

ABSTRACT

Matthew P. Brenckle. BLUE JACKETS AND WHITE TROUSERS: BRITISH AND AMERICAN SAILOR CLOTHING, 1750-1815. (Under the direction of Dr. Lawrence E. Babits) Department of History, Program in Maritime Studies, East Carolina University, May 2004.

Despite the continuing interest in naval history of the American Revolution and Napoleonic Wars in the United States and Europe, most scholars have confined their studies to politics, tactics, and naval architecture. Recently, numerous studies that examine the everyday life of the common sailor of the period have been published. This thesis examines one facet of the sailor's existence frequently overlooked by mainstream historians – clothing. Seamen's distinctive garments, it is argued, served as a marker of group identity and cohesion. Thus, short jackets and tar-stained trousers let both other sailors and landsmen know that men wearing such raiment followed a certain lifestyle and possessed a special set of skills.

In chapter two, this clothing is examined in detail, but is approached from an art historical and literary perspective. Thus, eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century prints, paintings, books, journals, and newspapers are consulted for what they can reveal about each clothing item.

Chapter three tests the findings presented in chapter two. Here, clothing excavated from the 1785 wreck of the *General Carleton of Whitby*, a British collier under contract to the Navy Board, is catalogued and interpreted. Surprisingly, there was little difference between these original garments and those depicted in period artistic works. Taking all these sources together provides a complete and more accurate portrait of the trans-Atlantic seafarer during the heyday of the age of sail.

BLUE JACKETS AND WHITE TROUSERS:
BRITISH AND AMERICAN SAILOR CLOTHING,
1750-1815

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the Faculty of the Department of History
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by
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Vix prima inceperat aestas
et pater Anchises dare fatis vela iubebat

Virgil, *Aeneid* III, 8-9

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In 1624 the poet John Donne wrote, "No man is an *Iland*, intire of it selfe." As an historian, I must agree with his sentiments wholeheartedly. No work of history, least of all this one, could be written without the collaboration of scores of people. Therefore, I wish to thank the following people, without whose help this thesis would have been but a much thinner and altogether insufficient production: committee members Wade Dudley, Tim Jenks, Charlie Ewen, and most of all, Larry Babits whose penchant for old clothes and encyclopedia-like reservoir of knowledge were a source of great inspiration; the staff of the Centralne Muzeum Morskie in Gdansk, including Waldemar Ossowski, Irena Sikorska (whose timely arrival with tea and cookies was much appreciated), Irena Rodzik, Maria Dyrka, Leck Trawicki, Elżbieta Wróblewska, Wieslaw Urbanski and Beata Jakimowicz ; Peter Harrington, curator of the Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection at the John Hay Library, Brown University, who kindly scanned and mailed a number of period images from the library's holdings; Chris Valvano, who steered me through the maddening intricacies of Photoshop 6.0; and, finally, all of the denizens of the Eller House computer lab, who, for some reason, put up with my clutter for a semester and a half.

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INTRODUCTION

Firsthand accounts from the Age of Sail assure us that life in the naval and merchant services was monotonous and enervating, if not downright brutal. An inadequate diet, coupled with harshly spartan living conditions, combined to make the common sailor's life difficult, even by period standards. Therefore, it comes as little surprise to find that when these men finally came ashore after (or during) a voyage, they created quite a stir. Indeed, landbound observers such as diarists and artists often recorded the boisterous behavior and outlandish costumes of these men as they partook of a port's pleasures. Social historians concerned with the lives of seamen have closely studied such accounts, for they contain an abundance of evidence about these itinerant laborers. Even so, pictorial and literary sources were almost without exception produced by artists for a market of well-to-do consumers. Thus there exists in these works an inherent bias, an irreconcilable tension between fact and the representation of those facts.

Because these works were created in societies that placed a great deal of emphasis on correct personal behavior and dress, these are the two attributes of seamen on which writers and artists focused. Sailor's clothing was deemed especially worthy of remark, for their dress varied widely from that of the landbound public (or at least from that of the elite). Despite the recent academic interest in the vicissitudes of class and material culture studies, however, sailor's dress (as with the dress of the poor in general) has been largely ignored by both maritime and costume historians. This is unfortunate, for as one scholar has remarked:

No single source of evidence can, at a glance almost, tell the historian so much about his society [as the way in which its members are dressed]: its comparative prosperity, the distance between rich and poor, the grading of social hierarchy, its occupational, religious, or ceremonial inclinations, its frivolous or serious cast of mind, its attitudes toward women, children, servants or the poor, something even of its moral standards and its ideal type of man or woman.¹

An examination of clothing may thus provide deeper insights into the lives of seamen, their likes and dislikes, their working environment, their purchasing power in what was becoming an increasingly consumer driven society, indeed their very position in that society.

