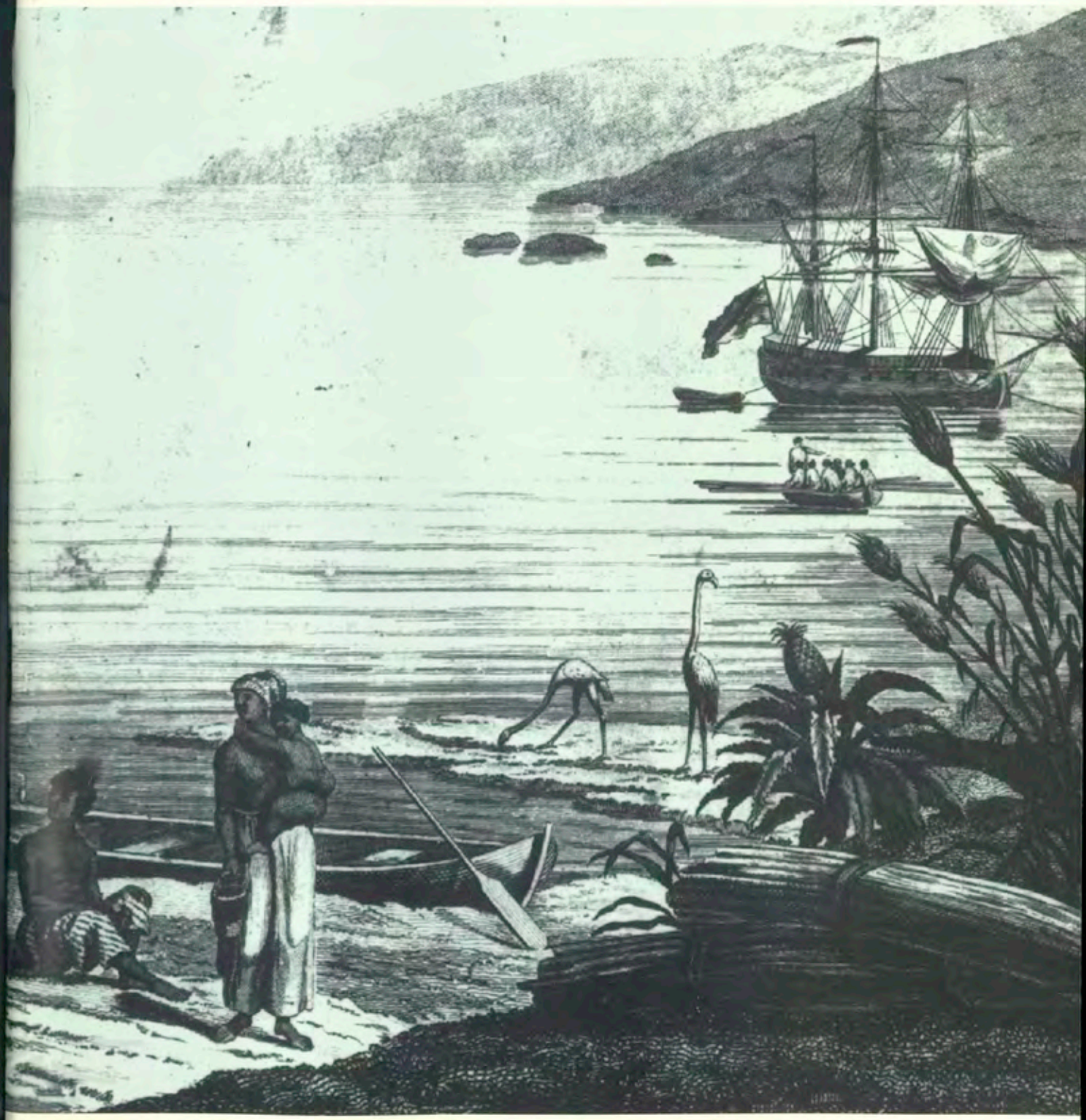
The Log *of* Mystic Seaport

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Contents

65 Sightings

66 "Our Position is a Commanding One": The United States and the Caribbean, Part 1, 1619-1815
ERIC ROORDA

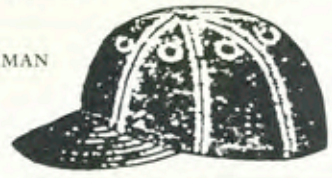




72 Jack Tar in Victorian America
LISA NORLING

75 The *Emma C. Berry* Under Sail
GARY ADAIR, NANCY D'ESTANG, KARL ROBINSON, DEAN SEDER, QUENTIN SNEDIKER

78 The Oceanic Base Ball Club: Base Ball Returns to Mystic
ANDREW W. GERMAN



83 Building Tradition, and Keeping It Alive
LESLIE GIFFORD

85 Christmas Dinner On Board the Frederick Gebhar
SANDRA L. OLIVER

88 Wind Rose, Calendar Events and Museum Notes

94 Kids' Corner



See insert at back of magazine for Mystic Seaport's 1992-93 Annual Report

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Sightings



In the Spring 1993 issue of *The Log*, we described the Museum's sponsorship of research - through the Paul Cuffe Memorial Fellowship - into the role of African and Native Americans in maritime history. The Cuffe Fellowship is one important way in which the Museum is working to promote scholarship in the maritime studies. It is not the only way, however, and the publication in this *Log* of two non-Cuffe Seaport "fellows" - together with the recent establishment of yet another fellowship program - encourage me to focus here on these academic aspects of our program. ❧ When, in 1989, Dr. Benjamin W. Labaree retired as Director and resident maritime historian for the Williams College-Mystic Seaport Maritime Studies Program, we became acutely aware of a serious problem in our field: the scarcity of college-level maritime history programs narrows young scholars' prospects for teaching in the field while continuing to pursue their research. Consequently, the Williams-Mystic administration was frustrated in its attempts to recruit an experienced academic to fill the vacant seat of resident maritime historian. So in 1990, the Museum created a solution to this problem, by initiating a post-doctoral teaching fellowship at Mystic Seaport. The objective was to encourage scholars to focus on maritime history, to ensure stability in the Williams-Mystic maritime history department, and to incorporate into the Museum's institutional structure a scholar who would interact with staff researchers. ❧ The first fellowship recipient came from the field of women's studies. Lisa Norling was completing her doctorate at Rutgers University and had carried out solid research into the role of women in the whaling communities of New Bedford and Nantucket. Although the Fellowship had been conceived as a two- or possibly three-year appointment, Lisa had earned a tenure-track appointment in the highly respected women's history program at the University of Minnesota. She was able to defer that appointment for one year, and Mystic Seaport and the Williams-Mystic Program benefited a great deal from Lisa's contributions during the 1991-92 academic year. As evidenced by Lisa's article in this issue of *The Log*, she remains very much involved with the Seaport. We are grateful for her input, and also for her ability to carry maritime scholarship beyond the Museum: during her first year at Minnesota, she succeeded in initiating a maritime history course at the University. ❧ The second and current fellow in the Seaport program is Eric Roorda, whose doctorate in diplomatic history comes from Johns Hopkins University. Eric's research interests emphasize the maritime links between the United States and the Caribbean region, in particular the history of interventions, seaborne immigration, and commercial ties with the West Indies - subjects that continue to dominate this nation's foreign relations with the nations of the Caribbean. Eric's command of Caribbean maritime enterprise is well reflected in this issue of *The Log*. ❧ With the post-doctoral teaching fellowship off to a very promising start, we at the Museum sought to help strengthen and unify the maritime field by establishing and endowing a fellowship to provide an opportunity for international scholars and curators to come here to study the Seaport, its programs, and its collections; this fellowship would allow in alternating years for Seaport staff to study elsewhere. ❧ This aspiration recently became a reality, in the form of the Pauline C. and Clifford D. Mallory, Jr., Fellowship, created by Wade and Angela Thompson to honor the Mallorys on the occasion of their fiftieth wedding anniversary and to recognize their efforts on behalf of Mystic Seaport during the fifty years that Clifford has served as Trustee. The first recipient was carefully selected to reflect the strong friendship between the Thompsons and Mallorys, their shared interest in Mystic Seaport, and the New Zealand heritage common to both the Thompsons and Pauline Mallory. The announcement was made at the Prime Ministerial and Trustees Dinner inaugurating the new Hobson's Wharf Maritime Museum in Aukland, New Zealand: the first Mallory Fellow would be that museum's experienced and respected curator, Gillian Chaplin. The Fellowship was simultaneously announced at the Mystic Seaport Annual Awards Dinner on 24 September 1993. ❧ These fellowships – together with the Cuffe program – hold great promise for the Seaport and will undoubtedly provide for substantial contributions to maritime history and maritime museum work in the years ahead.

J. Revell Carr

"Our Position is a Most Commanding One"

ERIC ROORDA

The United States and the Caribbean Part 1, 1619-1815

Two battered vessels, gone from the Massachusetts Bay Colony for nearly a year and "much feared to be lost," limped home to Boston in late 1642 "with a good supply of cotton...from Barbados and other islands in those parts."[1] The following Spring, the *Trial* made a similarly triumphant return from the Canary Islands via St. Christopher, having traded the prosaic barrel staves and fish of New England for such a supply of wine, sugar, and cotton that those tropical commodities became suddenly "very plentiful, and cheap, in the country."[2] These early experiments in trade with the Caribbean islands came about as a result of the English Civil War, which began in 1641 and immediately disrupted the maritime traffic between Massachusetts and its mother country. The settlers on the rocky shore were forced "to look out to the West Indies for a trade," to the new English footholds of Barbados and St. Christopher (St. Kitts) because, as Governor John Winthrop wrote, "all foreign commodities grew scarce and our own of no price."[3]

The pioneering Caribbean voyages of the Massachusetts Bay Colony were the beginning of a symbiotic relationship between the English colonies in mainland North America and the English, French, Dutch, and Spanish colonies in the Caribbean. The "West Indies trade" became the cornerstone of the mercantile fortunes of New England; the products of northern forests, fields, and fishing grounds found lucrative markets in insular southern economies. Caribbean agriculture was increasingly monocultural, devoted to the cultivation of a single cash crop on large plantations.

The plantation system and many of the crops it produced were imported by Europeans in the sixteenth century. Sugarcane, the most important botanical transplant, was brought by Christopher Columbus from the Canary Islands on his second voyage in 1493. Sugar mills employing the power of livestock, slaves, water, and wind dotted the Caribbean landscape as sugarcane cultivation spread across the archipelago. Coffee trees were also introduced from the east, as were innumerable other plants, animals, technologies, behaviors, and diseases brought on ships from the Old World. On the other side of this "Columbian Exchange" were such native species as tobacco and long-staple American cotton, both of which were well suited to plantation agriculture and export to Europe. The native people themselves were the principal victims of this unequal trade between the hemispheres; ravaged by new diseases and forced labor, they were virtually wiped out in the Caribbean.[4]



The 2,500-mile Caribbean archipelago includes Aruba, Curacao, and Bonaire, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, the Windward Islands from Grenada to Dominica, the Leewards from Guadeloupe to the Virgin Islands, plus the Greater Antilles of Puerto Rico, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Cuba. William Jeffery, West-India Atlas, *London, 1794.*



Founded in 1519, Havana was the economic capital of the Caribbean, situated on the largest island in that sea. However, it was not until the 1790s (and officially in 1811) that Spain amended its mercantilist policy to allow American vessels to trade with its colonies of Cuba and Puerto Rico. Aquatint engraving from Joseph DesBarres, Atlantic Neptune, *London, 1781. (Courtesy The Mariners' Museum, Newport News, Virginia)*

Planters cleared every available arable acre for the production of sugar, cotton, tobacco, and coffee, depending on outside sources for the timber to construct buildings and barrels, livestock to provide transportation and power, and provisions to feed themselves and their slaves. Yankee traders provided these items to the plantations in exchange for valuable agricultural products. Some sailed to Africa to ferry slaves, who were forced to work the soil, fill the barrels, and subsist on the contemptible "refuse" fish of New England. One of the first slave voyages financed from Boston demonstrated the terrors of the "Middle Passage," as one hundred of the captive Africans on board were killed by the sailors before reaching port. The case was adjudicated in Boston in 1645, where a jury of "tradesmen and mariners" ruled that the events had taken place beyond the jurisdiction of the court.[5]

In fact, a large part of the maritime relationship between America and the Caribbean has been acted out in a shadowy space where many of the contemporary rules governing human, commercial, and international interaction were suspended, or bent beyond recognition. This mutually influential relationship of trade, politics, and demography has now persisted for 350 years. During this time, the two regions have developed in tandem, though unevenly, as the size and power of the United States gradually overawed the increasingly dependent societies of the Caribbean.

The relationship began within the mercantilist framework of the European empires, in which the mainland and insular colonies alike were seen as sources of wealth to be closely supervised and monopolized for the benefit of the mother country. It proceeded through the first century of American independence, when the new nation competed with Europe for Caribbean trade and political influence, and culminated with the United States gaining hegemony over the region after the Spanish–American War of 1898. Given its proximity to the burgeoning population and resources of the mainland, it was perhaps inevitable that the Caribbean would become over time an "American Mediterranean."[6] Alexander Hamilton, a native of the Caribbean island of Nevis, predicted this state of affairs in *The Federalist #11,* where he argued that a strong union of states with a navy to support its interests would occupy "a most commanding" position in relation to the West Indies. James Madison agreed, arguing that "necessity compels" the United States "to carry to the West India Islands in our vessels the produce of America."[7]

Soon after commercial links between Massachusetts and the islands were established in the 1640s, the first of innumerable complications of the political affairs of Europe arose on this side of the Atlantic. With Cromwell's Puritan forces victorious in the English Civil War, the "royalist" colonies of Barbados, Antigua, Bermuda, and Virginia became off-limits to Massachusetts in 1651. That same year, the first in a long series of Navigation Acts was promulgated in England, this one designed to prevent the English colonies from trading with the Dutch (who had brought the first slaves to Virginia in 1619 and the first salt and tobacco from the Indies to Massachusetts in 1635).[8] Future Navigation Acts elaborated on this central commandment of mercantilism: thou shalt not trade with thy rival. The Navigation Acts permitted the colonies to engage in limited peacetime commerce outside the empire, but restricted a growing list of the most valuable commodities (called "enumerated articles") to Great Britain. Colonial markets within the British system were



Statia–St. Eustatius–in the Leeward Islands eight miles north of St. Kitts, was captured by the Dutch in 1632. In the eighteenth century it was known as the "Golden Rock" for the volume of trade that took place in its international marketplace of Oranjestad on the west side of the island, under the looming volcano called the Quill (right). Insignificant as an agricultural island, Statia flourished through the American colonial and revolutionary years, only to go into decline after Great Britain took the island in 1781. Drawn by M. Matraini. (Courtesy The Mariners' Museum, Newport News, Virginia)

similarly the exclusive domain of the mother country, which expected to profit from the inequitable exchange mandated by the Navigation Acts.[9] England was soon at war with the Netherlands, the first of three Anglo–Dutch wars fought mainly on the oceans by Cromwell and his royal successors, who also took on the French and Spanish in periodic imperial power struggles throughout the eighteenth century.

These two themes of the American–Caribbean relationship, war and empire, had mixed effects on the American colonists. On one hand, both war and empire brought business. War stimulated the market for naval stores, ships' masts, and provisions for military campaigns, and empire provided protected markets wherever the English raised their flag, as they did over Jamaica in 1655. On the other hand, both war and empire exerted restrictions and imposed risks. During wartime, American ships became the prey of England's rivals, though by the same token enemy shipping became fair game for American privateers. The imperial system discouraged Americans from trading directly with the colonies of England's competitors in the Caribbean, though the prohibition of this trade increased its potential profits, especially during wars. All in all, American merchants profited from their ability to circumvent the unfavorable aspects of mercantilism and from England's salutory neglect of colonial policy during their frequent distracting wars with the Netherlands, France, and Spain.[10]

Despite the vicissitudes of war and imperial regulations, Boston was deemed "the Mart town of the West Indies" in 1677 by the unfriendly Edward Randolph, whose scathing report to the Lords of Trade in London detailed the brisk pace of illegal trade out of Massachusetts.[11] The Massachusetts General Court countered such complaints with an argument that would become increasingly familiar over the next century: since the colonies enjoyed no Parliamentary representation, the Navigation Acts (bolstered in 1660, 1662, 1663, and 1673) did not apply to them. Such light regard for the doctrine of mercantilism earned Massachusetts Bay Colony the revocation of its charter in

Boston, "the Mart town of the West Indies," carried on an extensive trade with the Caribbean islands through the colonial period. Boston's resistance to Parliamentary control over such colonial trade was a direct cause of the American Revolution. Aquatint engraving from Joseph DesBarres, Atlantic Neptune, *London, 1781.*



1685, though the imposition of a royal charter and the arrival of the king's bureaucrats did not appreciably alter the freewheeling style of colonial commerce. A large proportion of colonial trade continued to move within the imperial system, with heavy traffic between the colonies along the North American coast and the British West Indies Islands of Barbados, St. Kitts, Antigua, and Jamaica. But another important part of the picture was smuggling.

