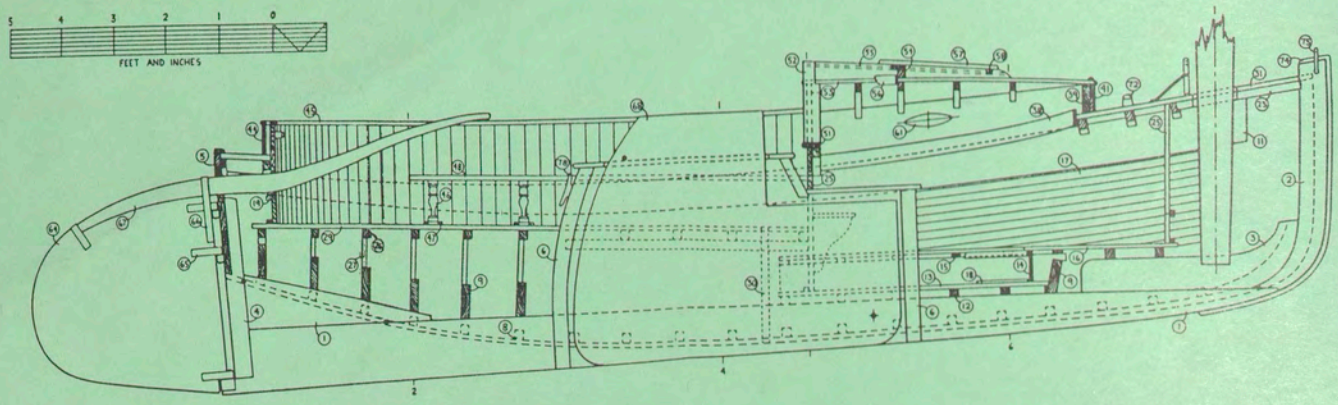

WEST INDIES
BARBADOS
SURVEYED BY STAFF COMMANDER J. PARSONS, R.N.
ST. JAMES
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CHRIST CHURCH



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MYSTIC CONNECTICUT

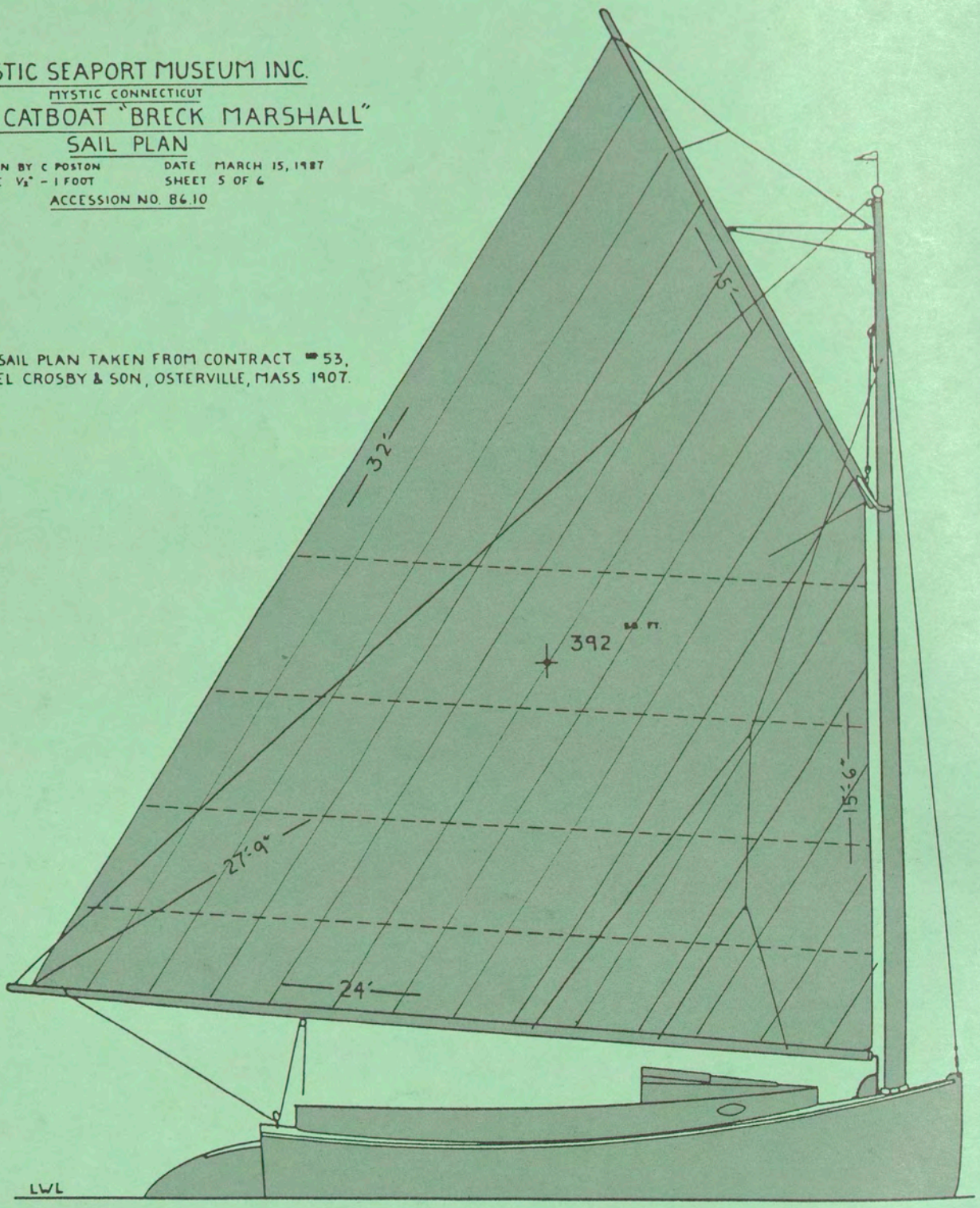
CAPE COD CATBOAT "BRECK MARSHALL"

SAIL PLAN

DRAWN BY C POSTON — DATE MARCH 15, 1987
SCALE 1/2" - 1 FOOT — SHEET 5 OF 6

ACCESSION NO. 86.10

NOTE -
THIS SAIL PLAN TAKEN FROM CONTRACT #53,
DANIEL CROSBY & SON, OSTERVILLE, MASS 1907.



The Log *of* Mystic Seaport

Summer

1994

Volume 46
Number 1

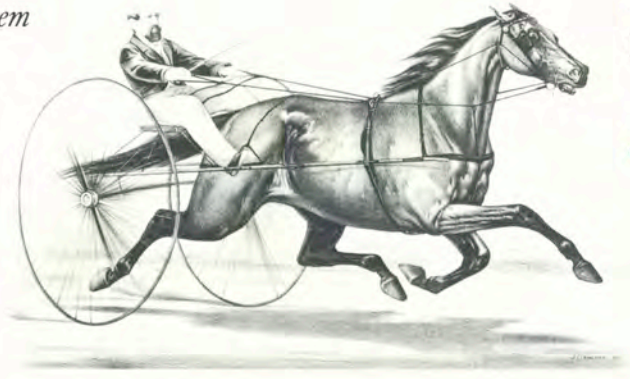


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Sightings



Significant anniversaries evoke reflection on years past, speculation on years to come, and celebration of the moment. Mystic Seaport this year marks the 25th anniversary of its Small Craft Workshop; it is indeed an opportunity to remember, to anticipate, and to celebrate. ❧ When the Seaport's Director Waldo Johnston and visionary Curator Ed Lynch lured John Gardner to join the staff in 1969, I doubt even they fully realized the impact their effort would carry. John was already at that time a respected author, scholar, boatbuilder, teacher, and small craft authority. But when his intellect and energies were married to the resources and facilities of Mystic Seaport, a remarkable synergy was made. When John came to Mystic, he was at an age at which many people are considering retirement. Now, twenty-five years later, he can look back with great satisfaction over a quarter century of accomplishment; John's spirit has touched thousands of watercraft enthusiasts and millions of Seaport visitors. ❧ A few months after his arrival at Mystic Seaport, the Museum held its first Small Craft Workshop. This was something new and different: for the first time, small boat enthusiasts had a place to gather and a reason to do so. The Workshop's loosely structured program seemed ideally suited to this group. There was time to get to know one another. There were "how-to" talks and demonstrations. There were heated debates and an abundance of good humor. There was a generous sense of sharing as boat owners and builders brought their treasured vessels and allowed others to experience them. There was a resilience that made each workshop a success, in good weather or bad. ❧ Through all twenty-five years, the two magical ingredients of the workshops have been the boats and the people. Vivid images linger. The image of the fascinating Irish curragh, with Maynard Bray, Waldo Howland, and some other hapless soul at the bladeless oars, struggling to keep from rowing in circles. Images of the same boat being holed and immediately patched with canvas and hot pitch. Images of gymnastic sailors careening around the river in a stiff breeze, in high-speed, decked sailing canoes. Images of rudderless St. Lawrence skiffs being skillfully maneuvered by agile skippers who would change direction and tack by shifting their weight and centerboard depth. Images of the river filled with an array of small boats in the early morning light as they took part in the traditional downriver "cruise." ❧ There are warm memories of people who have traveled from around the country to participate. "Pete" Culler with his vast experience and knowledge, always willing to share. Bart Hathaway with his enthusiasm and his kayaks. Lois Darling with her boundless energy and prodigious talent. Howard Chapelle with his lifetime of research and writing on American watercraft. George Kelly with his solid, practical know-how. Dick Wagner with a commitment that lured him from architecture to create the successful Seattle Center for Wooden Boats. And, of course, many many more. ❧ The Small Craft Workshop has been sustained through the years by the dedication and hard work of many staff members, volunteers, and participants. But it is the quietly dynamic persona of John Gardner that has fueled the fire of enthusiasm for this event and for its subject. The watercraft movement has gained considerable strength over the last quarter century–as is evidenced by the number of similar events the Seaport's workshop has spawned through the years–and John is widely recognized to be the movement's greatest inspiration. ❧ In the years ahead, we can look forward to John's steadfast encouragement toward progress in this field, and we know that his continued writing will add to an already significant body of work sure to inspire small boat scholars and enthusiasts for generations to come. It has been a great twenty-five years, and cause for celebration.

J. Revell Carr

One Hundred Voyages of the Brig *Gem*



ERIC ROORDA

In the 17 years after being launched, the brigantine *Gem* made 100 voyages to the West Indies for the New Haven firm of Daniel Trowbridge and Company.[1] The vessel's career as a Caribbean trader began with her construction in New Haven in 1868, and spanned a period of resurgence in one of the oldest trades in American maritime history: the British West Indies trade. *Gem*'s business with the British colonies of Barbados and Trinidad (and occasionally the port of Mayaguez in Spanish Puerto Rico and the French island of Martinique) resembled seventeenth- and eighteenth-century trade between Connecticut and her sister colonies in the Caribbean, which exchanged livestock, foodstuffs, and cooperage supplies for sugar and molasses. This trade declined after the American Revolution until, by the time of the Civil War, less than 5,000 pounds of British West Indies sugar entered the United States annually. But during the postwar career of the brig *Gem*, the old trade revived and sugar imports increased twenty-fold over prewar levels. A reduction in United States duties on unrefined sugar in 1872 and the removal of such tariff preferences in the United Kingdom two years later channelled more and more West Indies sugar to the United States and fuelled the Caribbean market for American products. *Gem* was part of this resurgence in West Indian commerce.

This research is based on the records of the brig's first one hundred voyages, which "form a remarkable micro-economic picture" of the Caribbean trade of the late nineteenth century and also suggest more general themes about the period.[2] The documents demonstrate the gradual movement of maritime New Haven into the orbit of New York City and reflect the maritime milieu of the Caribbean. Developments in technology and marketing that occurred during *Gem*'s career, and the transformation they brought to the 200-year-old West Indies trade, are also indicated here. And the decline of the trade is witnessed in Trowbridge's correspondence with his Caribbean associates as a deep depression settled into the islands in the mid-1880s.

The West Indies trade was "the most important single element in [New Haven's] economy" prior to large-scale industrialization, and the Trowbridge family comprised the "largest West Indies trading concern in the United States" in the nineteenth century.[3] But the connection between Daniel Trowbridge, who made the jump from clothing retailer to West Indian trader in 1859, and the wealthy, established firm of Henry Trowbridge's Sons, who were his principal competitors, is unclear. Daniel Trowbridge began with a self-named brigantine of 130 tons, added a schooner to the route in 1867, and launched *Gem* the next year. Four more brigantines followed during the 1870s: *Pearl, Ruby, Garnet,* and *Cameo.*[4]

Brigs were the favored vessels of West Indies traders in the United States in the late nineteenth century, including the fleets of Daniel Trowbridge's two principal competitors, Henry Trowbridge's Sons and L.W.P. Armstrong, both of New Haven.[5] Trowbridge's jewelry-named brigs were all between 190 and 230 tons, about 100 feet long and more than 25 feet in beam. These dimensions were well suited to carrying bulky cargoes of provisions and sugar products in casks and for accommodating a deckload of 40 mules.

The Lane and Griswold Shipyard was one of several on New Haven's Grapevine Point that built vessels for the West Indies trade in the 1850s and 1860s. New Haven shipbuilders looked to New York for many of their components. *Gem*'s sails, cordage, capstan, winch, anchor, chain, and compass came down from New York City, while New Haven merchants and craftsmen supplied only the nameboards, table settings, mirror, carpet, cabin table, 18-foot boat, and the brig's ensign. *Gem*'s construction was supervised by Captain John Neal, who took command when the vessel was launched on 13 October 1868.[6]

Neal was impressed with *Gem*'s maiden voyage to Port of Spain, Trinidad. "The vessel is as near Perfect as Possible. She does everything well [and] is about as tight as A Bottle....She is Smart and will Make A good Passage."[7] *Gem* carried a cargo of mules from New Jersey, Connecticut cheese, and second-hand casks from New York. The mules sold for $180 a head, which barely covered cost and charges for hay, inspection, wharfage, rope, grooms, and commission. *Gem* returned with only about one hundred hogsheads, tierces, and puncheons of sugar and molasses, though the brig could hold six or seven times that amount. The records of *Gem*'s first voyage show little profit, and give few signs of the lucrative future in store.[8]

Gem, like other vessels in the West Indies trade, called at numerous ports in search of sugar and molasses during her Caribbean career, but her primary port became Bridgetown, Barbados. On *Gem*'s first visit to Barbados (her third voyage overall) the hold was crammed with lard, corn, oats, peas, bread, crackers, flour, pork, pails, shooks, and candles–the same items that the island planters had demanded of their mainland suppliers for two centuries. But in colonial times all of these things would have come from New Haven's Connecticut hinterland, which contributed only cheese, peas, and sulphur matches to *Gem*'s first voyages. The sole New Haven product aboard was a buggy crafted by one of the city's 36 carriage manufacturers.[9] Everything else came from suppliers in New York. Neal had better luck procuring a cargo this time, though he had to go to Puerto Rico to get it; *Gem* loaded a near-capacity load of molasses from Mayaguez on the way north.[10]

The New Haven West Indies merchants gravitated toward the East River orbit during this period. Daniel Trowbridge

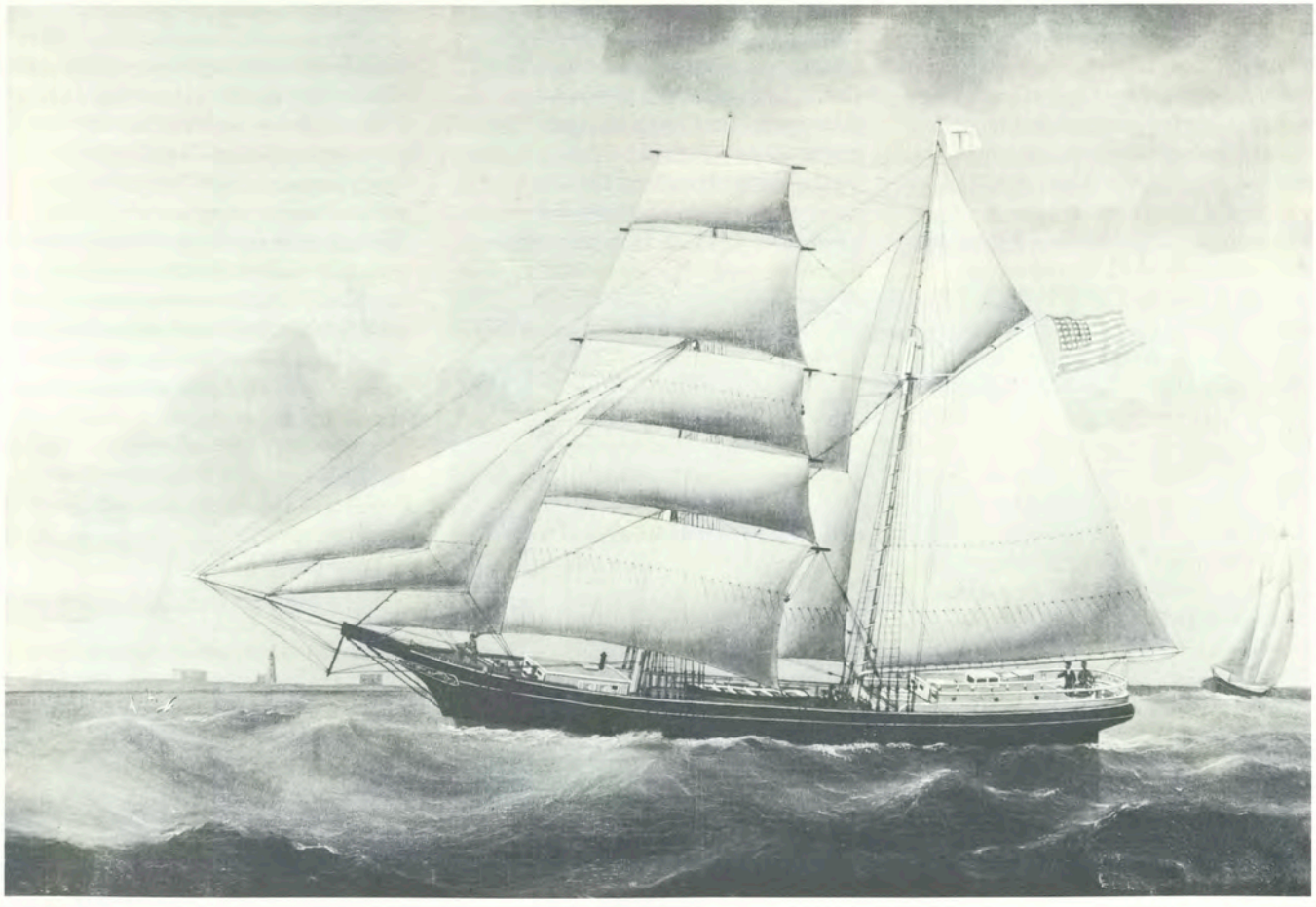
operated his vessels out of South Street from the beginning of his business career, but maintained his offices in New Haven. Not until about 1880 did he establish a branch in New York; prior to that, anyone wanting to see Trowbridge personally would try his sugar broker's Wall Street office or head to Connecticut.[11] L.W.P. Armstrong moved his whole operation to New York about the same time, leaving only Henry Trowbridge's Sons with offices on Long Wharf in New Haven.[12] This wharf extended a thousand feet into the shallow harbor, and was lined with chandlers, packers, and shipping offices, though fewer of them every year. New Haven's harbor, where lightering cargo was necessary, compared unfavorably to New York.

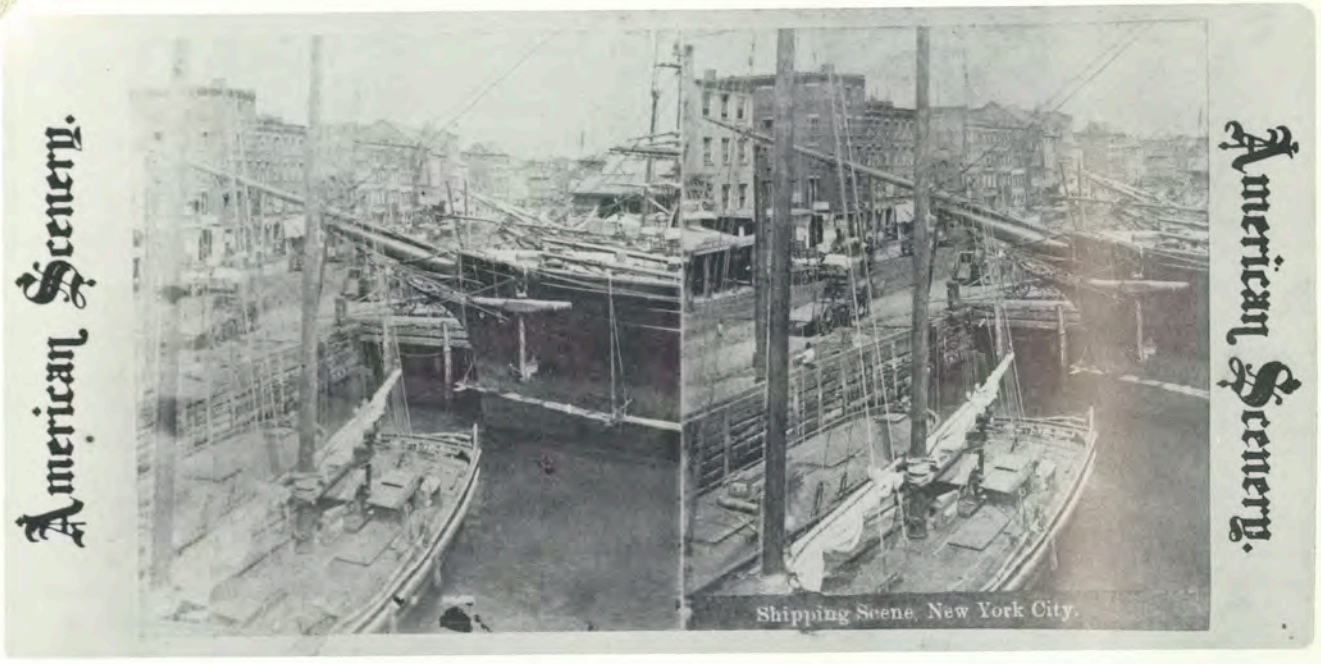
New York was the entrepôt for the interior of the United States, with a hinterland made ever larger by the expansion of the railroad system. The agricultural produce of the Midwest supplied scores of businesses, which competed for the attention of shippers. The concentration of goods and the proliferation of packagers and wholesalers fostered two developments in marketing. First, purveyors of food products increasingly attached recognizable brand names to commodities like flour. The first records of *Gem* cargoes simply listed barrels of flour, but then included names like "Hazel Dell," "Magnolia," "White Cliff," and "Washington" flour.[13] Ten years later there were "Alexandria," "Knickerbocker," "Hungarian," "White Light," "Empire City," "Bismarck," and "Retriever" brands, among others.[14] The use of brand names to foster consumer recognition was grasped by Daniel Trowbridge, who sent his consignment merchant in Barbados the following note: "Besides the well-known Kanawha brand of flour we have put in 100 barrels 'Jenny Lind' which we understand is a favorite extra brand at Barbados."[15] Trowbridge himself had some boxes of cheese and 10,000 pounds of lard in tin cans packaged by his suppliers as "Daniel Trowbridge" brand, but the experiment was short-lived.[16]

The second development in marketing was the specialization of some merchants in packaging goods for sale in foreign countries. Receipts from these suppliers illustrate their stake in the routinized trades based in New York: dried fruit "for foreign markets," "flour manufactured for the tropical countries, a specialty," and butter "for Southern, West India and South American markets."

