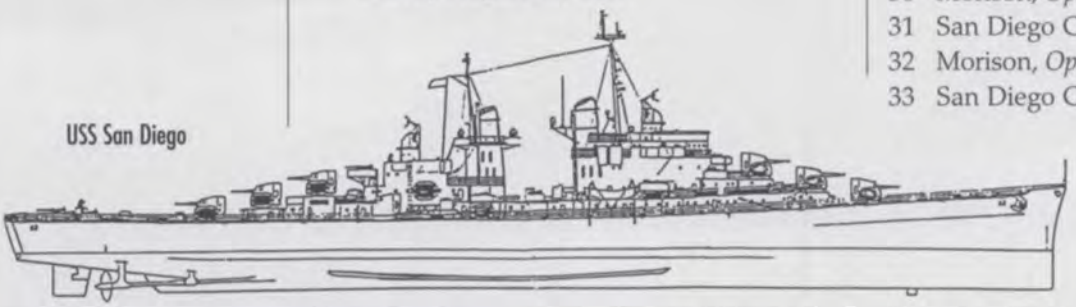
"Of all the ships and all the crews I served with the U.S.S. San Diego, CL-53 and crew has a special place in my heart. It always has and always will be my favorite ship and crew. The day I left the Diego CL-53, I walked from the gangway to the bow with my seabag slung over my shoulder, and I said to myself, I am just going to keep walking and not look back. When I was parallel to the bow, I stopped, took a look back at that beautiful ship and said, 'You carried me all through that war safely and brought me back,' then I proceeded to cry like a baby."

USS SAN DIEGO was decommissioned and placed in the Bremerton, Washington reserve fleet on November 4, 1946. She was redesignated CLAA-53 (light antiaircraft cruiser) in March 1949, On March 1, 1959, the Navy struck her from the lists and she was scrapped.

[*Ed. Note:* Fred Whitmore joined the Navy in July 1941 as a chief boatswain"s mate, then got an officer's commission, and served on a destroyer escort during World war II. He returned to active duty during the Korean conflict, serving on a destroyer, and retired from the Reserves as a Commander. Fred also retired from the investment and securities business in 1991. He is a docent and a dedicated Maritime Museum volunteer.]

NOTES

1 From "The Five Incher," the ship's newsletter, first published on board in 1944, later revived by Coxswain George Horton.
2 USS San Diego World War II Cruise Book, 1945, page 41.
3 "A Proud Tribute to San Diego's Name Sake Ship The Cruiser USS SAN DIEGO of World War II" by Will Templeton, LTjg, USNR. Templeton was Officer of the Deck during General Quarters.
4 "The Five Incher," date unknown.
5 San Diego Cruise Book, *Loc. Cit.*
6 From "USS SAN DIEGO – FIRST FIGHT ING SHIP INTO TOKYO BAY – Aug. 1945" by Will Templeton LTjg, USNR., 11/16/96, page 3. Templeton was Officer of the Deck during General Quaraters.
7 San Diego Cruise Book, page 47
8 "USS SAN DIEGO CL 53 Saga of a Fighting Ship" by Earl Burton, Gunners Mate Second Class, page 67
9 *Loc. Cit.*
10 "The Five Incher," date unknown.
11 Notes on phone conversation with Bob Alderson in February 1997. Alderson was Captain's yeoman and bridge phone talker on SAN DIEGO during Tokyo Bay activity August 29, 1945.
12 "Quincy-Built Cruiser San Diego In Scrap Yard on West Coast, " by John Bunker, Correspondent for Boston *Patriot Ledger*, c. 1960, exact date not determined.
13 *Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships*, Washington, 1976: Dept. of the Navy, Naval History Division, Vol. VI, pages 287-288.
14 Related to author by Ensign Len Shea.
15 Conversation with Len Shea, date unknown. ship's first disbursing officer, in July 1996.
16 Frank Hartmann, radarman first class, letter dated 1/20/97. The Navy confirmed in 1983 that the Japanese submarine involved was the I-19.
17 "The Five Incher," June 1996, page 10.
18 San Diego Cruise Book, page 18.
19 Samuel Eliot Morison, *History of United States Naval Operations in World War II*, Vol. XIV, page 361.
20 *Op. Cit.*, Vol V, page 370.
21 Bill Butcher, gunner's mate second class, letter dated Jan. 16, 1997.
22 Cliff Rayl, seaman first class, letter dated Jan. 5, 1997.
23 George Horton, coxswain, phone conver sation notes, December 1996.
24 San Diego Cruise Book,page 63; also various issues of "The Five Incher."
25 "Chronological Record of USS SAN DIEGO CL-53," Lieutenant Spence Ehrman, page 6.
26 Morison, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. V, page 49.
27 "USS SAN DIEGO CL 53 – Saga of a Fighting Ship," page 39.
28 Frank Fanton, chief machinist mate, letter dated Jan. 10, 1997.
29 "USS SAN DIEGO CL 53 – Saga of a Fighting Ship," page 40.
30 Morison, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. V, page 37.
31 San Diego Cruise Book, page 38.
32 Morison, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. XIV, page 361.
33 San Diego Cruise Book, page 46.



USS San Diego

[Part I]

The Strange Affair of the ITATA

By Chuck Bencik





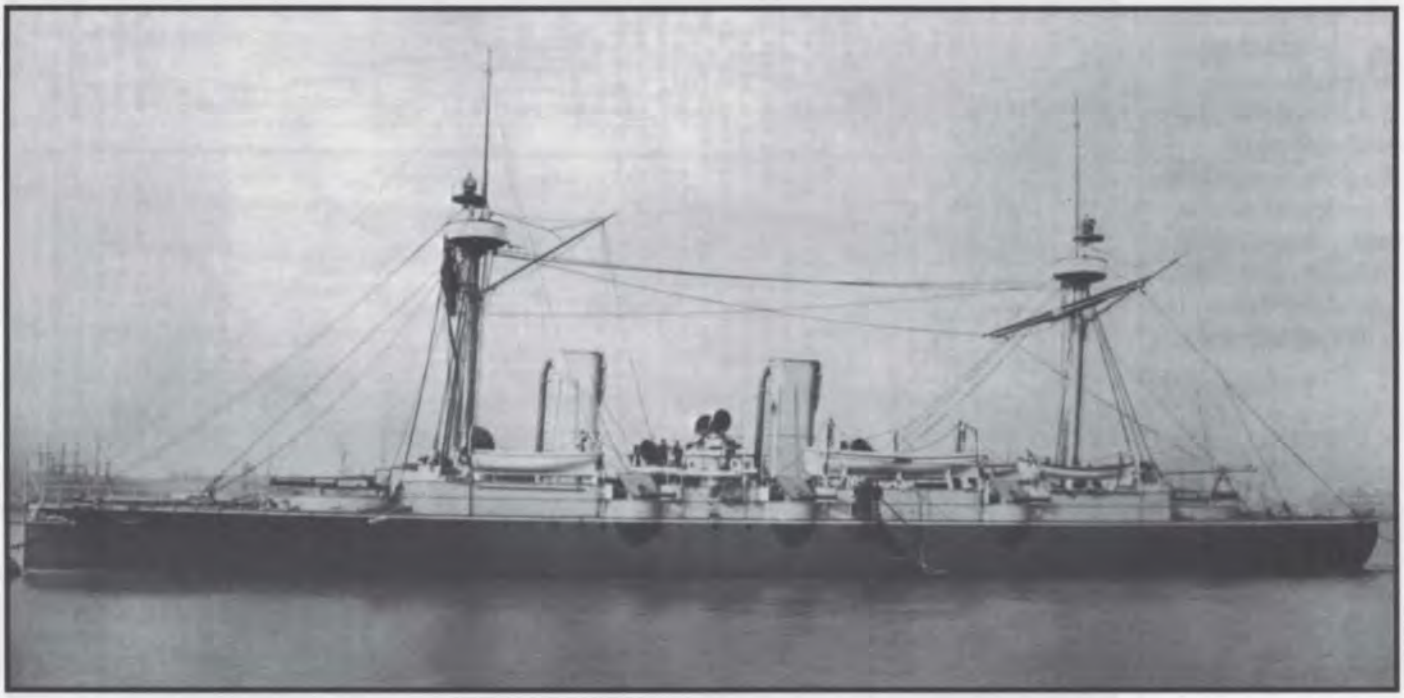
Capt. Manzen, or Manzeum: as he appeared during the ITATA'S stay in San Diego, the year after she first skulked into the Bay on a covert supply mission. Man pictured is probably the Dane whose real name was possibly "Munson," and not the ESMERALDA Captain who switched places earlier.
Title and Trust photo

The ITATA affair was a key event in the history of San Diego. It involved several incidents that significantly impacted the evolution of the warship and the resurgence of the U.S. Navy begun in the 1880's. It gave impetus to the formation of the San Diego Naval Militia, to the development of San Diego's harbor defenses, and to the recognition of San Diego as an important naval base site that would one day be called the "Gibraltar of the Pacific." And it nearly resulted in the United States going to war with the newly installed insurgent government of Chile, and was in some ways a catalyst of the destabilization of Chilean politics for decades.

Since the end of the War of the Pacific, in which Chile had won control of, and claimed title to the rich nitrate fields of a negligent Peru, Secretary of State James G. Blaine sought closer working relationships among North, Central and South American republics. Blaine's diplomacy had colored the Latin American governments' perceptions of the United States as a colossus seeking to dominate and exploit them. In 1889 he presided over the first Inter-American or Pan American Conference in Washington in the winter of 1889-1890. He had sought strenuously, as a Senator, to reestablish U.S. shipping, which had declined in the period after 1850, and to establish a steamship line between the U.S. and Brazil, with a government subsidy. The South American republics, which had been independent from Spain since 1810, at first held up the U.S. as their model. But the Monroe Doctrine had disturbed them, and they saw the Conference as an opportunity, not so much to increase trade with the giant of the north, but to restrain U.S. imperialism through formal recognition of sovereignty.[1]

Sr. Don Jose Manuel Balmaceda had begun as president of Chile on September 18, 1886. Though initially much admired and a

Left: Field's Landing on Humbolt Bay, Eureka, California, a typical loading pier for lumber schooners at the turn of the century. ROBERT AND MINNIE, centerpiece of the ITATA affair, is among vessels off in the distance.
National Maritime Museum Ass'n. photo.



Chilean cruiser ESMERALDA [II]: in 1890 she was the top-of-the-line ideal to all ambitious naval powers. She and ITATA were sent north to bring back the weapons and supplies that would clinch the victory for the Chilean insurgents.
The Science Museum, London photo

proven efficient administrator, he ran into trouble trying to implement his radical theories of government by the masses. The aristocracy, capitalists and clergy opposed his efforts to fight the prevalent nepotism. He unfortunately chose to fund schools, hospitals and other public works at a bad time, economically, for the proletarians. Foreign companies expecting to realize profits from rich Chilean natural resources were also put off by Balmaceda's high-minded nationalism.

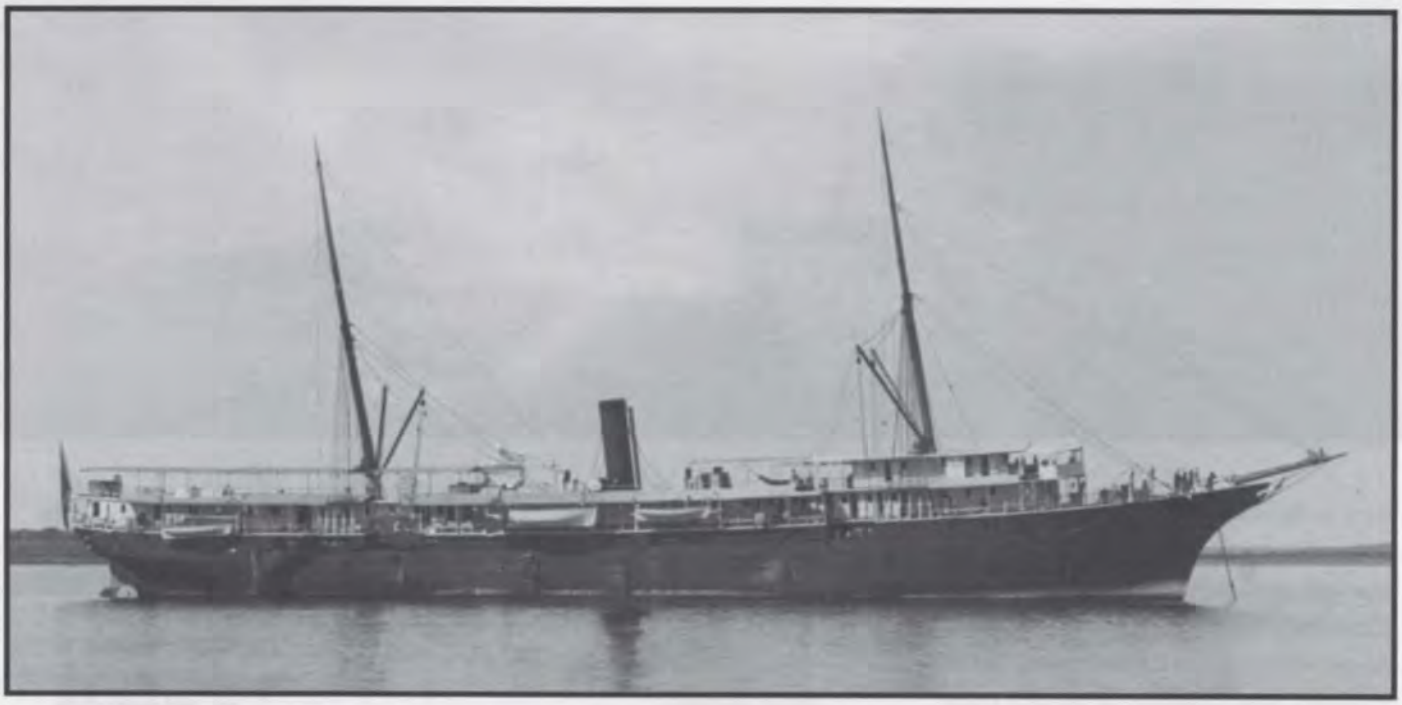
Balmaceda tried to insure his schemes were carried out. In late October of 1890, [around this time, the British ship EUTERPE was loading nitrates in Chile's northern port of Iquique] the Chilean Congress was in an extraordinary session of parliament. His congressional opponents refused to pass his budgetary requirements. A new election was scheduled for March 1891, so Balmaceda closed the extraordinary session, refused to call a new one, and, forming a ministry of partisans, declared a dictatorship on January 1, 1891; he would follow the old budget estimates. The Congress convened a rump parliament that declared him deposed.

On January 6, most of the navy joined the junta's "Congressional Squadron", commanded by Capitan De Navio Jorge Montt, who then sailed north. Among the naval units who stayed loyal to Balmaceda were the crews of two torpedo gunboats, the ALMIRANTE LYNCH and the ALMIRANTE CONDELL, both built by Laird Brothers of Birkenhead, England: 240', 750 tons displacement with five 14" torpedo launch tubes on each. Balmaceda declared martial law; the army pledged to support him. The civil war had begun. The insurgents occupied Iquique, the center of the revenue-rich nitrate region by February 16; Taracapa and Antofagasta in March, Tacna in April and Atacama in May. But that was as far as they could go.

The insurgents had virtually total control of the navy. Their inventory of warships



ESMERALDA [III], built in 1895 for Chile.
Jane's All The World's Fighting Ships, 1891.



The peaceful-looking Chilean steamer ITATA swings at anchor in San Diego harbor. Her looks were deceiving; San Diego's customs inspector accepted the Captain's word, unaware that she carried a force of soldiers and cannon down in her hold.
SDMM file photo

included the 2,950-ton ESMERALDA, the lead ship built by Armstrongs, the British company that dominated warship construction in the 1880's. Her Captain was named Silva, or Silva Palma; he was reportedly the son of the president of the Chilean senate, and formerly a lieutenant on the British ship MINOTUAR.[2] ESMERALDA was "the first cruiser [in the world] to discard masts and yards."[3] She was "a light, fast, heavily armed ship with no rig and the first vessel of the type to adopt a full length protective deck." Her armour was mostly one inch thick, with two inch around the magazine. She carried two 10-inch guns and six 6-inch, and could make 18 knots, "on paper one of the most powerful medium sized warships in existence..."[4] In fact, her light displacement, low freeboard and heavy main armament made her difficult to operate in a seaway, and her coal capacity limited her operating range considerably. But to other countries, "So successful was the Esmeralda that all navies aspired to possess similar ships."[5]

The other major insurgent man-o-war was the BLANCO ENCALADA, a 3,499 ton, 210-foot central battery ship, a steel armored cruiser with six 12-ton muzzle-loading Armstrong rifles and 10 other pieces.[6]

The United States, whose Navy had begun to rebuild in 1881, had noted ESMERALDA'S performance, and the potency of the Chilean government. At the Union Iron Works, in San Francisco, the U.S. Navy laid down two steel armoured cruisers, the CHARLESTON and the SAN FRANCISCO. They were sisters to the PHILADELPHIA and the BALTIMORE. CHARLESTON displaced 4,200 tons fully loaded, had a two inch protective deck and two inch plate, and steamed at 19.7 knots at her trials. Her main armaments were two 8-inch and six 6-inch guns, plus eight other smaller ones, with no torpedo tubes. SAN FRANCISCO went down the ways on October 26, 1889. She was 4,583 tons full, carried 12 of the 6" guns and 10 smaller pieces, and was nearly as fast. CHARLESTON and SAN FRANCISCO were commissioned just as the crisis was coming to a boil in Chile.

One of the first acts of the Chilean insurgents was to commandeer the iron steamer ITATA in Valparaiso Harbor, on January 16, 1891. A 1,201 net ton, screw-propelled ship built in 1873, capable in her prime of doing



Valparaiso harbor in the 1890's. This busy principal port of Chile was focal point of the successful Chilean economy of copper, nitrates, gold and agricultural products, and center of the imperiled Blamaceda regime.
Chandler Postcard Collection, SDMM

nine to ten knots, she was originally owned by the Compania Sud Americana de Vapores. She had a mixed crew. Her Captain was a Dane, called, variously, Manzeum or Manzen. An American, John L. Watterson, was her engineer. And Chileans of various types shipped as crewmen. Outwardly, she had no military potential.

American naval vessels were seldom near Chile to observe developments, protect American interests, and show the flag to the Spanish, English, German and French ships, and other foreign powers nosing about. As no Pacific Station ships were available, the old Civil War screw sloop PENSACOLA, Capt. Pickering, brought Rear Admiral William Penn McCann from Montevideo, Uruguay, to Valparaiso and the southern coast in mid-February.[7] McCann was a career naval officer and recent appointee to the command of the South Atlantic Station.

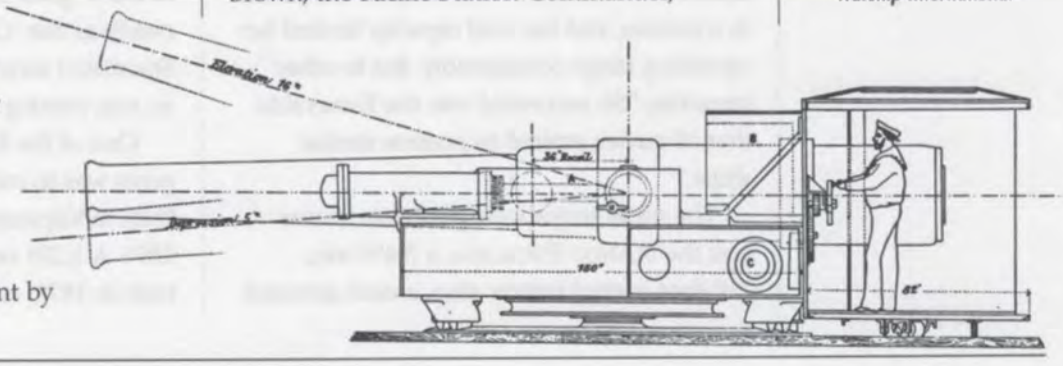
The Chilean civil war was punctuated by a most significant naval battle. At 4 a.m. on April 23, the small 750 ton torpedo gunboats ALMIRANTE LYNCH and the ALMIRANTE CONDELL attacked the 3,499 ton insurgent cruiser ironclad BLANCO ENCALADA in Caldera Bay, a short distance north of Valparaiso. The insurgent cruiser had just caused an international incident by forcing a British and a German merchantman to sell her their coal supply at an exorbitant price.[8]

BLANCO ENCALADA's crew was caught unawares. She was at anchor, and her fires were banked.[9]

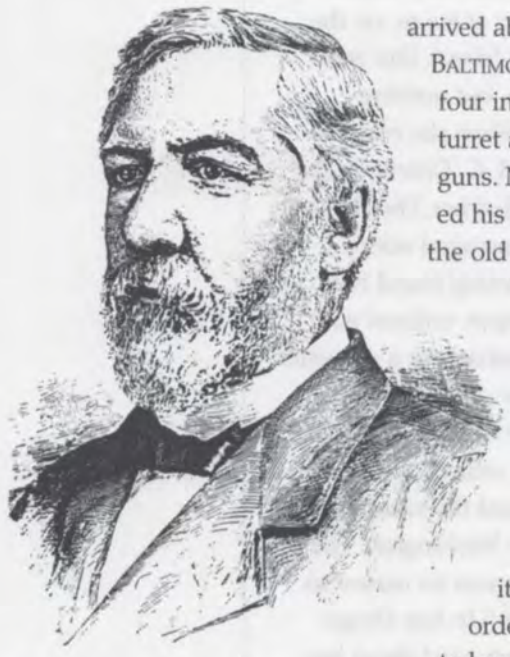
After several of both the loyalists' and the insurgents' torpedoes missed, one finally sank the unprepared ENCALADA. About 150 crewmen lost their lives. It was the first clear case of a large, well-armed warship being sunk by a small ship armed with the 14" Whitehead locomotive torpedo,[10] and showed the world how potent a weapon it could be.

The U.S. Navy heard of the action when Admiral McCann's report came in six days later. McCann's force on the scene had recently been augmented in mid-April with the arrival of the new steel protected cruiser BALTIMORE, Capt. Winfield S. Schley, at Valparaiso in mid-April. The new protected cruiser SAN FRANCISCO, commanded by Capt. William T. Sampson, with RAdm. George Brown, the Pacific Station Commander,

ESMERALDA's center pivot hydraulic mounting for 10 inch Breech Loading gun.
Warship International







James G. Blaine
National Cyclopaedia of Amer. Biogr.

arrived about then in Peru. BALTIMORE, 4,600 tons, boasted four inch deck and three inch turret armor, and ten six inch guns. McCann promptly shifted his command to her from the old PENSACOLA.[11]

Balmaceda and his loyal army initially had control of southern Chile. But he couldn't move north for want of sea forces, as the intervening topography of Chile prevented it. Five additional ships ordered from Britain had yet to be delivered. Not long after the sinking of the BLANCO ENCALADA, Balmaceda told his minister in Washington to try and buy a warship from the U.S.

At the time, Patrick Egan was the appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary for the U.S. Egan had been an executive of the Irish Revolutionary Nationalist Council. He'd settled in Nebraska in 1883, and worked intensely for the state, for protection of the grain trade in which he'd prospered immensely, and for Republican interests.[12] E. L. Godkin, wrote: "...there is something grotesque in the fact that our representative in Chili... just now is a barely naturalized 'Blaine Irishman,' of whom the country had only heard as a British political refugee until he was appointed to the Chilian Mission."[13] Balmaceda got ambassador Egan to send a message urgently supporting Chile's effort to buy American war ships. Egan got no reply, and followed this up with a dispatch in June. He was told that the Navy had no ships for sale.[14]

The Chilean Congressional Party lacked sufficient arms and ammunition for their struggle, if they were to drive the Balmacedistas out of central and southern Chile.[15] And Balmaceda needed the nitrate revenues which came to nearly $1,250,000 a month in export duties, which the insurgents controlled; therefore he needed ships and a navy. Because the insurgents controlled the sea, all they needed was to get arms and ammunition and transport them to Iquique,

Patrick Egan
National Cyclopaedia of Amer. Biogr.



which was their center of operations. On March 5, 1891, Ricardo Trumbull, a Chilean citizen who was a Yale graduate and spoke perfect English, arrived in New York. He appears to have contacted W. R. Grace & Co., headed by William R. Grace, ex-mayor of New York, who worked in their cause at all levels, using his considerable influence.

Trumbull arranged thru W. W. Reynolds of the New York firm of Hartley & Graham to buy 2,000 cases of U.M.C. .43 caliber rifle ammunition (1,000 rounds a case), and 250 cases of rifles, part Remington and part Lee Magazine, 11 gauge, 200 to the case. Trumbull shipped the arms to Oakland. He then advised the junta in Iquique. They notified him that ITATA was on its way. ITATA left Arica, Chile, on April 8. Heading south, she rendezvoused at Iquique with the protected cruiser ESMERALDA, where ITATA filled her bunkers with coal, and loaded aboard four 60-pound guns, one gatling gun and a small brass cannon. ESMERALDA escorted her north to the Galapagos, where they anchored for three days, while they loaded ESMERALDA with coal in small boats. Then onward to Cape San Lucas, Mexico, where another three days were spent transferring coal to the cruiser. The plan was that ESMERALDA was to wait at Cape San Lucas until ITATA could secure a load of coal, supplies, and the arms coming from Trumbull. All supplies were getting low. Capt. Manzen and the ITATA officers transferred to the cruiser, and Captain Silva, commander of ESMERALDA, took 260 military rifles, and with his officers, 90 ordinary seamen and sixty soldiers of his crew took charge of the freighter.

ESMERALDA proceeded to San Jose del Cabo, in the Sea of Cortez, where she was reported seen by the PCS steamer NEWBERN'S Capt. Helms. Three of ESMERALDA'S officers had visited him on the 2nd, and asked him for news from the north, and the location of the nearest supply of coal. They were disappointed to learn it was at San Diego, and that the NEWBERN'S own supply was meager. On the same day, Helms had seen the USS OMAHA heading north, and another big steamer which he thought was the Chilean warship IMPERIALE.[16]

On April 21, at the Oakland Mole, Capt. George A. Burt, supercargo, had the arms and ammunition loaded aboard Capt. O'Farrel's "dog-hole" lumber schooner ROBERT AND MINNIE, 94 net tons, 83.6' x28.2' x7.6'. She was sailing under a coasting license between American ports, with a cook and four seamen, and was not required to enter her manifest. ROBERT AND MINNIE, towed by the VIGILANT, with seven souls aboard, left San Francisco at 6 a.m. on the 23rd, bound for Catalina Island. She was examined at Wilmington, but nothing suspicious was found. When she reached Catalina on May 2, Mr. H. C. Downing, the customs inspector, boarded her. The ROBERT AND MINNIE might have escaped notice entirely, except that Downing found her while he was out in an open sailboat with two assistants, on the lookout for a schooner full of opium. Noting her cargo of arms and ammo, he asked the Captain who the recipient was to be. Burt refused to say, so they placed a guard aboard the schooner, and reported the facts to Washington. The answer came back: there was no reason to interfere in the shipment.[17] In San Diego Collector of Customs Berry read about her in the press dispatches the next day.[18] But the schooner was still not clear of all suspicion. It seems that the decision to detain her came too late:

> It will be remembered that the customs officers of the port of San Pedro received orders from the Treasury Department to detain the ROBERT AND MINNIE about the same time that Marshal Gard was similarly instructed [i.e., on May 4th]. The collector and his men went out first in a sloop, and the marshal's deputy followed in a tug, but the schooner eluded both and sailed for the south.[19]

Merchant sailors of the ITATA, during her enforced stay in 1892. Her original crew included a Danish Captain, an American engineer, and Chilean crewmen of various ethnicities.

Title and Trust photo



Not long after Trumbull had reached the U.S. in March, Sr. Don Prudencio Lazcano, the representative of the Balmaceda government in Washington became aware of his arrival, and went to see Secretary of State James G. Blaine, complaining that President Balmaceda had forbidden the importation of arms and ammunition into Chile.

Blaine told him that such traffic was legal, according to international law. Lazcano then hired detectives who discovered the insurgent congressional party plan to ship arms thru California. Lazcano hired as his attorney John Watson Foster. Foster, who was a brevetted Brigadier General in the Civil War, had served President Grant as minister to Mexico; under President Arthur, he was Minister to Spain. Foster was serving as a special agent of the State Department, assisting Secretary Blaine and President Harrison with the reciprocity treaties that developed, following Blaine's PanAmerican Conference of the winter of 1889-90.

Lazcano and Foster proposed to the State Department that the cargo aboard ROBERT AND MINNIE be detained. In response, on May 4 the Department wired the Los Angeles U.S. District Attorney, Willoughby Cole, advising him of Lazcano's claims. It ordered Cole to investigate fully, and to keep the ROBERT AND MINNIE at Wilmington.

Meanwhile, Foster sent two wires to Los Angeles Judge Brunson asking him to help the District Attorney stop the ROBERT AND MINNIE, and advising that there were legal grounds for seizing the ITATA, that she should be detained. Brunson was a partner in the law firm of Brunson, Wilson & Lamme; Lamme was a counsel for the Balmaceda government. But ROBERT AND MINNIE was at sea,

somewhere among the Channel Islands.

United States Attorney General W. H. Miller wired Cole advising that ITATA was in San Diego and "Probably the two [vessels] are to meet. Have Marshal at San Diego watch schooner and detain her."[20] Not certain about his orders, Cole wired back on the 5th asking for authority to go to San Diego. Before the answer came, however, Lazcano had already pushed the Treasury department to action. Major George R. Gard, a United States Marshal, was on his way to San Diego, and a deputy had shoved off in a tug for Catalina, to detain the ROBERT AND MINNIE.

ITATA arrived in San Diego at 1 p.m. on May 3, anchoring in the stream.[21] She had originally meant to go to San Pedro, but there were only about five tons of coal left on her.[22] She was flying the house flag of the Compagnie Sur Americano Vapor, the crew wearing company uniforms. She was "the first Chilean steamer and probably the largest passenger boat that ever entered this harbor." Hidden away in her forward hold were the four sixty-pound guns, 90 seamen and many of the 60 soldiers of the ESMERALDA.[23]

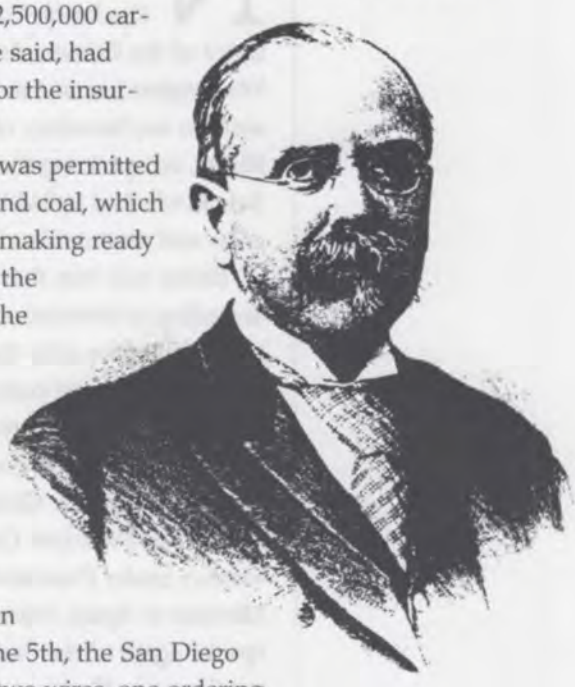
Within an hour of arriving, Deputy Collector of Customs Higgins boarded her, examined her papers, and found them all regular. The "usual customs house papers were issued, and she proceeded to take on coal and ship's stores."[24] At Horton House, Capt. Manzen [alias Capt. Silva of the ESMERALDA] told a reporter that he was in port with $100,000 for provisions and possibly coal, that he was headed for San Francisco with passengers and merchandise. He claimed the ship was owned by W. R. Grace & Co., and that his ultimate destination was Vancouver for repairs, and Nanaimo, British Columbia, for coal. He neglected to mention that some of the "passengers" were the cruiser ESMERALDA'S officers.[25]

The reporter knew the ROBERT AND MINNIE was lying off the coast with rifles and ammunition intended for Chilean insurgents, and asked him if he was connected with the schooner. Manzen expressed sympathy for the insurgents, but emphatically denied any connection. The reporter checked the customs house, and found ITATA'S clearance papers were in good order.

On the 4th, ITATA'S officers contracted for 800 tons of coal from Spreckles Brothers Commercial Co. But the barge brought to the ITATA had to be taken back; it was apparently taking on water rapidly, and needed to be secured and pumped out. Other supplies came to her on barges, and were loaded aboard rapidly. At midnight, 40 head of cattle were brought aboard on the ferryboat CORONADO. It was all very suspicious. Some of the supplies at the warehouse were marked "Esmeralda."

All along, nobody of her 90-man crew aboard the ITATA seemed able to say where she was bound. Her purser was carrying $450 and a draft from Grace & Co. of New York, for $100; this was determined after his mislaid pocketbook was found at Horton House. ITATA had no cargo, and seemed completely harmless.[26] But word had come from the deputy dispatched to Catalina that the ROBERT AND MINNIE had weighed anchor and was headed for San Diego. In San Francisco, Ricardo Trumbull told reporters the exact cargo of the ROBERT AND MINNIE: 10,000 45-70 calibre Remington rifles and 2,500,000 cartridges[27] And ITATA, he said, had come to get supplies for the insurgents' warships.

The next day ITATA was permitted to load ballast, cargo and coal, which they proceeded to do, making ready for possible departure the evening of the 5th or the morning of the 6th. But in high places her movements were considered alarming. Chilean envoy Lazcano had already gone to the Treasury Department in Washington, and on the 5th, the San Diego customs collector got two wires, one ordering



W. R. Grace
National Cyclopaedia of Amer. Biogr.

Pres. Benjamin Harrison
National Cyclopaedia of Amer. Biogr.



him to detain ROBERT AND MINNIE, and watch the ITATA; another telling him to detain both ships. Marshall Gard arrived in San Diego. At 12:30 p.m. he got a message from the clerk at the Los Angeles Marshall's office urging him to prepare to seize ITATA "within the next hour or two," and then, a half hour later:

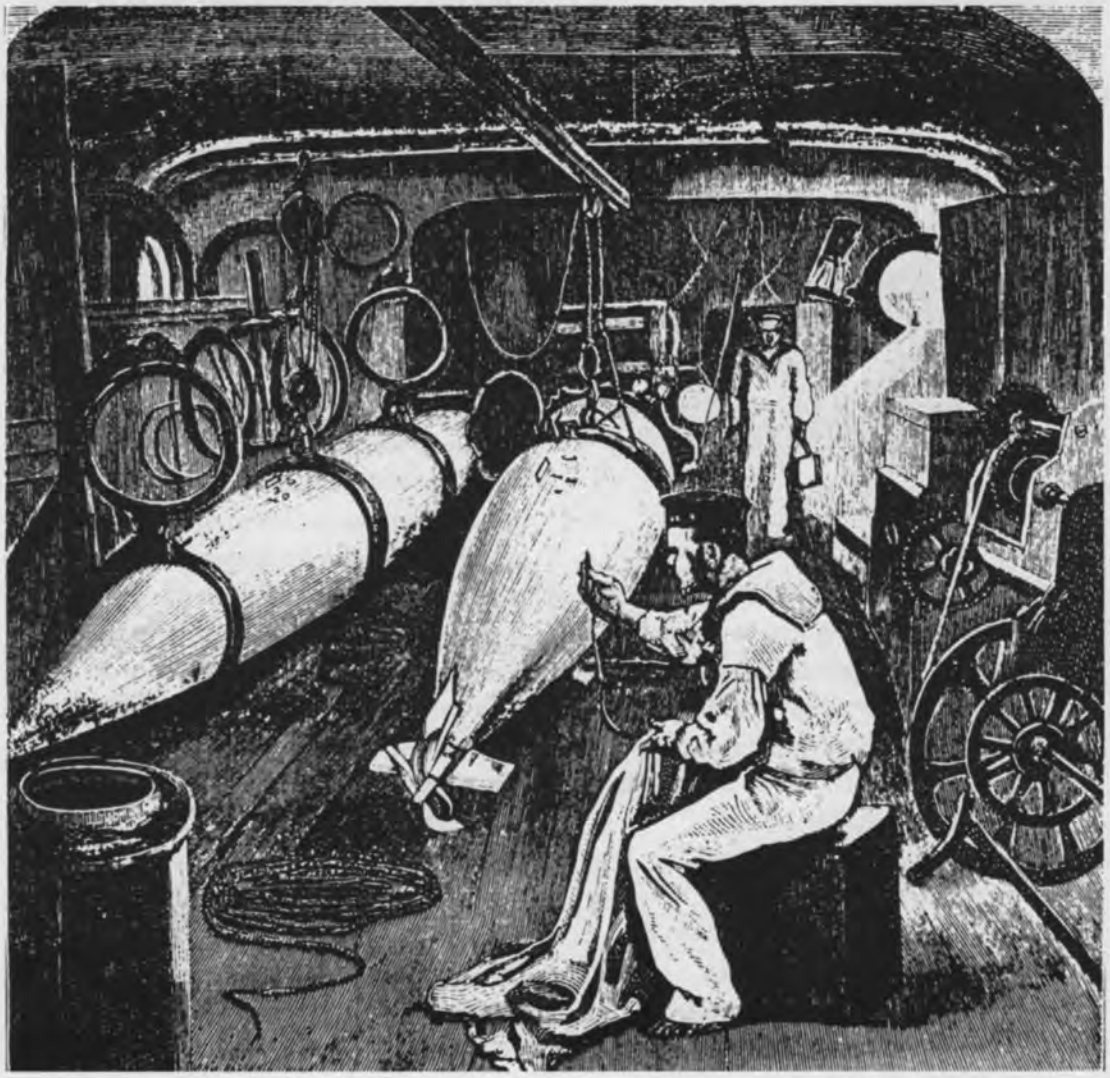
> Los Angeles, May 5, 1891
> Marshal George E. Gard: Detain the steamer ITATA. Information from Washington is to the effect that she is in violation of the neutrality laws.
> [Signed] W. Cole, U.S. District Attorney

Marshall Gard hired a launch and, with Deputy Marshal Spaulding, went aboard the Chilean vessel, placed the Captain under arrest, and seized the ship, leaving Deputy Marshall A. C. Spaulding aboard to assure the U.S. retained possession. The *Union* of May 6th says this was at six in the evening; but according to the Cole papers on the later court case, it happened in the afternoon. The *Union* reported Capt. Manzen as saying, "I do not want to come in conflict with the United States government, and am therefore at your service." Gard and Manzen then came ashore. At 4 p.m., Manzen applied for a departure clearance but was refused. Capt. A. F. Dill, the pilot, came aboard some time after Gard and Spaulding arrived. The ITATA continued with the frantic loading of four barge-loads of coal. They hired every laborer they could to expedite the effort before nightfall. The black smoke floating from her smokestack darkened and thickened.