One aid to smuggling was the geography of the Atlantic seaboard and the Antillean archipelago, which facilitated the movement and concealment of contraband, much as it benefits narcotics trafficking today. James Brown of Providence instructed the captain of his incoming ship how to use the geography of Narragansett Bay to avoid detection in the "ticklish times" of 1736, when his "Neighbors threaten[ed] to informe against" his smuggling.

I hope you will not be too bold when you come home, Enter in the West Indias [an apt name for the inlet bypassing Newport] if you can, and if you cannot bring too, [go] down the River and send your Cargo Some to Road Island, and some here in boats, so as not to bring but a few hogsheads up to my Wharff.[12]

Human agency was another aid. The extralegal prosperity of the colonial period could not have been derived without willing co-conspirators of every nationality in the Caribbean. Some of these participants were English, such as the corrupt governor of the sandspit called Anguilla, near St. Martin, whose "Anguilla clearances" provided a patina of legality for non-British sugar and molasses.[13] Others were French and Spanish, especially the planters of the burgeoning colony of St. Domingue (now Haiti) and residents of ancient coastal cities like Havana and Santo Domingo, where goods were continually scarce because of the mercantile policies of Paris and Madrid. The most prominent partners in the ad hoc free trade of the Caribbean were the Dutch, whose small colonies at Curacao and St. Eustatius were entrepôts for smuggled goods from all over the world. St. Eustatius, where several hundred warehouses lined the quays, was known as the "Golden Rock" because of the value of its commerce. Here an enterprising captain could discharge his cargo and load with products from as close as the next island or as far away as China, then clear for an unpatrolled cove on the coast of his native colony.[14] Today the gravelly soil of St. Eustatius is still rich with shards of Chinese porcelain and ceramics from England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Portugal, all bearing witness to the range and resourcefulness of colonial trade.

By the eve of the American Revolution, there were approximately 500 ships in the American colonies engaged in the West Indies trade.[15] The cargoes they carried to the islands depended on their port of origin. For instance, vessels from Rhode Island shipped by far the most spermaceti candles, while the lower James River dominated the trade in corn, Charleston sent the vast majority of rice, Salem and Marblehead led the way in dried fish, Philadelphia in bread and flour, and New London in horses, cattle, hogs, and sheep.[16] Most cargoes were mixed, however, which reduced the risk of encountering bad markets already glutted in a certain commodity. A typical Connecticut cargo, for instance, might include barrel staves and hoops, mixed boards, shingles, oars, linseed oil, corn, flour, strings of onions, bushels of potatoes, bags of peas, apples and apple cider, cheese, barrels of salt pork and salt beef, hams, lard, household "sundries," horses, cattle, or sheep, and poultry.[17] Wherever they were from and whatever they exported, though, these vessels were generally interested in filling their holds with sugar and molasses, which found a thriving market in the colonies.

American trade with the Caribbean followed the movement of the "sugar frontier" from the smaller to the larger islands of the Antilles between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Sugar dominated Caribbean agriculture, and its expanding cultivation created a steady demand for land and slaves.[18] Newport, Rhode Island, was the center of the American slave trade, though most "blackbirding" to the Caribbean was carried out by Dutch and English slave ships. Rum, a derivative of sugarcane, was the principal item traded on the coast of Africa for slaves to replace those claimed by the high plantation mortality.[19] (Some of the first Caribbean immigrants to North America were durable, "seasoned" West Indian slaves taken to Virginia.[20])

Slave labor was integral to the plantation economies of the Caribbean, where societies were structured like a pyramid: a small slave-owning elite, a middle stratum of smallholders and artisans often of mixed race, and a vast, degraded population of slaves.[21] Slaves performed all the gruelling tasks of sugar production. They dug holes to sow the crop, used machetes to harvest the fields (which were dense with razor-like foliage ten feet high), crushed the cane in dangerous rollers, and boiled the juice in four infernal stages. The process yielded raw sugar and molasses, which Americans frequently refined into loaf sugar and distilled into rum. West Indian sugar and molasses powered the vibrant American maritime economy for two centuries, while America served as the warehouse supplying the Caribbean plantation system.

The American Revolution came about partly as a result of imperial policy concerning sugar and molasses. An act of 1733 imposed a prohibitively high tariff on the importation of sugar and molasses from anywhere but the British West Indies. But the British islands could not meet the demand of colonial distillers and consumers for the sweet stuff, so the Molasses Act was flaunted by importers, who could bribe customs officials to ignore the French markings on a cask or smuggle the cask up the nearest creek. The Sugar Act of 1764 halved the tariff on non-British molasses, but increased its enforcement and redefined its intent from regulating trade to raising revenue. This measure combined with the other issues of taxation and enforcement of the 1760s and 1770s to generate the crisis of the American Revolution. Colonial leaders, both merchants and planters, were accustomed to their traditions of free trade and home rule and would not yield to Parliament's strict interpretation of mercantile policy. From this perspective, the Declaration of Independence was less a bold departure than an assertion of the status quo.

Independence had a price. Great Britain banned its former colonies from the ports of the British West Indies, which had always been the mainstay of colonial commerce. Though the French colonies of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and St. Domingue were no longer off-limits, trade to Barbados and Jamaica was curtailed. Only by claiming to be a ship "in distress" or through some other

West Indian sugar and molasses powered the vibrant American maritime economy for two centuries, while America served as the warehouse supplying the Caribbean plantation system.

subterfuge could American vessels land the cargoes that the starving British islands sorely needed. The loss of their American suppliers prompted British planters to advertise in New York newspapers, begging for "flour, bread, wheat, rice, or grain of any sort, staves, heading, shingles, or lumber of any sort, horses, horned cattle or livestock of any kind."[22]

Though American shipping experienced a depression immediately after the Revolution, the wars that swept Europe after 1793 helped to revive the vibrancy of American trade in the Caribbean. Between 1793 and 1812, American vessels were alternately preyed upon by both the French and the British; those carrying British goods were the enemies of France, and those carrying the colonial produce of France were fair prizes for Great Britain. Jay's Treaty of 1794 ended most British seizures of American vessels trading in the West Indies, but incurred the wrath of the French, whose Caribbean fleet had allowed Washington to win his decisive battle over the British at Yorktown in 1781. The French responded by pursuing American vessels, 300 of which were seized between 1794 and 1797 by ships flying the tricolored ensign. The naval "Quasi-War" with France stimulated a build-up of the new United States Navy, and did not officially end until 1801.

As the wars of the French Republic became the Napoleonic Wars, American vessels persisted in the risky but lucrative business of "neutral trade" between the British and French islands and their respective mother countries. "Neutral trade" was carried out through the ruse of the "broken voyage," a time-honored strategem for evading the strictures of the Navigation Acts, whereby a ship discharged its cargo of West Indian produce at an American port to "Americanize" it. The cargo could then be re-shipped (with the customs charges reimbursed to the shipper) to a belligerent country, thereby adhering to the letter, if not the spirit, of international neutrality law. Great Britain forbade this practice with the famous *Essex* decision of 1805, then mandated that all vessels bound for the continent of Europe (now controlled by the French) had to submit to inspection and pay fees in England first. Napoleon decreed in turn that any vessel submitting to this procedure was an enemy of France. With the United States caught in this double bind, Thomas Jefferson declared an embargo in 1807, a policy designed to punish both France and England for squeezing neutral trade. The embargo, which was especially reviled in New England, brought the opportunistic prosperity to a temporary halt. Traders who would normally be plying the Caribbean were confined to port until 1809, then forbidden to trade with the belligerents, then confronted with war against England in 1812.[23]

Even as the complications of European war impinged on American activities in the Caribbean, the relationship between the regions was broadening and beginning to take the shape it would after 1815. In 1797–98, Spain opened its port at New Orleans to American goods shipped down the Mississippi River and began allowing the colonies of Cuba and Puerto Rico to openly receive American cargoes. A stream of



After the sugarcane was harvested and stacked for processing, windmills like this one on St. Croix were used to crush the stalks between rollers, squeezing out the juice. The crushed cane stalks, called bagasse, were used as fuel to fire the boilers in the boiling house, where the cane juice was rendered into molasses and crystaline sugar. Both in the islands and on the mainland, the sugar was refined into brown sugar and white loaf sugar, while the molasses was sold as a cheap sweetener or fermented and distilled into rum. The plantation system of sugar production required large numbers of slaves for both the cultivation and the processing of sugarcane. At least 2 1/2 million African slaves were brought to labor in the Caribbean between 1505 and the 1840s. The children in the foreground of this photo are free, but they are descended from as many as twelve generations of slaves who made the sugar economy work. Photo by E.A. Scholfield, ca. 1875. (M.S.M. *77.160.2023)*

produce from the Mississippi hinterland began flowing from the delta to the Spanish islands, boosting the growth of frontier towns like Pittsburgh and St. Louis and increasing the American presence in New Orleans. Nearly 300 American vessels called there in 1802, which helped to bring about the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. The new Caribbean traffic emanating from the Gulf of Mexico contributed to the growing American commerce in the region, which totalled about one-third of United States exports between 1790 and 1815.[24] The Cuban and Puerto Rican markets also helped to replace the lost markets on the island of Hispaniola. The Haitian Revolution raged there until 1804, destroying the vast sugar holdings that had made it the richest colony in the world in the late eighteenth century.

Despite the frequent imperial conflicts played out in the Caribbean between 1650 and 1815, with their shifting alliances and island-swapping, certain conditions of trade in the region were constant. One salient condition was the omnipresent danger of naval warfare, privateering, and piracy. The admonition given by Joseph Williams of Norwich, Connecticut, to Captain Elisha Lathrop of his sloop *Little Joe* in 1782 was good advice for any time between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries: "By all Means keep a good lookout, and run from Every thing you see."[25]
The West Indies' markets were as unpredictable as its sea-lanes. Most were small enough to be glutted by imports and picked clean of exports after the arrival and departure of just a few vessels. Flexibility was the key to successful voyages among the islands, and flexibility hinged on the good judgment of a vessel's master. The sailing instructions Williams gave to Captain Lathrop show the latitude exercised by captains in this trade.

You being now bound to Sea in my Sloop called the Little Joe & have the Command of her my Desire is that you proceed Imediately to Guadalupe or any where Else that you may think will Answer better & after disposing of your Cargo I would have you Load the Sloop back with rum Unless you can Light of any Article that will Answer better...if you have an opportunity to Ship any goods by Other vessels that sails will you may do it Either or European as you judge best if you have an opportunity to sell the Sloop or Exchange her to Advantage you may do it...I will fully leave the whole Conducting the voyage to your Judgment."[26]



This rakish Speightstown boat of Barbados, with her Bermuda rig, is representative of the island watercraft that might serve as lighters for visiting merchant ships as well as acting as native fishing and trading craft. British Navy Lieutenant George Tobin painted this watercolor sketch in 1800. (VFM 965, G.W. Blunt White Library)

The captain had to pay close attention to any source of information available to him in order to conduct business profitably. The account sheet of the brig *Sussex*, trading between New York and Martinique in 1806-07, includes the dollar that the captain paid to the "Pilots Boy [for] giving information [on] Brigs arrived."[27] Such intelligence might determine whether a vessel would put into one island or sail to the next. The reliability of the merchants and factors in a given port also helped determine the business climate there, and shipowners frequently tried to place one of their own men, perhaps even a family member, in such a pivotal position. Captain Lathrop of the *Little Joe* became an agent for Joseph Williams in the Dutch colony of Demerara, on the South American mainland, which allowed Williams to establish a regular trade there, taking orders for exactly what the planters desired (one shipment in 1789 included, in addition to the usual staves, fish, and provisions, orders for one carriage, a few barrels of pickled lobsters, and "one large Easy Chair stuff'd with something soft").[28]

Though the business climate in the Caribbean was unpredictable, the tropical climate of the region remained oppressively reliable. Insurance rates went up during the hurricane season of late summer and autumn, and passages punctuated by "gale after gale" were common.[29] A slow or tumultuous passage or a bad market could lead to cargo losses in the form of spoiled produce or dead livestock, and bad weather on the islands could create the conditions which Captain William Walker of the brig *New Era* found in Cuba in 1857: "Nothing doing here in Freaghts, and nothing to ship there is no Sugar in the place for they have had so much Rain that the Cane will not yeald."[30] Disease in the Caribbean ports also took its toll among the unseasoned crews of visiting ships, though some old hands declared themselves well adapted to the tropics, as did Captain John Turner of New London, who wrote his wife Polly from Guadeloupe in 1801.

It is very Sickly at present but Dont make your Self uneasy for the hotter the weather the better I feel and more helthy...there was seven dide out of one greek ship in one day but it is not so sickly amunks amerikan ships as it is amunks other nattions.[31]

(to be continued)

Jack Tar in Victorian America



LISA A. NORLING

A Marginal Character of Mythic Proportions

The typical "Jack" of the pre-propeller age–the "packetarian," and the able seaman of the clipper-ship fleet–has...utterly vanished....Civilization in its most condensed expression, the steam-engine, has driven him from the ocean, and with the exception of rare specimens preserved in such marine museums as the "Sailor's Snug Harbor," and like places, he has been fairly exterminated.

Harper's New Monthly Magazine (1882)[1]

Though the *Harper's* obituary proved premature, American sailors did largely disappear from the seas in the late nineteenth century with the decline of commercial sail and the virtual collapse of our blue-water merchant marine. But, while steam-propelled shipping may have been in the process of driving him from the ocean, the steam-powered printing press assured that the traditional sailor Jack would live on as a potent image in Victorian popular culture.

Although scholars have yet to embark on a systematic study of the phenomenon on this side of the Atlantic, a preliminary exploration into the Victorian fascination with the seafaring character uncovers some interesting and revealing contradictions. Jack Tar, of course, long predates the Victorian era. Since at least the thirteenth century, "Jack," as the familiar form of the name John, has served as a generic term in the English language for a lowly peasant or laborer. According to British maritime historian Valerie Burton, references to the sailor Jack or Jack Tar first appeared in print during the late-seventeenth-century Anglo-Dutch wars; Burton suggests that "the sailor was to be the most colourful, well defined and ultimately, long-lived of these 'Jacks of all trades.'"[2]

The sailor's ideal characteristics struck a strong chord of cultural identity in middle- and late-nineteenth-century America. Like the frontiersman, the explorer, and–a little later–the cowboy, Jack Tar became for the Victorians

Working side by side, harvesting the sea to feed themselves and their families. The fisherman, as depicted in this unfinished oil on canvas by Milton J. Burns, is a man of integrity. (M.S.M. 84.156.1)



a stereotype with important symbolic, even mythic qualities. Traditionally a distinctive figure, considered more bold and physically courageous, more careless, footloose, and free from restraint than his landlubber counterparts; he was at the same time notorious for being more rowdy, spendthrift, and prone to profanity, promiscuity, and drunken excess. He was, in short, intriguing.

