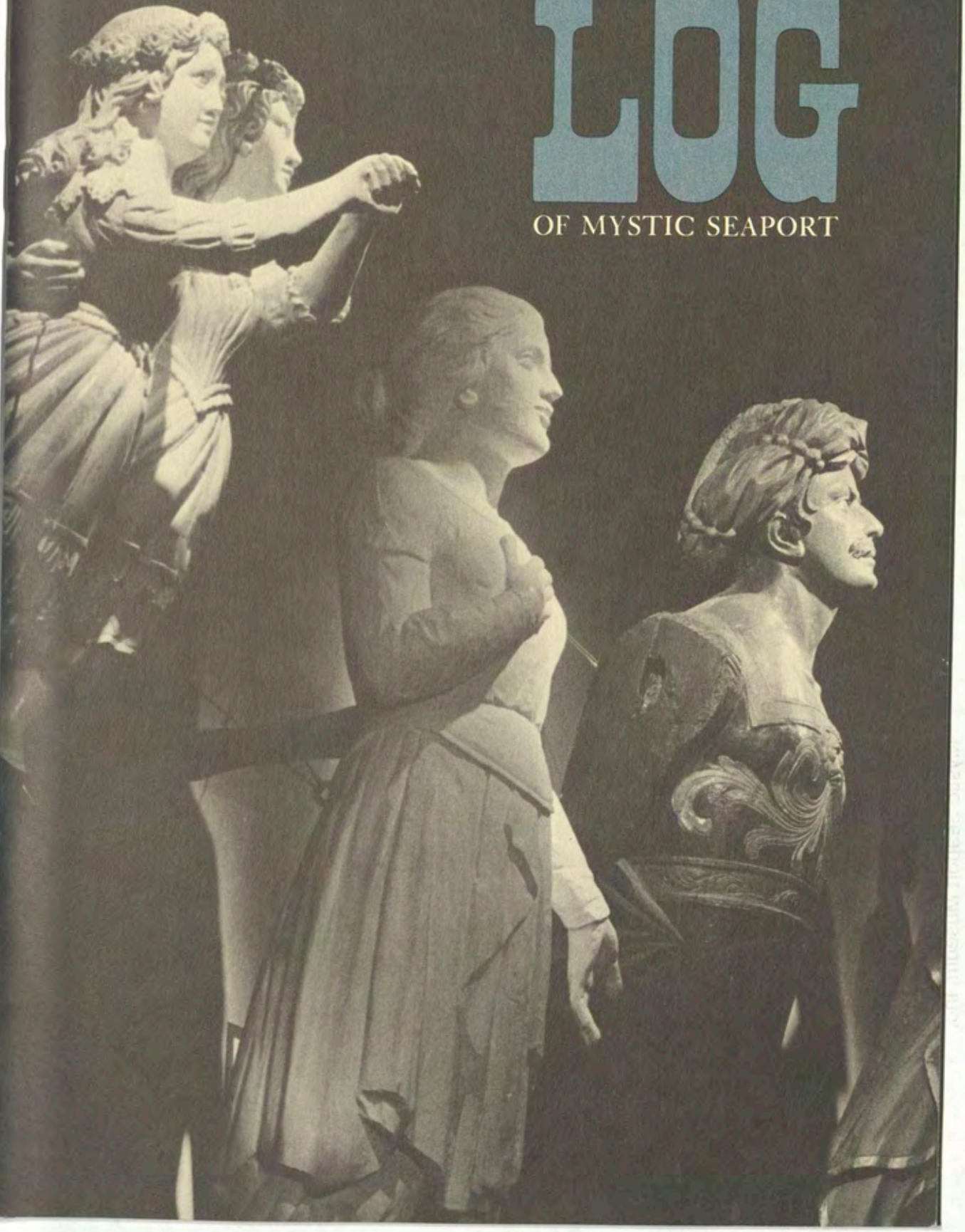
October 1977

THE LOG OF MYSTIC SEAPORT



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COVER: *The dramatic beauty of the Seaport's new figurehead exhibit is shown by the "Twin Sisters"; an unidentified female figure, and the striking male from British naval vessel* Asia, *1824.*

FACING PAGE: *The wooden steamer* Escort, *built at the Greenman & Co. Shipyard in Mystic in 1862. Eleventh in a series of drawings by John Faunce Leavitt depicting Mystic's early maritime activities.*

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THE LOG OF MYSTIC SEAPORT

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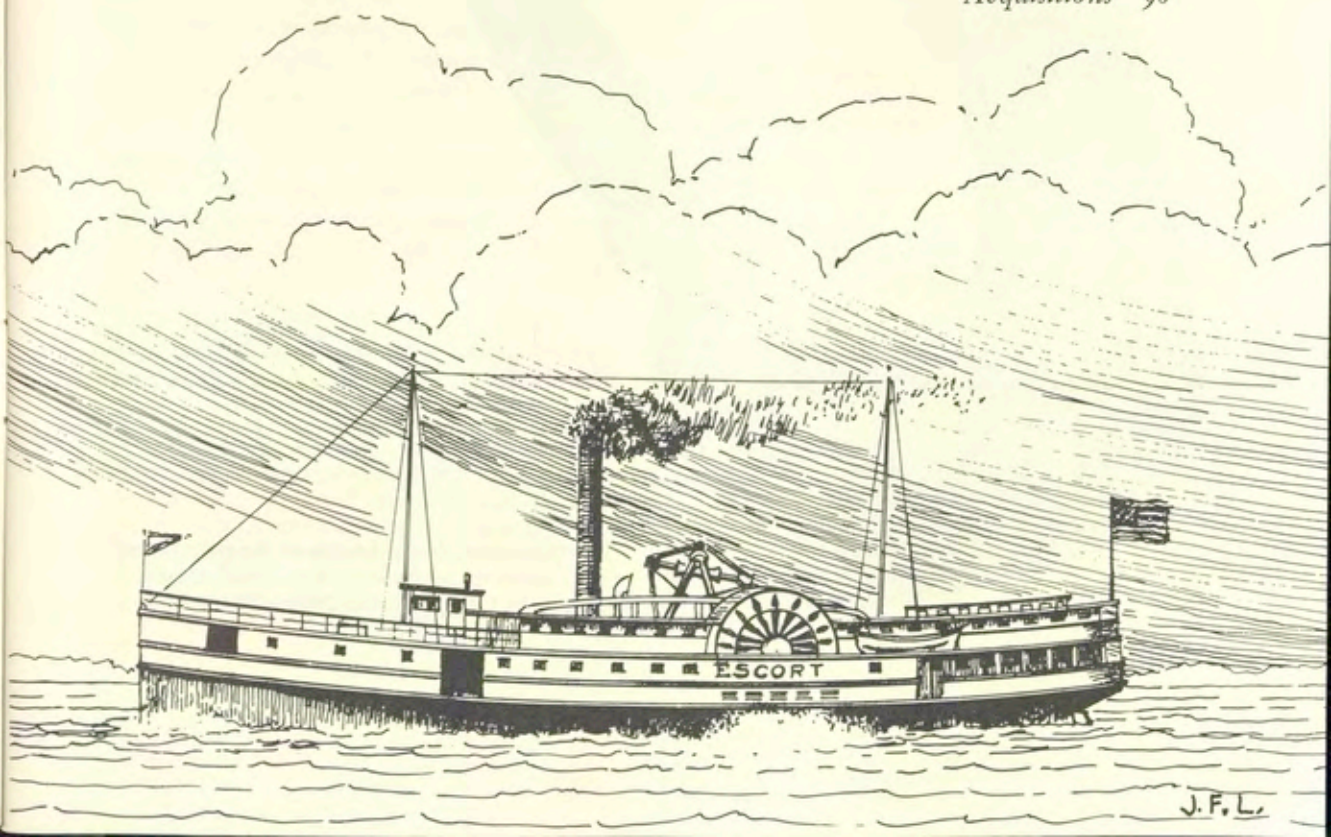
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"The Seminole," from the ship of the same name, is believed to be the only figurehead extant carved by Campbell and Colby of Mystic.

Campbell & Colby: Shipcarvers at Mystic Seaport

By WILLIAM N. PETERSON*

With the decline of the wooden sailing vessel there passed into oblivion many of the arts of the sea. Of them all, perhaps the most to be regretted is that of the shipcarver, the half artist-half tradesman whose skill with the chisel gave so much of beauty and grace to the sailing ship. Once scores of these artisans were scattered through the seaports and shipbuilding centers; today probably not a single one can be found actively at work.

From *Shipcarvers of North America*
by M. V. Brewington

The work of the shipcarver was more than mere chiseled ornamenation. It was a necessary maritime art-craft that had its roots deep in the human character. Ornamentation, both symbolic and decorative, has been a part of the human story since pre-history, and the inclination of man to decorate the utilitarian inventions of his creation is almost instinctive.

So it was in the great age of sail and steam. The decorations and carvings placed upon a vessel often became, in the eyes of the captain and crew, the personification, indeed the very soul and spirit of that vessel. In the nineteenth as in earlier centuries these carvings, and especially the figureheads, became to the vessel in the mind of the crew nearly as essential as its masts or boilers.

It is with this tradition in mind that the importance of Campbell & Colby, shipcarvers at Mystic, can best be understood. Mystic, in the mid-nineteenth century was an active, bustling and rapidly growing shipbuilding town destined for maritime fame unequaled by any community of equal size in America. There was little need for non-essential crafts and trades. Business enterprises that had no practical contributive role in the economic fabric of the town were slow in gaining patronage. As late as 1861, for example, a photographic gallery had to close for lack of business after scarcely a month in operation. Mystic's first newspaper, *The Mystic Pioneer*, as its name implies, was experimenting with an enterprise that some citizens hoped would have a "civilizing effect" on the preoccupied town when it was established in 1859. The fact that shipcarving in Mystic was carried out for more than twenty years (1855?–1877) during the busiest of shipbuilding times supports the idea that the trade of the shipcarver was an important element in shipbuilding, and certainly the busy milieu of maritime Mystic was a logical place for this trade to locate itself.

In his book, *Shipcarvers of North America*, the late M. V. Brewington mentions by name the two Mystic carvers, Campbell and Colby. But until recently, nothing had been definitely known about these men except that they worked at this trade at Mystic

*William N. Peterson, who graduated from American International College in 1972, is responsible for the research and exhibit preparation necessary to establish and maintain the Village Exhibit at Mystic Seaport. He is also Curator of the Mystic River Historical Society and a member of the Groton Historic District Commission.

sometime in the mid-nineteenth century. Now, however, some information has come to light, especially about Colby. This brief article is a compilation of the material that has surfaced thus far.

As a young man, John Newton Colby came to Mystic from Boston, where his family had a home at Winthrop.[1] In about the year 1858, he began work with a James Campbell in the woodcarving business at the village then known as Mystic River. During this period there were seven large, active shipyards and a number of smaller boatyards in the town, including the nearby activity at Noank, Connecticut. It is assumed that Campbell had been in business at Mystic for at least four years prior to his association with Colby, and it is entirely possible that Colby's original arrangement with Campbell was as an apprentice or employee.

The first mention of the two men in partnership under the firm name of Campbell & Colby appears in a George Greenman & Co. ledger dated April 18, 1859.[2] References to James Campbell in Mystic go back as far as 1855 when he is listed in a Greenman cashbook by himself.[3] A James Campbell is mentioned by Brewington as a shipcarver in Baltimore around 1851. It is possible that if this is the same James Campbell he may have been drawn to Mystic by its growing prosperity and reputation in the heyday of the clippership building era. Certainly, if Baltimore had seven carvers, as listed by Brewington, and Mystic had none during this period, then the attraction to this thriving little port would be obvious.

It is probable, in any case, that Campbell was not active in Mystic much earlier than 1854, since the Greenmans had to rely on the work of Jacob Anderson of New York for the figurehead on the clipper ship *David Crockett* launched in 1853.[4] Between 1855 and 1859 the name Campbell appears in the Greenman books together with at least three other men. Whether the name refers to James Campbell, or if any of the other men associated with him ever engaged in shipcarving is not known. The names as they appear are Lawle & Campbell in 1855,[5] Jackson & Campbell in 1856,[6] and Campbell & Gray in 1857.[7] Specifics concerning the work that was done in payment to these entries is not clear, although the entry with Jackson appears to be connected to work done on the clipper ship *Atmosphere*.[8]

The first mention of the firm in the newspapers was in 1861 where the partners received a contract to carve a liberty cap for the new liberty pole in Norwich, Connecticut. The work was described as "splendid" by *The Mystic Pioneer*, which also reminded its readers that the pole itself was the work of another Mystic firm, the spar yard of J. & W. Batty.[9] The following year Mystic erected its own liberty pole. Whether Campbell & Colby had a hand in carving the ball and eagle that surmounted the top mast of this pole is not certain, but it is probable they did since they contributed money for its erection.

In his letter to Carl C. Cutler (Mystic Seaport's first Curator) in 1946, Mr. Irving Reynolds noted that Campbell & Colby were the carvers who made the figurehead for *Frolic*, the George Greenman & Co.'s last fullrigged ship, launched in 1869. The figurehead, he stated, was that of "a woman holding a baseball in her left hand and a ball bat in her right, trailing backward." *The Mystic*

[1] *The Mystic Press*, Mystic, Conn., February 19, 1891.