Gard was preparing to send off his report and then begin searching with a tug for the ROBERT AND MINNIE, when he got a message from the U.S. Attorney Cole telling him *not* to seize the ITATA unless she tried to leave port. Cole had apparently had second thoughts about the authenticity of information provided him by Lazcano's attorney Foster. Gard wired back that he had already detained the ITATA, that her Captain was not yet aware of this change in orders, and that he desperately needed positive instructions by noon the next day.

Cole was on tenterhooks; he wired Washington for guidance, then boarded a train to San Diego where the next day he received a message: he had Miller's permission to travel, and was ordered to detain and libel both ships and their cargoes. At six that evening, Gard hired a launch and Capt. Manzen returned to his ship. That night, a fishing boat came into the harbor: they'd seen the schooner ROBERT AND MINNIE ten miles north of the Coronado Islands, and 20 miles from shore. The boat's crew also reported seeing what was apparently a black-hulled warship about twice as large as ITATA off San Diego, around 1 o'clock. This fact was confirmed by several persons who had seen it from on shore.[28] At 7 p.m., Marshall Gard and customs officer Berry went out in the tug GEN. MCPHERSON to search for the ROBERT AND MINNIE, but had no success. On the ITATA, coaling went on until 1:30 in the morning. Meanwhile, on shore, at 3 in the morning, Gard, Spaulding and others boarded the tug TIA JUANA for another fruitless search of the offshore waters.

From New York came news, apparently spread by one of two "prominent commercial houses" that there were competing interests supporting the two Chilean factors, who were both promising them valuable concessions... in the event of victory." In the same dispatch, representatives of W. R. Grace Company



Torpedo Preparation Scene
Scientific American, June 6, 1891

claimed they were agents for the original owners of ITATA, but were no longer in control of her: The *Union* reported that a dispatch to Chicago from Washington, accusing Grace of being in cahoots with the insurgents, asserted that a certain "Flint & Co." were the ones who helped spread the accusations against Trumbull, implicating ITATA and ROBERT AND MINNIE.

While ITATA was held up in San Diego Bay, Captains Burt and O'Farrel in the ROBERT AND MINNIE spent several frustrating days at sea searching the waters around Catalina. Burt got tired and decided he could wait no longer; he had to find ITATA. O'Farrel set sail for Point Loma, and when they arrived, the schooner signaled for a pilot. On entering the mouth of the harbor Burt sighted the steamer at anchor in the stream. He quickly put about, and disembarked the pilot, sending him off with a message for the Captain of the ITATA. The machinery was in motion.[29]

On the sixth, Attorney General Miller sent Gard a wire ordering him directly to detain ITATA and seize ROBERT AND MINNIE. The dispatch was puzzling. He asked Gard to identify ITATA's flag, and urged him not to use force, or attempt illegal seizure of ROBERT AND MINNIE. While the Chileans frantically loaded supplies aboard ITATA, suave Captain Manzen invited Marshal Gard and District Attorney Cole to come aboard for lunch. The Marshal had more important matters to deal with, and declined.

A good thing that he declined, considering what happened next.

Gard decided he needed help capturing the schooner, and approached Gen. Alexander M. McCook to provide soldiers from the barracks. The Army telegraphed Washington for authority, and received it. Gard left at 4:00 p.m. aboard the TIA JUANA "with the four soldiers, [Harry] Morse [of the Morse Detective Agency], Crawford and myself" for another futile search of Mexican waters. He'd scarcely left the harbor when ITATA raised her anchor and got underway, threading between the empty tin powder cans that then marked the channel. She steamed out of San Diego Bay and turned north.

Astonishingly, another schooner came within 100 yards of the TIA JUANA. Her crewmen nervously awaited the tug's hail. The tug bore on, all on board oblivious to the fact that they had just passed the ROBERT AND MINNIE![30]

The unthinkable was happening: ITATA was fleeing the harbor where she was supposed to be impounded, and taking a deputy U.S. marshal with her. Deputy Spaulding later told the newspaper reporters[31] that when he first came aboard, though he felt something suspicious was afoot, he nevertheless had a pleasant time aboard.

[To be continued in Part II.]

[Ed Note: Charles A. Bencik currently is librarian and editor of *Mains'l Haul* for the San Diego Maritime Museum. He has published numerous articles on San Diego maritime history. Chuck has been a Museum docent since his retirement from the Navy.]

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One Hundred Fifty Years Under Old Glory:

How CYANE Brought the Flag to San Diego

by Charles A. Bencik

Legend says it was red flannel, white muslin, and some odd patches of blue gingham. The American Flag. It flew over the Old Town square of San Diego 150 years ago. Sailors and Marines raised our national ensign here for the first time July 29th, 1846, and declared the town a part of the United States.

The Californios in the dusty little village had seen the Stars and Stripes before, on the Yankee whalers and traders that in growing numbers were putting into the Bay. Now an American naval force landed and raised it here. For the future American "Gibraltar of the Pacific," that fit the occasion well. But what an odd assortment of adventurers and scoundrels there were among them!

They sailed here on the heavy sloop-of-war CYANE (792 tons, 22 guns).[1] Her Captain was Samuel Francis Du Pont, grandson of Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, the famed French politician and economist.[2] Scion of the E. I. Du Pont de Nemours line, Captain Du Pont was a gracious, personable man. CYANE was part of Commodore John D. Sloat's squadron, which included the frigate SAVANNAH (44 guns), his flagship; and the sloop-of-war LEVANT (22 guns).[3]

Commodore Sloat, an old fussbudget of an officer, commanded the Pacific Squadron. Months earlier, Sloat had received secret orders to capture San Francisco harbor and blockade the other California ports, should he learn that war was breaking out between the U.S. and Mexico.[4] For far off in Texas, between the Nueces River and the Rio Grand, that's exactly what was happening.

The ten-year old Texas Republic was long thought to be secure since it won its independence in the Battle of San Jacinto. It was shaken in the spring of 1846, however, when Mexican forces attacked Zachery Taylor's border defense force. President James K. Polk had sent John Slidell



"USS CYANE at Point Loma" by Edward M. Ries. Painting shows the sloop-of-war bearing regular sailors and marines under Capt. Samuel F. Du Pont, as well as Fremont and his rough army, July 29, 1846.
Collection of Edward M. Ries

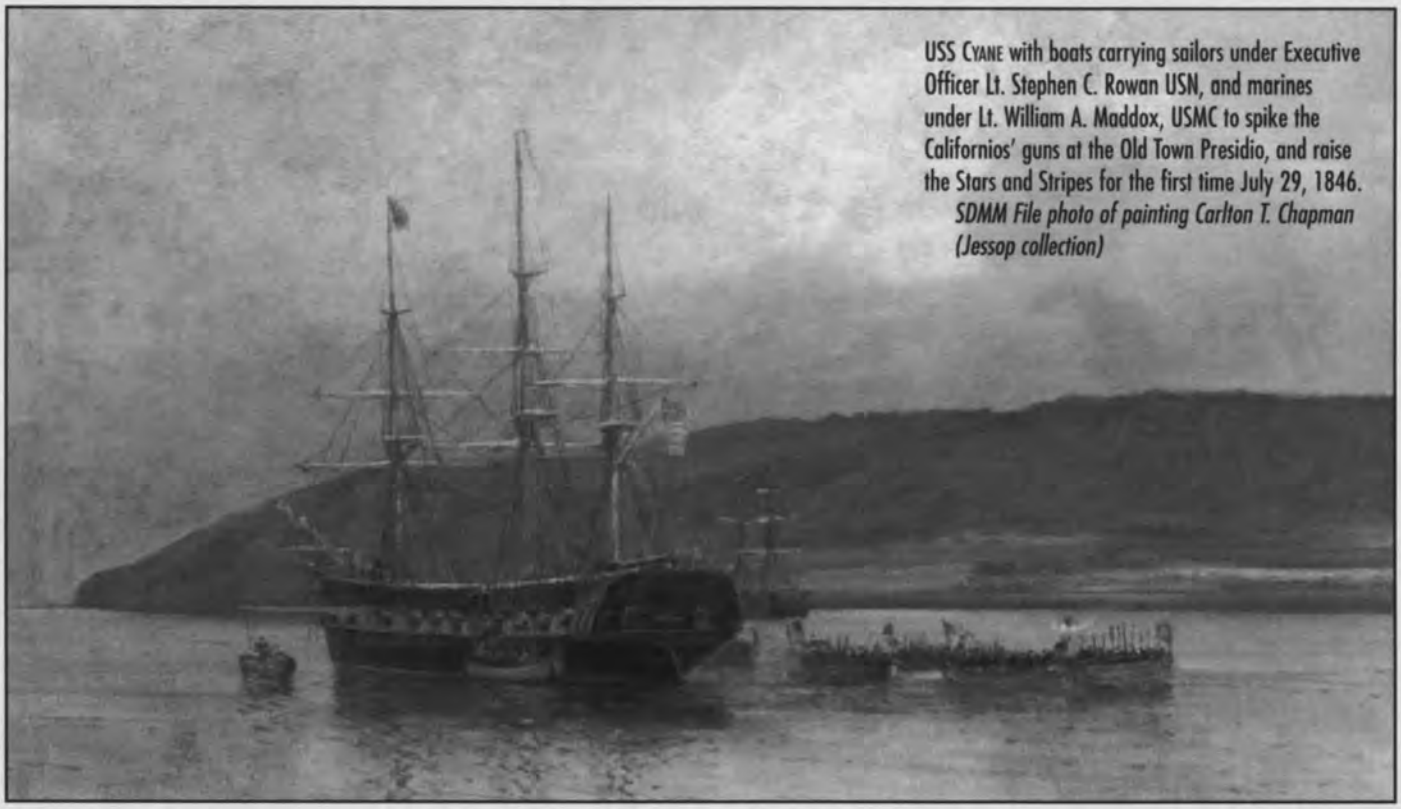
to Mexico to bargain for the purchase of New Mexico and California. Mexico would not have it, and he returned to Washington.[5]

Lying off Mazatlan, Sloat heard of the hostilities. The squadron departed northward. President Polk, swept up by the ringing compulsion of "manifest destiny," and for other political considerations, was maneuvering to consolidate Texas and New Mexico, and annex California by military means. To clear his decks, an amicable settlement of the old Oregon territorial border dispute with Britain was agreed on and ratified in June.[6] It would have seemed that Britain was no longer a problem, but for one event.

The HMS COLLINGSWOOD had also sailed north for Monterey. The possibility of Britain moving to take advantage of the Mexican war made decisive action imperative. On July 2, 1846, the American Pacific Squadron arrived and anchored out at Monterey, capital of Alta California since 1775.

Commodore Sloat was sickly, old, and a cantankerous Navy book soldier. He was not anxious to repeat Commodore Thomas ap Catsby Jones' mistake. Four years earlier, Jones had prematurely "taken" Monterey, and the Secretary of the Navy had had to disavow it. After dogging Sloat about the situation for days, Sloat's subordinates somehow convinced him to land 250 men on July 7, and plant the American flag at the Monterey customhouse. He sent the PORTSMOUTH, with Lieutenant Revere, to take possession of Sonoma. In retrospect it gave him an edge, for, on July 16, HMS COLLINGSWOOD, Rear Admiral Sir George Seymour, arrived at Monterey, and the British officers began paying courtesy calls on Sloat's squadron.[7]

Three days later, John Charles Fremont rode into Monterey with 160 foul-looking mountaineers, the recently recruited Army of the California Republic (a polity that died



USS CYANE with boats carrying sailors under Executive Officer Lt. Stephen C. Rowan USN, and marines under Lt. William A. Maddox, USMC to spike the Californios' guns at the Old Town Presidio, and raise the Stars and Stripes for the first time July 29, 1846.
SDMM File photo of painting Carlton T. Chapman (Jessop collection)



Left: Capt. Samuel F. Du Pont. A likeable, effective naval officer, Du Pont had been in command of the frigate CONGRESS, Commodore Stockton's Flagship when Stockton relieved Sloat at Monterey. Du Pont was in command of CYANE only six days before she arrived in San Diego Bay.
Office of Naval Records and Library photo



Right: Commodore Robert F. Stockton, veteran of the War of 1812, beleaguered commander of PRINCETON during her tragic gun explosion and patron of John Ericson, undertook to establish an American government of California.
SDMM File photo

when Sloat's troops planted the U.S. flag and took legitimate federal control). Monterey officials had been suspicious of Fremont's motives, remembering ap Catesby Jones, and had ejected this band a month earlier. It included 39 trappers in buckskins, a bodyguard of five painted Delaware indians, a motley band of sailors, and Kit Carson, the legendary frontier scout.

Fremont had been appointed a Lieutenant in the United States Topographical Corps in 1845, and sent west to survey the Rockies and the Sierras for the Army.[8] Nothing else: no troops, no commission, no marching orders. Yet he was determined to expand his political horizons by taking Santa Barbara and Los Angeles. Fremont pressed Sloat for a military commission, flaunting the patronage of Navy Secretary George Bancroft and of his father-in-law, Senator Thomas Hart Benton. Sloat, his resolution flagging, managed to distance himself from Fremont's drama and bombast. He was grateful when the energetic, imaginative Commodore Robert Field Stockton came to relieve him.

Stockton bore the psychic wounds of a horrible, shattering ordeal he had endured in Washington. Imaginative but a fool by many accounts, he had been a champion of Swedish engineer John Ericsson's version of the screw propel-

lor, a design originally offered to the British but rejected by them. Stockton had one installed on the PRINCETON – the American Navy's first.

It happened in February 1844, on the Potomac River, aboard PRINCETON (10 guns) – the first American steam screw sloop man-o-war. One of PRINCETON'S wrought iron cannons exploded. Secretary of State Abel P. Upshur and Secretary of the Navy Thomas Walker Gilmer were killed, with many others wounded. The President and his cabinet were aboard at the time, but escaped injury.

After the disasterous explosion, Ericsson had abandoned Stockton to his fate.[9]

On arrival in Monterey, Stockton made the questionable decision to grant Fremont a commission as an army major, and enlisted his raggle-taggle irregulars as the Navy Battalion of Mounted Riflemen. His imagination afire, Stockton railed against Don Jose Castro, the military commander of California. He accused him of "lawless violence," bloody revolutionary complicity with the indians, rapine, etc., etc. In this, Stockton seems to have been confused by stories told of the paroled convicts among the Mexican army ranks of former Governor Manuel Micheltorena, whom Governor Pio Pico had replaced in 1845.[10]

General Castro had been warned by the Mexican government that war with the United States was possible, after President Polk annexed Texas. Pico was at odds with General Castro, who controlled troops and purse strings. Since the secularization of the California Missions in 1833, Californios had only remote associations with their government in Mexico, which had been bankrupted by its years-long struggle against rebellious Texans and French interventionists.[11] The Californians could only receive faint, neglectful support and direction, as a result. The governor had sent an envoy and made overtures to British Rear Admiral Seymour, to shore up his tenuous position; thus Seymour's curious appearance at Monterey.

In San Diego, a citizens' appeal to the commandant of the presidio in early July urged that he send a rider to Stockton in Monterey, asking for an armed force to drive out disgruntled Californios.[12] To Fremont's consternation, Stockton ordered Fremont, his Navy Battalion, and Kit Carson aboard CYANE on July 26, and told them to proclaim Old Glory and occupy San Diego.

A more miserable band of filthy cutthroats the elegant Captain du Pont had not seen on his ship. Carson and a sizeable portion of his messmates got seasick, having only recently finished carousing in the Monterey cantinas.

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CYANE, which could hold not much more than its complement of 200 men, must have bulged and reeked.[13]

On arriving in San Diego Bay July 29th, while Fremont sized up the opposition, behind CYANE'S eighteen 32-pounder and four 24-pounder guns, Lieutenant Stephen C. Rowan, USN, and Lieutenant William A. Maddox, USMC, went ashore with CYANE sailors and marines at 3 p.m. that day. They marched to the Old Town plaza, where Lieutenant Rowan read a proclamation from Commodore Stockton, seizing all of the territory on behalf of the President. Then they hoisted the American flag on the pole near the Estudillo house. Lieutenant Rowan and his sailors returned to the ship at 10:50 that night; Lieutenant Maddox and his Marines remained ashore.[14]

Fremont remained aboard until he determined that General Andres Pico, brother of then Governor Pio Pico, and his men had departed. At 9 a.m. the next day Fremont debarked his own force, and later marched them across Dutch Flats to the Town plaza. There they were met by a welcoming committee led by Don Juan de Bandini, — real estate and cattle hide tycoon, San Diego store owner, customs officer and former head of the *comisaria* under Governor Manuel Victoria. Bandini was then Secretary of State for Governor Pico. There was little opposition, initially, from the townsfolk.

Bandini, at some risk, welcomed Fremont's force. As a San Diego businessman of some consequence, he chafed at the Mexican government's neglect and the unenforceable regulations of the governors. Governor Micheltorena had banned Yankee whalers from selling goods in California ports, a brisk and growing business that had been flourishing for more than a decade. The governor's interference in revenue matters was a policy Bandini had long opposed. Pico in 1845 rescinded the ban and port fees. The prospect of better times under the Americans buoyed his hopes. To seal the bargain, Bandini gave Fremont a fine sorrel stallion, the ultimate mark of friendship.[15]

Captain Du Pont stayed in Bandini's home, enjoying the music, dancing, food and hospitality. Don Juan at 60 was an indefatigable dancer. Du Pont found him wonderful company, and apparently a longtime friend of the Americans. However the other important San Diego families (Osuna, Carillo, Marron and Machado) still expected the Mexican government would eventually stabilize and protect Alta California.

Fremont was particularly impressed by the San Diego countryside, and commented favorably in his memoirs about the fecundity of the vinyards, and the luxuriant gar-

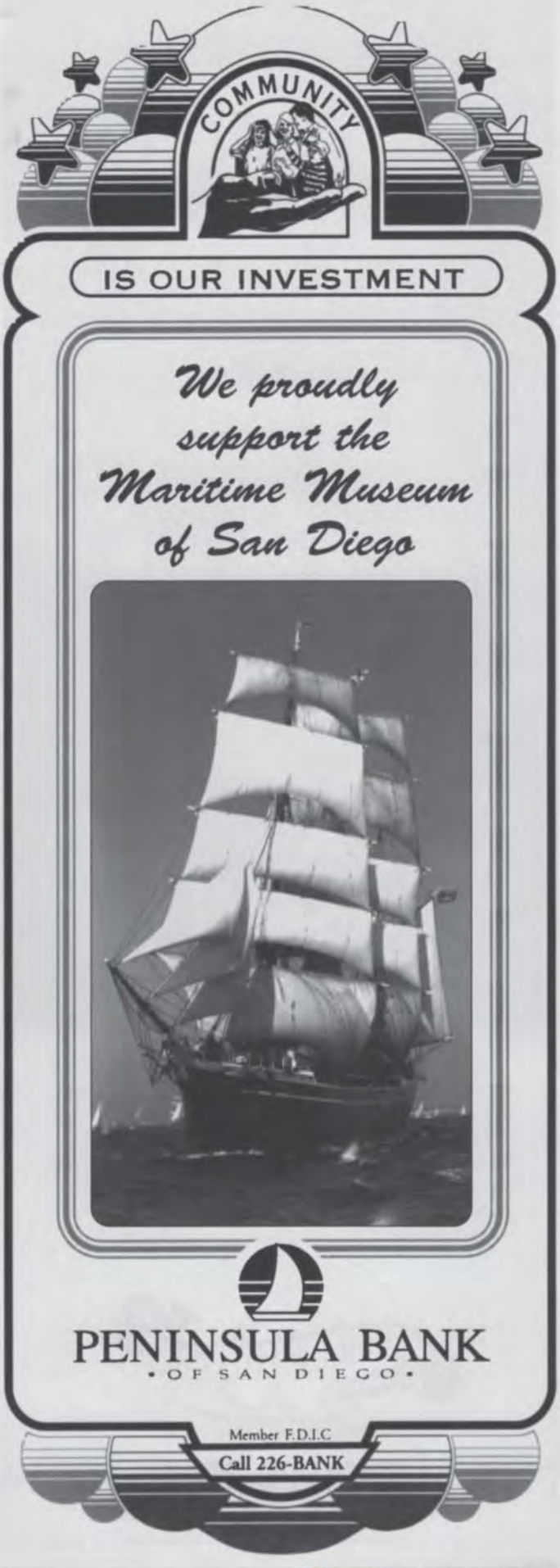
dens amid the arid, brush-covered hills to the south. He stayed long enough to impress horses for his expedition against Los Angeles, and headed north on August 8, to join Stockton. The Commodore had assembled a 360-man landing force, and they were sailing for Santa Barbara and San Pedro.

There is a story that one of Bandini's daughters sewed together some flannels and muslins, and that it was this home-made American flag that first flew over the town of 600, there in the Old Town plaza. More than likely that incident occurred later, after Stockton's force had departed. After Fremont left, some of the loyal Californios again raised the Mexican flag. Sail-maker Albert B. Smith, incensed, climbed the flagpole and nailed Old Glory firmly in place.[16]

Stockton was both over-cautious and over-optimistic about the military situation. An inept Lieutenant, Archibald H. Gillespie, had botched the pacification of Los Angeles, causing hate, discontent and a revolt of the Californios. They ejected Gillespie and the naval army occupiers of San Diego and Santa Barbara. Gillespie put his San Pedro force aboard a whaler, and returned with them to San Diego Bay. Stockton called Fremont forward to aid in the situation; Fremont waffled and delayed, a la Civil War General George B. McClellan. Stockton ordered the SAVANNAH, under Captain Mervine, with 400 men, to recapture Los Angeles. He himself sailed to San Pedro, arriving October 27. Captain Mervine's sailors had no horses, and the sailors were not really trained for land battle. Fremont's assistance, long in coming, and Stockton's constant underestimation of the situation made it possible for 100 Californio rebels to hold the Americans at bay.

After a few days, Mervine's sailors re-embarked. Stockton went to San Diego on the 60-gun ship CONGRESS and set up a camp on the hill near the Presidio, calling it "Fort Stockton." Aboard the whaler in the harbor, Gillespie's garrison waited for three weeks in November 1846, then came ashore and found that the rebels were not occupying the town. They had in fact cleaned out the place of horses, and were sniping at the Americans whenever they could. Finally, Stockton learned of the approach of General Stephen Watts Kearney near Warner's Ranch, calling for information and assistance. Stockton sent Lieutenant Gillespie, 35 sailors and a small brass gun. Gillespie thought that Californios in the area would not fight. He was wrong.

By mid-December the remains of Kearney's 110-man force reached San Diego, with orders from President Polk for Kearney to establish an American government in





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California. Kearney nearly didn't make it. Earlier, on October 6, Kearney had intercepted Kit Carson, who'd been sent east to Washington by Stockton. His dispatches said that California had been taken, that principal towns were occupied, people pacified, native generals in flight. Throwing caution to the wind, Kearney detached parts of his force to return east, a decision that nearly destroyed his force en route to San Diego. A fifth of his remaining troops were killed at the Battle of San Pasqual, December 6th and 7th.[17] Kearney sent Stockton a messenger requesting assistance; Stockton, who had a force of 800, declined. Wounded and at the limits of his resources, Kearney sent Carson and two others to sneak through the lines of the Californios. They reached San Diego December 9, 1846. On the 11th, 180 of Stockton's men found Kearney's force. They arrived in San Diego on the 12th.

* * * *

John Charles Fremont, who fancied himself governor of California, later refused to acknowledge Kearney's authority and was convicted of mutiny. Riding his fame as the fabled "Pathfinder," Fremont served as a U.S. Senator for two years. He was Republican candidate for President in 1856. In the Civil War he was removed from command of the Western Department. After losing a fortune in an 1870 railroad venture, he became governor of Arizona Territory (1878-1882).

Captain Du Pont proved himself a master organizer. In the Civil War, he led the successful naval attack against Port Royal, South Carolina, in 1861; and the unsuccessful 1863 operation against Charleston, an action he had to undertake against his will.

John Ericsson's screw propeller design was not acceptable on the Navy's steamers; today's ships are driven by the design of his competitor, Englishman Francis Pettit-



Juan Bandini and daughter Margarita. ***San Diego Historical Society.***

Smith. Ericsson's design of the MONITOR, however, revolutionized naval gun ships; and profoundly changed the thrust of American industry and the maritime history of San Diego.

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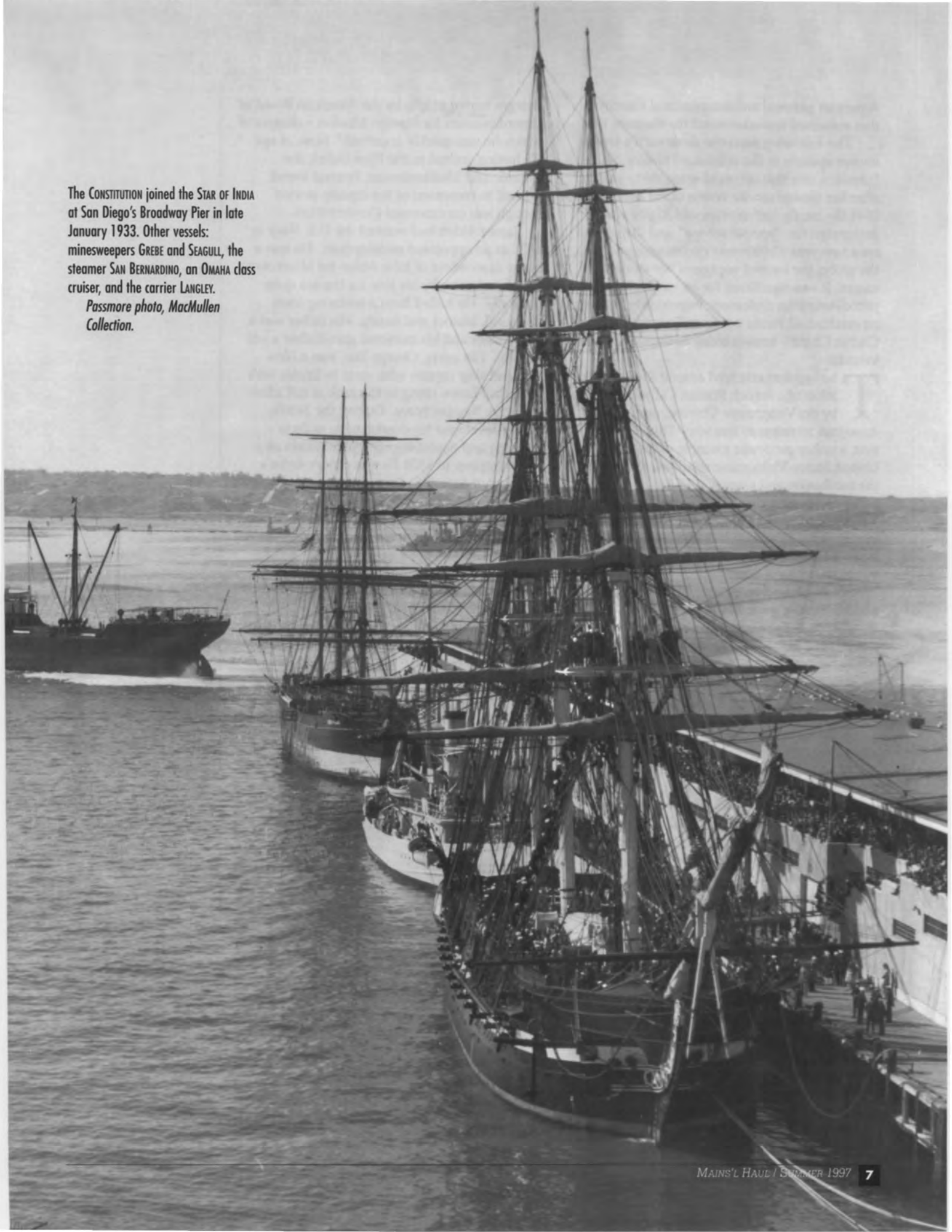
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The CONSTITUTION joined the STAR OF INDIA at San Diego's Broadway Pier in late January 1933. Other vessels: minesweepers GREBE and SEAGULL, the steamer SAN BERNARDINO, an OMAHA class cruiser, and the carrier LANGLEY.
Passmore photo, MacMullen Collection.

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On the cover . . .

The clipper CONSTITUTION was the 77th tuna vessel built by Campbell Machine Company of San Diego and the last wood-hull tuna clipper constructed in the United States. She was delivered in May 1952 to managing owner Joe S. Rogers, an immigrant from the Azores Islands.



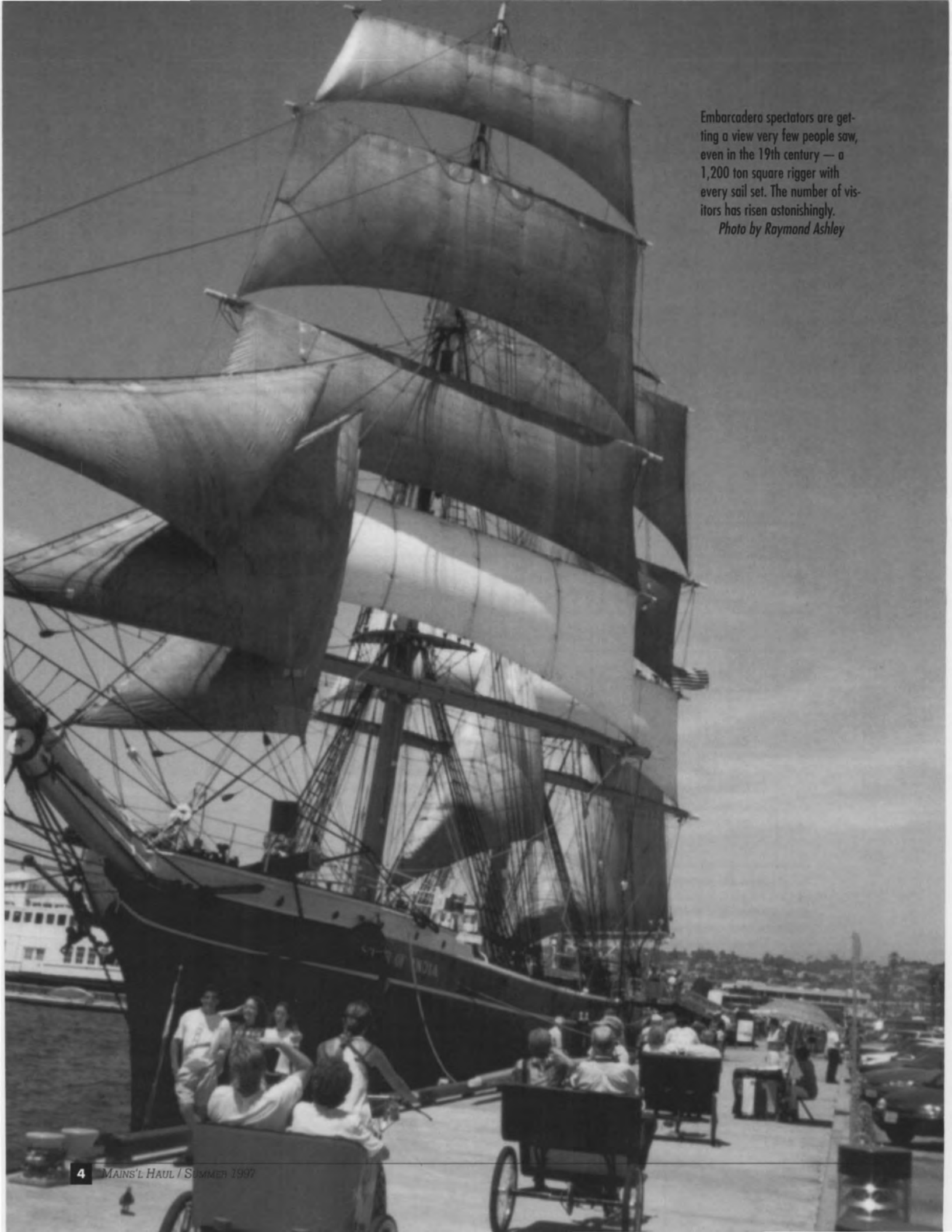
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MARITIME MUSEUM ASSOCIATION OF SAN DIEGO
STAR OF INDIA 1863

"*Mains'l Haul*—An order in tacking ship bidding 'Swing the main yards.' To loot, steal, or 'acquire'."
—John Masefield



Embarcadero spectators are getting a view very few people saw, even in the 19th century — a 1,200 ton square rigger with every sail set. The number of visitors has risen astonishingly.
Photo by Raymond Ashley

FROM THE HELM

If You Set It They Will Come

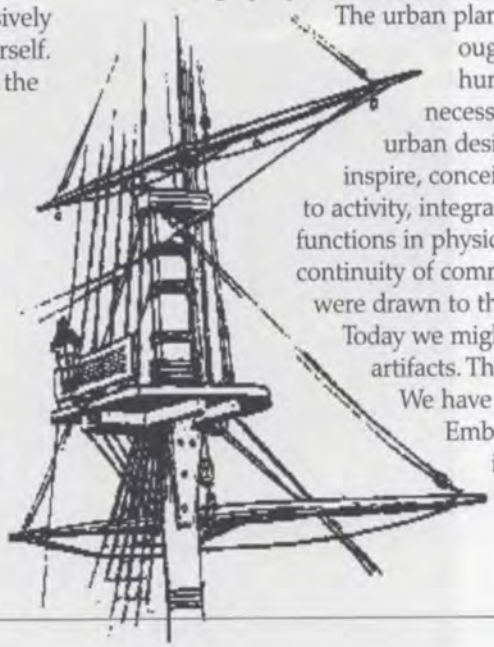
Over the past several weeks the new North Embarcadero Alliance has considered presentations from various entities seeking to establish themselves as centerpieces of the new and revitalized urban waterfront we all hope the Embarcadero will become. Aspirants have included a baseball stadium, a deactivated aircraft carrier, a library, a renovation of the Old Santa Fe Railroad Station, an enlarged and improved cruise ship terminal and, of course, the most conspicuous occupant present – our San Diego Maritime Museum. In our own presentation to the Alliance and elsewhere our position has been that, as our ships and museum embody the public memory of a maritime community as no other entity can, we provide both the physical and cultural balance necessary to unify and integrate the wide spectrum of enterprises and activities that will result from the waterfront planning process.

We argue the case for a human scale to development and evidence of a real past lived by real people. This is not easy to do, since the very language of urban planning itself is designed to strip away subjective impressions and replace them with a set of objective criteria drained of meaning to their lowest and blandest common denominator: view corridors, linkages, public areas, etc. Such discourse imposes its own set of priorities. The corridor to a view becomes more important than what the view contains, the linkage between two things is elevated above the value of the entities linked, and areas for the public to occupy convey little reason for why people may want to be there. Our museum, we suggest in our presentation, provides the substance to the view, establishes human values to link to, and offers something for people to wonder at or be inspired by. This is the point we tried to make in slides and commentary, delivered to polite audiences at public gatherings.

And in making that point we have been massively and eloquently upstaged by the STAR OF INDIA herself. The STAR has carried her point by carrying sail at the dock – lots of sail. In the past we have noted that crowds gathered when our crew trained in preparation for a sail: setting and taking in sails, practicing evolutions, and exercising the rig. We noted also that our visitors responded very favorably to on board activity, ranging from the living history overnights and boat building classes to the ongoing carpentry, painting, and caulking pertinent to the maintenance of old ships. Observing also that interactivity is now the buzzword in museums, we concluded from such experience that STAR OF INDIA is potentially the most interactive exhibit imaginable. Finally, when we recently set all her sails during filming of a History Channel episode and continued to set full sail for a week afterward, we saw numbers of people coming aboard beyond anything in recent experience. In response, our crew has developed a new program designed to allow visitors to participate in setting and taking in some sail throughout the day under close supervision, and to carry as much sail as prevailing conditions of wind will safely allow.

It is still very early in the program, but the results have been astonishing. Where North Embarcadero pedestrian traffic is usually fairly sparse even in summer, hundreds of people now stroll along gazing up at a spectacle very few people were privileged to witness even in the nineteenth century – the immediate proximity of a 1,200 ton square rigger with everything set to the royals. (Historically a big sailing ship was well at sea by the time full sail was set and then it would have been a rare thing to get so close to one). Gate attendance has been up 52% on those days when we can set everything. Visitors who come aboard expecting a passive experience and end up hauling lines and heaving round the capstan, have extended their stay by hours, returned for more, and joined the museum as members in numbers we have not seen before. Many visitors tell our ticket takers they saw the ship from the window of their approaching aircraft or from the freeway miles away and were drawn to her like moths to a flame. In coming to life, STAR OF INDIA has changed the demographics of the entire Embarcadero all on her own.

Through her physical presence, the ship has also altered the terms of discourse. STAR OF INDIA demonstrably becomes the view that justifies the corridor, the linkage that transcends the things linked, the dominating element of a space that speaks to people rather than to a public, inspiring them to wonder and to consider that human beings can achieve high purpose. There is ample precedent for such phenomena. The urban planners of Medieval Europe thoroughly understood both this kind of human response and the concept necessary to invoke it. They excelled in urban designs that would stimulate and inspire, conceiving of spaces that supplied focus to activity, integrating a multitude of peripheral functions in physical and cultural balance with a continuity of community spanning centuries. People were drawn to these centers in vast numbers. Today we might call such focal points superartifacts. They called them cathedrals. We have one of our own on the Embarcadero built not of stone, but of iron and wood and canvass.