If the study of clothing is so valuable, why have not more historians examined seaman's dress? The simple reason is that, besides the written descriptions and artistic depictions, very few examples survive in either museums or private collections. Unlike the expensive suits and gowns of the upper-classes, a seaman's wardrobe consisted for the most part of cheap, or at least not highly fashionable, working clothing. Tar spattered trousers and paint daubed jackets were rarely saved as mementos of a voyage. Even a sailor's fancy, and often expensively decorated, shore-going "rig" was lost or wore out after many years of indelicate use.

So where then is the historian to turn? Outside the few but valuable articles preserved by chance in archaeological contexts, he must once again rely on documents and artistic works. The British, and later American, navy maintained detailed lists of slop clothing issued to their men. Ship's officers and passengers, as well as literate inhabitants of the forecastle kept journals in which they described a wide spectrum of seagoing dress. Descriptions of runaways and deserters in colonial newspapers often

¹ H.J. Perkins, "Social History," in H.P.R. Finberg, ed., *Approaches to History: A Symposium* (London, 1962), 69-70.

provide detailed descriptions of sailor costume as well. And, of course, we have the descriptions of the people on shore, who chronicled with such acumen the dress of what must have seemed a half-alien race, thus becoming unwitting ethnographers. Eighteenth and nineteenth-century artists chose to include seamen in various genre paintings and landscapes, while caricaturists often seized on sailors as a subject unto themselves. Thus the historian of seaman's dress has a wide range of potential sources at his disposal.

Heretofore, we have considered clothing a rather inert, meaningless bundle of textiles. Anthropologists, as well as psychologists and other social scientists regard dress as something more than protection for the naked body. As one scholar notes, "fashion and clothing delineate one group from another at the same time as they identify common values in a group."² Thus clothing may serve as a kind of signpost or advertisement, both for members of a certain occupation or social class, as well as for the world at large. Sailor's dress is no exception. The seaman's wide legged trousers and short jacket identified him as a man of the sea to both fellow sailors and to the otherwise uninitiated man ashore. An important aspect of clothing is to foster group identity. Historians of a certain persuasion have already argued that working conditions aboard vessels encouraged camaraderie, if not a certain proto-communism among foremast hands. Whether or not one chooses to ascribe to such notions, it will soon become evident that Anglo-American sailors possessed a distinctive occupational dress that served as a sort of unofficial passport into the fluid, yet cohesive world of North Atlantic commerce and warfare.

² Malcolm Barnard, *Fashion as Communication* (New York, 1996), 38.

This thesis will consist of three sections. The first will place sailor's dress within a larger framework of costume history. Here I will address issues of fashion theory and how they may be applied to the subject at hand. This will include establishing a theoretical base for examining working-class clothing in general, and sailor clothing in particular. Such a discussion will dovetail with contemporary thought on the study of material culture, and how personal objects can reveal previously unknown facts about people and their society. Heading this section will be a discussion of the sailor's image in popular art and literature, and how this image may have influenced their creators.

The second section will draw on pictorial and documentary evidence to create a complete, though shifting portrait of seamen from the mid-eighteenth to the early nineteenth century. This will entail looking at each article of dress separately, and will include segments on hats, jackets, waistcoats, trousers, stockings, handkerchiefs, shoes, shirts, buttons, buckles, foul weather gear, battle dress, and dress for special occasions.

The third section will focus on original clothing preserved in museums in America and Europe. The pieces will be measured, and their construction technique analyzed. When possible, a scaled pattern will be drafted. Such a detailed examination will be valuable not only to reenactors and others interested in recreating period clothing, but also to textile and costume historians concerned with the particulars of cutting, tailoring, sewing, and conservation. Finally, an appendix will be included, that will discuss the results of a search of runaway and deserter advertisements in eighteenth century American newspapers.

This study is meant to be a comprehensive examination of Anglo-American sailor clothing between 1750 and 1815. No historian, costume or otherwise, has ever addressed this important aspect of sea life in any depth. By doing so, I will shed light on a subject that has the potential to strengthen theories regarding the collectivity of seamen, the cohesiveness of the transatlantic seagoing community, and provide a valuable database of extant clothing for costumers and historians.