[2] Geo. Greenman & Co. papers, Misc. Vol. 238, G. W. Blunt White Library.

[3] Geo. Greenman & Co. papers, Misc. Vol. 237.

[4] M. V. Brewington, *Shipcarvers of North America* (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishing Co., 1962), p. 66.

[5] Geo. Greenman & Co. papers, Misc. Vol. 237, p. 69.

[6] Ibid, p. 72.

[7] Geo. Greenman & Co. papers, Misc. Vol. 238, pp. 13-14.

[8] Geo. Greenman & Co. papers, Misc. Vol. 246, p. 60.

[9] *The Mystic Pioneer*, Mystic, Conn., July 21, 1866.

Pioneer noted the same thing in its July 31, 1869 edition which described the launching. "We notice that she (*Frolic*) has a splendid figurehead carved by our artistic townsmen, Campbell & Colby. It is a lady with a bat in one hand in the act of striking a ball which she holds in the other, enjoying a frolic. It is very appropriate." What H.G.A.O. Adam, the editor, meant by its being very appropriate is probably related to the fact that the two carvers were well known for their active participation in a local baseball team, the Mystic Oceanics. Both men were instrumental in the formation of the team in 1866, Campbell serving as its first vice-president and Colby as a "director" and player. Colby apparently was well thought of as an infielder since it is mentioned years later in his obituary. To put the work done on *Frolic* in prespective, it must be noted that the contract probably did not include just the figurehead but the stern decoration, trailboards, and possibly the cabin paneling as well. The entire bill came to a grand total of $282.00.

It is certain that Campbell & Colby did other woodworking and non-maritime carving as is evidenced by the Norwich liberty pole contract. Also, sign gilding[10] and the production of ornate fencing are mentioned.[11] An interesting contract for an eight-foot carving of a "figure of justice" was completed for the new Morgan County Court House in Jacksonville, Illinois, in 1868. Apparently the architect, C. R. Underwood, was acquainted with the carvers and commissioned them to do the work. *The Mystic Pioneer* had this to say. "We were a few days since invited by our friend James Campbell to 'just step into their shop a minute and see a figure.' We did so, and upon entering, what was our astonishment at beholding a work of true artistic skill in the shape of a statue of justice carved from one solid block of white pine. That Messrs. Campbell & Colby were clever carvers were facts we have long been aware of, but that artists of such rare merit dwelt in our midst staggered us for the moment, and we were none the less awed by the representatives of classical art than by the imposing and colossal beauty, their handwork. The statue stands nine feet from the bottom of the pedestal which is one foot thick, leaving eight feet as the exact height of the figure. The scales of 2 feet 9 inches beam are held up before her in her left hand that she may better see justice done. In her right hand she holds a naked sword four feet long. The figure is to be gilded and the scales silvered. The head of the figure represents a lady in ruddy health, with full expressive eyes, good forehead, hair thrown back in coils and confined by a band running back from the forehead somewhat after the modern style. Her form is covered with a robe gracefully hiding her charming figure from the rude gaze, but showing the outlines of a voluptuous form. The drapery hangs gracefully, exposing only the neck, arms, and as it falls loosely about the feet leaves them bare, showing an artist's taste to perfection in the well moulded form of foot and toes. The proportions are so nearly perfect that one hardly realizes the fact that the figure stands eight feet high. The statue is to grace the Morgan County, Ill., court house, situated in Jacksonville, and now being completed."

It is important to keep in mind that sailing ships were not the only vessels that received carvings and decorations. The steamer *Escort* and the propellors (screw-driven steamships) *Montauk*, *Constellation* and *Weybosset* are all specifically mentioned in the Greenman books. One other interesting item is noted in 1873 when Colby is mentioned as "carving a likeness of himself." *The Mystic Press* on October 31 explained it this way: "Mr. Colby is carving a likeness of himself as a centerpiece for the stern of the new schooner *John N. Colby* named after him. Even in the rough state in which we saw it it is a very fair likeness, though rather wood-

[10] *The Mystic Press*, Mystic, Conn., Nov. 22, 1877.

[11] Geo. Greenman & Co. papers, Misc. Vol. 247, p. 287.

en. Messrs. Campbell & Colby are artists in the line of vessel decoration."[12]

Other vessels that are known to have received carvings and decorations are the pilot schooner *Eclispe* (1869) and the schooner *Nettie M. Rogers* (1870), both built at the shipyard of Hill & Grinnell at Mystic Bridge. Regarding the *Nettie M. Rogers*, *The Mystic Journal* added ". . . Captain Rogers says he is indebted to J. N. Colby for the satisfactory manner in which he has superintended the building of the schooner." This is the first indication that either carver had other involvements with ship or boat building. The following year Colby is known to have built a small boat for himself "that . . . will outsail any craft on the river next summer."

Campbell does not seem to ever have had a vessel named after him, although mention is made in the July 21, 1866 edition of *The Mystic Pioneer* of the launch of the *Abbie E. Campbell* built at the "Oldfield" (West Mystic) shipyard of Maxson, Fish & Co. The newspaper stated that the schooner was named after the "fair and estimable daughter of James Campbell, Esq. of the firm of Campbell & Colby."

Despite their excellent reputation and the popularity of the two men, the firm was finally forced to dissolve for lack of work in November of 1877. In its dissolution notice the firm is officially listed as "Colby & Campbell—Carvers and Gilders."[13] After this date Campbell apparently moved to New York City, since he is mentioned a number of times in the newspapers as having returned to Mystic for visits from that city in 1880 and 1881. Around 1883 he is known to have moved to San Francisco before returning again to Mystic in 1888. Little is known about his activities in San Francisco or Mystic after this date. In 1900 he was still listed in a Mystic Directory as a carver.

Colby's activities after 1877 are a little less elusive. In January 1879, a brief mention is made of a visit to Mystic by him from Madison, Connecticut, where he apparently had moved in search of work following the demise of the business in Mystic.[14] By 1880, he had moved to New London, and was carrying on the carving trade as well as a general sign painting business. Evidently shipcarving and sign painting were not very lucrative pursuits at that time since by 1884 he is known to have resorted to manufacturing cane umbrellas "and other such things of his own invention."[15] He is known to have received one profitable commission while in New London in June 1882 for decorating and gilding work on the yacht *Water Witch*, owned by Charles Henry Mallory. This yacht is mentioned by James P. Baughman in *The Mallorys of Mystic* as being Mallory's favorite yacht, ". . . he sailed her every season until her sale on April 13, 1887, for $10,000."[16] The value of the boat and the high esteem in which it was held by its owner are further evidence that Colby's work was held in high regard and sought after even following his departure from Mystic.[17]

John Colby also had a brother in Mystic named Amos,[18] and he continued the carving trade in partnership with Amos for about two years, under the firm name Colby Brothers, Carvers—Gilders. Listed as services were "painting, graining, and paper hanging, house and ship decorating, fresco painting a specialty." In 1882 a New London directory lists J. N. Colby & Co. as "carvers, gilders and ornamental woodworkers, polishing a specialty, wood turning, jig sawing, and fancy scroll work."

[12] *The Mystic Press*, Mystic, Conn., March 8, 1883.
[13] Ibid, Nov. 22, 1877.

[14] *The Stonington Mirror*, Stonington, Conn., Jan. 30, 1879.
[15] *The Mystic Press*, Mystic, Conn., Feb. 19, 1891.
[16] James P. Baughman, *The Mallorys of Mystic* (Middletown, Conn.: Mystic Seaport, Inc.—Wesleyan University Press, 1972), p. 196.
[17] *The Mystic Press*, Mystic, Conn., May 5, 1881.
[18] Conjecture as to the time period is derived from a dated photograph taken in either 1865 or 1866. Newspaper advertisements have Amos C. Colby in business until at least 1867.

One significant item that appears in *The Mystic Pioneer* dated May 16, 1868, is the formation of a boot and shoe store under the firm name of Colby & Weems. The item states that this was David L. Weems and John N. Colby. Since shipbuilding activity in Mystic, as in many other places, was on a steady and perceivable decline after the Civil War, this venture by Colby may have been an attempt to diversify into a more stable livelihood. It apparently was short lived.

The decline in shipbuilding was not the only problem that Campbell & Colby had following the Civil War. In March of 1866, the building that they rented as a workshop at Mystic River, located somewhere on the east side of Water Street, was completely destroyed by fire.[19] The total loss to the firm came to nearly $1,400. The newspaper account mentions that all of their tools were destroyed and "cannot be replaced except by importation." This is an indication that the fine tools needed in their artistic trade were not readily obtainable in America.[20]

One final note of interest about Colby is that he was a charter member of the B. F. Hoxie Steam Fire Engine Company formed in Mystic in 1875. In fact, he was so well thought of and respected that he was elected Foreman (the company's highest officer) in 1876.[21] A very disastrous fire in 1875 (just prior to the formation of the fire company) destroyed a huge industrial complex and came close to destroying, for a second time, the Campbell & Colby workshop. This shop is mentioned by Mr. Reynolds, in his letter, as being near the fire site "about opposite Richmond's boat shop." If nothing else, this indicates that sometime after the 1866 fire the firm moved across the river to Mystic Bridge, on the Stonington side. It is likely that, one way or another, it was this fire of 1875 that finally inspired in Colby and others the need for forming a fire company in Mystic. The fact that the two shipcarvers now owned rather than rented their shop may also have figured in Colby's interest in forming a fire company. In 1870 the Stonington tax list has the assessed value of their property at $4,500.

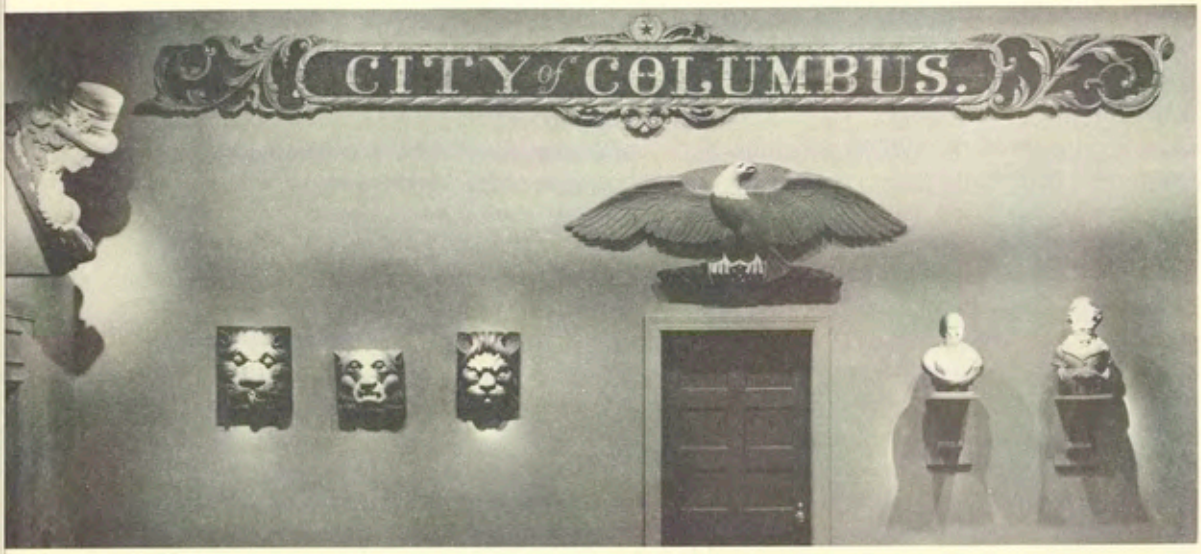
Around 1886, after business proved unprofitable in New London, Colby moved back to Mystic for a brief period. He worked at interior painting and woodworking, and also invented a toy air gun while an employee of J. D. Clift & Co., a toy and cradle manufacturer located at West Mystic. But in January 1887 he removed to his old family home at Winthrop, Massachusetts, where he is known to have worked in the Chickering piano factory in Boston prior to his death in February of 1891 at the age of 58.[22] He apparently had a special fondness for Mystic, for his body lies not far from Mystic Seaport at Elm Grove Cemetery.

[19] *The Mystic Pioneer*, Mystic, Conn., March 10, 1866.

[20] John Gardner, Associate Curator for Small Craft, Mystic Seaport, Inc., points out that it is possible Campbell & Colby may have acquired replacement tools following the 1866 fire from the London, England firm of S. J. Addis, a foremost carving tool manufacturer in the nineteenth century.

[21] *The Mystic Press*, Mystic, Conn., July 6, 1876.

[22] Ibid, Feb. 19, 1891.





The Seaport's Figureheads Shine in a New Setting

Over the entrance to the new exhibit in the Wendell Building hangs the nameboard of the *City of Columbus*, built in 1878. In one of the century's famous disasters, she sank on Devil's Bridge off Martha's Vineyard.