Raymond Ashley
Executive Director

The Perils of Foreign Intervention:

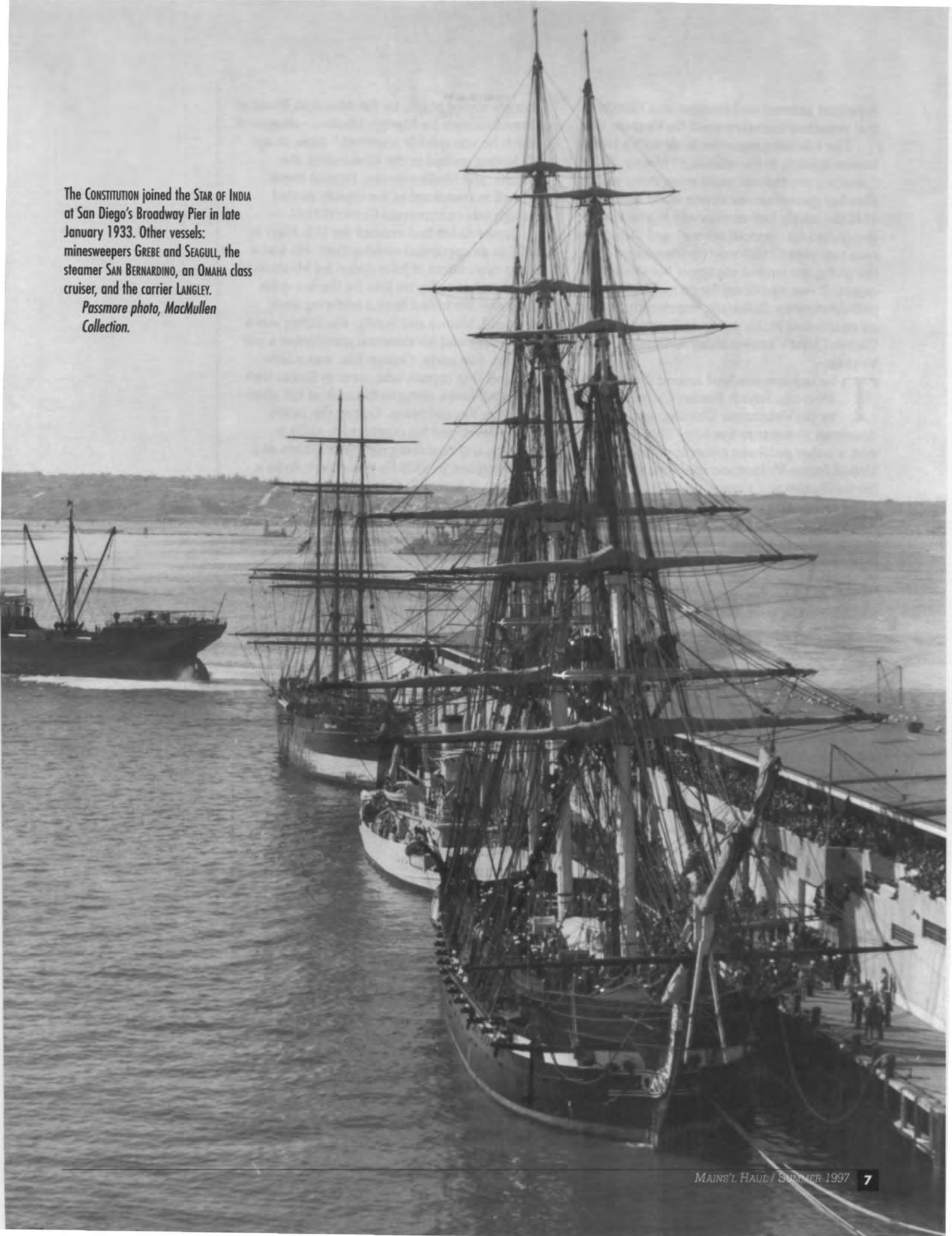
CONSTITUTION Circles the Globe, 1844-46

By Barry Alan Joyce

The frigate USS CONSTITUTION is America's oldest commissioned fighting ship. She has endured as a symbol of American naval tenacity, vigilance, and excellence.[1] "She and her history," according to Samuel Eliot Morison, "are symbolic of the Navy, its guts and gallantry and know-how, the armed service that has always protected us in time of war and has shown the flag around the world on friendly missions in time of peace."[2] For generations, Americans of all ages have thrilled at artist Thomas Birch's vividly dramatic progression of paintings depicting one of the most famous naval encounters in American history, pitting CONSTITUTION against the British frigate GUERRIERE in August 1812 off the coast of New England. Birch's first scene portrayed CONSTITUTION and GUERRIERE exchanging blazing broadsides, the last showing a dismasted and helpless British hulk floating beside the tall, proud and victorious American frigate. Even today Old Ironsides lives, moored and on display at Charlestown Naval Yard in Boston, a living testament to an enduring American tenacity and toughness. On Monday July 21, 1997, CONSTITUTION again proved her durability and greatness by sailing again in New England waters, to the cheers of hundreds of thousands of her admirers.

The experiences of CONSTITUTION in the War of 1812 are legendary. During the early national period, they formed the foundation of an American pride in the country's ability to fend for itself among the nations of the world. Drawing inspiration from the vessel's seemingly impervious oaken planking, Americans became imbued with a relentless sense of self-confidence that encouraged them to wade into the treacherous crosscurrents of diplomacy and belligerence, only to emerge time and again remarkably unscathed and with their prize in tow. In this sense, Old Ironsides became a metaphor for an emerging





The CONSTITUTION joined the STAR OF INDIA at San Diego's Broadway Pier in late January 1933. Other vessels: minesweepers GREBE and SEAGULL, the steamer SAN BERNARDINO, an OMAHA class cruiser, and the carrier LANGLEY.
Passmore photo, MacMullen Collection.

American national and international identity that remained unshaken until the Vietnam War.

The following narrative deals with a lesser-known episode in the celebrated history of Old Ironsides, one that occurred some thirty years after her gloried service versus Great Britain. In 1844 the nearly half-century-old frigate was designated for "special service" and dispatched on a two-year 52,000-mile circumnavigation of the globe, the longest voyage of her storied career. It was significant for an incident that pitted American diplomatic impetuosity against an established Pacific power in Tourane Bay, Cochin China – known today as Danang, in Vietnam.

The incident revolved around the incarceration of a French Roman Catholic bishop by the Vietnamese Chinese, and American attempts to free him. This confrontation, a rather prophetic example of future United States-Vietnamese relations, reflected the incubation and extension of American attitudes and assumptions of self-righteous aggressiveness and moral superiority to the realm of international relations. It is also an example of how Old Ironsides as symbol and metaphor inspired and carried her officers into daring though ill-advised actions against a foreign nation. Finally, the episode also had a telling effect upon the careers of two naval officers. John "Mad Jack" Percival, the commanding officer, was undone by the incident. On the other hand, James Alden, a young Lieutenant on his second major expedition of the decade, was propelled into a distinguished naval career – one, however, that also eventually became tinged with controversy.

"Mad Jack" Percival was a colorful and volatile ex-merchant seaman who, unlike many captains, was genuinely liked by his crews throughout his career. He served in his youth as a master's mate and midshipman until 1801. Impressed into the British Navy at the age of 17 from an American merchant ship, Percival showed such talent that he eventually rose to serve as foretop captain of Admiral Nelson's flagship VICTORY at the Battle of Trafalgar.

Assertive, open and excitable, Percival achieved fame (among sailors) and notoriety (among American foreign missionaries) in 1826 as commander of USS DOLPHIN, when he intervened in the affairs of Protestant missionaries in the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii). Percival energetically and successfully defied a ban that had been placed by the missionaries on native girls visiting American vessels. As a result, he had to stand before a Navy Department court of inquiry in 1826 to face various breach-of-morals charges hurled at him by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission – charges of which he was quickly acquitted.[3] Now, at age 65, having cruised in the West Indies, the Atlantic and Mediterranean, Percival found himself in command of the equally storied though less controversial CONSTITUTION.

James Alden had entered the U.S. Navy in 1828 as an appointed midshipman. He was a direct descendent of John Alden (of MAYFLOWER fame) and came by his love for the sea quite naturally. He hailed from a seafaring town (Portland, Maine) and family. His father was a ship owner and his maternal grandfather a sea captain. His uncle, George Tate, was a New England ship captain who went to Russia with John Paul Jones, rising to the rank of full admiral in the Russian Navy. During the 1830's Alden developed his considerable skills in charting and describing navigable waters as a hydrographer. In 1838 he was chosen to be a member of America's first major overseas scientific expedition, commanded by Charles Wilkes. The contributions of the Wilkes Expedition were considerable. Of particular importance was the extensive and accurate surveying done by officers such as Alden throughout the Pacific Islands. Diplomatically, the expedition fared worse, particularly in the Fiji Islands, where American cultural attitudes and actions clashed with Fijian culture and politics, resulting in considerable bloodshed.

CONSTITUTION'S special service cruise coincided with an intensified commercial and diplomatic thrust into the Pacific by the United



Captain John "Mad Jack" Percival. Admired by sailors in action, he acquired a reputation for eccentricity that doomed his career.
From On the Decks of "Old Ironsides" by E. Snow and H. A. Gosnell



Secretary of the Navy George Bancroft. Teacher, writer and historian, he disapproved of Percival's handling of the Cochin situation.
Brady photo, Library of Congress.

States. In the 1830's the United States Navy had moved to safeguard private American commercial interest by "showing the flag" in the Pacific, establishing an East India Squadron and sponsoring such separate voyages of exploration as the United States Exploring Expedition commanded by Charles Wilkes. As on the American continent, such incursions into foreign areas were not without diplomatic confrontations, bellicosity and occasional violence and bloodshed. And so it was that USS CONSTITUTION, best known as the slayer of "John Bull" in the War of 1812, found herself in the 1840's serving as enforcer of American ideas and interests in the Pacific.

Precisely why the Navy chose the aging vessel for this arduous task is not known. Many officers at the time, including Matthew C. Perry, were calling for modernization of the American Navy. Robert Stockton was promoting John Ericcson's propulsion screw design for the USS PRINCETON. Americans envisioned a new age of transoceanic travel where our steam-powered warships would travel the Pacific extending American influence and ideas while protecting the nation's foreign commerce. It is curious that an 18th century wind-powered frigate was chosen to represent the United States throughout the Pacific. It is nearly as puzzling that command of the CONSTITUTION was given not to one of the Navy's young lions but to John Percival, aged 65 and a controversial officer nearing retirement.

CONSTITUTION sailed April 11, 1844 from Norfolk to New York where Percival took aboard the new ambassador to Brazil, Mr. Henry A. Wise, his family of 13 and their servants. There were a total of 457 persons aboard, including 32 officers, 40 marines, 10 "blue-jackets," and over 350 crew, of whom slightly more than half were American and the rest foreign.

They departed New York Harbor on May 29, 1844. The old frigate's itinerary included Rio de Janeiro and ports of call along the east coast of Africa, across the Indian Ocean to Kuala Batu, Sumatra, Java, Singapore and Borneo, then northward through the Malay Straits to Cochin China and Canton. The homeward leg included the Philippine Islands, Honolulu, Mexico and around Cape Horn.[4]

Percival's instructions were broad, affording him "a latitude of discretions...with authority to you to vary as the circumstances of the case may require."[5] The voyage was to be similar to earlier scientific expeditions that had been sent out by the Navy. Since the areas to be visited were "comparatively little known to the American people" Percival was to study "as far as possible...the people, resources and...the soil, productions, commerce and wants of the countries you visit." A naturalist was appointed to make collecting excursions in search of "useful seeds and plants, and rare specimens of natural history." They were to take note of "the character, habits, and numbers of the tribes and people with whom you have intercourse."[6] Geology was to be pursued at "the large and fertile island of Borneo," where it was rumored that there were rich deposits of coal. Percival was even authorized to purchase rights to a mine there, if one existed.[7] In addition, officers such as Lieutenant Alden were charged with revising earlier surveys of areas where their foreign-authored charts were found wanting. No doubt many of these shortcomings stemmed from hostile conditions in the locations involved, especially along the coasts of Borneo and Cochin China. American and European vessels of all types had largely avoided these areas.[8] As a veteran hydrographer of the Wilkes Expedition, Alden was only too familiar with the hazards of conducting survey work in the presence of a threatening local populace.[9]

Despite the proclaimed exploratory focus of CONSTITUTION'S "special service" cruise, the reality was that the frigate's primary function was military and diplomatic, particularly the portion to be spent cruising the waters of the Indian Ocean and eastward along the pirate-infested coasts of Southeast Asia. American and European whalers had for years been harassed by Asian pirates "fiercely demanding tribute at the point of their spears," in the words of Herman Melville.[10] The guns of CONSTITUTION – 26 long 24-pound guns, four 68-pound Paixhans smooth-bore shell-firing



Frigate CONSTITUTION confronts the future in the guise of a paddle frigate at Newport, Rhode Island, about 1840.
Painting by J. P. Newell, Library of Congress.

guns, plus 20 32-pound carronades — would certainly be an intimidating force in those waters. While on one hand Percival was ordered to "cultivat[e] friendly relations with the inhabitants" visited, these "friendly relations," it seems, were to be encouraged by an implicit show of American might – the arsenal of Old Ironsides. "The visit of an American man of war," it was believed, would "cultivat[e] friendly intercourse with the people and governments of those countries."[11] Finally, Percival was ordered not only to give "every encouragement and assistance in your power...to the American commerce and American citizens" encountered in foreign lands, but to also extend the same help "to those of friendly nations you may meet during your cruise."[12] It was Percival's liberal interpretation of this last clause that later in Tourane Bay led him into such a perplexing situation.

The voyage of the CONSTITUTION was, for the most part, tranquil and smooth. The ship's journal reveals much of the monotony of routine, punctuated by the traditions and regulations of the United States Navy. The first order of business was the delivery of Ambassador Henry Wise, his huge family and his servants to the court of Brazil in Rio de Janeiro.[13] En route, an old naval tradition was duly observed. Upon crossing the equator southward, "His Oceanic Majesty 'Neptune' visited the ship [and] shaved those of the officers and the crew who had never crossed the line," Ambassador Wise and the female members of his party excepted.[14]

CONSTITUTION's route took her to Horta in the Azores, Funchal, Madeira and Santa Cruz on Tenerife, finally crossing the ocean back to Rio de Janeiro. Debarking the ambassador and his coterie, they were joined by J. C. Reinhardt, an eminent Philadelphia naturalist, and Isaac G. Strain, amateur ethnologist, who was to serve as acting sailing master. Captain Percival had the crew paint the hull a light gray, for the sake of coolness. It was a "light lead color, [with] a graceful ribbon of crimson marking the [gun deck], adding a pleasant relief to the somewhat odd color adopted for the dress of a man-of-war." Leaving Rio de Janeiro September 8, the ship headed east, rounded the Cape of Good Hope on October 10. When blessed with strong breezes and favorable weather, this frigate could make 250 miles in a day. Occasional ports of call meant relief from the monotony of the open seas, as well as opportunities for contact – both positive and negative – with the local inhabitants. Sailing along the eastern coast of Africa, CONSTITUTION dropped anchor at various ports there and along the western side of the island of Madagascar. On October 15 CONSTITUTION anchored in St. Augustine's Bay, Madagascar. Later she stopped at Mozambique, Majunga Bay, Nos Bey Island, Passandava Bay, Zanzibar and Latham's Island.

Percival found American businesses dominating the export trade of Madagascar. At Bembatooka Bay, on the northwest coast, Alden and his fellow officers encountered a New Englander, a Mr. Mark, who was serving as an agent for an exporting firm based in Salem, Massachusetts. Mark's job was to collect exotic animal skins for export; he boasted of securing and shipping as many as 14,000 hides in just over two months.[15] A few of the crew did some collecting of their own, most notably Isaac G. Strain, who, in addition to serving as sailing

master, was assisting in the scientific work of the cruise. In the name of science, he managed to pilfer some skulls from a burial ground, risking the native punishment for such an offense of being burned alive and beheaded.[16] Strain later offered his specimens to eminent American anatomist and anthropologist Samuel George Morton.[17]

CONSTITUTION left the African coast November 28 and continued eastward into the Indian Ocean. Since leaving New York she'd sailed seven months without any serious illness. But by mid-December, an epidemic of dysentery, diarrhea and fever was spreading among the crew. On December 20, this affliction claimed its first fatality. Two days later the forward cabin became a hospital.[18] Traditional Sunday services were transformed into funeral eulogies for the dead. It was the greatest crisis of the voyage.

On February 2, 1845, CONSTITUTION arrived in Singapore, 19,000 miles out of New York. Her appearance was ghastly. The American consul, Joseph Balestier recorded:

"...The chafe, wear and tear of a long passage, with the action of salt water and buffeting of heavy seas off the Cape, had destroyed all this. Aided in part by the long sunny days met with in the Indian Ocean, the new tint adopted by Mad Jack had faded, disappeared in spots, allowing the old, grimy, sombre coating to again assert itself, creating anything but a pleasing effect, while long, ragged, irregular blotches of iron-rust disfigured the shapely hull, rendering her absolutely hideous in appearance. But while the old craft suffered in point of beauty below, aloft all was taught and trim."



Lieutenant James Alden. Descendant of John Alden of Plymouth colony, a competent scientist with the Wilkes Expedition, his career included the first U.S. Navy survey of the Pacific Coast. He is seen here as a Captain during the Civil War period. *Navy Historical Center photo.*

Fortunately for the Americans, a former adversary from the War of 1812, Commodore Isaac D. Chads of the British squadron, came to their aid. Thirty-two years before, following the epic naval battle between CONSTITUTION and JAVA, Chads (then a lieutenant) was a captive of the victorious Americans. The courteous treatment afforded Chads while in confinement led him now to place his medical and store facilities at the disposal of the plague-ridden CONSTITUTION. Six weeks later, the health of the crew restored, the frigate was again ready to sail.[19]

Leaving Singapore on March 12, 1845, the frigate headed for Borneo, where the crew spent the next month working along the complex shoreline near the mouth of the Sambas River. Alden and the other hydrographers conducted their soundings in a mood of uneasiness and anticipation — because of both hostile natives and the approaching monsoon season. These men, as well as those who participated in the geological expedition that was sent inland along the Sambas river, constantly remained armed and on the alert for trouble. The hot, sultry climate made matters worse. According to the ship's log, the crew looked forward "with pleasure and anxiety by all hands" to completing this work and continuing to the Portuguese port of Macao.[20]

Only one more stop lay between CONSTITUTION and the safe haven of Macao — the enigmatic inlet of Tourane Bay (Danang in modern-day Vietnam). Shippers and traders of all nations considered this fortified harbor a port to be avoided. Seldom did East and West meet here.[21] The Vietnamese had good reason for being less than well disposed to foreigners. Indochina had been a conquered, Chinese tributary state until the three geopolitical areas of Tonkin, Cochin China, and Annam achieved autonomy in the 10th century. In the 16th and 17th centuries, Portuguese and French traders and priests began to infiltrate Vietnamese economics, religion, and culture. Efforts were made to purge Vietnam of Catholic influence when the country was unified under one emperor in the early 1800's. No doubt wary of the disruption caused by European missionaries in China, succeeding Vietnamese emperors tried to follow Japan's example by banning Christianity and its missionaries and ignoring all attempts to estab-



Rounding the island of Elba in 1837, CONSTITUTION heaves and tosses in the brine. With her sailing excellence, the flagship of Commodore Jesse Elliott earned for America the respect of many a Mediterranean nation.
Office of Naval Records and Library.

lish diplomatic relations with the West. During the 1830's several Catholic priests and scores of converts were subsequently executed in enforcing this policy.

In 1841, however, a new emperor, Nguyen Thieu-Tri, while no less anti-foreign, implemented a novel strategy of suppression. Aware that the French, British, and Americans were expanding their naval forces in Asian waters, the emperor ceased executing Christians so as not to give the western nations an excuse for intervention or invasion. Henceforth, Christian missionaries were to be incarcerated, sentenced to death, but then released and deported. He hoped in this way to frighten off other priests wanting to proselytize in Vietnam.

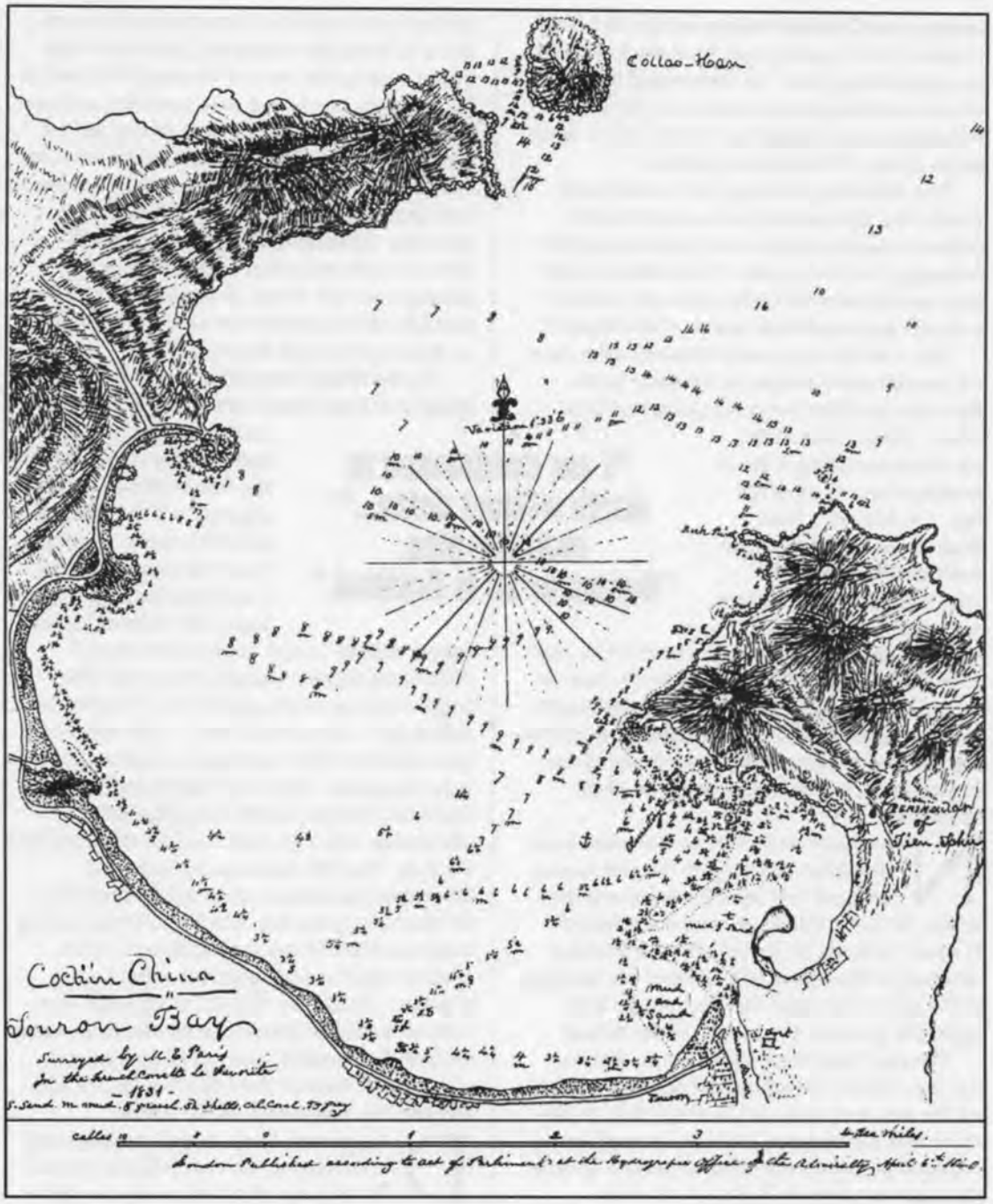
Unfortunately, the emperor did not anticipate having to deal with someone with the stubbornness and persistency of one Dominique Lefevre, a French Catholic Bishop. For over 40 years, Lefevre made a career out of being apprehended and sentenced to death by Vietnamese officials, then released, only to smuggle himself back into the country. It was Percival's great misfortune therefore that he unwittingly sailed CONSTITUTION into Tourane Bay and onto the watery stage of one of Lefevre's little melodramas.

On Monday, May 5, en route to Cochin China, a British squadron was spied approaching CONSTITUTION. Percival dispatched Alden in a cutter to rendezvous with the closest of the English barks, no doubt to glean information from its commander concerning the state of affairs in the area. This mission came to naught, for CONSTITUTION suddenly caught a stiff breeze and got underway. We will never know what errors in judgement and action Percival might have avoided, had contact been made with the British. Alden was nearly left behind that afternoon and had to make haste back to his ship.[22] By late the next day, Cochin China lay on the horizon.

Percival headed straight for Tourane Bay, entering on May 11. CONSTITUTION swept by the tiny fishing junks dotting the sea as it approached the harbor. To starboard, Alden sighted the imposing guns of a fortress that sat atop the island rock of Collao-Han, one of several forts guarding the bay.

The first few days in port passed uneventfully, the Americans having little difficulty securing fresh beef, vegetables, wood, and water from the local merchants. On May 14, however, while conducting local mandarins on a tour of the ship, an anxious Vietnamese interpreter slipped Percival a note from Monsigneur Lefevre, intended for the Admiral commanding the French East Asia squadron. He and 12 converts were being held in the inland capital of Hue awaiting execution. "I am condemned to death without delay..." read the plea. "Hasten or all is finished."[23]

No matter where the winds took him over his long naval career, Percival was reluctant to heed the pleas of missionaries or to intervene in local affairs. The 1826 incident in Hawaii was a case in point. Another had come during



Tourane Bay, Cochin China, as it appeared in 1831. Site of CONSTITUTION's most frustrating encounter, it would sorely try America's military power more than once.

CONSTITUTION's visit in November to Madagascar. Percival had then assured the Queen of Mahajunga that she had nothing to fear concerning possible American incursions in her domain. He went on to instruct Her Majesty in what he believed to be the elemental differences between America and the European powers. The United States, Percival declared, would "never interfere with the government of any other nation with its mode of worship; that it has no colonies, and is not addicted to war or conquest."[24]

In Tourane Bay, however, the commander and his officers decided that in this case, "Humanity was our warrant rather than the law of nations" – they would rescue Lefevre "from this semi-barbarous nation."[25] Percival proceeded to the town in command of four armed boats. Eighty sailors and marines were stationed in a line from the shore to the meeting hall. He failed to find anyone in authority to speak to concerning the matter, let alone to secure the priest's release. The angry commander rattled off a series of threats, ultimatums and deadlines to those officials in attendance. If he did not receive a reply to his

demands for Lefevre's release within 24 hours, CONSTITUTION'S guns would level the town and its surrounding forts. He then seized five mandarins as hostages and returned to the ship without incident though surrounded by a much larger group of Vietnamese soldiers.[26]

The following morning, the Captain sent Alden with the launch and two cutters with orders to capture three armed junks ostensibly belonging to the emperor. The lieutenant and his men returned that afternoon with junks in tow and anchored them astern of the frigate.[27]

The next two days were relatively calm, save for an attempted escape by the three junks. Percival's deadline, however, passed without effect. Meanwhile, Alden set about compiling a list of bearings for a chart of the bay. On May 19 a boat from shore brought a letter from the French priest, informing of his impending execution. Percival weighed anchor and moved CONSTITUTION closer to shore, bringing her broadsides to bear on the town. Word soon arrived that a representative was coming from Hue to resolve the matter. Percival and his armed launches departed the frigate, and made for shore with one of the hostages.

"I am condemned to death without delay..." read the plea. "Hasten or all is finished."

No representatives from Hue were located ashore. Once again Percival angrily declared he'd level the town and forts within 48 hours if Lefevre were not released.[28] Percival, realizing he lacked effective leverage, returned to the frigate and released his hostages in the erroneous hope that they would then gratefully press for the release of the bishop.

The next morning a squall set in. Braving the rain, Strain, the acting sailing master, boarded the captured junks for an inspection, to discover that Vietnamese "careless" enough to be captured are scorned by their superiors. During the night a mandarin had come aboard, "whipped the Capts. [sic]" of the junks "and placed wooden collars on their necks and plaisters over their eyes." The Americans considered this "rather a queer way of punishing a Captain of a vessel."[29] About 6 p.m., under cover of the squall, the captured junks suddenly weighed anchor and made for the town. As they hurried toward the safety of the river that emptied into the bay, the frigate fired several warning shots over the junks, causing one to halt its flight. Several Vietnamese sailors leapt overboard and reportedly drowned, so astounding was the booming of her cannon.[30]

Lieutenant Alden immediately shoved off with a launch and four cutters under his command to bring the remaining junks out of the inlet. Crossing the bar and entering the river, he led his boats nearly one mile upstream and past two forts on either bank. Now Alden and his men found themselves surrounded by ten more armed junks that attempted to shield the others from recapture. The Lieutenant found the shoreline crowded with approximately 150 "soldiers and citizens [who] came down to the landing near our boats, all armed with pikes and muskets as if to frighten us away, or intimidate us from carrying out the junks."[31]

On the Wilkes Expedition in the Fiji Islands, Alden had been faced with a similar crisis; his caution in that instance had possibly contributed to the deaths of two of his shipmates.[32] This time he did not hesitate. Seeing those "somewhat pugnatously [sic] inclined" villagers, he ordered his men ashore and, in "a real Anglo Saxon shout" Alden and his men charged the crowd. The angry mob was soon exposed to a "vociferous raking fire ... of the Jack Tars."[33] The Americans now made for their boats and recaptured the runaway junks. They returned triumphant to the CONSTITUTION shortly after midnight. Meanwhile, the vigil continued for the frustrated Percival. Now the stakes were increased. Workmen and soldiers were busily reinforcing the forts along the bay. On May 21, Vietnamese reinforcements in the form of three Cochin Chinese brigs of war appeared at the harbor entrance. At last, on May 24, word came that Lefevre would be released when the junks were set free. Exasperated, and out of options and ultimatums, Percival freed the three junks and awaited the appearance of the bishop.

Days passed. They waited; no news was forthcoming. Lefevre failed to appear. Percival saw that defeat was inevitable and prepared to leave Tourane Bay. In a testy exchange of hostile notes he declared he would inform the French squadron of their affronts. The Vietnamese in turn warned him not to persist with his insulting threats. On May 27, "Mad Jack" gave up the fight and sailed Old Ironsides out of the harbor. Determined to have the last word, CONSTITUTION fired six Paixhans shells in the direction of the fortress on the island of Collao-Han as a gesture of defiance and frustration at being bested in the affair.[34]

The next stop was the Portuguese settlement of Macao, near British-occupied Hong Kong, where on June 7 Percival made good on his



Commodore John Drake Sloat, commander of the Pacific Squadron off Mazatlan, Mexico. Sloat's forces planted the American flag on California soil in 1846.
National Archives

promise to notify French authorities of Lefevre's plight and their unsuccessful rescue attempts. A French corvette dispatched to Tourane Bay had better luck. She peaceably secured Lefevre's release plus a boatload of gifts from the emperor, who was obviously more impressed with the French than with the Americans.[35]

CONSTITUTION remained for several months in Asian waters as part of the East Indian squadron. She stopped by the Philippines, where they bought livestock and took on water, then ran for 50 days to Honolulu harbor. There the frigate was ordered to join the Pacific Squadron on the western coast of North America. President James Polk's latest expansionist schemes involved California and the southwest. War was imminent.

CONSTITUTION departed quickly. On reaching the California coast, Percival looked in at Monterey, the Mexican capital of Alta California. The Pacific Squadron was not there. On January 15, 1846, he found them in the harbor at Mazatlan, Mexico. Commodore John D. Sloat had 13 ships, including the frigate SAVANNAH, 44 guns, and the sloops of war CYANE, PORTSMOUTH and LEVANT, 22 guns each. He was marking time until hostilities were officially announced against Mexico. CONSTITUTION tarried for three months, bolstering Sloat's fleet to insure that neither the Mexican nor the British governments acted imprudently. The British Pacific Squadron, which supposedly had designs of its own on California territory, was also lurking about, and perhaps Rear Admiral Sir George Seymour, in HMS COLLINGSWOOD, needed reminding about American naval prowess.[36]

Finally, CONSTITUTION left Mazatlan in May 1846, and headed for home. Had her services been deemed necessary, she might have joined Commodore Stockton, and even have been in San Diego Bay, with Captain Samuel F. Du Pont in CYANE, on the day the Navy and Marines raised Old Glory.

Percival took CONSTITUTION down to Valparaiso, Chile, then rounded Cape Horn July 4 in a driving snowstorm. At Rio de Janeiro her round-the-world voyage ended. It was timely, for she was wanted to escort 16 coffee ships safely home. Percival formed them into a convoy. When safely inside the Delaware Breakwater, they scattered. CONSTITUTION finally returned to Boston Harbor on September 18, 1846.

Secretary of the Navy George Bancroft, who had recently founded the Naval Academy; and Joseph Balestier, the American consul in Singapore, considered Percival's bellicose behavior potentially damaging to American attempts at establishing further trade relations in Asia. Upon reading the commander's report of the affair, Brancroft quickly scribbled a blanket condemnation of Percival's actions, declaring that "the Department wholly disapproves of the conduct of Captain Percival as not warranted either by the demands of the bishop or the law of nations."[37]

When compared to Percival, Minister Balestier was monumentally indiscreet. During the subsequent Opium Wars in China Balestier aggressively tried to draw the U.S. Navy into the fray. In 1851 he tried to deliver an official apology for the Tourane Bay incident to the Vietnamese – an effort that failed when the Emperor's representative refused to discuss the matter.[38] Much to the irritation of Balestier, the Vietnamese apparently considered the episode a relatively insignificant event.

The question remains as to why Percival decided to intervene on Lefevre's behalf, thereby placing himself in such a precarious and compromising position, to say nothing of risking what had become, by this time, an American national treasure, Old Ironsides. In his official report of the affair, Percival pointed to his original orders, which encouraged him to offer "every encouragement and assistance" in his power "to those friendly nations" in need. Lefevre, as a citizen of a "friendly nation," thus deserved every effort toward freeing him. Then

he went on to offer a more cogent explanation: "If I have erred," Percival aptly concluded, "it is an error of the head and not the heart, which at all times is devoted to my country's honor and prosperity."[39] Indeed, much of what occurred in Tourane Bay can be traced to the aging commander's impetuous nature, spurred on by a potent dose of Yankee self-confidence and aggressiveness.

Such attitudes meshed well with the glorious and seemingly charmed history of Old Ironsides; this fact no doubt imbued Percival, Alden, and the rest of the crew with the boldness and audacity displayed during the affair. Percival, in true Yankee fashion, though surrounded and outnumbered, was quick to fire a broadside of demands and threats, knowing that he could rely on the firepower and good fortune of America's most celebrated fighting ship. After all, how could a "semi-barbarous nation" stand up to the moral and physical might of America's floating symbol of tenacity and toughness? Somehow, Percival's pluck and CONSTITUTION's luck would triumph, just as he had managed to do throughout his controversial career and just as Old Ironsides had in slugging it out with His Majesty's navy in the frigate's younger days.

In the Battle of Mobile Bay, Alden boldly steamed the BROOKLYN and himself into Navy historical notoriety when he reversed her engines in the face of a web of enemy mines, causing his Commander to shout, "Damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead!"

Alden, as well, had drawn inspiration from the aura of Old Ironsides. The young Lieutenant received an official commendation for bravery in the successful action at Tourane Bay. Gone was the petulant junior from the Wilkes Expedition; in his place was a self-assured and forceful leader.

In the later years of his career, Alden briefly performed duties at the newly opened Naval Observatory in Washington, D.C. He served under Commodore Matthew Perry in the War with Mexico, and exhibited coolness under fire at Tuxpan and Tabasco. He commanded the paddle steamer ACTIVE for the Coast and Geodetic Survey, charting and sounding the entire West Coast of the United States. He played a significant role in the United States – British boundary dispute of 1859. His Civil War record was one of the most intense and energetic of all Union Naval officers. In the Battle of Mobile Bay, Alden boldly steamed the BROOKLYN and himself into Navy historical notoriety when he reversed her engines in the face of a web of enemy mines, causing his Commander to shout, "Damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead!" He later redeemed himself of Admiral Farragut's disdain when he served honorably at the taking of Fort Fisher.[40]

His commander fared less well. As with most Americans of his time, Percival had no conception of Vietnamese culture, politics, and power structure – not that it would have made any difference, given his temperament. His failure at Tourane Bay was not due to the military prowess or might of the Cochin Chinese. The armed junks and antiquated forts and cannons in the bay were no match for western firepower, as the French would prove two years later. No doubt even Old Ironsides could have inflicted considerable damage to the fort and town despite its seemingly precarious predicament of being surrounded in a hostile harbor. Rather, Percival failed because, despite the Yankee blustering, the leaders of Cochin China maintained a realistic perspective on the situation, especially relative to American strength in the Pacific. For the Vietnamese, it was the French and the British whom they feared. "Mad Jack" and Old Ironsides were mere annoyances to be suffered and stonewalled until they went away.

Some parallels can be drawn to similar American endeavors in Japanese waters in this period, most notably the rude receptions experienced by Commanders James Biddle in 1846 and James Glynn in 1849. Other nations did not seem to share America's vision of herself as a force to be reckoned with in the Pacific.[41] America met with success in Asian waters only when the chauvinistic yet astute Matthew Perry assembled his imposing group of "black ships" – modern steam powered vessels – in Edo Bay in the 1850's and forced a deteriorating and divided Japanese government to "open" its doors to the west.

Although now 67 years old and burdened with health woes, the still energetic Percival was eager for his next command. It was not to be, as his subsequent applications for reassignment were ignored. The old commander was permanently "laid up" by the Navy Department – mainly as a result of his actions in Tourane Bay. Though he lived 16 more years, he never

received another command. His reputation as a cantankerous eccentric assumed the proportions of a legend.

Yet Percival had faced off a unified nation with little more than American bluster, pride and the aura and guns of Old Ironsides. These attitudes remained as key elements in the formulation and implementation of American foreign policy in the 19th and 20th centuries. The metaphor of Old Ironsides, however, was gradually absorbed into a new image engendered by Perry's black ships, one more grounded in the reality of industrial power and genuine worldwide influence.