A note on terminology: The words "seamen" and "sailor" are used interchangeably throughout this work, and in both instances refer to men who make their living on the water. The term applies to both highly skilled able-bodied men as well as raw recruits. Furthermore, I must state the underlying assumption behind the thesis. Seaman originating and operating in North America exhibited the same behavior, spoke the same language, and most important, wore the same clothes as their British-born brethren. This is substantiated by the sources. Thus, when speaking of seamen and sailors, there is not any need to define their continent of origin, except in the case of the navies; even then, Royal Navy and United States Navy seamen wore nearly identical garments.

CHAPTER 1: SOURCES AND THEORY

Should we be silent and not speak, our raiment
And state of bodies would bewray what life
We have led.

Coriolanus, v. 3.

Strange to say, both maritime and costume historians have almost wholly neglected the dress of British and American seaman of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Even amateur historians, who produced many of the most useful texts on historic fashion in the past, have failed to examine sailors' dress.¹ No one can deny the potential such a study holds, especially as any thorough account must cross the boundaries of several disciplines, including sociology, history, economics, art history, and literature. Economic and social historians have much to gain from a close examination of sailor dress, for woven into the threads of a fearnought jacket or trapped in the seams of tarred trousers is a story of class mobility and antagonism, marginalization and aggrandizement, textile production and consumption, and most important, maritime life and labor. Once considered tangential to "true" history, and relegated to an inferior position, costume history and material culture have slowly gained in repute and respectability over the past generation.

¹ Many of these works have been geared specifically toward the reenactment community. See for example, Robert L. Klinger, *Sketch Book '76* (Union City, Tenn., 1974); Beth Gilgun, *Tidings from the 18th Century* (Texarkana, Tx., 1993); William L. Brown, *Thoughts on Men's Shirts in America 1750-1900* (Gettysburg, Penn., 1999); Mary Moyars Johnson, Judy Forbes, and Kathy Delany, *Historic Colonial French Dress* (Grand Rapids, Oh., 1997); Merideth Wright, *Everyday Dress of Rural America, 1783-1800* (New York, 1990); and Sharon Ann Burnston, *Fitting and Proper, 18th Century Clothing from the Collection of the Chester County Historical Society* (Texarkana, Tx., 1998).

The recent academic interest in the history of dress can be related to a concurrent growth in gender and class studies. Contemporary scholarship identifies and resurrects the historically downtrodden and ignored. Past wardrobes are a veritable treasure trove for these new historians, for as one scholar recently remarked,

Clothing, as one of the most visible forms of consumption, performs a major role in the social construction of identity... One of the most visible markers of social status and gender and therefore useful in maintaining or subverting symbolic boundaries, clothing is an indication of how people in different areas have perceived their positions in social structures and negotiated status boundaries.²

Recent studies of historic and modern fashion reinforce these notions and add their own jargon to the literature.³

Early historians of dress, no matter what their subject, be it the court dress of the nobility or the working dress of the farmer (if they deigned to mention this at all), simply admired the garments' "fine workmanship" or "picturesque silhouette"; at best they chant a litany of changing fashions.⁴ Rarely, if ever, do these authors analyze clothing in terms of its social function or its actual use. Likewise, these scholars almost totally neglect poor and laboring class clothing.

From the 1960s on, this antiquarian approach was outmoded by new interests in religious, political, social, and economic structures, as well as issues of self and identity.⁵

² Diana Crane, *Fashion and its Social Agendas: Class, Gender and Identity in Clothing* (London, 2000), 23.

³ See note 7 below.

⁴ See for example, Alice Morse Earle, *Two Centuries of Costume in America, 1620-1820* (New York, 1903); Francis M. Kelly and Randolph Schwabe, *Historic Costume, A Chronicle of Fashion in Western Europe 1490-1790* (New York, 1925); Max von Boehn, *Modes and Manners: Vol. IV, The Eighteenth Century*, trans. Joan Joshua (Philadelphia, 1936); Iris Brook, *A History of English Costume* (London, 1937); Catherine Fennelly, *The Garb of Country New Englanders 1790-1840: Costumes at Old Sturbridge Village* (Sturbridge, Mass., 1966);

⁵ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream, The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical*