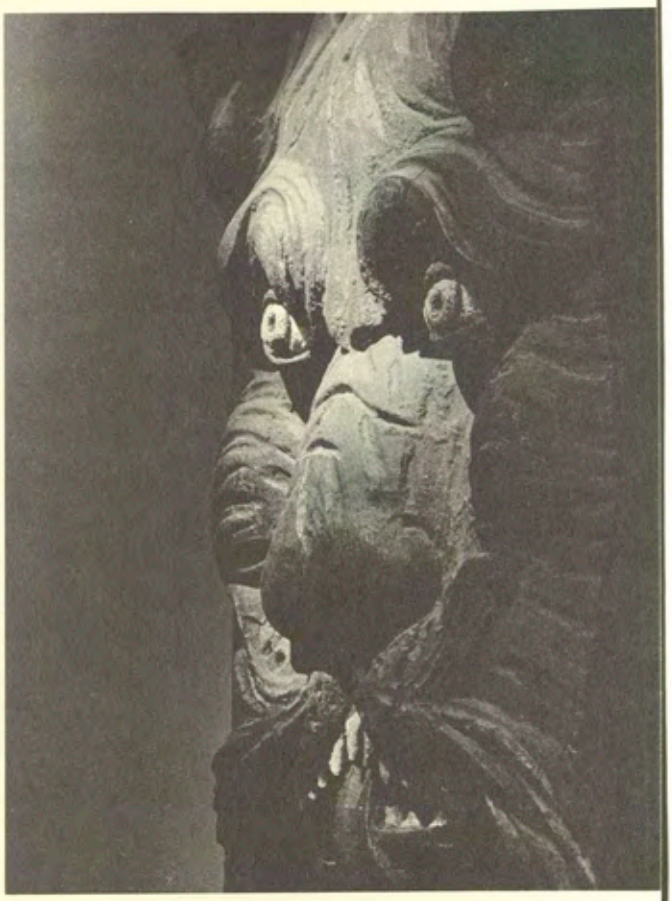
Admiral Farragut lives in this magnificent portrait figurehead *(left)* from the ship *Great Admiral*, built in 1869. The work is attributed to John W. Anderson, of New York.

No one knows what ship the "Twin Sisters" *(opposite)* came from; they are one of the many mysteries in the figurehead field. But there is no doubt that they are the most appealing of all the carvings in the collection.

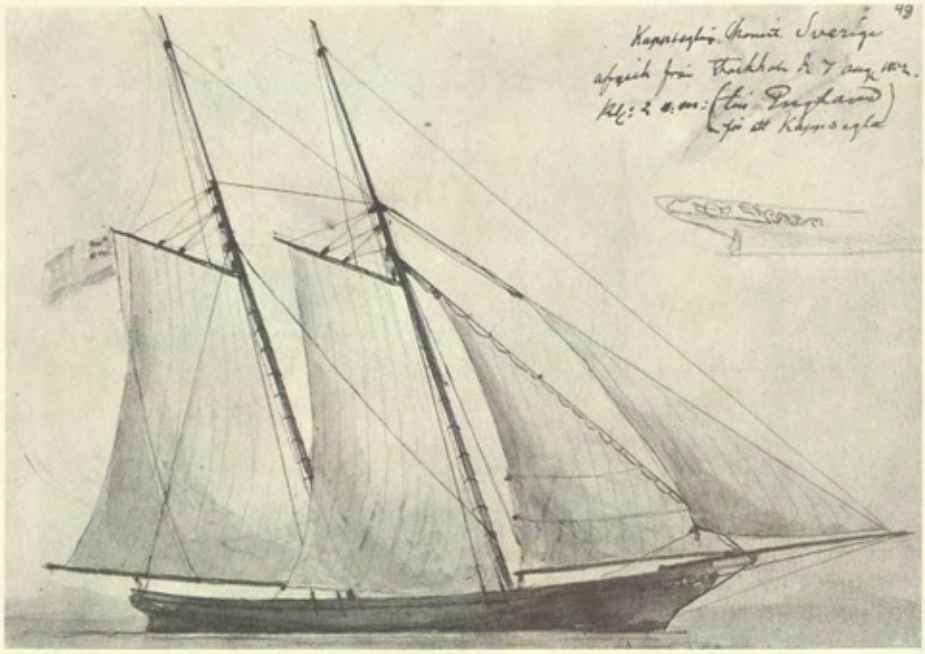
The fierce cat's face *(opposite)* adorned the cathead of an unidentified British vessel; its origins are still being researched.

Among the identifiable figures in the line-up opposite are Admiral Farragut *(far left)* from ship *Great Admiral*, a Scotsman from ship *Donald McKay*, and a helmeted warrior from *Orlando*. The three female figures are all unidentified.

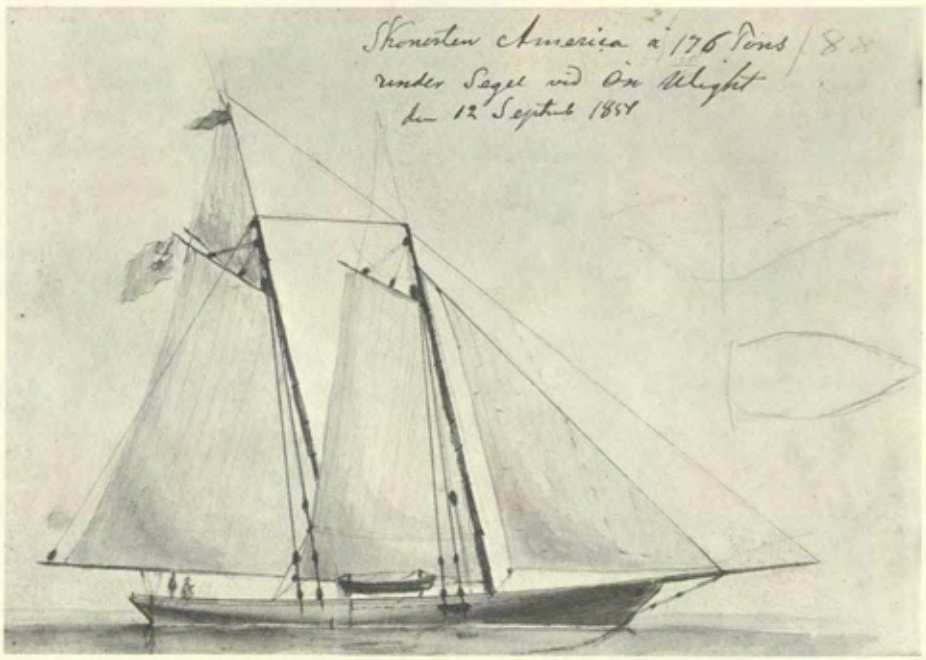








In this contemporary sketch the original *Sverige* shows the same raked rig as *America (below)*, but her deeper forefoot and heavy bow are very evident.



The schooner *America*, listed at 176 tons, is shown here as she appeared under sail on 12 September 1854. In their match race, she beat *Sverige* by 26 minutes.

The Secret of *Sverige*'s Past

A Swedish Challenger Races the *America*

By JOHN STREETER*

To some of the millions following the 1977 America's Cup races this autumn, the presence of a challenger flying the blue-and-gold flag of Sweden doubtless strikes a strange note: for 125 years now the race for the world's most famous match race trophy has been dominated by challengers from the British Commonwealth. Where does this Swede come from? What motivates this Scandinavian challenge? What tradition backs it up—if any?

Sit back and listen to some surprising answers. It is not the first time that a Swedish yacht has challenged the fastest American. Nor is it the first time that the Swedish colors have been carried in such a race by a challenger named *Sverige*. Finally, and perhaps most surprising of all, the last time the Swedes made such a challenge they were in possession of more detailed knowledge about their American opponent than any other challenger before or since.

This is the information which Mystic Seaport, with great good fortune, received from Dr. Gösta Webe, Head Curator of the Statens Sjöhistoriska Museum in Stockholm. Dr. Webe's documentation, in form of about a dozen pages of handwriting plus some yacht lines and interior details, is a story as little known in Sweden as it is on this side of the Atlantic.

*John Streeter, a resident of Stonington, has been an enthusiastic yachtsman since his boyhood. He is also a student of astronomy and maritime history, and guardian of the Streeter Collection of Weights and Measures at the Yale Medical School.

The basic facts are that on October 11, 1852, little more than one year after her victory against an English fleet of yachts around the Isle of Wight which started the America's Cup tradition, the schooner yacht *America*, then owned by Lord John de Blaquiere of England, defeated the schooner yacht *Sverige* in a match race, 20 miles to leeward and return. When the winning margin is given as 26 minutes, the defeat of the Swedish yacht sounds more decisive than it actually was. The *Sverige*, under the management of Nicholas Beckman, was far enough ahead at one time to make the outcome seem at least doubtful; and but for a mishap, she might possibly have nipped the whole century and a quarter of Cup competition in the bud right then and there.

These are the basic facts, and they are on record. Beyond this, there is not much to be learned, but some of what there is is of significance.

For one thing, the original *Sverige* was a 280-ton vessel and therefore, under the measurement rule then prevailing, 72 tons larger than the *America*. This would seem to give *Sverige* a size advantage which Lord de Blaquiere seems confidently to have ignored. But more significant than these tonnage figures is the fact that the avowed purpose of building the Swedish schooner was to incorporate the supposed improvements of George Steers' celebrated flyer in a larger version of the *America*'s hull.

How did all this happen? In England, 1851 is remembered even today as the year of the

Great Exposition, the history-making extravaganza which originally led to the forming of the America syndicate by a group of leading New York Yacht Club members, and the subsequent expedition to Cowes. Sweden was no less interested in the Exposition than any of the many other countries then on the brink of the Industrial Revolution: the Swedish government dispatched no less than 80 experts of various kinds to London to observe and listen and learn. Among those chosen was Johan Frederick Andersen, an enterprising 36-year old shipbuilder who had started his small firm just a few years before. Andersen persuaded a friend, Pehr Wilhelm Cedergren, to join him. Cedergren, who had not yet turned 30 at the time, was later to make a considerable reputation as a marine artist, and he took his sketchbook with him on the journey.

The *America* was probably not on Andersen's or Cedergren's mind when the two set out for London. More likely, to judge from surviving documents, they went to England to study British shipbuilding methods; and after they had tasted the wonders of the Exposition, including the Crystal Palace, they went to Scotland and spent some time trying to pry trade secrets out of the hospitable but nonetheless wonderfully canny Scottish shipbuilders along the Clyde. The results of these endeavors were dutifully set down in a report, still extant, to the Swedish government, addressed to His Majesty the King.

It may have been in part a certain frustration after days of matching wits with the wily Scot, but it was certainly also natural curiosity that led Andersen and Cedergren next to seek out the *America*. She was then at Portsmouth Dockyard, where the Royal Navy, free of charge, had, just a few days before, dry-docked her, enabling the Admiralty to take off her lines. It is almost certain, however, that Andersen and Cedergren arrived too late to see her out of the water; their timetable, as reconstructed from their journals, would not seem to have permitted that. However, for all of the fact that they did not see all of her, it is doubtful if any two pairs of eyes studied the *America* more closely than those of the two Swedes.

The report which Andersen and Cedergren sent to their sovereign contains an innocent bit of chauvinism with respect to English ship design. "In the detailed construction of a ship, as far as the theoretical side is concerned," the reports says, "England still follows the ideas of Chapman." The reference was, of course, to Fredrik Henrik af Chapman, whose productive and influential career was spent entirely in Sweden (his lines and plans of 18th-century warships, merchant vessels, and yachts are still of unsurpassed beauty and a major source of modern information on such craft). That an authority who had flourished in Sweden a hundred years before was still influencing British shipbuilding methods must have gone down well with a King in Stockholm.

The New York Yacht Club Syndicate schooner, fresh off her widely publicized victory in the race around the Isle of Wight was, of course, a very different matter for which there was no recognizable precedent. ". . . The American shipbuilder Steers," said the Andersen-Cedergren report, "will probably change the art of ship designing through the excellent construction [and design] of the schooner *America*. This new theory, in some ways like Russell's wave configuration, gives the ship her largest width aft of the middle, although not quite 2/5 from the stern and 3/5 from the bow, but somewhat closer to [amidships]. Rather sharp towards the bow and a broader after section." And so forth, with reference to how low in the water she appeared.

Cedergren did sketches of plan, profile, and interior. He had an opportunity to copy the sail plan directly, and, far more important, then made exquisite and convincing copies of the lines taken off with obvious care by the experts at Portsmouth Dockyard. One oil painting, normally hung in the Sta-

tens Sjöhistoriska Museum in Stockholm, shows the yacht under sail on Sept. 12, 1851. The date seems to confirm that Andersen and Cedergren were not present when the *America* was dry-docked at Portsmouth.

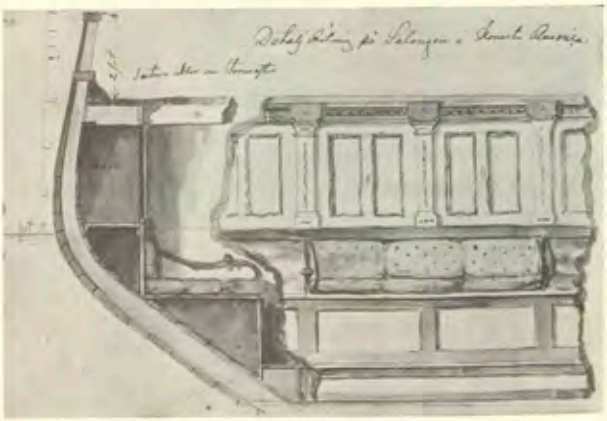
In any case, the two men learned all they needed to know to return to Sweden and interest influential people in building the country's first major yacht. While she raced in Nicholas Beckman's name, we now know he was not the owner. A corporation was formed and Beckman, probably a part owner, served as captain. Great things were expected of the schooner in the summer of 1852.