[*Ed. Note*: Barry Alan Joyce, a specialist in American cultural and intellectual history, received his doctorate from the University of California, Riverside. He currently teaches history at San Diego State University, and is the author of *A Harbor Worth Defending; A Military History of Point Loma.*]

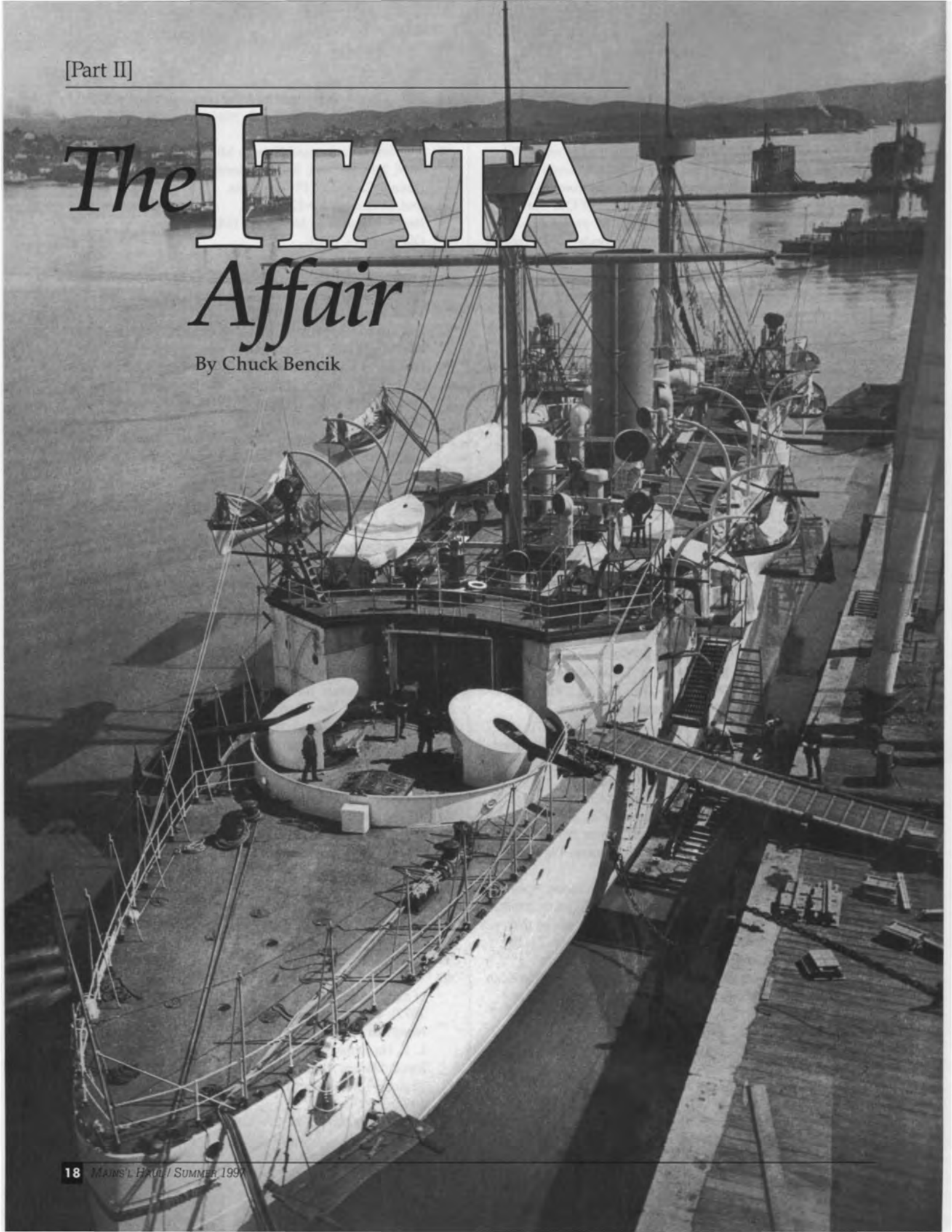
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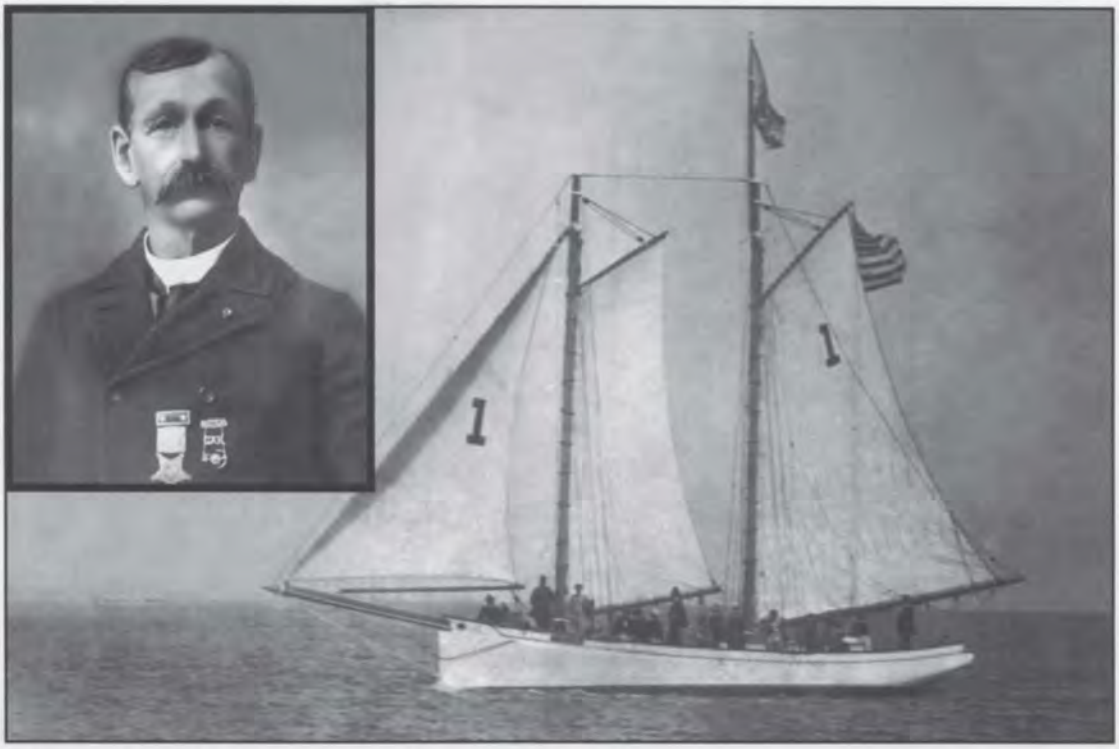
1 Built and launched in Boston in 1797, "Old Ironsides" served with distinction in the Quasi War with France (1798 – 1801). She inflicted retribution with the fleet upon Barbary States of North Africa from 1803 to 1805; defeated some of Britain's finest naval ships in the War of 1812, including GUERRIERE, JAVA, CYANE and LEVANT, which compelled the British Admiralty to forbid single-action combat with American frigates. (Thomas P. Horgan, *Old Ironsides: The Story of the* USS CONSTITUTION, Boston: Burdettte and Co., 1963).
2 Samuel Eliot Morison, introduction to Horgan, *Old Ironsides.*
3 William Stanton, *The Great United States Exploring Expedition of 1838-1842* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), p. 222. David Long, "'Mad Jack' Percival in Vietnam: First American Hostilities, May 1845," *American Neptune* 47 (summer 1987): p. 170.
4 CONSTITUTION's orders would take her to regions neglected by the Wilkes Expedition two years earlier, thus the emphasis on scientific pursuits in her orders.
5 Secretary of the Navy to John Percival, Orders to Visit Indian Ocean and East Indies, January 22, 1844, in K. Jack Bauer, ed., *New American State Papers: Naval Affairs* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resource, 1981), 5: 81.
6 *Ibid.*
7 *Ibid.* Journal of Midshipman M. Patterson Jones, April 10, 1845, Logbooks and Journals of the USS CONSTITUTION (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, Records of the Bureau of Naval Personnel), RG 24, M1030, Vol. 11-14.
8 *Ibid.* April 17, 1845.
9 Stanton, *Op. Cit.* "'As the Wolf From the Dog': American Overseas Exploration and The Compartmentalization of Humankind: 1838 – 1859," unpublished doctoral dissertation.
10 Herman Melville, *Moby Dick: or The Whale* (Boston: L. C. Page, 1891), p. 364.
11 Secretary of the Navy to Percival, "Orders."
12 *Ibid.*
13 Jones, journal, August 3, 1844.
14 *Ibid.*, July 24, 1844; Martin, *Most Fortunate Ship*, p. 226
15 Jones, journal, November 3, 1844.
16 Martin, *Op. Cit.*, p. 231.
17 I. G. Strain to Samuel George Morton, November 11, 1844, July 23, 1845, Samuel George Morton Papers, The Library Company, Philadelphia.
18 *Ibid.* December 20-22, 1844.
19 *Ibid.* February 1 to March 12, 1845; Horgan, *Old Ironsides*, p. 61.
20 Jones, journal, March 16 to April 17, 1845.
21 Logbooks and Journals of the USS CONSTITUTION, Journal of Midshipman Colville Terret, May 27, 1845.
22 Jones, journal, May 5, 1845.
23 Percival to Secretary of the Navy, June 21, 1845, Subject File VD, RG 45, National Archives.
24 Percival to Queen Ranavarola I, November 14, 1844, cited in David F. Long, *"'Mad Jack;" The Biography of Captain John Percival, USN, 1779-1862* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1993), p. 153.
25 Journal of Fifth Lieutenant John B. Dale, May 14, 1845, cited in Long, "'*Mad Jack*' Percival in Vietnam," p. 170.
26 Jones, journal, May 15, 1845.
27 *Ibid.* May 16, 1845.
28 Terret, journal, May 19, 1845.
29 *Ibid.* May 20, 1845.
30 Historian David Long considers these drownings as the first recorded fatalities due to American/Vietnamese armed conflict. Long, "'Mad Jack' Percival in Vietnam," p. 172.
31 Terret, journal, May 20, 1845.
32 Barry Joyce, "As the Wolf From the Dog," pp. 223-230.
33 Terret, journal, May 20, 1845.
34 Jones, journal, May 27, 1845.
35 Lefevre returned yet again and touched off an ugly incident in 1847. Two French warships, exasperated after a two-week wait attacked a fleet of armed Vietnamese ships, sinking four and killing hundreds. After they departed, the bishop was released unharmed.
36 *Ibid.* January 15 to April 23, 1846; K. Jack Bauer, *Surfboats and Horse Marines:* U.S. *Naval Operations in the Mexican War, 1846-48* (Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute, 1969), pp. 140-144.
37 Percival to George Bancroft, June 21, 1845, M125, roll 322, RG 45, Captain's Letters, National Archives.
38 Peter Botth Wiley, *Yankees in the Land of the Gods: Commodore Perry and the Opening of Japan*, with Korogi Ichiro (New York: Viking Penguin, 1990). Long, *"Mad Jack,"* pp. 179-180.
39 Percival to Bancroft, June 21, 1845.
40 *The United States Army and Navy Journal and Gazette of the Regular and Volunteer Forces*, 14 (February 14, 1877): 427. *Records of Living Officers of the United States Navy and Marine Corps*, Fourth edition. (Philadelphia: L. R. Hamersly and Co., 1890), page 427. Barry Alan Joyce, "James Alden: Naval Officer, Scientist and Explorer" (Master's thesis, San Diego State University, 1990).
41 Wiley, YANKEES, pp. 17-27.

[Part II]

The ITATA Affair

By Chuck Bencik





Pilot Albert F. Dill and Pilot Boat No. 1, also known as the TOM ELLIS. Forced to pilot the ITATA to San Clemente Island, Captain Dill was first arrested, then acquitted.
From Jerry MacMullen collection, SDMM

[The story so far: In 1891 the congress of Chile and their Navy revolted against the President, Don Jose Manuel Balmaceda. Both sides sought American arms aid: the junta needed guns and ammunition for a ground force, while the loyalists needed ships. The junta sent the rebel cruiser ESMERALDA and the freighter ITATA north after setting up a shipment of guns out of Oakland. Switching crews, the ESMERALDA waited at Acapulco while the freighter sailed north with the cruiser's armed military crew. The Chilean representatives in Washington pressed the Government to halt her. When ITATA entered San Diego Bay, the U.S. government knew she probably was en route to a rendezvous with the schooner ROBERT & MINNIE. Marshal George Gard and the San Diego customs officer failed to detect that ITATA carried Chilean soldiers and sailors and was armed "to the teeth." Gard put an embargo on the ship. On May 6, 1891, ITATA suddenly cast off her moorings and her mask of innocence. Her Captain had gotten word that the supply schooner was outside the Bay waiting to hand over the arms shipment. Turning their guns on Deputy Marshal A.C. Spaulding and Pilot Albert F. Dill, ITATA'S crew hoisted her anchor and steamed out to sea.]

ITATA, the suspicious Chilean freighter, was supposed to be impounded. Instead she was fleeing San Diego Harbor –"filibustering," as they called it then. Her Chilean crew was taking Deputy U.S. Marshal Spaulding and the pilot, Captain Dill, with them by force of arms. Deputy Spaulding later told the newspaper reporters that when he first came aboard, May 5, though he felt something suspicious was afoot, he nevertheless had a pleasant visit.[1]

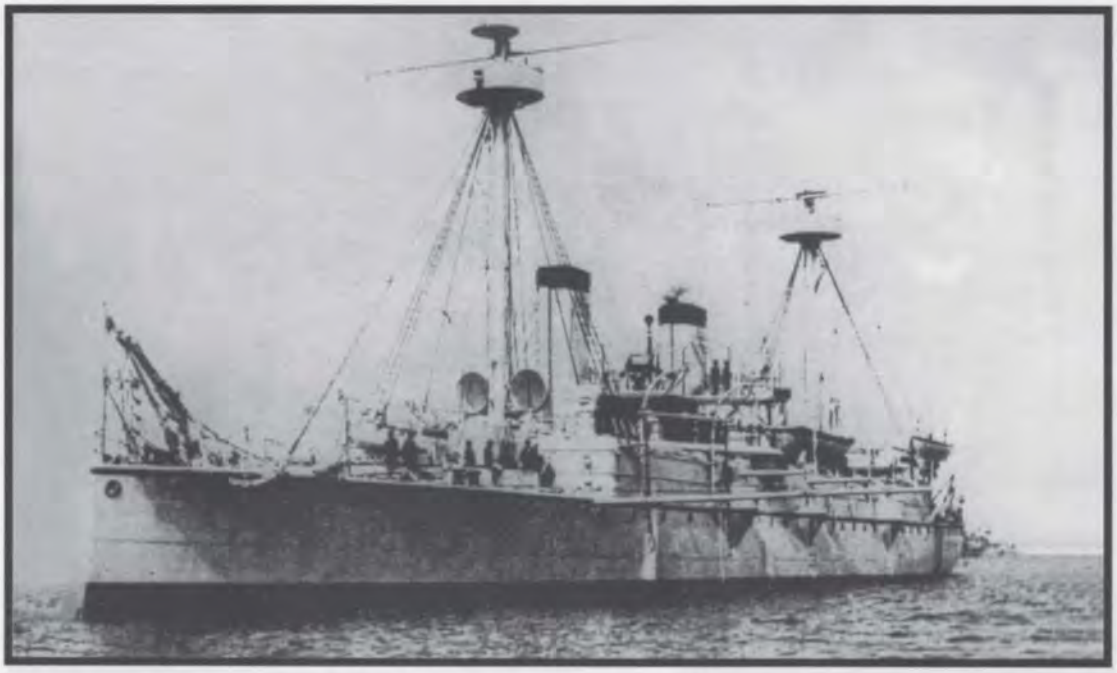
Captain Albert F. Dill, the harbor pilot, had come aboard when Captain Manzeum, the ship's master, had lied to him saying that the ship had been released from custody and was ready to depart. The Captain, Pilot Dill and Deputy Spaulding had smoked cigars in the early morning after the crew finished coaling. Captain "Manzeum" (who actually was Captain Silva, commander of the cruiser ESMERALDA) had mentioned to Spaulding that five of his men deserted: three Chileans, a black man and an Englishman. About 2:30 a.m., Spaulding had gone to bed, and Dill went ashore for a while.

The next day, May 6, Dill returned aboard. Spaulding noted there was little activity on board at first, but he was never alone, and was apparently being watched. Around 5:00 p.m., he heard a hasty bustling about the ITATA. A surgeon and two of the ship's "passengers" came aboard.

"I was sitting in the dining hall reading a book at the time, but shortly afterward the Captain came after me and asked me to go to his cabin and have a smoke. We went forward and found three of the 'passengers' in the cabin, all armed.

"The conversation took a national turn at first, but it was not long before I heard the

USS CHARLESTON at Mare Island, California, after her commissioning December 26, 1889. Part of new American steel Navy, she proved a sound design and served well at Manila Bay in 1898.
Detroit Collection, Library of Congress.



In 1895, Chile sold the ESMERALDA to Japan. Here she is as the Japanese cruiser IDZUMI, a veteran of the Russo-Japanese War and the Battle of Tsu Shima. *Chandler Postcard Collection, SDMM*

anchor chain rasping against the side of the ship and on looking out of the door I saw that we were under way.

"'Captain,' I said,' I protest against you leaving this harbor,' and I started for the door, but as soon as I stepped outside I was confronted by two Chilians [sic] with loaded and cocked rifles and I thought it best to return.

"'What are you going to do with me?' I asked. 'If you are bound to go outside all that I ask is that you land me on the pilot boat and send me ashore.'

"'I give you my word of honor,' said "Manzeum," 'that you will be landed safely and unharmed at the earliest opportunity, but if you go outside this cabin I will not answer for the consequences. This is a matter of life and death with me, see?' and he drew his hand significantly across his throat."[2]

Captain "Manzeum" told Spaulding that he was not master of the ITATA, only the navigator, that his name was "Silva." The Captain described the ship's desperate situation, and urged him not to do anything rash, such as signal or jump overboard. Spaulding was taken to the bridge and watched as Pilot Dill, flanked by armed, partly uniformed Chileans, conned the ship carefully out the channel. The crew set up four small steel cannon topside, "which," Spaulding said, "looked to me to be Fourth of July guns." A hundred armed and uniformed Chileans appeared on deck. At Ballast Point, Captain "Manzeum" handed him $10. Spaulding lowered himself off the port side into Pilot Boat No.1; the boat keeper, A. Blair, rowed him ashore. As they crossed ITATA's wake, Spaulding and Blair saw the Chileans waving their weapons in a farewell salute. She steamed out to sea.

Just as ITATA cleared the channel and turned north, the old wooden screw sloop USS OMAHA hove into sight, headed for San Diego harbor. She had recently returned from Far East station, and was completely oblivious of the crisis with the Chileans. The *Union* states[3] that when Spaulding realized how closely the two ships would pass, he exclaimed, "Blow my luck, I was born one day too late and I have been twenty-four hours behind time ever since. If that man-of-war had arrived yesterday at this hour, the ITATA would be lying quietly at her anchorage in the stream or she would be in the bottom of the bay."

Spaulding made his way back from Point Loma in a small hired yacht, arriving about nine p.m. When Gard returned off the tug, they compared notes, and went aboard OMAHA, to advise her Captain of what had transpired. After the conference, it was apparent that they were too late to board the train for Los Angeles.[4]

On May 7, detective Morse and a *Union* reporter had searched for the five deserters reported by "Manzeum." They learned that the Englishman and the black man had shipped aboard the DARTA for Puget Sound. The *Union* reporter located two of the deserters from the ITATA. They were Señor Umer, a sailor from the ESMERALDA; and Señor Telting.[5] The elder one had swum ashore to North Island; the younger had slipped off on one of the coal barges brought alongside. They were in civilian clothes, and seemed intelligent. When assured that their whereabouts would be kept secret, they told how the insurgent cruiser ESMERALDA had escorted the ITATA north to Cape San Lucas. The ESMERALDA'S Captain and staff were now aboard the ITATA, running the show. The intended rendezvous of ITATA with ROBERT & MINNIE had been an open secret to the ITATA's crew.

A guest at the Hotel del Coronado reported seeing "a steamer or a man-of-war join the ITATA after she departed and distinctly heard two shots fired as the vessels came together."[6] It could not have been the ESMERALDA; she was said to be standing out to sea from San Jose del Cabo, in the Sea of Cortez on May. [7] But it caused the papers to speculate that she meant to meet ITATA at Magdalena Bay for a transfer of coal and supplies. *The Los Angeles Times* found Spaulding's story incredible, and said Marshall Gard and Spaulding were covering up their failure to secure the ITATA by concoct-



Officers of the wooden screw sloop OMAHA in 1876. Returning here from Japan in 1891, the ship missed recapturing ITATA by a hair's breadth.

Postcard photo by E. Garreaud y Cia., Santiago, Chile. SDMM Collection

ing a preposterous tale of piracy.[8] *The San Francisco Chronicle* speculated that the steamer seen hovering outside San Diego harbor was the Chilean armored transport IMPERIALE. Captain Tom Nerney, a City Guard officer, told *The Union* that, from off Point Loma, with a powerful glass, he had seen a Chilean flag on the ship's flagstaff.[9] (Nerney was organizing the San Diego Naval Militia Company at the time, and would be its first commander.) And *The San Francisco Chronicle* quotes alleged former Chilean consul, Señor Casanova as saying, "It will be found that British money is the mainstay of the insurgents against our government. The British want to obtain control of the nitrate deposits, and President Balmaceda is worked for the benefit of the Chilian government [sic]."[10]

On May 7 Cole sent Attorney General Miller the main points of Spaulding's account, and urged that the U.S. send the OMAHA and the CHARLESTON to capture the ITATA. Navy Secretary Tracy, it was reported, had ordered the CHARLESTON out to sea from Mare Island. She

supposedly anchored "off Cat Island, out of sight," ostensibly to try out her guns. She would board her officers and men in the morning.

Newspapers all over the United States were filled with accounts of the conspiracy and the escape of the ship. The insurgents' representatives told Admiral William Penn McCann, commander of the South Atlantic Station in Valparaiso they disapproved of the actions of ITATA's officers. They promised to surrender her to U.S. forces as soon as she arrived in Chile.[11] There were fears that, should the cargo of arms and ammunition reach the insurgent congressional party forces, the Balmaceda government would take umbrage at the United States' failure to enforce its supposed neutrality laws.

International lawyers still recalled the case of the Confederate raider ALABAMA. Secretary of State James G. Blaine and Secretary of the Navy Benjamin Franklin Tracy were certainly mindful of the settlement of the ALABAMA claims. Tracy had been a lawyer all his life until his appointment to the cabinet on March 5, 1889. In the ALABAMA case the U.S. had insisted that Britain pay for the 100,000 tons of shipping lost to Confederate cruisers built in Britain. The court in Geneva had awarded $15.5 million to the United States in 1872. As Confederate vessels had been supplied with men, guns and ammunition in British ports, so it was felt that:

"As the ITATA had been seized by the United States at San Diego, she was technically United States property until discharged and is therefore liable to recapture on the high seas by a United States man of war, or to confiscation if she ever enters a United States port again."[12]

In Los Angeles, the *Times* reported that "Judges Brunson and Lamme, of the law firm of Brunson, Wilson and Lamme, have been retained by the Chilian government to prosecute the cases against the insurgents now cruising on this coast." Lamme admitted he was in the employ of the Balmaceda government.

In the ITATA's darkening pilothouse, the night of May 6, Pilot Dill, surrounded by four armed Chileans, guided the ship westbound. Dill was an ex-lumber schooner master, who'd worked the San Diego waters as pilot, excursion boat and fishing party skipper. By dawn, he brought ITATA within a mile south of San Clemente Island, 60 miles off the coast. There Captain Silva anchored, and waited for their cargo to arrive.

At length the ROBERT & MINNIE appeared and joined her. The two vessels were secured alongside each other. Dill went below to bed. At 8:30 p.m. that night they began transferring the war-like cargo. Dill was asleep until 4 a.m. Friday, when he was told to board the ROBERT & MINNIE. At 4:30 a.m. May 8 the work was finished. Captain Burt affixed his signature to the delivery receipt as executed at "Southeast Harbor, San Clemente Island, USA," and dated it May 7.[13] Then quickly they cast off all lines. Captain Silva called: "Eleven knots all



U.S. Attorney General William H. H. Miller.
Encyclopedia of American Biography.



Bay of Iquique, Chile around 1890. Junta forces captured this revenue-rich nitrate port early in the conflict, which helped assure their victory.
Chandler Postcard Collection, SDMM



The U.S. Cruiser CHARLESTON. Designed by Sir W.G. Armstrong of England, her engine drawings included details from Chile's ESMERALDA and ships of several other nations. Commissioned December 26, 1889, her first foe was ITATA.
SDMM



Captain (later Rear Admiral) William T. Sampson. He commanded USS SAN FRANCISCO, part of the Pacific Station fleet, in Peru during the Chilean crisis.
Charles L. Ritzmann photo

hour [sic] from here to Acapulco." ROBERT & MINNIE made for San Pedro. In a doubtful state of repair, ITATA steamed south.[14]

"Its engines and boilers were in bad shape and its shaft out of line; consequently the ITATA could not make more than seven knots ... Its chronometer was a great deal out. As a result when it hit the Chilean coast at Tocopilla on June 3, the captain did not know what part of the coast he was going to strike."[15]

The ROBERT & MINNIE rounded the headlands, sneaked close to San Pedro, and, hoping to pass unnoticed, landed Pilot Dill and Captain Burt in a rowboat. But Deputy Marshal Anderson spotted the schooner. He collected a posse, chartered the tug FALCON, and overhauled her three miles out, then brought her back. A search of the schooner found no guns or ammunition, meaning that the cargo had been stowed somewhere, on some island, or perhaps on ITATA, which was then southbound at her best speed.[16]

When news of the ITATA's escape reached Washington, no one seemed certain what to do. The Attorney General and Navy Secretary Tracy thought they should capture her; the rest of the administration disagreed.[17] Navy sources said that reports of the Chilean warship IMPERIALE hovering near the mouth of San Diego harbor were incorrect. Some thought ITATA was headed north. It was hoped she was not bound for Chile. Washington newspapers seemed to think she hadn't gotten the arms from the ROBERT & MINNIE, but was probably lurking near San Diego. And in San Diego Marshal Gard, Deputy Spaulding and Detective Morse decided to stay and wait, on the chance that



Far Right: Captain (later Rear Admiral) Winfield S. Schley, commander of the cruiser BALTIMORE. Embroiled in the tragic incident in Valparaiso, he rose to prominence with Sampson at the Battle of Santiago.
Clinedinst Studio photo.



USS BALTIMORE, sister to cruiser CHARLESTON. After ITATA was brought back to San Diego, two BALTIMORE crewmen were killed by Chileans angered by apparent American favoritism toward the hated Balmaceda partisans.
Chandler Postcard Collection, SDMM



CHARLESTON and ITATA in San Diego Bay, July 7 - 22, 1892. At this time court proceedings had begun in San Diego, to determine if U.S. neutrality had been violated by ITATA'S adventure.
SDMM Collection

CHARLESTON would enter port needing a briefing on local developments.

In San Francisco, Navy Captain George C. Remy read the sealed orders he'd gotten on May 8 — it took three hours to decipher them. He'd been ordered to take CHARLESTON out to sea, chase down the freighter and return her to U.S. control. At 4 a.m. all visitors were ordered off the cruiser, and at 6 a.m. on Saturday, May 9, they got her underway. Shortly she ran into a fog bank, forcing her to anchor out until it cleared.[18] Finally, CHARLESTON reached San Pedro at 7 p.m. Sunday evening, May 10.

In San Diego, on May 9, after reading a pile of deciphered messages the OMAHA's commander, Navy Captain Cromwell steamed the old ship out to sea at 11:30 a.m. She headed southwest, took a look around the Coronado Islands and up the coast, then made a course for San Pedro. She entered port at 5:45 p.m. Sunday, May 10.[19]

From Captain Cromwell Captain Remy learned, among other things, that ROBERT & MINNIE had been seized, that ITATA's engines were dilapidated, that she could do no better than nine or 10 knots. CHARLESTON remained in San Pedro until 5 a.m. the next day, then departed. OMAHA headed north that afternoon.

In San Diego on May 9, Marshal Gard, Detective Morse and Deputy Spaulding boarded a yacht and visited the crew of a harbor dredge that had observed ITATA's passing. They also went to see Blair, the pilot boatman. All gave statements corroborating the story told by Spaulding of the ITATA's escape.[20]

In San Francisco, W.R. Grace & Co. chartered the steamer MONTSERRAT. Grace's agent went to considerable trouble to assure all that she only carried produce – hay, barley, wheat, flour and potatoes – and no armaments.[21] The Chilean consul, Walter Catton, stated he was taking every precaution including a detective and nighttime illumination.[22]

Deputy Marshal Anderson arrested Pilot Dill at San Pedro. Dill attested to the armed determination of the ITATA's crew, and said that, with all the canons, guns and soldiers aboard, she was a regular man-of-war – a view later seconded by the ROBERT & MINNIE'S Captain George A. Burt.

Detective Morse traced Captain Burt, who had left for Los Angeles, to the Arcade depot. Burt denied his identity at first, then admitted it. Morse arrested him and turned him over to Marshal Gard. Burt claimed he'd landed the arms, but refused to say where. Captain O'Farrell, skipper of the ROBERT & MINNIE, said he had done nothing illegal, had a clear receipt for everything, and bragged that if he had had a full crew, he would not have been captured.

The newspapers speculated wildly about possible encounters of CHARLESTON with ITATA and ESMERALDA. The morning of May 11, San Diegans climbed their rooftops and the cliffs along the coast and stared through binoculars as the CHARLESTON steamed southward in hot pursuit, smoke pouring out of her stacks.
In his cabin, Captain Remy made notes on preparations the ship needed to make, should CHARLESTON cross ESMERALDA's track as she was escorting ITATA.

And in Los Angeles, Captains Burt and O'Farrel, Pilot Dill and the five crewmen of the ROBERT & MINNIE were charged with violation of the neutrality laws. Bail was set at $2,500 on each seaman, and $5,000 for the Pilot and two captains.

In San Francisco, Ricardo Trumbull was arrested on May 11, and charged with violation of neutrality laws; the Spreckles brothers paid his $15,000 bail.[23]

Dill was able to post bail, and returned to

San Diego that same evening. A *Union* reporter went to his door and found him in his nightshirt. Dill had had his fill of Los Angeles reporters, and was tired and short-tempered. He bluntly parried the attempted late-night interview, slamming the door in the newsman's face. The reporter's revenge was a "blow-by-blow" about the encounter in the next day's issue.

On May 12 the Mexican consul general, A.K. Coney, said that any ship entering a Mexican port with arms aboard was required to have a special permit, and as ITATA had not such clearance, they might seize her. But if the Mexican government should manage to capture her, (ITATA was expected to be quite short of coal by six days after her departure) they would not feel obligated to turn her over to the United States, even as a gesture of friendship.

On May 13, the Columbian government declared both Chilean ships to be pirates. The Mexican government ordered all of its Pacific port authorities to watch for the two Chilean vessels. Their gunboat DEMOCRATA was directed to keep a lookout for them as well. (DEMOCRATA had entered San Diego Bay on the same day as ITATA, and had witnessed the infamous departure.)

On May 14, a delayed telegram was reported in Mexico City from Acapulco. It stated that late in the evening of May 13 or 14, the ESMERALDA had entered port. She'd tried unsuccessfully to arrange for supplies and services; sent wires and picked up a telegram from the United States; and then slipped out of the harbor before daylight the next day. ESMERALDA had about a 600-ton coal capacity, for a range of 6,000 miles at 10 knots.[24] She had steamed 3,000 miles from Iquique to Cape San Lucas.

ESMERALDA'S Captain had told the Mexican reporters that, as he'd not gone to any American ports, he didn't expect the American cruiser to interfere with his movements. And as to the possibility of a sea fight between her and the CHARLESTON, a Chilean officer was heard to say, rather jokingly, "Oh, the ITATA is already out of danger; she has plenty of coal and provisions to carry her to her destination." The *Union* speculated that ESMERALDA had coaled at sea and headed south, while ITATA had gone to Acapulco to throw off the Navy.[25] And at Guatamala, a schooner reported two strange ships headed south under full sail.

On the same day, the Mexican newspaper *Anglo-American* printed a rumor that the ITATA had been sunk. The government denied that any Chilean ship had entered a Mexican port; but a prominent Mexican official was reported to have warned the cruiser not to remain in Acapulco, that Mexico only recognized the Balmaceda government, and would not harbor any insurgent vessels.[26]

After leaving San Clemente Island, ITATA had set a course for the rendezvous with ESMERALDA at Cape San Lucas, making 10 knots, about as fast, her engineer later said, as she'd done in her trials. But when she got there, the cruiser was gone. The Pacific Mail steamer COLIMA spoke the ITATA on May 15, when 65 miles from Acapulco. Later, COLIMA spoke the pursuing American cruiser CHARLESTON 180 miles from Acapulco, and told them of her sighting.[27] CHARLESTON thanked her and dashed off to what Captain Remy hoped would be the fulfillment of his mission.

Down the coast, ESMERALDA'S Captain had a coal barge he had purchased at San Blas, and was towing it to Acapulco. Knowing that time was critical, and that Mexican coal was probably inaccessible, he'd planned to use the barge to transfer ITATA'S coal supply to the ESMERALDA.

ITATA continued to a point 100 miles south of Manzanillo. Finally late on May 15 the two vessels sighted each other. Captain Silva ordered a steam launch posted out to sea, as a picket boat lookout. In the shelter of Bahja de Petacalco, ITATA was getting ready to unload the coal and supplies she'd gotten in San Diego when a signal came from the steam launch. They'd sighted smoke on the horizon. Fearing the approach of CHARLESTON, ITATA broke away and steamed out of sight, taking her entire cargo of coal with her.[28]

It was indeed the CHARLESTON. Night fell as she drew nearer. In the darkness her officers squinted toward the ominous dark mass thru their long glasses. Suddenly the harsh beams of the Chileans' searchlights found them in the darkness. Realizing it was the ESMERALDA, they extinguished all exterior lights, loaded batteries and cleared for action.

"As soon as the ESMERALDA had hoisted the launch aboard she prepared to meet the CHARLESTON. The meeting took place off the harbor of Acapulco at three a.m., and when the ESMERALDA'S searchlight fell upon the CHARLESTON the latter's men beat to the [sic] quarters and every man went to the guns. The ESMERALDA was also prepared, and Capt. [Silva] Palma told a correspondent that had a pistol shot been fired on either side it would have been the signal for an instant engagement."[29]

But nothing came of the encounter. After some wary circling around each other, the Americans headed for port.

CHARLESTON reached Acapulco at 6 a.m., two hours before ESMERALDA did. This was as Captain Remy would have it; if ITATA was bound anywhere, it would be there. He had orders to search for ITATA in Panama, then watch for her off Arica. He also was expected to follow the ESMERALDA and see that no transfer of arms from the ITATA was made. As the ESMERALDA approached Acapulco, CHARLESTON stood near the entrance to the harbor. The two ships passed each other closely. CHARLESTON'S decks were cleared and strewn with sand. Ready rounds of ammunition were piled high. On each ship's deck, the crews sized each other up carefully. CHARLESTON entered the harbor and anchored near the entrance. Her crew continued to make preparations for possible combat. The ESMERALDA also steamed into the harbor and anchored nearby. She had been trying unsuccessfully to get coal two days before; lacking money, no firm was willing to sell her commander any.

CHARLESTON sent a barge to the Chilean with an officer seeking to pay his compliments, but the ESMERALDA refused to allow him aboard. Captain Silva reportedly swore that CHARLESTON would have to sink the ESMERALDA first. Captain Remy responded, "I have my orders to take the ITATA. The fact that the ESMERALDA is present will make no difference."

At Iquique, Admiral McCann received an order from Secretary Tracy to assume immediate control of CHARLESTON upon her arrival.

Remy's crew arranged for a load of coal. The crew, if *The New York Herald's* dispatch is to be believed, had

"...been on a keen jump to get ready for sea. The work of coaling, usually so distasteful to man-of-wars' men, has been rushed along as if it were a pleasure."[30]

They finished coaling on May 17, and steamed south. ESMERALDA stayed in port, the authorities continuing to refuse her coal. Her officers kept guard at the telegraph office; there was a rumor that money would be telegraphed to her.

On May 23, *The San Francisco Evening Bulletin* reported that the insurgents were in agreement with the U.S. The CHARLESTON could proceed to Callao. The junta would quietly hand over the ITATA and her cargo.[31]

The ESMERALDA came ashore at Acapulco, and, protesting that matters had been settled between the U.S. and Chile, asked for coal; they were again refused, as trickery was suspected. Eventually she managed to arrange to buy 400 tons from the Pacific Mail Steamship Co. But the Mexican government continued to deny her permission to load it. Captain Silva protested that it had been paid for, and from his anchorage in the harbor, he turned his guns on the town. After several protests, the Mexican government yielded. Finally, with coal aboard, ESMERALDA departed. She was sorely needed in the homeland.

CHARLESTON arrived at Callao, Peru May 27, then steamed to Arica. Rear Admiral McCann ordered Capt. Remy to Iquique, where the cruiser arrived June 4. In all that time he never saw ITATA.

Rear Admiral McCann tried later to arrange a peace between Balmaceda and the junta, but because of difficulty communicating with Minister Egan, his effort failed.[32]

ITATA appeared at Tocopilla on the Chilean coast, on June 3. Her skipper is said to have been trying to reach Juan Fernandez Island, where he was to hide and wait for an opportunity to bring the arms ashore. Finally, at Iquique she surrendered to Admiral McCann. She had aboard 5,000 rifles and the ammunition from the ROBERT & MINNIE; it appeared that *nothing* had been transferred to the ESMERALDA during their brief encounter at Acapulco. But Trumbull claimed that she carried 10,000 rifles. And 50,000 rifles were reportedly delivered at Oakland Mole — 250 cases, 200 rifles to a case; not really complete accounting.

ITATA was brought into Valparaiso harbor, where she remained for 10 days, in expectation that she would honor the junta's promise to the U.S. authorities. But on a foggy night she was able to slip her cable and head out of the harbor. Rear Admiral McCann and BALTIMORE chased her, and the next day she was overhauled and returned to port. To keep her there, her boilers and engines were dismantled and essential parts were brought aboard BALTIMORE, — for "repairs," naturally; just a friendly gesture by the American sailors, helping the freighter get ready for the return trip to San Diego.[33]

At length, ITATA headed back to San Diego in convoy with CHARLESTON, without incident. Her new master, Captain Tejada, sent fresh meat to the CHARLESTON four times, and offered her coal if needed. Captain Remy returned the compliments, sending cigars and California wines. The log of Captain E.B. Dunnells says ITATA entered San Diego Bay on July 4, CHARLESTON on July 7.

In the meantime, the Chilean crisis was building to a tragic climax for the U.S. Navy. The Central and Southern Telegraph Company, an American corporation, "desired permission to erect a line from Valparaiso to Santiago, and on to the Argentine frontier, in order to compete with the Transandine Telegraph Company."[34] They went to President Balmaceda for permission. But at the time, Balmaceda needed to construct communications with the north, where he hoped to strike at the junta. The cable was open from Callao, Peru to Iquique, the junta's center of operations. So he told them they must first open direct communications from Callao to Valparaiso.

The company had a technically easy solution. They wanted the insurgents at Iquique to let them connect the cable in a shack there, on a point of land and under insurgent supervision, rather than out at sea. To the insurgents, it was a ridiculous, totally unacceptable idea. The American consul, Patrick Egan, had gotten no reply, so an agent of the company went to see Rear Admiral McCann, who was about to turn over his command. The Admiral sent a message to the American consul at Iquique, for forwarding to the insurgents, and instructed Captain Winfield Scott Schley, commanding the USS BALTIMORE, to get their answer. Schley arrived in Iquique in mid-July. The insurgents flatly refused.