This was especially true for nineteenth-century Americans who found themselves in the midst of a virtual maelstrom of social and structural change. The developments historians now label the transportation, communication, and industrial revolutions proved even more radical in their power to transform American society than had our political revolt against Great Britain some fifty years before. In fact, the forces of "modernization" affected both sides of the Atlantic. By mid-century, Victorians in America and England alike sought to comprehend and control the transformation of their world. They did this in part by obsessively asserting an ethic of self-discipline and improvement, sobriety, frugality, steadiness, rationality, and order.[3] In addition, they relied on imagery and myth to bring change within the control of their imagination, by glorifying the qualities they feared they were losing–ambition, competition, individualism, and autonomy–and embodying them in mythic figures like the sailor.[4]

Jack in his element displayed the values and virtues Victorians esteemed most: he was straightforward and without artifice, heroic in the face of danger, dedicated to duty and discipline, physically strong and ruggedly masculine, master of nature, and vital to the commercial prosperity and scientific progress that depended on oceanic enterprise. In 1883, for example, the popular *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* celebrated the glory days of the clippermen, calling it "an epoch to be proud of....The whole country, indeed, was stirred by the beauty, the speed, and the triumphs of these American clippers" commanded by captains whose "qualities...are those that belong to the men who make nations great."[5]

But Jack also demonstrated many of the traits and tendencies Victorians sought to suppress or deny: intemperance, rowdiness, sexual promiscuity, the need for immediate gratification, indolence and instability, disrespect for authority, victimization, and a childlike dependence. *Harper's* readers learned that sailors were "often...guilty of the most revolting excesses and licentious conduct." The problem was particularly acute when Jack came ashore: "the moment he is released from the slavery of the ship he flies from the extremes of discipline to the lowest dissipation of freedom," all too soon to suffer "the inevitable misery following debauchery." In sum, the sailor "was essentially a wild man, the sort of being whom the lawyers would class as *ferae naturae*."[6]

The dualism of admiration and disparagement for Jack Tar surfaced again and again, sometimes confusingly in the very same depiction. A sailor was a "roving blade...beyond the normal influences of inland society, [who thereby] gains a strong individuality. Primitive impulses hold him submissive; he is superstitious and dependent, yet wayward and not easily thwarted." Yet, sailors were also "remarkably grateful, steadfast, affection-



Clearly, the image of the sailor depicted in this postcard portrait is one of bravery, sobriety, and honor. (M.S.M. *81.43.44*)

ate, and...true-blue."[7] Having but "slight powers of observation, and still less reflection, the sailor is not adept at tracing causes," speculated the author of an article titled "The Superstitions of Sailors." "Most things beyond the range of the familiar are a mystery to him–hence he is easily imposed upon. Continually exposed to perils of great moment, from habit he becomes bold and daring, as regards physical dangers, but at the same time he is the veriest slave of superstitious fear."[8]

Victorians sought a balance between, on the one hand, their liberal values of individualism and freedom, and, on the other, the complexity, interdependence, dislocation, and monolithic scale of their rapidly modernizing world. Jack Tar, a colorful personality and the embodiment of cultural extremes, became for the Victorians a useful, if paradoxical, measure against which they could evaluate their own progress and success.[9]



This figurine, with its ivory-carved face, represents the Northwest Indian image of the "Boston men," the New England skippers who visited the Pacific Northwest in search of furs early in the nineteenth century. (M.S.M. 45.891)

Given nineteenth-century America's preoccupation with the frontier, the relentless push westward across the continent, and the overwhelming dominance of agriculture in the national economy, it is interesting to note just how often Jack appears in Victorian print and image. Well beyond the depiction in literary classics of Cooper, Dana, Melville, Conrad, and Kipling–as popular then as they are now–sailors were also described and discussed in newspapers and magazines, excoriated in temperance tracts, and defended in appeals for charity and legislative reform, memorialized in sheet music and stage performance, sentimentalized among the bric-a-brac on the ubiquitous whatnot shelves, and hung on the walls in Currier & Ives prints.

The Victorian Jack Tar appeared in a range of guises: the fresh-faced youth ducking adulthood and dullness by running away to sea; garrulous and superstitious old salts with peacoats and pipes; the demonic, power-crazed captain; the drunken and diseased sailor victimized by his own excesses and duplicitous landsharks ashore; romantic swashbuckling pirates and great naval heroes of the past; and, of the present, the refreshingly simple and natural Grand Banks fisherman and glamorous clipperman defying Cape Horn. In his idealized variety, Jack served as a reservoir of archetypes and characters from which land-bound Victorian culture-makers could and did draw.

Sailors might not have taken on such mythic proportions had they not in reality become in many ways extraneous to the life of Victorian America. The occupation of seafaring, by definition,



This ca. 1835 broadside describes - in prose and in balladry - the story of Ann Jane Thornton, a young woman who "dress'd herself in sailors clothes and was overcome with joy/ When with a captain she did engage to serve as cabin boy." Initiating her ruse to pursue a seafaring fiance, this "female sailor bold" served some 31 months at sea before her sex was finally discovered. (M.S.M. 77.4.30)

located sailors at the boundaries rather than the center of American territory and society. It also demanded their absence more often than their presence. And, as civilization marched forward (in the Victorian worldview, that is), sailors remained behind, viewed as still operating under conditions and codes of behavior formed in previous centuries. Commercial sail was, of course, eventually supplanted by steam, which, together with the influx of foreign labor, worked to render American sailors obsolete. What did survive were the Victorian stereotypes, the mythic figures created to serve Victorian culture, which now so strongly influence our own perceptions of the traditional sailor Jack.

The contradictions reflected in popular imagery of the sailor is good indication of the ambivalence of our ongoing fascination with the mythic Jack Tar. A new Mystic Seaport exhibit, "Hero, Villain, Victim, Stranger: Changing Images of the Sailor," explores the ways in which various images of sailors–in the press, in cartoons, in portraits, and in other media–have both reflected and shaped America's impressions of seafarers. The exhibit opens 6 November in the R.J. Schaefer Building.

The Emma C. Berry *Under Sail*



GARY ADAIR, NANCY D'ESTANG, KARL ROBINSON, DEAN SEDER, QUENTIN SNEDIKER

Five years ago, Australian sailmaker Don Lucas came to volunteer at Mystic Seaport. During a walking tour of the Museum, we pointed to the handsome black sloop lying near the *Charles W. Morgan* and told Don: "this is the *Emma C. Berry*. She has just been completely restored."

"Oh no she hasn't," Don replied. "She has no sails."

With that spirited and perceptive retort, Don unwittingly defined a restoration philosophy that has been discussed at the Seaport for years. Central to John Gardner's philosophy of small craft preservation is the experiential use of classic watercraft types, and in recent years the Museum has attempted to preserve not simply artifacts of traditional maritime crafts, but the practice of the crafts as well–Don Lucas's very presence at the Seaport represented part of that effort.

But for the larger vessels the philosophy has been different. Ever since the early 1970s, the Seaport has demonstrated the setting and handling of sails on the *Morgan* and the *Joseph Conrad*, but these sails are not intended to power them away from their berths at the Museum. The Museum could not risk damaging these irreplaceable vessels, the constricted local waters are not suitable for maneuvering a large vessel, and we could not learn much about handling such deep-water vessels during short day sails.

The *Emma C. Berry*, however, was a different story. Almost entirely rebuilt, she could be tested in the local waters for which she was designed. During her restoration our shipyard staff had uncovered very little documentation on the details of rigging and handling such vessels, so we could, indeed, rediscover part of the story only by rigging and sailing the vessel ourselves. And if it worked for the *Berry* we could consider adapting this approach for several other Seaport vessels.

Along with Gary Adair, the shipyard's head rigger, Don Lucas developed a sail plan based on historic photographs of related working sloops, oral histories, and the *Berry's* existing spars. From the photographs we could determine such mainsail features as the height of the boom, the angle of the gaff, and the arrangement of the corner patches. Based on comparative measurements and knowledge of period materials, we scaled the spacing of the mast hoops at about three feet and the width of the sailcloth panels to be about two feet. Following local practice, we planned two rows of reef points, one six feet above the boom and another six feet above the first. The tablings (edge reinforcements) at the foot and leech (after edge) were fairly narrow, about two inches; those at the luff (forward edge) and head were about twice that wide. A reinforcing boltrope was sewn around all four sides of the sail, and cringles (hemp loops worked around the boltrope) and thimble eyes were added.

The same design conventions carried through to the jib. Some Noank smacks had a club or spar on the foot of the jib, others did not. Lacking any early photographs of the *Berry* herself, we followed the *Mary E. Hoxie's* example and designed a loose-footed jib without a spar. The wooden hanks to hold the luff on the forestay were spaced at about three feet, which would provide manageable folds while furling.

Having gleaned such details from the photographs, we next took a skiff out to the *Berry* to measure her spars. In measuring the jib, we determined the



Two Connecticut smacks much like the Emma C. Berry *lie at anchor in the Mystic River, above Mallory's Wharf, ca. 1874. This stereograph by E.A. Scholfield is the single most revealing image of these once common fishing sloops. (detail of* M.S.M. *59.848.13)*



With the Star *off her starboard quarter, the* Berry *reaches in Fishers Island Sound. The puckers along the foot of her mainsail are caused by lacing the foot of the sail to the boom rather than setting it "loose footed." (Mary Anne Stets Photo)*

length of the luff so that even after the sail stretched from use it would still be shorter than the forestay and, when hoisting it, the jib halyard would not "two-block," bringing the block at the head of the sail against the block at the head of the forestay. We also calculated the length of the foot so the sheet blocks would clear the mast, and the length of the luff so the foot would not foul on the windlass pawl post. Those three dimensions define the outline of the jib.

The mainsail, being four-sided, needed five measurements to describe its shape: the leech, the luff, the foot, the head, and a diagonal measured from the throat to the clew. The leech dimension was determined by hauling on the topping lift until the boom was at its proper height, tying a tape measure to the gaff at the position of the peak of the sail, hauling up the gaff to it's appropriate angle, and measuring the distance down to the position of the clew on the boom. The other outside dimensions were measured off the spars. With those dimensions, we could draw the sail as two adjacent triangles. In deciding on the lengths of the foot, head, and luff, we made allowance for the expected stretch in the sail during use.

With all of this information it was a straightforward job to draw the sails' "gore plans." The only remaining dimensions to be decided came not from photographs but from experience. Those dimensions were the amount of round, or "roach," to be cut in the foot, luff, and head (the leeches are straight); the width, length, and distribution of flares to be sewn into the seams ("broadseaming"); and the distribution and amount of gathering of the canvas to be done while sewing the boltropes around the sails. All three of these considerations govern the shape of the belly in a sail.

For more than a year after the working sails were completed in July 1991, we planned a controlled test of the *Berry* under sail. Chris Rawlings produced a beautiful set of steam-bent white oak mast hoops and jib hanks, which allowed the riggers to bend sail. This process brought to light many practical questions. How should the clew be hauled out on the boom and made fast? Should the foot of the mainsail be laced to the boom? How much stretch could we expect from the 7/8-inch boltropes? What about reefing? Keeping in mind that we were rigging an 1866 workboat from the small port of Noank, we worked out solutions to our questions by picking the simplest, most straightforward approach available. We tried to avoid iron hardware wherever possible, making it work with wood, hemp, and manila instead.

The trial was scheduled for 21 September 1992. Having bent on the sails, riggers Dean Seder and Karl Robinson "tweaked" the rig, setting up (tightening) shrouds and stays, checking the leads of running rigging, and generally preparing to set the sails for use. Many practical questions came to light here too. For example, not knowing what the Noank practice was, they tacked down the jib by running a 3/4-inch deck stopper line through the tack fitting on the sail and lashing it around the bowsprit. To tend the jib sheets, they led them to the bitts on the rail aft, making a practical decision in the absence of documentation on the practices of Noank fishermen.

Because documentation was so scarce, we needed to find out by use how the *Berry* worked, the feel of the helm, her trim and balance, and what it takes to hoist that big gaff main. But our excitement at getting her under sail was tempered by an overwhelming sense of responsibility. Her position in the Museum's collection gives her value beyond any monetary consideration. To damage her even ever so slightly would be inexcusable.

We headed downriver at 7:15 A.M., with the Museum's workboat *Star*–herself a Noank fishing vessel of a later generation, 85 years younger than the *Berry*–"on the hip." The wind was light, just three to five knots from the north northeast. The sky was clear, with unlimited visibility.

By 8:15, south of Six Penny Island in Noank Harbor, we began to set the sails. While setting the jib, we improved the sail's shape by adding a hank at the head cringle. Setting the main showed us that lacing the foot to the boom might not be the best solution. With the foot laced straight along the boom, the sail did not assume the smooth aerodynamic shape that it would have if set "loose-footed," attached only at the tack and clew.

We released the *Star* just off the Ram Island Yacht Club and continued out under sail–the first time the *Berry* had sailed as a sloop in 106 years, and her first time under sail at all since arriving at the Museum in 1969. We started a routine of regular bilge checks, which continued all day. She didn't leak a teacup full.

By 9:00 we were clear of the river and in the more open water of Fishers Island

Sound. Here we began to notice a considerable bend in the mast where the gaff exerted tremendous pressure forward, even in the light airs of that September morning. Compounding the problem was the fact that the shrouds continued to stretch and had to be set up yet again. Setting up the lee shrouds while alternating tacks, we got a practical lesson in the utility of deadeyes and lanyards with traditional hemp shrouds.

We were becoming more confident as the morning went on, and we welcomed the increasing easterly breeze of ten to twelve knots. Now we could really begin to feel how well the *Berry* handled.

Her sail plan is well balanced. She showed very little weather helm, even off the wind, and sailed a straight and steady course. She pointed quite well for a traditional gaff-rigged working craft. With the main boom sheeted to just over the bitts on her quarter rail, she would sail about 4 1/2 points (50 degrees) off the wind before breaking into a luff. She made much less leeway than any of us expected.

After sailing various courses on different points of sail, we had beaten our way eastward to Latimer Reef Light. The wind by now had come a little south of east, holding at about 12 knots. We put about to run back for the mouth of the river.

Off Can 1 we jibed her gently onto a starboard tack. The wind began to fall off a bit, and with our newly gained confidence in her handling we decided to carry sail upriver–with the *Star* standing by. A light ebb tide added to the favorable conditions. With cooperation from both the railroad and highway bridge tenders we proceeded all the way past the Seaport's Lighthouse Point, striking sail off Chubb's Wharf at noon.

Will the *Emma C. Berry* sail again? Yes, but not immediately and not on a regular schedule. We will address the problems we encountered and then sail her to verify the improvements. Before sailing again, the *Berry* needs a windlass, a new mast, a jib topsail of lighter-weight canvas, a light gaff topsail, and backstays to balance the topsails, as well as attention to her wet well.

Most importantly, a new mast must be made. Even in light winds it was clear that the present mast is too slight to accommodate the gaff sloop rig. We have begun researching Noank smack mast dimensions using two Scholfield photographs as the primary reference.

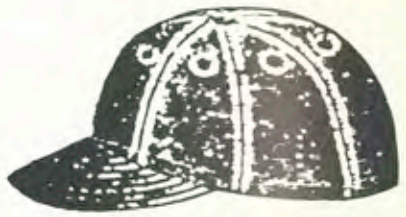
The authentic hemp shrouds, which we rigged in 1989, will need to be shortened to allow for the dramatic stretch. In 1990, even before any serious strain had been put on the rig, the deadeyes had to be turned back and the shrouds shortened by 16 inches. This indicates what a great improvement affordable wire rope standing rigging must have been when it became available to the fishermen late in the nineteenth century.

It is an ongoing process, as we learn the practical details of sailing the *Emma C. Berry*. But for all the tinkering we must do with her rig, her hull form continues to perform as sweetly as it looks. When asked why the *Berry* sails so well, former Shipyard naval architect Bob Allyn said, "because she has a beautiful run"–the shape of her underwater hull, from the widest point aft to the rudder. Referring to hull forms around which water flows smoothly, Captain Jack Wilbur once remarked, "the water doesn't want to be surprised." When the *Berry* again parted the waters off Noank as a sloop under sail, her performance was a pleasant surprise to all of us on board, but clearly the water was not surprised.



106 years after last sailing as a sloop, the Emma C. Berry *again navigates Noank Harbor. On board are (left to right) Doug Butler, Ron Anderson, Roger Hambidge, Quentin Snediker (at the helm, hidden by the others), Karl Robinson, Lauren Hart, Frank Kneedler, and Nancy d'Estang. (Mary Anne Stets Photo)*

The Oceanic Base Ball Club



ANDREW W. GERMAN

Base Ball Returns to Mystic

Do you root for the Red Sox, a team that has kept Boston guessing since 1901? Or perhaps you follow the New York Yankees, a club with 90 years of tradition; or maybe it's the Mets, with just 30 seasons behind them. Perhaps you think the Cincinnati Red Stockings started it all back in 1869. Even if you don't follow them, you probably at least recognize these teams by name, but how about the Mystic Oceanics?