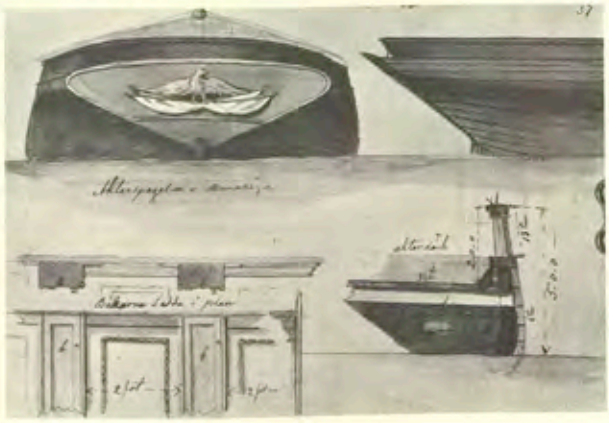
The Swedish yacht was of unusual interest. First, she was larger than any of the yachts faced by the *America* (except the odd and clumsy three-masted schooner *Brilliant*, 392 tons, with yards on both fore and main masts). Overall, *Sverige* was 111 feet with a beam of 25 feet, against 100 feet 6 inches and 22 feet 6 inches beam for the *America*. Andersen, like so many others, misinterpreted the source of *America*'s speed and strung the Swedish schooner out forward, even giving her an unnecessarily deep forefoot—she drew 7 feet 6 inches forward. The schooner had a great deal of wood and very little boat up front. This made the *Sverige*'s bowsprit the shortest known in that period, or for the best part of two generations later. The rig still is a close copy of the *America*'s; the bow was just run out under the jib. Since the yacht was not intended to race under handicap conditions, the high tonnage rating was no disadvantage. It appears certain that the greatest beam was too far aft and she may have been a little "sudden" somewhere in the quarter.

One thing is certain; this first Swedish racing vessel was very fast downwind. After two unjustifiable postponements by Lord John de Blaquiere, the race was sailed October 11, 1852. Even at that late date the challenger was ill-prepared. She had arrived at Portsmouth with "slack rigging, insufficient ballast and newly bent sails; of course with no adequate tuning up," according to W. P. Stephens. Two days previously she had, however, sailed at a reported 9.2 knots on the wind and 11 knots reaching.

This speed was confirmed in the actual race, which was a substantial affair, twenty miles to leeward on the outside of the Isle of Wight, and a beat back. Adding the distance sailed in the Solent, the total was fifty-five miles. Once the schooners got past Bembridge Point, square sails were set and the *Sverige* ran through the lee of the *America* and on out to an extraordinary lead. Drawing away at better than half a minute a mile, she was nine minutes and sixteen seconds ahead at the outer mark, about a mile and a half at the rate she was sailing. In rounding, however, the Swedish yacht carried away the jaws of her fore gaff and was unable to get the loose-footed foresail to trim properly on the weather leg. The *America*, with her outstanding upwind form, devoured the big lead and was clearly ahead before the wind went light. Visibility fell off and the Nab Light

Cedergren's sketches show some details of *America*'s construction and furnishings.





was not seen on the way home; the wind dropped off, too, leaving *Sverige* without way for a while. Thus the half hour margin at the finish is no measure of the relative speed of the yachts. Beckman sailed the vessel, and he may have had linguistic problems with the mixed crew of Swedes and requisitioned English hands. The whole thing could have been done better.

Among the best documented facts about the *America* is her marvelous three-day's run on the Atlantic passage east; 284, 276, 254 miles for a total of 814 miles. (In setting the all-time record in 1905 the 185-foot *Atlantic* averaged a full knot slower.) It is thus all the more striking that the *Sverige* sailed right on by the New York yacht on the down wind leg. The Swedes had themselves a marvelously swift schooner.

Just to illustrate the informal status of the history of yachting, in the standard account of the 1852 race, initialled by W. P. Stephens (though apparently based on contemporary reports searched by Winifred M. Thompson) there is a pretty piece of false color; "Both made a long tack to starboard, fetching into Freshwater Bay. The next long tack ended when the *America* passed to windward off St. Catherine's Point and took the lead." It would take the *Reliance* to get into Freshwater Bay and home in eight hours. Many people on the cliffs, however, may well have seen the *America* gobble up the half-crippled *Sverige*, getting back the mile and a half in about six miles straight upwind. With fore gaff lashed as best they could in the fresh breeze, the Swedes did better later in the afternoon.

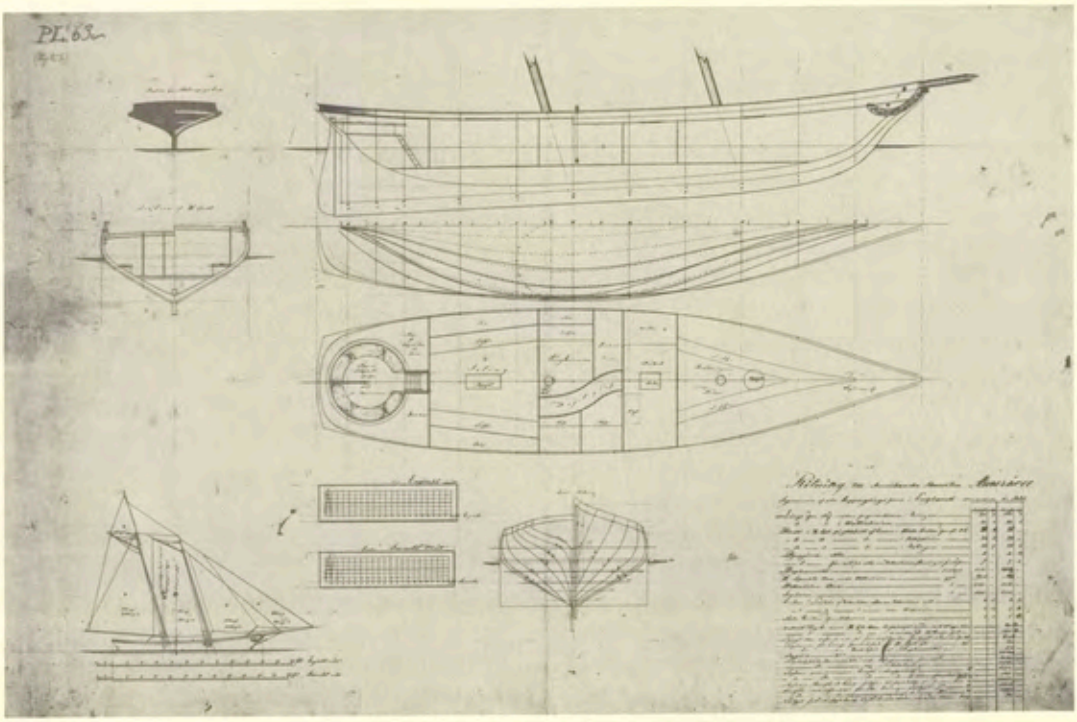
The same kind of reading is required if we want to get nearer the truth of some of the old exploits of our heroes, and the heroine yachts. It takes little delving in the accepted lore to be able to cap the story of the *America*'s 814 mile burst with the comment that she was sailing under cruising canvas, the *Mary Taylor*'s sails, with the racing goods stowed. Everybody knows that – except James Steers, who kept a diary during the passage and wrote that the old mainsail was not bent until the wind lightened the day after the big runs.

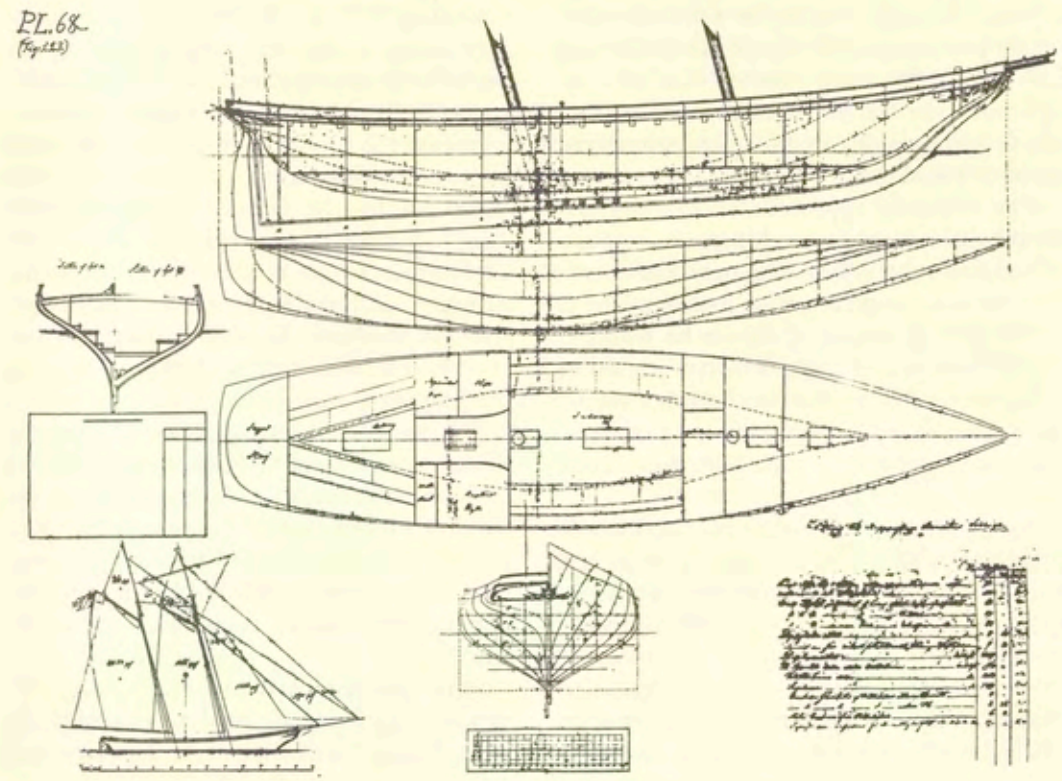
It was indeed more in Commodore Stephens' character to have the New York Yacht Club standard bearer leave town looking good. Let the crew change mainsails in the Atlantic; it "took us until suppertime," wrote Steers. The main boom was 51 feet long; who lashed the clew out there beyond the taffrail over the wake?

What happens if we look to the record for evidence of *Sverige*'s speed the next year after she was well-shaken down by a crew truly familiar with her? She should have been a robust competitor in 1853. But she wasn't. Hardly had she returned to Sweden when Nicholas Beckman and the rest set about building another schooner to race abroad. The following season he was back at Cowes with a new schooner, the *Aurora Borealis*. She was not successful, and the *America*, now the *Camilla*, was not raced at all.

It is clear that the first *Sverige* must have had faults which stout gaff jaws could not remedy, or she would not have been abandoned by a syndicate of smart Swedes. The vessel was sold to Thomas Bartlett of the Royal Thames Yacht Club who had admired her under construction the previous year. We only have record of her losing a race on the lower Thames in June 1853 before she was sold by Mr. Bartlett to Australians. Down Under she may have been, as a commercial vessel, the fastest schooner for many years—a distant, indirect start of the fine Australian America's Cup challenge tradition.

For the first time we now have the lines of the *America* and those of *Sverige* side by side for comparison. Immediately we note that the common representation, published in Hunts Yachting Magazine in 1853, exaggerates the differences between her and the Steers creation. Like so many fine yachts, she may have just been unlucky in her owners. The *America* herself suffered much from Lord Templeton, who let her rot; and Dacie, whoever he was (even Charles Boswell could





A contemporary lines plan of *Sverige* survives (bottom) and makes some comparison with *America* (top) as she was then possible.

not sort that out in his scholarly study), to say nothing of the rough-moralled General Butler who was shunned by the gentry until his disorder was terminal.

Only in a technical study could a proper comparison be made, but cursory review sugggests nothing that would mark *Sverige* as a loser. She was large and elegant. She was meant to carry the *America* theme one step further. Regardless of her theoretical merits, the fact persists that she did nothing to advance the acceptance of the original as a basic type.

Should it be said that the founder of the whole sequence of America's Cup challengers and all that has expanded from that base, was never copied in sincerity and to advantage? If so—and it is a defensible position—then the questions swarm in. Of course, sentimentalists claim, the Steers innovations led yachting out of darkness and influenced half the things that float; but if that were true why then did Americans have such a rocky channel ahead, grounding at times on genuinely perverted craft? Could not the *America*'s perfection have warned the unwary against freaks and strengthened the will of the people against erosion by measurement rules? It could not.

The romantic approach would have the loyal believe that George Steers sprang full-armed from the side of Neptune and therefore even a complete set of lines could not enable plain mortals to duplicate his wonder. Such nonsense is all right for a day or two in a Bicentennial year, but in the full light of reality serves only to remind us that even traditions have to have their bottoms scraped at intervals.

Those of us who remember William P. Stephens as the most modest of historians realize that were he alive today, he would be eager to help anyone who sought to answer questions left hanging in his accounts. It would have horrified the old gentleman to find so much slavish copying of his words. He had neither the time nor the resources to check many major points, and besides, he was far too polite to explain with any emphasis that certain articles of others' faith might be due for revision.