Schley, in the BALTIMORE, steamed out to the cable buoy, and measured the distance. He determined that it was indeed well out in international waters, and provided protection. The Telegraph Company steamer RELAY cut the cable off Iquique about the middle of July and joined it to a line running to Valparaiso, in deep water outside the three-mile limit. The junta had not

wanted its own cable cut. It only wanted to keep Balmaceda from having cable. That it could have cut his cable any time afterward did not occur to them. But as the connection was in international waters, they could not do so afterward. The point rankled the insurgents badly.

Feelings grew acrimonious between Americans and Chileans. American Naval officers observing the civil warfare were accused of spying for the Balmacedistas. Captain Robley D. Evans in USS YORKTOWN gave Naval protection to civilians who had sought asylum in the embassies. This seemed also to favor the defeated President's partisans. Anger toward the United States became frenzied.

On October 16, 1891, Chilean civilians attacked the crew of the USS BALTIMORE. Two sailors died at Valparaiso. The U.S. government made known that it expected an apology, a retraction of "palpable insults" published when official Chilean correspondence was made public in December. On January 21, 1892, Secretary Blaine wired U.S. Minister Egan that Chile's failure to retract offensive dispatches would result in termination of relations. President Harrison sent a message to Congress on January 25 that included all the U.S.-Chilean correspondence since the start of the revolution. From all appearances, a war was imminent. But on January 30, Egan wired the Chilean government's reply and tensions lessened. After much negotiating, Chile tendered $75,000 in bills of exchange to the U.S. Government.

Captains Schley and Sampson visited San Diego with their respective ships USS BALTIMORE and USS SAN FRANCISCO after the incident. Both later became famous for their conduct of the Battle of Santiago, in the Spanish American War.

William Henry Harrison Miller, the Attorney General, returned to his law practice after President Harrison, whose grandfather was his namesake, was voted out of office.

John Watson Foster, who advocated for the Balmaceda forces, and aided Secretary of State Blaine in the Chilean crisis, became the next Secretary of State.

James G. Blaine died January 27, 1893. The most northwesterly town of the United States, which voted 100% for him in the presidential election of 1884, chose Blaine, Washington, as its name.

And ITATA was a celebrity anchored in San Diego Bay. Controversy swirled around the court proceedings, but meanwhile there was a grand ball for the officers of the ship at the Hotel del Coronado, and a grand banquet at the Hotel Brewster. Finally, in March of 1892, the court found innocent all parties to the alleged neutrality violations. The ITATA was released. Captain Manzen (or Manzeum) was restored as master. In June of 1893, Manzen reported that Captain Tejada had been jailed. In April 1894, the papers reported that Captain Manzen had committed suicide.

ITATA returned to civilian service. She carried passengers and freight until she sank off Coquimbo, Chile at the end of August 1922. There were 322 lives lost.

[*Ed. Note*: Chuck Bencik is a regular contributor to *Mains'l Haul.*]

NOTES

1 *San Diego Union*, May 8, 1891, p. 1.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Ibid.*
4 *The Union* and other newspapers confused names and identities throughout the affair. On May 6, he is called "Deputy Customs Collector Spaulding of San Francisco," and the ship is supposedly left "in charge of Deputy Marshal Spencer." On May 8, *The Union* protested that the Deputy Marshal is not J.T. Spencer but A.C. Spaulding, contrary to what he supposedly said. In the same article, "A.C. Spaulding" is identified as a pseudonym for "Harry Morse of the Morse Detective Agency of San Francisco." Yet in the next day's *Union*, Gard, Morse and Spaulding are identified as three distinct persons. The identities of Silva and Manzeum are also mixed up in the newspaper accounts.
5 *Los Angeles Times*, May 16, 1891
6 *Union, loc. cit.*
7 *Union*, May 16, 1891, p. 1.
8 *Los Angeles Times*, May 8, 1891.
9 *San Diego Union* May 8, 1891, p. 1.
10 *Union*, May 8, 1891, p. 1.
11 *Union*, June 5, 1891, p. 1.
12 *Union*, May 8, 1891, p. 1
13 Federal Reports 102. United States versus Trumbull, Papers in the case, Government Exhibit No. 7.
14 *Union*, June 10, 1891, p. 1.
15 Osgood Hardy, "The ITATA Incident," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 5, May 1922, p. 217.
16 *Union*, May 10, 1891, p. 1.
17 Hardy, *Op. Cit*, p. 214.
18 *Union*, May 11, 1891, p. 1.
19 *Union*, May 12, 1891, p. 1.
20 *Union*, May 10, 1891, p. 5.
21 *Union*, May 10, 1891 p. 1.
22 *Union*, May 12, 1891, p. 1.
23 *Union*, May 13, 1891, p.1.
24 *Warship International*, No. 1, June 30, 1970, p. 159.
25 *Union*,, May 18, p. 1.
26 *Union*, May 16, 1891, p. 1
27 *Union*, May 24, 1891, p., 1.
28 *Union*, May 22, 1891, p. 1.
29 *Union*, June 10, 1891, p. 1.
30 *Union*, May 18, 1891, p. 1.
31 *Union*, May 24, 1891, p. 1.
32 *National Encyclopedia of American Biography*, p. 417.
33 *Union*, November 9, 1936, p. 5.
34 John B. Moore, "The Late Chilean Controversy," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. III (1893), page 471.



Part 3 of 3

CALIFORNIA'S TUNA CLIPPER FLEET: 1918-1963

By August J. Felando

Considering the first 20 years and the subsequent history of California's tuna clipper fleet,[1] one could rightly quote Shakespeare's adage: "What's past is prologue." January 1, 1946, can be considered a starting date for the final era of the tuna clipper fleet. The foreseeable future excited fishermen, War veterans, shipyards, and investors with promises of economic growth, security, and new wealth.

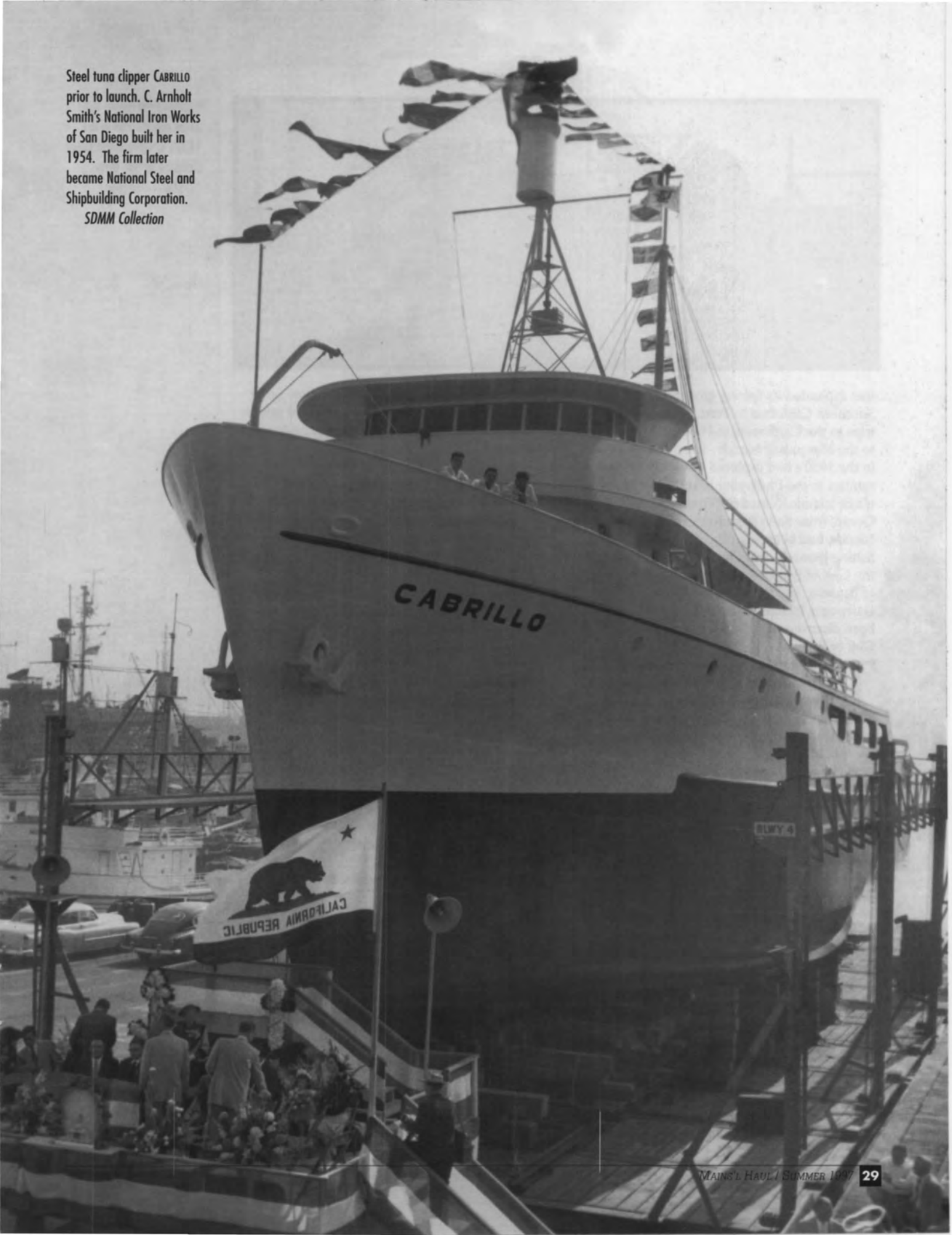
As in the 1928-1931 period, risk takers were convinced that owning and operating a tuna clipper offered a guarantee "to make a lot of money." The demand for frozen tuna was high. During the fleet's developing years, canned tuna had become a popular and widely accepted food for American consumers. United States tuna production grew from over 48 million cans in 1925, to 166 million cans in 1945.[2] This continuing American consumer acceptance introduced the world to a new, healthy, and inexpensive canned food product from the living resources of the oceans.

Other important economic indicators supported an optimistic outlook. Ex-vessel tuna prices (i.e., the prices paid to the fisherman) were rising to record levels. In 1925, yellowfin tuna was priced to the fisherman at $80 a short ton; the 1946 price ranged from $200 to $280. It would reach $310 in 1947, and then $340 in 1948. Yellowfin and skipjack production by the California tuna fleet went from 25 million pounds in 1925 to 170 million pounds in 1940 to 121 million pounds in 1945. The 200 million pound level, it was thought, would be reached in 1947.

Shipyards in California and Washington were busy constructing larger, faster tuna clippers. For example, the average power of the main diesel engine increased from 300 horsepower for the 102' wood-hulled ATLANTIC (the first tuna clipper) to 1,560 horsepower for the new 131' steel-hulled CHICKEN OF THE SEA.

Within 20 years, tuna fishing, California-clipper-style, had been introduced throughout the tropical latitudes of the Pacific Ocean. The fleet

Three tuna fishermen together haul in what could be up to 100 pounds of Yellowfin tuna.
SDMM Collection.



Steel tuna clipper CABRILLO prior to launch. C. Arnholt Smith's National Iron Works of San Diego built her in 1954. The firm later became National Steel and Shipbuilding Corporation.
SDMM Collection



Wooden tuna clipper hulls under construction in the 1930's at Campbell Machine Company of San Diego.
SDMM Collection

had expanded its fishing grounds from Southern California to Peru, made exploratory trips to the Caribbean, to Hawaiian waters, and to the Marquesas Islands. In addition, clippers in the 1930's had explored tuna fishing opportunities in the Philippine Islands. All of the major islands located in the eastern Pacific Ocean, from San Diego to the Galapagos Islands, had been searched for tuna. New bait fishing grounds were discovered off Mexico, in the Gulf of Fonseca; off Costa Rica, in the Gulf of Panama, and in the waters adjoining the Galapagos Islands. New fishing banks had been discovered off Baja California and the Gulf of Panama.

The fishermen and investors who rushed to the shipyards to build new tuna clippers, to reconvert former tuna clippers back from military service, and to convert military hulls knew where the tuna could be harvested. More importantly, they also knew that tuna clipper fishing was accepted as the most efficient and economic of all techniques.

Though its economic crisis was not foreseen by the California tuna industry in 1946, the Government had already introduced policies that would cause future tuna trade problems for the entire industry and inaugurate conflicts on the high seas with foreign governments. In addition, the California tuna clipper fleet was soon to be faced with competitive fishing techniques that would cause it to fight a losing battle for survival.

From 1926 until 1945, 140 tuna clippers entered the U.S. tuna fishery in the eastern tropical Pacific Ocean. But by January 1, 1946, the total count was only 100 vessels due to tuna clippers no longer being documented. Over the next 15 years (1946-1959), their numbers grew again by 170.

During 1945, the hulls of 20 new tuna clippers were built — all but two by California shipyards. Eight were steel hulls. Three other vessels entered the fleet: two converted seiners and one older vessel whose gross tonnage had increased.

In 1946, 30 new clippers were built, and three former tuna vessels were returned to the tuna fisheries. Of these 33 vessels, 17 were steel hulls. In 1947, another 19 new clippers were built: 12 steel and seven of wood. Four wood hulls built as Navy YP's were converted.[3] In 1948, nine new hulls were built: eight of wood and one of steel. The highest number of military hulls converted to clippers occurred during 1948. Eighteen former YP's were converted to clippers, and one to a tuna seiner. Also, four other Navy vessels were converted. In 1949, seven new vessels entered the fleet, four of wood hull and three of steel.

In those five years, 117 vessels entered the California tuna clipper fleet — a record never surpassed in the history of the United States tuna fishery. In addition, 28 former clippers were reconverted from military vessels after World War II for re-entry into the fleet during that five-year period. By comparison, only 120 tuna vessels were produced during the fleet's first 20 years (1925-1944).

During the next and final decade (1950-1959), 50 clippers joined the fleet. The PRINCESS ANNE, a steel hull built by Consolidated Steel Boat Division, Newport Beach, California, for Otto G. Kiessig of San Diego, was lost in 1945 on its maiden voyage in the Galapagos Islands. Another steel-hulled vessel, the LISBOA, built in Tacoma, foundered in the Galapagos Islands on its maiden voyage in 1946. These events caused waterfront debates among fishermen about the advantages of steel versus wood hulls. In early 1946, a board of underwriters announced that all steel-hulled clippers would have to pass inclination tests, to determine their stability under



District patrol vessel YP 291: formerly the clipper NORMANDIE, seen as a "Yippie" in 1943. *SDMM Collection.*

rough conditions. Certain underwriters cancelled the insurance coverage on some steel fishing vessels. In response, C. Arnholt Smith, President of National Iron Works, San Diego announced that his firm, builders of steel-hulled clippers, "will welcome any reasonable inclination tests to which underwriters want to subject our clippers."[4]

In the first 20 years of the tuna fishery (1925-1944), only five of the 108 vessels built as clippers were of steel. World War II gave rise to a number of shipyards in California, Oregon, Washington, and Louisiana that were now competing for clipper orders. Within the next 15 years, 44 new steel-hulled clippers went into service; Smith's firm built 23 of them.[5] Because of their wartime experience, many of these shipyards favored and promoted steel-hulled ships. Shipyards in San Diego and San Pedro soon discovered that they were in a tough struggle to remain the primary builders of new tuna clippers.

The year 1946 saw the first tuna clippers built in a shipyard not located on the Pacific Coast. Three steel hulls were built for San Diego owners at Avondale Marine Ways, New Orleans, Louisiana. Within six years, this New Orleans yard built nine clippers and one tuna seiner which was later converted to a clipper.[6] They were built on the promise of the yard that it would make delivery within six months. Captain Joe Madruga, a Navy veteran, explained his decision to build the PARAMOUNT:

"The California and Washington yards were busy and could not deliver a vessel for a year. Avondale promised delivery in 5 months [their advertisements claimed "from keel to completion" in four months and 12 days[7]]. Returning from my service in the Navy, my brothers and I were anxious to get back [to] fishing as soon as possible.[8]"

Impressed with the military service of former California tuna clippers in the South Pacific, the Navy had ordered the construction of 30 YP's. In early 1947, the Navy announced that 23 of them would be made available to the public. Eighteen were located in San Diego, two in San Pedro, two at Pearl Harbor, and one in the Philippines. The purchase price of these YP's ranged from $120,000 to $130,000. The cost of conversion of a YP to a clipper averaged about $150,000. Available data show that 25 of these YP's entered the U.S. tuna fleet.[9] During 1948, YP 632 was the only YP converted to a tuna seiner – the YANKEE MARINER. In 1955, YP 641 was the last YP to enter the U.S. tuna clipper fleet, as the SAN JOAQUIN; she was originally converted as a Panama-flagged tuna vessel, the DEL SUR.

In 1946, FRANCES MARIE (ex YP 411), and COMMODORE (ex YP 518), were finally awarded official numbers by the Bureau of Customs as documented commercial fishing vessels of the United States. Both vessels were being constructed, the COMMODORE in San Diego, when acquired by the Navy.

In 1948, two coastal minesweepers, USS RUFF AMc 59 and USS RHEA AMc 58 were reconverted into the clippers AMERICAN BELLE and ELENA. Both had been clippers under con-



A Luscomb pontoon-equipped plane is loaded onto the Soares brothers' 108' clipper LIBERATOR, atop the canopy of her bait tank. She was the first clipper to fish for tuna and bait using a scout plane.
Pacific American Fisherman, April 1949.

struction in San Diego in 1941, when the Navy took them over. And in 1948, the small coastal transport USS APC 42 was the first of its Navy type to be converted to a clipper, the DONNA M.

Four former Navy steam-powered tugs were converted to diesel powered tuna clippers by shipyards in Tacoma, Washington. In 1948, Tacoma Boat Building Company converted the ocean rescue tug USS ATR 69 into the 155' SCARLET QUEEN.[10] She was acclaimed the biggest and heaviest vessel ever to fish tuna. Her cargo capacity was rated about 600 short tons. In 1949, Nick Dragich of San Pedro, California converted the USS ATR 34 into the SEA LARK for the shark liver fishery. After an unsuccessful maiden voyage, the vessel was converted to a tuna clipper in 1950 at Martinolich Shipbuilding Company, San Diego. Before commencing her maiden clipper voyage, she completed a salmon mother ship operation in the Bering Sea. In March 1951, Captain Frank Medina of San Diego completed the maiden voyage of the SEA LARK as a tuna clipper with a record landing of over 583 tons.

In 1952, USS ATR 62, and in 1956, USS ATR 80 were converted into the WESTERN ACE and the WESTERN KING respectively by owner/operator Western Boat Building Company of Tacoma. The latter two vessels differed fundamentally from the other two ATR conversions. The steel deckhouse of the original was completely replaced; and the characteristic ATR bluff bow and broken nose stem were changed to a forward-raking stem. The vessels were designed to look and trim like tuna clippers. Their cargo capacities were increased to 630 tons, making them the largest tuna clippers in the fleet. WESTERN KING was the last military hull to be converted as a tuna clipper.

Besides this surge of new construction and conversion of military hulls, pre-War tuna clippers which had seen service as Navy YP's, Army freighters or tugs were returning to their civilian careers. Of the 52 tuna clippers that served in World War II, 22 did not return. Four were lost due to enemy action, six sunk, eight destroyed by the Government, two were abandoned, and two transferred to aliens. Of the remaining 30, 28 were purchased and reconverted to tuna clippers and two became purse seiners. Southern California shipyards reconverted all 30 vessels, with San Diego firms having most of this business. Many of these vessels displayed chevrons on their stacks proudly indicating wartime service. Three chevrons marked a year of service. The smokestack of the CONTE BIANCO (ex YP 240) had nine chevrons, the NORMANDIE (ex YP 291) eight red chevrons, and the QUEEN MARY seven chevrons.

This rush to own tuna clippers was not limited to citizen investors. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) built and owned four new fishing vessels and converted a freighter into a factory ship. Two of the steel hull clippers — the WASHINGTON and OREGON — were completed by shipyards located in Portland and Astoria, Oregon. The ALASKA and CALIFORNIA, also steel hulls, were built in Long Beach, California. A former island steamer, the 410' PACIFIC EXPLORER, was converted in 1946 at Bellingham, Washington, as "America's first fully integrated factory ship."[11] This steel-hulled vessel, of 7,254 gross tons, built in 1919, was converted into a combination cannery, 3,800-ton freezer, and fish reduction plant.

The RFC selected Pacific Exploration Company, a private concern, to operate these vessels. The Company was lead by Nick Bez, who, among his other fishery interests, was the president of CRPA —Columbia River Packers Association, Inc. The contract called for the Company to pay RFC $50,000 per year, or 55% of the profits before taxes, whichever was larger. The business plan was for the PACIFIC EXPLORER to operate in subtropical areas of the Pacific as a floating tuna freezer during the winter months. During the summer months, the vessel, operating off Alaska, would pack crab and freeze salmon. These products would be sold to CRPA and other firms managed by Bez.

CRPA packed tuna under the "Bumble Bee" label at a tuna cannery located in Astoria, Oregon. Repeating the experience of Southern California tuna canneries in the 1920's, CRPA and other Northwest tuna canneries found the need for new sources of frozen tunas. They soon discovered that the supply of locally caught Albacore was not adequate. In 1947, the PACIFIC EXPLORER put into a bay near Puntarenas, Costa Rica, a port city on the Pacific. There she loaded tropical tuna from 12 small seiners and bait boats for freezing and shipment to Astoria.

This operation met immediate and strong political reactions in Washington D.C. California tuna cannery owners protested that the Government-owned freezer vessel and fishing vessels were not being used as intended, namely to explore new tuna fisheries in the Pacific. By June 30, 1947, the RFC announced revisions in its contract with Nick Bez's Company. In August, the PACIFIC EXPLORER

unloaded at CRPA its first and last load of tropical tunas, an estimated 2,272 tons. In early 1948, the clippers OREGON and ALASKA were sent to explore new tuna grounds in the mid-Pacific. By the end of the year, the failed exploration venture was terminated. It was a significant occurrence, because it identified events that would later contribute to the decline of the California tuna clipper fleet.

In 1948, Nick Bez deployed two 328' former Navy tank landing ships: the SAIPAN (ex USS OKALA ISLAND, LST 1099); and the TINIAN (ex LST 1039). Both were converted in Portland, Oregon, to serve as refrigerated tuna carriers having capacities of about 1,021 tons. Unlike the PACIFIC EXPLORER, these vessels used brine freezing instead of the air freezing system used on the PACIFIC EXPLORER. During 1948, these two ships operated first from Costa Rica, later from the Galapagos Islands, Ecuador. Prior to this venture, Ecuador had never permitted the use of "mother ship" operations for servicing seiners.

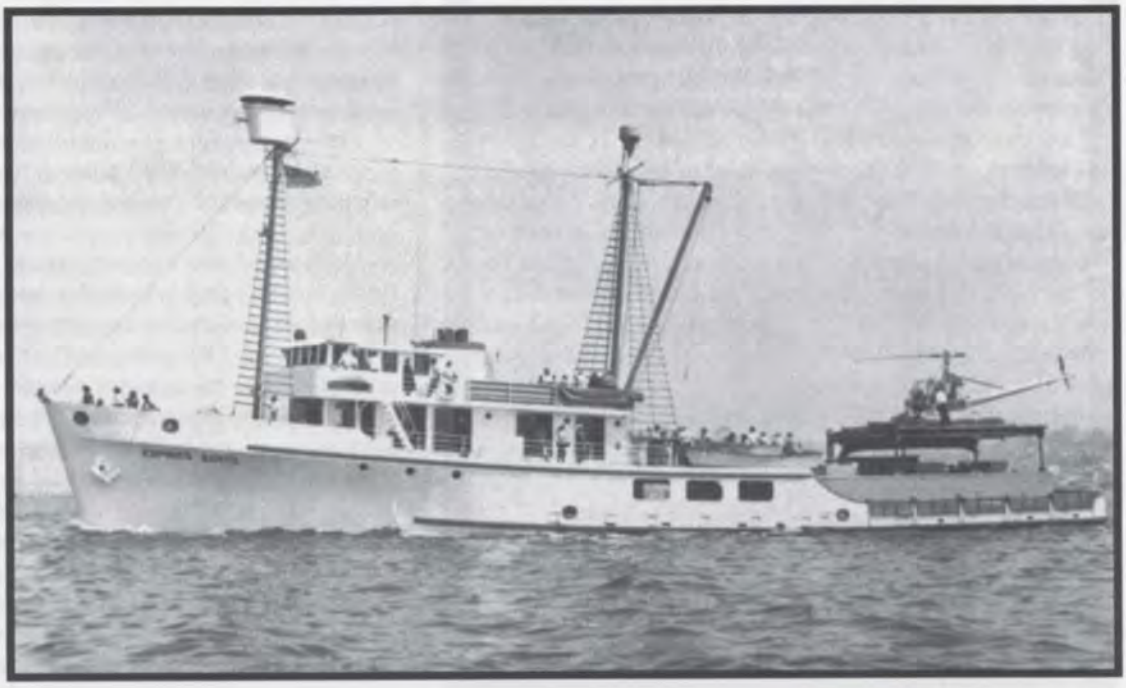
In July 1948, plans for tuna exploratory cruises off Peru and Chile by the Government-owned clippers WASHINGTON and CALIFORNIA were suspended, and both vessels were laid up at Seattle. The Department of State, who ordered the suspension, reported that the governments of Peru and Chile would not approve such operations. The previous year, both countries had claimed 200-nautical-mile territorial waters off their coasts. U.S. Embassy officials delivered notes of protest to the Peruvian and Chilean foreign ministries.

In September 1948, the WASHINGTON and CALIFORNIA were transferred to the Department of Interior's Fish and Wildlife Service. In 1949, the CALIFORNIA was sold and then converted into a tuna seiner based in San Pedro, California. The OREGON was converted for Government use as a tuna exploratory vessel, operating from ports in the Gulf of Mexico. The ALASKA and WASHINGTON became research vessels. The California Department of Fish and Game used the ALASKA to study the resources of the California Current – the stream of water paralleling the California coast – for about seven years.

During January 8-16, 1949, the first national fishing show "with everything for the commercial and sport fishermen" was held in San Diego. It was claimed that this was San Diego's first show of national importance since the International Exposition held in 1935-1936. Advertisements hailed San Diego as the "Tuna Fishing and Canning Capital of the World."[12] Both claims were true.

"San Diego is the home of the largest tuna processing seat on this sphere. It is not through the application of misnomer that the city is known as the 'Tuna Capitol [sic] of the World,' and to its farsighted pioneer fishermen and canneries must go the distinction of having made this so."[13]

Government statistics on the annual pack of canned tuna and frozen tuna landings from commercial fishing vessels are available to determine to which port belongs the title of Tuna Capitol of the World for the period 1945 to 1950.[14] Japanese tuna industry was virtually non-existent in 1945; it



Clipper ESPIRITO SANTO in August 1949 carrying the first pontoon-equipped helicopter for tuna fishing operations. The improved ability to spot fish made the voyage a resounding success.
Pacific American Fisherman, September 1949.

"Why think less of a man because he wants more for his money."
Adam Smith

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the industry has been able to protect its fisheries off the coast of Mexico, Central and South America."[26]

In July 1948, Dr. Wilbert M. Chapman was appointed Special Assistant for Fisheries to the Undersecretary of State. His first task in this position, as head of the U.S. delegation, was to negotiate a tuna agreement with Mexico.[27] Talks were held from October 25 through November 4, 1948. A Convention for the Establishment of an International Commission for the Scientific Investigation of Tuna was signed on January 25, 1949, at Mexico City. A law was passed to implement the obligations of the United States under this Convention.[28] Nonetheless they never established the Commission.

On May 31, 1949, representatives of the United States and Costa Rica in Washington, D.C. signed the Convention for the Establishment of an Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission (IATTC). Wilbert M. Chapman headed the U.S. delegation. Ratifications were exchanged on March 3, 1950 and on that same day, notes were exchanged between Secretary of State Dean Acheson and the Costa Rican appointed ambassador, Mario Echandi, recording the manner in which the provisions of the Convention were to be applied.

The IATTC was the first international organization dedicated to the conservation of the tunas. Its reputation for excellence in the study of tunas and related resources is universally respected. Unlike the Mexican Convention, it provided for tuna clipper access by other countries upon receiving unanimous consent from the parties. The first country to adhere was Panama, effective September 21, 1953.

Since its formation, the IATTC has been located in the San Diego area, first at Point Loma, and now at La Jolla. Currently, there are eight member countries: Costa Rica, France, Nicaragua, Panama, the United States, Vanuatu, and Venezuela.

No conservation regulations were recommended by the IATTC prior to 1961, therefore no restrictions or limits on tuna clipper access to bait or tuna was recommended by the IATTC to its member governments. Claims that the tuna fleets were depleting coastal bait resources were investigated by the IATTC. The scientists found no factual basis for such claims.

During the War, Japan lost most of its tuna fishing fleet. Included in a $2 billion post-war effort to help Japan regain its economic health, the United States promoted and supported policies to develop Japan's fishing industry. These policies especially aided the Japanese tuna industry in the export trade of frozen Albacore tuna and canned Albacore.

On February 18, 1946, the Supreme Commander Allied Powers (SCAP) announced a directive on policies of the Japanese government toward the country's fishing industry. It stated in part that "deep sea fishing in areas near United States territory or near United States island responsibilities should not be authorized." The order permitted the export of fishery products not suitable for domestic consumption and which are needed to secure foreign exchange.[29] In January 1947, the first load of Japanese bamboo tuna poles arrived in San Diego. In June 1948, SCAP authorized the first export to the U.S. of 3,000 tons of Japanese frozen tuna.

The above directive also stated that when fish culture and

coastal fisheries cannot meet minimum domestic needs, then Japanese fishermen can fish in waters open to them "where security and political considerations permit." In 1946, the fishing areas available were doubled in size, and SCAP authorized the construction of over 644 fishing vessels of 100 gross tons or greater. By 1947, Japan's tuna production was about 145,000 metric tons; fishing grounds were confined to the home islands, and to the Bonin and Ryukuyu Islands. By early 1950, SCAP permitted Japanese tuna fishing to the equator, including waters around the Caroline Islands, the Marianas, and the Marshall Islands. It was claimed that the U.S. Government (through SCAP) "was spending more money to revive the Japanese fisheries than it was to aid our own high seas Pacific fisheries."[30]

In 1948, the first shipments of Japanese canned tuna landed in New York. Tuna imports from all countries in 1948 represented only 6.5% of the domestic pack. In 1949, they rose to 12.1%; the U.S. tuna clipper fleet was hit with lower fish prices and tie-ups. By 1950, for the first time, Japanese frozen tuna exports surpassed those of Latin America as a source of foreign competition to the U.S. fleet.

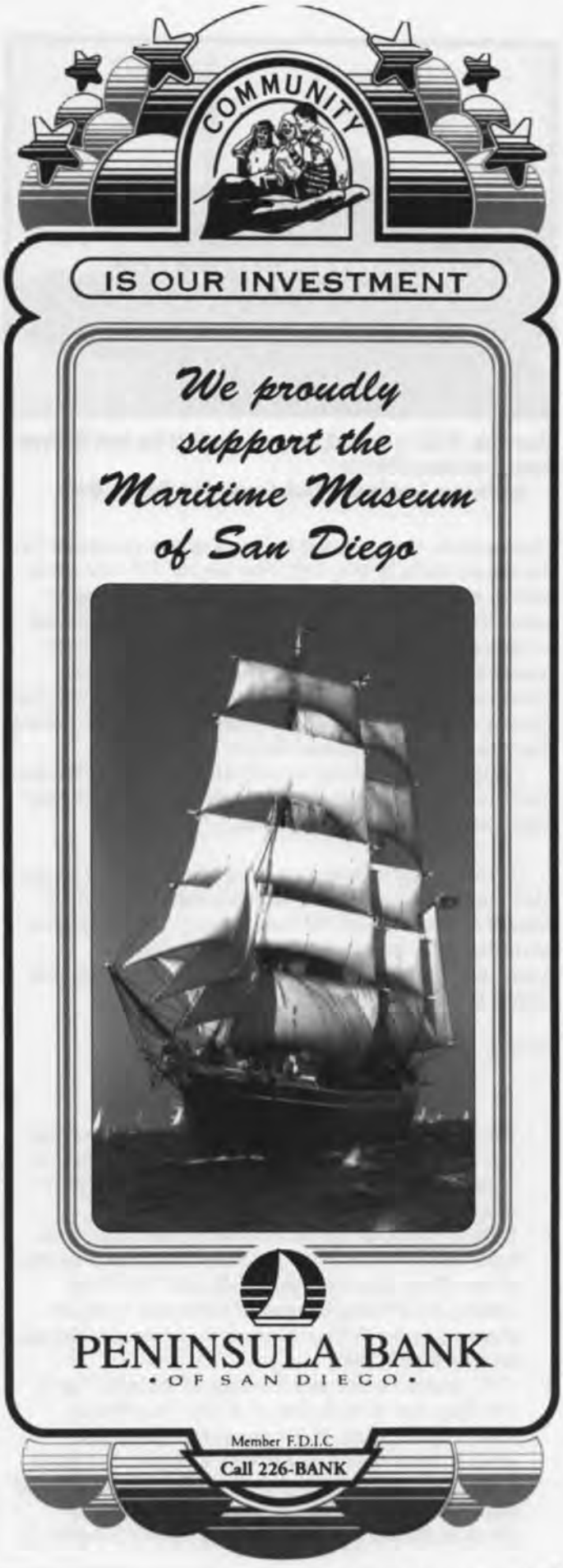
Tuna industry leaders soon discovered that their government's economic assistance policy for Japan was encased in a postwar policy on foreign trade. This became evident during meetings and hearings held February 1949 between members of the American fishing industry and government officials in Washington, D.C. On return to California, tuna industry leaders reported that they were told that "the tuna business can go to pot rather than jeopardize our foreign policy." Later in 1949, San Diego Congressman Clinton D. McKinnon reported the following warning from an assistant to President Truman who understood the tuna industry's import problem with Japan: "It is the policy of this government to work towards [sic] the removal of quantitative limits and other restrictions on free international trade."[31]

Within a few years, the California tuna clipper fleet would encounter two harsh challenges: a government dedicated to implementing foreign relations and foreign trade policies for the benefit of Japan; and a Japanese government whose actions made possible an economic export machine that would be called "Japan, Inc."

In 1950, five clippers were built; all had wood hulls. In 1951, conversions and new clippers came to 25; of these, eight had steel hulls. The conversions included the SEA LARK (ex ATR 34), and the SANTA ROSA (ex YP 646). The first was converted from a steel-hull tuna purse seiner. The steel-hulled SEA LARK was converted to a clipper after entry into an unsuccessful shark liver fishery. The wood-hulled SANTA ROSA was purchased from the Government after tuna fishing exploration and research service in the Central Pacific.

In 1952, only three vessels were built or converted. The two conversions were the steel hull purse seiner DEFIANCE and the former Navy tug ATR 62, the WESTERN ACE. No vessels were built or converted in 1953. During the period 1954 through 1959, 14 new steel hull clippers were built in San Diego. In addition, three converted vessels entered the fleet: in 1954, the former tuna seiner SANTA HELENA; in 1955, the former YP 641, SAN JOAQUIN, and in 1956, the former Navy tug ATR 80, the WESTERN KING.

Campbell Machine Company of San Diego delivered





Above Right: YP 622, a Navy hull, converted after World War II into the clipper PIONEER, later renamed WHITE SEA.
Tuna Museum, Longshoremen's Hall, Courtesy Mr. & Mrs. Jose Alves

CONSTITUTION, the last wood-hull tuna clipper constructed in the United States in May 1952. She was the 77th tuna vessel built by this pioneer yard. Managing owner Joe S. Rogers selected her name as an expression of gratitude to America for the opportunities given him as an immigrant from the Azores Islands.[32] Co-owners included members of the Campbell Family. In a few years, Manuel Neves, Jr., who was Captain on the maiden voyage, earned his reputation aboard this vessel as a top tuna boat skipper.

Campbell Shipyard was recently sold to MARCO Marine Construction and Design Company of Seattle. Plans for the facility at the moment are unknown.

[*Ed. Note*: August Felando is a member of the San Diego Maritime Museum's Board of Trustees, and has had many years of association with the tuna industry. For many years he managed the affairs of the American Tunaboat Association. He is currently leading California Commercial Fishing History Coalition.]

NOTES

1 The term "tuna clipper" means a documented commercial fishing vessel of the United States that is over 100 registered gross tons and that uses live-bait and pole-and-line fishing technology to catch tuna.

2 Data for the statistical information in this article come from various issues of *Pan American Fisherman*, a monthly San Diego tuna trade periodical; and "The Tuna Fishing and Packing Industry of California," a report prepared by the William R. Staats Co., a stock brokerage firm, on June 3, 1949.

3 "YP" means District Patrol vessels (cf. James C. Fahey, *The Ships and Aircraft of the U. S. Fleet*, War Edition, 1942.) Others claim that it stands for "Yard Patrol" (cf. U.S. Naval Ship Classification, Technical Document, Revised Jan. 1971.) During the War, YP's were fondly and respectfully called "Yippies" (see, e.g., Samuel Eliot Morison, *History of the United States Naval Operations in World War II*, Vol. V, p. 114 ff., Little Brown and Co. Boston, 1966).

4 National Iron Works later changed its name to National Steel and Shipbuilding Corporation.

5 In 1946: *Jenita*; 1947: *Mary Barbara, Ruthie B., Lucky Star* and *Lucy*; 1948: *Carol Virginia*; 1951: *Antoinette B., Conte Bianco* and *Sea-preme*; 1954: *Cabrillo* and *Dominator*; 1955: *Independence, Concho* and *Missouri*; 1956: *Westport* and *Elsinore*; 1957: *United States, San Juan* and *Mary Barbara*; 1958: *Carol Virginia* and *Lois Seaver*; and 1959: *Elsie A.* and *Larry Roe*.

6 The tuna clippers *Mauritania, Paramount*, and *Sun Hilarita* in 1946; *Sun Jason* in 1947; *Sea Magic, Excalibur* and *Santa Anita* in 1949; *Gulf Star* and *Challenger* in 1951; and the tuna seiner *Santa Helena* in 1947.

7 *Pacific Fisherman*, June 1946, p. 7.

8 Before the War, Joe and his brother Edward operated the steel-hull clipper *Paramount* after it was converted from a seiner. They also served aboard the vessel when it was in Navy wartime service as YP 289. During early October 1945 off Okinawa, YP 289 and YP 520 (ex tuna clipper *Conte Grande*) foundered in a hurricane.