Despite the preponderance of items from New York in the cargoes of *Gem*, a slim New Haven connection endured through the years. Trowbridge frequently shipped one to five carriages to the islands, where they were status-defining luxury items. New Haven "clear pork," packed right on Long Wharf, sold at a higher price than pork from New York; *Gem* often carried 100 barrels. Trowbridge's regular cheese supplier was located in Goshen, in the northwest hills of Connecticut, though he also dealt with a New York dairy supplier. When *Gem* began carrying riding and race

Daniel Trowbridge's 237-ton Garnet *(109x27x10.4 feet) was built by C. & P. Poillon at Brooklyn in 1877. Like* Gem, *her rig combined a fully square-rigged foremast and a fully fore-and-aft-rigged mainmast, and she had a wide deck to accommodate livestock. In William G. Yorke's 1879 portrait, she sails off Sandy Hook at the mouth of New York Bay.* (M.S.M. *62.1258)*





Pier 28 along South Street in New York was home berth for Gem, *although her turnarounds were so rapid that she spent very little time there between Caribbean voyages. Albumen stereograph photo, 1875. (M.S.M. 87.90)*

horses to the islands (usually about 10, together with 30 mules), they came mainly from New York and New Jersey, but stables in New Haven provided an occasional fine bay to fill special orders. Trowbridge sometimes procured *Gem*'s provisions, a hundred barrels at a time, in New Haven. He sent them up to New York aboard one of the New Haven Steamboat Company's steamers, which provided the link between New Haven and New York. Anything Trowbridge wanted to send aboard one of his brigs, and anything brought back for Trowbridge's personal use, was dispatched on a steamer. This juggling of commodities was managed by a forwarding agent, who booked space on steamers and worked in conjunction with the stevedore at *Gem*'s regular pier, #28 East River. When a shipment arrived at a bad time, the Merchant's Police were hired to guard it overnight.[17]

In addition to the large number of businesses supplying cargo in New York, the city also offered the greatest concentration of services for the maintenance and outfitting of vessels in the United States. The abundance and variety of such establishments in the South Street area permitted *Gem* to make very brief stops there, and to maintain a frantic pace of trade. *Gem* averaged only four and a half days in New York between trips during this 17-year period. A tremendous amount of work had to be accomplished during these harried stopovers, and New York was equipped to meet the brig's every need.

Beginning when a pilot came aboard from one of the many pilot schooners outside New York Harbor, the incoming vessel encountered a procedural maze in which both time and space were money. Among the bureaucratic hoops to jump through were customs, where a customs broker eased the passage for Trowbridge's fleet, and quarantine, where *Gem* sometimes had to be fumigated. In the rare event of passengers coming from the Caribbean aboard *Gem*, a "commutation," or bond, was paid to the City Chamberlain to guarantee against their becoming public wards. Towed to a wharf, the *Gem*'s sticky cargo would be discharged into a warehouse, and both brig and barrels would be charged for the amount of time they took up space. If *Gem* had taken a freight for transporting scrap metal from the islands, a visit to the City Weigher was necessary.

As soon as possible after arriving and discharging cargo, *Gem* was loaded for another trip to the West Indies. In addition to the items mentioned above, *Gem* frequently carried case oil (kerosene) for illumination, which replaced candles as a staple of the West Indies trade, reams of paper, and barrels of oil meal, a feed and fertilizer made from the residue of ground seeds of cotton or flax (linseed). Specialty meats like pickled pigs' feet and "pork heads," brooms, turpentine, herring, and nails were other occasional occupants of *Gem*'s hold.[18] *Gem* carried tons of butter to the West Indies, evoking the age-old navigational instructions for Connecticut Yankees on their way to Barbados: "sail south on the starboard tack until the butter melts, then come about."[19] Mules and horses came down from the Bishop stables in Manhattan just before departure, and were secured on deck under an awning, with a water cask and a supply of hay. Other preparations for departure included taking on water, wood, and signal oil from regular suppliers. Crews were often assembled by a merchant named Mr. Kingsbury, who also provided oars for *Gem* to sell in Barbados. In hard times, the brig might have business with Mr. McManus, the Ballast Master. If sugar stocks were down, *Gem* brought Caribbean rocks to New York; if she left with a light cargo for the islands, New York rocks went south. Handling cargo and provisions was aided by the brig's Coleman Patent Mast Head Crane.[20]

Gem was driven hard throughout the year, and required steady maintenance. Even when major overhauls were due, though, the brig rarely tarried more than a week to accomplish them. Dry docks and screw docks competed for such jobs, charging by the ton; *Gem*'s visits to such facilities usually lasted just one day. Workers swarmed beneath her, stripping,

re-caulking, and re-coppering the hull using Crocker Brothers metal pre-punched by Dunly's Metal Punching. C. & R. Poillon was also very speedy in stepping and rigging new masts when required; they replaced the mainmast after *Gem*'s thirty-first voyage, and the brig was gone again after a shorter-than-average stay. Other routine repairs included the replacement of blocks, using Frank Baldwin's patented design; the acquisition of new sails from Benjamin Moore, who gave trade-ins on old sails; and the close supervision of the ship's caboose (galley), which needed a new stovepipe every few voyages to reduce the risk of fire. In New York the captain could have his chronometer adjusted, replace his longboat, and maintain his pumps in perfect order. Though *Gem*'s home base in New York was Pier 28 on the East River ("ER 28" in its postal form), her busy stays in New York often necessitated as many as five tows from one place in the harbor to another. Steam lighters were also put to work transferring portions of the cargo to purchasers.

New York's services expedited *Gem*'s return to the sea, but then she was on her own. The New York-to-Barbados route crosses the Gulf Stream, passes Bermuda, and traverses a certain triangular region known for sudden violent squalls and numbing, prolonged gales. West Indian brigs were regularly "badly beaten," as Captain Neal wrote, on these passages.[21] On her fourteenth voyage, *Gem* took ten days to reach Bermuda, which was about a third of the distance, and stormy four-week trips were not uncommon. Difficult passages took their toll on the cargo, especially livestock exposed to the elements on deck. The mules became "thin and somewhat chafed" during slow passages, though the mortality rate was only about 3 percent overall.[22] *Gem* was, as Neal had boasted, "tight as a Bottle," and landed very little wetted cargo. Trowbridge's schooner *Annie Bell*, on the other hand, was a porous craft that delivered soggy matches and "store rusted" bread to her main port of call, Demerara, British Guiana, after rough passages.[23] With a favorable breeze, *Gem* could make the 1,900-mile run in nine days, and was capable of beating the mail steamer from point to point.[24] But the weather was capricious. In October 1884, for instance, *Gem* experienced "heavy gales" and "was hove to for four days" at the same time that Henry Trowbridge's *Brittania* was making a fast 12-day run to the same destination, where the brigs arrived on the same evening.[25]

The simultaneous arrival of vessels in island ports could quickly glut the market with provisions and livestock. *Gem* arrived in Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, on her ninth voyage within a day of six other vessels. The next day there were 1,000 pounds of potatoes auctioned in that small town.[26] Within a 12-day period in 1874, Barbados received 11 cargoes from New York, 5 from Philadelphia, and one each from Boston and Baltimore, making for a "miserable state" for business there.[27] Merchants in the islands tried to keep shippers well informed about which items were selling and which were "dull," but even after telegraph cables were connected in the Caribbean in 1871 there were problems. Correspondence to Trowbridge from his merchant allies in Trinidad express both the uncertain nature of the trade and the sharp competition which it engendered. "We can hardly express our disappointment in seeing the *Gem* arrive without mules," wrote Turnbull, Stuart & Company after three other mule boats delivered livestock for the impending harvest and grinding season. Gregor Turnbull watched as the sugar planters bought their animals from the competition. "I have felt very badly these days past, seeing the Agents of [Henry] Trowbridge Sons selling Mules which would have eaten their heads off if we had had a cargo or two on hand."[28]

The sugarcane cycle also influenced market conditions in the West Indies. Planters generally took two harvests from the same cane plants during the annual crop cycle, with a "dead time" in between when the product was scarce and its price inflated. Visits in mid-winter and summer sometimes meant "a tidious job to get the cargo anything like the quality that is wanted," as Captain Neal complained.[29] The "mule season," which began in early October, was timed to meet the needs of the harvest and grinding season, when stock was needed for hauling cane and casks.

Gem shipped a wide variety of sugar and molasses in her first one hundred voyages, mainly brown sugar and rich molasses produced by the traditional *muscovado* process, which was basically unchanged from the earliest sugar production techniques. In this process, sugar juice was boiled in open kettles, called pans, over fires fuelled by crushed, dried cane stalks, in order to reduce it by evaporation into a thick syrup. The heat produced from these fires was uneven, and the juice boiled at high temperatures, changing sugar to glucose. When the syrup was cooled and crystallized into sugar, the glucose drained out in the form of dark, aromatic molasses good for refining into rum. Brown sugar and

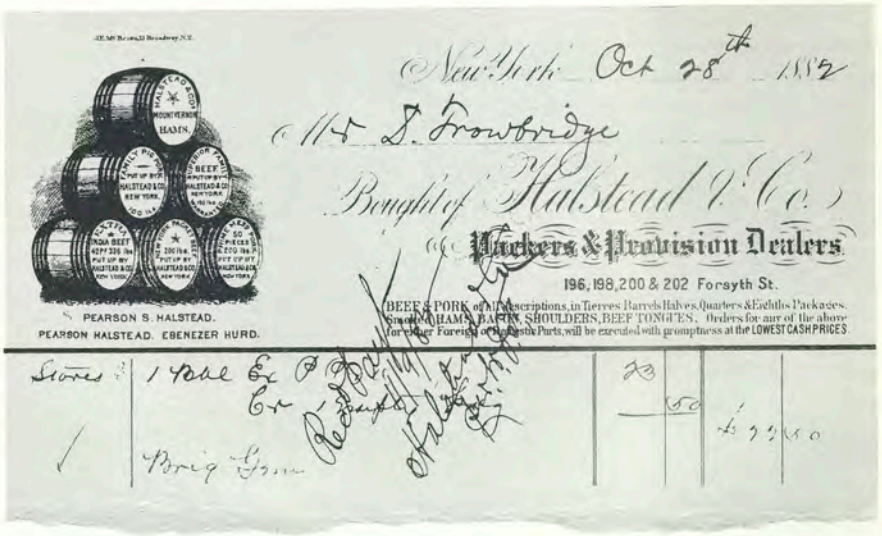


Through the mid-1880s Gem *often called at St. Pierre, the principal port of the French island of Martinique.* (Harper's New Monthly Magazine, *January 1874)*

molasses were given preferential treatment in the United States over refined sugar, so they were sought by shippers like Daniel Trowbridge. Muscovado sugar continued to drain after it was placed in the cask, so the contents of a hogshead lying in the hold of a vessel settled out in the course of a voyage, with the sugar on top becoming finer and drier and that on the bottom darker and wetter. For this reason, sugar casks were discharged carefully, in the same orientation they were stowed, and sampled from the middle.

Casks full of sugar and molasses were prone to leakage and developed sticky residues on the outside. The rate of leakage in the Barbados sugar trade has been estimated at 5 percent, though Daniel Trowbridge complained of 8 or 9 percent in one letter to his Barbados agent, and it was not uncommon for a cask to arrive in New York empty, its contents drained into the hold.[30] There was actually a distillery in Barbados that purchased the sweet bilgewater of sugar boats and made rum from it, though there is no record of *Gem* selling any.[31] Leaks were a problem, but casks that were sealed too tightly could also result in spoiled molasses; Trowbridge instructed his captains to leave the bung out of molasses casks during the voyage home.[32] The molasses that arrived in good order was in demand in North America, where it was a staple in the timber and fishing industries. *Gem* shipped little else on her first 60 trips, because her owner believed "it is always safe to purchase extra quality molasses... for that will sell even in a dull market."[33]

New technology revolutionized sugar production elsewhere in the Caribbean, but was slow to change the antiquated muscovado process in Barbados. Steam technology increased grinding efficiency in places where the cost of coal was not prohibitive, but in breezy Barbados windmills remained the choice for grinding. The vacuum pan evaporated cane juice at lower temperatures to produce more sugar and weaker molasses, but was expensive to purchase. Barbadian planters preferred to remain old-fashioned and independent rather than to modernize and combine their operations in central steam-powered factories. Elsewhere, centrifugal dryers reduced the time required for draining molasses out of sugar crystals from several weeks to several hours, and yielded a much drier form of sugar, dry enough to put in bags. Sugar bags, which held 200 pounds, were both easier to store than hogsheads, which broke if they were on the bottom of a stack higher than three, and easier to transport.[34] The growing use of bags drove down the market in cooperage supplies, which had been a mainstay of the West Indies trade since its inception. *Gem* carried fewer shooks–bundles of barrel staves–every year, but greater amounts of low-grade sugar in bags.



Gem frequently carried Halstead & Co.'s packed meats to the Caribbean. (Coll. 227, box 1, folder 2, G.W. Blunt White Library)

Importation of sugar and molasses involved a specialized business system in New York comprised of shippers, brokers, refiners, confectioners, and distillers. *Gem*'s arriving cargoes were handled by Stannard & Tiebout, Wall Street sugar brokers, who arranged for Hewitt and Company to weigh the casks and tabulate their contents, subtracting the weight of the containers. Judging the quality of the sugar and molasses was more subjective, with brokers and buyers relying on the color and consistency of the product and the reputation of the plantation where it was made. Each planter in the islands had a "mark" to place on his casks, which was carefully copied on the bills of lading and scrutinized in New York. A Trinidad planter visiting New York came to Trowbridge with a letter of introduction identifying him by his sugar mark.[35]

The different grades of sugar, roughly divided into "prime qualities," "seconds," and "refining grade," were taxed differently and sold for different prices, prime quality generally bringing a penny more a pound than refining grade.

Science and bureaucracy gradually transformed the methods of judging sugar. Spectrometers measured the degree of sugar purity on a scale of one hundred, eliminating the guesswork, and the new office of the Examiner of Sugar made evaluation a government function, increasing the flow of information to the New York sugar market. The actual selling prices for sugar and molasses were determined on Wall Street, where sugar brokers arranged sales to the usual customers: makers of sweet stuff and distillers of the demon rum. The selling price in New York had to be two and a half times the buying price in the islands for the cargo to "pay," estimated Daniel Trowbridge.[36] This was a difficult ratio to realize with beet sugar and refined Cuban sugar flooding the market and driving prices steadily down, making it difficult for West Indies traders like Trowbridge to stay in business in the 1880s and 1890s. Though annual sugar consumption in the United States in the 1880s rose to about 40 pounds per person, West Indies sugar was increasingly at a disadvantage, and the islands faced hard times.

Gem's four principal destinations–Barbados, Trinidad, Puerto Rico, and Martinique–were very different places to do business. Barbados was the wealthiest of the British West Indies during the late nineteenth century. The island's dense population provided the estates with very cheap labor, and the intensive, garden-like cultivation practiced there yielded twice as much sugar per acre as

her neighbors; as a result, Barbados had the lowest production costs south of Cuba. Vessels entering shallow Carlisle Bay paid a host of expenses: boarding officer's fee, harbor master's fee, anchorage fee, bill of health, United States consul's fee, and, if bound for Puerto Rico or Martinique, Spanish or French consuls' fees, tonnage dues, labor on board and ashore to discharge cargo, lighterage, cooperage aboard and ashore, boat hire and boat boys, water bill, and, if necessary, ballast bill.[37] These expenses were expedited by W. P. Leacock, Trowbridge's man in Bridgetown, who advertised *Gem*'s cargo for sale and tried to accumulate a return cargo of Barbadian sugar and molasses. Sometimes Leacock procured a cargo of whale oil or bone from the Caribbean whaling fleet, which spent the winter and spring on the coast of Venezuela, around Hispaniola, and among the Lesser Antilles, and cruised off the Azores or Cape Hatteras other times of the year. Most Caribbean whalers were schooners out of Provincetown, Massachusetts. Bridgetown was the marketing hub of the British West Indies, and also had an array of services for the maintenance of vessels. After a hard passage in 1875, *Gem* was re-caulked on a floating stage in the harbor, and Barbadian blacksmiths, shipwrights, and sailmakers repaired her chain plates, bolts, and topsails.[38]

Trinidad experienced a deep depression after the abolition of slavery in 1838. Unlike Barbados, Trinidad had a small population and vacant land, giving freed slaves the option of leaving plantation work. The Colonial Office responded to the subsequent agricultural labor shortage by importing tens of thousands of East Indian indentured servants to work in the cane fields. Also unlike Barbados, where there were more than five hundred small estates independently producing sugar with windmills and boiling houses, the centralization of sugar lands and the modernization of sugar production into large central factories proceeded rapidly in Trinidad.[39] Trowbridge's agent in Port of Spain was Turnbull, Stuart & Company of Glasgow, members of the predominantly Scottish merchant class in Trinidad who supplied planters with livestock and marketed their sugar.

Puerto Rico did not abolish slavery until 1873. Until then, the molasses provided by the Mayaguez firm of Hijos de Lloreda, or Lloreda's Sons, was the product of slave labor, but entered the American market on equal terms with sugar made by free workers. The period of abolition in Puerto Rico was bad for business, as it had been in the British West Indies. In October 1868, Hijos de Lloreda sent a letter to Trowbridge via the steamer *Brazilian Mail* to counteract any rumors of unrest he may have heard.

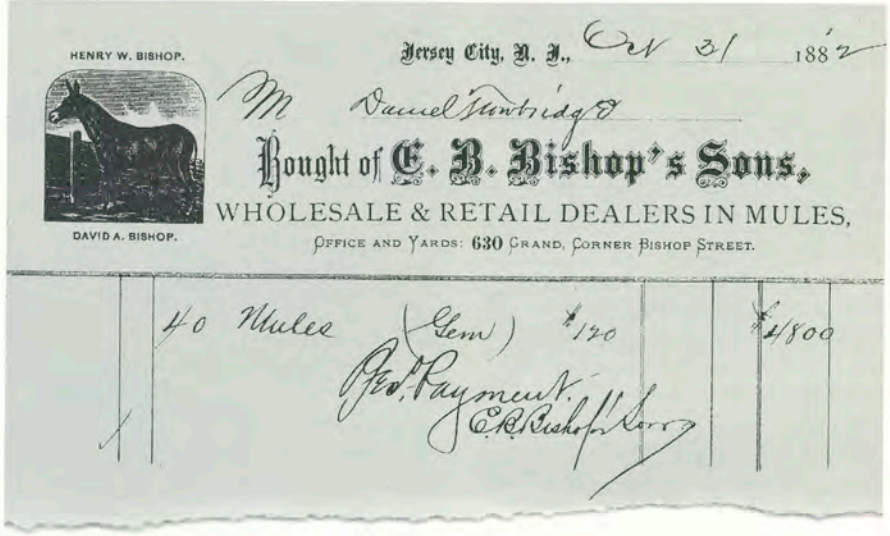
A mutiny...broke out a few days ago in the interior of the island composed most of it of coloured people leaded by persons of the worst character and reputation; but fortunately the government with his usual activity and energy overpowered them instantly without firing a shot and they are today into the hands of the authorities from whom a severe punishment is expected to the entire satisfaction of this peaceful and loyal country. This will not in the least interfere with the sugar crop.[40]

One complication of doing business in Mayaguez was the language barrier; *Gem*'s captain paid a $10 interpreter's fee every time the brig called there. This was offset by Hijos de Lloreda's practice of sending a case of rum, bag of coffee, or box of "segars" aboard *Gem* "for Mr. Trowbridge's use."[41] Sugar production in Puerto Rico fell by half in the decade after abolition, and *Gem* seldom called there in the 1880s.

Martinique's sugar estates were owned by a class of status-conscious French planters who purchased many New Haven carriages. Trowbridge's agents, Messrs. DeComis, G. Mayne de Ste. Luce et Compagnie, based in St. Pierre, assembled sugar cargoes from dozens of small estates for shipment aboard *Gem*, which usually arrived in Maritinique in ballast from Barbados. Trowbridge rarely sent mules or provisions to St. Pierre aboard *Gem*, but sent other laden brigs there to compete with ships from Nantes, France, which carried mules across the Atlantic.[42] Trowbridge also sent carriages to Martinique aboard steamers until the mid-1880s, when the sugar depression struck the island and his agents' firm went bankrupt.