All manner of small confusions crop up on close reading with sharpened hind sight about how the original race was sailed. For example, where, how and why did the nonsense about the *America* being able to win regardless of handicap creep into the literature? No known handicapping system then or now would have put a fifty-foot cutter like the *Aurora* behind a hundred-foot schooner when she only needed twelve seconds a mile to win. Throughout the last third of her great race, the remarkable *Aurora*, by cold statistics, sailed three miles for every two made good by the *America*. Small wonder Commodore Stevens was shy about racing in light air against the new small cutters on reaching courses in the Solent. Upwind, of course, the Steers schooner would kill anything with English sails of the period. If you don't think the *Aurora* made somebody nervous, try to find her name on the Cup—all the other yachts defeated on August 22 are engraved there but not the slippery demon.

In 1977 the new *Sverige* comes to America in the wake of the story of the old here cited. Why not let the occasion bring forward some questions that could conceivably stir curiosities? Trivial in the opinion of some, perhaps, but there may be better exploring ahead somewhere. These few queries, however, deal in some way with major yachts in the fullness of their beauty.

There are surely twice as many Gutenberg Bibles in the United States as there are copies of John Scott Russell's 1845 opus on the reform of naval architecture, but the N.Y.Y.C. has one. Who has studied it to see if it was owned by a Stevens or any other person who might have directed George Steers to its contents?

Who has calculated how much the *Aurora*'s winning margin would have been if the 1851 Royal Yacht Squadron cup race had



In contemporary painting *Sverige* is caught apparently losing her fore-topmast.

been sailed under New York Yacht Club rules then in force? What's your guess? Under, or over half an hour?

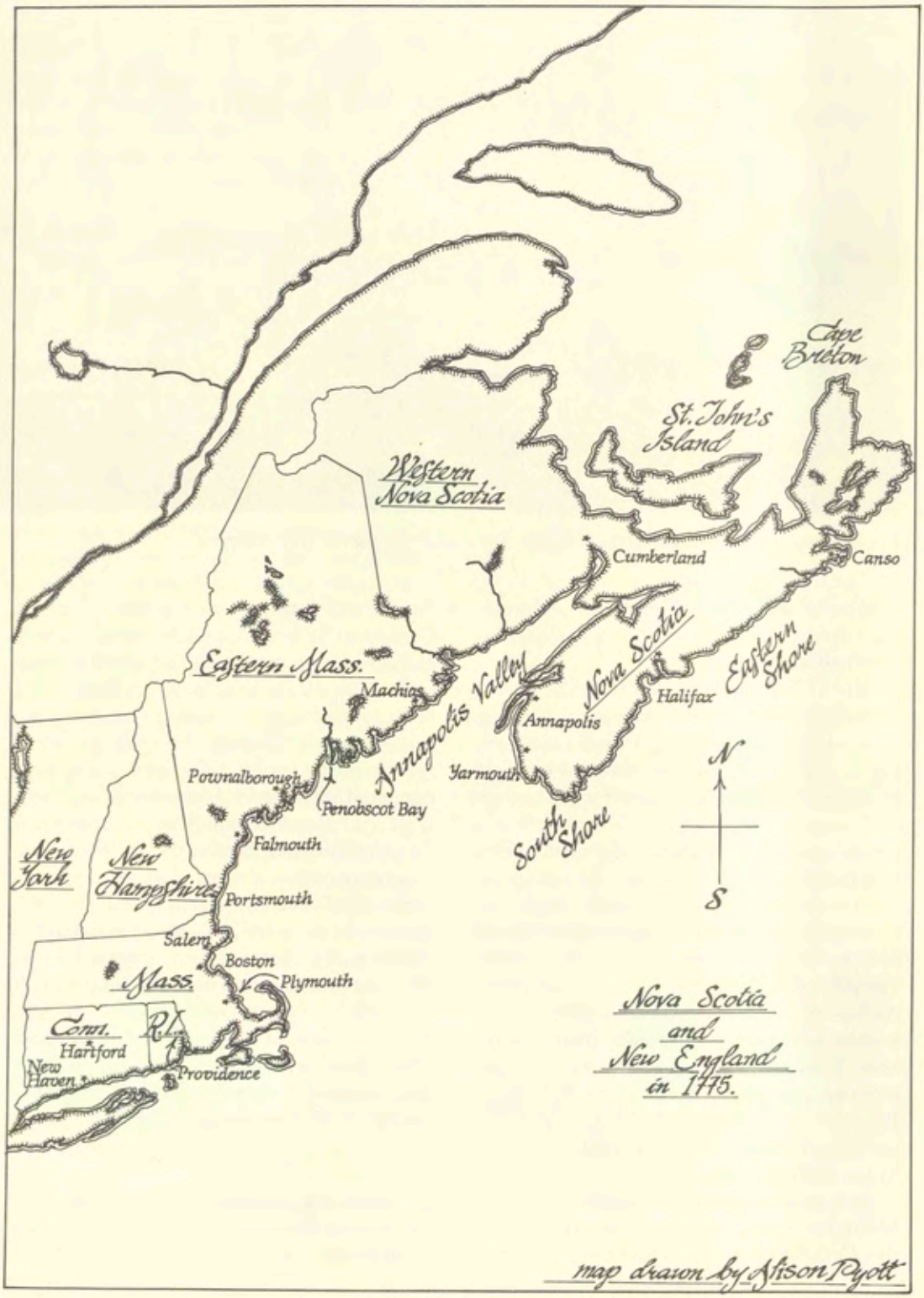
When Charles Henning just let the *America* sink in Dunn's Creek, was he disobeying orders to destroy the vessel or did someone higher up hope to return and raise her if Southern fortunes took a turn for the better?

What quirk of Admiralty law made it impossible for the U.S. Navy to deliver a firm title to the *America* when she was put up for sale in 1873? The brazen and frequently nefarious General Butler bullied others out of bidding and the meek government let him virtually cheat the taxpayers out of many thousands of dollars. The mechanism is known, but there is more story than has ever been written. In any case, the devious and unrepentant politician was to the N.Y.Y.C. as big a pain in the burgee as Thomas W. Lawson himself whose taste was malignantly low. What should we know?

And, more nearly within memory, what of Herreshoff's personal defeat in 1901 when the *Constitution*, the loveliest of the great American sloops, lost to the hard-purposed *Columbia?* When Captain Nat used a modified scow form for the *Reliance* he knew the end of the road was at hand, and he turned back towards greater honesty of shape by proposing what became the Universal Rule for measuring yachts. Who among you have pondered this—under Herreshoff's excellent Universal Measurement Rule would not the *Constitution* have beaten the *Reliance?* He sought to outlaw the maddest, grandest extreme of all, the *Reliance*, not the most exquisite of the colossi, his artistic masterpiece which only suffered defeat because Charlie Barr, the most talented big boat skipper of all time, was at the helm of the other.

The greatest of yachts should be allowed to live in more than loose-captioned pictures. Our generation should reburnish the memories by fresh exploration of the past.

The original Swedish material for this article was translated by Mrs. Berit Olsson of Niantic, Connecticut.


Cape Breton
St. John's Island
Western Nova Scotia
Cumberland
Canso
Eastern Mass.
Machias
Annapolis Valley
Nova Scotia
Halifax
Eastern Shore
Annapolis
Yarmouth
Pownalborough
Penobscot Bay
South Shore
Falmouth
New York
New Hampshire
Portsmouth
Salem
Boston
Plymouth
Mass.
Conn.
R.I.
Hartford
New Haven
Providence
N
S
Nova Scotia and New England in 1775.
map drawn by Alison Pyott

Yankee Raiders and the Republican Incursion Into Nova Scotia, 1776-1777

By JOHN D. FAIBISY*

Most students of the Revolutionary War are aware that the State of Maine served as an important supply station for General Benedict Arnold's troops during their march to Québec in 1775. Few realize that it also functioned as a vital base of operations for a second incursion into British-held North America during the early and crucial years of the American Revolution: the ill-fated amphibious expedition against Nova Scotia in the autumn of 1776.

During the first years of the Revolutionary War many downeast republicans took careful note of the numerous proclamations by Nova Scotia settlers towards the rebels. When Massachusetts refused to assist Maine radicals in bringing Nova Scotia into alliance with the Thirteen Colonies, those radicals determined to invade Nova Scotia by themselves. But their scheme for bringing the colony into the American union rested upon one important assumption: that the disaffected of Nova Scotia would join a revolutionary army of liberation. Rebel privateersmen and pirates, many of them operating from the craggy, cliffed coves north of Boston, played a decisive role in proving this assumption false and thereby dashed the hopes of the Maine militants.

Machias is a small lumbering and fishing settlement situated in Maine some twenty miles west of the Saint Croix River. Founded in 1763 by sixteen New England migrants who applied twice to Nova Scotia for a township grant, Machias finally secured a conditional permit from Massachusetts in 1770. The population of the outpost at the beginning of the American Revolution exceeded 100 families. Most settlers supported themselves mainly through the exportation of timber, firewood and fish to Boston.

In 1775 this small community faced severe economic hardships, partly due to the Intolerable Acts, which followed the Boston Tea Party, particularly the Boston Port Act. This ordinance, combined with a harsh winter, upset the delicate economy of Machias and other frontier settlements situated between the Kennebec and Saint Croix rivers. A petition for relief from Machias to the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts declared: "Some of our mills stand still; almost all our vessels have forsaken us; our lumber lies by us in heaps; and to complete our misfortunes, all our ports are to be shut up on the first of July next; . . ."

Perhaps this sharp depression helped account for the militant stance adopted by many of the lumberman of Machias, who often disregarded imperial edicts reserving preferred timber for the Royal Navy. These

* John D. Faibisy lives in Gaithersburg, Maryland, and is an archivist for the Department of the Army. However, with a B.A. from the University of Maine and an M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Massachusetts, history major throughout, it is easy to see his interest in the background for this piece, which was part of his doctoral dissertation.

pioneers, who frequently expounded upon revolutionary grievances, proclaimed to the Provincial Congress: "we have done our utmost to encourage and strengthen the hands of all the advocates for America with whom we have been connected."

The Reverend James Lyon, a bellicose Presbyterian minister, further inflamed the men of Machias with violent speeches denouncing British rule. A vigorous defender of colonial rights, he became the first Chairman of the Committee of Safety for Machias upon the outbreak of hostilities.

The spring of 1775 offered the backwoodsmen of Machias a unique opportunity to demonstrate their zeal for republican principles. Ichabod Jones, a prominent merchant associated with Machias and thought by many to have Tory sympathies, arrived with two sloops, the *Unity* and the *Polly*, escorted by an armed schooner, the *Margaretta*, under the command of Captain James Moore of the British Navy. They intended to obtain provisions for the beleaguered British troops garrisoned in Boston. Captain Moore bristled at the presence of a liberty pole in Machias, which the citizens had erected upon hearing of Lexington and Concord, and demanded its removal. The public assembly rejected the British officer's ultimatum but did agree to allow Jones to proceed with his business: they realized their dependence upon water transportation, and many of them wanted the merchants to bring them supplies from Boston.

Militants, anticipating trouble over the liberty pole, secretly sent word to the Pleasant River settlement, twenty miles distant, requesting armed reinforcements. When these auxiliaries arrived, Captain Moore, who had been attending a religious service in Machias, fled to his schooner, anchored in the town harbor. The republicans, who by now had determined to seize the three vessels, easily captured the *Unity* and the *Polly*. When they demanded the surrender of the armed schooner, however, the British replied tersely: "Fire and be damn'd."

Jeremiah O'Brien, a member of the Machias Committee of Safety and a local millowner, resolved to snare the *Margaretta*. Together with forty men, he chased the schooner, by now underway and fleeing, in the *Unity* (appropriately renamed the *Machias Liberty*). Accompanied by twenty men on the *Polly*, the *Machias Liberty* finally overtook the British vessel and again demanded its surrender. Moore refused, and a sharp battle ensued which lasted an hour. There was loss of life on both sides, but the patriots finally seized the *Margaretta* and took her back to Machias. Among the dead was Captain Moore, "the first English naval officer who fell in the American Revolution."

When intelligence of the capture of the *Margaretta* reached Halifax, two armed vessels, the schooner *Diligent* and the cutter *Tatmagush*, promptly fitted out to retake her. Hearing of their approach, Jeremiah O'Brien sailed from Machias with the *Liberty* and another vessel to intercept them. The opposing vessels met on July 12, 1775 in the Bay of Fundy. By attacking the British craft separately the rebels captured both.

Neither the seizure of the *Margaretta* nor the taking of the *Diligent* and the *Tatmagush* accorded with the precepts of maritime law, which decreed that an enemy's vessels could be arrested only by privateers and craft carrying letters of marque. Privateers were private armed vessels carrying no cargo and devoted entirely to warlike use. Letters of marque, so called because of the letters or commissions they carried, were private armed vessels authorized to carry freight and take prizes.

But such distinctions were lost upon the downeast frontiersmen. Nova Scotia seemed to offer many of them a way to compensate for commercial losses resulting from the American Revolution. Its proximity to New England and its relative defenselessness offered Yankee seamen a chance to gain by plunder there what they had lost in trade elsewhere. Revenge also motivated some of the raiders. The burning of Falmouth in

Maine, for example, by British forces commanded by Captain Henry Mowatt in October of 1775 decided many mariners to teach the Tories a bitter lesson. During the critical months of 1775 and 1776 the New Englanders began to sweep the thousand-mile coast of Nova Scotia. "We are informed that along the Eastern Coast several small Vessels are fitting out," Governor Francis Legge of Nova Scotia fretted, "so that Navigation between Boston & this province will become uncertain."