The attention given these topics stimulated a new approach to the study of dress. The shift to new modes of thought was simultaneously mirrored in, if not encouraged by, a shift in the emphasis within material culture studies in general. Scholars came to appreciate the "potential of the artifact for historical research," and now embraced all objects, common and high-style alike, for what they could reveal about a society.⁶ In the realm of costume history, this translated into a new and powerful interest in clothing at all levels of society. Numerous scholars produced works dealing exclusively with working-class clothing.⁷ Even general costume histories now include chapters on working-class dress.⁸ In addition, an abundance of works on fashion theory, which must be invoked by any serious costume scholar, have since been published.⁹

Yet, as stated above, none of these new or old works have very much to say about sailor dress. In fact, there are only three publications that take seamen's clothing as their subject. The first of these is an exceedingly slim volume by Sir Gerald Dickens entitled, *The Dress of the British Sailor*.¹⁰ Intended as an introductory survey of sailors' garb from

Profession (Cambridge, 1988), 469-572.

⁶ Thomas J. Schlereth, ed., *Material Culture Studies in America* (Walnut Creek, Ca., 1991), 33.

⁷ Margot Lister, *Costumes of Everyday Life: An Illustrated History of Working Clothes* (Boston, 1972); Max Barsis, *The Common Man Through the Centuries* (New York, 1973); Avril Lansdell, *Occupational Costume and Working Clothes, 1776-1976* (Milton Keynes, Bucks, UK, 1977); Diana de Marly, *Working Dress, A History of Occupational Clothing* (New York, 1986);

⁸ Some of the better include: Anne Buck, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York, 1979); Aileen Ribeiro, *The Gallery of Fashion* (Princeton, N.J., 2000).

⁹ The following includes but a small selection, which have been consulted for this work: Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes* (New York, 1981); Nathan Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms, Communication Through Clothing* (New York, 1986); Penny Storm, *Functions of Dress, Tools of Culture and the Individual* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1987); Joanne Finkelstein, *The Fashioned Self* (Philadelphia, 1991); Fred Davis, *Fashion, Culture and Identity* (Chicago, 1992); Malcolm Barnard, *Fashion as Communication* (New York, 1996); Wendy Parker, *Fashioning the Body Politic: Dress, Gender, Citizenship* (Oxford, 2002); Susan B. Kaiser, *The Social Psychology of Clothing: Symbolic Appearances in Context* (New York, 1990).

¹⁰ Sir Gerald Dickens, *The Dress of the British Sailor* (London, 1957).

Roman times to the 1950's, the work is largely superficial and, in some instances, plainly incorrect in its assertions. The period illustrations reproduced in his pages are useful, but too few to give the reader much more than a basic sense of the changes in sailor clothing through time.

D. Jarrett's *British Naval Dress*, while somewhat more comprehensive, still lacks any great depth or breadth.¹¹ Most of the book focuses on the regulations pertaining to officers' uniforms, from their introduction in 1748 to the 1950's. Passages discussing seamen's garments are scattered and brief.

The third and most recent work entirely devoted to naval dress is *Nelson's Navy* by Philip Haythornthwaite and William Younghusband.¹² This book contains many fascinating facts and anecdotes relating to the uniforms of British officers and seamen during the Napoleonic Wars, as well as accurate color plates by Younghusband, but is still egregiously cursory and incomplete. It must be noted that none of these works make more than passing mention of merchant seamen, nor do they detail the dress of North American seamen.

Several fashion histories contain single chapters or sections devoted to maritime costume. One of the most often cited is Phillis Cunnington and Catherine Lucas's *Occupational Costume in England from the 11th Century to 1914*.¹³ While commendable for its use of original documents and pictures, the work suffers from extreme brevity; in the space of thirteen pages, the authors attempt to describe the costume of sailors and

¹¹ Dudley Jarrett, *British Naval Dress* (London, 1960).

¹² Philip Haythornthwaite and William Younghusband, *Nelson's Navy* (London, 1993).

fishermen from the age of Chaucer to World War I. Infinitely more useful is the chapter entitled "Seafarers and Fishermen" in Peter Copeland's *Working Dress in Colonial and Revolutionary America*.¹⁴ This is one of very few works dealing primarily with eighteenth-century American seamen in the eighteenth century. The text, replete with quotations from period sources, provides a wonderful overview of seamen's dress, but the most interesting features are the author's highly detailed and skillfully executed line drawings. Some are based directly on period engravings, while others are a compilation of multiple sources. Copeland's concern with working, as opposed to fancy or shore-going dress (though there is mention of this too), must be commended.