We did not know much about the Oceanics either until the Ohio Village Museum in Columbus, Ohio, challenged the Seaport's Edward Baker, Supervisor of Shoreside Industries Exhibits, to field a Seaport team to play the Ohio Village Muffins according to the 1858 base ball rules. Ohio Village, which is the outdoor component of the Ohio Historical Society, revived the mid-nineteenth-century version of the game in 1981 as a way to interpret nineteenth-century life. Baseball is so well known to us today that we can use it to comprehend differences between our attitudes and those of residents of the nineteenth century by demonstrating how they played the game. Through the efforts of the Ohio Village Muffins, enthusiasm for period base ball has spread from Colorado to the East Coast. After accepting the challenge and taking for ourselves the name of Mystic's 1860s team, we discovered just how strong were the links that bound two Oceanic teams over a distance of 125 years.

Above: Ship designer John Forsyth (1836-1912), a Mystic native, supported himself as a grocer. He was the first president of the Oceanic Base Ball Club and frequently played first base in 1866. He is shown in a detail of a photograph, ca. 1864. (M.S.M. 41.747)

Right: Shipcarver John N. Colby (1833-1891) moved from Winthrop, Massachusetts, to Mystic about 1858. He and his partner James Campbell (1834-1906), a Scotsman, produced much of the decorative carving and gilding for vessels built at Mystic between 1859 and 1877. Colby was the Oceanics' star third baseman while Campbell was a nonplaying officer of the club. Colby's brother Amos also played for the Oceanics. John Colby is shown in a detail of a photo by E.A. Scholfield, ca. 1870. (Courtesy Charity & Relief Lodge No. 72, A.F. & A.M.)

Ball games–stoolball, then cricket, then various forms of a game that has been called base ball since the 1700s–have been played in England since the 1300s and were brought to America by the colonists. A popular game through the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, base ball was revised according to the rules of the British game "rounders" in the 1830s. Alexander Cartwright, who played the game with a group of New York businessmen, codified the rules in 1845, introducing the idea of tagging a runner out with a held ball rather than throwing the ball at him. Cartwright's New York Knickerbockers played in the first organized base ball match at Elysian Fields–near the New York Yacht Club building that is now at Mystic Seaport–in Hoboken, New Jersey, on 19 June 1845. These clubs–both base ball and yachting–represented the increasing leisure time among wealthy urban dwellers and the new acceptability of organized recreational pursuits.[1]

As the hotbed of base ball through the 1850s, New York was home to many clubs, some of which represented occupational groups, such as Brooklyn's Eckford club, made up of ship carpenters and named in honor of shipbuilder Henry Eckford. In 1858, as the number of American base ball clubs grew, spreading beyond New York, the National Association of Base Ball Players was formed to rule the game as an amateur sport. Cartwright's rules became known as the New York Rules and quickly superseded other versions of the game, such as the more primitive town ball and related Massachusetts Rules. Base ball became especially popular during the Civil War as a way for soldiers in camp to pass the time, and they brought their passion for the game home when they returned from war. By 1866, Currier & Ives could depict base ball as "The American National Game."

Like almost any town of consequence, Mystic was swept by base ball enthusiasm after the war. In Mystic Bridge, on the Stonington side of the Mystic River, a group of men "desirous of securing to themselves a pleasant and healthy exercise, as well as an agreeable entertainment for the public," established the Oceanic Base Ball Club about the first of March, 1866. As first constituted, the club included 29 men, and additional players joined in the ensuing months. Like any proper social club, the group elected officers and a board of directors, then sought a meeting place.

When it leased a suite in the Exchange Building, at the east end of the drawbridge, the club assured the community that the rooms would be "fitted up in a style suited to the refined taste of the Honorable Board of Directors, and furnished with the best periodicals and most approved publications of the day." In other words, their club room would be a library, "not, as is too often the case, a place for loafing and lounging, drinking and carousing, where the ear of the modest and conscientious passer by is not shocked by anathemas and blasphemy." They soon added a piano,

"which the members consider an indispensable piece of furniture to refined society."[2]

By mid-April the Oceanics had obtained the use of a field near the depot, where they practiced on Thursday afternoons. Although some later opponents complained that the field was poor, "being flanked by a river on one side and a stone wall on the other, while a rail fence obstructs the centre field," others praised the field as the third best in the state, behind Bridgeport's and Waterbury's.[3]

The Oceanics first put their field to the test on Thursday, 21 June, when the Pequot Base Ball Club of New London came to play. In a three-hour game, the Oceanics were outclassed in fielding, but outhit the Pequots to win the game 42 to 27.[4]

As played by the Oceanics, base ball was a game for gentlemen, not boys. Although referred to as "boys," a number of the players were prominent mechanics and professionals, many of them over the age of 30. Sparmaker John Batty was 55, but that did not stop him from playing third base, a position he traded off with shipcarver John Colby, 33. Colby's brother Amos, a decorator and shoe salesman, either caught or played first base–a position sometimes taken by grocer and ship designer John Forsyth, 30–while second base was covered by shipbuilder Amos Grinnell, 49, or Isaac R. Gavit, 30, a saloonkeeper. Shortstop S.A. Groves, 39, was a manager at Mystic's new Oceanic Woolen Mill and apparently lived in Greenmanville. Also from Greenmanville came pitcher James H. Carter, 29, a ship carpenter at the Greenman yard who in 1860 boarded with David Langworthy in a house now owned by the Seaport. The outfield combined ship carpenter Hugh Barr, 22, who boarded with a sailmaker on Holmes Street and probably worked in the Mallory shipyard (on the site of the Seaport's preservation shipyard); ship carpenter Charles L. Grinnell, 25; and lumber dealer Charles Cottrell, 24.[5]





"The American National Game of Base Ball," published by Currier & Ives in 1866, depicts the championship game played at Elysian Fields in Hoboken, New Jersey, in 1865. Note that the fielders play on their bases, the pitcher delivers the ball underhand, and home plate is just that, a round metal plate. The well-dressed gentleman near the first baseline is the umpire; along the third baseline would be the tallykeepers' or scorers' table, where a representative of each team recorded the runs as the scoring players came over to report after crossing the plate. (Courtesy Heritage Plantation, Sandwich, Massachusetts)

Many of the Oceanics' opponents were also well-established men. In particular, the Uncas Base Ball Club of Norwich included lawyer and former Civil War General Edward Harland, Colonel John E. Ward, Judge Holbrook, and Doctor Abbott. Of similar standing was New London's Pequot Club, which the editor of the Mystic *Pioneer* judged to be, "a fine club, composed of young men rather above the average in respect to intelligence and refinement."[6]

Baseball–as played by the Oceanics and as revived by the Ohio Village Muffins–was a decorous and genteel sport. Although they were accustomed to six-day workweeks and ten-hour workdays, the players and spectators were able to devote an afternoon during the week–generally Tuesday, Thursday, or Saturday–to base ball. During the matches, the hurler (pitcher) delivered the ball underhand where the striker (batter) requested it. The umpire stood along the first baseline, and he did not call balls or strikes–only three clean misses constituted a strikeout.

There were no automatic home runs; if a ball went over a fence or into the bushes the fielders retrieved it as quickly as they could while the striker ran as far as he dared. Fielders wore no gloves; the ball, which was softer than today's softball, was caught barehanded, and a ball caught on one bounce–either fair or foul–was an out. One-bounce fair-ball outs were eliminated by a rule change in 1864, but it was some time before all clubs adopted this rule; fielders did not begin to wear gloves until the 1870s. Barehanded catches meant that "muffs" (errors) were common and the game was high scoring and unpredictable. The rules followed by the Oceanics allowed base stealing, but this is not permitted in the 1858 rules revived by the Ohio Village Muffins.

The Oceanics began playing during a transitional period, as base ball shifted from a "healthful and invigorating exercise" and amusement for club members to a spectator sport with commercial overtones. Even as the Oceanics paid their own way to Norwich or New London to play before crowds who paid nothing to watch, teams in New York and elsewhere were playing before large crowds of paying "cranks" (fans). As these amateur teams drew ever stronger community support, winning–rather than playing well–became ever

more important. A few "amateur" teams had even begun paying their star players. But this was not yet the case in Connecticut, where both players and spectators were expected to observe strict codes of behavior. Winning was important, but so was the quality of play. Spectators and opponents alike applauded excellent defensive plays, and the teams formally and sincerely cheered each other and the officials at the end of the game. As proper gentlemen's clubs, the teams hosted one another, making a base ball match both an athletic contest and a social event. It was not until the Cincinnati Red Stockings of 1869, with a full roster of paid players, and the 1871 National Association of Professional Base Ball Players–superseded by the National League before the 1876 season–that the sport took on the professional nature by which we know it today.[7]

The Oceanics' field was a level riverside meadow on Murphy Point, just south of the railroad near the Mystic depot. In this slightly later composite panorama, looking west from Reynolds Hill at the end of Washington Street toward the railroad bridge, the field is in the center distance, with the rail fence running across center field and the stone wall parallel to it and further to the left. Photo by E.A. Scholfield, ca. 1873. (Left: M.S.M. *76.166.34; right:* M.S.M. *50.918)*

The Oceanics first faced the Uncas club on Tuesday, 17 July 1866, when they took the train to Norwich. The Uncas team treated them as their guests at the Wauregan Hotel, then they all headed for Williams Park, where 500 spectators awaited the 2:10 match. Despite home runs by Groves and Cottrell, the Oceanics quickly fell behind, losing third baseman John Colby with a strained arm and losing the game 75 to 36. "At the close of the game the clubs cheered each other, the umpire and the scorers, and then proceeded to the hotel, where, after supper, the Uncas team escorted their guests to the [steamboat] *A.C. Williams* by which they returned to Mystic."[8]

A classic contest occurred on Tuesday, 14 August 1866, when the Uncas club took the *A.C. Williams* to Mystic, arriving at 12:15 P.M.

They were at once received by the Oceanics and escorted to their club room in Exchange Building, where they partook of a lunch.

The game was commenced at two o'clock precisely, the Uncas boys going to the bat first, and scored six, but the Oceanics scored the most in each inning, except the last, and won the game by 51 to 33....Amos Colby, first baseman, led the score on the Oceanic side, making nine runs and but one out....There were fewer accidents and injuries received than is usual on such occasions, but one being disabled; Dr. Abbott, of the Uncas nine sprained his ancle and was relieved by Judge S.T. Holbrook in the eighth inning....Home runs were made by Groves, Grant and Carter of the Oceanics....Several flies were caught which elicited considerable applause from the spectators.

After the game the Oceanics gave a dinner to the Uncas club and all the Norwichians present, at the Hoxie House, at which speeches were made by Messrs. Groves and [Benjamin] Mallory of the Oceanics and Whittaker, Murphy and others of the Uncas club. At about half past seven the Uncas boys embarked on board the A.C. Williams, amid the cheers of the crowd upon the wharf, and started home, having enjoyed a good day's sport, and were apparently well pleased with the treatment received.[9]

On Wednesday, 5 September, the Oceanics chartered the steamer *Ella* to carry them to New London for a second match with the Pequot club. The Mystic Cornet Band accompanied the team, "making the excursion pleasant and enlivening." "They were met on the wharf by the Pequots, who conveyed them to Williams' Park in wagons," reported the New London *Daily Star.* The field at Williams Park was sloping and soft, making play difficult, but "there was a large assemblage of ladies and gentlemen looking on,...and when a good run or a fine catch was made, the audience enthusiastically cheered." After 3½ hours, the Pequots, who came from



behind in the eighth inning, won 53 to 50. The clubs then proceeded to the home of Henry P. Haven, the prominent New London whaling agent, maritime entrepreneur, and former New London mayor, whose son Thomas was president of the Pequot club. There, "after supper the ball was presented by Captain Groves, of the Oceanics, to Captain Marsh, of the Pequots. The speech of Captain Groves, as well as the reply of Captain Marsh, were appropriate to the occasion." When the Oceanics departed on the *Ella* at 7:30, "the Pequots gave them rousing cheers as they left the wharf."[10]

On Saturday, 22 September, the Oceanics and Pequots squared off to settle their series at the field on Poquonnock Plain in Groton. "There was a large number of single and double turn outs and the fair sex were well represented on the occasion," noted the *Daily Star*. "The Mystic Club came up in teams [wagons] and most of the New Londoners came in the 1:15 train." The Oceanics won the toss and chose last ups. After three innings the Pequots protested the umpire, Benjamin Mallory, and the Oceanics accepted a member of the Chester club as substitute. Although he was chosen by their club, the New London crowd soon began to hiss and insult the new umpire, causing the editor of the Mystic *Pioneer* to note, "it appears that they have not yet arrived at that point of Base Ball civilization which will allow them to receive the decisions of an impartial Umpire in a manner becoming gentlemen."

"The most applauded play of the whole game was made by J. Colby, of the Oceanics, on third base, beautifully holding a red hot ball from the bat of D. Marsh." Colby moved over to relieve Carter as pitcher in the eighth inning, holding down the score, and S.A. Groves hit two of the game's three clean home runs. After three hours and 45 minutes, the Oceanics won by a score of 53 to 40.

The game demonstrated what had already become apparent in New York: base ball's rapid transformation from an exercise for the players to an amusement for the spectators. When partisan cranks could control a game to this degree, admission fees and professional players were not far behind. The editor of the Mystic *Pioneer* gave special credit to shipcarver James Campbell, vice president of the Oceanic club, "for the arrangements for keeping order on the grounds and having the applause fairly bestowed"–to players, umpire, scorers, and even the reporters–as befit the amateur spirit of the game.[11]

On 10 November the Oceanics traveled back to Norwich to play the Chester club, both teams fielding several substitutes for the match, which featured many wild throws. "The first baseman of the Oceanics [John Forsyth] played well, and generally stopped balls that did not require him to climb into a tree to reach," remarked the editor of the New London *Daily Star*. According to the Norwich *Bulletin:*

The last innings was very exciting. When the Oceanics went to bat their score stood 25 to 33, when they left it, it stood 37 to 33, and as it had been agreed to close the game on the 8th innings, on account of approaching darkness, the excitement was intense when the Chesters went to bat, with four to make a tie, and five to win. Gilbert knocked a skyer, well caught by A. Grinnell on the second base; Backus made two bases on his bat, stole the third and made his home on a pass ball. Parish knocked a short ball, but made his first on a muff [error] of the short stop; stole the next two, and made his run on King's batting, the latter reaching the second on muffin throws. Smith hit a teller to centre field and made his second, bringing King home. The Oceanics were now but one ahead, and the crowd grew more and more excited, when Blackman went in, knocking a sky scraper to right field, sent home Smith and took himself to third, whence he stole home between pitcher and catcher, sending the Chesters one ahead, and as Gale and Potter got out on the home base, it was a handsome thing to do handsomely done.[12]

This 38 to 37 loss ended the Oceanics' season, while the Pequot and Uncas



clubs played on the next weekend to capture the Champion Bat of New London County in a game won handily by the Pequots, 44 to 20, causing the Norwich *Bulletin* to note, "it is rarely that a club is met with composed of men so evidently built for players, and they are now reaping the reward of persistent and thorough practice during a few months past."[13]

By 1867 the number of American base ball clubs was approaching 1,000, and Connecticut had at least 20 clubs, which were governed by the Connecticut Base Ball Players Association. The Oceanics started off the season by hosting the new Pawcatuck club from Westerly on Saturday, 4 May. Unused to "swift pitching," the Pawcatucks were defeated 86 to 27. Thereafter, Oceanics' games were rarely mentioned in the local newspaper. Perhaps the team kept in shape by playing some of the local competition, which included the Mystic Actives, the Mystic Bridge Baltics, the Old Mystic Gazelles, and the Noank Live Oaks.

Late in 1867 the Oceanics expected to participate in an increasingly common feature of base ball: the visit of a touring club. Some of the better clubs from such base ball centers as New York, Philadelphia, and Washington had started to tour the hinterlands, challenging local teams and spreading enthusiasm for the game. The nation's growing railroad and steamboat network made such expeditions easy to undertake, but this was also the final step in base ball's metamorphosis into a professional sport, one that could support teams on the road and could provide the quality of competition that cranks would pay to watch. When the Cincinnati Red Stockings were defeated in 1868 by a touring club that included several paid players the team sought to reclaim its reputation by hiring the game's first entirely professional roster for the 1869 season. This marked the undisguised beginning of professional base ball.