9 Following are Year of Entry, Navy hull number, original name and changes. For 1947: YP 622, Pioneer (White Sea); YP 638, *Gem of the Sea* (*Ranger*); YP 640, *Intrepid*; YP 633, *Sun Dawn*. For 1948: YP 617, *Explorer* renamed *Coral Tuna* and *Hawaiian Tuna*; YP 618, *Ocean Pride*; YP 619, *Mariner*; YP 620, *Sonja*; YP 621, *High Seas*; YP 624, *Sun Pacific*; YP 626, *Sun Dora*; YP 627, *Ronnie S.*; YP 628, *Hornet*; YP 630, *Margie Pearl* (*American Enterprise*); YP 631, *St. Mathews* (*Aldebaran*); YP 634, *Corsair*; YP 637, *Leona C.*; YP 639 *Alphecca* (*Jo Ann*); YP 642, *Helen Ann*; YP 643, *Martin B.*; YP 644, *Supreme*; YP 645, *Cape Falcon*. For 1951: YP 646, *Santa Rosa* (a. *Henry O'Malley* – USFWS, b. No. 32476-USCG). For 1955: YP 641, *San Joaquin* (a. *Del Sur*, Panama Flag, b. *Katherine M.*). Source: *Merchant Vessels of the United States*, U. S. Government Printing Office, for respective years.

10 In 1954, the vessel's name was changed to *Explorer*. Lou Brito of San Diego became managing owner and captain of the vessel in 1955.

11 *Pacific Fisherman*, January 1947, p. 25.

12 *Pacific Fisherman*, November 1948, p. 62.

13 *Pan American Fisherman-Jubilee Edition*, July 1951, p. 6.

14 In 1901, tuna was processed in San Diego but as a salted or pickled product. California Fish Company of San Pedro canned the first tuna in the United States in 1903. In 1911, Pacific Tuna Canning built San Diego's first tuna cannery at the foot of F Street. Premier Packing Company built the City's second tuna cannery in 1911 at the foot of Crosby Street. During 1912, Pacific's plant was totally destroyed by fire and a new plant built at the foot of 28th Street. See "Tuna Capitol of the World" by John Springer, *Pan American Fisherman* – Jubilee Edition, July 1951, pp. 65-81 and 120-128.

15 In 1945, there were five San Diego tuna canneries and plants: High Seas Tuna Packing Co., San Diego Packing Co., Sun Harbor Packing Co., Van Camp Sea Food Co., and Westgate Sea Products Co. In the San Pedro District

there were 14 tuna canneries and 16 plants: Terminal Island (7), Wilmington (3), Long Beach (3), and Newport Harbor (1). (*Pacific Fisherman Yearbook 1946,* page 203. Peoples Packing Company started operations in 1946 and 1947. In the San Pedro district, there were 16 canneries and 18 plants. Sun Harbor Packing Company and Westgate Sea Products Company merged and on January 1, 1950 became Westgate-Sun Harbor Company. (*Pacific Fisherman Yearbook* 1950, p. 191.)

16 *Pacific Fisherman*, April 1946, p. 33.

17 *Tuna Fisherman*, February 1948, p. 16.

18 *Tuna Fisherman*, December 1947, p. 12.

19 *Pan American Fisherman*, April 1949, pp. 6, 7 and 25.

20 *Pan American Fisherman*, September 1948, pp. 17 and 38; *Tuna Fisherman*, pp. 8-9.

21 Captain Carl C. Soares, personal conversation with the author.

22 *Tuna Fisherman*, February 1948, pp. 8-9; *Pacific Fisherman*, March 1948, page 41; *Tuna Fisherman*, March 1948, p. 10.

23 *Digest of International Law*, Volume 4, Department of State Publication 7825 (1965), p. 763.

24 Mexico's Presidential Declaration was dated October 29, 1945, Argentina's October 11, 1945; Chile's June 25, 1947, and Peru's August 1, 1947. On January 11, 1946, in Los Angeles, California, "fishing industry groups, both management and labor, engaged in the fishing industry of the Pacific Coast" met to consider the two Truman Proclamations, the Latin decrees and their impacts on U.S. fisheries. This brought about the Pacific Fisheries Conference.

25 *Pacific Fisherman*, February 1946, p. 35.

26 Montgomery Phister, "America's Stake in the Pacific Tuna Fishery," *Tuna Fisherman*, January 1948, pp. 11 and 23. Mr. Phister lists the policy options available to manage high sea fisheries after noting, "We now have the problem of who owns and who can control fisheries off the west coast of the United States, Mexico, Central and South America, and in the Pacific."

27 It was fortunate for the interests of the U.S. and its tuna industry that Dr. Wilbert M. Chapman was our representative in the treaty negotiations with Mexico and Costa Rica. He was a respected marine scientist who was experienced and skilled in dealing with issues affecting US fisheries. During World War II, on leave from his position as Curator of Fishes, California Academy of Sciences, he served in the Pacific as a member of the Board of Economic Warfare. In 1947, he became Director, University of Washington School of Fisheries.

28 Tuna Conventions Act of 1950, 16 U.S.C.A. 95

29 *Pacific Fisherman*, April 1946, p. 25.

30 *Pacific Fisherman*, August 1947, p. 58.

31 *Pan-American Fisherman*, July 1949, p. 32.

32 The designers of *Constitution* were Manuel Madruga and Ed G. Bertin. Madruga designed the first tuna clipper, the *Atlantic*, built in 1926 by Campbell Machine Company. Rogers was Chief Engineer of the *Atlantic*, as well as the Captain of the pre-war clippers *Challenger* and *Navigator*.



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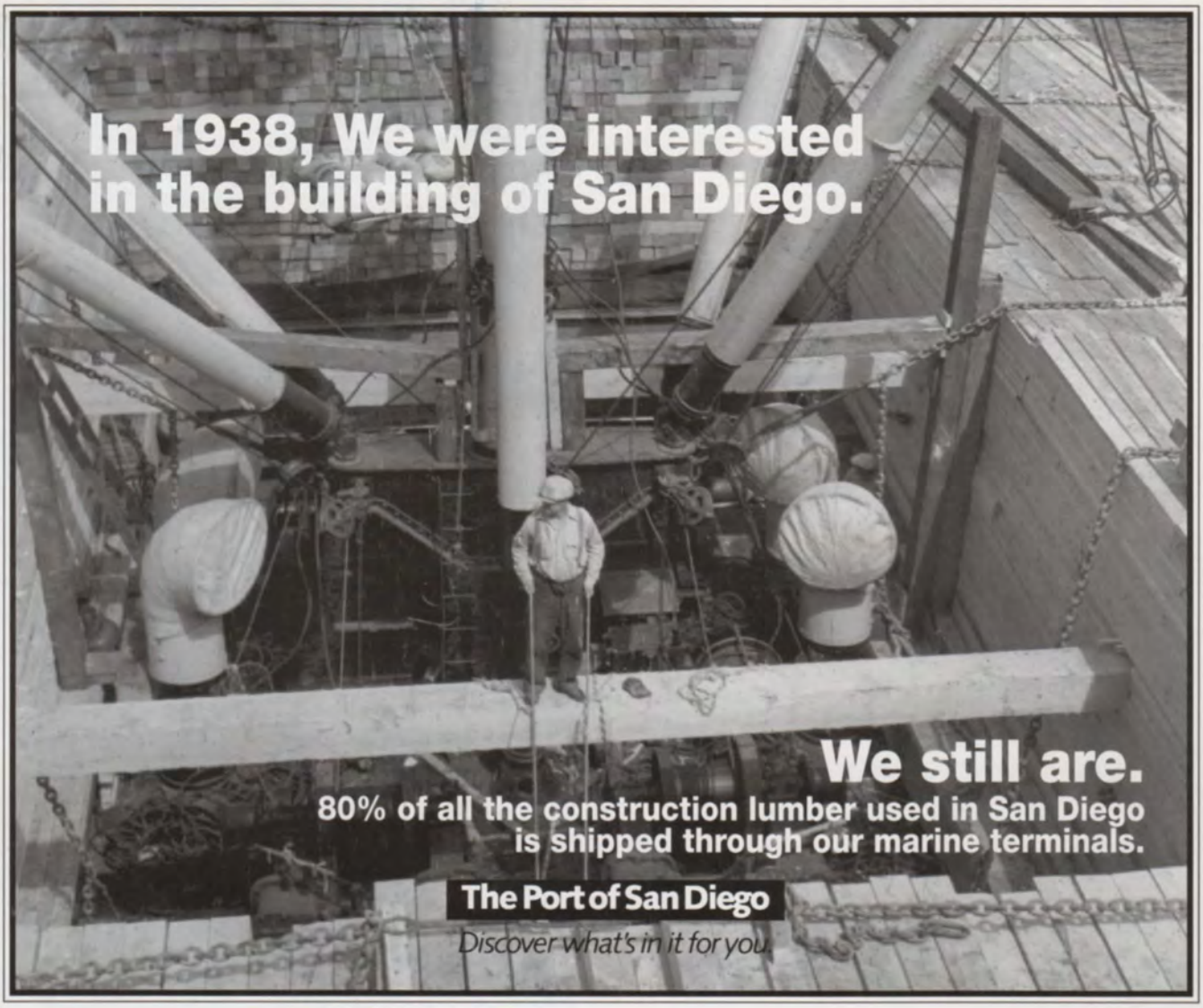
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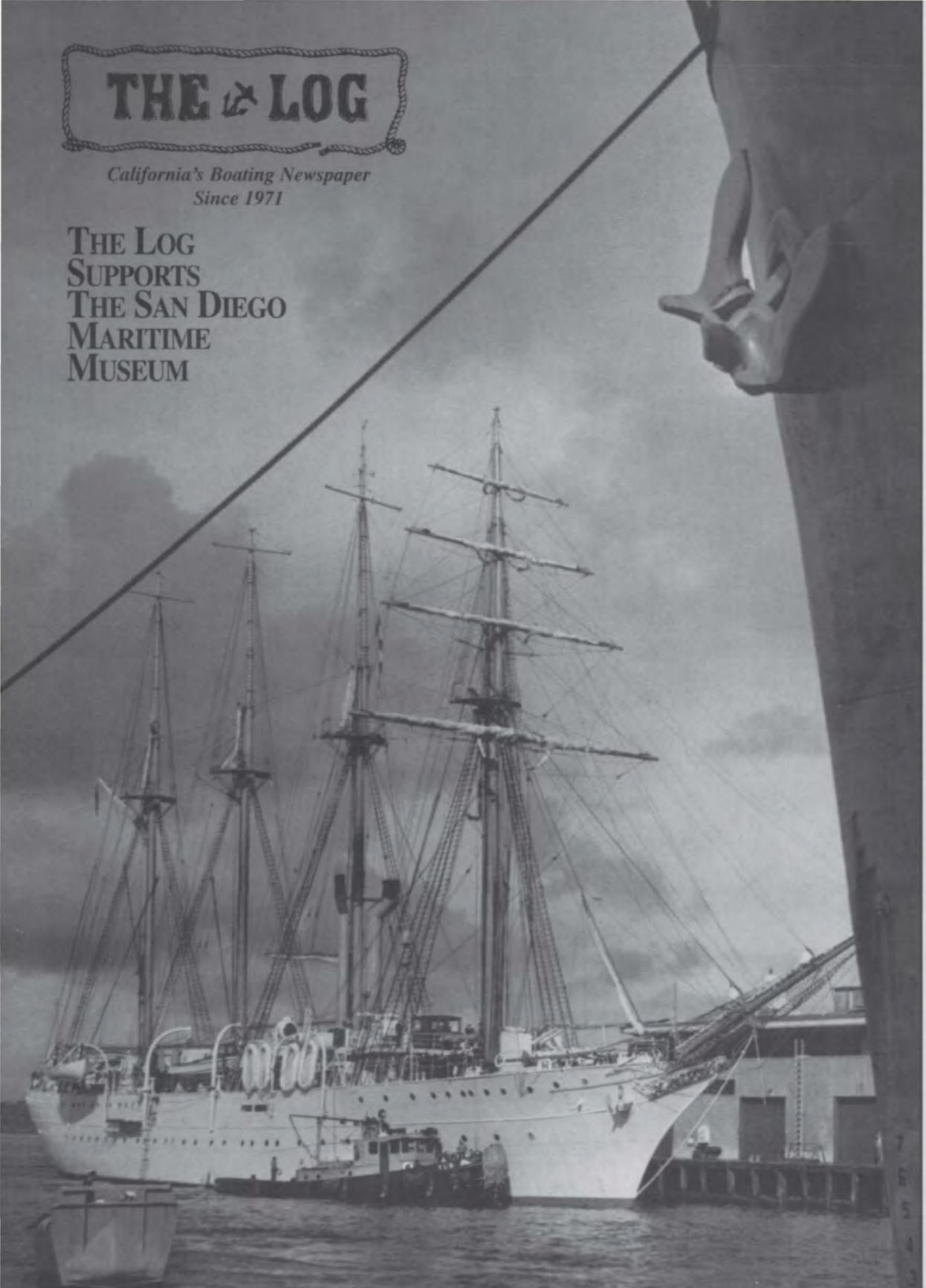
A JOURNAL OF MARITIME HISTORY



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The four-masted topsail schooner ALMIRANTE SALDANHA DA GAMA moored at Broadway Pier on August 15, 1954. The 307 foot (overall) Brazilian vessel carried 356 crewmen plus 100 midshipmen and cadets. She was built in 1933 by Vickers Armstrong, Ltd., Barrow. *(San Diego City Schools Photo)*

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On the cover . . .

The late Captain Ken Reynard contemplates some photos of square rigged vessels, aboard the partly restored STAR OF INDIA. As the Museum's Restoration Director, his creativity, driving spirit, and relentless determination guaranteed the iron bark's comeback. (SDMM photo)

Mains'l Haul is the quarterly historical journal of the Maritime Museum Association of San Diego. Its mission is to engage our members and the public in the study of maritime history, expanding their knowledge and appreciation of this field. The journal is also a benefit of membership in the Maritime Museum Association of San Diego.
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"*Mains'l Haul*—An order in tacking ship bidding 'Swing the main yards.' To loot, steal, or 'acquire'."
—John Masefield



Leonard Ingrande, one of our ships' painters, beams at the chafed mooring line that "didn't get away." Ingrande exemplifies the best among Museum staff personnel. (Photo by Joe Ditler)

FROM THE HELM

The Ship Comes First

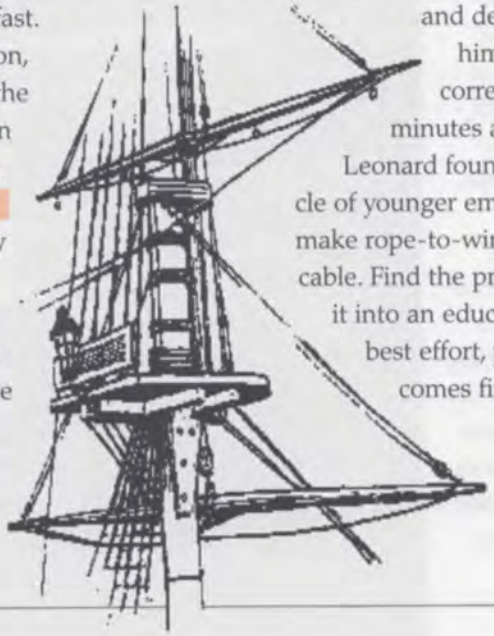
Writing on the eve of the STAR OF INDIA'S 134th birthday, it's interesting to see what a beehive of activity the San Diego Maritime Museum has become. Following in the wake of a very busy summer packed with events such as Movies before the Mast and live theatrical performances, this year's "Haunted Star: Northwest Passage" attracted 6,000 San Diego residents to the ships for a bit of a scare, a history lesson, and lots of fun. Our sail setting/visitor participation programs, combined with our new information booth, have both dramatically increased gate attendance and heightened the visitor experience.

Our living history and school visit programs are running full bore, and our membership meetings continue to draw some of the most prominent names in the field of maritime history as guest speakers. We recently opened a stunning new exhibit highlighting the work of John Stobart, acknowledged as one of the greatest maritime artists of this century. In process of installation is a wonderful and thought provoking exhibit entitled "Charting the Sea." Combining two diverse elements of our regional maritime past, the age of exploration and the advent of modern oceanography, the exhibit postulates cartography as destiny: how we have created our modern world through the act of charting it. Another exhibit in development for the STAR'S hold is "The Mechanics of Seafaring." With an array of interactive stations children and adults may come to understand how man harnesses the massive forces of wind and water in order to sail a ship like the STAR OF INDIA. Other exhibits are on the horizon, hull down but coming on fast.

Yet with the obvious emphasis on education, events, and activities, it is worth reflecting on the original museum mandate deeply embedded in Captain Kenneth Reynard's article, "Restoring an Iron Star," in this issue. The STAR OF INDIA was saved by the intensive application of a few core principles: understand your purpose, always give your best effort, never waiver and never let up in the face of adversity. Above all else, the ship comes first, for she is a composite of all you are and all you can ever be, a result that grows with the square or the cube of the collective effort deployed on her behalf.

Does that original sensibility still persist in our museum ships today? It might be possible to find the quick and quantified answer in a lot of things: in a material survey of the ships, in the recent list of major projects undertaken and completed, in the experience and qualifications of our riggers, carpenters, painters, and engineers, or in the efforts and dedication of our hundreds of volunteers. But as in Captain Reynard's piece, a different kind of answer, maybe a better kind of answer, is found in some of the small daily stories of life aboard our museum ships.

Recently Leonard Ingrande, one of our painters, happened to be crossing the BERKELEY'S open fantail in going from one job to another when he sensed that something was not quite right with one of her mooring lines. Sure enough, a quick inspection revealed that the line had just about chafed through and could let go any minute. A noteworthy element here was that the chafed section of line lay hidden inside its normal-looking cover of chafing gear, obscured by the chock it was passing through, and partially concealed by the varied and assorted bits of wood, line, and other materials surrounding and on top of it. It was one of thousands and thousands of ship's features that Leonard passed by dozens of times every day. To an uninformed observer, his noticing anything at all about the line suggests an almost supernatural level of perception and sensitivity to one's surroundings. Leonard, however, is a born seaman who spent much of his life at sea hunting for tuna, where noticing such things can be a matter of life and death. The noteworthy thing for him was that the problem needed correcting immediately. Within ten minutes a temporary line was rigged and Leonard found himself surrounded by a circle of younger employees, teaching them how to make rope-to-wire splices in large diameter cable. Find the problem, solve the problem, turn it into an educational opportunity: purpose, best effort, persistence, and the ship still comes first.



Raymond Ashley
Executive Director

Restoration of an Iron Star

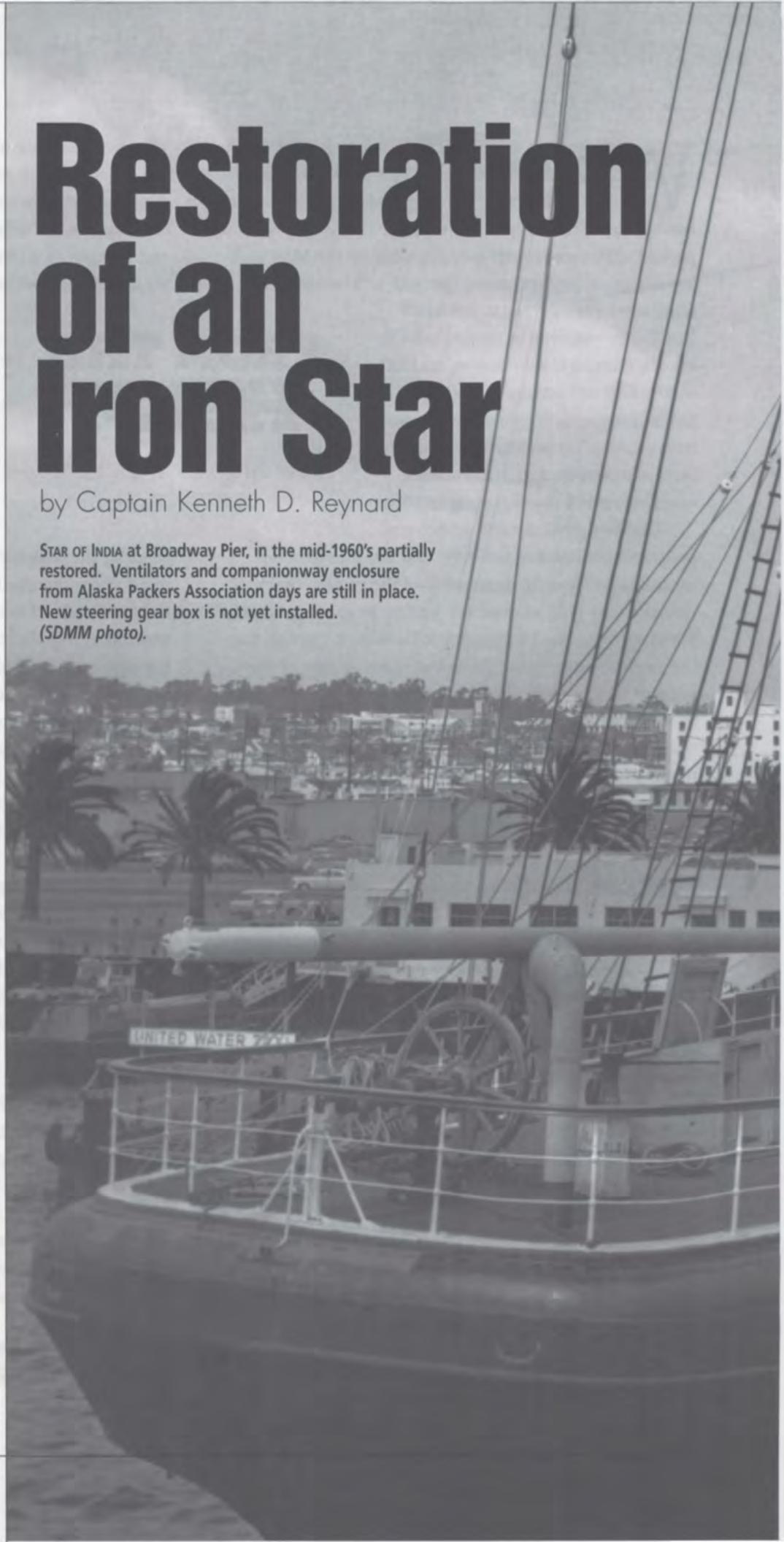
by Captain Kenneth D. Reynard

[Editor's Note: Beginning in 1961, Ken Reynard was the superintendent, guiding force and spirit of the STAR OF INDIA's restoration. The following article is from the collection of the South Street Seaport Museum. Reynard, who described himself as "Fleet Captain - Maritime Museum Association of San Diego," wrote this piece in 1978, possibly later.]

For a number of years, I had at times idly speculated about trying to restore the old bark STAR OF INDIA which was slowly rusting and rotting away in the quiet sunny port of San Diego. However, these vague dreams slowly faded, especially when practical realization came to the fore as it must with all daydreams. Eventually the refrigerated motorship WESTGATE, a lovely Swedish-built vessel and my last ship, was sold; and suddenly I was on the beach like a stranded pilot whale.

A short while previous to this, a committee had been formed to try to restore the old STAR OF INDIA; some funds had been raised, and finally she was drydocked for inspection. Thirty-five years of neglect can bring incredible unknown damage; thus it took a form of courage to do this inspection as the bottom could easily have collapsed into the upper-works and all that would remain would be to clear away the mess. After the huge clam garden was cleaned off and the bottom sand blasted, a remarkably stout hull was revealed.

Built at Ramsey, Isle of Man, in 1863, the STAR OF INDIA (ex EUTERPE) is probably the last survivor afloat of a vessel built to the very heavy scantling requirements of Lloyds of London. In 1864 these requirements were greatly reduced, no doubt as a result of about 25 years' experience showing that one inch thick plates are far heavier than



STAR OF INDIA at Broadway Pier, in the mid-1960's partially restored. Ventilators and companionway enclosure from Alaska Packers Association days are still in place. New steering gear box is not yet installed. *(SDMM photo).*





Forecastle of STAR OF INDIA before restoration shows both wood and metal deterioration. Internal compartment bulkheads were part of the old Alaska Packers bosun's locker. ***(SDMM photo)***

any 205 foot ship needed. I would guess the ship carried close to 400 tons of weight around in excess of the later requirements, weight that would have been revenue cargo in the later ships. The wonderful Manx shipwrights little knew they were building a remarkable museum ship, but probably knew that as a cargo ship she would be an average performer. She would go a long way, indeed, but take a long time to get there.

She is heavy. Her plates are about one inch from garboard to above the turn of the bilge, three-fourths inch or more to the margin-line, and five-eighths inch [at her] bulwarks. Her frames are reverse-angle spaced at 18 inch centers, and her keelson is a box on top of heavy floors, all of one inch plate. Stem to stern-posts are three inch by nine inch iron; deck frames are rolled bulb, each frame having a blacksmithed "hanging knee" gusset worked into the ends. How I would love to have seen those craftsmen pounding and shaping that massive iron, bending it hot to exact shapes and hand setting those hundreds of thousands of rivets! And this in the age of six-day weeks, 12-hour days, 52-week years with probably only Christmas off. They must have had muscles, where no one has them today, to do all of that.

So, on that chilly day in November 1961, as I walked up the makeshift gangway of my new "command," I suddenly realized that I had almost forgotten my earlier thoughts of restoring this old ship. But here I was, 15 years later, standing in the middle of what was a monumental mess. All spars and yards, as well as rigging, lay in a jumbled heap in large puddles from a recent rain in the parking lot alongside. Close inspection of anything was not needed; only a casual look was required to reveal the rotted decks, deteriorated iron here



New planking is getting fitted into deck at mainmast. Note six holes from fresh water hand pump originally installed near fife rail. *(SDMM photo)*

and there, amid the woebegone lack of everything. What of all that rust and scale? How hard could we pound without disaster? I immediately resolved one thing: there would be no "paint brush" overhauls here. It would cost more perhaps, and take some more time, too, to do it right, but I felt that this was the old lady's last chance and that we'd never get to pass this way again; so it had better be right this time. The thought of ever sailing STAR again did not occur to me immediately as I still had so much to delve into; but when I slowly got into the problem, I began to realize that unlike a used car lot, things were better than they appeared. For example, she only leaked in the hull when it rained; so her plates were tight.

There was little money, no crew, no tools. We hired three men and a few volunteers showed up. I cleared my home shop out of most of my tools; some tools were donated. The first step was of a housekeeping nature: clear away the trash everywhere, and there was considerable. Soon it was found that I would have to be more than a "one ball juggler," because, as we would get into a job, many obstructions would arise, such as running out of material or lacking a tool; so then we would go immediately to another project that we would work on. This procedure provoked criticism from some quarters as "too much started, nothing finished" but this is indeed the nature of a restoration project, be it ship, locomotive, or an old house. One cannot sit and wait for the paint to dry when there are so many, many things to do.

Before my coming aboard, several projects had been started by eager volunteers which had to be undone, unfortunately. Principally this had to do with ballast so here I will take up that particular question.

In restoration parlance there is the term "adaptive use" and surely turning an old ship into a museum comes under that description. The ship was now going into a use never envisioned by her designers and many adaptive procedures had to be followed. Ballast is installed in a museum ship differently from the way working sailing ships used cargo as ballast, or ersatz cargo, when enough of the original was out, to keep her safe.[1] By this system, the inside



hull of the ship was frequently sighted and available for inspection, cleaning and painting. Not so with a museum ship, the ballast of which is arranged to be as far from the skin of the ship as practicable. To this end, I designed a grid work of steel I-beams, resting on the keelson, extending out to the sides of the ship, but to fit the frames at that point and welded, with intermediate heavy stanchions, to the frames to distribute the load. On this framework was laid three-quarter inch plywood, divided by vertical subdivisions so that when the concrete was pumped in, no single increment would weigh over two tons. Lifting pads[2] were distributed flush with the top surface for removal if ever needed. The sides of the forms were kept well away from the sides of the ship as well; so that nowhere is the inside of the hull unreachable for inspection or work. This principle was also applied to the anchor chain which originally rested on the bottom (planks only six inches away); when the chains were roused out and ranged on the pier for chipping, a new manger[3] six feet above the forepeak bottom was installed and the cleaned and painted chains were hove in by our own capstan into the new chain locker — a long, long tramp for 2,000 feet of heavy chain, link by link, clank by clank.

Very shortly after the chipping and rust removal began inside the hull, a new problem arose: what to do with the rust and scale thus accumulated? This detritus is very heavy and we had hauled about two buckets from the bottom to the main deck level when I decided there must be a better way. There was. We secured a number of 55-gallon drums, filled them to a point about six inches short of the top, tamped them down well, and poured cement in the top for handling. Thus our debris became ballast. At a later point four of

Above: Working party from USS COLUMBUS (CG 12) set to, on variety of tasks, in October 1962. Mainmast has been removed, and bilge pump disassembled. *(SDMM photo).*

Right: Barge crane lowers the mainmast with topmast attached, for repair and restoration, in summer of 1961. *(SDMM photo)*



these drums were arranged in a square, [enclosed in a] cofferdam... and concrete poured into the interstitial spaces; many hundreds of drums were embedded in our 850 tons of ballast. This group of drums thus poured equals about 7,700 pounds, while the four drums alone were about 5,600 pounds; thus at no loss of space, about 1,600 pounds are added, as well as filling gaps which would collect only dirt and the often small valuable items, tools especially. While the ballast appears from the top to be a monolithic pour, it [actually] is not, but is easily (not a good word to use in describing ballast operations) broken out if ever needed.

It must be mentioned here that the ballast stops short of the foremast but surrounds both main and mizzen masts; these two masts are kept well in the clear and are fully accessible to inspection. About midway between fore and mainmast on the centerline an access hole of about five feet by five feet is left for general use. Between the main and mizzenmasts a long space also is allowed on each side of the keelson as the top of the ballast in this area is a useful storage area.

It readily became apparent that crawling about 100 feet under this ballast was a back-scraping, knee banging experience, especially if one were burdened by tools or equipment; thus came into existence the "underground railway." The railway consists of rails made of light channel iron laid groove up about 18 inches apart, on which runs a dolly of five-eighths inch plywood mounted on casters, with endless tailing line to pull the dolly. Frame station numbers are painted on the keelson, and at intervals of about ten feet are located 7 1/2-watt light bulbs as well as an outlet box. Not much light seemingly, but enough to find one's way easily; for actual work a bright extension light and cord are taken to a station and plugged in along with the electrical tools to be used.

There are two such railways, one on each side of the keelson as it is possible to go from one side of the keelson to the other. One must start on the proper side at the outset. There is little to do nowadays as the hull was thoroughly chipped and painted with Rustoleum damp-proof red primer before ballasting. This is an excellent fish-oil base preservative. I should comment at this point that the ship was dry-docked in June 1976 without removing any ballast, and no evidence of strain was indicated.

Before departing the subject of ballast, a word on trim is in order. Shortly before my taking over, someone decided to ballast the ship by installing some twelve large old gas station storage tanks on saddles welded to the frames along the turn of the bilge. The reasoning was that the public would never be admitted to the bilge anyway and a small pump could be used to correct or induce a list. We began removal of these monstrosities almost as soon as the last one was installed. They were unsightly, all wrong, and too close to the side of the ship, to ever paint or work there; besides, I did intend to open the hold to the public someday. A means had to be devised for trim, and in keeping with the ballast system as a whole, I evolved a track system of two heavy channel-irons athwartship(s) at the center of the ship. In the way of these tracks the ballast is thinner than elsewhere so that the trim blocks would not rise above the top of the ballast. An angle-iron frame was welded together with I-beam skids resting in the channels, and with padeyes embedded in sides and top; plywood formed the cofferdam and the resulting block weighs about six tons. There are two of these and they are readily moved by chain come along[4] to any position necessary. Pads are welded to the sides of the ship and these blocks are securely shackled to the ship and to each other and cannot get away while sailing. They take up little space and are very useful upon occasion.[5]

Discussing rigging and masting, these items are not yacht stuff at all. These, to the small boat sailor, are amazingly heavy and cumbersome, and there is where "quick and dirty" will not suffice. For museum ships, only the proper and authentic will suffice if for no other reason than the fact that the public will be aboard, and because of this loose, improper gear simply cannot come crashing down. As my attention was turned to this part of the project, there occurred to me the first thought that just maybe we would sail the STAR



Concrete ballast block is lowered into hold in March 1962, as photographers grind away. Forecastle railing and masts await installation, and new deck planks are being caulked. ***(SDMM photo)***

again some day if only for a few hours for photographic purposes. As I stared at the mess of masts, spars, and gear, it seemed a long way off indeed but since it all had to go back together, strong, secure, and workable, why not?

The hull was sound, and the whole tophamper had to be made so, too. The iron lowermasts seemed quite sound except for some wastage at the heels and at the deck partners; this was corrected by rolled doublers welded on in these areas. The mast steps, resting on the keelson, were wasted so they were renewed. The bibbs[6] seemed sound; however, there was a small but unacceptable line of corrosion where they were riveted to the mast. The bibbs were left in place and a heavy inside doubler was fitted and welded in, for after all, a very heavy load of tophamper rested entirely on these bibbs; yet these doublers cannot be seen except by standing on the lower yards and looking for them. The idea of doing all possible work on the pier was adopted, as there would be more than enough bosun chair work at best. So we "dressed" the lower mast with shrouds and stays. Then [we] inserted the top mast into the caps with their hounds a little above the cap. [We] dressed this mast with all its rigging, too, lashing all secure and alongside, with the heel-rope for sending up the topmasts in place and ready.[7] When the crane barge came alongside, all three masts were stepped in about two and one-half hours. The next few weeks were devoted largely to setting up lanyards on the lower shrouds and rattling down;[8] and in rather short order the top masts were sent up, using our fore capstan powered by "Norwegian steam."[9]

Mathew Walker knots were used as stopper knots backed by ornate leather washers. A word on lanyards. Four-strand, tarred hemp had been secured earlier; but as time went by, no matter how hard we set them up, they gradually relaxed. This is no small job to heave up all those stiff lanyards and here is where

the real purists will scoff at me: I took off all those beautiful hemp lanyards and replaced them with tarred nylon 1 1/2 inches in diameter, hove to a fare-thee-well. In ten years they have remained bar-tight. They are heavily tarred and look like hemp and will never again be a source of trouble. When the ship sailed, I looked for signs of undue stretch, but there was none. The difficulty here is tying a proper Mathew Walker as the strand is soft and floppy even though lightly tarred. The solution is to marl the strand with a light line which firms up the strand, and the knot is tied easily. These knots were hardened by laying up the line behind the knot. And by using straps and comealongs, a knot as hard as a hammer head is made; the marlin hitches were cut away later for appearance. To get the deadeyes all in a perfect line parallel to the sheer is sometimes quite a trick, but the tip here is to twist or untwist the stay or shroud as needed to bring it into line. Only a full turn will do as the knotside of the upper deadeye must always be inboard. I was very meticulous about this and the STAR's deadeyes line up well; anything uneven is unthinkable.

Having mentioned purists, and being something of a perfectionist myself, I address the problem of materials. It is here that some heated disagreements have their origin. There are those who believe that only hemp hambroline, houseline, or marlin may be used; that only those materials used many years ago are "authentic." I would like very much to have heard the discussions among sailormen when those materials were first introduced such as when wire rope began to supplant hemp standing rigging, when iron and then steel took the place of wood, and when turnbuckles replaced lanyards. I quote my 95-year-old friend, Captain P. A. MacDonald when I describe the new materials being used and their properties: "Hell, Cap'n, we used the best we could get then and would have used the stuff you're using now if we could have had it. Would have saved us a lot of hard work."

We used all nylon fishing seine twine tarred with "net-set," a tar material used by seine fishermen to firm up their nylon nets. It comes in many sizes already tarred, but we have our own facilities for dipping our gear. Hemp rots out; tarred nylon does not; and our ratlines, 15 years old, are as good as new.[10] Lower and top mast ratlines are hickory seized with nylon and upper rope ratlines are nylon rope. We have many things to do without having to renew thousands of seizings. All running rigging is nylon now, dipped lightly in tar to firm it up and keep it from looking like new nylon. Our manila rigging "burned out" in the sun and soon became useless. Nylon bunts and clew lines are the easiest to handle. Our small wire seizings are stainless, the heavier ones are galvanized. Here too, I admit to a terrible breach of authenticity. In many tight places, such as fore-top mast stay seizings, I used a "band-it" tool and five-eighths inch stainless bands to hold the stay, using regular old rigging clamps to subdue the 1 1/2 inch diameter wire first, of course. Old proper wire seizings were then applied over the stainless bands. This permitted getting the clumsy rigging clamps out of the way of the seizing job. So, sneer if you will, but try it first.

Many of our large sheaves and blocks aloft have grease-gun fittings; we have a small crew and *preventative* maintenance [the emphasis is Reynard's] must be observed. All of our blocks are sent down every two years and replacements sent up; those sent down are overhauled, painted, and ready to go back up in their turn. Brace pendants, foot ropes and like gear are sent down, checked out, and tarred, and all shackles and seizings are examined for wear.

Tarring down is almost an endless job. Again we used "net-set" which lacks the smell of Stockholm tar but it is its equal in all other respects and superior in one other: it sets up quickly to touch but never becomes hard. We use tallow to slush down the topmasts, topgallant and royal masts. Bare wire stays and wire brace pendants and other unserved wire are slushed with tallow mixed with graphite.

Chafe is a serious enemy, looked for and guarded against at all times. Some of it is unavoidable, but better a buntline chafe than to let it chew off the service of a shroud that is hard to replace. To this end I went aloft and carefully studied all the running



Captains Ken Reynard (right) and Alan Villiers (left) on STAR OF INDIA's poop, in November 1965, discussing the progress of her restoration. Villiers provided the initial impetus to begin the restoration project, in a well-remembered 1957 visit. *(SDMM photo)*

rigging; using pieces of lignum-vitae carefully placed with smooth holes to guide the running gear, [I] succeeded in eliminating all chafe of served standing rigging. This operation is not very difficult to do and is very worthwhile.

Security measures against the public purloining or vandalizing are difficult to achieve, and belaying pins become the focus of interest. Our Chief Mate, a seaman-like man, and I could not understand why some cow-tailed lines appeared, until a man was seen cutting off a whipping for a souvenir. Some of our running gear is getting shorter all the time instead of wearing out.