The records of these hundred voyages present a clear picture of the network of associates among the islands, New York, and New Haven, and their way of doing business. As in the days of the colonial West Indies trade, the captain of a vessel was entrusted to make important decisions in distant places with unpredictable conditions. Captain John Neal had considerable latitude in obtaining cargoes during *Gem*'s early voyages, and if there was another Trowbridge vessel in port at the same time he took charge of filling both.[43] But the increasing speed of communications in the region steadily reduced the importance of the captain in deciding where to go and what to buy. Steam navigation developed rapidly between New York and the Caribbean after the Civil War, with lines like Pickford & Black and C.H. Mallory

The Bishops of Jersey City supplied many of the mules carried by Gem *to supply the Caribbean plantations with beasts of burden. At $120, the price of a mule equalled four months wages for a seaman.* Gem *could carry about 40 mules under an awning on deck. (Coll. 227, box 11, folder 7, G.W. Blunt White Library)*



speeding the delivery of mail and compact, high-priced cargoes. The completion of telegraph connections to the islands in 1871 allowed immediate, though expensive, transmission of important information like current sugar and molasses prices directly to New York or New Haven. Merchants used codes to guard such secrets from competing firms. A cable from Leacock in "Bar Bardos" to Trowbridge in New Haven read "Anderson Clyde Bald to Cloud Austin Cat Martinique Cat to Cent Francs," meaning "molasses at three and a quarter to a half, sugar at 18, in Martinique 18 to 20 francs."[44]

Early telegraphy was not entirely reliable, however. Sometimes the telegraph cable broke, as it did between Barbados and St. Vincent in 1876, and sometimes the message was garbled. A message from Turnbull in Trinidad to Hijos de Lloreda in Mayaguez was supposed to read "can you load Trowbridge's *Pearl*?" but was "rendered by the wires" as "can you load Trowbridge, Pearl" making Hijos de Lloreda think that two brigs, *Daniel Trowbridge* and *Pearl*, were coming, so they gathered twice as much cargo as was needed.[45]

One of the sons in the competing firm of Henry Trowbridge's Sons resided in Port of Spain to conduct their business, but Daniel Trowbridge relied on his agents and apparently never travelled to the islands.[46] Within a circle of agents like those with whom Trowbridge dealt, information was freely shared and cooperation was the rule, as shown in business correspondence like this from his Martinique agent: "We heard from our friends Turnbull, Stuart and Co. of Trinidad that *Ruby* had loaded with them. Messrs. W. P. Leacock and Co. [of Barbados] sent us 300 barrels of St. Lawrence [flour] and 200 tins of lard which were trans-shipped from the *Gem*...those friends tell us that your *Gem* will load with them for New York direct."[47]

Gem's two captains, John Neal and A. W. Pierce, wrote reports and kept expense accounts that outline their affairs. The personal journal of Captain B. Wellington of the New Haven bark *Reindeer*, another New Haven mule boat, also illuminates the experiences of West Indian masters. They were busy men. Neal commanded *Gem*'s first 22 voyages without a break, then left to supervise the construction of the brig *Pearl* and become her first captain. Pierce took over from Neal and commanded the next 60 straight voyages, a full decade spent almost entirely at sea or in the islands, before finally taking a voyage off. The personal expense accounts of both men include regular entries for "check to wife," but their visits home were brief and infrequent and their spouses never accompanied them. Captain Wellington of the *Reindeer* brought his wife and their son along on at least one trip to Barbados, which they seem to have enjoyed.[48] There is no record of Neal or Pierce buying or selling any cargo on their own account, though Wellington brought canaries to sell in Trinidad and returned with stuffed tropical birds: "two flamingoes, two toucans, and a case of humming Birds."[49] Wellington also socialized very actively during his visits to Bridgetown and Port of Spain, and once went spelunking 300 feet into a cave in Barbados, "with poor lights and Barefooted negros for guids." We have no indication of how Neal and Pierce occupied their time ashore, though one of Neal's expense accounts shows him buying tobacco, a banjo, and a book in New Haven to bring aboard for amusement.[50]

Gem's crew numbered seven or eight, with a mate and second mate, a steward, and four or five foremast hands. Seamen's wages were $30 a month for most of the hundred voyages, with the second mate receiving $5 more, the steward $10 more, and the mate $20 more, though A.B. wages fell to $18 during the hard times of 1884. The only profit speculation on the part of the crew evidenced in these records occurred when *Gem* brought 3,500 oranges from Puerto Rico in 1873, and two seamen purchased 300 oranges apiece against their wages, presumably to sell in New York.[51] Most of the seamen who served aboard *Gem* had German, Scandinavian, English, or Irish surnames, with a few notable exceptions. In 1877 the crew of the fiftieth voyage included "F. A. Aamoot, Maksui Louskiu, and Eustaf Karpala," who may have been East Indians from Trinidad.[52] A Mr. Joblinsky became mate in 1883, and on the same voyage one Ah Foo shipped as steward, the only Polish and Chinese names on the existing rolls.[53] It must have been an uncomfortable berth for Ah Foo, as he left after one trip. In fact, the position of steward was difficult for anyone to take. The voyage after Ah Foo's, the steward deserted in Barbados, the only desertion recorded, and on the following voyage the steward was discharged in that port.

Sickness was a constant threat for sailors calling in tropical ports like Bridgetown, where a cholera epidemic killed 20,000 people in 1854. The capital of Barbados was still reputed to be "the most insanitary town in the West Indies; its water supply was polluted, open cesspools and canals were used to remove sewage from households, gutters were clogged and stinking, and filth lay about even major thoroughfares."[54] Rats were particularly abundant in Barbados, where a one-penny bounty on rat heads was briefly introduced–this may explain the large purchases of rat poison from Dr. Ritter's Medical Warehouse in New York carried in *Gem*. It was expensive to be ill in Barbados. A sick man required cab fare to the office of Dr. Arnold in Bridgetown, who charged for his "advice," and sometimes additional medicines had to be purchased.[55] A vessel arriving with a sick man was apt to be quarantined for several days, as Barbadian officials were "much afraid of Small Pox and they quarantine a Vessel very quickly." When *Ruby* was quarantined off Bridgetown in 1882, agent Leacock interceded with the authorities to release the vessel when the man recovered from "Cold and pains in his back."[56]

There is evidence of only one death aboard *Gem* in one hundred voyages. A Danish seaman named Christensen was killed in some unspecified way in January 1883. An auction of his effects was held among his shipmates, and every member of the crew except the captain and the boy purchased an item. Pierce sent the proceeds–minus postage–to Christensen's family in Denmark.[57]

The first one hundred voyages of the brig *Gem* took place during a resurgence of a very old trade made possible in large part by increased acceptance for muscovado sugar and molasses in the American sugar market, centered in New York. This period of prosperity in the

Daniel Trowbridge's last sugar brig, the 244-ton Cameo *(111.5x27.1x10.5 feet), was built by Goss & Sawyer at Bath, Maine, in 1878. Her career spanned 55 years. Watercolor by John F. Leavitt.* (M.S.M. *76.1.5)*

West Indies ended in the mid-1880s because of increased competition from subsidized French and German beet sugar on the London market–still the primary market for British West Indian sugar–and from tariff-protected American beet sugar and Cuban cane sugar in New York. Even so, New York received a steadily greater proportion of West Indian sugar during the depressed 1880s and 1890s; more sugar and molasses were shipped, but less money was made. Daniel Trowbridge did not need to be told this. For 15 years he made money selling high quality provisions, sturdy mules, fast horses, and fancy carriages to West Indian sugar planters, but the market for these items weakened badly around 1884. Trowbridge's plaintive letters to W. P. Leacock in Barbados portray the disastrous decline. In March 1883 he admitted he "should be agreeably surprised at receiving sales netting something more than cost and disbursements."[58] In late summer of that year he looked for "a chance of recovering some of the heavy losses of the past few months."[59] By the spring of 1884, Trowbridge faced a difficult choice between bringing *Gem* back from Barbados in ballast or buying molasses so undervalued in New York that it was, as he complained, "no use loading with it." The price of Barbados molasses at the time was 27 cents a gallon; less than two months later, it had fallen to 16 cents.[60]



In addition to competition from other forms of sugar, West Indian traders faced increased competition from steamships. Even as prices were in a free fall in New York, steamers on the Barbados route reduced their freight rates.[61] Dispatching *Gem* to Bridgetown in September 1884, Trowbridge had little hope for a successful voyage. "As there is a Steamer leaving today direct for your port I fear the result of this shipment will prove much as the last did in quite a loss."[62] Trowbridge saw the wave of the future steam past his sturdy brigs. By 1895, sailing vessels were carrying very little British West Indian sugar, having lost the trade to the steamships of lines like the Trinidad Trading Corporation.[63]

But Trowbridge stuck it out for a few more years, amidst setbacks. In December 1886, his brig *Garnet* wrecked on Fenwick Island Shoals on the coast of Delaware with a load of sugar from Trinidad; the crew were all rescued but the brig was a total loss. In 1888 Trowbridge sold *Gem* to another West Indian firm, Miller, Bull & Company of New York, who put her in the trade to Haiti. The following year he divested himself of *Cameo*, which began to carry sugar from the Dominican Republic, and *Ruby*, which he sold to his old competitor L. W. P. Armstrong. Trowbridge kept *Pearl* in service until 1894, then sold her, too. The buyer was G. F. Lough, who had acquired *Gem* the year before and registered her in St. Kitts. Henry Trowbridge's Sons went out of business about the same time, and with that New Haven was finally out of the West Indies trade. The only Caribbean link left in the city was Bigelow Company, which manufactured steam machinery for making sugar.

Puerto Rico and Cuba won the battle for ascendency in the United States sugar trade. Puerto Rican sugar entered duty-free after the island's annexation by the United States in 1899, and the sugar of newly independent Cuba received a 20-percent preference in 1903. British West Indian sugar was squeezed out of New York entirely, and took refuge in Canada, where we find *Gem* in the 1890s, carrying sugar and molasses from Barbados to Nova Scotia before finally expiring sometime around 1911, somewhere among the sugar islands where she spent her long career.

Regina, an Echo from the Past, A Treasure for the Future

LESLIE GIFFORD

It is more than fitting that the word "seaport" is listed in at least one thesaurus in the company of such heartening terms as sanctuary, safety, and refuge. Any object that has come to Mystic "Seaport" understands why this synonymous bunching is appropriate: because the minute an object arrives at the Seaport, its long and precarious passage from owner to owner can end. The object will be cared for, and it will be admired.

The *Regina M.*, a weary survivor from the days long ago when carry-away boats were hard-working sailing craft, has earned the sanctuary that is the Seaport. She came to the Seaport in 1941, at a time when the Seaport was young, ambitious, and less sophisticated than it is today. Resources were limited, and restoration and documentation standards were yet to be defined. But the institutional commitment was strong, and the *Regina* was far better off here than she would have been had she been left to carry on her career.

Since coming here, the *Regina* has undergone extensive repair, and her condition was much improved. Still, many questions about her past–so sparsely documented–had gone unanswered. In the past months, Regina has undergone a complete restoration that has been carefully researched and well considered. The ongoing work is a confident process that will restore her to the configuration she would have had during the period 1910 to 1924. According to Seaport Shipyard researcher Peter Fix, this is the earliest period to which restoration can be most accurate, with the information available.

The *Regina* was built in the Passamaquoddy Bay region that divides Maine from New Brunswick, and she is typical of the ubiquitous carry-away boats known as pinkies that worked that area, loading herring at the weirs and carrying them away to the various sardine-canning factories that dotted the shore. "None of these sloops or one-masted boats," wrote Howard I. Chapelle in his *American Small Sailing Craft*, "had the pink stern of the older pinky-schooner and had merely taken the name 'pinky' from the hull-form and local usage."





Shipwright Jeff Pearson checks the bulkhead in the Regina's *hold (top), and fits a cornerpost for her new engine-room trunk. (M.S.M. 94.1.55 and 94.1.54; photos by Judy Beisler)*

Call her a pinky, a sloop-rigged sardine carrier, or a "Quoddy" boat. She's still the only one of her type we know of, according to Fix, who understands the confusion surrounding the sharp-sterned craft's many aliases, which include carry-away boat, weir boat, and collecting boat, as well. The uninitiated might wonder at the Seaport's ability to find any definitive information about this vessel type at all.

But of course it has, through focused and informed investigation. Fix doggedly pursues photographs–the Seaport currently has two that document *Regina's* configuration during the period to which the vessel is being restored; he identifies, locates, and interviews people familiar with her; and he pores through all kinds of literature, hoping for the tiniest morsel of information that will add to our knowledge of the craft, of her work, and of her people. The process could be likened to working a giant jigsaw puzzle, the pieces of which are scattered among various boxes tucked away in numerous closets. Despite the obstacles, the puzzle *Regina* seems to have come together quite coherently.

Because the Shipyard research effort primarily services the shipwrights, it emphasizes construction. "But, as so often form follows function," says Fix, "we glean a bit of the social history of a vessel by asking why it needed to be constructed in a certain way. The carry-away boat," he says, for example, "would have featured a shallower draft than a deep-sea fishing vessel, because of her particular role in the herring fishing business." Her purpose, he explains, was to haul the fish that had swum into the weirs, or traps, at high tide and were trapped inside when the tide made its relatively precipitous drop. She would typically carry one or two men in addition to the captain and, as she would travel all around Passamaquoddy Bay, her round trip could cover ten miles or more.

Fix explains that the *Regina* was active in what he calls a "transition period." Prior to 1900, he says, most carriers were exclusively sail-powered. During the first decade of this century, many of the craft were converted to auxiliary power. From 1910 on, though, the engine was king. The *Regina* was probably built as a

sailing vessel in 1900 and later modified. This development is evidenced, Fix says, by the amount of wood that had been cut out of her stern post to accommodate the engine. The Seaport, he says, is currently trying to locate an engine of the type–a seven-horsepower Fairbanks Motor Co., Model Victor–that *Regina* carried during the period to which we are restoring her. To date, no such article has been located.

Meanwhile, the restoration work proceeds. Shipwright Jeff Pearson, a 13-year veteran of the Seaport, has been heading up the project. With no plans to consult, the process has been one of surveying the vessel, referring to the photographs, and replacing one piece at a time. When he started the project, the *Regina* had only about 10 percent original wood in her, having been through many earlier restorations, modifications, and repairs. When the current restoration is complete, all of the original material will have been replaced. Pearson views the condition practically: "One hundred percent of the wood in any boat that's 100 years old is going to be replaced sooner or later," he says.

The delineation between a rebuild and a restoration is the subject of ongoing debate in the industry, according to Vice President for Watercraft Preservation and Programs Dana Hewson. His point of view is that–despite the *Regina's* coming out of the process with no remaining original wood–the process underway is still a restoration, because her form was never lost. He says that, if the Seaport had documented her, dismantled her, and then started from scratch, the process would have been a reproduction and the resulting *Regina* would have been a replica of the original. But the *Regina* has not been dismantled. She has instead been restored, piece by piece.

A related topic of debate is the choice of materials that go into the restoration. Like most small fishing craft in America, the *Regina* was built with local materials. These are not always practical or desirable when one is restoring for longevity and with an eye to exhibiting her and using her in her natural environment, the water.

Because she was built in Maine, says Pearson, most of the material comprising the vessel's backbone would have been

The Regina M. *was built to carry herring–the silver bounty of Passamaquoddy Bay–from the weirs in which they were caught to the factories in which they were pickled or canned. In this photograph, two small carry-away boats lie at a cannery pier. The fisherman at left shovels baskets full of fish from the great load in the open hold. The small trunk cabin forward has rudimentary, odorous accommodations; the steering well aft by the tiller is for the helmsman. Photo by Davis Loring. (Courtesy Eastport Historical Collection, Maine State Archives)*





The Regina M. was photographed as she motored into the harbor at Rockland, Maine, in 1924. Having been fitted with an engine, she has a small trunk cabin aft to shelter it. This is the configuration to which she is being restored at the Seaport. (M.S.M. *93.17.456*)

red oak, yellow birch, or maple, which were prevalent locally. The *Regina's* restored backbone is comprised of white oak, with some live oak–both woods more resistant to rot than the original materials. The planking is yellow pine, which may or may not have been available to the original builders. "Yellow pine planking is really the wood of choice," he says, "from a practical standpoint. And it makes sense to me to use the best material you can as long as you don't try to hide it." As Fix documents the work, says Pearson, he will indicate that yellow pine planking was used, and will indicate as well that yellow pine likely was not the original material used for planking. The shipwright thusly summarizes his philosophy–which has developed within the context of his Seaport experience and which reflects the institutional posture: "We try to use the best of American shipbuilding materials…and we don't stray from original construction methods."

The fastenings on the restored *Regina* are all bronze, which would not have been the case originally. *Regina* would have carried iron or steel nails, but neither of the two are as durable as the bronze, and the Seaport intends for this restoration to endure. The shipwrights believe the use of bronze fastenings–honestly documented–is more practical than that of the traditional materials.

The decisions to use stronger, more enduring materials in the restoration process indicates the difference in attitude between the Museum and the earlier boatbuilders, many of whom considered their vessels to be disposable. Wood for them was inexpensive and unlimited, or so it seemed. And the building of a boat was no big deal: a boatbuilder could just lay a keel in his backyard and take it from there. No plans were needed, just the common sense of everyday living. Says Pearson: "It was a different way of thinking. You'd have a boat and sail the hell out of her for twenty years and if she sank, you'd get a crew together and go at it again. I think they were building boats all the time. They could almost schedule when they were going to need another. The Seaport doesn't rebuild or restore things with the idea they're disposable."

Which is why the *Regina*, a determined survivor, can rest easy. At the Seaport, she has found a permanent home, and one that will care for her. To the Museum, she is not just a useful appliance to be used and replaced. To the Seaport, the *Regina M.* is an echo of an earlier time, and she will be treasured for it.

When she was pictured in The Motor Boat *the caption read: "The 'Regina M.' of Eastport, Me., Owned and Commanded by Capt. Rufus Cummings, Who Uses Her in the Fishing Business. She is 44 Feet Over All, 13 Beam, and a 7-hp. Fairbanks-Victor Motor Drives Her About 7 Miles an Hour. She Makes Regular Trips to the Fishing Grounds, Going as Far as Machias, Me., and Grand Manan, N.B." In this view she has been left temporarily stranded by the outgoing tide, which provides Shipyard researchers an excellent view of her underbody.* (The Motor Boat, *April 1910*)



The Life and Times of "Winty" Burrows

ANN F. PEABODY
with Holly Malloy Ellis, Donna Bellantone and Mary Deveau, Researchers



The form of Mr. S. Winthrop Burrows loomed up on the stairs, and as his spacious figure filled the doorway; he was welcomed to the room by spirited applause. The attorneys came in with sober mien and solemn steps at half past one.

So began the trial of Seth W. Burrows before the local judiciary, as described in the Mystic *Journal* of 12 March 1870. Charged with the the crime of liquor selling, and one of a number of Mystic residents arrested in the "sweep," Burrows was no stranger to the ongoing battle between the law, temperance groups, and "the cloven foot of rum."

The above quote, though tinged with the acerbic wit of H. W. Miner, editor of the *Journal*, nevertheless reveals a unique glimpse into the character of Seth Winthrop Burrows and the society in which he lived. It represents just a small part of the body of research that was compiled by Mystic Seaport interpretation staff about the Burrows family, who once owned one of the three homes now exhibited at the Museum.

Until it was moved to its current location on the Seaport waterfront in 1953, the Burrows House stood at the site of the parking lot of the Chelsea Groton Savings Bank on Water Street in Mystic. The house is believed to have been built by Daniel Burrows sometime during 1815. It was sold in the following year to merchant Jedediah Randall, who owned the dwelling until 1839. Jedediah Gallup then bought the house, selling it to the Third Baptist Church for use as a parsonage in 1854. Seth W. Burrows bought the house from the church in 1860.[1]

Since its reconstruction at the Museum, the Burrows House has been exhibited as the domicile of a middle-class family of the late 1860s and early 1870s. It did not represent any one particular family; rather, it housed generic artifacts and furnishings of that time period in an appropriate setting. A few years ago, as we reexamined the interpretation and labeling of the house, and looked for ways to revitalize the interior, we began to search for additional information about the former inhabitants. If we could find enough information we could actually exhibit the dwelling as the home of the Burrows family. But who was Seth W. Burrows, and what was life like for his family in Mystic of the 1870s?

Born in 1825, Seth Winthrop was the third of eight children. His father, also named Seth Burrows, and his mother, Charlotte Stark Burrows, owned a farm located on Haley Road northwest of Burnett's Corners, in the northern part of Groton that was set off as the town of Ledyard in 1836. Seth grew up in the family's small house, tending his father's fields and livestock, and apparently



The Burrows House kitchen ell, photographed just before the house was dismantled in 1952. (Seaport Photo Archives)

learning the carpenter's trade. While his brother John Warren went off to sea, tried prospecting in California, and settled in Hawaii, Seth stayed home, and in January of 1849 he married Ann C. Parks. They set up housekeeping near Seth's family home. The couple had three children: Ambrose, born in 1851, Annie Elizabeth, born in 1855, and Mabel, born in 1857. The family lived near Burnett's Corner until Burrows purchased the land and the building on Water Street in Mystic in January 1860.[2]

In 1860 the nation was engaged in great political strife over the slavery issue and ultimately the secession of the Southern states from the Union. The resulting Civil War brought devastation to the South and enormous numbers of casualties to both armies, but the conflict also brought an economic boost to the shipyards of the Mystic River. Throughout the war the business of shipbuilding helped keep Mystic residents employed and the community thriving.[3]

Seth Burrows entered business in the village just as this flurry of economic activity was beginning. He received a mortgage from the Groton Savings Bank of one thousands dollars in June of 1860. This money was most likely used to add a kitchen ell, lift the existing structure, and create a street-level storefront beneath the house. Here Seth and Ann opened their dry-goods store early in the summer of 1861.[4]

Mystic was a small bustling coastal community where products and fashions of the day were readily available, and where leisure activities were part of the routine of life. Like many families of the mid-nineteenth century, the Burrowses were part of a growing middle class that developed because of the social changes brought about by the industrial revolution. New technologies, both in the workplace and the home, were radically altering all facets of life. These dramatic changes in lifestyle, along with urban growth and the influx of vast numbers of immigrants to America, engendered a strong social reaction.

The temperance movement was born in the early years of the nineteenth century, when the fervor of the religious revival called the "Second Great Awakening," swept across the Northeast. Clergymen quickly identified the consumption of ardent spirits, cider, beer, and wine as a formidable obstacle to the achievement of the "promised land" in America. The idea of a perfect society, God's kingdom come to Earth, was a key element of their doctrine. A defining feature of the Second Great Awakening was the formation of voluntary associations to carry forward moral and benevolent work. Eventually, missionary societies, groups to promote the welfare of working women and sailors, and other special-issue groups were formed, but among the first and most vehement was the campaign against intemperance.