The Brooklyn Independents were not among the best clubs in New York, but they were good enough to propose an expedition into eastern Connecticut to play the best of the local clubs. The Independents were expected to come up on Thanksgiving Day 1867 to play the New London Pequots in the morning and the Oceanics in the afternoon, but the matches never came off, partly because of the wet weather that day.[14]



The 1993 Mystic Seaport Oceanics: back row (left to right), M. Scott, R. Freitas, R. Gaudette, D. Stein, A. German; middle row, G. Morgage, M. Smith, L. Hart, S. Ostlund; front row, R. Ostlund, E. Baker. At left is Umpire R. Schuricht; at right are tallykeeper T. Kugeman, and crank, Miss J. Eifrig. (Jennifer Stich Photo)

The Mystic *Pioneer* reported only one Oceanics match in 1868, when the club traveled to Day's Park, Stonington, to take on the Westerly Emmetts. About 600 Westerly fans came out hoping to see their team upset the Oceanics. But with far better fielding and strong hitting, the Oceanics won the eight-inning game 48 to 22 in two hours and 50 minutes.[15]

Although the Mystic Actives continued to play base ball into the 1870s, no further Oceanics matches were reported after 1868, suggesting that the club quietly disbanded after three active years. Only five of the original Oceanics were still playing in 1868, and it is likely that the Oceanics' ship carpenters, having passed through a slow period in the shipyards since 1866, were now fully occupied with the 15 Spanish gunboats and several other large vessels launched at Mystic in 1869. Yet, we do know that shipcarvers Campbell and Colby, two of the club's most spirited members, had not lost their love for base ball. When they carved the figurehead for the ship *Frolic*, built at the George Greenman & Company shipyard (on the present site of the Seaport) in 1869, they incorporated the base ball theme. The figurehead was "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," noted the editor of the Mystic *Pioneer*.[16] Indeed, it symbolized the maritime connections the Mystic Oceanics brought to base ball in the 1860s.

And what of the 1993 Mystic Seaport Oceanics? Led by Captain Baker, 10 of us, with our tallykeeper, crank, and photographer, made the 750-mile trek to Columbus, only to be beaten handily by a powerful and experienced Ohio Village Muffin team, made up of museum volunteers. The 32 to 4 score belied some strong Oceanic defensive work, especially by right fielder Steve Freitas who, in the tradition of John Colby of the original Oceanics, spent the summer working in the Seaport's shipcarver's shop. Robert Gaudette of housekeeping drove in or scored all of our runs.

Despite our defeat, we have learned through research and practical experience that base ball as it was once played is a colorful and exciting event that reveals much about nineteenth-century values. So don't be surprised if the Mystic Seaport Oceanics take the field again. It's "a handsome thing to do handsomely done."

Building Tradition, and Keeping It Alive

LESLIE GIFFORD

Carvel planking. Lofting. Steam bending. To what kinds of activities do these terms refer? And are they suitable in a family publication?

They are, especially when the publication is *The Log of Mystic Seaport*. For these terms refer to traditional boatbuilding, and the activities are those taught in the Seaport's unique and extremely popular boatbuilding course.

Initiated by John Gardner in the early 1970s, this course offers guidance and practice in the essentials of traditional wooden boat building. For the uninitiated, it is a whole new world, with a language all its own. Course graduates come away having mastered carvel and lapstrake planking, steam bending, scarphing, spiling, and more.

"I had been concerned that it would be mostly watching, little doing," says Dan Sanchez, who took the course last spring. "But that turned out not to be the case. It's really hands-on. When it comes time to make a stem, it's not the whole class making one stem. Everyone makes their own, and takes it home. I've got mine on my coffee table."

Seaport boatbuilders Barry Thomas and Bill Sauerbrey teach the course, which is offered in two formats: participants may choose to take the course one evening a week for ten weeks–with a full day of lofting at the start, or they may opt for the five-day full-day plan. Either way, this course is intense and, according to participants, completely absorbing.

Methods are demonstrated by Thomas and Sauerbrey, and then emulated by the class of eight, with coaching when needed. "I never felt short-changed on attention," says Sanchez. "It was really a perfect combination of [them] letting you get into your own world - to be able to enjoy the tools and the setting - and helping out and giving advice if you needed it. Barry and Bill were great: if you screwed up they'd tell you, and if you did a great job they'd tell you."

"I had always been interested in boatbuilding and woodworking in general," says Peter Alberti, another springtime participant. "I had made some furniture pieces for around the house, but I was particularly intrigued by the differences in the construction of boats. In general carpentry, joints are square - everything is plumb, vertical - whereas the hull of a boat is curved, and everything involves angles, and beveling."

Alberti said he had made a few attempts at boatbuilding on his own in the past, but had been quickly frustrated: "Reading directions in the books was like reading Greek. This is something you just can't teach yourself. So I come to the course and have somebody show me, and all of a sudden the words in the books become clear to me. And, you get details you wouldn't get in the books."

A third graduate of the spring session - Tina Marie Huard - agrees: she had come to the class with some experience at helping to restore a Herreshoff Watch Hill 15, she said. But in her previous experience, she had simply done what she was told. "I never knew the why of what I was doing. This course gave me that."

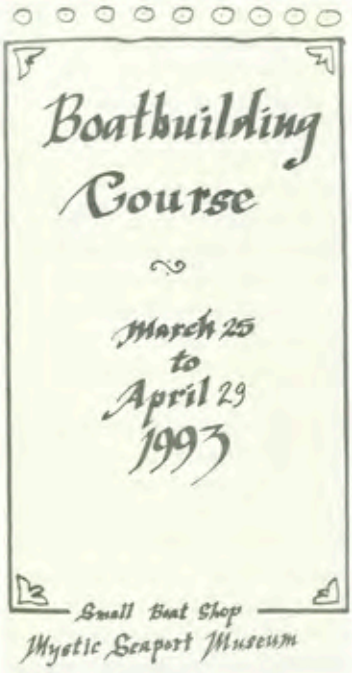
"It's amazing how many different pieces of a boat there are," says Sanchez, a lawyer and former potter who appreciates the fact that no two handcrafted boats will be exactly alike, with so many opportunities for signature variations.

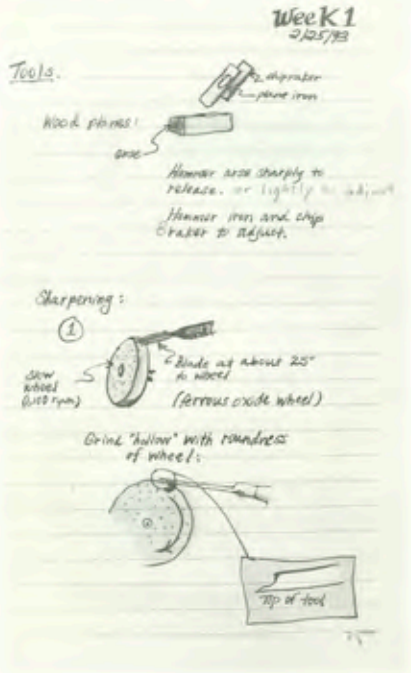


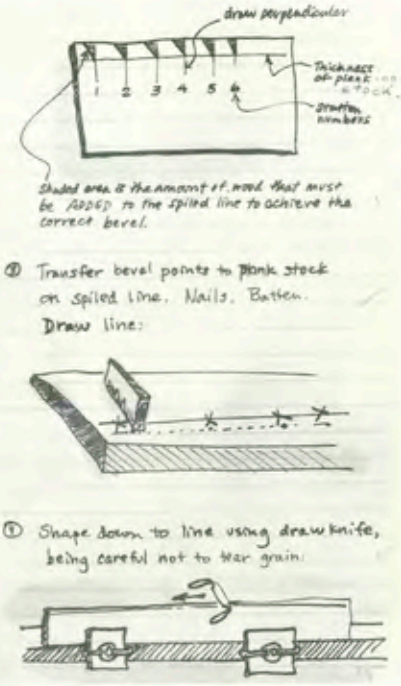




CLAIRE WHITE-PETERSON PHOTOS







"You're making one piece and it's going to be different from the one the person next to you is making. And that's just one piece. It's amazing the craftsmanship that goes into it."

Sanchez's commitment to learning the craftsmanship - and his proven ability as an artist - have resulted in a carefully illustrated notebook, pages of which are featured here. "I think the notebook speaks to the level of the class," he says. "If it wasn't a great class, I wouldn't have taken the pains to make a notebook like that." Commitment to craftsmanship aside, he wonders on a purely practical level how anyone could retain the wealth of information taught in the course without having taken copious notes. The notebook, he says, has proven invaluable to his work on two ongoing vessel restoration projects.

He had not yet started on a new construction, but said he planned to "as soon as the boats come out of the water Columbus Day." It is, in fact, this passion for sailing that got him into the course in the first place: he believed a better understanding of the way a boat - "even a traditional wooden one" - was put together would augment the safety of his sailing.

While Sanchez was still trying to decide which craft to build first - Thomas had taken the class on a tour of the watercraft stored in the Rossie Mill, and had pointed out simpler designs class graduates could expect to build on their own - his classmate Alberti had started right in on the Swampscott Dory, plans for which serve as the diploma for course completion. He had hoped to finish his first craft by the end of the summer. Huard was putting her boatbuilding future on hold, until she could move to a larger house - one that would accommodate a workshop.

The three alumni had only good things to say about the course and its teachers. With one exception: it doesn't have a sequel. But Thomas and Sauerbrey believe the class as it is structured gives participants the training they need to build a boat: it teaches the primary skills needed and it teaches as well the kinds of thinking and problem solving all boatbuilders go through when challenged by a new design. And those graduates who want a little more guided practice can certainly repeat the course, without fear of redundancy.

"I would definitely repeat the class," says Alberti, adding, "I know enough now at least to ask questions. Before, I had never even been able to figure out why you'd use copper nails for riveting." Thomas and Sauerbrey are veritable fountains of such wisdom.

Though many participants actively seek out this course, others have more or less stumbled onto the class by way of the Seaport's boatshop, where there is always some construction in process. The current shop project is a whaleboat, which Thomas and Sauerbrey work on together as time allows.

And though to date the boatshop creations have highlighted sophisticated designs that require the hand of an experienced craftsman, the shop is now considering focusing its efforts on building those craft that are more accessible to the novice.

Asked for their reaction to this change in philosophy, the three springtime course participants were enthusiastic, though Sanchez admitted to a certain misgiving: "On a practical level, I think it's a good idea. But on a more philosophical level, there's something about seeing the whaleboat being built. It's boatbuilding on a grander scale - it's what you're reaching for."

The reaching, he says, is both artistic and historic. "When I took this course, I didn't feel I was being taught a trade - I felt I was being taught a tradition."

Alberti agrees: "I felt like I was taken back 200 years, to the time when the master would pass along time-honored skills to his apprentice."

For Huard, too, the historical perspective is valuable. But she also recommends the course in a completely contemporary context: "This course is great for anyone who does stressful work. When you're in the boatshop, time just stands still."

Christmas Dinner On Board the Frederick Gebhard



SANDRA L. OLIVER

Christmas Eve, 1858. The 177-foot packet ship *Frederick Gebhard* is on the Atlantic, 12 days out of Savannah and bound for Liverpool with a cargo of cotton. "It has blowed a gale for two days from WSW," scrawls First Mate Nehemiah S. Hayden in his combination abstract log and journal as the ship labors on. "The ship has been running close reefed fore and main topsails & reefed foresail nearly all the time, the sea runing very high all the while. As far as you could see, the ocean was one mass of foam rolling and tossing us about just as if we were a plaything."

Occasionally Hayden can get below for a short while, only to reflect on the time of year and his family and Frances Ann Stevens, who would become his wife, back in Essex, Connecticut.

6 PM. Christmas Eve at sea, and such fine weather! The wind is blowing, and whistling through the rigging the tune of Santa Claus. The rain is pouring down in one solid sheet, I have but just come below, have been taking in sail and am wet through, but it is no use puting on dry clothes, for I have got to go on deck again very soon.

8 PM. Yes I had to go on deck much sooner than I expected, but have got below again. I hope for four hours. I would give quite a sum to be where I was last Christmas eve, but is no use wishing. I am here and must take it as it comes.

Christmas was already a popular American holiday, even in New England where it had been resisted until the 1840s, and the elements of Clement Moore's "'Twas the night before Christmas," first published in 1823, were well known to all. Who was Hayden thinking of when he commented:

I wonder if you will get a sugar whistle in your stocking to night. by the way I wish I was where I could steal it. I would hang my wet ones in its place, but as I can not do that I will put them in my Bunk full of cold feet, and try to sleep fast enough to dry them. it is real pleasant to sleep in wet clothes, if you dont believe it, you wet your flanels with salt water and try it, I am going to, so Good Night.

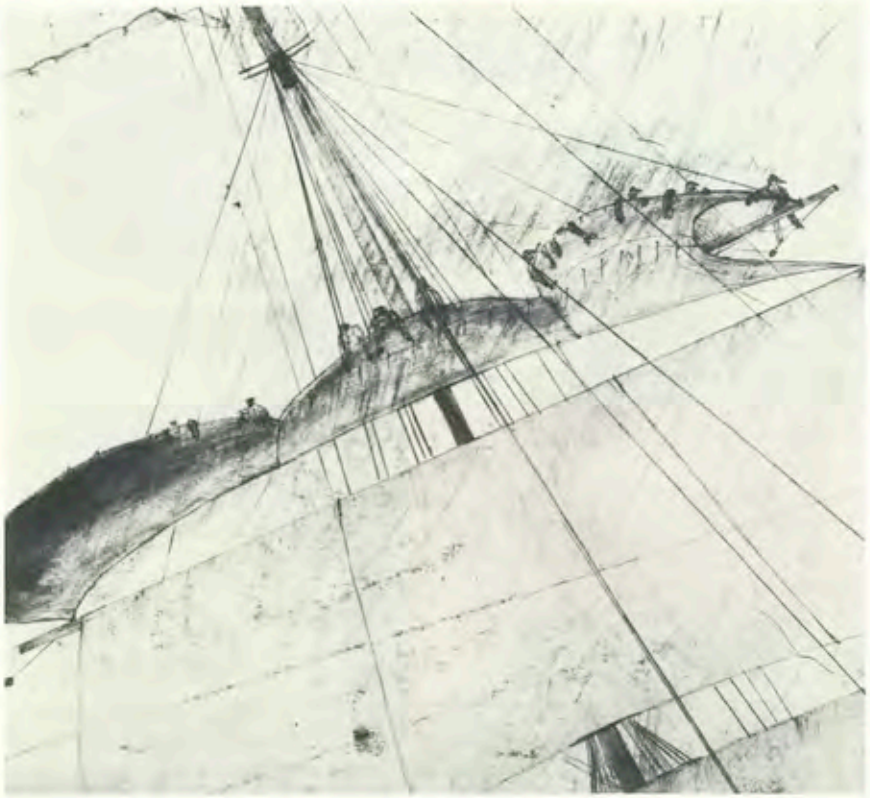
The weather moderates slightly on Christmas day, but the wind veers to the cold quadrant, north and north northwest, replacing torrential rain with cold scudding clouds. Hayden continues to think of home, noting

At Sea Christmas Night

Some one is talking about me to day for my ears have burned confoundedly some of the



The 1,124-ton, 177-foot ship Frederick Gebhard, *was launched at Williamsburg, Brooklyn, in 1856 for the Hurlbut Line of New York-Antwerp packets. A full-bodied ship, she was well suited to carrying cotton, as she did on the stormy Savannah-to-Liverpool passage detailed in Nehemiah Hayden's journal. Hayden sketched her situation on 16 December 1858. (Log 191, G.W. Blunt White Library)*



Reefing an upper topsail aboard the ship Frederick Gebhard. *Nehemiah Hayden sketched this scene in his journal. (Log 191, G.W. Blunt White Library)*

time, perhaps some one is wondering where I am, or what we had for dinner, or something of the kind....For dinner we had chicken, beef, pork, codfish, onions, green corn & beans, boiled tongue, pickels, pickeled beets, bread and butter, and Whortleberry Pie and Whisky. Many a poor fellow has had a worse dinner than that and some had none at all. I for one would have gone without any if by so doing I could have been in good old Essex even if I had been up to Eliza Sweets I wonder what kind of a time they are haveing there. I'll bet there is sleighing and that some of the young folks are having a good time. I know I would if I was there.