Military Uniforms in America, volume two, provides a good introduction to American naval dress during the War of 1812, but, like so many texts, suffers from deplorable brevity.¹⁵ The naval section is only ten pages, including five pages of plates. Besides this meager roster of books, many social histories of the period describe sailor's dress, but usually only in passing, and never for more than a paragraph or two.¹⁶ Taken together, the secondary sources for Anglo-American sailor dress of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are rather thin and not terribly enlightening.

With an insignificant foundation of secondary sources on which to build, other

¹³ Phillis Cunnington and Catherine Lucas, *Occupational Costume in England from the 11th Century to 1914* (London, 1967).

¹⁴ Peter Copeland, *Working Dress in Colonial and Revolutionary America* (Westport, Conn., 1977), 3-29.

¹⁵ John R. Elting, ed., *Military Uniforms in America, Vol II, Years of Growth 1796-1851* (San Rafael, Ca., 1977), 60-65.

¹⁶ See for example, N.A.M. Rodger, *The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy* (New York, 1996), 64-65, 94-95; Dudley Pope, *Life in Nelson's Navy* (Annapolis, Md., 1996), 161-164; Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea* (Cambridge, 1987), 11; John Laffin, *Jack Tar, the Story of the British Sailor* (London, 1969), 23-27; G.J. Marcus, *Heart of Oak: A Survey of British Sea Power in*

primary sources that describe, depict, or otherwise represent period sailor clothing must be used. Unfortunately, the transient character of working clothing ensures that little survived to be preserved in museums or private collections, as is much elite clothing. As I will show in chapter three, in the last fifteen years an important assemblage of sailor clothing has been recovered from a shipwreck site and conserved in a museum, but such examples remain few and far between. Without complete wardrobes to measure and evaluate, we must turn to contemporary documentary and artistic works. Artists on both sides of the Atlantic took great interest in sailors and depicted them in a wide range of situations, although most often while causing mischief ashore.

At the same time, many elite commentators, from naval officers to civilians ashore, commented on sailor dress, usually to add color to a personal narrative. Occasionally, one encounters authentic accounts of life on the lower decks or before the mast, penned by a literate sailor. Yet, even these authors take the common sailor's clothing for granted, and rarely feel compelled to describe it in any detail.

As valuable as these works of art and authentic narratives are for what they tell us about seamen's appearances, they should not be used indiscriminately, but must be carefully scrutinized as to the type and reliability of information they provide. What follows is a digression of sorts, but one that is deemed necessary to accurately judge the value and meaning of those works, written and printed, which will form the primary corpus of information for this study. By coming to grips with the biases, inconsistencies and purposes of these works, it will be possible to separate the useful from the useless,

reality from imagination. Without doing so, any conclusions drawn from the works will be equally useless.

The image of the sailor has long been a central theme in British and American art and literature. Since it is estimated that by 1700, approximately one quarter of the population of the British Isles was in some way employed by the port trades,¹⁷ it comes as little surprise to find that sailors were a common element in popular art, poetry, drama, and song. An abundance of cheap mezzotint prints, watercolors, and other engravings, as well as broadside ballads, comic operas, and domestic items such as cups and plates illustrate the character of Jack Tar afloat and ashore. These representations, however, should not necessarily be considered as true to life depictions of eighteenth and nineteenth-century sailors. For the most part, they are caricatures and nothing more. But these depictions are revealing for what they tell us about the ideas and attitudes of the general public regarding those men who followed the sea. There is a fundamental dichotomy among these images. Half depict the sailor as a faithful lover, the sentimental creature who returns after many years' absence (with a hatful of prize money) to prove to his sweetheart that he has been ever true. In the same vein, the bold tar is shown as the defender of British liberty, the master of the sea, a true "Heart of Oak." Conversely, many images depict the darker side of the sailor's character, especially when ashore. His gaudy clothing and penchant for wine, women, and song are often played up in prints and ballads. Even more sinister are the political cartoons, that invariably depict sailors as

¹⁷ E.A Wrigley, "A Simple model of London's Importance in Changing English Society and Economy, 1650-1750," *Past and Present*, 37 (1967), 62.

rowdy troublemakers, perpetual malefactors, and fomenters of dissent.