The problem was, rum, cider, and beer had been essential ingredients of daily life through America's colonial period. Small (weak) beer was considered a breakfast beverage, and rum fortified laborers during the day–shipyards often provided a ration of grog (rum and water) during a mid-morning break. Captain Frederick Marryat, a former British naval officer and novelist, during his trip to America in 1837, described–with some exaggeration–the role of alcohol in American male society.

Americans can fix nothing without a drink. If you meet, you drink; if you part you drink; if you make acquaintance, you drink; if you close a bargain you drink; they quarrel in their drink and they make it up with a drink. They drink because it is hot; they drink because it is cold. If successful in elections, they drink and rejoice; if not, they drink and swear; they begin to drink early in the morning, they leave off late at night; they commence it early in life and continue it, until they soon drop into the grave.... As for water, what one man said, when asked to belong to the Temperance Society, appears to be the general opinion: "It's very good for navigation." [5]

The temperance groups had a formidable task before them. The effort was well under way by the 1830s to persuade Americans to give up the consumption of ardent spirits (beer and wine eventually were included as well). Preachers admonished all to abstain from the evil of drink, and local, state, and national temperance chapters were formed–Connecticut claimed 22,000 temperance society members in 1830. Eventually, what had started as a campaign to encourage people to reform their lives through moral suasion became a crusade to change the legal right of Americans to consume alcohol. This switch in focus by the leaders of the movement had an enormous impact on communities, especially in New England.



Seth Burrows's store, built when the house was raised in 1860, was part of Mystic's mid-nineteenth-century commercial complex west of the Mystic River bridge. S. Jerome Hoxie sketched the scene ca. 1920. (Courtesy Mystic River Historical Society)

Various types of prohibition laws were enacted during the pre-Civil War period, but by the 1850s state legislatures had begun passing laws to prohibit the sale of all alcoholic beverages. Maine's prohibition law went into effect first, and that form of legislation was thereafter called the "Maine Law." Connecticut passed the "Maine Law" in 1854.[6]

Connecticut's 1854 law was very controversial. Many people felt that it infringed on basic constitutional rights, and they supported the liquor industry's fight to have it repealed. Despite these efforts, this law remained on the books, though enforcement and prosecution depended on local tolerance for the activity. Prosecution was often difficult because, while it was illegal to sell liquor, it was permisible to possess alcoholic beverages for personal use, so proof was required that intoxicating substances were actually being held for sale. Also, the limited number of police and constables in small towns contributed to the lack of enforcement. Eventually, the prosecution of offenders fell to the local clergy and temperance organizations. They were able to do so under Acts 19, 20, and 21 of the liquor law, which allowed a minimum of three citizens to file a complaint against a person purported to be selling liquor.[7]

There is no doubt where Seth Burrows stood on this issue. He first ran afoul of this law in March 1859. According to the Mystic *Pioneer* of 26 March 1859: "Seth W. Burrows of Groton, near Burnett's Corners, was arrested for liquor selling but there was not sufficient evidence brought forward to support the complaint and he was discharged."

Liquor-sellers got a slight reprieve during the war years while temperance leaders, many of whom were involved in the abolition movement, turned their attention to this cause. The federal government took slight interest in the liquor laws because taxes on liquor were helping to support the war effort. In Mystic, very few arrests for liquor sales were noted in the press during the war. Consequently, in the midst of all the patriotic fervor, liquor-sellers established a strong foothold in the community.

When Seth Burrows opened his store in Mystic River he already had a reputation for "selling grog," but he was considered to be a good business risk nonetheless. Dun and Bradstreet's agent made the

following observation in January of 1860: "Is a young man energetic and shrewd....People say 'he will bear looking after'....Notably keeps liquors now. Has a fair trade generally. Is considered a money getting fellow in a small way."[8]

Despite a promising start in Mystic, Seth Burrows's life was soon marred by tragedy. Ann gave birth to a baby girl who lived just two hours, and two days later, on 18 September 1861, Ann herself died of puerperal sepsis (childbed fever).

Throughout the years following Ann's death, the store continued to prosper. "August 1862 Not always prompt but in good order at home and appears to be doing well," recorded Dun and Bradstreet.[9]

Then, on 17 July 1864, Seth Burrows married 24-year-old Jane L. Thompson of New London. Jane was the oldest daughter in a family of six children. Her father was a coachman and teamster in New London, and Jane was described in the 1860 census as a dressmaker. Marriage to Jane Thompson probably brought more financial security to the family because of her trade as a dressmaker, although it was ten years before she actually opened a millinery business in the store on Water Street.

During the postwar economic contraction, as Mystic shipbuilding went into decline, Seth Burrows's financial situation worsened. "Does not pay his bills prompt and not in good credit at home," noted Dun and Bradstreet in June 1868, although they qualified the negative assessment with the comment, "Is a hard working industrious man."[10]

Evidence suggests that he was equally industrious in his recreation, which may have contributed to his financial straits. His interest in horse racing is documented in the press.

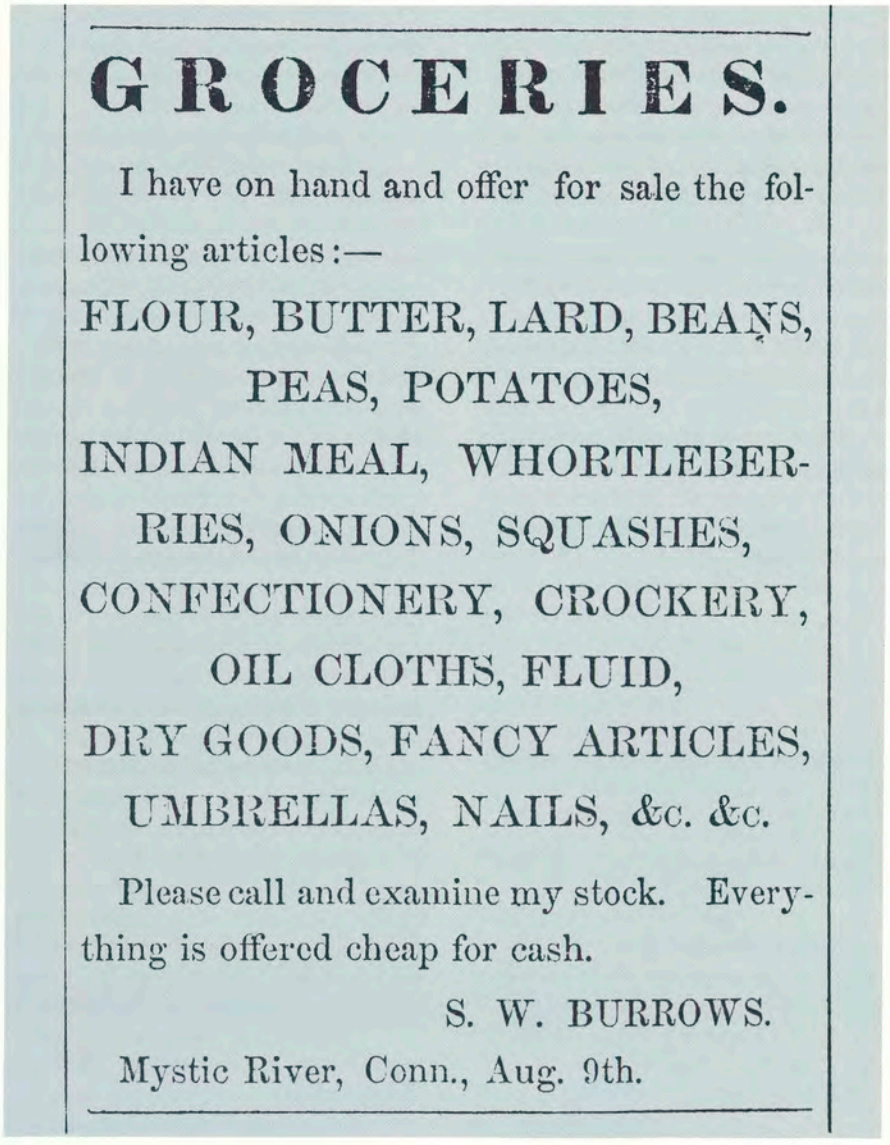
"Trot. The trot between S.W. Burrows' 'Fun' and W. F. Rawson's 'Mack' for a purse of $300 will take place on the grounds of the New London Agricultural Society next Tuesday, the 31st," announced the Mystic *Pioneer* on 25 July 1868.

But the results of this race were disastrous for Burrows. "'Fun,' S.W. Burrows' horse, which lost the race at the Norwich course last week on account of a sudden and then unaccountable illness, has since died. It was ascertained that the horse received a dose of croton oil from someone interested in the race," reported the *Pioneer* on 8 August, implying that the driver, who was not S. W. Burrows, may have deliberately lost the race.

Clearly Mystic considered Seth Burrows blameless in Fun's death. It is also quite possible that Seth invested heavily in Fun, especially since this horse had a reputation in lower New London County for being fast. Losing the race and the horse must have been an economic hardship.

Driving races, or "trots," were a popular feature of nineteenth-century agricultural fairs. Most fairgrounds had tracks, and gambling was commonplace. Recreational gambling was part of daily life among the poor, immigrants, and the working class of the North throughout the nineteenth century. Although it was often touted by reformers as an urban ill, there is evidence that the working-class men and boys of Mystic engaged in such activities as horse racing, bare-fist boxing, and rat or cock fighting. These activities were also closely associated with "grog shops, groceries, and taverns," thus linking gambling with liquor in the minds of reformers.[11]

There is no direct evidence that Seth Burrows was a gambler, but he was a horse trader, and at least some of his financial troubles clearly came from his desire to make the best of every opportunity and scheme open to him. Certainly "Winty" Burrows was a well-known, colorful character in the community. Today we might refer to him as a "good ol' boy."



GROCERIES.

I have on hand and offer for sale the following articles:—

FLOUR, BUTTER, LARD, BEANS, PEAS, POTATOES, INDIAN MEAL, WHORTLEBERRIES, ONIONS, SQUASHES, CONFECTIONERY, CROCKERY, OIL CLOTHS, FLUID, DRY GOODS, FANCY ARTICLES, UMBRELLAS, NAILS, &c. &c.

Please call and examine my stock. Everything is offered cheap for cash.

S. W. BURROWS.

Mystic River, Conn., Aug. 9th.

(Mystic Pioneer, *August 1861)*

A revealing glimpse of Seth and Jane Burrowses' characters is contained in an article titled "That Horse Trade" in the Mystic *Journal* of 23 May 1870. Disguising the victims of his rapacious wit under the pseudonyms of Smith and Jones, *Journal* editor H.W. Miner described a horse that was bought from some passing gypsies, and then was traded numerous times because of its "baulky" disposition. Eventually, Seth Burrows, alias Smith, always on the lookout for a good piece of horse flesh, bought the horse. Mr. "Jones" of Old Mystic–whom we have not identified–soon came down to Mystic to "talk horse" with Burrows and made an offer for the horse. When Burrows agreed, "Jones" took the horse home on approval.

"The next day Smith [Burrows] went up to Jones house to ascertain if he had determined to keep the animal, and receiving an affirmative reply, he received from Jones $70.00 in cash and gave the latter a bill of sale," explained Miner.

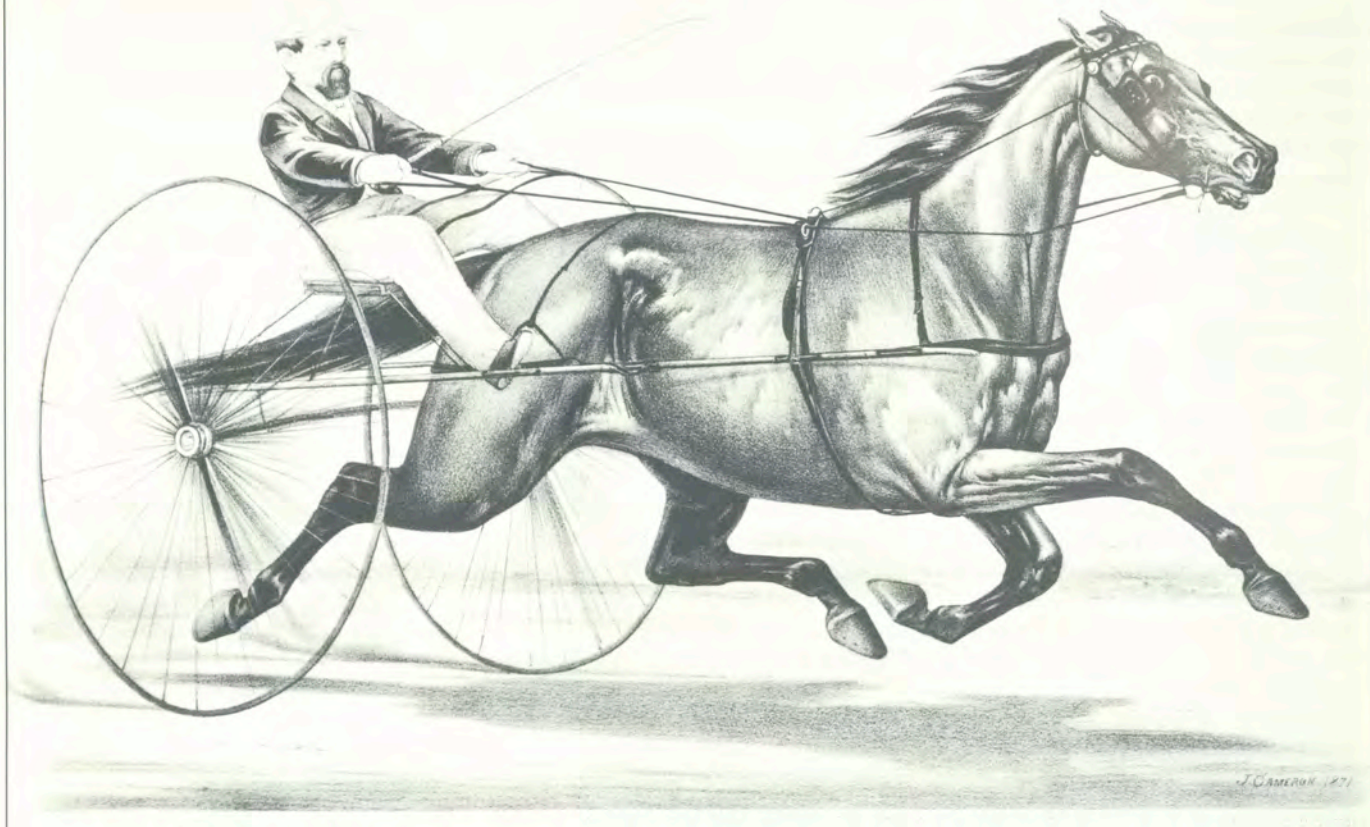
After the papers had been passed over, Jones commenced to tell Smith of the good points he had found in the horse; how he did not baulk and worked perfectly free and gentle in the harness, was kind in the stable, perfect and sound, and furthermore gave promise of great speed. He then invited Smith to trot the horse around his private track, and after a single trial, Smith announced himself satisfied. The look of hopeless agony that covered his face and his entire disconsolate appearance, showed how bitterly he regretted such a hasty action in selling the animal.

He drove silently home. There he poured out his troubles into the capacious and responsive bosom of his family. A secret session of several hours followed and at 10 o'clock he walked over to Brown's stable [Brown's livery stable was directly across from the Burrows House] *hired a horse and carriage, and with his wife drove up to Jones' house. Smith left his wife in the carriage at the gate and went up to the door to talk with Jones. The former said that his wife had not given consent to the trade, so she did not think it a fair transaction, and she stoutly declared she would not live unless she had that horse back again, and peace would not be found in the family... until that end should be accomplished. Jones said he did not do business that way, for a trade was a trade.*

Then Jane Burrows "alighted from the carriage and walking up to the house, introduced herself to Jones with the query 'Mr. Jones are you a gentleman?' 'Mrs. Smith, that depends upon circumstances.'"

Then, the two had it hot and heavy, and at last, Mrs. Smith drove the nail home by profanely informing Jones that he might take the beast and _____. We won't tell where she told him to put it. Jones immediately and peremptorily bade her quit his premises else he would help her to the sidewalk. She obeyed. With mingled and varied feelings Smith and his wife drove home, and under tumultuous condition of his mental powers, Mr. Smith retired to rest, without visiting his

Trotting was the preferred form of Northern horse racing. Seth Burrows would have admired the famous trotter American Girl, depicted in a race at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1869. Lithograph by Currier and Ives. (Courtesy Library of Congress)



store, putting out the lights and locking it up. All night long the lights burned and the door swung open while Smith suffered from a severe attack of night-mare, super induced by the excitement of the horse trade of the previous day.

Eighteen seventy was an eventful year for Seth Burrows. The incident of the "baulky" horse occurred two months after his arraignment in March for liquor dealing. This was the first in a long series of legal actions against S.W. Burrows and the other sellers of "King Alcohol." The ten-year respite from prosecution for liquor sales during the 1860s was over, and the forces of temperance again were taking aim at the liquor dealers of Mystic and Stonington. Their campaign centered on the provision in the 1854 law that allowed three concerned citizens to swear out a complaint against an individual for liquor selling; the sheriff could then confiscate the liquor and charge the proprietor with illegal sale of liquor.[12]

A core group of Mystic citizens, including Thomas Greenman, part owner of the Greenman Bros. shipyard and a justice of the peace on the Stonington side of Mystic, now pursued a zealous course to rid their town of the "vice, rowdiness, and intemperance" associated with liquor. Others continued to show defiance and openly sold and consumed alcohol. Opponents generally divided along lines of social class and ethnic background on this issue, but many of Mystic's leading business figures were silent during the debate, and their positions on the issue remain obscure.[13]

The "seizures" of merchandise and the closing of the "gin mills" as the new year began were hotly debated in the press. The Mystic *Pioneer*, and later the Mystic *Journal*, took a conservative pro-temperance stance, and the newly established *Stonington Mirror* often chose to sit on the fence, despite the continuous harangue from Mystic editor H.W. Miner. Mr. Miner, who retired in 1870, labeled the Stonington *Mirror*, a "scurrilous whisky sheet," because of the anti-temperance leanings of some of its reporters.

In December of 1869 the Temperance Association had visited a number of saloons and liquor dealers in the village of Mystic. Their mission was to convince, through peer and pious pressure, these businessmen to abandon the further sale of intoxicating drinks or face prosecution. They had a formidable task. In the half-mile stretch between the Hoxie House hotel–just beyond the Stonington end of the drawbridge–and Fort Rachel, down Water Street past the Burrowses' on the Groton side of Mystic, 16 establishments purveyed alcohol (today there are 9). The Association's efforts at persuasion were in vain, for most of the proprietors either refused directly or made evasive comments about doing so if others gave up selling as well. Seth Burrows claimed "he would be the first man to stop and not sell anymore in the place if the committee would buy his stock on hand, which is worth two or three hundred dollars."

Not to be deterred, the Temperance Association stepped up its campaign to rid Mystic of liquor dealers. On 19 February the Mystic *Journal* reported:

It has been known for some weeks to the prosecuting committee of the temperance organization of this village that liquor was sold to trusted customers, notwithstanding the large reward offered for the detection of the retailers and the written agreement of the dealers that they would close their bars. Every effort has been made to ascertain from those who have been seen in a condition of intoxication on the street, the places where they purchased the benzine, but "the devil was true to his own" and they would not divulge the desired information. A meeting of the committee was held last Monday morning, when it was decided to make a direct move on the strongholds of King Alcohol.

Sheriff Brown was called, and a $10,000 bond was posted to protect the Sheriff in the event of any "loss he might incur in the prosecution of his duties." He then proceeded to visit four saloons and bars of Mystic River: John Shaffer's on Clift Avenue; the store of S. Winthrop Burrows, "where eight packages of rum, gin, whiskey, wine and cherry rum were seized;" Michael Rafferty's saloon; and "the den of Thomas and Bridget Gavigan" where, having heard of the other seizures, the proprietors barred and locked their doors.[14]

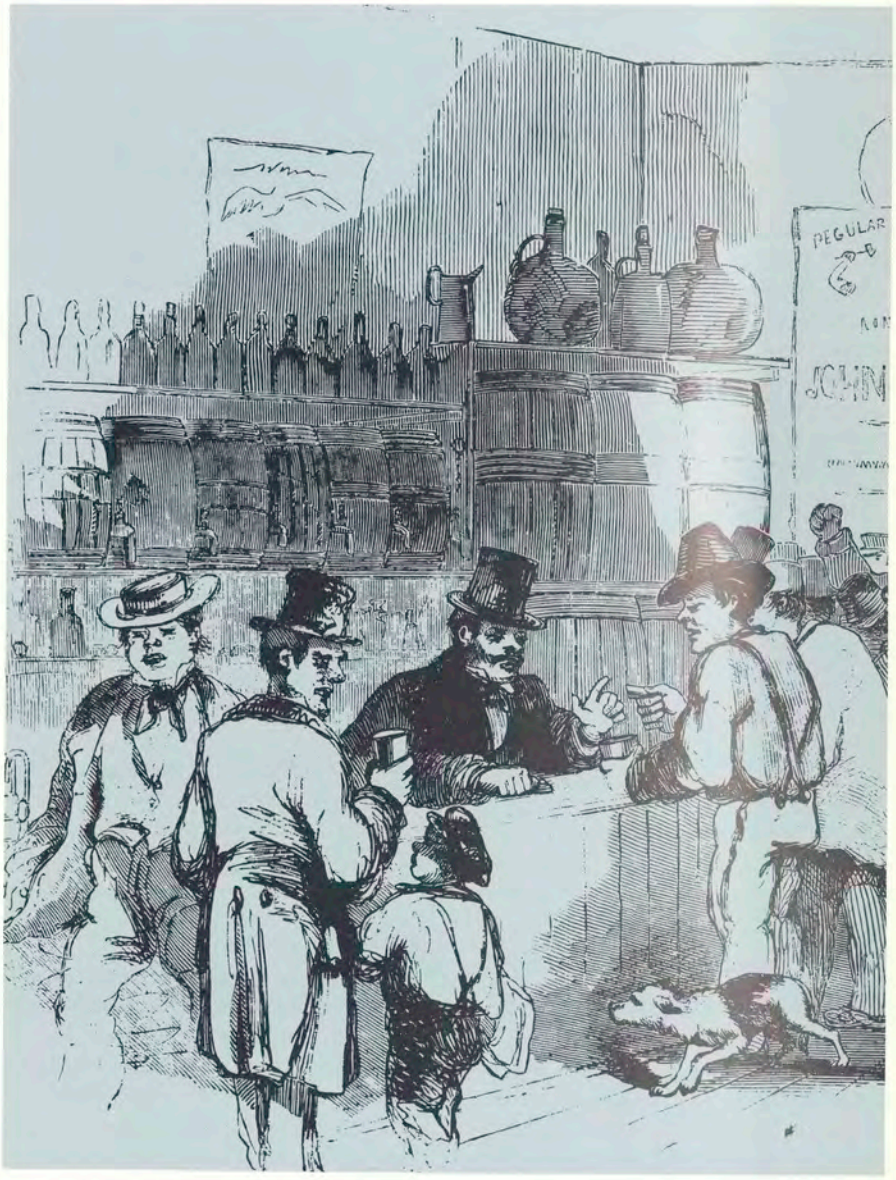
These initial seizures and arrests began a series of legal proceedings, postponements, trials, verdicts, appeals, and more arrests that continued throughout the year of 1870. After this, his first arrest, Seth Burrows's case was postponed because he had not engaged an attorney. Two days later, however, he was back in court. "The first move of the defense astonished all who were conducting or watching the legal game," reported the Mystic *Journal* on 26 March. "This was no less than the placing of John Elkington in the witness box, who, under oath, swore that he owned the liquors and had always been the possessor of them since they were brought to Mystic, had never offered them for sale, but kept them for his own private use....The prosecution brought witnesses to prove that the liquors were placed in a large room, adjoining and connecting with Burrows' store, fitted up in the style of a bar, with the liquor in decanters on shelves, with tumblers, tumbler racks, etc."