The STAR OF INDIA is situated alongside a piling pier, headed North true, with the breeze almost invariably at SW to NW, mostly W. This permits the sails to be set sharp up on the port tack almost any time especially since the wind is seldom over ten knots in the spring, summer, and fall. In winter or late fall, the sails are unbent and sent down to the sail locker during the rainy winter. A camel, which is usually some soggy, flea-bitten log, in our instance is a landing pontoon, from an LST [Tank Landing Ship], donated by the Navy. Such pontoons consist of steel boxes, cubical in shape, joined by heavy angle irons. The boxes are approximately seven feet square and float quite high out of the water. Heavy vertical steel chafing bars are fastened to the piling by steel band clamps. Iron bark wood is bolted to the camel and kept tallowed.[11] Very heavy truck tires are placed between the ship and the camel thus keeping the pressure on the hull well *above* the water line, whereas in the ordinary floating log, the chafe is *below* the water line. There is another advantage to this pontoon camel: our sanitary tank is contained in one of the cells. In the San Diego area, as probably everywhere else, it is required that raw sewage empty into the sewer system. Here this is above our outlet at most tide stages and we must use alternating impeller pumps from a sump-tank; so our pontoon is the ideal place to conceal our tank. This system works well and is aesthetically acceptable.

The hull protection system is one of the impressed current type, using magnesium anodes. This system uses a small input of AC power, converts it to DC, and then to the sacrificial anodes. The array of six anodes is suspended from the pier by nylon rope holding the weight, and the wires are tightly bolted to the anodes; thus an unsightly and unwieldly attachment to the hull is avoided and the anodes are

easily replaced. When an anode is nearly depleted, a new one is installed but the old one is tightly secured to the new one until it is completely gone. The STAR OF INDIA requires about 900 to 1,000 pounds of anodes annually.

A different system is in use on our ferryboat, the famous 1898 BERKELEY, a veteran of countless San Francisco Bay crossings. On her we suspended magnesium anodes by nylon ropes from the sponson deck with heavy conductor wire bolted to them and to the ship.

A potentiometer is installed in the ship where it is easily and frequently seen as it is near the coffee pot in the crews' mess. The potentiometer is connected to a sensing anode; and when the readings become too low, more anodes are put on the line. The design on the ferryboat makes this operation easy to do without detracting from her appearance.

Now for the raison d'être of a sailing ship, her sails. The making of the STAR OF INDIA's sails may be of interest. The material chosen was "Fiber-Thin," an 18-ounce nylon cloth impregnated with vinyl on both sides. It was the least expensive material to be found, it was impervious to moisture, mildew or ultraviolet, and consequently the sails could be left furled on the yards following a rain until there were enough crew to shake them out, a treatment that would be fatal to ordinary canvas. The sails were bolt roped with nylon, with nylon sewing thread. They are machine stitched with acrylic thread for the panels. In searching for a large table area for sewing, I fastened the sewing machine even with the orlop deck in the after hold, and arranged a small cockpit for the operator to sit in, much as all large canvas lofts do. For all hand palm and needle work I recommend unlaid nylon twine, waxed with a compound of 60 percent beeswax and 40 percent Stockholm tar. The percentage can be varied to suit one's own ideas but this is far better than plain beeswax. As large or small spectacle irons were not to be found, we were forced to make them of galvanized purse seine rings, with smaller rings welded to them and regalvanized. There are several excellent materials for this available from welding supply houses and they are very simple to use. Called "Galv-a-loy" or "Gal-a-con," these are metal bars applied to the heated surface after it has been chipped and cleaned, and only moderate heat is used. As soon as it flows into the heated metal, it is wire brushed and is as good as hot dipped galvanizing. No flux is needed. Electric welding was satisfactorily accomplished with mild steel electrodes manufactured by Victor Welding Products. There are many items that can be done by welding but which can be disguised. After cleaning a weld, it can be filled with a two-part epoxy such as "Bondo" or "Sno-wite" (both are used in auto body repairs) and sanded smooth; this operation hides the tell-tale appearance of the wavy weld.

In several instances we made square bases for stanchions exactly like the cast iron originals by welding up flat steel bars. In other places, rivet heads were welded onto flat steel plate to blend with existing rivets and thus preserve the appearance of riveted construction.

Referring to the subject of wooden decks: they are a real problem, always have been, and very probably always will be. There is no quick and easy approach to this headache. Much of the STAR OF INDIA's deck was in a deteriorated shape due to rot in places and a general build up of heavy rust scale, sometimes as much as $1^1/_2$ inches in areas. Well over one-half the deck had to be taken up to clear away deck frame corrosion and to preserve the iron frames. There were many deck planks that were sound and were put back as they were made of better material than is obtainable today. There are many thousands of feet of caulking and pitch paying to do and it is hard, trying work. Few caulkers are to be found these days of all steel ships, and many of the old skilled hands are disappearing. The only need for these arts now are concentrated in the maritime museums and we have to train people ourselves. This is not an easy task as few young people have the interest or aptitude, and eventually drop out wasting everyone's time and effort.

The type of individual needed by maritime museums is a hard working, old-fashioned jack-of-all trades, willing to learn and to do many things. There is no necessity for a full time caulker or sailmaker or rigger, but for a person

Captain Ken Reynard supervises line handling crew. In foreground: the bowsprit of the schooner FORESTER, on board the STAR OF INDIA. From left to right: Reynard, Doug Smith, Bill Cooper, Phil Adams, and two unknown hands. *(M. Dimant Photo, SDMM photo)*



willing to do all these jobs and several more. The STAR OF INDIA now has as excellent a crew as can be found anywhere, able and willing to do whatever has to be done from mere housekeeping (always much to do) to swarming up the rigging and putting a harbor-stow on the sails. The individual crew members have their specialties, such as rigging, painting, and electrical work; but none has ever said when a truckload of supplies is to be unloaded and slung aboard, that he was not hired as a truck unloader. Rather, when "all hands turn to" is called out, everyone responds with spirit. It involves a long, long sorting out to separate the men from the boys; enthusiasm is one thing; staying power is quite another.

Referring once more to decks, there is little one can do but keep a close watch and constantly caulk here and pay there as needed.[12] We use pentachlorophenal, about 10 percent in common mineral spirits, as a preservative, about twice a year, at times adding some boiled linseed oil.[13] This is purchased by generic description rather than the more expensive trade name products. As a holystone, I designed a heavy machine using about $10 worth of gear train junk from a surplus store, and a half horsepower electric motor, and these were so rigged as to turn heavy rubber discs in counter rotation. We wet the decks, sprinkle fine silica sand and soap powder on them, and then work the machine over this muck. It is best not to do this very often or the decks and caulking will wear out. Dry sanding cannot be done as tar will fill the sanding belts immediately. Should it ever become necessary to replank totally the STAR OF

INDIA's deck, it would be my suggestion to proceed along these lines:

(1) After the deck frames are bare and preserved, fur up the frames to a common level. Diagonals and margin plates are riveted on top of the frames and it was the common practice to let these into the deck planking, calling for very careful fitting, weakening the plank and not accomplishing anything. Furring up would eliminate much work;

(2) Lay down a three-quarter inch tongue-and-groove flooring first, thus preserving the appearance of the deck when seen from below;

(3) On top of this lay a heavy canvas well bedded down in antibacterial Dolfinite.

(4) Finally, lay the deck in the usual manner, again well bedded in Dolfinite. This results in a strong, durable leak-proof deck; since museum ships contain museums below deck, exhibits must be protected from leaks above; such leaks never drip clean water but always a very dirty, dark staining water.[14]

Two recent devastating fires in San Diego's beautiful Balboa Park, of an incendiary origin, totally destroyed the valuable Aero-Space Museum and the famous Old Globe Shakespearean Theatre and have given rise to many worries about fire.[15] There is no defense against the arsonist or terrorist but the citadel mentality. However, one cannot sit up all night with a shotgun across one's knees. Our ships are piped with 1 1/2 inch fire lines with frequent stations at which there are 1 1/2 inch dacron jacketed hoses, U.S. Navy all purpose nozzles, and fog applicators. All this is very effective equipment, and our crew are trained in its use. I do not believe in automatic sprinklers for museums as the resultant damage from their use may outweigh the fire damage.[16] Good housekeeping is the answer to accidental fires by keeping all the usual clutter of small waste in proper trash cans. The paint lockers of the Maritime Museum Association of San Diego are all metal compartments with fog nozzles installed and controlled by remote smothering valves. All metal port lids are held open for air by a small nylon sail twine which will burn very quickly and shut off that air supply.

In conclusion, I sometimes wonder whether or not a definitive textbook could or should be written on the subject of preserving old ships. Such books are beginning to appear about the restoration of old buildings. All of the foregoing remarks are offered as suggestions and with the hope that they might be helpful. Old ships must be saved in the best manner possible not with undue haste, but with full intent to make them totally representative of their times.

Nor is restoration enough. For when that very broad and hard to perceive line crosses over into maintenance, we still must labor to keep what we have saved.

[Editor's Note: Kenneth D. Reynard was born in 1913. After World War II, he became the skipper of the freighter WESTGATE. *Upon her retirement, Reynard assumed responsibility for the restoration of the* STAR OF INDIA. *A most resourceful, artistic and creative man, Reynard lived to see his beloved bark sailing fast and free. He passed away March 22, 1989.]*

NOTES

1 Ballast provides weight needed in the lower levels of a vessel as the cargo is removed. It is usually taken off the ship when cargo is loaded aboard. Insufficient ballast weight means there is a danger of capsizing. When ballast is shifted the inside hull is inspected and maintained as the need arises. In museum ships usually no significant cargo loading or ballast shifting occurs. With virtually permanent ballast in a museum ship, the problem of surveillance for possible incipient hull maintenance problems requires special interior arrangements. Reynard solved the problem with a raised ballast support structure. He provided a similar solution to the problem of maintaining the inner chain locker surfaces.

2 A lifting pad is "a plate or casting with an eye normal to its surface and formed solid with the plate" which is "attached to a heavy structure to facilitate hoisting..." [Rene de Kerchove, *International Maritime Dictionary*, Second Edition, Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1961.]

3 A manger is "a sunken bottom in a chain locker, covered by a grating and used to col-

lect water from the anchor chain," according to the *Random House College Dictionary*, revised edition (New York: Random House, 1984).

4 A "come along" was originally a shipyard erector term applied to a device for bringing two metal plates together for welding, by tack-welding an angle lug with a hole, onto each plate, and drawing them together by tightening the nut on a long screw bolt passed through the holes. Now used for any device or tackle rig that draws two objects together by mechanical means. [See Rene de Kerchove, *International Maritime Dictionary*, p. 167, etc.]

5 The Maritime Museum's chief rigger, Jim Davis, who has been aboard STAR OF INDIA since 1975, states: "When we sail, we block them over to port and starboard, right up against the hull... either setting them all the way outboard – lash them to the framing ... also we have two comalongs that go in between the blocks which are chained, which then locks them from being able to move at all ... or [alternately we] set them all the way to amidships together, just so that it's an equal balance on either tack. And when we don't [sail], then we have them shifted over to port slightly, to help with our drainage on our sewer system on board the ship. We carry about a half a degree list to port, because we're port side to."

6 Bibbs are "fitted pieces of timber bolted to the hounds of a mast with their edges level with the hounds and giving additional support to the trestletrees." The hounds are "the projections at the side of a masthead serving as support for the trestletrees" which are the "fore-and-aft framing resting on the hounds... and supporting the weight of the crosstrees and top." See Rene de Kerchove's *International Maritime Dictionary*, or other general information sources.

7 Comment by chief rigger Jim Davis: "Basically what he is saying here is that, instead of taking the mast and doing it in traditional style, where you step your mast, and then you step your topmast, and then you step your topgallant mast/royal mast, which is one piece; he had the topgallant mast, royal mast and topmast already in place, already made up; so that once he took the crane and had his mast put in place, then he just put the other two pieces on in one unit. The backstays and shrouds – everything was on the mast already, all unitized down on the dock. And then he picked it all up in one piece with a crane and just plugged it in place, so to speak, into the doubling at the cap, there, of the mainmast, say, or the fore. And it was all in place; all he had to do then was attach it."

8 "Rattling" is another form of the work "ratline," meaning the step-like ropes tied between shroud lines, forming a ladder for the crew to climb aloft. "Rattling down" is the process of tying on the ratlines.

9 "Norwegian steam" is slang for "muscle power."

10 Jim Davis: "The masts were all stepped by '63. In fact he flew his fore lower topsail for the centennial in 1963. So she already had her topmasts in, and her topgallant masts on, and everything was pretty much rigged. There wasn't a whole suit of sails or maybe all the running rigging in place...When we took the mizzen mast out for repairs, we replaced the lanyards with tarred nylon again, and traditionally that would have been tarred hemp."

11 Jim Davis: "We've done repairs, modifications on it, in the way of putting foam in the compartments, things like that. It's pretty much run her life span now; we're looking into replacing it within the next five years. But it still holds our sewage tank/holding tank. We've added a few other things to it, for instance we now have a system on board where we can pump sea water up onto the main deck for hosing down the deck, even though that's kind of fallen by the wayside. We've gone back to fresh water because of the amount of rusting that was happening to all the iron work."

12 Jim Davis: "The maintenance on the decks has gone many different directions since that time. Right now we're in the process of reefing out seams and recaulking in traditional style, and then paying it out. As far as the holystoning machine... that was kind of lost in time. It was a home-made machine with counter-rotating brushes, made out of other machines. We scrape the deck down and bring it up and we wash her down and keep her wet and scrub her."

13 San Diego Maritime Museum discontinued the use of pentachlorophenal as a preservative shortly after Reynard wrote this article. Due to its high toxicity to insects, fungus, and man, the federal government has banned the production and use of pentachlorophenal.

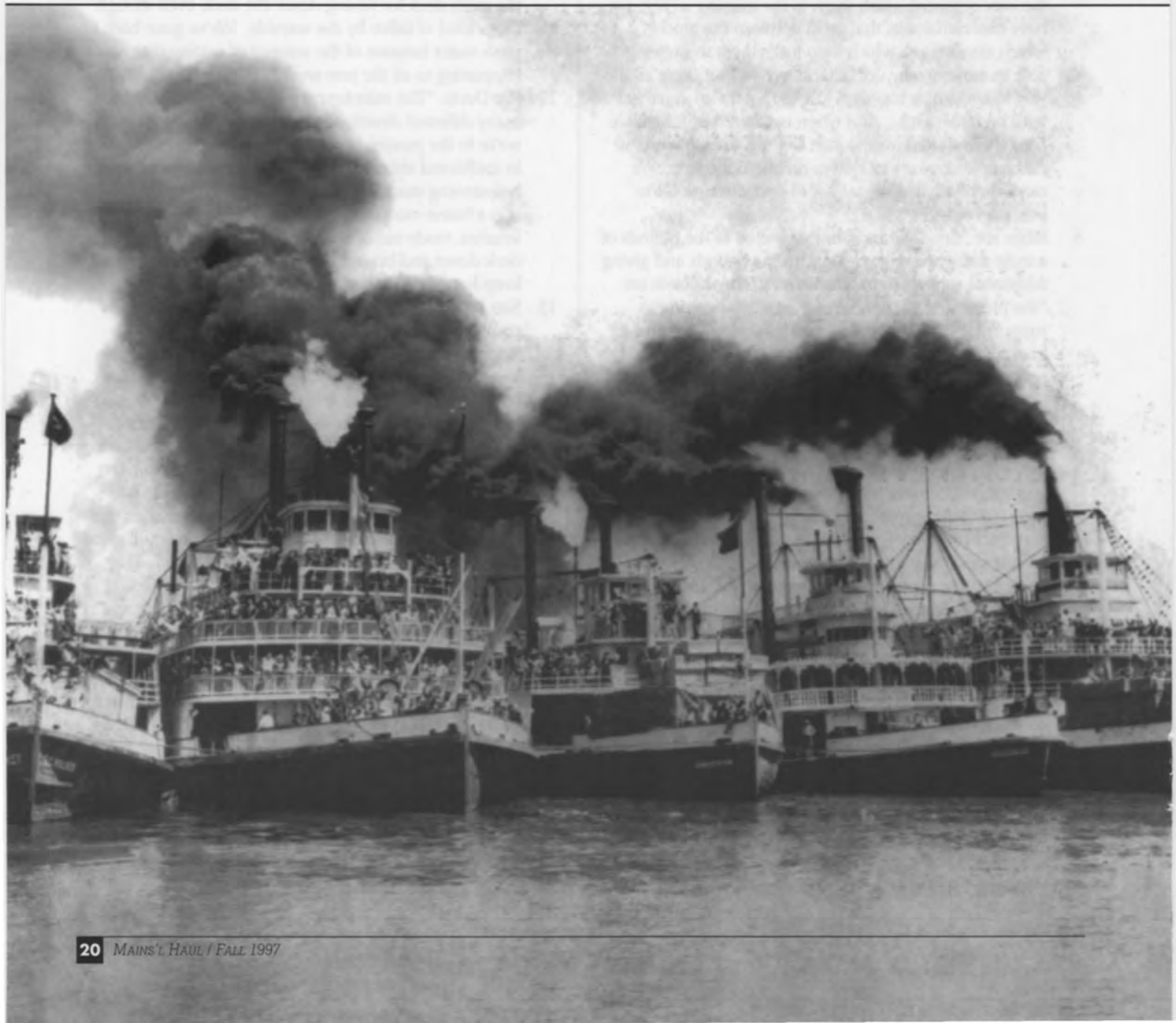
14 Jim Davis: "That's what we did on [the 1904 steam yacht] MEDEA where we took off the original two-inch teak wood ... That's a modern style deck, very similar; the only difference between what I just said and what he's stated there is the canvas aspect. To do that on the STAR OF INDIA was deemed basically not correct. It's not the type of deck she would have originally had. The deck is a structural part of the ship... We've redecked the forecastle head and the poop deck in the last five years, and we've done it with traditional three and three-quarter inch Douglas fir, vertical grain."

15 According to sources at San Diego's Old Globe Theatre, the original Old Globe Theatre structure was destroyed by fire on March 8, 1978. The company's Festival Stage burned in 1984.

16 Jim Davis: "His original fire hoses are all still in place ... Since this article, the STAR OF INDIA had a 100 percent modern day sprinkler system installed in her ... in October of '96. [The 1898 San Francisco steam ferryboat] BERKELEY'S had one in for quite a while, in fact before this article was written."

Memoir of A Young Sternwheeler Pilot on the Sacramento

By Captain Clifford C. Weidemann





Southern Pacific river steamers CHEROKEE, SEMINOLE and MODOC at the SP docks, on the Sacramento. The SAN JOAQUIN No. 2 is tied up on the right side. *(From RAIL & WATER)*

[Editor's Note: Captain Cliff Weidemann's remarkable career began in 1925 when he was age 14. He first went to sea aboard the Alaska Packers Association square-rigger STAR OF ENGLAND, on which his father, Captain Frank W. Weidemann, was master. Frank Weidemann had been the STAR OF INDIA's last master, before she was retired. This excerpt from Cliff's memoirs takes up from where his whole family has been employed in the movie business on Catalina Island in 1928. His father, who had recently retired from the APA, finished as technical advisor to Tom White productions, filming the sailing ship sequences of some early silent films. Once again he joined his father, now Captain of a private schooner yacht.]

All good things come to an end. After about two months Tom White ran out of pictures - and money - all at the same time, and we were laid off. I went home to Alameda and back to high school again. During school vacation that summer I became a deck hand on the three-masted schooner yacht SINALOA.[1] We pounded our way up the coast to Vancouver, BC where the owner and guests joined the SINALOA. We poked around in British Columbia waters as far north as Prince Rupert and then returned to Vancouver to discharge the owner and guests before returning to San Francisco. I returned to Alameda High School.

During December of 1928, I went to work for Montgomery Ward as order filler in their mail order area at the big store in Oakland. I was on roller skates eight and a half hours a day and as Christmas approached, it took longer and longer to clear the orders. On Christmas Eve, at five o'clock, all the extra help was paid off and I figured that was the end for me at Ward's. [In] early January 1929, Ward's phoned. They had a job for me as an assistant stockman in Division 31. We received the monthly award for the best division in the house several times during the first six months of the year.

Along about June, Captain Majors, a pilot on the stern wheeler CHEROKEE[2] asked if I would like to relieve their pilothouse watchman during his two-week vacation. I happily agreed and asked our floor supervisor at Ward's for a leave of absence for the period. He agreed, and the next afternoon I boarded the CHEROKEE at Pier 5 in San Francisco.

I was given a quick show around and instructed in my duties by the Chief Mate. When we left the pier at 5 p.m. I was fairly ready for the job and took my first turn at the wheel. Nothing ever steered as well as a stern wheeler. Once steady they stay on course for very long periods. They don't have the torque of propeller-driven craft. Ted, the alternate pilot, was on duty and gave me the course to The Brothers light. I steadied her and she stayed as though she was on a track. Ted was watching and finally asked how she was heading. I said "right on." He asked where I had learned to steer and I told him about my voyage on the CENTENNIAL.[3] He said most newcomers used

Five Sacramento River sternwheelers line up for the start of a race in the 1928 Will Rogers film, "Steamboat Round the Bend." They are (left to right) the T. C. WALKER, CAPITOL CITY, CHEROKEE, LEADER and CAPT. WEBER. *(San Francisco Maritime Museum Photo)*



NAVAJO, a 975 gross ton river steamer of the Southern Pacific Fleet. (SDMM postcard collection)

too much wheel and headed all over the map.

Rounding The Brothers[4] and into San Pablo Bay we encountered dense fog. Ted took the wheel and I poked my head out of the port pilothouse window to listen for whistles. Capt. Smith was at the starboard window close to the engine room telegraph. We were at full speed. Shortly thereafter I heard a whistle dead ahead and reported to Capt. Smith. He nodded but there was no change in course or speed. I heard the whistle several more times and still dead ahead and getting real close. At the last minute Ted eased the CHEROKEE to the right and the pilot on the CAPT. WEBER[5] eased to his right and we passed with about ten feet of water between the two boats, both going full speed ahead. That was my introduction to river navigation. You don't slow down and you don't change course in the fog; you could get lost and end up on a sand bar.

Our first stop was the sugar refinery at Crockett where we were to load 1,500 bags of sugar for upriver. As we approached, Capt. Smith was at the whistle, giving a very short toot about every 30 seconds. We were getting an excellent echo from the pier. Capt. Smith remarked that he could "hear" something alongside the dock and figured that it could be a Matson freighter. We were heading into a strong ebb tide and were doing fine until the whistle cord carried away. The smokestack and the whistle were just abaft the pilothouse and I was sent to the top of the pilothouse to pull on what was left of the whistle cord.

There is a special knack to blowing an echo whistle and I sure did not have it. With a steam whistle it is a very short "ah, oomph" especially when you are close in. Ted and Capt. Smith were trying to tell me how to do it.

And all the while the ebb tide was setting us in to whatever was alongside the dock. It was not a Matson freighter; it was the stern wheeler CROCKETT,[6] much larger and higher than the CHEROKEE. We set in broadside and the side fenders on the CROCKETT were higher and broader than the CHEROKEE fenders so when we came together the main deck housing on the CHEROKEE was pushed in with great crackling and shouting. Everybody was excited except Capt. Smith and Ted. Capt. Smith turned to Ted and said, "Now that we are here let's move up to the loading ramp." I was still atop the pilothouse and my hair was standing on end!

Once alongside and loading, Ted and I rove



Last days of sternwheeler NAVAJO, in 1971. She retired in 1939, the last passenger riverboat in California. (Robert E. Walters Photo)

a new whistle cord and I was given instruction on how to blow echo whistles. I became pretty good but never perfect - according to the two pilots. With the sugar aboard, our next stop was Port Costa - mostly to discharge and load express freight. As pilothouse watchman, my job was to tally and personally stow the express freight into several large bins that were locked when underway. I soon found out why. We had packages for drugstores at Locke, Walnut Grove, and Clarksburg. They seemed to be using an awful lot of medicine, I thought - until I found out that the packages were cases of whiskey (for medicinal purposes only) for all those poor sick farmers along the river. This was during Prohibition!

Then on to Benicia to take aboard boiler water. The CHEROKEE did not have a condenser and all of our steam for the main engine was vented into the atmosphere. We only carried enough boiler water to get us from Pier 5 in San Francisco to the dock at Benicia. There we



Sternwheeler CROCKETT, the former H. J. CORCORAN, tied up at Richmond in 1950. Bay Transport Company sold her to the US Government in 1943, for use by the Army around San Francisco Bay. (Richard E. Brown photo)

loaded enough boiler water to take us to Rio Vista. From there to Sacramento we pumped our boiler water out of the river.

The two lousiest docks on the river were at Benicia and Rio Vista, especially in the summer months when we had strong westerly wind after sunset, sometimes at gale strength. The wind blew off the dock at those two stops and it took some maneuvering to get a stern wheeler alongside. We only drew about three feet of water when loaded and our leeway would be almost as fast as our headway when there was a strong breeze on our beam. You had to watch the tattletale steam jet on the stack so you would know what the wind was doing to you. Fortunately, a stern wheeler with four long rudders under the paddlewheel handles just as easily going astern as it does on an ahead bell, so that the docks at Benicia and Rio Vista just needed a little more patience to get alongside.

Once through the drawbridge at Rio Vista you enter the Sacramento River. We had stops at Isleton and Locke in the lower river, then Walnut Grove, and Clarksburg further up and finally Sacramento. There were several tight bends in the river. Ryde Bend was the worst. As you approached the bend you blew a long blast on the whistle and, if someone was in the bend, they would answer and you would not enter until the other vessel cleared.

One real foggy night we went through this routine as we approached the bend, did not get an answer and entered the bend on full speed. Part way through I heard this little "peep" up ahead. Capt. Majors heard it too and said that it sounded like the tug MARINER [7] and that she would have several barges under tow. We kept moving and doing our best to keep to the right of the channel. The visibility was so poor that we didn't see the MARINER until she was under our bow. We hit her a glancing blow and no harm done. Her lead barge was loaded with brick and when we hit that we came to an abrupt halt. We sustained a baseball-sized hole on the port bow just above the water line. At our next stop I was sent over the side in a bosun's chair complete with an empty potato sack and the end piece from an orange crate to



DELTA QUEEN, a former Sacramento River steamer built by the California Transportation Company, clears a low bridge across the Mississippi, prior to 1970. (Green Line Photo, courtesy Richard E. Brown)


DELTA QUEEN
DELTA QUEEN

make repairs. I was handed a hammer and nails and had the repair completed when we were ready to leave for our next stop.

By this time, I was well on my way to being a real river rat. The lad that I had relieved for two weeks did not come back. He had found a job on the DELTA QUEEN, a new and fancy passenger stern wheeler on the San Francisco-Sacramento run.[8] I was as happy as a clam at high water on the CHEROKEE and was pushed along as fast as I could take it.

The first important job that a pilothouse watchman had to learn was how to make a decent pot of coffee and I was good at that. I could also broil a steak on the galley stove and make steak sandwiches at two o'clock in the morning. I would put a line over the side at the Cal Pak cannery and catch three or four catfish, using bologna for bait; then skin and behead them and fry them in butter and garlic... I had made myself a job and no one was about to let me go!

In short order I was taught all the tricks of docking and undocking at most of the stops along the river. The crew knew when I was bringing the boat alongside. None of this full-speed slam-bang stop for me, I preferred a slow and cautious approach. They would make good natured and derisive remarks, all with a smile.

We did not know it but our days on the CHEROKEE were coming to an end. Shortly after Christmas 1929 one of the main cranks to the stern wheel failed and we were forced to beach the CHEROKEE on the riverbank just below Clarksburg. Tied her up to a few trees until she could be towed back up to Sacramento.[9] We all were transferred to the REFORM,[10] a California Transportation stern wheeler.

The Southern Pacific Railway owned and operated the CHEROKEE and her running mate, the NAVAJO[11] - the last of a long string of stern-wheelers on the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers that dated back to just after the "Gold Rush" days. On January 13, 1930, with the completion of a branch railway line from Sacramento to Isleton, the Southern Pacific went out of the riverboat business. Almost all of our crew was hired on a standby status at the Southern Pacific shipyard at Oakland. I didn't have any seniority and was out of a job.



Captain Cliff Weidemann, the author, relaxes at his home on Vashon Island, Washington. (Photo by C. A. Bencik)

Incidentally to those working the river, a sternwheeler was known as a "wet ass." I've tried to be polite writing about them.

[Ed. Note: Clifford C. Weidemann was born in San Francisco in 1911, the son of Capt. Frank W. and "Mimi" Weidemann. He earned his 3rd Mate's license at age 21, and was master of several vessels before, during and after World War II. He retired from a career as a merchant ship skipper at age 71, and now resides at Vashon Island, Washington.]

NOTES

1 SINALOA was a 37-ton, three-masted schooner (60.9' length, 14.2' breadth, 5' depth, 100 feet overall, 75 horsepower gas engine). She was built in 1907 at East Boothbay, Maine, and owned by Lewis E. Hanchett, a wealthy financier of Santa Barbara, CA. Hanchett frequently sailed her to Capitola, where he spent his summers. She was called "one of the loveliest yachts ever to grace San Francisco Bay" (William

Branson in *Still Flying And Nailed to the Mast*, Doubleday, 1963). Hanchett hired Captain Frank W. Weidemann, the author's father, to be her master, after the Alaska Packers Association let him go, along with nearly all their square-rigger captains. Hanchett was a difficult employer, and the arrangement was short lived. In 1930, SINALOA was "blown to splinters in Paradise Cove (Branson, *op. cit.*)," victim of the gas fumes in her bilges.

2 CHEROKEE was a wooden sternwheel steamer of the Central Pacific/Southern Pacific Railroad Company, 179.2' length, 40.2' breadth, 7' depth, and 741 gross tons, built at Oakland in 1912. Data for all notes on Sacramento River steamers mentioned in this article is from *Fireman's Fund Register of Vessels Owned on the United States Pacific Coast*, 1928 edition, (Commercial News Publishing Co., San Francisco); and from Jerry MacMullen, *Paddle Wheel Days in California* (Stanford Press, 1944-1946).

3 Cliff Weidemann was one of 15 crewmen who sailed the wooden 4-masted barkentine CENTENNIAL from Coos Bay to Melbourne, Australia, in 1927, prior to the movie work with Tom White Productions. See *Mains'l Haul*, Fall 1996, Vol. 32, No. 4, pp. 31-35, for a fuller account of that voyage.

4 The Brothers is a small island off Point San Pablo, northwest of Richmond, CA.

5 CAPT. WEBER was a wood 690 ton steamer, 174.5' length, 36.5' breadth, 8' depth, owned by California Transportation Company, and built in San Francisco in 1892. She had a 350 Indicated Horsepower engine, and was considered the fastest of the Stockton boats. When rebuilt in 1913, she was given a dining room that ran the full width of the deckhouse – a new idea others imitated. CAPT. WEBER caught fire on May 22, 1943, and later was converted to an elevator barge (Jerry MacMullen, *Paddle Wheel Days in California*, Stanford, 1946).

6 CROCKETT was a steamer built in 1898 at Stockton, and owned by the Bay Transport Co. One of the larger river craft, she was 1,023 gross tons, 221.1' length, 46' breadth, and 8' depth, and had a 500 IHP engine.

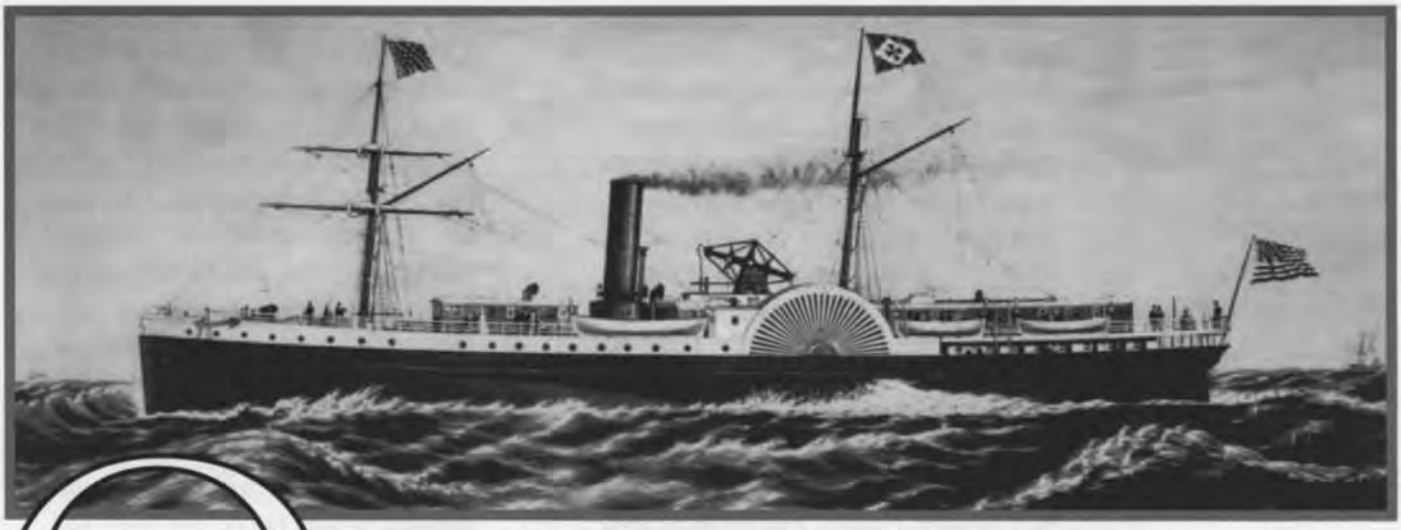
7 This is probably the wooden steam screw tug owned by Blake Brothers Co. of San Francisco. Built at Tacoma in 1903, she was 78.6' length, 20' breadth, 7.3' depth and 89 gross tons. Her engine gave 235 Indicated Horsepower.

8 Built in 1926 at Stockton, this steel 1,837.63 gross ton sternwheeler, of 250' length, 58' breadth and 11' depth was originally owned by California Transportation Co. DELTA QUEEN'S 2,000 IHP engines continue to carry her up and down the Mississippi River, where she is one of the best-known of the riverboats steaming today.

9 Although apparently abandoned in 1935, CHEROKEE was serving in the 1950's as the Sacramento Army-Navy club. A number of other old sternwheelers also had useful ends, such as farm worker bunkhouses.

10 REFORM was a steam sternwheeler with a 375 indicated horsepower engine. She was built at Wood Island, California in 1898 and measured 627.69 gross tons, 178' length, 40' breadth and 6' depth. In 1938, REFORM and NAVAJO did heroic service, with the J. D. PETERS, in the levee-break flooding of Mandeville Island on the San Joaquin. Moored securely just inside the break of the levee, the three sternwheelers' engines were started. Their paddle wheels acted as dewatering pumps to drive the flood waters back into the stream. They thus reclaimed much of the rich farmland. The vessels were abandoned at the site, becoming part of the reclamation project. (MacMullen, *op. cit*, p. 113.)

11 NAVAJO was a "night boat," one of the Southern Pacific's river passenger boats, "a comfortable, well-appointed craft." (MacMullen, *op. cit.*, p. 96). This sternwheeler was built in Oakland in 1909; 975 gross tons, 219.8' length, 42' breadth, 8.9' depth. Her engine had 1,340 indicated horsepower. Her passenger service ended in 1918.



ORIZABA

San Diego's MAYFLOWER

By Alan Thewlis

In the Fall 1996 issue of *Mains'l Haul* we related the story of the beginnings of steamship service up and down the West Coast in 1849. The service was an immediate roaring success largely because John Marshall had seen the glint of gold in the millrace of Sutter's Mill in January of 1848. Word of the fabulous discovery had spread like wildfire and the small but steady stream of Americans coming into California grew into a flood. From a mere 5,000 residents in 1845 – 4,000 of whom were Spanish-speaking Californians – California's population exploded to nearly 93,000 by 1850.[1]

Many of the new settlers were not terribly interested in gold (or soon lost interest when it became apparent that it didn't simply lie there on the surface waiting to be picked up.) Real riches were to be had in the owning of land. The newcomers spread out all along the western edge of the continent. The demand for transportation up and down the coast resulted in a flourishing coastal steamship trade that lasted for nearly a century, from 1849 until just before the outbreak of World War II.[2]

The service begun by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company was soon expanded. Competitors entered the arena. More ports were added to the service, and the speed and frequency of coastal transportation grew. Monterey, Port Harford (now called Port San Luis), Ventura, San Pedro and San Diego became regular ports of call. A steady traffic between California ports developed which continued even after stage line and rail transportation was established between north and south. New ship names were heard along the coast. After the pioneer steamers CALIFORNIA, OREGON and PANAMA came SENATOR, GOLIAH, ANCON, PACIFIC, CONSTITUTION, ORIZABA and others.

During the last half of the 19th century PACIFIC and ORIZABA were favorites along the coastal route. Many who came on the ORIZABA to San Diego as new settlers recalled her fondly in later years. Before the advent of the railroads many future San Diegans came first to San Francisco by ship from Panama, and completed the last leg of their journey on the ORIZABA. Jerry MacMullen, San Diego's

The wooden sidewheel steamer ORIZABA, flying the Pacific Coast Steamship Company house flag, plows through a brisk Pacific chop. Based on an 1875 painting by Joseph Lee. *(Historical Collection, Title Insurance and Trust Co., San Diego)*

waterfront historian, often referred to her as "San Diego's MAYFLOWER."[3]

In the middle of the 19th century New York City was the leading shipbuilding center of the world, outdoing its British rivals in building fine wooden ships, both sail and steam. The leading shipbuilders of New York at that time were William H. Webb, and Smith and Dimon, builders of the three pioneer West Coast steamers CALIFORNIA, OREGON and PANAMA. Another well-known New York builder, Jacob A. Westervelt and Company, built ORIZABA in 1854. She provided 33 years' service before she was broken up in 1887. ORIZABA'S long life, like those of CALIFORNIA, OREGON and PANAMA, says much about the New York builders' worldwide reputation for fine ships.