These visitors descended upon every shore town in Nova Scotia and Western Nova Scotia (now New Brunswick), from Portland Point near the mouth of the Saint John River to Pictou on the Northumberland Coast. "The Coasts hereabouts swarm with little privateers from New England," one Halifax resident noted, "which getting into creeks and shoal water where the men of war cannot follow them, do a great deal of mischief." Governor Legge warned that the intruders were "continually on our Coast," intercepting vessels and preventing the shipping of supplies to and from his colony. Simeon Perkins, the diarist of Liverpool, Nova Scotia, reported after one raid that New Englanders had seized his brother as well as taking "near 20 sail about the Head of the Cape."

Nova Scotia soon became, in the view of Yankee mariners, not a neighbor to be enticed into the common cause of independence but a goldmine into which each man could dig for his fortune. Thomas Cushing, for example, wrote from Boston to Robert Paine early in the struggle:

> Your Bretheren in the Law have fine times of it, they are making Money as fast almost as they Can receive it. I suppose there never was a better chance for Gentlemen of your Profession getting money than the Present. Privateering prevails so much & such a number of prizes are taken that it makes a vast deal of Business in your Way.

In their search for booty, the Yankees seized Nova Scotia vessels making three different types of voyages. The first of these concerned craft engaged in lengthy journeys, such as those travelling between Nova Scotia and the West Indies or Nova Scotia and the British Isles. Vessels captured while making such trips were usually storeships carrying a large quantity of provisions. Often the seizure of only one such craft would insure a high profit. For example, two privateers, the *Montgomery* and the *Eagle*, out on a cruise only one day, happened upon the schooner *Property*, bound from Haiti to Halifax. She yielded 9,000 gallons of rum, 6,000 weight of sugar, and supplies of cotton, wool, flour and coffee.

Vessels engaged in a second kind of cruise also proved important captures. These were large transports travelling between Nova Scotia and Tory bastions in the rebellious colonies, such as Boston or New York City. Many of these craft carried supplies to the redcoats in the beleaguered cities. The sloop *Success*, for example, was returning from Nova Scotia with "refreshments for the Garrison at Boston" when she was seized off Boston Lighthouse and carried into Salem.

Vessels making a third type of voyage also proved valuable. These were small craft that sailed from one port in Nova Scotia to another, or to New England towns. Their owners were often fishermen or farmers taking their provisions to market. Many of them hailed from those tiny settlements which surrounded the Bay of Fundy. Sometimes these vessels yielded a lucrative cargo. Often they were captured by the small privateers of Maine, as an article in the *New Hampshire Gazette* noted in the summer of 1776: "Wednesday was brought into Falmouth by Capt. Crabtree a sloop from Annapolis bound to Halifax, taken off the Grand Passage, laden with lumber, hand pikes, butter, cheese, potatoes &c."

In seizing these cargoes, however, the Yankees often disregarded maritime law. The same Captain Crabtree, whom his parents, in a fit of humor, had christened Agreen, seized several loyalist vessels in his small Maine schooner, the *Hannah and Molly*, before

even applying for legal authority. When he finally did petition the Massachusetts Council for such authority, he frankly admitted that he had:

> taken two Sloops Employ'd in carrying Provisions to the Enemy, both which Sloops are now Libelled at the Court appointed to Try the Captures of such Vessels, and as your Petitioner has never Received any Commission, he now desires that your Honours would take his case into your Consideration and Grant him a Captain's Commission. . . .

In October of 1777 a downeaster commanded by Agreen Crabtree overwhelmed the *Mayflower*, a small schooner sailing across Fundy Bay to obtain supplies for John English and his destitute friends of Nova Scotia. Instead of libelling the vessel in maritime court, Crabtree and his crew eagerly divided her cargo of beans, corn and peas among themselves. They had, in law, acted as pirates. After months of waiting, John English, who claimed that his sympathies lay with the rebellious colonies, protested to American authorities that Crabtree had refused to libel the schooner. Captain Crabtree belatedly decided to take his prize to court. But the Notice of Libels concerning the *Mayflower* did not appear in the newspapers until more than six months after its capture.

Crabtree's disregard for maritime law typified the activities of his fellow seamen. At the beginning of the war they had some justification, since prize courts did not begin to function in New England until early 1776. But after that they should have used the legal machinery available, especially since it favored them. Before the Yankees could divide their spoils legally, a captured vessel and its cargo had to be condemned in a maritime court in one of the four New England states or in Eastern Massachusetts, also called Maine. Judicial impartiality scarcely dominated any of the Yankee maritime court proceedings. For example, the judge of the New Hampshire court, Joshua Brackett, had invested his own money in a privateer.

Yankee contempt for maritime law combined with increasing Yankee depredations soon began to cool republican sympathies among Nova Scotia settlers. Connecticut-born Simeon Perkins probably spoke for many of his bewildered neighbors when he complained after raiders had seized his schooner *Betsey* in Liverpool Harbor, Nova Scotia:

> This is the fourth loss I have met with by my countrymen, and are altogether so heavy upon me I do not know how to go on with much more business, especially as every kind of property is so uncertain, and no protection afforded as yet, from Government.

Perkins's statement indicates displeasure with the Halifax government, which had failed to provide meaningful military assistance to the helpless pioneers while nevertheless allowing British men-of-war to impress them. But his greatest disenchantment appears directed elsewhere. The Liverpool diarist felt moved to refer to the Yankees, not the British and their representatives in Halifax, as "countrymen": one might logically assume that his greatest anger was toward these "countrymen." Moreover, while the lack of a viable British presence may have caused hardship and annoyance for Nova Scotia settlers, the very visible presence of the raiders served to underscore dramatically for Perkins and his neighbors a new and aggressive Yankee attitude toward the colony.

Such indiscriminate Yankee plundering might not have been sufficient to turn Nova Scotia away from the rebel cause had the only victims been shipowners and merchants. Yet the raiding influenced the war in another way: its sudden impact sharply reduced the flow of vessels travelling between New England and Nova Scotia and between the settlements in the colony itself. This startling development proved of the utmost consequence during the crucial months of 1775 and 1776.

Before the beginning of hostilities the movement of vessels between Nova Scotia and New England had been extensive. Even after Lexington and Concord it continued



Pownalborough Court House still stands today in Dresden, Maine.

freely. As late as May of 1775 considerable traffic passed between Halifax and the Yankee colonies. Other towns in Nova Scotia besides the capital also traded regularly with New England. From Liverpool, for example, Simeon Perkins and his friends sent craft to Massachusetts and Connecticut throughout the prewar years. Through the crews on these vessels they heard of the revolutionary politics in the seething colonies. Likewise, New Englanders could gauge the political temper of Nova Scotia settlers through sea travellers. At the outbreak of the Revolution many colonial newspapers contained accounts of wayfarers discussing the political sentiments of the province's inhabitants. But by the beginning of 1776 accounts in these journals of communications between Nova Scotia pioneers and their compatriots in the rebellious colonies had suddenly ceased.

A most important rupture had taken place: Yankee raiders had driven off the seas most Nova Scotia vessels that had regularly sailed to Boston, Portsmouth and other New England ports. In so doing they had broken down the fragile line of communication between rebel sympathizers in Nova Scotia and their neighbors to the south. Republicans in Halifax, Liverpool and Annapolis no longer knew the intentions of their counterparts in Maine and Massachusetts.

Not only did communications between New England and Nova Scotia begin to collapse, but also between settlers within the colony itself. Towns in Nova Scotia, scattered along an irregular coast, were often separated by miles of wilderness. That for most of the year those few muddy roads that did link the isolated hamlets of Nova Scotia were buried under a sea of rain, sleet and mud further complicated matters. From October to May the provincial highways virtually ceased to exist. The little sea towns that dotted the lonely Nova Scotia coastline were

shut off from each other and the outside world. The loyalist missionary Reverend Jacob Bailey painted a melancholy picture of life during these cruel winter months:

> The trees remain dissolved of their virtue [Bailey wrote]—death and destruction covers all the fields—the mountains are whitened with snow—the roads nine inches and a half deep in mire, and the very heavens deeply involved in perpetual gloom and sadness. . . .

In one hastily-scribbled note to a friend in Halifax, Reverend Bailey wrote from Windsor:

> The travelling is so impracticable—the weather so unfavourable . . . that I cannot think of a journey till the winter begins to expire and send this [letter] by Mr. Reynolds—we imagine that he departed for Halifax a fortnight ago, but now understand that he has been detained by snow.

That Windsor was situated only forty-five miles from the provincial capital by land reveals the difficulties of overland travel. With the coming of autumn only the seas provided a means of communication between settlers, especially used by the fishing vessels which sailed them. But the raiders now forced these craft to remain in their home ports for fear of capture should they venture out. From Windsor the Reverend W. I. Ellis wrote his superiors in London that "a Missionary cannot without the outmost danger venture to Cape Sable at this time, the Enemy's Cruisers swept our whole coast lately. . . ." Another missionary, Reverend Joseph Bennett, sent to the colony by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, could not even call on his parishioners. As he told his superiors in London:

> I arrived in Halifax on the seventeenth day of August last, and should then, though late, have visited the Coast, had it not Been so infested by privateers, that there was no Venturing ten leagues from Halifax without being picked up by them, & there is no travelling by land.

By the spring of 1776 depredations had become so intense that many governmental functions had to be cancelled. Judges of the Nova Scotia Supreme Court, for example, represented that they could no longer hold sessions in Cumberland, Annapolis and King's counties because of the "great danger to themselves by being expos'd to parties landed from Piratical Vessels in the Bay of Fundy fitted out by the Rebels." A sympathetic Halifax Council allowed them to cancel their spring term.

Yankee depredations thus not only cooled republican zeal, they unwittingly made uprising nearly impossible by severing communications. Revolutionary sympathizers in Halifax, Windsor and Annapolis no longer knew the intentions of their friends in Boston, Falmouth and Machias. Nor did they know the aspirations and plans of their brethren in Western Nova Scotia. They would, therefore, despite their sympathies, be unable to assist their Maine cousins substantially should the Yankees invade.

Yet at the beginning of hostilities Nova Scotia had seemed ripe for invasion. The Yankee majority there seemed willing to cast their lot with the revolutionaries of Maine and the New England states. Reverend Jacob Bailey, the loyalist missionary who fled from Maine to Nova Scotia during the war, found widespread support for the American cause even as late as 1780 when the British controlled the province firmly. He observed:

> A refugee cannot venture among them with safety, for he would be in perpetual danger of being . . . basely betrayed by the inhabitants who are mostly from New England and thoroughly attached . . . to their cruel and inglorious principles.

The zeal for "cruel and inglorious principles" seemed even more pervasive at the onset of the Revolution. Early in the war Governor Francis Legge concluded: "That should such an Attempt [at invasion] be made I should dread the Consequence." The Governor frankly admitted that his Yankees "were rebels to the man." A Halifax resident supported this viewpoint, writing to London that "The number of disaffected people in this Province is surprizing." William Hazen, a trader on the Saint John River, found his

neighbors indisputably attached to the banner of rebellion. Nova Scotia fishermen demonstrated the truth of Hazen's impression when they left the colony to join the rebels. Even Halifax, loyalist capital of a simmering province, did not escape the defiant temper of the times. In the summer of 1776, a radical paper entitled "Extracts from the Boston & New Hampshire News Papers" suddenly appeared in the metropolis. Indeed, revolutionary sentiments seemed so widespread that a report from an inhabitant of the Chignecto Isthmus in northern Nova Scotia which reached George Washington in February of 1776 scarcely seemed to exaggerate:

> The generality of the Province . . . sympathize with the Colonies. The least encouragement or opportunity would have excited the people to join in the defence of the liberty of *America*, always rejoicing when they heard of any flying report that an invasion was intended.

Direct action gave credence to such speculative reports as the one from Chignecto. The inhabitants of Passamaquoddy, for example, a small fishing community situated near the Maine border, chose a Committee of Safety just as their compatriots in Machias had done. The Passamaquoddy Committee applied to the Continental Congress for admittance into the "association of the North Americans, for the preservation of their rights and liberties," and Congress appointed a committee to examine the petition. This committee soon decided to investigate the situation and sent two agents to Nova Scotia. These spies, who reported their findings in early 1776, further encouraged the notion that Nova Scotia verged on rebellion and was ripe for invasion. "From our own knowledge," they declared, "and the best information of others, about eight parts out of ten of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia would engage in the common cause of America, could they be protected." They further reported that the province lacked adequate fortifications: the government had only 150 cannon, and commanded only one ship and 200 soldiers in Halifax and another warship at Annapolis near Fundy Bay.

Some months after the Passamaquoddy pioneers had declared for the republicans, another hamlet in Western Nova Scotia did the same. Maugerville, situated on the Saint John River, chose a Committee of Safety and declared its willingness to submit to the Massachusetts government: "We are Ready with our Lives and fortunes to Share with them the Event of the present Struggle for Liberty, however God in his Province may order it." The Maugerville settlers, 125 of whom had declared their independence from the crown, dispatched two agents to Massachusetts to disclose their decision.