Elkington claimed that when he had moved from Burrows's house, where he had rented a room, downstairs to the first floor, he had taken the liquors with him to the store below for his own use. "Burrows testified that he owned the store, but rented it to Elkington about the middle of last November; that he did not know the liquors were brought there; had never had anything to do with them; and had been forbidden by Elkington from touching them. Mr. Brandegee [the prosecutor] then hinted about the little tumbler rack, which evidently had slipped Mr. Burrows' memory."

Despite his prosecution under the law, Seth Burrows continued to sell liquor. On 30 April the Mystic *Journal* reported: "Sheriff Brown searched the saloons of G.W. Tingley and S. Winthrop Burrows on Wednesday, but made no seizures. At Burrows' a jug was found but the owner smashed it before the officer could get hold of it."

"The law took a fresh grip on S. Winthrop Burrows last Saturday," the *Journal* reported on 25 June.

It has took hold of him so many times before that it was rather difficult for Deputy Sheriff Brown to remember how many times he had arrested the corpulent corposity of the aforesaid S.W.B. Winty couldn't recollect either, although he sat down on an empty rum barrel and scratched his head for a full five minutes. He appeared at the door of the Justice's court room with officer Brown, and after making a pretty bow to those present,



Seth Burrows's bar was even simpler than this one, with just a few bottles and tumblers among the grocery items and dry goods. (Harper's Weekly, *13 November 1858)*

sat down and commenced to twirl his aged hat on the second finger of his right hand.

"Mr. Justice I demur," said he.

"Winty, my boy, it isn't quite time to demur. Wait till you here this little incident written especially for this occasion."

Then the long indictment was read, charging that when Sheriff Brown went to arrest S.W. Burrows, some weeks ago, that the latter rushed into his back store, and with a hammer smashed a large jug of brandy after it had been seized by the officer.

"I demur. Fine away. I'll get a bondsman."

Perhaps Seth had finally had enough. "Mr Burrows has put a notice up in his window that he is selling out at cost; and in another that his store is for rent," continued the *Journal*. "We give him the benefit of this advertisement, hoping that it will help him along. He has given us the material for a number of 'items,' and we are not so ungrateful as to forget the favor."

But it was not an easy time to rent a storefront, and liquor selling still held attractions for an opportunist like Seth, particularly since at least some of his court costs were paid by the liquor dealers' association. Nor had Seth ostracized himself from his Mystic neighbors by his repeated offenses. "Isn't it singular that some of the jurymen in the case of the State vs. S.W. Burrows, should go to the office of one of the defending lawyers and apologize to him for bringing in a verdict of guilty against his client?" asked the *Journal*. "That it was done, is highly authenticated.... The cloven foot of rum very plainly showed itself."

There is no evidence that Seth Burrows or any of the other defendants in the liquor trials ever went to jail for their unlawful deeds. The result of the year's legal proceedings against him–at least four arrests and four convictions–was that Burrows was fined each time for breaking the liquor laws. The Stonington *Mirror* reported the conclusion of the last case in its 23 March 1871 issue: "The case of the State vs. S.W. Burrows, was tried in the afternoon, at the same place. The whiskey and gin seized at his place was the same as Gavigan's, but the wine contained quantities of copperus, alum and oil of vitriol. He was fined $7.00 and costs, amounting in all to 44.50."

With the conclusion of the last of the Superior Court cases against Seth and his fellow liquor-sellers, the Stonington *Mirror*, that "scurrilous whisky sheet," proclaimed: "This is the last defeat of the liquor sellers, and settles the question of the legality of the liquor seizures....In every case where any defense was made the prosecution has triumphed....These prosecutions have not stopped the sale of liquor in this place. We never thought they would; no law can be devised that will prevent the rum selling so long as there are men to drink–but they have made the business hazardous and unpleasant, and exceedingly expensive to the Liquor Dealer's Association."

With this victory in the courts, the Temperance Association of Mystic seems to have quit their course of local prosecutions. The reasons for this sudden halt to their local campaign is unclear. The courts had upheld the legality of seizure, and throughout the state similar campaigns against liquor dealers were still ongoing in 1871, but very little activity was recorded in Mystic. It may be that the local organization turned its attention and financial resources to the repeal battle that was brewing at the state capital.

There, in defiance of the efforts of such local organizations, the legislature voted

in 1872 to amend the 1854 law to include the provision of local option. This change allowed the local populace in each town to vote on the sale of liquor and to control sales through the licensing of liquor dealers. This was a setback for the temperance cause because it tended to fragment efforts throughout the state. Each town appointed a committee to oversee the issue of licensing. Stonington voted to allow liquor sales in November of 1873, but Groton stayed dry. Yet, in each town the law could change from year to year, depending on how many men turned out at the polls.[15]

It is likely that Seth Burrows finally stopped selling liquor after this, for few men would bother to frequent his illicit den when they could drink legally just a short walk away across the drawbridge. At any rate, he was never again arrested for liquor sales. But he did not prosper. In July 1871 Dun and Bradstreet had advised: "Owns R.[eal] E.[state] but well covered with mortgages. Is smart enough but sells corned liquor. Is getting behind. Her habits are only fair. He pays very fairly but is sometimes slow. advise caution."[16]

The family continued to live above the store on Water Street. According to the 1870 census, Jane was keeping house for 19-year-old Ambrose, a sailor; Annie Elizabeth (Eliza), 16, who was working in a woolen mill—either the Oceanic Woolen Mill on Pistol Point or the Greenmanville Manufacturing Company, part of which is now the Seaport's Stillman Building; and 14-year-old Mabel, who was still in school.

As a sailor, Ambrose was often away and probably added little to the family's income. Eliza, however, could have contributed a small amount to the family's upkeep until April of 1872, when she married Samuel Bottom Pendleton of Stonington. Samuel Pendleton was descended from a long line of Stonington mariners and was listed as a boatman in the 1881 Stonington directory.[17]

Seth finally succeeded in renting his store, for the following notice appeared in the Mystic *Press* on 5 December 1873: "Mr Lowe, dry goods dealer advertises in another column that he has opened a stock of dry goods in Mr. S. W. Burrows Store. He buys low and claims to be always the leader in sales at low prices, and that is what people want in these panicky times."

"Panicky times" had come to Mystic because of a weakening local and national economy. The local shipbuilding industry had been in decline since the wartime boom, in part because of the preference of shipowners for less expensive Maine-built vessels, in part because of the trend toward iron-hulled steamships, which Mystic shipyards were not prepared to build, and in part because of the overall decline in the demand for American ships since the end of the war.[18]

Aggravating the local situation was a nationwide recession that had begun in 1871 as a result of rapid economic expansion and unwise monetary and economic policies. This drained the U.S. economy and created a panic in the stock market. All these factors contributed to make life shaky for thousands of businesses that were teetering on the edge of bankruptcy.[19] Mr. Lowe must have found it a difficult time to establish a business, for after 30 January 1874 he ceased to advertise in the paper.

Then, in May of that same year, Jane Burrows opened a new business. "Mrs Jane L. Burrows has opened a Millinery Store in Burrows' Building," announced the Mystic *Press* on 8 May 1874.

Since her marriage to Seth in 1864 her time had been filled with raising her husband's children—she and Seth never had children of their own—and most probably assisting with his store. However, despite throwing her formidable vocabulary into Seth's horse trade, she was never mentioned as being involved in any of the liquor sales that brought her husband to grief, whereas other couples were often named in the press as collaborators. With the opening of her millinery shop, she engaged in one of the few independent business opportunities open to women during the late nineteenth century.

Several other women operated millinery shops in Mystic during this time.[20] This was not a frivolous business, even in tight economic times. Fashion etiquette during the period required that a head covering or bonnet should be worn when a woman appeared in public. Each year, fashion trends dictated a new look. Depending on an individual's economic status, this could mean purchasing a new bonnet or retrimming an old one. Magazines directed specifically toward ladies, such as *Godey's Ladies Book* and *Demorist's*—and, after Montgomery Ward introduced the idea in 1872, general mail-order clothing catalogs—gave women current fashion ideas. Ready-made articles became widely available after the Civil War, and Jane Burrows capitalized on this burgeoning industry. She continued to advertise through 20 November, but apparently she was only somewhat more successful than Mr. Lowe.

The millinery business had not solved the family's struggle to earn a livelihood and stay solvent, so by January 1875 Seth was back in business with what seems to have been a franchise store. "*No credit* agent for a 99 Cent store," reported Dun and Bradstreet on 7 January. In June the agency reported, "Business poor, Has R.[eal] E.[state]—full value, Char[acter] not good Credit poor."[21]

Heavily mortgaged and without adequate income, the Burrowses were in desperate straits. The Groton Savings Bank initiated foreclosure proceedings against the Water Street property in December of 1875. The foreclosure was final on 15 March 1876, and the property was turned over to the bank. "The S.W. Burrows property was sold under foreclosure of mortgage by the Groton Savings Bank, on Tuesday forenoon. Bidding was dull and the property was knocked off by the auctioneer, Capt Rowland, to H. B Noyes Cashier, as the highest bidder for 3,100," reported the Mystic *Press* on 21 March 1876.

The Burrowses moved to New London sometime between 1875 and 1878. In the 1878 New London directory, Jane Burrows was listed as living on Hempstead Street, and running a saloon on Main Street. Seth Burrows was not listed in the directory until 1881. It is possible that Jane Burrows had taken on ownership of their house and business to protect them from creditors. Both Ambrose and Mabel eventually married, but we do not know if they lived with their parents after 1876. During the next twenty years, until Seth Burrows's death in September 1899, the couple moved to various locations in New London, but they never returned to live in Mystic. Seth "Winty" Burrows, however, came back in death. He is

buried in Elm Grove Cemetery, next to his first wife Ann Parks Burrows, her mother, and their son Ambrose.

Most of what we know about "Winty" Burrows centers around his challenge to the prohibitory liquor laws. Descriptions of him and his trials are often pointed, yet they also contain a certain amount of humor and begrudging respect. Even H.W. Miner admitted that Mr. Burrows was a colorful character.

His is also the story of the working-class in a small seacoast community. Mystic was a place of immense diversity, and the clash between the temperance forces and the liquor-sellers emphasizes the eclectic nature of this community and allows us to glimpse the underside of life in the village. Less socially acceptable activities, such as drinking, gambling, and betting sports, were the domain of middle- and lower-class males and are generally not recorded in community histories. Their impact on life in a place such as Mystic was significant, however, since numerous citizens made substantial financial and temporal commitments either to eradicate or to perpetuate them.

Ann Parks Burrows and Jane C. Burrows played an equally important role in the history of the Burrows House. Their story, and that of working-class women like them, is the focus of the interpretation in the reconstructed house at Mystic Seaport. The kitchen, the parlor, and a small front room are open to the public and are furnished with objects that reflect the lifestyle and interests of the family. These areas were the domicile of women, and the house reflects their daily life of household work as well as Seth Burrows's business and sporting hobbies.

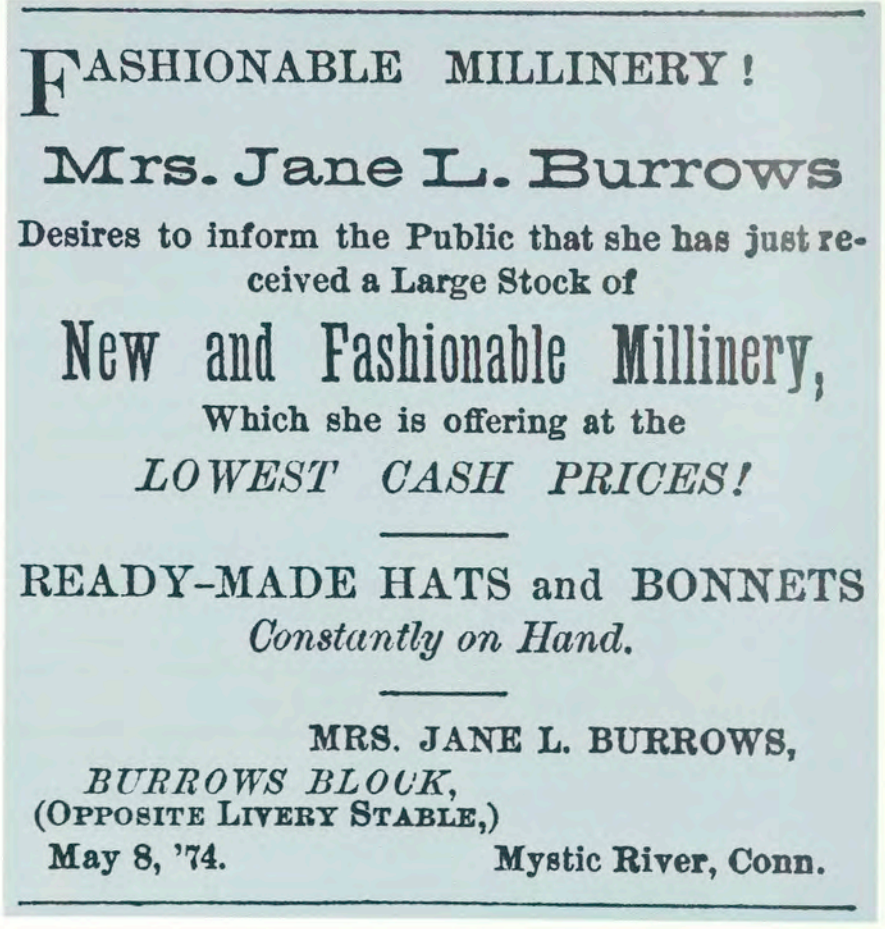
Ann Parks and Jane Thompson represent the untold stories of millions of working-class women who struggled to raise families in the middle years of the nineteenth century. Ann Parks Burrows's early death is a poignant reminder of the ever-present spectre of death that most women faced when bearing children.

In his marriage to Jane Thompson, Burrows obtained a new mother for his family as well as a new business partner for himself. Evidence suggests that the Burrowses took in boarders to augment their income, which would have further added to her responsibilities. Jane Burrows's attempts to establish a millinery shop, and her later ownership of the saloon in New London, paint a picture of a hard-working, formidable woman, who was obviously an equal match for her gregarious husband. Her working life presents an important contrast to those middle- and upper-class nineteenth-century women whose lives were totally centered in the home and who perpetuated the "cult of domesticity" that embodied the attributes of frailty, refinement, piousness, and moral righteousness.

There are many individuals from the past whose personalities and stories are forever lost to us. Their names appear in census data and death records, but no glimmer of their personalities shows through. But because Seth Burrows caused so much comment in his community, we have been able to reconstruct a partial, if biased, picture of the man. In the Mystic *Journal* for 18 June 1870, editor I.W. Miner left us with an unforgettable description of Seth Burrows–under the pseudonym Smith–and an appropriate metaphor for our search into his life.

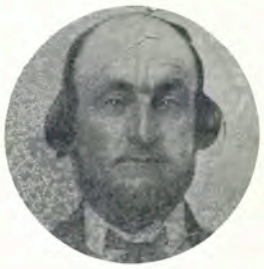
(Mystic Press, *8 May 1874)*

Fleeing from Justice–Our readers will remember Mr. Smith–Mrs. Smith's husband–who figured in a horse trade a few weeks ago. Well, Mr. Smith has again been enveloped in a cloud of grief and sorrow. The prosecuting temperance committee arranged a quiet little reception for him last Monday....It was to be a pleasant and delightful surprise to him, but in some mysterious and unknown way tidings of the gathering came to his ears, and hastily locking up his store, which the reader will remember is not far from Brown's Livery Stable, he determined to take constitutional exercise in the bright green fields, and luxuriate in the cooling shades of the forest trees. One of the temperance committee, as he came out of his house, preparing to start for the room of reception, saw through the banks of fog a huge figure coming up the hill with gigantic strides; through the fields at the back of the house that weird shape continued on it's rapid and silent course, and soon in the dim distance was lost to sight, just as he entered a tract of woodland "where the woodbine twinith." The committee member recognized the individual as Smith, and reported that fact to the waiting gentlemen at the reception room. With a hearty laugh, they ajourned.



The Burrows Brothers and Johnny Cake

SANDRA L. OLIVER



It was "an awful hot day" in January 1853 at Mauna Loa, Hawaii, when "Winty" Burrows's brother John Warren Burrows sat down to write a letter to his "Dear Parents, Brothers, and Sisters" back home in Connecticut. After time as a whaleman and gold-rush miner, Warren had settled on a farm in Hawaii, where he raised melons, pumpkins, and Chinese sugarcane, and had a cow for milk. Fortunately for us 141 years later, he said "I dont hardly know what to write about as there is no news in this Country that would be interesting to you; but I will try to fill the sheet with something or other."[1] Fill it he did.

Too often when there is news to tell, small, rich details of life, including food, are overlooked. But over the next few days, Burrows filled four pages with recollections and particulars of his life in Hawaii, including a breakfast menu ("Beef, Potatoes, Taro...Coffee and Milk. No Bread"), a comparison of Hawaiian to "good Yankee Oxen," and his opinion of the missionaries' work.

Discussing Hawaiian corn reminded Warren of a New England dish that sheds light on what he and Wint ate in their shared childhood and probably what they preferred in adulthood as well. "This is not much of a place for Johnny Cakes. I should like to have a good one now such as Mother used to make. I haven't tasted a Johnny Cake but once since I left home and that was in California when I was coming from the mines. I stopped one night with a Mormon Family and had a regular Yankee Supper. Cost 3 dollars. Cheap at that."

In southeastern Connecticut in the mid-1800s, two species of bread were made from cornmeal: johnny cake and jonnycake. Their names are homonyms, but they were distinctly different in method of preparation and in taste.

Johnny cake with an "h" was somewhat similar to what modern people call cornbread. It was made with cornmeal, flour, milk or sour milk, salt, and molasses, and was often leavened with baking soda or powder. It was baked in a pan in an oven or bake kettle. Johnny cake was made in New England and the South, and it traveled west with settlers–as it had with the Mormons who fed Burrows in California. It had other names, too, predominantly Indian cake and corn cake. To confuse things a little more, through the first three or so decades of the 1800s, johnny cakes were also sometimes made as jonnycakes were.

Jonnycake without an "h" was (and is) merely cornmeal, water, salt, and possibly a little milk. It was baked several different ways. The earliest was to spread it on a board propped up before a good hot fire, where it baked with reflected heat. The later, and current, way was to drop the batter on a hot greased frying pan or griddle like a pancake, turning the cake to bake both sides. Jonnycake was virtually indistinguishable from dodgers, ash cakes, hoe cakes, and bannock. In their simplest forms all these were merely water, meal, and salt, baked by reflected heat.

This simple unleavened form of bread is found in some form in nearly every culture. Examples in the Anglo-American tradition included bannock, made in Scotland with oatmeal and baked on a flat pan suspended over a fire.[2] Other bannocks were made with barley; in Wales a blend of barley and oats was used.[3] Some bannocks were made with maslin, a flour composed of mixed grains grown together–often rye and wheat–and even with flours of ground pease or beans.[4] In America, corn was the common grain of choice.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* tells us that "johnny cake" is of United States origins, though not all culinary historians agree.[5] Many apocryphal explanations have been proffered to explain the name "johnny" cake. The word is most often cited as a corruption of "journey," a designation applied to these cornmeal breads, so the story goes, because they were suitable for people to take on journeys. In fact, sometimes this bread is called "journey cake" in early cookbooks. But in fact johnny cake was no more portable than other unleavened breads.

For our purposes, the origin of the name is less important than the fact that in Warren and Wint Burrowses' time and place, there was a choice in kinds of johnny cakes to have for supper, or breakfast, or dinner, or tea. Southeastern Connecticut shared with Rhode Island a few characteristics that made it different from western Connecticut. Even in the eighteenth century, Rhode Island people began to move into the region, bringing with them the Baptist faith that had flourished in Roger Williams's tolerant colony, as well as a well-developed taste for cornmeal cakes, specifically, jonnycakes.

The jonnycake is a good example of a regional dish with a folklore and a bard all its own. Thomas Robinson Hazard's *The Jonnycake Papers of Shepard Tom* combined local social history with everything one might want to know about making jonnycakes. Rhode Islanders continued to make the simple form of bannock well into the twentieth century, and they specified that the corn from which it was made be a hard, white so-called flint corn, not soft yellow dent corn. When Connecticut people referred to jonnycakes, they sometimes prefaced the word with "Rhode Island" to distinguish them from the richer, sweetened form of johnny cake.