Named for an 18,000-foot Mexican volcano near Vera Cruz, ORIZABA was built for the firm of Morgan and Harris, to be used on their New York-New Orleans-Vera Cruz, Mexico line. She was a wooden sidewheel steamer of about 1,450 measured tons, 246 feet long with a beam of 35 feet and a depth of 18 feet. She had three decks with a reported total sleeping capacity of 1,028 (56 first class cabins, 35 second class staterooms; the remainder of the passengers were quartered in steerage berths or as standees).[4]



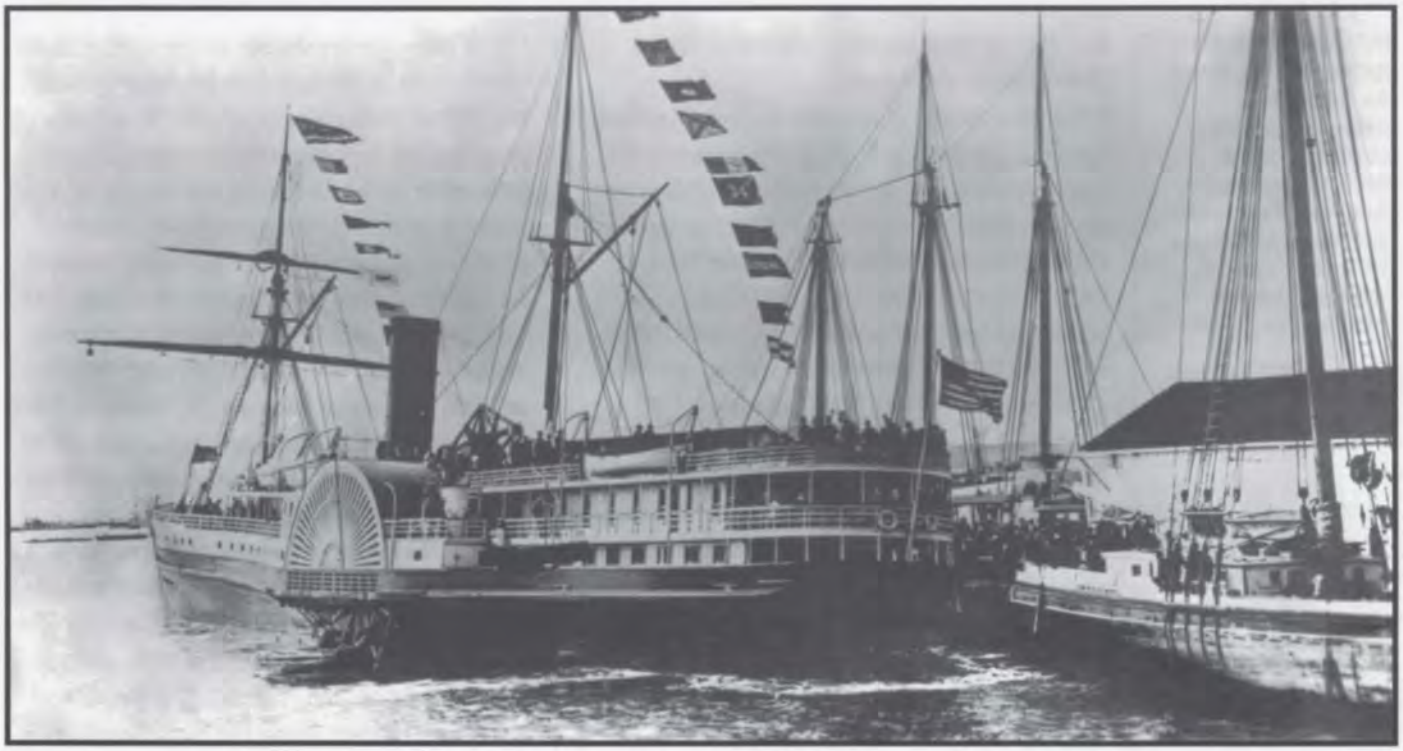
Captain Henry James Johnston, perhaps the best known of ORIZABA's masters. *(Historical Collection, Title Insurance and Trust Co., San Diego)*

A one-cylinder double acting vertical beam engine built by Morgan Iron Works propelled her 32-foot diameter side wheels. Its cylinder bore was five and a half feet in diameter, with an 11-foot stroke. In this type of engine, steam at about 50 pounds per square inch, admitted alternately into the top and bottom of the vertical cylinder, drove the piston up and down. As high-pressure steam was admitted at one end, expanded steam was discharged from the other end and condensed back into liquid water. A rod at the top of the piston extended to one side of the "walking beam" — a diamond shaped truss mounted like a seesaw above the highest weather deck. The other end of the walking beam was connected to a crank, which turned the paddle wheels on each side of the ship. This simple type of machinery was reliable and continued in use on San Francisco Bay ferries and excursion steamers along the Pacific coast until well into the 20th century. The walking beam engine also lent a certain dignity to a vessel's progress as it nodded and bowed politely to birds, boats and passing scenery.

ORIZABA began her career with two voyages between New York and Nicaragua. She then was sent around South America to the Pacific in 1856 where she ran between Panama and San Francisco and Oregon ports for the Pacific Mail Line. In 1865 the California Steam Navigation Company purchased her. That was also the year she began her San Francisco to San Diego service. She ran this route for 22 years; during this time she was also owned by Holladay and Brenham; again by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company; and, starting in 1875, by Goodall, Nelson and Perkins.

During the years that ORIZABA was visiting San Diego two or more times a month, she was a familiar sight at the waterfront. The regularity of her service was seldom disturbed by mechanical trouble, although in February 1884, while off Port Harford, she broke a main shaft. Using only one sidewheel, she limped to San Diego where she had temporary repairs before continuing on to San Francisco.

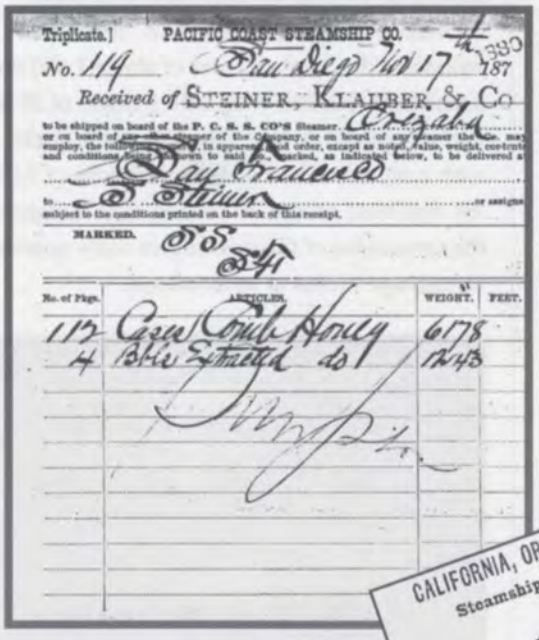
Captain Henry James Johnston was her most popular and best-remembered master. He first brought the paddle steamer to San Diego



on November 7, 1868. He developed a custom of using the high land above Old Town as reference point whenever he piloted ORIZABA into San Diego Bay. Captain Johnston liked San Diego. Sometimes he would rent a horse and buggy to drive around the local countryside during ORIZABA's layovers, and one day he drove out to the crest at Old Town. It was vacant land covered only with wild grasses and sagebrush; but when Johnston visited it in his rented buggy he looked out over the Bay toward Point Loma and knew he wanted that property for his retirement years. Records show that he bought from the City of San Diego 65.1 acres of Pueblo lot 1121 for the sum of $16.25. Later he sold a portion of this land to his first mate for $50.00.

Captain Johnston was destined never to live on his land overlooking the sea. On December 28, 1878 in San Francisco, he stumbled on an irregular place on the steamer's cabin top and fell, sustaining what was described as a rupture. It was not thought serious but while recovering in bed at his San Francisco home he died a few days later at the age of 51.[5]

His widow, Ellen Johnston, bequeathed the property to her daughter, Sarah Johnston Miller in 1887 "for love, affection and $1." In later years she built a house on the site which she named "Villa Orizaba." Though substantially altered it still stands today on Orizaba Street, surrounded by many fine residences.[6]


Triplicate.] PACIFIC COAST STEAMSHIP CO.

No. 114 San Diego Nov 17 1880

Received of STEINER, KLAUBER, & Co

to be shipped on board of the P. C. S. S. CO'S Steamer Orizaba

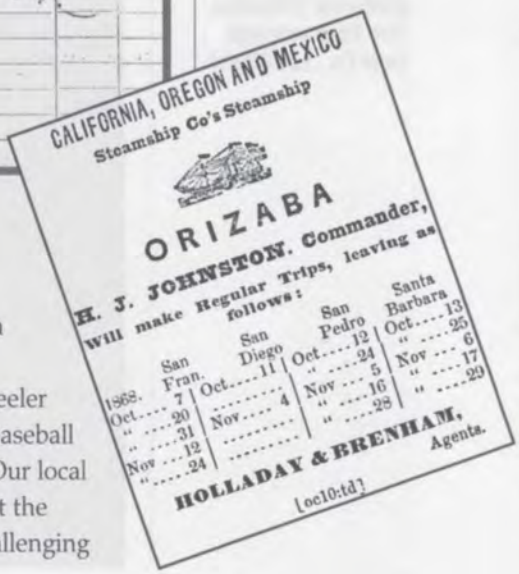
Day Brewed

to S. Steiner or assigns

subject to the conditions printed on the back of this receipt.

MARKED. SS 541

No. of Pkgs.	ARTICLES.	WEIGHT.	FEET.
113	Cases Comb Honey	6178	
4	Bbls Extracted do	1243	


CALIFORNIA, OREGON AND MEXICO
Steamship Co's Steamship

ORIZABA

H. J. JOHNSTON, Commander,
Will make Regular Trips, leaving as follows:

1868.	San Fran.	San Diego	San Pedro	Santa Barbara
Oct.	7	Oct. 11	Oct. 12	Oct. 13
"	20		" 24	" 25
"	31	Nov. 4	Nov. 5	Nov. 6
Nov.	12		" 16	" 17
"	24		" 28	" 29

HOLLADAY & BRENHAM, Agents.

[oc10:td]

Among the cargo ORIZABA carried from San Diego to San Francisco in November 1880 was this large shipment of honey from Steiner-Klauber & Company. *(SDMM collection)*

The ORIZABA played a part in many a San Diego drama. In November 1878 the old side-wheeler brought Los Angeles' Academy Baseball Club to San Diego for a game. Our local boys of the Bay City Club were at the wharf to greet and escort the challenging

A strong breeze heels the ORIZABA toward the waiting crowd at the Pacific Coast Steamship Company's Fifth Street Wharf in the 1880's. Astern is the schooner NORMA. *(Historical Collection, Title Insurance and Trust Co., San Diego)*

Angelenos to the local ball field — a vacant lot bounded by Broadway, C Street, Fifth and Sixth Avenues, in the present day downtown. Half the population of San Diego gathered to cheer on the home team. When the smoke and dust cleared away San Diego could gaze with pardonable pride on their home team, victorious by a score of 29 to 24. The Angeleno boys doubtless drowned their sorrows at ORIZABA'S bar as she bore them back to San Pedro.[7]

As a frequent visitor to San Diego ORIZABA became a part of the community, and provided San Diegans with one of the best Bay cruise deals imaginable. When she got underway for the north, for one dollar a person could ride her from the Fifth Street pier down the Bay to National City and back north to Ballast Point, where ORIZABA would pause to let the sightseers off before she headed up the coast.[8]

Some of those coasting passages were memorable. While headed north in 1886 ORIZABA carried a Mrs. Harris who was bound for San Francisco expecting soon to give birth. The steamer, plodding past San Pedro and Santa Barbara and around Point Conception, bucked the seas that prevail more often than not in that part of the misnamed Pacific Ocean. Impelled by the ship's motion Mrs. Harris surmised that if ORIZABA did not reach the Golden Gate soon there would be two souls, not one, in her stateroom. She called the stewardess and told her. The stewardess told the steward who hurried to the bridge and informed the Captain. The Captain ordered the Chief Engineer to get top speed out of the engine. Soon the paddle wheels were turning at maximum speed but to no avail. Before ORIZABA could enter the Golden Gate another passenger had indeed arrived in Mrs. Harris' stateroom.

Newspaper advertisement gives ORIZABA's sailing schedule. Holladay and Brenham owned the steamer from 1867 until 1872. *(SDMM MacMullen collection).*

After mother and daughter were finally at San Francisco, the passengers and crew took a collection to present a loving cup to the new arrival and the little girl was named Orizaba. Curiously, we are informed that the San Diego Maritime Museum's faithful guide to the ferryboat BERKELEY's engine room, Mr. Winn Bagley, age 86, had a fifth grade teacher in the Oakland schools named Miss Orizaba Harris.[9]

On January 12, 1887 ORIZABA backed out of her San Diego berth for the last time. When she reached San Francisco it was announced that ORIZABA was "to be laid up for repairs" and that ANCON would take her place. It was soon decided repairs were uneconomical and over the next week the old ship was dismantled; the hulk was towed south of the city and beached. There she lay rotting for many years, and gradually disappeared.

San Diego has not forgotten the ORIZABA. A chest of drawers, now on display aboard the BERKELEY at the San Diego Maritime Museum, survives from her cabins. An electrified, mechanized model of the passenger steamer is there on top of it. Every week hundreds of school children push a button and delight in the rocking of the quaint walking beam, see the little sidewheels turn, and the tiny sidelights glimmer. The odd-looking chest, a relic of a bygone time, is hardly ever noticed. But who knows? Perhaps a hundred years ago this bit of old furniture was there when Miss Orizaba Harris entered the world.

[Ed. Note: Alan Thewlis is a retired naval officer and a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. A naval architect, yachtsman and maritime history buff, he has served the San Diego Maritime Museum as a volunteer for 20 years.]

NOTES

1 *Encyclopedia Americana* (1940), Vol. 5, p. 212.
2 Kemble, John Haskell, *The Panama Route*, pp. 240-241.
3 MacMullen, Jerry. "The Orizaba and Johnson Heights," *San Diego Historical Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 3, July 1959.
4 Kemble, *loc. cit.* An excellent description of ORIZABA is in Jerry MacMullen's article in *Steamboat Bill*, Spring 1960, p. 14 ff.
5 MacMullen, *San Diego Historical Quarterly, loc. cit.*
6 For more information on the Villa see *San Diego Historical Quarterly, loc. cit.*, p. 50.
7 MacMullen, Jerry, *San Diego Union*, March 16, 1958.
8 MacMullen, Jerry, "An Excursion Into The Past," *San Diego Union*, June 13, 1965.
9 MacMullen, Jerry, "Some Names To Match The Occasion," *San Diego Union*, June 20, 1965.

A Tragic Chapter Revealed:

EUTERPE'S 1883 Voyage to Sydney

By Charles A. Bencik



"With the yellow flag flying at her main peak" — a signal meaning "contagious disease aboard" — the iron ship EUTERPE arrived at Sydney, Australia, on February 6, 1883. Her master, Captain Thomas E. Phillips, had guided her now for more than 11 years. But this voyage was like none he had ever known.

There had been 10 deaths aboard, some from scarlet fever, among the 371 passengers and 39 crew.[1] One crewman, the steward, died of dysentery. Most of the dead were infant children. Illness was not the only misfortune to plague the EUTERPE, her passengers, crew and master during the voyage. When the immigrants went ashore, they joined 645 other recent arrivals, seeking employment in a town with virtually no jobs available. On board, Captain Phillips faced his own challenges. Of the 25 crew who left the ship in Sydney, 22 deserted.

After unloading her passengers, the ship departed for Newcastle, to take on a cargo of coal for San Francisco. Captain Phillips was to learn, upon his return to England, that this would be his last voyage as master of EUTERPE. It would be a tragic end to what had been a highly successful phase of his career.

As of the date of this publication, the voy-

EUTERPE at the Shaw Savill & Albion wharf at Port Chalmers, New Zealand. So might she have looked in 1884, the year after the Sydney voyage. EUTERPE made voyages to Port Chalmers in 1884, 1887, 1892 and 1897. *(SDMM Collection)*



View from the Botanical Gardens of Farm Cove, Sydney, Australia. Directly opposite is Neutral Harbor where EUTERPE was towed after offloading immigrants. (Kerry and Co., Sydney, from W. J. Loftis, Ed., *Orient Line Guide*, London: Sampson Low Marston & Co., Ltd., 1899).

age related herein has not yet been recounted in any previous histories of the career of EUTERPE/STAR OF INDIA. Yet the record is certainly there. Several primary documents – passenger lists prepared on arrival in Sydney Harbor February 6, 1883; Agreement and Account of Crew executed over the period October 9, 1882 until March 3, 1884; and reproductions of several detailed reports in the February 1883 numbers of the Sydney *Morning Herald* testify to the doleful facts of this voyage.

Unfortunately no one seems to know if the EUTERPE's logs for the more than 11 years Captain Phillips was her master still exist or where to find them. Several diaries, a passenger-published newspaper, and a silver cup given to the Captain in tribute to his service have come to light. All seem to show that Phillips was most solicitous of the welfare of his passengers, and was held in the highest regard by his crew, during all the time he commanded the ship. It appears that, as the 1882-83 voyage developed, circumstances had conspired to end his string of successful voyages with an astonishingly tragic one.



Sydney Harbor in 1900. EUTERPE first anchored in Watson Bay, just inside Inner South Head, after arriving February 6, 1883. (Sande Phillips and Co., from Admiralty Chart No. 1069).

Before the voyage had even begun, changes were occurring in the Australian and New Zealand immigrant trade. The rush of new immigrants, which peaked in 1875, had dropped considerably. Business was slow everywhere. Production of wool and sheep had risen rapidly, causing a steep decline in prices. The bright hopes for easy prosperity in a new land had faded.

At the same time, a technological revolution was underway. The invention of machinery for the freezing of meat was making it possible to transport surplus beef and mutton from Australia and New Zealand aboard both steam and sailing vessels.[2]

Furthermore, the era of the steam ship was on the horizon: shorter, safer passenger voyages

to New Zealand were now possible. Competition would soon take the monopoly away from Shaw Savill, the Albion Line, and the New Zealand Line.

On November 6, 1882, Shaw Savill & Company and the Albion Line effected a merger. They had been negotiating since May, when the full rigged ship DUNEDIN brought in the first cargo of frozen meat from Otago to London. The voyage was a huge financial success. The directors of the new company immediately chartered five newly built steamers for direct service to New Zealand. Three of the ships were to be fitted out with refrigerating equipment.[3] Of Shaw Savill's 26 sailing ships, 19 would join the new firm. EUTERPE was one of them.[4]

But the iron sailing ship, "since it could be driven much harder and built to much larger dimensions because of its superior structural strength, was ideally suited to the long-distance bulk carrying trade of the 1870s and 1880s... on long routes that created fueling problems for steamers, it allowed the sailing ships to hold their own on the Australian run."[5] EUTERPE was therefore sent to Sydney – only her second voyage to Australia until 1883. She was out at sea when the merger was consummated.

For the day after Euterpe's arrival, the shipping notices of Sydney's daily newspaper began with the usual routine, innocuous business statistics:[6]

"SHIPPING
"Arrivals – February 6...

"Euterpe, ship, 1179 tons, Captain T. E. Phillips, from London, October 9, via Plymouth October 25, with 363 immigrants. Cattell and Co., agents."



It's "survival of the fittest" at feeding time on an immigrant ship in the 1800s. This illustration shows the chaos that can reign below decks, on certain rough crossings. *(SDMM Collection)*

Then there was an announcement of cargo arrived:[7]

"....February 6....

"Euterpe, ship, from London: 400 packages, A. Hinchcliffe and Co.; 4 cases, Seoch and Brugmann; 9 cases, J. Scharff; 8 cases, commercial bank; 500 boxes, Dalton Brothers; 12 bales, G. M. Whitwell; 5 cases, J. S. Abraham; 2 cases, Colonial Sugar Company: 450 casks, 7 crates, Gibbs, Bright, and Co.; 15 cases, G. Griffiths; 15 casks, Martin and Co.; 6 cases, 2 tubs, 2 wheels, Elliott Brothers; 2 cases, 2 beds, J. McGregor and Co.; 5 cases, Watson Brothers; 1 case, 7 bundles R. Binnie and Son; 53 segments, 49 boxes, 100 bundles, 50 pairs wheels, 50 weights, 80 cases, 125 chairs, Hon. Secretary for Public Works; 89 packages, Lazarus, Rosenfeld, and Co.; 181 boxes, Coward and Temple; 82 crates, J. T. Starkey; 10 cases, 10 kegs, 4 casks, E. Prosser and Co.; 6 cases, 1 cask, 18 bales, E. Rowe and Co.; 28 cases, E. Bailey and Son; 1525 pipes, 200 columns, 15 cases, 30 castings, 2 boxes, 45 bundles, Australian Gaslight Company; 1190 casks, 49 bundles, 15 trunks, 1 keg, 227 cases, 1117 blocks, 18 drums, 1 box, 16 hogsheads, and 2 tierces. Order."

In addition to a sizeable cargo, EUTERPE had over 400 souls aboard, the second greatest number she ever carried. With 371 coming on at Liverpool and Plymouth, Captain Phillips had decided to sign on 39 crew, including an "emigrants [sic] cook," an assistant emigrants' cook, and a baker of German nationality. Dr. Thomas M. Kendall, age 26, a native of Sydney, was to be the surgeon superintendent. The Sydney *Morning Herald* report of Wednesday, February 8, appeared to contain Captain Phillips' report of the voyage to the company agents:

"ARRIVAL OF THE IMMIGRANT SHIP EUTERPE.

"Following closely upon the appearance of the ship Duchess of Argyle, with immigrants, in this port comes the Euterpe, ship, from London, via Plymouth, with another batch of men, women, and children. As in the case of the first mentioned ship, the Euterpe has had sickness on board, and that of a contagious character—viz., scarlet fever; but unlike the Duchess of Argyle, she is happily free from sickness now, and it is therefore anticipated that there will be no necessity for her to go into quarantine.[8] She is now anchored in Watson's Bay, but after she has been cleaned up, and measures taken to prevent the outbreak of any sickness, the vessel will probably be released in a couple of days. The immigrants were classified as follows: —44 married couples, 74 single men, 93 single women, 61 boys, 45 girls, and 10 infants; but since the vessel left Plymouth there have

been 10 deaths, two of which were caused by scarlet fever. Amongst those who died were the steward of the ship, Thomas Underwood, who succumbed to dysentery on December 17; and Emma Mashford, aged 31, who died from asphyxia on October 27, caused by being choked through a piece of meat sticking in her throat. The others who died were children, their names being Braid (2), Osborne (2), Bryen, Newcombe, Cole, Porter. One of the Osbornes died from sunstroke. Dr. Theodore Kendall is the medical superintendent and Mrs. [Louise] Eagar has acted as matron. With regard to the voyage which has been a protracted one, some difficulty was experienced in eliciting the following particulars, owing to boats not being allowed alongside of the ship:- The Euterpe left London on October 9, and had fine weather down to Plymouth. A fresh departure was taken from the latter port on October 25, and south-west winds were experienced going across the Bay of Biscay. The N.E. trades were found in 33° N., but how far they were carried was not stated. The equator was crossed on December 2, the meridian of the Cape on the 31st December in 43° S. The easting was run down on the parallel of 43°, and fine weather was experienced, until Cape Otway was passed on the 30th January. Southerly and easterly winds were had thence to Cape Howe, when the Euterpe experienced the full effects of the violent gale which was blowing off the coast for the past four or five days. On Saturday one of the lifeboats was smashed out of the davits and washed away by a heavy sea which broke on board, but beyond this the vessel, we believe, sustained no further damage. From the health officer we have obtained the following additional information with regard to this vessel.- The Euterpe, with a ship's company of 39 and 371 immigrants,[9] was placed at quarantine yesterday evening in consequence of several cases of scarlet fever having occurred during the voyage. The disease broke out on October 28, and continued on board until the 2nd January, when the last case occurred. Eight persons were attacked with this disease, and two died; and six children and two adults died of non-contagious diseases, making the total number of deaths 10. The vessel was anchored in Watson's Bay, with the yellow flag flying at her main peak, but at daylight this morning will be towed to the quarantine station, where the clothing of the immigrants will be washed and disinfected, the bedding burnt, and such other steps taken as maybe deemed necessary to prevent a fresh outbreak of the disease. The people will remain on board the ship until the Duchess of Argyle's passengers have been dealt with. Only the sick people will thereafter be detained. Those who are in good health will be released as soon as the necessary quarantine operations are finished. There has been no sickness on the Euterpe since January."[10]

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From the first reports, it appeared that the danger to the port from contagious diseases brought by the EUTERPE was small. One of the passengers had given birth during the voyage, and the baby survived. Nevertheless, all precautions were being taken, because there was an unusually large number of immigrants in the port, and things could get out of hand. Another article in the same day's newspaper continues the report:

"The ship Euterpe, which left Plymouth on October 25, arrived in this port yesterday with immigrants. She had 371 on board when she left England, but there had been 10 deaths on the voyage—two from scarlet fever, and eight from non-contagious diseases… No fresh cases of sickness have occurred; but there has been one birth at the station, and mother and child are doing well. The healthy people will be released as soon as possible. It may be stated that when the Euterpe gets to the station there will be 908 persons in quarantine, exclusive of those who have been engaged to assist in the work that will be required to be done."[11]

Two days later, EUTERPE was towed from Watson's Bay, near the entrance of Port Jackson, to Farm Cove, for the processing of immigrants. Later she was towed north to Neutral Bay, directly opposite, while a kind of "cattle call" was held, where the immigrants could try to arrange for employment:

"We learn that the health authorities have made such arrangements with regard to the immigrants by the two ships Euterpe and Duchess of Argyle, that by tonight the quarantine station will be completely clear of all but the few who are too unwell to be removed and the necessary attendants. The single men were yesterday examined by the Immigration Agent, and the single women left the ship yesterday afternoon and were transferred to the depot in Hyde Park, where they will be examined this morning by the Immigration Board. The married people and children will to-day [sic] be brought up by the steamer to the Duchess of Argyle, where they will be examined in the usual way. The Euterpe has been thoroughly disinfected, and the effects of the passengers have been cleansed. The vessel will leave the quarantine station this morning and be taken to Neutral Bay. The buildings at the quarantine station will be at once properly cleaned and disinfected, ready for the reception of the passengers by the Menmuir, among whom there are a number of Chinese. It is expected that the Menmuir will arrive some time on Saturday. To-day [sic] there will only be the sick people and the convalescents at the station. One child is still very ill from scarlet fever, and doubts are entertained as to whether she will recover. The others are going very well, and it is expected that by Saturday they will be well enough to be removed from the station."[12]

"...IMMIGRANTS...

"Some of the
FEMALE IMMIGRANTS
per ship DUCHESS OF ARGYLE
and
per Ship EUTERPE will be at the
IMMIGRANT DEPOT,
THIS DAY,
ready to join their friends.

"GEORGE F. WISE,
Agent for Immigration

Immigration Office, Sydney
February 9, 1883."

"IMMIGRANTS.
THE SINGLE WOMEN,
IMMIGRANTS,
will be for HIRE
at the
IMMIGRATION DEPOT,
HYDE PARK,
at 11 o'clock TO-MORROW SATURDAY.

"GEORGE F. WISE,
Agent for Immigration.

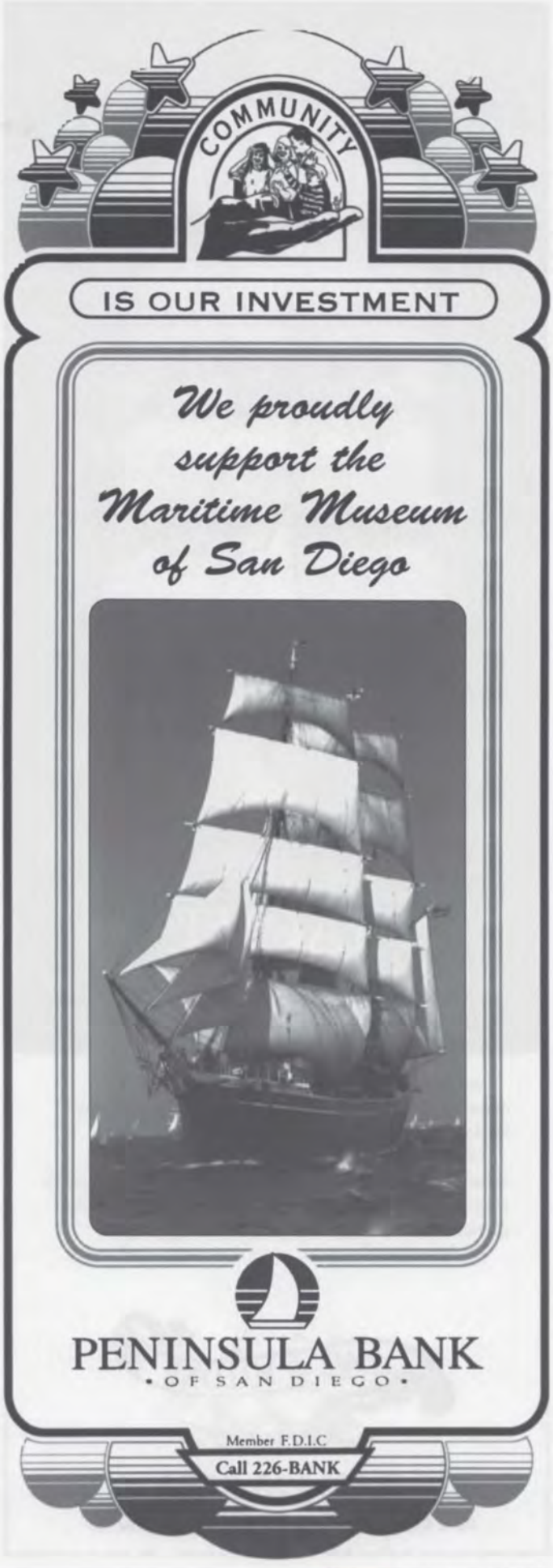
Immigration Office, Sydney.
February 9, 1883."

"IMMIGRANTS.
MARRIED COUPLES
and
SINGLE MEN
per ship EUTERPE
will be for HIRE
at the
HIRING ROOM,
FORT MACQUARIE ..."[13]

..."The hiring of the single women who arrived by the immigrant ships Duchess of Argyle and Euterpe took place at the Immigration Depot on Saturday. There were only 17 [positions] open for engagement, and for these there were upwards of 100 applicants. These were engaged at wages varying from 6s. to 13s. a week, the average being 9s. 6d. a week. The highest wages, 13s., was paid to a young woman who had some previous experience as a cook and laundress. The hiring of the married couples and single men will take place to-day (sic) at Fort Macquarie between 9 and 12."[14]

..."SHIP EUTERPE, FROM LONDON

"CONSIGNEES are requested to pass ENTRIES at once for Grafton Wharf. The ship will not be responsible for any loss of, or damage to cargo after it is landed. All goods for which no entries have been passed will, immediately after they have landed, in terms of the Customs Regulation Act, be sent to bond under Customs supervision, and be stored there at the risk and expense of consignees until perfect entries are passed.





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"Captain PHILLIPS will not be responsible for any DEBTS contracted by his crew without his written authority." [15]

The Crew Account as of March 10 shows six crewmen disenrolled for desertion. Two days later there were 16 more desertions recorded, and one crewman discharged with pay. Captain Phillips signed on two new crewmen on March 12. Four days later, EUTERPE departed Sydney and headed for Newcastle.

In 1991, the curator of the San Diego Maritime Museum was corresponding with Mrs. Heather Davis in Westleigh, NSW, Australia. Mrs. Davis is possibly the source of the above newspaper items. She provided the lists of the EUTERPE passengers and the following information about the end of the voyage:

"...Regarding your inquiry re departure of EUTERPE from Australia. I have combed films of early Sydney *Morning Heralds* ["S.M.H."] and found the following -

S.M.H. Sat. 17.3.1883 [March 17, 1883] Sailed 16.3.1883 [March 16] for San Francisco via Newcastle

[ditto] Mon. 19.3.1883 [March 19, 1883] Cleared Sydney Heads 10.15 a.m. 16.3.1883 [March 16, 1883]

[ditto] Sat. 28.4.1883 [April 28, 1883] Departed Newcastle Fri. 27.4.83 [April 27] with 992 Tons Coal." [16]

This corroborates the Agreement and Crew Account for the voyage. From that source we know that on April 24, at Newcastle, NSW, Australia, Captain Phillips signed 10 more crewmen to the ship's articles, and recorded five more men discharged and two more desertions.

At San Francisco, on September 22, 1883, Captain Phillips discharged four and reported five more desertions. He deposited three indentures with the British consul, and signed eight new crewmen for the remainder of the voyage.

EUTERPE arrived at Liverpool March 3, 1884. It had been a long, expensive voyage for Shaw Savill and Albion. There would be 12 more voyages with the Line for her – mostly to New Zealand, with two more voyages to Australia. In 1884 Captain Phillips was given command of the ZEALANDIA, an iron clipper specially designed for immigrants; and in 1892, he took charge of the four-masted bark MAYFIELD.[17] He remained her master until 1898, the year before he died.



Ships tied up at coal docks at Newcastle, New South Wales, Australia, in 1883. EUTERPE would have looked like the ship in center of photo, with gun-port paint scheme and Shaw Savill house flag. *(SDMM Collection)*

[Ed. Note: Chuck Bencik is the Librarian of the Maritime Museum, and editor pro tem of Mains'l Haul. He is also a regular contributor.]

NOTES

1 Figures are according to total tallied at voyage end in Sydney, in "LIST of IMMIGRANTS per Ship EUTERPE Arrived on the 6 day of February 1883" and "AGREEMENT AND ACCOUNT OF CREW" for EUTERPE, Date of Commencement of Voyage Oct 9/82, Date of Delivery of Lists to Superintendent 3/3/84.

2 "In Australia, Thomas Sutcliffe Mort... established at Sydney in 1861 the first freezing works in the world... in 1879... the steamer STRATHLEVEN... arrived in London with forty tons of [Australian] beef and mutton in perfect condition." [Sydney D. Waters, *Shaw Savill Line*, Whitcomb & Tombs Ltd., 1961, p. 64]. On May 26, 1882, the Albion Line's sailing ship DUNEDIN arrived in London with frozen meat from Otago, New Zealand [David Savill, *Sail to New Zealand*, Robert Hale, London, 1986].

3 Waters, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

4 Waters, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

5 John Bach, *A Maritime History of Australia*, Thomas Nelson (Australia) Limited, West Melbourne, 1976, pp. 139 –141.

6 Sydney *Morning Herald*, Wednesday, February 7, 1883,

7 *Ibid.*

8 This report is either premature or an editor's oversight. A few sentences later, it is stated that the crew and passengers are reported placed in quarantine.

9 This number – 371 - is the number of immigrants who came aboard in England, not the number that arrived at Sydney.

10 Sydney *Morning Herald*, Wednesday, February 7, 1883, p. 8, col. 2 (continued in Col. 3).

11 Sydney *Morning Herald*, Wednesday, February 7, 1883, p. 9. col. 5. One child, a girl, was born during the voyage to Mary and Thomas Osborne, during the voyage [371-9+1=363.].

12 Sydney *Morning Herald*, Friday, February 9, 1883, p. 5, col. 2.

13 Sydney *Morning Herald*, Friday, February 9, 1883, p. 1, col. 4.

14 Sydney *Morning Herald*, Monday, February 12, 1883, p. 7, col. 2.

15 Sydney *Morning Herald*, February 13, 1883, p. 1.

16 Letter of May 8, 1991 from Mrs. Heather Davis, Westleigh NSW 2120, Australia, to David Brierly, Maritime Museum of San Diego.

17 Dave Brierly, "Curator's Corner," *Mains'l Haul*, Vol. XXVII No. 2, Winter 1991, p. 21. Also see Frank C. Bowen, *Flag of the Southern Cross*, Charles Birchall & Sons, Ltd., Liverpool, 1939, pp 32 and 70.



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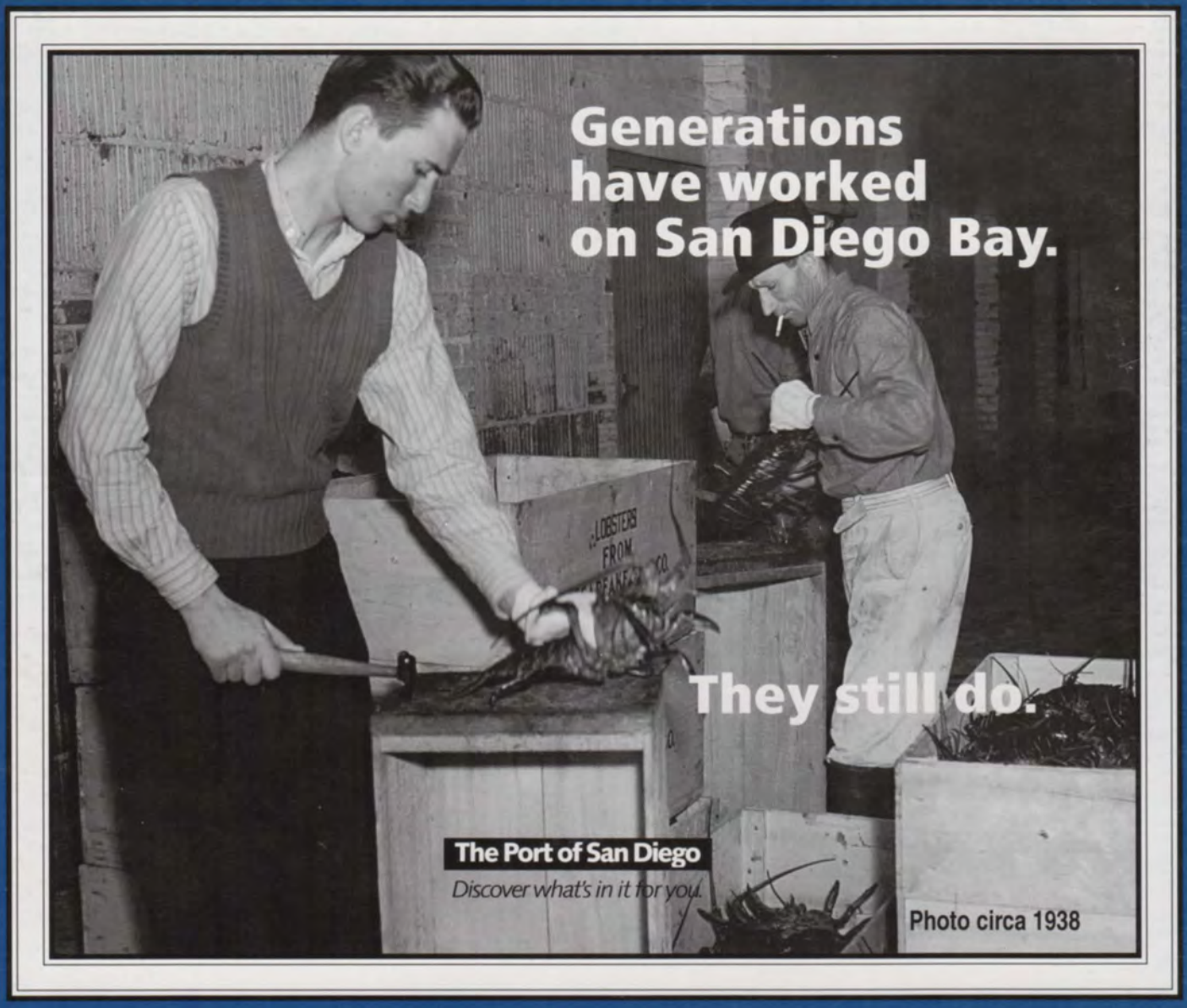
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