The Halifax government watched these treasonable developments helplessly. In the spring of 1776 distressed British officials in the provincial capital received a reprieve: General William Howe evacuated Boston and brought his battered army to Halifax. The presence of this large force, temporarily at least, dampened the possibility of Nova Scotia's becoming another Massachusetts. Rebels, recognizing this fact, determined to bide their time.

Fate proved generous to the dissidents in the summer of 1776 when Howe and his reorganized army departed from the Nova Scotia capital to do battle with George Washington at Brooklyn Heights. Although the redcoats left a few reinforcements behind, the colony again lay exposed to attack. The Machias expansionists immediately recognized this new opportunity. Reverend James Lyon wrote to the Massachusetts General Court: "I ask for a small army to subdue Nova Scotia, or at least that some person or persons be given leave to raise men to go against that province at their own risk."

Radicals in Nova Scotia also renewed their hopes. For men such as Jonathan Eddy, a representative in the provincial legislature who had been trying for months to promote an invasion, new opportunity beckoned. At the suggestion of some members of the American Congress, Eddy now took his plan to the Massachusetts General Court. To them he also presented a list of settlers on the Chig-

necto Isthmus pledged to join an invading force. He argued his case with great vigor, but the court, although interested, felt an army could not be spared at that time for such an undertaking. It did offer supplies and ammunition for whatever troops the revolutionary could muster himself. Eddy accepted these contributions and departed for Machias.

Here he met with John Allan, another republican. Allan had recently spent the summer inciting the Indians of Nova Scotia. He now inquired as to the strength of Eddy's expeditionary force and learned to his dismay that his fellow conspirator planned to disembark with only twenty-eight men and one schooner for the conquest of an entire province. Allan immediately disapproved of Eddy's plan, for he thought Eddy far understrength for such an ambitious scheme.

Undaunted, Eddy determined to go ahead anyway. With sublime faith in his cause, he trusted that the frontiersmen of Western Nova Scotia and Cumberland County would prove as militant as those of Machias and swell his meager numbers. The spark of revolution once ignited, he believed, Nova Scotia would rally behind his tiny army.

Eddy planned, after he reached the Isthmus of Chignecto, to seize Fort Cumberland, strategically located on the Nova Scotia peninsula. He left Machias by schooner in mid-August of 1776 and first put in at Passamaquoddy, twenty-five miles to the east. Eddy found only seven stalwarts here who chose to follow his banner, a poor beginning for a force whose hopes for triumph rested upon the willingness of dissidents to join their cause. From Passamaquoddy the "liberators" proceeded sixty miles up the Saint John River to Maugerville. Here, Eddy wrote, settlers were "almost universally . . . hearty in the Cause." Eddy managed to pick up, by his own account, only "1 Capt. 1 Lieut. & Twenty five Men, as also 16 Indians." Clearly, the Nova Scotia settlers' view of their role in the war differed from Eddy's.

Although Eddy managed to overrun a small British outpost on the Chignecto Isthmus in November, he could not generate sufficient enthusiasm for settlers to join his cause. He received little support from the citizens of Sackville, which separated Western Nova Scotia from the peninsula. In order to gain support, he resorted to false promises, claiming that troop reinforcements would soon appear on the scene. But such assurances failed to excite enthusiasm. By November Captain Eddy's total army numbered only 180 men.

This totally inadequate force failed utterly to take Fort Cumberland. Twice the rebels assailed the bastion, managing on one occasion to set ablaze some of its wooden buildings in a futile attempt to ignite the powder magazine. But the Fort's 200 loyalist defenders threw back the attackers. After the arrival of a British relieving force, consisting of two companies of marines and one company of Royal Highlanders, the republicans beat a hasty retreat to the River Saint John.

Two factors helped account for Eddy's dramatic failure: the piratical methods of the invaders and the previous disruption of communications. Many of the intruders seemed more than willing to trade the role of patriot for that of pirate. On one occasion, while Eddy was conferring with settlers in Sackville, a small detachment of them trooped nearly twelve miles over terrible roads to Westcock, where they soon discovered a schooner loading. They seized the vessel, which carried English goods and apple cider. Unfortunately for them, she belonged to John Hall of Annapolis, a good friend of "the Cause of Liberty," so Eddy ordered her released. The schooner was eventually returned to Hall but not the cargo. The Nova Scotia settler expressed his anger about the incident in a letter written in 1778:

> I have been a great Sufferer Within this Three Years by the Americans—Especially by the Stilled [styled] Colel Eddy and his party at Cumberland—Who tuke a Schooner of mine with a Cargue of 300£ & odd pounds this Currency and imbaseled [embezzled] the Cargue

amongst the party at Cumberland—Detained the Vessell and people about a month which was 500£ more Damage to me, as I had another Cargue Ready for a nother Voige a parrishing.

After seizing this vessel, the revolutionaries determined to continue their search for spoils. They soon came upon a sloop guarded by a British sergeant and a dozen men, laden with provisions for Fort Cumberland. Eddy gave a vivid account of what followed:

Our men [he wrote] rushed Resolutely towards the sloop up to their Knees in Mud, which made such a Noise as to alarm the Centry, who hailed them and immediately called the Sergt of the Guard. The Sergt on coming up, Ordered his Men to fire, but was immediately told . . . that if they fired one Gun, Every Man of Them should be put to Death; which so frightened the poor Devils that they surrendered without firing a Shot, although our People Could not board her without the Assistance of the Conquered, who let down Ropes to our Men to get up by.

If Jonathan Eddy and his followers repeated some of the results of New England privateering and piracy by bringing anxiety and economic difficulties to Nova Scotia, they fell victim to its most important effect: the breaking up of communications. Throughout their foray into the colony the invaders, not the defenders, found themselves increasingly isolated. Eddy had planned to build his army upon the disaffected of Nova Scotia, but—thanks to the sea marauders of Maine and the New England states—most settlers either did not know of his presence or heard only garbled invasion rumors.

Early in June of 1777 John Allan (now a Colonel of the Infantry and Superintendent of Indian Affairs) arrived on the Saint John River with a small party from Machias. Finding the Maugerville men unwilling to join in another expedition, he turned his attention to the Saint John Indians. But the Halifax government, warned of his movements, sent reinforcements to the Saint John. They chased Allan upstream to an Indian encampment, where they seized some of his followers, provisions, baggage and arms. Allan and the rest of his force escaped to Machias by taking a difficult inland route. Although Colonel John Allan now began a six-year struggle with Michael Francklin, his British counterpart, to win the Saint John tribes, Nova Scotia was never again seriously threatened.

Indeed, a desperate attack by some Machias militants in the summer of 1777 revealed the extent of the colony's security. Joined by a few discontented settlers from Nova Scotia, the rebels succeeded again in reaching the Chignecto Isthmus. But they soon discovered that they still could not subdue Fort Cumberland. Instead, a British military party, assisted by some loyalist pioneers, dared to meet them on open ground about three miles from the Fort. In the ensuing engagement the redcoats soundly defeated the intruders. "I believe that this will be the last attempt they will make in that quarter," wrote one Halifax resident, "unless they are madmen."

If diehard dissenters in Nova Scotia had been aware of this second incursion into Cumberland County, some of them might have rallied to the republican standard. But the Yankee raiders, by their widespread attacks, which caused economic grievances, and by their callousness, which embittered some settlers, had helped damp the fires of rebellion. Most important, however, by smashing the lines of communication between isolated Nova Scotia settlements and between the colony and its southern neighbors, the mariners had made any effective collective movement impossible.

A NOTE ON SOURCES

The research for this article spanned more than 200 years. Numerous State and Historical Society archives were consulted, including the *Journals of Each Provincial Congress in Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775*, the *Documentary History of the State of Maine*, *The Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1766–1780* and many more. A complete list of sources may be obtained by writing to the Director of Publications, Mystic Seaport, Inc., Mystic, CT, 06355.

DIRECTOR'S PAGE

TRUTH / FICTION

Gulag Archipelago / Count of Monte Christo
Dr. Salk / Frankenstein
Kon-Tiki / The Perils of Pauline

In fact, fiction must always turn to truth for the basis of its flights of fancy and for the woes of its imagination.

Schizophrenia is popularly recognized as a condition of split or divided identity—a presence of impulses resulting in a disintegration of one's personality. The sufferer, as indeed he is, carries in his mind—or his fancy—several disparate visions of himself. The natural result is anguish, uncertainty, and an inability to function.

The difference between a human schizophrenic and a history museum is that a history museum is in a position to choose between courses that lead to illness or health.

Colonial Williamsburg, Sturbridge, Deerfield, and other "outdoor history museums" such as Mystic Seaport, have this choice always very close at hand—closer today than ever before. Metaphorically, each has one foot in a very boggy ground. These museums have American history as their "theme," or as the basic subject about which they have built their reputations and upon which hangs their attraction to the public. The fact that the public pays the bills keeps their left foot in the bog.

Thus, we are never entirely secure—especially in today's environment. We are constantly aware of the growing number of "Theme Parks," catering to a day's family outing for the American public. We see the lines waiting to ride on the Whirling Wheel of Mickey Mouse, or hear the clicking cash boxes in the ham fantasy of a Busch Gardens, and we wonder if we should be "doing more" to move these lines and divert these "clicks" over to us. After all, there are just so many lines and clicks to be shared and the competition seems to be becoming fierce.

I think we need to wake up to the true dimensions of our worth. We gaze with apprehension at the balance sheets and the mounting expenses of new exhibits, new programs, new acquisitions, old maintenance and loyal staff—and we wonder if, after all, a balloon or two or a merry-go-round might help. And we talk about marketing history and raising ten flags over Connecticut as the way we should go.

I think that now is the time, perhaps even yesterday was the time, to shout about the true values of true history and to show this truth clearly in every way open to us.

This is our unique and solid identity.

If we need proof of the ultimate ascendency of truth as the most effective method of getting that foot out of the bog, think of the thrust of "Gulag Archipelago," compared to "The Count of Monte Cristo;" the work of Dr. Salk, to the creation of Frankenstein; or "Kon-Tiki," to "The Perils of Pauline."

Nothing can surpass the truth; nothing can have such meaning nor provide a surer course for intelligent Man. Anything less than the truth is hazardous to knowledge, a threat to our culture, a tranquilizer to our capability to survive.

In considering whether Mystic Seaport ten years hence is to be a history museum or a theme park—the choice lies before us.

Waldo Chy. Johnston

BOOK REVIEWS

Voyages by Alfred T. Hill. (New York: David McKay Co., Inc., 1977. xv + 142 pp., illustrations, photographs, appendix. $10.00)

When all is said and done, the Great Age of Sail left us relatively little in the way of a written record of what life was really like aboard a sailing vessel. Mystic Seaport's G. W. Blunt White Library has well over a couple of hundred thousand logbooks and journals, but most of these are couched in the dry-as-dust language of the official logbook writer; there are not many that say what was had for chow that day, how it tasted, and who got sick. Which is precisely why Alfred T. Hill's book, which is concerned chiefly with the life at sea of his great-grandfather, Tristam Jordan, of Saco, Maine, and other seafaring relatives, is such a valuable addition to our literary treasures of the sea. Tristam, writing to his wife of his life as a sea captain, tells it "like it was."

In a way, this is an autobiography of Tristam Jordan: a lifetime at sea told through his letters home. A child of the 18th century born to a seafaring life in a seafaring town, he went to sea when he was 18, and died at sea some 40 years later. In those years, there was many a time when he regretted his profession for the hardships it brought not only to him, but to his family; particularly his wife Catherine, to whom he was devoted.

For a Downeaster, Tristam was unusually frank and to the point in his descriptions of his life. "Oh, dear," he wrote to Catherine at Christmas 1829, "I've got so sick of idleness that I hardly know what to do with myself—nothing to do but eat, sleep, and walk about. That's the way of a captain's life—nothing to do or else all hurry, scurry. . . ."

But there was plenty else involved, too. What Tristam sums up as "hurry, scurry" was the maneuvering of a large, extremely heavy vessel which could be moved only by its sails, of which there were many, and each of which had to be adjusted just right. What this might involve in a freezing winter gale off some focal point of the sea's hellishness like Cape Horn is graphically described in these writings, but there is more to go on here than in most accounts. And there is a great deal about still another, more insidious and dreadful form of hardship: sickness at sea.

There were no doctors aboard the oldtime sailing vessels; doctoring was another one of the captain's many jobs. It fell to Tristam during one voyage to be the doctor for his own beloved son, who was making his first voyage. Day by day he lists the treatments he uses for what, in retrospect, appears to have been a case of typhus. For nearly six weeks Tristam tried everything he knew, acutely aware of how little he knew and how helpless he was. It was to no avail:

"Friday, 23rd [he wrote] in the morning he took some nourishment; in the afternoon his speech left him; he grew worse; every effort was tried to relieve him; put a plaster blister on his stomach, cloth wet with camphor at his throat; but he raised a good deal of frothy phlegm, and we assisted him all we could.

"At 4:00 PM I found Death had begun his work. He began to breathe easy, however, and Saturday, 24th, at 5:00 A.M. he breathed his last. He seemed to die easy."

It is a very worthwhile book, a small but potent addition to that small collection of sea literature which tells a living story.

Percy Knauth

Square Rigged Sailing Ships by David R. MacGregor. (Watford, England: Argus Books, Ltd., 1977. 144 pp., illustrations, diagrams, index. 4£ 95*d*.)