But the working of a ship outweighs thoughts of home.

The old song has commenced on deck. They are clewing up the Topgallantsails, I expect We shall have a nice night of it for it was raining when I came below, there was a little snow with it so as to make it pleasant, and cold! don't talk. Tomorrow I hope will be pleasant for we have not had a real pleasant one since we left. Good night.

As Hayden's experience illustrates, Christmas Day or not, the work of the ship must go on. Just about the only way he and his shipmates had of observing the holiday was with a meal. The sailors before the mast were the poor fellows who had worse, although they likely received something special like plum duff and perhaps even a ration of whiskey to celebrate the day. Let's take another look at the after-cabin dinner Hayden enjoyed, remembering that the cook and stewardess–yes, there was a female cabin attendant aboard–faced considerable challenges from the weather to make the meal a success.

Chicken, beef, pork, and codfish is quite an array, and the variety alone signals festivity. The chicken and pork probably boarded the ship live in Savannah. Of all edible animals, chickens and pigs were the easiest to keep aboard ship, since neither required much space and both were able to live off scraps and grain. Beef animals, however, needed hay and were more work to have on board, although they were sometimes accommodated. An account from one vessel reported that one of the ship's boats was loaded with hay for a live beef animal, then safely hauled up out of the way on davits.

If there was enough pork, the fo'c'sle crew might have been given a sea pie for their dinner–a multi-layered pie made of fresh and salt meats separated by layers of dough. The chicken–or chickens–was probably roasted, possibly boiled, since galley oven space was needed for the pork. Chicken was not as large or as reminiscent of Christmas dinner at home as a turkey would have been, but it was a perfectly acceptable substitute.

The beef, if the same salt beef that was served to the crew, would have been freshened and boiled in a fashion similar to a New England boiled dinner. If butchered aboard fresh, it would have been served as steaks or a roast. The codfish represented the fish course. It was most likely a salted one, probably soaked, simmered, and served with melted butter, or perhaps salt pork fat and bits poured over it.

For vegetables the cook prepared a medley of onions, green corn, and beans. I suspect that the onions were boiled like the beef. Had he been at home, Hayden might have had them in milk, but that is unlikely aboard ship, where milk, if there was any canned milk in the larder, would have been saved for the coffee.

Green corn and beans in that particular combination sounds like a kind of succotash. Green corn was so called to distinguish it from old corn, which was dried. In fact, "green" was a nineteenth-century adjective often applied to vegetables that could be eaten either young or old, particularly corn and beans. Since American packers had learned to can corn in the 1840s, it is possible that the green corn aboard the *Frederick Gebhard* in December was canned. The beans most likely went to sea dried for the cook to soak and cook up. If the corn and beans were served together as a succotash, a piece of salt pork in with the cooking beans would have been appropriate.

Boiled tongue was a delicacy that probably came on board pickled–brined–for the trip to Liverpool. I wonder if the stewardess peeled it before serving it, as was the custom ashore.

"Pickels" might have included cucumber, cauliflower, tomato, peppers, as well as peaches, apples, and pears. Cucumbers were most common, so we can envision these together with the pickled beets on

The wind is blowing,

and whistling through

the rigging the

tune of Santa Claus

the saloon table. Pickles like these were sometimes brought along by individuals aboard ship and shared. They may also have been part of the after-cabin provisions. The cucumbers were probably in casks, and the beets put up in jars in a very sharp vinegar and spice pickle solution. Modern pickled beets are very mild compared to earlier recipes.

Bread, known as soft tack to distinguish it from the hard-bread crackers called hardtack, was a privilege of the after cabin, as was the butter to spread on it. Butter was not likely to get rancid in the North Atlantic in winter, but there is no guarantee that a bit of butter already off had not found its way aboard in Savannah. After all, a chandler or grocer foisting bad butter off on a ship did not have to worry about the customer bringing it back. It's too bad that ships reserved butter for officers and passengers, for it was a desirable source of added calories for those who worked out in cold, miserable weather.

Making bread required that the cook or steward have some skill. Yeast aboard ship at this time was probably live, in a liquid form, renewed by a bit of fresh dough from each batch of bread. But it is possible that the yeast came aboard in dried cake form, for housewives had begun making dried yeast several decades before. According to the cookbooks of the time, however, the predominant method for making yeast yielded a liquid based on grated potatoes and hops tea. Yeast could have been made at sea without the hops, and potatoes were usually available on shipboard.

In our language, whortleberries are either a specific variety of blueberries or blueberries by another name. Obviously fresh berries were not available at sea in December of 1858, but canned fruits and berries had been around for more than 30 years, since William Underwood introduced them in hermetically sealed glass jars in the 1820s. The *Gebhard's* Christmas pie was probably a straightforward two-crust pie, sweetened possibly with brown sugar and, as most recipes of the time recommended, with "spice to taste."

Obviously the *Gebhard's* captain, Nehemiah's older brother Frederick N. Hayden, was no teetotaler if whiskey was handed around. Having come from the southern port of Savannah, we might guess that the *Gebhard* carried bourbon whiskey–made from corn mash, rather than the rye mash whiskey of the Northeast. Considering the weather, perhaps a hot whiskey punch would have tasted good to Mate Hayden and the other cold, tired officers. Then again, they were probably content to toss it back neat, or mixed with a bit of bitters, letting it warm their innards at the conclusion of the best meal they could hope for during a holiday at sea. Considering their efforts in the face of terrible weather, we might hope that the *Gebhard's* cook and stewardess got at least a taste of the cabin feast.

What more do we know of Nehemiah S. Hayden? A good Methodist, he spent the last Sunday of the year contemplating eternity, then the next day turned his thoughts to his friends at home: "I almost envy some of those fellows who have nothing to do during these long evenings but to gather around a good hot fire, and crack jokes & walnuts, or perhaps pass a pleasant hour with some good girl."

After still more bad weather the *Gebhard* reached Liverpool in January, and the cook almost immediately wound up in jail for getting drunk. Hayden supervised the loading of the ship's return cargo–this is how we know he was the mate. The *Gebhard* cleared for New York early in February, passing through more than one "living gale" that had Hayden longing for a warm fireside. When they finally reached New York at the end of March, a month after Hayden quietly observed his twenty-third birthday, the crew immediately ran; Hayden was content to take a walk around the city. Thanks to the efforts of Robert Harvey of the Connecticut River Museum in Essex, we know that he next served aboard the ship *Charlotte A. Stamler* in the transatlantic trade and then enlisted in the navy, serving as acting ensign aboard the Union steamer *Penguin,* blockading the Texas coast during the Civil War.

Hayden's journal was acquired by the Seaport in 1960, and is now cataloged as Log 191 in the manuscripts collection of the G.W. Blunt White Library. Hayden's sense of humor endeared him to me instantly, making his journal one of my favorite research finds. Certainly he deserved to spend more than a few Christmases back in good old Essex, sitting by a fire with Frances Ann, cracking jokes and walnuts and telling her all about his Christmas at sea in '58. But, sadly, he didn't. Nehemiah S. Hayden died of typhoid aboard the U.S.S. *Penguin* on 6 July 1864.

Might this dockside sketch be a self-portrait by Hayden? (Log 191, G.W. Blunt White Library)



Wind Rose,® Calendar of Events & Museum Notes

Come Inside, The Weather's Great

We've dreamed up something new for winter. We're getting wise to the weather, and we're going inside, where we believe we can create a better–and warmer–experience for members, visitors, and staff. For the first six weeks of 1994–from 3 January through 11 February–we will close our village exhibits and reassign staff to the heated North End exhibits, which will come alive with fresh interpretation and demonstrations. The interpreters of the Shipcarver's Shop, for example, will move to the Figurehead Exhibit, where on weekends they'll even be doing some carving. The chantey program will move into the Spouter Tavern, where you can enjoy a light lunch while you listen. And our roleplayers will be active in various locations.

You'll start your day at the Visitor Reception Center–the North Entrance will be open on weekends only–and we'll have a staff planner on hand to help you create the visit that best suits your interests. We'll provide a special map that indicates the staffed exhibits, and an expanded Today program, which will tell a little about each exhibit and the activity going on there. Fourteen indoor exhibits will be open, and some of these have never before been interpreted. Here's your opportunity to find out what the *Benjamin F. Packard* Ship's Cabin is really about. Or learn more about the activities that took place in the Thomas Greenman House, which will be interpreted daily and which on weekends will be the site of domestic arts demonstrations.

This is a great chance to explore every nook and cranny of the interesting and fun "Images of a Sailor" exhibit in the Schaefer Building. And be sure to make your way across to the P.R. Mallory Wing, where another new exhibit–"Winter in New England"–will use photographs and artifacts to create a period picture of the season. Our Planetarium programs will be complementary during this six-week period, and we'll be showing Mystic Seaport Videos down in the Campbell Room.

The *L.A. Dunton* will be open daily, with the fo'c'sle stove lighted and interpreted with foodways demonstrations. On weekends, we'll have both the fo'c'sle and cabin stoves lighted, for expanded interpretation and a cozy place to sit. The *Charles W. Morgan* will be open and interpreted with personal tours. And for those of you who enjoy a brisk walk in the winter air, we'll provide a special self-guided tour of our village, during which you can walk along the quiet streets and really notice the architecture of our buildings, while soaking up the winter sun and watching it dance along the clear-blue Mystic River.

MEMBER FAMILY WORKSHOPS!
In addition to our usual activities in the Children's Museum, we'll be hosting one afternoon workshop for each of six Saturdays, 8 January through 12 February. Our Museum Teachers are cooking up some great projects for families to do together: we might be making model boats one afternoon, scrimshaw the next, maybe even a little fish art. Registration for these workshops is required, and there will be a nominal materials fee, so please call the Education Department at 572-5322, and make plans to spend an afternoon – or two or three – indoors with us!

November

Winter Schedule Continues. The Seaport will be open from 9:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., through 2 January 1994.

25 ORNAMENT CONTEST DELIVERY to the Museum Stores. Entries will be accepted through 2 December. Please call 572–8551 ext. 302 for details.

26-28 NEW ENGLAND FIELD DAYS. Special Thanksgiving weekend activities for families, including wagon rides, craft workshops, and puppet shows. Please call 572–5315 for details.

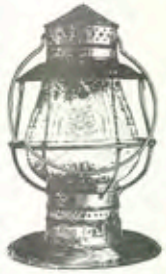
28 LAST DAY OF OUTDOOR DEMONSTRATIONS until 4 April.

29 "VISIONS OF CHRISTMAS PAST." This 30–minute slide presentation describing a traditional New England Christmas will be shown at 11:00 A.M. and at 2:00 P.M. in the Planetarium's Campbell Room.

December

1 YULETIDE TOURS BEGIN, to run through 18 December. These daytime tours of selected exhibits and ships are conducted by guides in nineteenth–century costume, and include chantey music and conversations with roleplayers. Tours are conducted Wednesdays through Sundays. Reservations are required, and can be made by calling 800–522–1841.

1 "THE STAR OF BETHLEHEM," a half-hour program on this noted celestial phenomenon, will be presented in the Planetarium daily at 2:45 P.M., through 2 January. Please call 572–5355 for details.



3 LANTERN LIGHT TOURS BEGIN. Please see page 92 for story about these holiday walking tours, which leave the Visitor Reception Center every 15 minutes each evening from 5:00 to 9:00, through 19 December. Member ticket sales begin 20 September, at 800–522–1841.

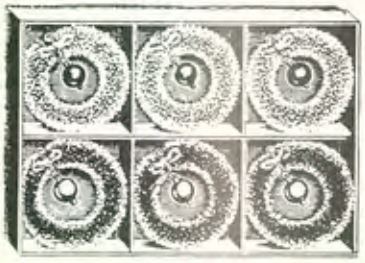
4 MEMBERS' SHOPPING DAY at the Mystic Seaport Museum Stores. Extra discounts for members all day,

10:00 A.M. to 8:00 P.M. Please call 572-8551 for details.

10 ORNAMENT CONTEST WINNERS announced, at Mystic Seaport Museum Stores. Please call 572-8551 for details.

11 INTERPRETER FOR VISITORS WITH HEARING IMPAIRMENTS available according to schedule posted at the Visitor Reception Center.

16 ADVENTURE SERIES: THE RECORD-BREAKING VOYAGE OF *Great American II.* Please see back wrap, or call 572-5339 for details.



MARY ANNE STETS PHOTO

19 COMMUNITY CAROL SING takes place in Anchor Circle at 3:30 P.M. The Seaport carolers will lead an hour of favorite carols. Food donations are welcomed in lieu of admission. Please call 572-5378 for additional information.

24 CHRISTMAS EVE DAY Observed. Seaport will be open on a limited basis.

25 CHRISTMAS DAY. Mystic Seaport will be closed.

26 KIDS AFTER CHRISTMAS. Special activities for children abound. Games, crafts, and magic shows every day through 2 January. Special "Plum Pudding Voyages" will be conducted – at $2 per voyager – at 11:00 A.M. and at 1:00 P.M. daily. Please call 572-5315 for additional information.

January

3 MUSEUM HOURS CHANGE. The Seaport will be open from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M.

3 SPECIAL WINTER PROGRAMS offer a seasonal look at the Seaport. Please call 572-5315 for details

8 INTERPRETER FOR VISITORS WITH HEARING IMPAIRMENTS available according to schedule posted in the Visitor Reception Center.



10 CARVING CLASS: Eight sessions led by Jonathan Shay, professional carver and Seaport Exhibits Specialist. The course meets Tuesday and Thursday evenings 6:30 to 9:30, through 2 February. It is designed for students with no prior training, but open to experienced carvers as well: individualized attention will allow all to progress at their own pace. The class will be project-oriented; previous projects have included name boards, stern boards, decorative panels, and carved box lids. Enrollment is limited to six students, with a minimum enrollment of four. All materials and tools are provided. Cost is $210 ($230 for nonmembers). Please call 572-5356 for registration information.

11 MORNING FUN FOR KIDS. Special educational fun for parents and preschoolers ages 2½ to 3, Tuesday mornings from 9:00 to 10:00, in the Children's Museum. Series cost is $35; a second child can attend for an additional $14. Please call 572-5322 for information and registration.



20 ADVENTURE SERIES: "ITALY - TIP TO TOE." Please see back wrap, or call 572-5339, for details.

24 SMITHING CLASS, LEVEL 1. Eight sessions led by Rocky Meyer, a professional farrier with a wealth of knowledge in both modern and traditional blacksmithing techniques. Course meets Monday and Wednesday evenings, 6:30 to 9:30, through 16 February. It is designed for students with no prior training, and individualized attention will allow all to progress at their own pace. Enrollment is limited to six, with a four-student minimum. All materials and tools are provided. Cost is $210 ($230 for nonmembers). Please call 572-5356 for registration information.

25 WEATHER: READING NATURE'S SIGNS, INSTRUMENTS, & FORECAST INFORMATION. Five-week course meets in the Seaport Planetarium Tuesday evenings 7:30 - 9:30, through 22 February. Cost is $63 ($70 for non-members). Please call 572-5355 for information and registration.

27 PILOTING & DEAD RECKONING course meets in the Seaport Planetarium Thursday evenings 7:30 - 9:30, through 3 March. Cost is $72 ($80 for nonmembers).

February

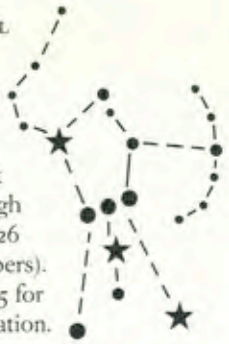
12 KIDS' LIBERTY DAYS, during school vacation, feature family programs, craft programs, and a Seaport Search for kids through 21 February. Please call 572-5315 for details.

12 INTERPRETER FOR VISITORS WITH HEARING IMPAIRMENTS available according to schedule posted in the Visitor Reception Center.

17 ADVENTURE SERIES: EXPLORING AFRICA IN A CATALINA FLYING BOAT. Please see back wrap, or call 572-5339 for details.



22 MORNING FUN FOR KIDS program runs through 29 March. Please see 11 January entry for details.



23 BASIC CELESTIAL NAVIGATION course meets Wednesday evenings, 7:30 to 9:30, in the Seaport Planetarium, through 27 April. Cost is $126 ($140 for nonmembers). Please call 572-5355 for registration information.