Johnny cakes, with an "h" were less regionalized, and the kind of corn used in them was less specific. More often, a variation on the dish characterized the regional form of it: for example, in

John Warren Burrows (1823-1898). (Courtesy Bowen Briggs)



The Burrows homestead in Ledyard, a small house in which to raise eight children. (Courtesy Bowen Briggs)

lowland South Carolina johnny cake often had rice mixed in.

Since Wint and Warren Burrows were born in the early 1820s, they may have remembered their mother making the bannock sort of jonnycake. Grace Denison Wheeler, who was born in Stonington, Connecticut, in 1858, watched her grandmother making jonnycake before the fire. She provided a description of how the elder Mrs. Burrows might have proceeded:

It was made from corn-meal stirred thick with boiling water and patted onto a board similar to the center piece of the head of a barrel. After some cream had been poured over this surface of dough, it was carefully lowered till it rested at an angle of 45 degrees, supported by a flat iron, or by a wooden handle at the back of the board, before the blazing fire....After some time of steady baking, the cake became a crisp golden brown. Then the process of turning it was entrusted to hands accustomed to this work, for woe to the one who undertook this task for the first time. A broad knife must be used to loosen the underside of the dough, and then with gentle shove and push, it slid quickly off the smooth hot surface,...but with a dexterous turn of the hand and the board it was again reposing before the fire to brown its other side. It was a great temptation to the children gathered about to break off a piece of its crispy, toothsome crust."[6]

The elder Mrs. Burrows might also have made the "Johny Cake" described by Amelia Simmons, author of the first American cookbook, *American Cookery*, printed in 1796. Simmons provided instructions for both ways to make it. First, the bannock or jonnycake form: "Scald 1 pint of milk and put to 3 pints of indian meal, and half pint of flower–bake before the fire." Then the last half of the recipe is for the enriched or johnny cake form: "Or scald with milk two thirds of the indian meal, or wet two thirds with boiling water, add salt, molasses and shortening, work up with cold water pretty stiff, and bake as above."[7] When Miss Simmons wrote "indian meal" she was referring to cornmeal; "indian" was used to distinguish maize from wheat in early New England.

Later, when cookstoves were common household furniture, this kind of fire-baked cake was no longer possible. Cooks then dropped the simple corn-meal and water mixture onto a pan and fried or pan-baked the jonnycakes. When the Burrowses were adults in their own homes, this is perhaps the way their womenfolk cooked jonnycakes.

But at the same time people were switching to cookstoves, they were also abandoning some of the older sorts of breads, like bannocks, in favor of wheat bread. An enriched and often leavened sort of johnny cake baked in an oven gradually took the place of the bannock-like jonnycake.

Clearly Warren thought "Johnny Cake" was just the thing for a "regular Yankee Supper." We might well wonder if his johnny cake recollections were a little colored by homesickness. In this same letter he wrote "You must not think I have forgotten you for I never shall as long as I have any senses. There is not a day passes but I think of you all. Sometimes when I go to bed I think of all the Horses about home and about the paths through the Woods &c I can see them in my mind as plain as if I was there yesterday. If I was at Mystic on the darkest night whatever was I could find my way to the Old Home without a Pilot or a Lantern either I'll bet high on that."

Jonnycakes are not hard to make. I learned from my dear friend, Anna North Coit, in North Stonington, who learned how to make them from her Aunt Juliet Palmer about sixty or more years ago. Obtain white cornmeal ground from flint corn. Don't even consider using the yellow stuff. If you live in the South, you can use the white cornmeal available there; it is similar enough.

Put a tea kettle full of water on to boil. For each three- to four-inch-diameter jonnycake you want to make, spoon one large kitchen spoon full of meal into a bowl (my kitchen spoon equals about three measured Tablespoonfuls.) Add a generous pinch of salt for each. Then, stirring the whole time, add boiling water to the meal until it is loose, but a spoonful dropped back into the bowl is firm enough not to disappear into the rest of the batter. Let it rest a little while. This is a good time to preheat a cast-iron fry pan or griddle.

While it is resting, the jonnycake batter will set up a little; thin it out with a little water or milk, enough to turn it back into a thick batter again. Grease the pan; do consider using bacon or sausage drippings at least once in your life. Drop spoonfuls of batter onto the pan. When the jonnycake is nicely browned, turn it over and flatten it with the back of your spatula, and brown it on that side, too. Let them cook a good long while. As long as you don't scorch them, there is hardly any such thing as overcooking them. If you want your jonnycake for breakfast, you might like eating it with maple syrup. For a lunch or supper, it is ideal under good old codfish gravy or chipped corn beef in milk gravy.

Wind Rose,® Calendar of Events & Museum Notes

May

Springtime hours continue. All exhibits are open 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., through 26 June.

Outdoor demonstrations of maritime activities include whaleboat demonstrations, sail handling, fish splitting, and more. Full schedule available at gates.

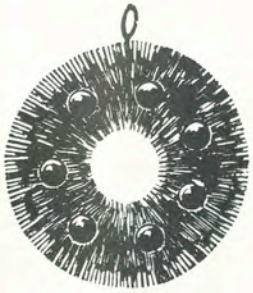
"Images of a Sailor" exhibit continues in the R.J. Schaefer Building. Come see how various images of sailors–in the press, in caricatures, in portraits, and other media–have historically shaped our perceptions of seafarers.

20 STEAMBOAT *Sabino* RESUMES OPERATIONS, with daily 30-minute cruises from 11:00 A.M. to 4:00 P.M., and one 60-minute downriver excursion at 5:00 P.M. Please call 572-5315 for details.

21 THE BOATHOUSE LIVERY resumes operation weekends only, from 10:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., through 27 June. Please call 572-0711, ext. 4233 for information on boat rentals.

28–30 LOBSTERFEST WEEKEND. Feast on sumptuous and modestly priced lobster in the rough prepared and served at Lighthouse Point by the Mystic Rotary Club, from 11:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. daily throughout this Memorial Day Weekend. Please call 572-5315 for details.

30 DECORATION DAY. Special historic reenactment on the grounds recalls the "Decoration Day" of the 1870s. A parade and wreath ceremony are among the highlights of the day. Please call 572-5315 for details.



June

3 *Brilliant* ADULT CRUISE of Southern New England waters features special guest Linda Huzzey, Ph.D., Professor of Oceanography at the U.S. Coast Guard Academy. Huzzey will be aboard for discussions concerning coastal water quality and related issues. Ports of call may include Newport, Vineyard Haven, and Block Island. *Brilliant* returns to Mystic 6 June. Cost is $495, and a $200 nonrefundable deposit is required with application. No experience necessary, but agility and physical fitness are a must. Please call 572-5323 for details.



CLAIRE WHITE-PETERSON PHOTO

4,5 SMALL CRAFT WORKSHOP. Join us for this, the 25th annual weekend for small craft enthusiasts. Our theme will be Small Craft Seamanship, and the weekend will be filled with opportunities to explore firsthand the subtleties of handling a variety of boat types. Please call 572-0711, ext. 5028 for details.

9 SEA MUSIC FESTIVAL PREVIEW FOR MEMBERS. Please see back wrap, or call 572-5339, for details.

10–12 SEA MUSIC FESTIVAL. Please see back wrap, or call 572-5350, for details.

14–22 *Brilliant* TEEN PASSAGE, Mystic to Bermuda. The Royal Bermuda Yacht Club has asked *Brilliant* to sail as a guest in the classic boat division of the prestigious Newport-to-Bermuda race. Teens aged 15 through 19 are eligible, and must have prior *Brilliant* or equivalent sailing experience. The passage will accommodate eight teens, and the cost is $995. A $200 nonrefundable deposit is required with application. Please call 572-5323 for details.

25–7/1 *Brilliant* TEEN PASSAGE, Bermuda to Mystic. Test your mettle and experience the thrill of an ocean passage aboard an exquisite vessel. The voyage is more demanding than most teen trips, and prior *Brilliant* or equivalent sailing experience will be required. The passage will accommodate eight teens, ages 15 through 19. Cost is $795, and a $200 nonrefundable deposit is required with application. Please call 572-5323 for details.

26 ELDERHOSTEL: MARITIME HISTORY, SAILING, AND SEAMANSHIP, through 1 July. Live aboard the sail-training vessel *Joseph Conrad* while you experience various aspects of the Seaport. Learn basic sailing, seamanship, rowing, navigation, and the art of the sailor. Our emphasis is on learning by doing and working together. All levels of ability are welcome. Please call 572-5322 for details.

27 MUNSON INSTITUTE, the Seaport's renowned graduate program in American maritime studies, explores this nation's maritime history in considerable depth. Program runs through 8 August. Please call 572-5359 for information and registration.

27 SUMMER HOURS BEGIN. The Seaport will be open daily from 9:00 A.M. to 8:00 P.M. with indoor and outdoor activities scheduled all day, every day, through 28 August.

27 "KIDSTUFF" KICKOFF. Special fun every day for Seaport kids. Check out your very own Kids Today to find out where you need to be and when.

27 BOATHOUSE LIVERY operation expands to a seven-day week, 10:00 A.M. to 7:00 P.M. Please call 572-0711, ext. 4233 for information on boat rentals.

27 Steamboat *Sabino* expands its operation to include daily 30-minute cruises from 11:00 A.M. to 6:00 P.M., with one 60-minute downriver excursion at 7:00 P.M. Please call 572-5315 for details.

28 Boathouse Racing Series practice begins, at 6:00 P.M. Livery boats are available for rental at $14 per hour, or you may race your own traditional sailboat in this 10-week series. Cost is $4 per night or $25 for the series. Please call 572-0711, ext. 4233 for information.

July

1 Seaport Science Summer Day Camp for kids ages 9 and 10. We'll have a full day Friday–9:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M.–then we'll take a break for the Fourth of July weekend, pick up where we left off on Tuesday; and finish out the week. New this year is a field trip aboard Project Oceanology's *Enviro-lab II!* Cost is $105. Please call 572-5322 for details.

3–8 *Conrad* Beginners Program for young people ages 10 to 13. This program offers a basic introduction to small boat sailing, terminology, safety, and seamanship as well as Seaport tours, rowing, and knotwork. New this year is a field trip aboard Project Oceanology's *Enviro-lab II!* The cost is $450 for the week, and in honor of the program's 45th year, we're offering members $45 off the tuition. Enrollment is limited to 50 students, so call 572-5323 today, and pay only $405!

4 Independence Day. Visitors can participate in a recreation of an 1870s Fourth of July with costumed roleplayers, then join in the fun with a variety of patriotic ceremonies and a parade of the "Antiques and Horribles." Kids will want to test their skill in an old-fashioned spelling bee. Please call 572-5315 for details.

5 Boathouse Racing Series begins, at 6:00 P.M. Please see 28 June entry for details.

6 Project Oceanology cruise for members. See page 156, or call 572-5339, for details.

8 Traditional Boat-handling Classes held 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. every Friday through 26 August. Cost of the full-day session is $45 ($55 for nonmembers). Please call 572-0711, ext. 4233 for details.

10–15 *Brilliant* teen cruise of Southern New England waters. This is sail adventure at its most rewarding: each participant becomes an active member of a crew under professional sailors teaching general seamanship and traditional nautical skills. The phrase "learning by doing" never meant so much. The program is open to teens ages 15 through 19, no experience necessary, and the cost is $625. A $200 nonrefundable deposit is required with application. Please call 572-5323 for details.

11 On the Water Summer Day Camp for kids ages 9–11, 9:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. daily through 15 July. Spend a week on the water, sailing, rowing, steamboating, learning the rigging, and exploring the lore of ships and boats. Shoretime activities include ropemaking, splicing and tying sailors' knots, chartwork, marine weather, water safety, navigation, and more. Cost is $170. Please call 572-5322 for details.

11 Seaport Girls Summer Day Camp for young ladies ages 8–10, 9:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. daily through 15 July. This session provides a special look at the feminine side of nineteenth-century childhood, and will culminate in a formal tea party. Our campers will pour. Cost is $105. Please call 572-5322 for details.



CLAIRE WHITE-PETERSON PHOTO

16-17 Horse and Carriage Weekend. Join us for this the eighth annual gathering of horses and antique carriages. Costumed drivers offer rides, for a small fee, along the Seaport's waterfront and down its village streets. At noon on both days, visitors will enjoy a rally on the Seaport green as the horses are put through their paces. Please call 572-5315 for information.

17–22 *Brilliant* teen cruise of Southern New England waters. Please see 10 July entry for details.

17–22 *Conrad* Intermediate program for kids ages 11–14. This program is for accomplished beginning sailors who want to improve their skills. Instruction focuses on boat-handling, seamanship, and safety. The cost for the week is $450, and in honor of the program's 45th year, we're offering members $45 off the tuition. Enrollment is limited to 50 students, so call 572-5323 today, and pay only $405.

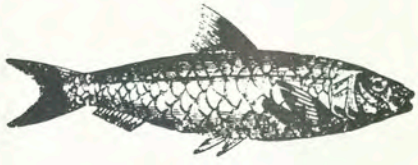
18 Seaport Girls Summer Day Camp for young ladies ages 8–10, 9:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. daily through 22 July. Please see 11 July entry for details.

23 Antique and Classic Boat Rendezvous. This is the 19th annual gathering of wooden sail and motor boats, dating from the 1800s through the 1950s. Please call 572-5378 for details.

24–30 *Brilliant* teen cruise, Mystic to Southwest Harbor, Maine. Sign on for this coastal passage, hone your skills with professional sailors and capable peers, and call at a variety of ports, which may include Vineyard Haven, Provincetown, Gloucester, and Boothbay Harbor. All teens ages 15 through 19 are eligible, no experience necessary. The cost of this passage is $695, and a $200 nonrefundable deposit is required with application. Please call 572-5323 for details.

24–29 *Conrad* Beginner program for kids ages 10 through 13. Please see 3 July entry for details.

25 Seaport Science Summer Day Camp for kids ages 9 and 10, 9:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. daily through 29 July. We'll explore tides, river, and shore life aboard Project Oceanology's floating classroom *Enviro-lab II.* We'll learn weather, navigation, and astronomy. We'll use pulleys, block and tackle, windlass, and capstan. We'll travel the galaxies. We'll construct a small aquarium. We'll even make fish prints! Cost is $105. Please call 572-5322 for details.



27 Project Oceanology cruise for members. See page 156, or call 572-5339, for details.

30 U.S. Coast Guard Birthday celebration features a flag presentation to the incoming cadet class, on the Seaport green. Please call 572-5315 for details.

31 *Moby-Dick* Marathon. Reading of the Melville classic takes place on board the *Charles W. Morgan*, and winds up at noon the next day. Please call 572-5315 for details.

August

1 On the Water Summer Day Camp for kids ages 9 –11, 9:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. daily through 5 August. Please see 11 July entry for details.

1 A Sailor's Life Summer Day Camp for kids ages 8 and 9, 9:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. daily through 5 August. This session treats busy kids to a week loaded with nautical lore and activities. The fun includes keeping a daily journal, exploring the rigging, making hardtack and splitting codfish, learning about such sea traditions as "Crossing the Line" and the "Dead Horse Ceremony," carving scrimshaw, sending messages with signal flags, and singing chanteys. Cost is $105. Please call 572-5322 for details.

CLAIRE WHITE-PETERSON PHOTO

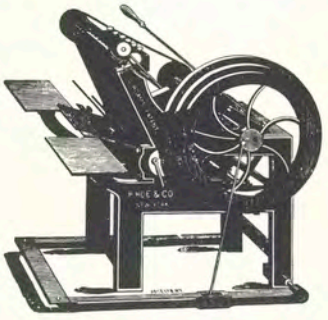


JENNIFER M. STICH PHOTO

4-7 A Taste of History. The third annual festival of nineteenth-century foods provides visitors the opportunity to purchase savory samplings from ship and shore, with foodways demonstrations and special activities for kids. Please call 572-5315 for details.

7–12 *Conrad* Intermediate Program, for kids ages 11–14. Please see 17 July entry for details.

8 Seaport Sampler Summer Day Camp for kids ages 6 and 7, 9:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. daily through 12 August. This is a fun-filled week that combines play and learning with arts, crafts, music, and games. The fun includes making and eating your own ice cream, using a



printing press, carving scrimshaw and tying sailors' knots, making model boats, traveling to the stars, playing old-time games, cooking up some "Silly Stew," taking a ride aboard the steamer *Sabino*, and singing sailors' chanteys. Cost is $105. Please call 572-5322 for details.

9–18 *Brilliant* teen cruise, Maine to Mystic. Return trip of voyage described in 25 July entry, with participation in Nantucket's Opera House Cup Race if weather permits. Cost is $995, and a $200 nonrefundable deposit is required with application. Please call 572-5323 for details.

13 Classic Bikes. More than 200 members of the International Wheelman's Association gather at the Seaport with their bicycles, which date from the nineteenth century. Some of the bikes are reproductions, some are restored originals, and all will take part in an exhibition and special demonstrations on and around the Village Green. Please call 572-5315 for details.

14 Interpreter for Visitors with Hearing Impairments available at times posted in the Visitor Reception Center.

14 *Conrad* Advanced program for experienced sailors ages 12 to 15. Students who have completed the Intermediate program are introduced to the elements of racing: rules, tactics, and more. Cost is $450, and in honor of the program's 45th year, we're offering members $45 off the tuition. Enrollment is limited to 32, so call 572-5323 today, and pay only $405.

15 Seaport Sampler Summer Day Camp for kids ages 6 and 7, 9:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. daily through 19 August. Please see 8 August entry for details.

20–21 Antique Marine Engines Exposition. Collectors from across the United States and Canada gather for the third annual exposition of pre-World War II marine engines and engine models. Unique engines power watercraft in a boat parade both days. Please call 572-5315 for details.



21 *Brilliant* teen cruise of Southern New England waters. Please see 10 July entry for details.

28 *Brilliant* teen cruise of Southern New England waters. Please see 10 July entry for details.

29 Seaport hours change. The Seaport will be open 9:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., with the full summer schedule of demonstrations, theater, and horse and carriage rides continuing through 5 September.

September

3–5 Savor New England. This Labor Day weekend festival celebrates the flavors of sea and shore. Please call 572-5315 for information.

9 *Brilliant* adult cruise of Southern New England waters. This four-day cruise in local waters will include participation in the exciting Mystic Schooner Race. Experience is not required, but agility and physical fitness are a must. Cost is $495, and a $200 nonrefundable deposit is required with application. Please call 572-5323 for details.

10-11 Photo Weekend. This special opportunity to capture the Seaport on film is sponsored annually by Kodak. Staff and volunteers, dressed in period costume, pose for visiting shutterbugs on the Seaport ships, boats, and grounds. Members are invited to take part in the photo contest and exhibition. Please call 572-5315 for details.

19 Members-Only Lantern Light Tour ticket sales begin. Details in the next issue of *The Log*.

25 Members' Day. Special activities for members throughout the day. Look for details in the August mail.

Kids See the Seaport From a Playful Perspective

We've had such fun the past two summers with our special activities for kids–and you've told us how much you like them–that we're doing it again this summer.

New on Kids Today this year will be a great "Make It and Take It Workshop" for families and kids. We'll make all kinds of crafts, including toy boats and scrimshaw, and kids'll have something to take home for their efforts. Best of all, there will be no materials fee, because for the most part we'll be using recycled materials.

Back by popular demand from last year's program will be such activities as "High Times in the Dogwatch," "Sea Stories & Briny Books," "Stars and the Sailor" (a kid-sized Planetarium show), "Meet a Mystic Critter," "Help Set the Sails," and "Sand Castles Down Under."

Consult your very own Kids Today–you can pick one up at the gate on your way in–and plan your day around those activities that sound the most fun to you. Kids Today activities run all day every day from 27 June through 5 September.



Making sandcastles down under is just one of the fun games you'll play at the Seaport this summer. Consult your Kids Today, and learn where you need to be and when.

MARY ANNE STETS PHOTO

JUDY BEISLER PHOTO

At Your Service

"...you're a dream to work with!! Thanks for everything, including the glorious sunset and moon that were reflected in the water around us–a perfect ending to a perfect party–and a lucky beginning to Randy & George's married life."

"I gave the details of our fantastic time to our corporate home office staff. We had a wonderful time. Thanks!"

"...went above and beyond the call of duty."

Real quotes from real people expressing their gratitude to the Mystic Seaport Catering staff. Whether you're planning a wedding, party, or corporate affair, Seaport Catering is at your service. You've been a family member for years, but did you know we're here to serve your corporate membership needs as well? The Seaport has recently upgraded its Corporate Membership program, and Catering has played a huge role in its success. If you've been looking to treat your employees, take that meeting to a serene setting away from the everyday stuff of the office, or entertain that important client, then look no further.



The Seaport Catering staff stands ready to serve your next affair.

From elegantly simple to simply elegant, all your catering tastes will be completely satisfied. Our staff are professional, courteous, and eager to make your affair a success. The setting is spectacular: seat your party for an elegant reception in one of several beautiful galleries; treat them to appetizers aboard the cruising steamer *Sabino*; or invite them to dine buffet-style at the Boat Shed on Lighthouse Point.

Planning a wedding? What could be more magically romantic than a service in the gazebo, with subtle lighting, sweet music, and elegantly arranged flowers? Or take your service indoors, to the Meeting House or Fishtown Chapel. Then transport your wedding party by horse and carriage to a gala reception on the Point.

Even the simplest of get-togethers is made memorable when you bring your party to the Seaport. Call us ahead, then sail on in and indulge in a friendly cookout or clambake. Let us take care of the fuss, while you relax and enjoy the company of good friends.

We do the traditional clambake like no one else, but don't let that sway you from steak. Our menu has something for everyone: choose from a delectable variety of hot and cold hors d'oeuvres like chilled mussels with honey mustard sauce, curried cheese and shrimp ball with cracker basket, and chicken wings with spiced dipping sauce. Roll up your sleeves for lobster in the rough, or sink your teeth into Mixed Grill, Barbecued Chicken, or New York Sirloin. And of course, you'll have a full bar if you so desire. Linens, table and glass ware, dance floors, and sound systems: we'll do it all, and we'll do it with grace.