In an age when many maritime books are appearing as large, expensive, glossy, superficial treatments of their subject, it is refreshing to find one that is just the reverse. David R. MacGregor's *Square Rigged Sailing Ships* is a small book that is packed with good information and excellent black and white photographs, a book that anyone interested in the sailing ships of the 19th century will enjoy.

The author is an Englishman whose preoccupation with ships and the sea caused him to give up his career as an architect, and the maritime field is richer for this decision. He has developed significant collections of sailing ships plans and photographs, and his meticulous research is evident throughout this book and his other writ-

ings. His book *Fast Sailing Ship* won a gold medal as the finest nautical book of 1973.

Square Rigged Sailing Ships is well organized and very readable, with the first chapter being a primer on the evolution of the square rigger, on terminology, and on handling a square-rigged vessel. He then devotes chapters to various types of rigs such as full-rigged ships, barques, brigs, and others, in which the rationale for the rig and its unique characteristics are discussed. Chapters seven through thirteen focus on categories of ships regardless of rig such as whalers, or training ships. However, this is a small, compact book and cannot be considered to be definitive on the subject, particularly when most "chapters" consist of only one or two pages of text and a number of illustrations and captions.

It is in the photographs that so much information is contained and in which so much of the value of this book lies. Mr. MacGregor has chosen to emphasize the end of the sailing era from 1850 into the 20th century, which was recorded by camera. Through his knowledge of photographic collections the author has gathered over one hundred photographs which illustrate all of his main points. As is usually the case with historic photographs, there is a wealth of fascinating information in the details and backgrounds of the scenes.

With its excellent text, its fine illustrations and with its only disappointing element being the frustration of wanting more of the same, *Square Rigged Sailing Ships* is a book to own and enjoy.

J. Revell Carr

The Medley of Mast and Sail by Frank G. G. Carr, Richard M. Cookson, Alex. Hurst, Michael K. Stammers and others. (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1977. xxii + 340 pp., 507 photographs. $21.95)

Mention the "Age of Sail" and the vision comes to mind of a clipper cleaving the waves with a cloud of canvas aloft. But clippers were only a small, if beautiful, part of the merchant sailing operation. This book, put together with the help of contributors from all over the world, is a camera record of the multiplicity and extent of the "workhorses" of the sea . . . a panorama of sail from barges to barquentines, from ketches to caiques.

Many of these vessels would never have caused a raised eyebrow for glory of style or appearance. Not a few were clumsy-looking or strange to the eye—but they were uniquely fitted for their particular tasks and performed efficiently at their jobs. There were sailing barges from Kent and Essex that carried hay to the London markets, the bisquines of Calais with two masts that raked in different ways, the junks of China, the bawleys, the wherries, the luggers.

The photographs used are of the period and most were not intended as portraits of the vessels they show but were taken to preserve scenes rather than ships. As a matter of fact, in quite a few, the ship is merely background for smiling faces looking forward. But they cover a wide variety of rigs, trades and ports.

The commentary for each craft, though brief, is descriptive, explicit, frequently amusing and always interesting.

All in all, it is a record of things that no longer exist. True, the *Charles W. Morgan* still floats here at Mystic Seaport, but she is the only wooden whaling ship still in existence. There are a number of small craft carefully preserved in maritime museums—and work boats that have been turned into private pleasure craft. But by and large, when the engine tolled the death knell of sail, the bulk of these varied, wonderful, wind-powered "toilers of the sea" were broken up, or burned for fittings, or left to rot away on some forsaken beach. Here they are again, captured in their heyday, as gallant and busy as they were almost a hundred years ago.

Kim Riley

BOOK ANNOTATIONS

Dolphins, Whales and Porpoises by D. J. Coffey. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1977. 223 pp., illustrations, photographs, charts, maps, index. $17.95)

An encyclopedia filled with fascinating facts about sea mammals, from the humpback whale to the rare and seldom-seen dugong. Their anatomy, intelligence, complex social orders, methods of communication, evolution and conservation are covered in detail. A rewarding find for all who are intrigued by sea mammals' intriguing and almost-human behavior.

The Forests of the Sea by John L. Culliney. (San Francisco: Sierra Book Club, 1976. x + 290 pp., illustrations, maps, index. $9.95)

The submerged shelf which rings Canada and the United States is a realm unto itself, a complex environment with flora that recalls the continent's primeval forests and an abundance of animal life. This book separates the continental shelf into five distinct areas, and within each section follows characteristic creatures through their life cycles, examining the parts they play in the larger context of the life of the whole region. Nineteenth-century technology has already made drastic inroads into an area we have just begun to study. If our understanding, through books like this, doesn't catch up fast, the effect may well be irreversible.

A Lyme Miscellany: 1776–1976 edited by George J. Willauer, Jr. (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1977. xi + 288 pp., index. $15.00)

This collection of original articles by distinguished scholars of early American history and political science contributes not only to the understanding of a New England town during an important period of history, but also to the method of studying other communities in other periods. Original documents are included—maps, letters, official records, and newspaper articles—of the revolutionary period.

Marine Painting by William Gaunt. (New York: Viking Press, 1976. 264 pp., illustrations, bibliography, index, biographies. $32.50)

A concise survey of this art form from ancient times to the present—from England to Europe, from the United States to the Orient. The descriptions are perceptive and engaging, the color plates are rich and the black and white photographs clear in detail. In addition, brief biographies of the artists are included.

Nautical Antiques for the Collector by Jean Randier. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1977. 223 pp., photographs, bibliography, museum list. $14.95)

For the lover of marine lore and antique objects, here is an attractive guide to this vast area of collecting. The categories range from the fine and decorative arts to the utilitarian—culled from the world's museums and antique shops all over. The section on navigational instruments is particularly good. The color photographs are superb, the black and whites sharp and in abundance. No one book can hope to cover everything but this one provides a good cross-section. A listing of marine museums is included plus an extensive bibliography.

The Polar Voyages by Frank Rasky. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson LTD., 1976. 320 pp., illustrations, photographs, bibliography, index. $17.95)

A vivid, readable and well-researched account of the men who hurled themselves into the void of the Arctic wastes. Who, where and how are answered in a story refreshingly free of hero-worship; a story not only of courage and high adventure but also of greed, mutiny and treachery. This, the first of two volumes, deals with the period from the early Vikings up through the fur-trade explorers of the late eighteenth century.

Victorian and Edwardian Sailing Ships from Old Photographs by Basil Greenhill and Ann Giffard. (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute. 144 pp., 150 photographs. $7.95)

A fascinating record of the ships that sailed from Britain during what was effectively the last 75 years of their active existence. Throughout, the emphasis both of the photographs and of the author's commentaries on them is as much on the human element—the dangerous, ill-rewarded and highly skillful life of the sailors themselves—as it is on the ships. Not the least of the charm of many of them are the shots of old wharves, the customs and costumes of the era, the ports forested with masts.

Shipboard Damage Control. By Allen M. Bissell, E. James Oertel and Donald J. Livingston. (Annapolis: U.S. Naval Institute, 1976. x + 169 pp. Illustrations, appendices, glossary, bibliography and index. $15.95)

This book is aimed at the division officer as a guide and to aspirants as a text. However, no matter how large or small a craft is when you put to sea, the subject of damage control could very well loom very large.

Yacht Designs by William Garden. (Camden: International Marine Publishing Co., 1977. xi + 216 pp., illustrations, photographs, plus plans $17.50)

From a canoe to a motorship, this virtual potpouri covers the spectrum of single-hulled yachts. The 46 examples illustrated do not miss many classes and all are quite interesting.

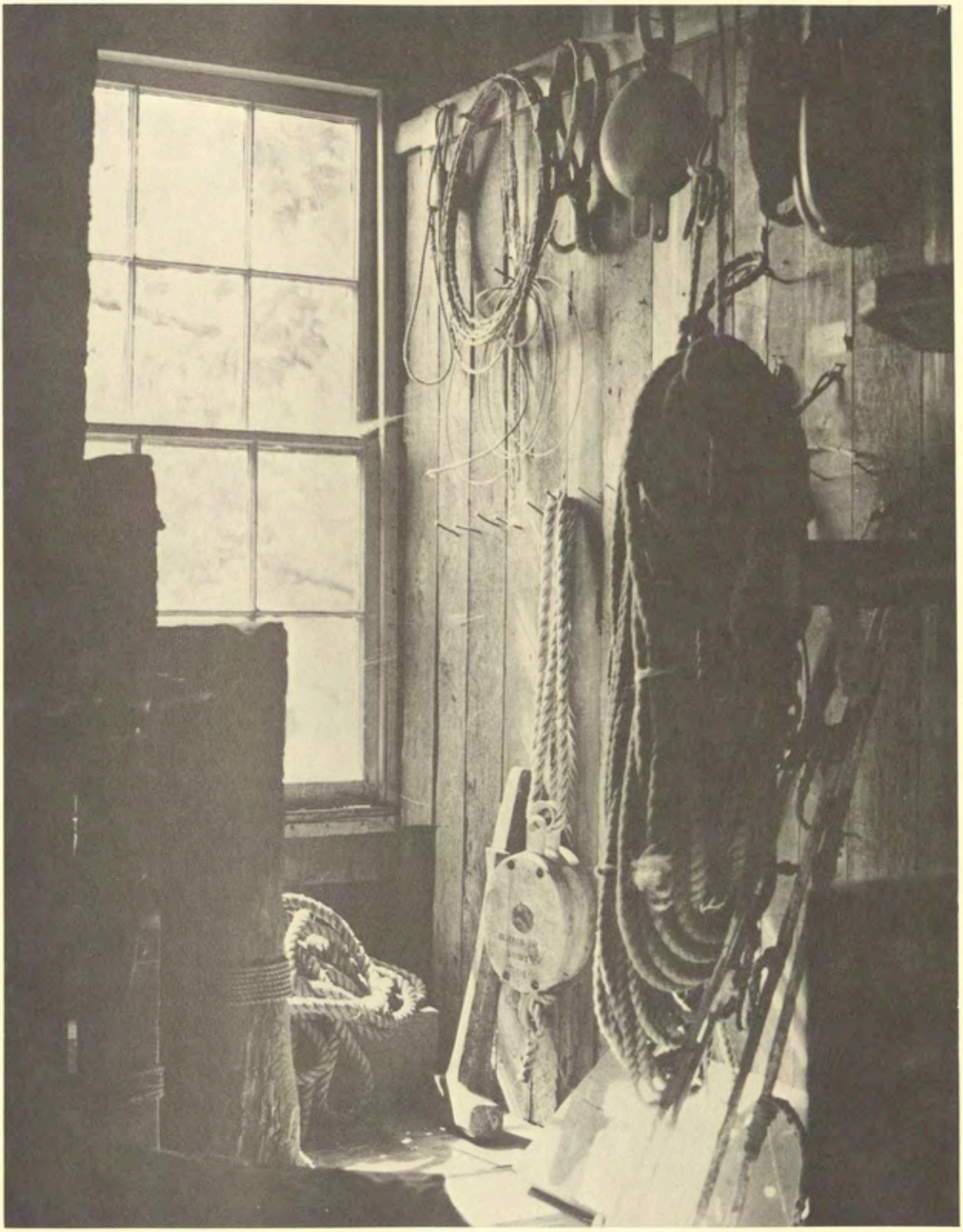


ACQUISITIONS

Mr. George H. Murphy recently gave the museum a fine painting by James E. Buttersworth (1817–1894) called "Race off the Battery, New York Harbor" (#193 in "Listings," *J. E. Buttersworth, 19th-Century Marine Painter,* by Rudolph J. Schaefer, Mystic Seaport, Mystic, Connecticut, 1975). The painting is signed in the lower right corner and depicts three schooner yachts sailing before a brisk wind. The schooner in the foreground flies the New York Yacht Club burgee and the private signal of J. G. Bennett, Jr., and we can reasonably assume this to be the Mystic-built *Dauntless* (ex-*L'Hirondelle*). In 1867, the year after the schooner was built, Bennett bought her and changed the name to *Dauntless*. For the next three years the *Dauntless* was in England and returned to the United States in 1870. Bennett owned her until 1879 when he sold her to John R. Waller. Buttersworth probably painted this picture during the period 1870–1879, after the *Dauntless*' return from England and before her sale to Waller. The other two schooners and the two sloops in the background are at this time unidentified.

The painting is of particular interest since there is evidence that it was first painted with all three schooners on the starboard tack going down wind and then the nearest two schooners were changed to the port tack. There is no question that the work was done by Buttersworth and one speculates that he finished the painting and was then told that *Dauntless* and the next nearest schooner were on the other tack. The painting is a superb addition to our collection.

PHOTO CREDITS: Cover, Oliver Denison; p. 66, Mystic Seaport; pp. 72-73, Mary Anne Stets; pp. 74, 77, 79, 81, photos of Cedergren's sketches, the lines plans and the oil painting in Stockholm Museum courtesy of Dr. Gösta Webe of Stockholm; p. 82, map by Alison Pyott courtesy of National Archives; p. 87, John D. Faibisy; p. 96, Claire L. White from painting by James E. Buttersworth; inside back cover and back cover, Mary Anne Stets.



Blocks, coils of rope . . . seagoing gear of a bygone era . . . dream of a lustier, gustier long ago in the hazy autumn sunshine.



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