28 SMITHING CLASS, LEVEL 2. Eight sessions, again led by Rocky Meyer, this class follows the Level 1 session so students who wish to do so may take both. Class meets Monday and Wednesday evenings, 6:30 to 9:30, through 23 March, and is designed for students with some blacksmithing skills. Course will focus on advanced forge work, decorative techniques, and useful items. Enrollment is limited to six students, with a minimum enrollment of four. Cost is $210 ($230 for nonmembers).

Mystic Seaport Publishes Long Island Shipbuilding History



In *An Island's Trade: Nineteenth-Century Shipbuilding on Long Island,* Richard F. Welch tells the story of Long Island's North Shore shipyards, which began to operate in the 1790s and flourished from the 1840s through the 1880s. The world of the small yards of Suffolk County was far different from that of the great Brooklyn yards, which–though they lay on the west end of Long Island–were actually part of the Manhattan sphere of large, complex, and expensive producers of the world's big ships of the day. By contrast, the small, often family operated yards in such ports as Setauket, Stony Brook, Port Jefferson, Northport, and Greenport, specialized in small sloops and coasting schooners, and later yachts, built economically and well. Unlike the big New York yards, these yards flexed with the national economy, and several of the builders, including the Bayleses of Port Jefferson and the Carlls of Northport, were well known for the quality and economy of their work.

Richard F. Welch, a Long Island native, earned his Ph.D. at the State University of New York, teaches at Long Island University, and edits the Long Island Forum. Using a wide range of documentary materials, Welch looks at shipbuilding as practiced by these yards as well as the place of the shipwrights in their communities. His book is both good local history and a perceptive study of wooden shipbuilding.

An Island's Trade contains 146 pages, 53 illustrations of ships and shipbuilders, notes, a list of Long Island shipbuilders, a bibliography, and an index. Priced at $20.00, this hardbound book can be ordered from the Museum's Publications Department at (203) 572-5347, or the Seaport Stores Bookstore at (800) 331-2665. Don't forget your members' discount.

Overheard in Passing

A warm summer's evening found Nicolas Toscano, a professor of medieval Spanish literature at St. Johns University, in the Seaport's James D. Driggs Shipsmith Shop. He had a special request of the interpreter, who happened to be Andrew Barry of Haddonfield, New Jersey, a Museum Studies Summer Intern.

Following Toscano's directions, Barry drew a piece of rod from the scrap pile and quickly fashioned an implement several feet in length, with at one end a U-shaped curve at a right angle to the rod. "I hope this will do," said Barry. "That's just perfect," came the reply. Barry returned to his duties at the forge, and Toscano headed for the South Green, his two teenage sons in tow.

Shortly thereafter, the whole Toscano family watched as their father walked, then ran, with one of the museum's Games on the Green hoops, making circles and figure eights. This, he explained, was the way they rolled hoops back in Spain during his childhood. Rather than simply hitting the hoops with a stick - as we do here - he and his friends would push their hoops from a U-shaped hook, like the one in the piece crafted by Intern Barry. They'd spent hours, Toscano recalled, racing, doing tricks, and even rolling hoops up steps by applying the rod's pressure to the lower rear quadrant of the hoop. The smiles of the Toscano family were mirrored by other visitors, who had witnessed this European tradition being passed to a new generation, right there on the Seaport green.

Among the onlookers, one man was particularly enthusiastic, and asked the Toscanos if he could share the hoop and rod with his younger children. Syed Jaffri, an auto mechanic from Flushing, New York, beamed as he recalled his own hoop-rolling childhood in Pakistan. Jaffri said he and his friends would challenge each other to try various feats. If the hoop fell, or if the roller needed to support it with a hand, that roller was "out."

Jaffri described how the width of the U would vary with that of the hoop: many of the Pakistani children's hoops were made from scrap and the metal varied in width from that of a barrel hoop to a thin piece of metal. For a barrel hoop, the rod was fashioned with a wide U. If the hoop was of a narrow gauge, the U actually became a V, for better control.

By the time the Toscano and Jaffri families had finished with hoop and rod, with all six children having tried their own hands at the game, other visitors awaited. It was a moment of sharing, between generations, between nationalities, between friends.

–Glenn Gordinier

Sail the Seas for Less!

At the age of 21, he sailed around the world aboard the little 32-foot ketch *Idle Hour.* It was the mid-1930s, and Dwight Long departed Seattle and sailed to numerous ports, including Tahiti, the Suez, and London. On his return, his sturdy vessel was hit hard in Long Island Sound by the hurricane of 1938. With tenacious determination, he rebuilt the boat and sailed south, across to the Pacific, to the Galapagos and Marquesas Islands, then headed up the west coast to Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle.



"Sailing All Seas," the video that relives Long's adventure, was produced by the Seaport's Film & Video Division using historic footage donated to the Museum by Long, who also narrates.

Members can enjoy this video - or give it to a friend - at a special holiday price: just $14.95 (regularly $24.95) plus $3.00 shipping. Connecticut residents please add 6% sales tax. Offer is by phone only and ends 31 January 1994. Please call (800) 445-9236 to place your order, and ask to have a brochure of all Seaport titles sent.

About the Authors

Eric Roorda, the current post-doctoral teaching fellow at Mystic Seaport, attended the College of William and Mary and received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University in 1990. He has taught in China and during a semester at sea aboard the *Spirit of Massachusetts*. His study of U.S. relations with the Dominican Republic has given him a broad perspective, which he shares in this two-part overview of U.S.-Caribbean history.

Lisa Norling was the first post-doctoral teaching fellow at the Seaport. She earned her Ph.D. at Rutgers University and now teaches at the University of Minnesota, specializing in American social and women's history. Her article on whalemen's families won the Museum's 1989 Gerald E. Morris Prize Article Contest and appeared in the Spring 1990 *Log*.

Andrew W. German, Editor of *The Log*, played first base for the Mystic Seaport Oceanics.

Gary Adair, the Museum's head rigger, is working with sailmaker Don Lucas to document traditional sailmaking practices.

Nancy d'Estang, head of the Seaport's Shipyard research office, is also a potter, photographer, and world traveler.

Karl Robinson, Seaport rigger, grew up sailing in Noank.

Dean Seder, Seaport rigger, was featured in the Summer 1993 *Log*.

Quentin Snediker, former head of vessel maintenance at the Seaport, and coauthor of *Chesapeake Bay Schooners*, now works at the Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum.

Leslie Gifford is Associate Editor of *The Log*.

Sandra Oliver, formerly of the Seaport's Education Department, is a foodways historian and consultant living in Maine. She is completing a book on American maritime foodways for publication by the Museum.



The Seaport's coal-fired steamship *Sabino* has been designated a National Parks Service historic landmark, and Representative Sam Gejdenson, a strong Seaport supporter, was here in July to make it official. Gejdenson (*center*) stands here with Captain Dick Lotz (*left*) and Director Revell Carr. (Photo by Mary Anne Stets)

Tis the Season...

It's that time of year again, and you're racking your brain for the perfect gift for that special someone. And we've got just the thing: a gift membership!

Fill out the form below, and we'll send you a gift membership package. If you prefer, we can mail the package - with an enclosed gift card to personalize the package - straight to the new member.

New member's name

_____

Address _____

City_____ State ____ Zip____

Gift membership category:

____ Individual - $35 annual dues
____ Dual - $45 annual dues
____ Family - $55 annual dues

Sign my name on the gift card as follows:

_____

Please send gift package to
____ me ____ new member.

Please send renewal notice to
____ me ____ new member.

Your name _____

Address _____

City_____ State ____ Zip____

Please bill my:
____ Visa ____ MasterCard ____ AmEx

Card #_____ Exp. Date___

Signature_____

And don't forget those important membership accessories!

12" X 8" Burgee at $18 each $_____
CT residents add $1.08 tax

16" x 24" Burgee at $21 each $_____
CT residents add $1.26 tax

*Members' Scarf at $10 each $_____

*3¼" Blazer patch at $16 each $_____

*Members' Necktie at $20 each $_____

*Add 6% CT sales tax on clothing totaling $50 or more.

TOTAL $_____

If items are to be sent directly to a gift recipient, please include name and address and a brief greeting for the gift card.

Your name _____

Address _____

City_____ State ____ Zip____

Please make checks payable to Mystic Seaport and mail with order form to Membership at the Seaport address.



What Fun! (What, Fun?): Christmas Cheer Hits New England



MARY ANNE STETS PHOTO

The greeting card, the poinsettia, the trimmed tree. All became popular in Victorian times, and all are integral to the way we think about Christmas. Today.

It was not always so. Early New England settlers, believing many ancient Christmas revelries to be pagan, had abolished them from their own holy day observances, and were quite satisfied with the results, thank you.

Then along came the nineteenth century. The important technological and industrial advances made during this period created for Americans an unprecedented commodity: leisure time. And these people were good at it. Of course, change came gradually, and some were quicker to give up the old austerities than others. As such, the nineteenth-century New England social scene - well-reflected in the specific celebration of Christmas - is an interesting and inconsistent study that varies with time and place.

So when Mystic Seaport set out to recreate the "typical" nineteenth-century New England Christmas in its now-famous Lantern Light Tours, it had a little bit of a problem.

The first tours were staged in 1977, and they provided a walk not only through the Seaport but through time as well. The scene in the 1830s Buckingham household - which did not celebrate Christmas - was entirely different from the no-holds-barred festivities enjoyed in the 1880s by the Victorian-era Greenman family. For it was not until the middle of the century and the rise of the Unitarian tradition that New Englanders began to get away from the Puritan traditions. But when change began to take hold, it was quick. By the end of the century, the prohibition of Christmas cheer was officially over.

The early Lantern Light Tours - covering the entire century and its changing holiday idiosyncrasies - were conducted without a thematic story line. Each exhibit featured a short vignette that had been designed by the individuals interpreting the exhibits, in a manner much like the Museum's everyday interpretation of exhibits. As recalled by some who witnessed these time journeys, by the late 1970s they were getting a little too creative.

So when Ann Peabody in 1985 took over as Supervisor of Interpretation, she decided to make some changes. And by 1986 the Lantern Light Tours were off on a new course, conducted along a general story line and with considerable structure. They were also specific to one year - 1876. It was still left to exhibit coaches to decide whether or not to script their individual scenes, but they were given specific story elements that had to be addressed.

In 1989, the horse and carriage ride was introduced, an addition that enabled the tours to cover much more ground. Scripting became mandatory in 1990, following a successful experiment with scripted actors during the Summer Evening Hours program earlier that year. Though prior to that experience the Lantern Light Tour cast had been comprised primarily of staff members, the actors that had been involved during the 1990 summer session were anxious to take part in the winter tours as well, and told Peabody they would be more comfortable using scripts. As the program has grown since then - it was doubled in 1991 to meet the considerable demand for tour tickets - more professional and community-theater actors have gotten involved, and the scripts have become essential.

Peabody, working with a regular committee, determines the general story line, and individual exhibit coaches produce scripts accordingly. With each tour running approximately 1-¼ hours, the individual scenes run about seven minutes in length.

Though the story line changes each year, Peabody says they are always written to cover certain educational objectives, including discussion of Christmas at sea, holiday entertainment, leisure time, and charity. Tour guides, equipped with volumes of knowledge as recorded in the Interpreters Handbook for Lantern



MARY ANNE STETS PHOTO

MARY ANNE STETS PHOTO



Light Tour Guides, easily chat about toys, food, and various legends of Christmas. The job of tour guide is not an easy one: it is they who provide the continuity between the scenes, as well as the educational elements that cannot gracefully be worked into the individual scenes.

The religious element of the Christmas theme is given a light hand: the tours are designed to illuminate the lifestyles and attitudes of the period rather than the specific celebrations associated with one holiday. Realism is interwoven with magic and the ambience of lantern light, and each scene offers a glimpse into people's lives.

Peabody, who earlier this year handed over Lantern Lights to tour veteran Rob Richter, is justifiably proud of the evolution through which she has guided the program, and acknowledges the teamwork of the staff who have helped her along the way. "These tours have allowed our staff the ability to be creative and to put their knowledge into something that's entertaining and fun," she says, adding that "this is an incredibly talented staff, and I couldn't have done it without them." She emphasizes her thanks to the help of staffers who year after year serve as hostesses, production assistants, elves, and costuming assistants (under the ample leadership of Susan Jerome). She is grateful to the marketing division (which since the doubling of tour volume has turned over its ticket-making responsibilities to an outside reservation system), as well as to the shipyard staff and maintenance crew. She is quick to direct special thanks to Nancy Spinner, whose staff provides the greenery, wreaths, and every other kind of period Yuletide finery imaginable.

This year's tour-goers are not likely to notice dramatic changes in the way the program is managed, with Richter now at the helm. But with a double degree in anthropology and theater, supplemented by considerable acting and production experience, the new tour director is sure to make some changes in the future. For now, though, he is comfortable with a proven formula.

Members may still be able to secure tickets for this year's tours, which run 3 through 19 December, by calling 800-522-1841.

Corrections

Two perceptive Seaport members–Leland S. Brown and Richard C. Wolfe–have written to correct the caption for the photograph of the steamer *Americana* on page 3 of the Summer 1993 *Log*.

Mr. Brown writes: "Having spent the first half of my 38 year banking career (1930-1968) in the Wall Street area I found the first photo of the *Americana* of special interest. During my first two or three years I lived on Brooklyn Heights and in good weather was in the habit of walking home across the Brooklyn Bridge. With that long ago familiarity with the area, I can give assurance that the bridge shown in the upper part of the photo is the Brooklyn Bridge."

Mr. Wolfe, a life member, agreed, noting: "The article on New York Harbor ca. 1950 brought back many fond memories of days spent on and around those waters. It was a fascinating world for a youth captivated by all things nautical. In those days New York was still a focal point of maritime commerce, but it was obviously in sharp decline. We are grateful to have it preserved on film.

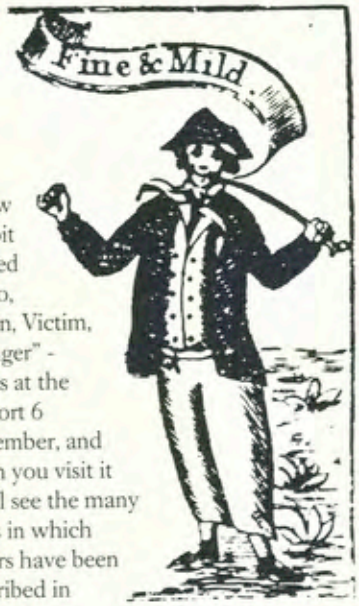
"To correct the caption on the picture of the *Americana*, she is obviously passing under the Brooklyn Bridge. Note the structure of the bridge and the buildings in the background. Those 'skyscrapers' on Wall Street, Pine Street and lower Broadway, include the Bank of New York, the Bankers Trust, the Equitable, and the Pine Street Tower which could only be seen from beneath the Brooklyn Bridge. Note also the cross atop the old Seamen's Church Institute in the left edge of the picture."

The caption for the steam launch *Nellie*, pictured on the cover and on page 39 of the Autumn 1993 *Log*, brought responses from several members in the Greenwich area, including Chandler Bates, Jr., Capt. Ogden Bigelow, Jr., Shawn Dougherty, Steven Lockton, and Shaw Mudge, all of whom recognized the view as the Indian Harbor area of Greenwich. Mr. Bates, a sustaining member, wrote: "As a member for over 35 years and very loyal reader (and collector) of the *Log*, for the first time I am writing to attempt to correct the record. The steam launch *Nellie* pictured on your front cover spread and described twice in the Autumn 1993 issue is in fact taken not on Lake Winnipesaukee in New Hampshire but Greenwich Harbor, CT. In fact the houses in the background are still standing and the burgee is that of the Indian Harbor Yacht Club. The picture was actually taken of George Lauder III who owned and restored *Nellie* and sailed it with great pride around Greenwich Harbor."

Indeed, George Lauder III was a great friend and generous donor to the Museum, donating *Nellie* in 1956, serving as trustee from 1958 to 1973, and bequeathing his fleet of seven boats to the Seaport before his death in December 1986.

Kids Corner

Salty Sailors



A new exhibit - called "Hero, Villain, Victim, Stranger" - opens at the Seaport 6 November, and when you visit it you'll see the many ways in which sailors have been described in pictures, sculpture, and other artwork. Here, Kids Corner takes a different kind of look at the Salty Set.