This is one of the many privileges of membership, so take advantage of it. Next time you're planning a party–large or small, corporate or private–think of us. And call Mystic Seaport Catering at (203) 572–5375.

All Work, and No Play…

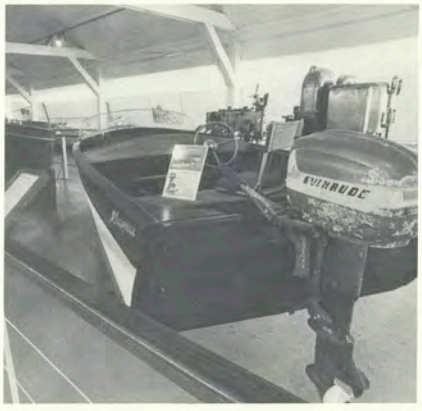
Our Grandfathers' Boats, an intriguing exhibit now in the North Boat Shed, explores the ways in which Jack learned to play a little. This collection of Seaport small craft offers great insight into the early days of pleasure boating, and into the ingenuity with which Americans made the most of the emerging technology and its ability to make good sport of their waterborne pursuits.

If your grandfather had a steam engineer's license…

…he might have worked for the owner of the steam launch *Nellie.* It was unlikely that he would have owned the vessel himself, and there are two reasons for this. The first had to do with money. It is unlikely that an engineer would have been able to afford a boat like *Nellie.* And the second had to do with time. It took two years to get the required steam engineering license, and anyone considering buying a boat like *Nellie* would have really had to have planned ahead. As it was, the owners of these boats typically paid licensed engineers to run them. And judging from the restricted seating, one might guess that the wealthy owners learned to rub elbows–quite literally–with their working-class colleagues.

If your grandfather was looking for a family utility runabout in 1955…

…he might have bought a Thompson Sea Skiff Special for $480 from Apponaug Marine Supply in Rhode Island. It was a quality-conscious choice. Thompson had been in business for 50 years, building a quarter of a million boats. This boat was one of the 258,000 outboard boats sold that year into a pleasure boat fleet that numbered around five million.



If your grandfather had been more daring, he could have bought a fiberglass Thompson in 1955. But it was Thompson's first year in glass and the boat, a tail-finned Starfire "playboat," wasn't very practical.

This Evinrude "Fastwin 15" engine–strong enough to pull a junior water-skier–was purchased in 1956 for the boat on which it is displayed. It's rare that the original boat/motor combination is kept intact for this long.

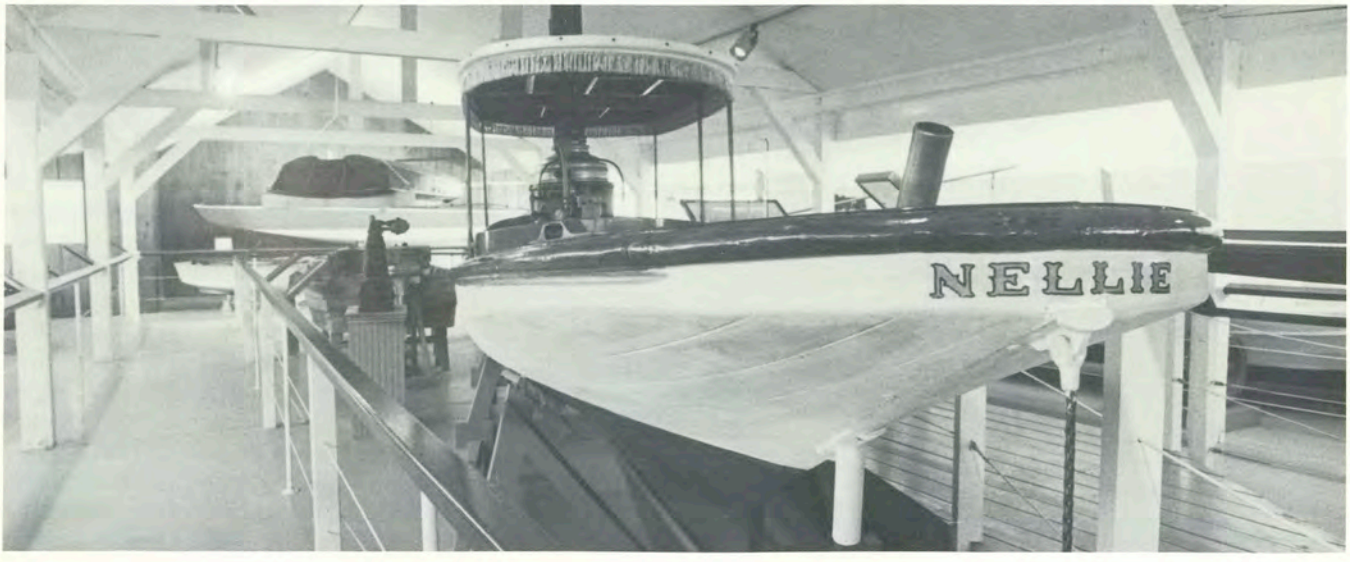
If your family summered on an Adirondack lake in the 1890s…



…your grandfather might have let you take out this small guide boat, once you'd learned to row. Shorter by a yard than the typical 16-footer, and lighter than the typical 70 pounds, this boat could be carried more readily into remote ponds over difficult trails.

Once summer people began coming to the Adirondacks in the years after the Civil War, local builders developed these boats to fill the needs of local guides for boats that were fast enough to cover a lot of water with a paying, fishing "sport." As summer families began to build their own camps, they bought local boats as well, and learned to row the tippy guide boats themselves.

What better way to learn about your ancestors than through the boats they used for work and for pleasure. Come to the North Boat Shed and find out more about Mrs. Henry A. Wise Wood, an extraordinary grand*mother;* note the transition of certain working craft–like the Whitehall fast-water taxis–into vehicles for recreation; and imagine your grandfather in his wilder days aboard one of the souped-up racing machines so popular in the 1920s and thirties.



CLAIRE WHITE-PETERSON PHOTOS

The Play's the Thing: Summer Theater at the Seaport

Have a hard time putting yourself in the shoes of a nineteenth-century merchant sailor? Can't imagine going to sea for months at a time, running into all kinds of weather, and not having the option to call in sick or take a personal day off?

It is hard to put yourself in another's shoes, but this summer Mystic Seaport is making it just a little easier. We have a new play, and it's been written to depict the "at-sea-ness" of the sailor's life. And much like the "Tale of a Whaler" play the Seaport has staged for the past three summer seasons, our new production will be participatory.

Which means we need you! Our actors will call on audience members to play a cast of fun roles, all of which will be based on the experiences of real merchant sailors. These were the truckers of the nineteenth century.



They transported the bulk cargoes like guano, grain, sugar, and coal. We'll learn the tedium and the adventure of their employment, which required being at sea for three or four months at a time, often rounding Cape Horn, and making the necessary preparations each time a new cargo was to be loaded in the hold.

As with the "Tale of a Whaler" production, the Seaport engaged City Stage Co. of Boston to write and direct the play. If you've seen our "Tale," you know: learning has never been this entertaining. Join us.

Sailing the Super Highway

For one reason or another you're unable to get to the Seaport, and you need information. So sail to Mystic via the Information Super Highway, and your problem is solved. The Seaport now has an Internet mail connection, and we'll be happy to hear from you electronically. We are unable as yet to provide specific answers to your inquiries, but we can send a complete inventory–including such information as vessel name, type, length, and accessibility–of the Museum's small craft collection.

This is our first attempt at providing greater electronic access to our collections. Our ability to expand our use of the new technology in the future will depend on public interest in its availability, and on the funding it will require. Electronic communication can be made by sending mail to: INFO@MYSTIC.ORG Please include the word "Info" in the subject line of your message.

LOUIS S. MARTEL PHOTO

Sign On for a Sound Adventure

Get ready for a hands-on day, full of adventure and surprises. You're invited aboard *Enviro-lab II*, Project Oceanology's 55-foot seaborne classroom, for an opportunity to collect and examine the underwater life of Long Island Sound.

The Membership Office will sponsor two members-only trips on *Enviro-lab II*, the first on Wednesday, 6 July, the second on Wednesday, 27 July. Each outing will depart the Seaport's Lighthouse Point at 4:00 P.M., to return at 6:30 the same afternoon.



Since 1972, Project Oceanology has been providing students and adults with on-the-water adventures that promote an appreciation for the marine environment. Project O. instructors will help translate your findings into useful ways to protect and improve our local waters.

Mystic Seaport has joined the Project O. consortium. Through this affiliation, the Seaport will continue to extend its educational program to include more science. *Enviro-lab II* will now be available to the Seaport for such programs as *Joseph Conrad* level 1, Seaport Science Day Camp, and these members-only excursions.

The cost of the trip is $9 for adults, $5 for youths ages 6–15. Children ages 5 and under travel free, but they must have a ticket. Each trip is limited to 50 people. Reservations–which are nonrefundable–must be made by mail, and sent to Membership Reservations, at the Seaport address. Please include your name, address, and phone number; the number of participants; the date of your trip; and a check in the appropriate amount, made payable to Mystic Seaport.

Gee! A New Addition to the Seaport's Poster Collection

MARIFRANCES TRIVELLI

The next time you visit the Seaport, be sure to stop by the Schaefer Building and see the "Images of the Sailor" exhibit. There, among images of Navy men, is a poster depicting a young woman dressed in sailor's clothes, exclaiming, "Gee!! I Wish I Were a Man, I'd Join the Navy, Naval Reserve or Coast Guard." This original poster, signed "Howard Chandler Christy–1918," is one of the Seaport's newest acquisitions.



Howard Chandler Christy (1873-1952), a New York art teacher, was best known as a portraitist. He first received public attention in 1898, when *Scribner's* and *Leslie's Weekly* magazines used his illustrations to accompany their reports on the Spanish-American War. Later, his illustrations for *Scribner's* would feature the striking "Christy Girl," who, like Charles Dana Gibson's "Gibson Girl," reflected the period ideal of young womanhood–much more independent and athletic than her Victorian mother.

Christy was one of 279 members of the Society of Illustrators who created posters for the Navy's Division of Pictorial Publicity. The Navy decided in April 1917 to use the work of well-known civilian artists for its recruitment drive, and these artists produced 700 different poster images before the end of the war. To challenge the manhood and pique the imagination of potential recruits for America's belated entry into a war that had already killed several million young European men, Christy employed the "Christy Girl" for his 1918 poster.

In spite of what the poster implies, women in 1918 did not need to wish they were men in order to contribute to the war effort. On 19 March 1917–18 days before the U.S. entered the war–the Navy authorized the enlistment of women on a volunteer basis. By 1 December 1918 there were 11,275 "yeomanettes," and 305 "marinettes," performing mostly clerical duties. Civilian women also did their part by replacing the absent men in munitions factories and other essential industries. These new, nontraditional roles for women helped to accelerate the suffragette movement, which would culminate in 1920 when women won the right to vote.

Today, 77 years after first entering U.S. Navy service, women make up nearly one-third of Navy personnel. The "Christy Girl" is a reminder of the time when they were first recognized as sailors too. [M.S.M. 93.135.1]

From Seamanship to Celestial Navigation, Seascribe *is Educational Adventure*

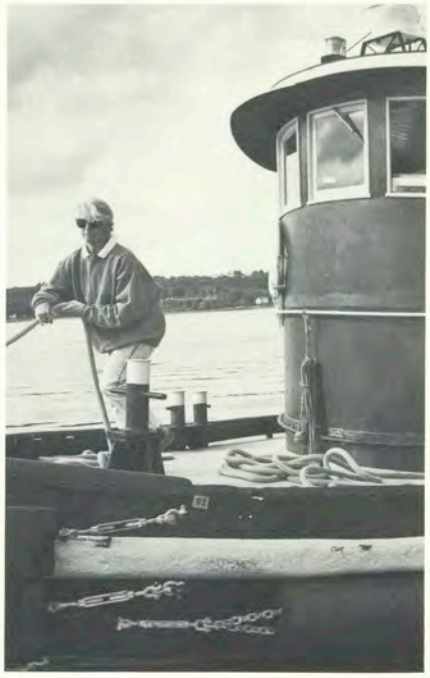
Ever get the itch to take your navigational skills out of the classroom and out on the water? Ever wonder what it would be like to pilot a 38-foot power vessel? Well, Mystic Seaport is now able to afford you these opportunities, aboard *Seascribe.*

Designed and built in 1984 by Carroll B. Lowell of Yarmouth, Maine, *Seascribe* is a single-propeller vessel with a Caterpillar 3208 diesel engine. She carries a Robertson AutoPilot, magnetic compasses, radar, Loran-C, GPS, knot meter, depth sounder, VHF radio, sextants, and barometer.

Seamanship cruises–scheduled for Sunday 19 June, Saturday 17 September, Saturday 24 September, Sunday 2 October, and Sunday 9 October–will offer instruction and practice in predeparture inspection, vessel maneuvering, docking, anchoring, VHF radio procedure, use of steadying sail, and man-overboard.

Navigation cruises–scheduled for Saturday 18 June, Sunday 18 September, Sunday 25 September, Saturday 1 October, and Saturday 8 October–will include practical work in piloting and dead reckoning, Loran, radar, GPS, and celestial navigation. This course is designed for students who have completed classroom work in piloting and dead reckoning and/or celestial navigation.

All cruises are targeted to the adult learner and require prior boating experience. Each cruise will accommodate up to six students. If fewer than four students register for a specific cruise, or if weather conditions are unsafe, the cruise will be canceled. Cost is $125 ($140 for nonmembers). To register, please call (203) 572-5390.



JUDY BEISLER PHOTO

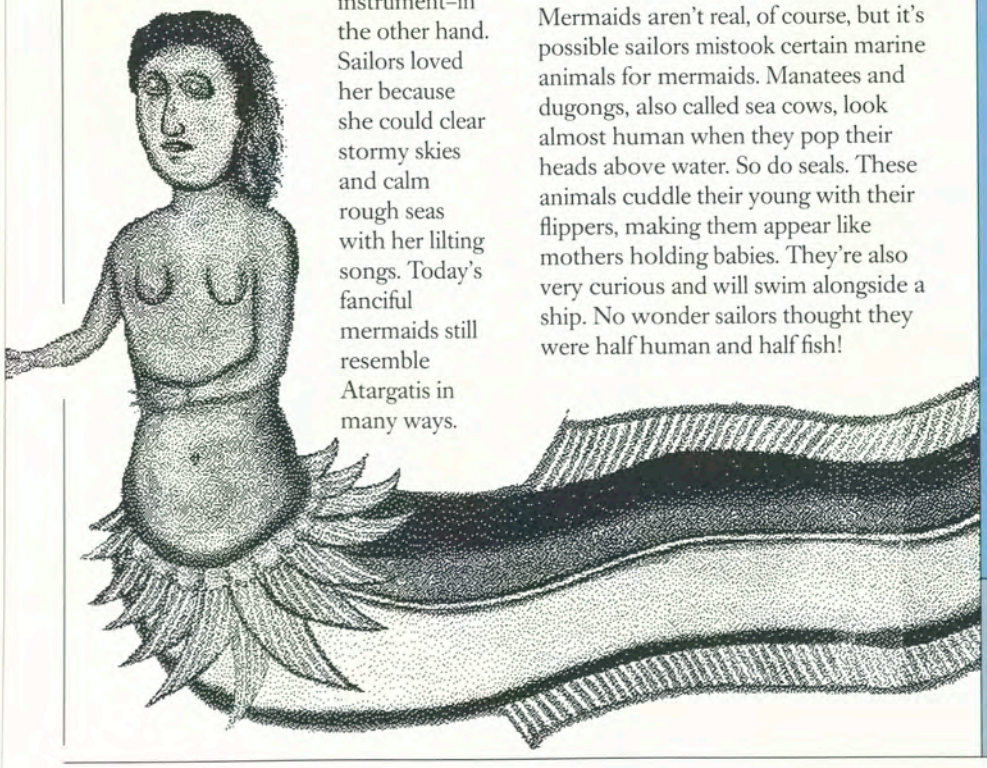
Last year's seamanship classes were such a success that we've brought them back. And we've got a new boat. Join us on Seascribe, *and learn the special seamanship skills required of power boating.*

Kids Corner

Mermaid Magic!

Compiled by Elinor DeWire

Surely you've heard of "The Little Mermaid," named Ariel. Only a few years ago, she starred in a popular Disney movie . Did you know her story is very old? Hans Christian Andersen wrote his version of "The Little Mermaid" more than a century ago! In fact, mermaids have been part of folklore and fantasy for a long time. The ancient Syrians may have started the idea of the mermaid with their deity Atargatis, who was half woman and half fish and drew her power from the moon, which controls the tides. Images of Atargatis showed her holding a moon-shaped mirror in one hand, to admire her own beauty, and a plectum–a stringed musical instrument–in the other hand. Sailors loved her because she could clear stormy skies and calm rough seas with her lilting songs. Today's fanciful mermaids still resemble Atargatis in many ways.



Mermaid Trivia

The egg case of the skate, a flat ray fish, is called a "mermaid's purse." It's black, rectangular, and has small spikes on it to protect it from being eaten by other fish. When it's time for the baby skates to hatch, the egg case opens at one end, and they swim out. An empty skate egg case looks like a small black purse lying open on the sea floor!

More Mermaid Trivia

On the beaches of the Scottish isle of Iona are many glossy, green pebbles. The people of Iona say these are the tears of a mermaid who lives just offshore. Every night she cries because she cannot become a human woman. (The pebbles are actually a mineral called olivine, which the ocean has tumbled smooth and round.)

Fact or Fiction?

Are mermaids real or imaginary? Many people claim to have seen them, even captured them. In 1822 a Boston sea captain dropped anchor in London, England, and exhibited a mermaid. She turned out to be what sailors call a "Jenny Haniver," or a fake. The captain had bought the phony mermaid in the Far East. She had been carefully sewn together from parts of a dead baboon and a dried fish.

Scientific Fact

Mermaids aren't real, of course, but it's possible sailors mistook certain marine animals for mermaids. Manatees and dugongs, also called sea cows, look almost human when they pop their heads above water. So do seals. These animals cuddle their young with their flippers, making them appear like mothers holding babies. They're also very curious and will swim alongside a ship. No wonder sailors thought they were half human and half fish!

Scramble!

How many ways can you say mermaid? Unscramble the words below to find out. Here's a clue to help you decode:

XMZXRAJE JU DUK FAHM PAFC GAEQ KRFME

is

MERMAIDS DO NOT LIKE WILD FISH TALES

1. EAZMD
2. EMFHAM
3. FUZAFMA
4. DMZMAJ
5. EMR PAGM
6. EMRF PAGM
7. GAEQ PAGM



Mermaid's Ambrosia

A Sea Green Dessert Kids Can Make and Eat

You'll need:
1 small package seaweed sludge mix (lime gelatin)

2 cups sea foam (whipped dessert topping)

1/2 cup chopped fish eggs (gummy candies)

Prepare seaweed sludge according to package directions and refrigerate until set. Spoon half of seaweed sludge into dessert cups. Mix remaining half with sea foam and beat until frothy and light. Spoon over seaweed sludge. Top with chopped fish eggs. And enjoy!

Answers to *Scramble!*

1. (SIREN); 2. (SELKIE); 3. (LORILEI); 4. (NEREID); 5. (SEA WIFE); 6. (SEAL WIFE); 7. (FISH WIFE)

"The Mermaid and the Sailor"

An African American Folk Tale, as adapted by Elinor DeWire

Black slaves in the Old South were known for their lively folktales, told by the fireside on chilly evenings at the end of the workday. These tall tales were a delightful stretching of the truth, often based on factual stories passed down through many generations. The following story tells of a very unusual sailor and his peculiar wife.

If you work on a ship, be careful, sailor! I'll tell you why–There are mermaids living at the bottom of the sea!

Some of them are beautiful, with green seaweed hair and pearl teeth, with eyes and skin the color of green, green, grass. They're friendly fish gals, and playful. And they like to sing to the sailors.

Sometimes, the sailor hears that tempting mermaid music, and he leaps right into the sea! If mermaids know his name, he'll surely jump overboard, for the mermaids call to him with their sweet, liquid voices. Then they pull him down...down...down to the bottom, lock him in their underwater cave, and no one ever sees him again.

You see, mermaids believe sailors should live down deep in old Davey Jones' Locker. All sailors drown, of course, but there was one who lived long ago who could not drown.

His name was Old Doc Sam, and he went to sea as a cook on a big sailing ship. His shipmates said he was lucky; he could never drown because he was born with the caul over his face. Just like a baby inside its mother, that sailor could breathe underwater!

The captain of the ship was afraid of mermaids, because he once heard one call his name and he jumped in the water to follow her. His men pulled him out, else he would have drowned. The captain told all his men, "You must get new names!" So the men changed their names to things like "Hammer" and "Hatchet" and "Knife."

That ship sounded very funny, with the mate shouting orders to hammers and hatchets and knives!

One day, a mermaid came swimming by the ship. And she sang so sweet the sailors all stopped their work. They began dreaming of beautiful fish wives at the bottom of the sea. The captain heard that mermaid too, and he said, "She's waiting to hear your names. Be careful now, and don't say your names!"

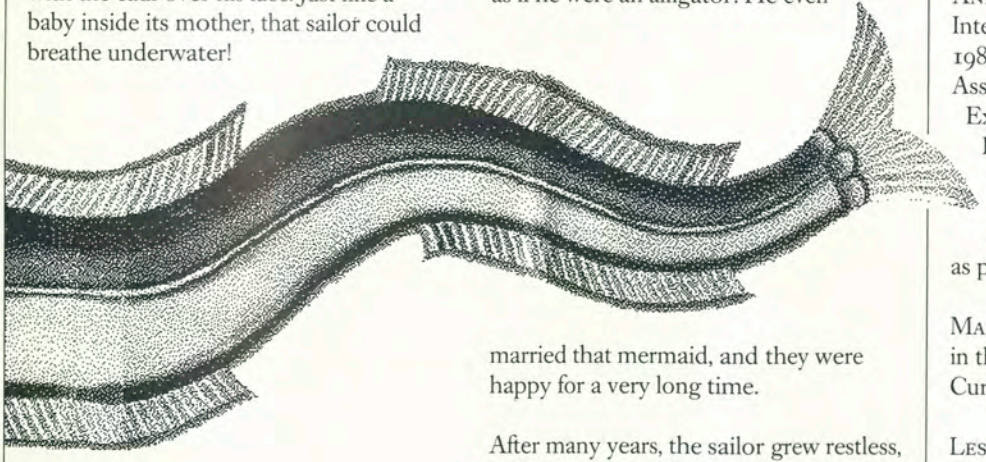
And all that mermaid heard was "Hammer" and "Hatchet" and "Knife."

But the mate slipped up and said, "Old Doc Sam, I'm hungry! Go in the galley and cook the supper."

The mermaid heard his name, so she called out right away, "Come live with me, Old Doc Sam, in my fine house at the bottom of the sea."

Bewitched by her voice, Old Doc jumped in the water. The mermaid wrapped her long, seaweed hair around him like a rope, and down...down...down he went!

But the water did not drown Old Doc Sam, and he lived in the mermaid's cave as if he were an alligator! He even married that mermaid, and they were happy for a very long time.



After many years, the sailor grew restless, and he started smiling at all the other mermaids and dancing the jig with them. He brought them tasty oysters, and pearls to decorate their combs.

His fish wife became jealous and angry! Soon, she wrapped that sailor in her seaweed hair and took him back up where he belonged.

There's no more to tell, for the sailor went back to his ship and lived the rest of his life above water. But he never forgot his happy years as husband to a mermaid at the bottom of the sea!

About the Authors

This year's Gerald E. Morris Prize Article Contest winner, ERIC ROORDA, is no stranger to *The Log*. His selection as this year's winner is a tribute both to his research and writing skills and to the impartiality of the contest judges, who made their selection based on the merits of the work, without knowing the authors' identities.

This year's contest produced eight strong essays in the competition for publication in *The Log* and a $500 award sponsored by the Fellows of the G.W. Blunt Library. The panel of judges included five Fellows of the Library and Two members of the *Log* Editorial Board.

The submission Deadline for the 1994 Gerald E. Morris Prize Article Contest is 1 December 1994. Guidelines and entry forms are available from the Seaport's Publications Office, (203) 572-5347.

ANN PEABODY has been Supervisor of Interpretation at Mystic Seaport since 1985. Holly Malloy Ellis is the Seaport's Assistant Supervisor for Coastal Life Exhibits. Donna Bellantone is a Lead Interpreter and Researcher for Coastal Life at the Museum, and Mary Deveau, Interpreter, assisted with research for the Burrows House as part of her 1993 winter project.

MARIFRANCES TRIVELLI is cataloguer in the Registrar's Office of the Seaport Curatorial Department.

LESLIE GIFFORD is Associate Editor of *The Log*.

Notes to "A Hundred Voyages of the Brig Gem"

1. *Gem*'s records indicate that the terms "brig" and "brigantine" were used interchangeably in referring to the vessel by the men who conducted her business, though the vessel was in fact a "brigantine," otherwise known as a "half brig" or "hermaphrodite brig": a two-masted vessel with square rig forward and fore-and-aft rig aft. Both terms are employed here, as well.

2. Appraisal of *Gem* documents by Edward J. Lefkowicz, Inc., Fairhaven, Massachusetts, 26 March 1993. The *Gem* records were found in a wooden coffee box in a condemned building in New Haven in 1968 by Dr. Charles W. Bishop, who donated them to the Manuscripts Collection of Mystic Seaport's G.W. Blunt White Library in 1993.

3. Gaddis Smith et al., *Sloops and Sharpies: A Maritime History of New Haven* (New Haven, Connecticut: New Haven Colony Historical Society, 1976), 37-38.

4. Daniel Trowbridge's first two brigs, *Daniel Trowbridge* and *Gem*, were built in New Haven; *Pearl* was built in Madison, Connecticut; a Brooklyn shipyard produced the next two, *Garnet* and *Ruby*; and the last (and toughest) was *Cameo* of Bath, Maine. This 231-ton brigantine was launched in 1878, plied Caribbean routes for two decades, was converted to a schooner and became a New Bedford whaler, and finally returned to Maine to die in 1933.

5. Armstrong's fleet, like Daniel Trowbridge's, had catchy names: *Daylight, Morning Light, Sunlight, Rising Sun,* and the obligatory eponymous *L. & W. Armstrong.*

6. Building records of brig *Gem,* Daniel Trowbridge Collection, Collection #227, Manuscript Collection, G.W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum (hereafter cited as DTC).

7. Captain John Neal to Daniel T. Trowbridge, 23 November 1868, voyage 1, DTC.

8. Records of voyage 1, 23 October to 21 December 1868, DTC.

9. *Benham's New Haven Directory and Annual Advertiser for 1866-7* (New Haven: J.H. Benham, 1866).

10. Records of voyage 3, 10 April to 6 June 1869, DTC.

11. W.P. Leacock to Trowbridge, 3 July 1876, general correspondence, DTC.

12. *New Haven City Directory* , 1887 (New Haven: Price, Lee and Co., 1887).

13. Records of voyage 15, 21 March to 16 May 1871, DTC.

14. 25 April 1884, Voyage 93, DTC.

15. Trowbridge to Leacock, 1 May 1875, voyage 38, DTC.

16. 6 June 1873, voyage 27; 17 October 1874, voyage 35, DTC.

17. William Dougherty and Co., to Trowbridge, 5 February 1876, general correspondence, DTC.

18. On *Gem* 's ninety-ninth voyage she carried 25 barrels of "pork heads" to Barbados, which was equal to 2 1/2 hogsheads of hogs' heads.

19. Cited by Gaddis Smith, *Sloops and Sharpies,* 38.

20. Trowbridge equipped *Gem* with the Coleman's Patent Mast Head Crane without paying license and fees, but his infrigement was spotted on the brig's first visit to New York, and he was billed $14. Pope, Thompson, and Catlin, patent attorneys, to "Captain and owners of Brig *Gem,*" 25 December 1868, general correspondence, DTC.

21. Neal to Trowbridge, 27 March 1874, general correspondence, DTC.

22. Neal to Trowbridge, 7 February 1871, voyage 14, DTC.

23. Bayles and Corbin Co., to Trowbridge, 17 April 1882, general correspondence, DTC.

24. Trowbridge to Leacock, 22 May 1880, voyage 70, DTC.

25. Leacock to Trowbridge, 28 October 1884, general correspondence, DTC.

26. Hijos de Lloreda to Trowbridge, 26 April 1870, voyage 9, DTC.

27. Leacock to Trowbridge, 26 March 1874, general correspondence, DTC.

28. Turnbull, Stuart, and Company to Trowbridge, 8 February 1874, general correspondence, DTC.

29. Neal to Trowbridge, 18 June 1870, voyage 10, DTC.

30. R.W. Beachey, *The British West Indies Sugar Industry in the Late Nineteenth Century* (1957; reprint, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1978), 71; Trowbridge to Leacock, 21 May 1877, voyage 50, DTC.

31. Beachey, *West Indies Sugar Industry,* 72.

32. Trowbridge to Captain A.W. Pierce, 22 January 1874, general correspondence, DTC.

33. Trowbridge to Leacock, undated, voyage 4, DTC.

34. Andres A. Ramos Mattei, "Technical Innovations and Social Change in the Sugar Industry of Puerto Rico, 1870-1880," in Manuel Moreno Fraginals, Frank Moya Pons, and Stanley L. Engerman, eds., *Between Slavery and Free Labor: The Spanish-Speaking Caribbean in the Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins Press, 1985), 158-80.

35. Turnbull to Trowbridge, 22 July 1884, general correspondence, DTC.

36. Trowbridge to Leacock, 4 June 1873, voyage 27, DTC.

37. Expenses from voyage 37, DTC.

38. Voyage 37, 23 February to 28 April 1875, DTC.

39. Bridget Brereton, *A History of Modern Trinidad, 1783-1962* (Kingston, Jamaica: Heinemann, 1981), 84.

40. Hijos de Lloreda to Trowbridge, 9 October 1868, general correspondence, DTC.

41. Hijos de Lloreda to Trowbridge, 22 March 1873, voyage 25, DTC.

42. L.T. Knight to Trowbridge, 9 October 1868, general correspondence, DTC.

43. Instructions to Neal from Trowbridge, 1 December 1869, voyage 6, DTC.

44. Telegram from Leacock to Trowbridge, 23 June 1876, voyage 45, DTC.

45. Turnbull to Trowbridge, 8 February 1874, general correspondence, DTC.

46. Journal of Captain B. Wellington, bark *Reindeer* , 25 November 1868, Log 422, G.W. Blunt White Library.

47. DeComis, Mayne de Ste. Luce to Trowbridge, 14 July 1876, general correspondence, DTC.

48. Wellington journal, May-June 1870.

49. Wellington journal, 25 November and 1 December, 1868.

50. Neal expense list, 17 November 1870, voyage 13, DTC.

51. Bill of lading, 21 March 1873, voyage 25, DTC.

52. Crew list, voyage 50, 21 May to 17 July 1877, DTC.

53. Voyage 87, 16 March to 11 May 1883, DTC.

54. Hilary McD. Beckles, *A History of Barbados* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 107.

55. Medical expenses for sick seaman, undated, voyage 30, DTC.

56. Leacock to Trowbridge, 8 April 1882, general correspondence, DTC.

57. Account of auction of dead sailor's possessions, undated, voyage 86, DTC.

58. Trowbridge to Leacock, 1 March 1883, voyage 87, DTC.

59. Trowbridge to Leacock, 29 August 1883, voyage 90, DTC.

60. Trowbridge to Leacock, 24 April 1884, voyage 93; 13 June 1884, voyage 95, DTC.

61. Ibid.

62. Trowbridge to Leacock, 30 September 1884, voyage 97, DTC.

63. Beachey, *West Indies Sugar Industry* , 136.

Notes to "The Life and Times of 'Winty' Burrows"

1. William N. Peterson and Peter M. Coope, *Historic Buildings at Mystic Seaport Museum* (Mystic: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1985), 72-73.

2. Town of Groton, Land Records, vol. 24:338, Town of Groton, Birth Records, both at Town Clerk's Office, Groton, Connecticut; Eighth U.S. Census, 1860, returns for Groton, Connecticut, microfilm copy in Mystic Seaport's G.W. Blunt White Library.

3. William N. Peterson, *Mystic Built : Ships and Shipyards of the Mystic River, Connecticut, 1784-1919* (Mystic: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1989).

4. Town of Groton, Land Records, vol. 26:102; Mystic *Pioneer,* 10-31 August 1861.

5. For a discussion of the place of the temperance movement in the Second Great Awakening see Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People,* 2 vols., (1972; paperback edition, Garden City, New York: Image Books, 1975), 1:512-20; Frederick Marryat, *A Diary in America with Remarks on Its Institutions,* 3 vols., (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1839), 1:105.

6. *General Statutes of Connecticut* , 1866, Taverns and Liquors, Title 63, Ch. 2, Sect. 10, 1854, 690-96.

7. *General Statutes of Connecticut* , 1866, Taverns and Liquors, Title 63, Ch. 2, Sect. 10, 1854, p. 690-96.

8. Dun and Bradstreet, vol. 41, 1860-1888, New London County, Baker Library, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, Boston, Massachussetts.

9. Ibid.

10. In 1866 Seth Burrows began to borrow money. In March 1869 he mortgaged the house and store to the Mystic River National Bank for $1,000, and in September obtained an additional $3,000 mortgage from farmer John D. Williams. He repaid Williams in February 1870, but did not pay off the bank mortgage. Town of Groton, Land Records, vol., 29: 706; Dun and Bradstreet, vol., 41, 1860-1888, New London County.

11. Daniel Fink, *Barns of the Genesee Country 1790-1915* (Genesco, New York: James Brunner, 1987), 335; Foster Rhea Dulles, *America Learns to Play* (New York: D. Appleton Century, 1940); Ann Fabian, *Card Sharps, Dream Books, and Bucket Shops, Gambling in 19th Century America* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1990), 41; Mystic *Journal,* 14 March 1870.

12. Mystic *Journal,* 23 May 1870.

13. Stonington *Mirror,* 8 January 1870. Many articles were published in the local newspapers–the Mystic *Pioneer,* Mystic *Press,* and Stonington *Journal*– that discuss the liquor laws. The same names continually appear in association with the temperance movement. Some of Mystic's leading business figures, however, are never mentioned.

14. Mystic *Journal,* 19 February 1870.

15. *General Statutes of Connecticut* , 1875, Intoxicating Liquors, Ch. XIV, Title 16, 269; Stonington *Mirror,* 13 November 1873.

16. Dun and Bradstreet, vol. 41, 1860-1888, New London County.

17. Eliza and Samuel had three children, and by 1881 a servant was living with them. R. Earl Burrows, *Robert Burrows Descendants, 1630-1974,* 2 vols., (Michigan: Edwards Brothers, 1975); Ninth U. S. Census, 1880, returns for Stonington, Connecticut.

18. Peterson, *Mystic Built,* 10.

19. *An American History from 1865 to the Present* (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1972).

20. Mystic *Journal,* Mystic *Press,* 1870-76.

21. Dun and Bradstreet, vol. 41, 1860-1888, New London County.

Notes to "The Burrows Brothers and Johnny Cake"

1. John Warren Burrows to family, 23 January 1853; Bowen Briggs Collection, Mystic River Historical Society, Mystic, Connecticut.

2. F. Marian McNeil, *The Scots Kitchen* (London: Panther Books by Granada Publishing, 1974), 225-34.

3. C. Anne Wilson, *Eating and Drinking in Great Britain from the Stone Age to the 19th Century* (Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 1991), 233-37.

4.*The Compact Oxford English Dictionary,* i:165.

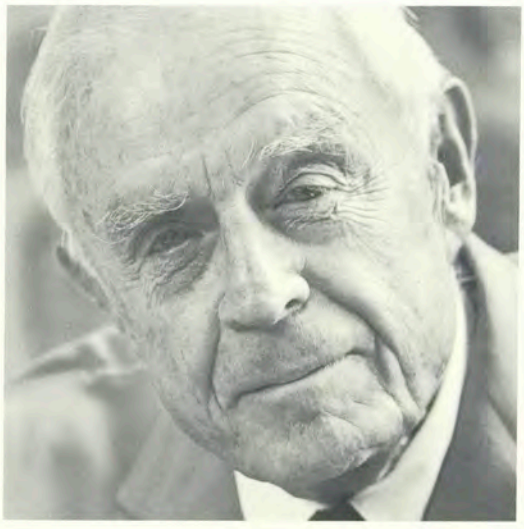
5. *Oxford English Dictionary,* i:1512; Mrs. Mary Randolph, *The Virginia Housewife: Facsimilie of 1st ed., 1824, and Additional Material from eds. of 1825 and 1828,* ed. Karen Hess, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1984), 278-79.

6. Grace Denison Wheeler, *Grace Wheeler's Memories* (Stonington, Connecticut: Pequot Press, 1948), 16.

7. Amelia Simmons, *American Cookery...,* ed. Mary Tolford Wilson, (Hartford, 1796; reprint, New York: Dover, 1984), 34.

SEAPORT SALUTE

Thomas J. Watson Jr.



BROWN UNIVERSITY NEWS BUREAU, JOHN FORASTÉ PHOTO

On the last day of last year, Mystic Seaport lost a great friend and respected Trustee. Major newspapers across the country noted the passing of Thomas J. Watson, Jr., with front-page tributes that cited his extraordinary success with I.B.M., and his later commitment to public service at the national and international level. The focus of these accounts was appropriate, but they left unacknowledged other, equally dynamic dimensions of Tom's character. ❧ Tom Watson was a man who thrived on challenge, and when at his doctor's recommendation he stepped down as chairman of I.B.M. in 1971, he stepped up to the exciting adventures he had promised himself throughout his career. There were many, and of such variety. He savored them all, and said he "liked flying and sailing best." ❧ At sea, Tom found numerous challenges and, at times, a tranquility that was precious. He was an active competitor in his various *Palawans*, and as years went by he took on voyages that would test any individual's mettle. *Palawan* went from arctic to antarctic waters, rounded Cape Horn, and made a long passage to the Pacific's tropical islands. In appropriate recognition of his adventurous voyaging, the Cruising Club of America honored Tom in 1986 with its esteemed Blue Water Medal. ❧ In 1990 Tom authored *Father, Son & Co.*, a candid, straightforward, and remarkably personal business autobiography that gave great insight into the man behind the I.B.M. machine. He was equally open in his 1993 *Pacific Passage*, an intimate account of the memorable voyage he made with daughter Helen and some of his friends and hers. This later book, published by and for the benefit of Mystic Seaport, establishes his competence as a mariner and clarifies his strength as a scholar. An admittedly indifferent student during his undergraduate career at Brown University, Tom was well versed in the literature of the sea, and he was a particular student of Capt. James Cook. He collected early editions of Cook's narratives and other maritime books, and frequently refers to them in *Pacific Passage*. ❧ It was not only in books that Tom manifested his collecting interest and keen eye. He collected maritime paintings and prints, and surrounded himself with images of the sea. He had ship models of fine quality and a fascination for scrimshaw. Ship carvings and figureheads captured his imagination. ❧ From this love of the sea came Tom's commitment to Mystic Seaport, to which he devoted time, energy, and resources over the course of several decades. He was a long-term Museum member, active Trustee, committee chairman, and benefactor. He was a perceptive counselor, constructive critic, and valued friend. It was with great satisfaction that the Seaport in 1992 was able to thank Tom for his dedicated service, through the presentation of the Museum's highest honor, the Founders' Award. ❧ There is much to be emulated in Tom's relentless pursuit of physical and intellectual challenge. And while he will be profoundly missed, he has left with us an impression that is indelible. Personally and institutionally, we are better for having known him.

MYSTIC SEAPORT MUSEUM



MARY ANNE STETS PHOTO

Take to the water this summer aboard one of the fine wooden boats of the Seaport fleet. Take advantage of your members' rental discount and enjoy a golden moment sailing or rowing along the lovely Mystic River. Or stick to the shore: the summer season is upon us, and there's plenty to do and see. Consult the Calendar of Events, page 23, and get ready for an exciting season.

Fifteen and First Rate

Take one look at this year's Sea Music line-up, and you'll understand the reason behind the Festival's longevity. This, the fifteenth annual Sea Music Festival–to be held 10-12 June–will sweeten the Seaport air with the music of performers from across the United States, Canada, England, and the Netherlands.



Headlining our show will be Liereliet, a group of folkmusicians from Friesland, the Netherlands, who will entertain and enlighten us with their repertoire of Dutch and Frisian Chanties and other songs of the sea.

In a special tribute to Stan Hugill, the beloved chanteyman's two sons Martin and Philip will perform their father's celebrated repertoire, adding their own style with mandolins and guitars. They will be joined on stage by fellow Britisher Tony Davis, from Liverpool.

The best is here, and we've designed the weekend in a way that lets you sample a little or a lot. So consult the following schedule, and mail in your reservations today.

Friday afternoon, 2:00 to 3:00: Secondary School Invitational Chantey Exhibition.

Friday evening, 7:30: "All Hands In" Concert takes place under the Boat Shed at Lighthouse Point. The weekend really gets under way here, with a rich sampling from all Festival performers.

Saturday "Music of the Sea" Symposium, beginning at 9:30 A.M. in the Meeting House: concerts and workshops will be conducted throughout the day Saturday and Sunday. The Patons will discuss "Sea Songs in the Folk Legacy Collection"; Tony Davis will speak to the topic "Liverpool is to Chanteys as New Orleans is to Jazz"; and John Townley will lead an exploration into sea hymns.

Activities for children will run 11:00 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. each day.

Saturday evening, 7:00: "Finest Kind" concert will feature the Patons, the Hugill brothers, and special guest Liereliet, and a special recognition of the Sea Music Festival's fifteen-year run, with past and present Mystic Seaport chanteymen singing their own tribute to the Festival.

Sea Music Festival tickets can be secured by mailing in the enclosed coupon. Final date for mail-order tickets will be 3 June. For additional information on this year's Sea Music Festival, please call 572-5350.

Please send to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State Zip _____

Phone _____

_____ Festival Weekend Ticket for all events: $20 per set per member ($37 for nonmember adults, $31 for nonmember youth ages 6 to 15) $ _____

_____ Friday Night "All Hands In" concert: $9 ($11 for nonmembers) $ _____

_____ Symposium Only: $5 $ _____

_____ Saturday Concert: $9 ($11 for nonmembers) $ _____

_____ TOTAL: $ _____

☐ I would like to pay with check to *Mystic Seaport Museum*
☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard
☐ American Express (check one)

Card number _____

Exp. Date _____

Signature _____

Members, Get Your Preview Tickets Today

Join us for the sixth annual Members' Sea Music Festival Preview concert on Thursday evening, 9 June. Our international chantey tour takes off from England: Philip and Martin Hugill, sons of the chanteyman Stan Hugill, will remember their father by singing and performing his cherished sea songs in an updated style that includes guitar and mandolin accompaniment. From the Netherlands come the nine-member chantey group Liereliet, who will regale us with Dutch and Frisian songs of the sea. The Seaport's own Forebitter brings the tour home in a style all their own. Each group will sing for approximately forty minutes.

The show will go on rain or shine, from 7:00 to 10:00, under the Boat Shed at Lighthouse Point. Members may enter the grounds at the South Gate beginning at 6:00 P.M., for general admission seating. Sandwiches and other refreshments, including beer and wine, will be sold at the concert site.

Concert reservations must be made by mail, and everyone attending must have a ticket. Please fill out the coupon below and remit to Membership Reservations, at the Seaport address. Sorry, no refunds will be made. For additional information about the Preview concert, please call 572-5339.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State Zip _____

Phone _____

Please send me _____ adult member tickets, at $9 each, and _____ youth (6-15) tickets at $5 each, to this year's Members' Sea Music Festival Preview concert.

Please send me _____ adult nonmember tickets, at $11 each, and _____ youth nonmember tickets at $7 each.

Please send me _____ free tickets for children ages 5 and younger.

The Log *of* Mystic Seaport

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Members, look for an
August mailing with details on
Members' Day, 25 September!
OUTSIDE WRAP: *1876 British Royal Hydrographic Office chart of Barbados. (G.W. Blunt White Library)*