Salty Riddle

Modern sailors must be careful when they converse, especially by radio or telephone. To be sure letters of the alphabet do not become confused, each letter has its own name, which begins with the letter for which it stands. For example, "alfa" stands for "a," "oscar" means "o," and "zulu" is the name for "z." Can you decode the message below?

Victor-India-Sierra-India-Tango

Mike-Yankee-Sierra-Tango-India-Charlie

Sierra-Echo-Alfa-Papa-Oscar-Romeo-Tango

Sierra-Oscar-Oscar-November

Salty Talk

The Sailor Says ➳	The Landlubber Says
He swallowed the anchor.	He left the sea for a job ashore.
Mug up, mate!	It's coffee break time!
Clap a stopper on your tongue!	Mind what you say!
Have the Donkey's Breakfast.	It's time go to bed.
Greasy luck!	Good luck!
Show a leg!	Wake up!
There's sand in your ears.	You're shipwrecked.
It's in Davey Jones' Locker.	It's at the bottom of the sea.
He's spinning a yarn.	He's making up a story.

Salty Trivia: What famous sailor gets his strength from spinach and loves olive oil?

Salty Math: A greenhand (new sailor) owes the skipper (the captain) a dead horse (debt) of $27.00. If the greenhand works off $0.75 of the dead horse a day. how long until the dead horse is overboard (debt is paid)?



Salty Superstitions: Sailors of old were very superstitious. They believed there were omens in the water, the air, and the sky. Here are a few old rules they followed to be sure they'd have good luck at sea:

Long voyages should always begin and end on Wednesdays. This idea originated with the Vikings. Their chief god, Wodin, was the special protector of mariners. The Vikings called Wednesday "Wodin's Day" and thought it was the luckiest day of the week.

A ring around the moon means a storm is coming soon. Moon rings are really caused by moisture high in the air, but sailors thought these were signs of bad weather. They also believed the thickness of the moon ring determined the strength of the storm, and the numbers of stars seen inside the ring was the number of days the storm would last.



A cat is unlucky on a ship, for it carries a gale in its tail. If you stroke a cat's fur on a day when the air is dry, tiny sparks of electricity crackle on your hands. Sailors believed these sparks were lightning bolts stored up in the cat's tail! If the cat became too frisky, the gale in its tail might escape.

Never whistle on a ship, as this calls up a bad wind. Fair winds were very important in the age of sail, and seamen believed the wind was moody. It could be angry and destructive, or it could be gentle and helpful. If a sailor whistled, the wind might think he was mocking it and become furious.

"The Tattooed Sailor"

(A silly, salty poem by Elinor DeWire)

A grizzled old sailor, long out to sea,
showed me a whale afloat on his knee;
I spied a mermaid swimming over his back
and a snake slithering up his arm, in fact!

With eyes on his eyelids, that sailor did leer,
"I can see in me sleep!" he heartily jeered;
There, along his jawbone a seagull flew -
I saw its wings flutter whenever he'd chew!

He vowed ten fish lived inside his boots;
upon his chest grew a tree with ripe fruits;
But when I tried to pick a banana,
that sailor said, "Ah, you know you canna!"

Up with his arm then, he made a big fist
to show me the anchor tied to his wrist;
Its chain twisted 'round like spiral steps,
up to a ship on his bulging biceps.

In each of his palms was half a horse,
but together they made a whole one, of course;
His hands moved up, down, and side-by-side,
taking me and that horse for a wild ride!

That grizzled old man, how he ogled at me,
and he asked, "D'ya know yer geography?"
Then he showed me Lisbon, Taipei, new Delhi,
and other strange places upon his belly!

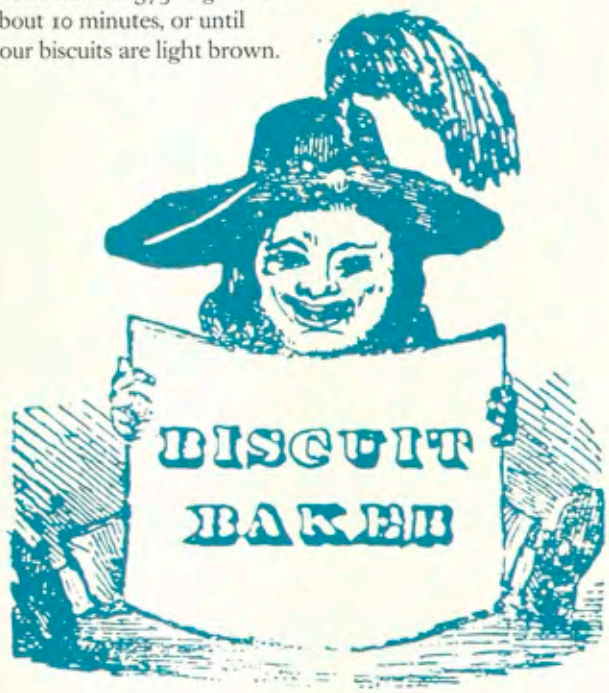
When it seemed we had examined every inch of his skin;
"Can ye guess what I sit on?" he asked with a grin;
Then he offered me a tour of his pictorial posterior,
confident all others were surely inferior!

Swore he, "Me cheeks, mate, are simply divine!"
the temptation was great, but I quickly declined;
Instead, with relief, I said we must part,
"But good sir, you are indeed a work of art!"

Sea Biscuits

In the old days, sailors ate a dry, bland biscuit called hardtack, which was made with simple ingredients and which stayed reasonably fresh at sea. To liven the taste, the sailors would often crumble their hardtack into a cup of hot water and "black cat," which we know as molasses. Follow these easy directions and make some sea biscuits of your own. Then have a Sailors' Tea Party! You might like to try other toppings on your biscuits - we like jelly, maple syrup, peanut butter, even melted cheese.

Combine 2 cups of flour and 1/2 teaspoon of salt, and add some water - just a little at a time - until you have a stiff dough. Sprinkle some flour on a flat surface, put the dough on it, and knead (press it and mash it) 10 times. Roll the dough into a long cylinder, then slice it into rounds that are about 1/2-inch thick. Place each round on a greased cookie sheet and prick once with a fork. Bake at 375 degrees for about 10 minutes, or until your biscuits are light brown.



Member Alert!



Starting in February, members will have a new opportunity: Birthday Parties at the Seaport! You've probably wondered why we never offered this great service in the past, and if so, you should have asked. We simply hadn't thought of it til now! Look for details in the next issue of *The Log*.

Salty Zoo

Find Out! To hear a sailor talk, you'd think there was a zoo aboard every ship! Look up these beastly terms in a dictionary of nautical terms, then find them in the wordsearch.

monkey's fist
blue pigeon
mackerel skies
dogwatch
camel
salt horse
cat's paw
sea pig
sheepshank
mare's tails

M A C K D O G W A T C H N
O A H W A P S T A C A O K
N X C A M E L C S A E S N
K S U K B G T Y K G L H O
E K E Z E A I U I C V C M
Y I S V W R J P E A X A W
S E R G A K E Z A M R M A
F S O U P U F L M E J E P
I D H Q L T L A S R S T E
S K T B O N C T E K A A U
T N L G Z H A E A V I F L
Y O A I E I P A W B Y E B
U M S P L S R O H T L A S
J A E S H E E P S H A N K

NOTES TO *"Our Position is a Most Commanding One"*

1. James Kendall Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal: "History of New England" 1630-1649*, 2 vols., (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), 1:73-74.

2. Ibid., 1:92-93.

3. Quoted in Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860* (1921; reprint, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1979), 11-12.

4. Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1972).

5. Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal*, 2:252-53.

6. This term, current after the Spanish-American War, has most recently been employed by Lester Langley, *Struggle for the American Mediterranean: United States-European Rivalry in the Gulf-Caribbean, 1776-1904* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1976).

7. Quoted in F. Lee Benns, *The American Struggle for the British West India Carrying-Trade, 1815-1830* (Blomington: Indiana University Studies #56, 1923), 13.

8. Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal*, 1:151.

9. A brief discussion of how mercantilism functioned in the West Indies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is found in Eric Williams, *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean 1492-1969* (New York: Random House, 1970), 156-76, 217-36.

10. Bernard Bailyn, *New England Merchants in the 17th Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1955), 75-197.

11. A synopsis of Randolph's reports is included in Bailyn, *New England Merchants*, 154-59.

12. Stuart Bruchey, ed., *The Colonial Merchant: Sources and Readings* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966), 176.

13. K. Jack Bauer, *A Maritime History of the United States* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), 48.

14. Barbara W. Tuchman, *The First Salute* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988) 18-22.

15. Benns, *American Struggle*, 7.

16. Figures for 1771 are found in Richard Pares, *Yankees and Creoles: The Trade Between North America and the West Indies Before the American Revolution* (1956; reprint, Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1968), 25-26.

17. The brig *Nancy*, which sailed from New London to St. Eustatius with a similar cargo in September 1779, is representative of the Connecticut-West Indies trade of the period, Joseph Williams Papers, Coll. 37, box 1/2, G.W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum. Numerous cargo manifests for vessels trading with the West Indies between 1779 and 1885 are housed at this repository, hereafter cited as GWBWL.

18. Williams, *Columbus to Castro*, 111-55.

19. Robert G. Albion, William A. Baker, and Benjamin W. Labaree, *New England and the Sea* (Mystic: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1972), 48; for general estimates see Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

20. Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1975), 299-307.

21. A case study of class formation in the slave society of Barbados is Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972).

22. Benns, *American Struggle*, 20. Benns (page 10) estimates that 15,000 slaves in the British West Indies died of starvation between 1780 and 1787, when the destruction of food crops by hurricanes exacerbated the shortages.

23. A detailed case study of New England trade during the period between the Seven Years War and the War of 1812 is Benjamin W. Labaree, *Patriots and Partisans: The Merchants of Newburyport, 1764-1815* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1962).

24. Langley, *American Mediterranean*, 9-10, 37.

25. Williams Papers, Coll. 37, box 1/10, GWBWL.

26. Ibid., box 1/9.

27. George Washington Lee Papers, Coll. 23, box 1/2, GWBWL.

28. Williams Papers, Coll. 37, box 1/13, GWBWL.

29. William Earle Papers, Coll. 28, box 1/1, GWBWL.

30. Ibid., box 1/1.

31. John Turner Papers, Coll. 31, box 1/3, GWBWL.

NOTES TO *Jack Tar in Victorian America*

1. "Sailor Songs," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 65 (1882): 281.

2. Valerie Burton, "The Myth of Bachelor Jack: Masculinity, Patriarchy, and Seafaring Labour," in Colin Howell and Richard Twomey, eds., *Jack Tar in History: Essays in the History of Maritime Life and Labour* (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Acadiensis Press, 1991), 179-80, and Burton, "Jack the Whoring Sailor: A Myth in Historical Context," unpub. mss., 14.

3. The steam-powered printing press was invented in 1811. See Daniel Walker Howe, "Victorian Culture in America," in Howe, ed., *Victorian America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976), 17.

4. For a parallel example, see Carroll Smith-Rosenberg's brilliant analysis of the Davy Crockett myth in "Davy Crockett as Trickster: Pornography, Liminality, and Symbolic Inversion in Victorian America," in Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 90-108.

5. "The old Packet and Clipper Service," *Harper's Monthly* 68 (1883-84): 224, 225, 235.

6. Quotations from "The Superstitions of Sailors," *Harper's Monthly* 16 (1857-58): 185; "Jack Ashore," *Harper's Monthly* 47 (1873): 161; "Sailor Songs," *Harper's Monthly* 65 (1882): 281.

7. "Jack Ashore," 161-62.

8. "Superstitions of Sailors," 183-89.

9. For parallel arguments, see Judith Fingard, *Jack in Port: Sailortowns of Eastern Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), and Myra Glenn, "The Naval Reform Campaign Against Flogging: A Case Study in Changing Attitudes Toward Capital Punishment, 1830-1850," *American Quarterly* 35 (1983): 408-25.

NOTES TO *The Oceanic Base Ball Club*

1. Harold Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960); Irving A. Leitner, *Baseball: Diamond in the Rough* (New York: Criterion Books, 1972).

2. Mystic *Pioneer*, 3 March, 21 April 1866 (microfilm copies of the *Pioneer* are on file at the Seaport's G.W. Blunt White Library).

3. Ibid., 21 April, 18 August 1866.

4. Ibid., 23 June 1866.

5. The Mystic *Pioneer* usually included an early form of box score in its coverage of the games, so we know the position played by each man. Information on the players' ages and occupations is mostly drawn from the local returns of the 1860 and 1870 federal census, microfilm copies of which are on file in the Seaport's G.W. Blunt White Library.

6. Mystic *Pioneer*, 23 June 1866.

7. Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years*.

8. Mystic *Pioneer*, 21 July 1866.

9. Ibid., 18 August 1866.

10. Ibid., 8 September 1866; New London *Daily Star*, 6 September 1866 (copies of the *Daily Star* are on file at the New London County Historical Society in New London, Connecticut).

11. Mystic *Pioneer*, 29 September 1866; New London *Daily Star*, 24 September 1866.

12. New London *Daily Star*, 12 November 1866; Mystic *Pioneer*, 17 November 1866.

13. Ibid., 24 November 1866.

14. Leitner, Baseball: *Diamond in the Rough;* Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years;* Mystic *Pioneer*, 4, 11 May, 23 November 1867; New London *Daily Star*, 29 November 1867.

15. Mystic *Pioneer*, 29 August 1868.

16. Ibid., 31 July 1869.

SEAPORT SALUTE

Mr. & Mrs. John Deupree



MARY ANNE STETS PHOTO

The Light Bulb Fund. *Sabino* (port and starboard). Pilots. Each of these Seaport institutions carries the indelible mark of Jean and John Deupree, a compassionate and fun-loving couple who wintered in Cincinnati, summered in Maine, and made Mystic Seaport their midway home away from homes. ❧ The Deuprees have been stalwart supporters of the Seaport community since taking a friend's advice and "land-cruising" to Mystic from Maine one summer. It would be the first of many such trips - the Deuprees had made for themselves a third home. ❧ "John was a people person," Jean says, "and he made every effort to help out when he could." The best way he knew to do this at the Seaport was to establish what became known as the Light Bulb Fund, moneys from which were used to pay for such unbudgeted and unglamorous Museum needs as typewriters and trash baskets. When the fund ran low, John would simply replenish it. He was a man who understood the importance of the little things. ❧ As soon as John got wind of the Pilots, the Seaport's solid membership volunteer corps, he told Jean, "I think we should do this." Since the beginning, the two have been strongly committed to their participation in this group, missing few of the biannual work weekends despite the distance. ❧ When the Seaport had the opportunity to acquire the coal-fired steamship *Sabino,* the Deuprees made the hoped-for acquisition a reality: "The Seaport really wanted her," recalls Jean, "and we really thought they should have her." So the two friends - "we were such good friends," says Jean - pooled their resources: Jean donated the starboard side of the vessel in memory of her brother, and John contributed the portside half in memorial to his father. It is in this spirit that the Deuprees have given the Seaport so many different gifts: they see a need, and they meet it. ❧ As Seaport Deputy Director Frank Kneedler said in his eulogy to John, "John gave of himself, and of his interest and energy, and his encouragement, and when he had given all that, he went on to encourage other people around him to do the same. Moreover, he did all those things in utmost humility, with an air of self-effacement and with an everlastingly humorous twinkle in his eye." ❧ Sadly, John is no longer with us. It is our good fortune, however, that Jean carries on. She is a warm person, and kind. She loves people. She loves her husband and her family. And she loves the Seaport. "It's the place and it's the people," she says. ❧ And the place wouldn't be the same without the people. People like Jean and John Deupree.

MYSTIC SEAPORT MUSEUM



MARY ANNE STETS PHOTO

LANTERN LIGHT TOURS AT MYSTIC SEAPORT Each year during the Christmas season, Mystic Seaport offers Lantern Light Tours, during which evening visitors stroll through the village - lighted only by the lantern light of their costumed guide - while a Victorian Christmas drama unfolds around them. Members have exclusive Lantern Light purchasing privileges for two full weeks before tickets are made available to the general public. More on this inside...

AND SPEAKING OF CHRISTMAS... This is a great time to share your love of the sea with others. Consider giving Mystic Seaport as a holiday gift in the form of a Museum membership. Please see page 91 for information on gift memberships.