Anyone acquainted with period caricatures of the "lower orders" will find these images familiar, and there is a reason for this. Indeed, eighteenth and nineteenth-century sailor images most closely resemble comparable popular images of the laboring poor and black slaves. Accordingly, the land-bound, upper class public saw all three groups as fascinatingly exotic, with their own styles of dress, language, and behavior. At times, they saw them as threatening and disruptive, even something less than human. Pierre van den Berghe, in his book *Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective*, defines two types of relations between the races (in this case between blacks and whites): competitive and paternalistic. Under the first system, the lower classes are seen as "Aggressive, uppity, insolent, oversexed, dirty, inferior, despicable, and dangerous." In the second system, they are "Childish, immature, exuberant, uninhibited, lazy, impulsive, fun-loving, good humored, inferior but lovable."¹⁸ From a quick perusal of eighteenth-century images of sailors, it is obvious that both character types were regularly associated with Anglo-American seamen. The language of the times often regards seafaring as little more than slavery, an attitude that carried over into other mediums as well. The English sailor may have manned the "Empire's Bulwarks" and repeatedly thwarted the untoward advances of the French, Dutch, and Spanish, but ashore he was more often perceived as a drunken, wild lout than a noble example of mankind.

The imagery of the sailor remains surprisingly constant throughout the eighteenth

¹⁸ Pierre van den Berghe, *Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective* (New York, 1967), 31-33.

and early nineteenth centuries. There are a plethora of useful written and visual examples spanning the entire period. Using these sources, I will first show the seaman in his guise of sentimental lover and faithful son, and review works that portray him in his childlike simplicity. Next I will examine the reverse of the medal to reveal the darker side of the seafarer, his drunken revels and exuberant excesses. Before reviewing this material, it would be wise to consider the value of such a study and look at the sources. What can these contemporary works reveal about sailors and their place in eighteenth and nineteenth-century society that may not be gleaned from traditional (i.e. documentary) sources? What sort of evidence will we be examining? Who were the artists producing these works? More important, who purchased these items? If these questions can be answered, a better understanding of the role of popular culture in forming certain attitudes and prejudices common to the Georgian and Regency/ Federal period producer and consumer will be developed. By understanding these attitudes, the chaff may be separated from the wheat in terms of what is useful for the study of sailor clothing, and what is not.

While everyone might agree that these works remain charming and visually interesting, what can they contribute to the larger study of period life and society beyond mere antiquarianism? In terms of material culture, many prints provide accurate depictions of contemporary lower-class clothing that rarely survives in museum collections, as well as of ephemeral interiors such as taverns, brothels, and boarding

houses.¹⁹ Indeed, for this study, their illustrative value gives these works credence. At the same time, these prints, painting, and ceramics give us both a glimpse of period consumer society (i.e. what sort of topics appealed to the people able to purchase such baubles?), and of popular attitudes toward the works' subjects (i.e. are the sailors presented as sympathetic or barbaric?). If the market for the various works (who was buying them) can be discovered, then the role relatively inexpensive art played in men and women's everyday lives may be deduced. Such a study would be very difficult to conduct if one were to consult only the traditional written sources. While diaries, letters, and some works of fiction do, in fact, give some notion of people's opinions of seamen, what one writes in the privacy of one's chamber may differ considerably from the subjects one chooses to hang on a sitting room wall. The real crux of the problem, then, is to discover just who it was who purchased these goods. If the majority went to the homes of the middle classes, or even the rich, it suggests one conclusion. If, however, the lower classes (laborers, lesser artisans, or the seamen themselves) provided the bulk of sales, the conclusion could be quite different.²⁰

Sailor images may be found in many prints engraved in London throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Period engravers typically produced three types of prints: aquatints, mezzotints, and stipple. The first type were generally printed on brown paper and then colored with a watercolor wash. Before the 1770's, mezzotints were colored with oil paints or gouache, but in 1776 Robert Laurie discovered a method for

¹⁹ Linda Baumgarten, *Eighteenth-Century Clothing at Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, Va., 1986).

²⁰ It would be interesting to conduct a search of English and American probate inventories to

printing in color. The last type, stipple, was similar to the mezzotint process, but allowed the artist to produce greater subtlety of line and color.²¹ All three techniques were suitable for what we might call "high art," as well as for "low art."²² While the eighteenth century witnessed an exceptional growth in the fine print market, the works that most concern us here are those termed "drolls" or satirical prints, many of which were often of a ribald flavor. Included under this category were those prints known as "carricks" or caricatures that lampooned a particular person or segment of the population.²³ One contemporary cited "the number of persons employed in this way, and the number of shops appropriated to the sake of caricatures, as proof of the importance the Publick has attached to them."²⁴ Indeed, the catalogue of London print sellers Laurie and White described their stock as "consisting of the greatest variety of whimsical, satiral [sic], and burlesque subjects (but not political). They are well calculated for the shop windows of country booksellers and stationers."²⁵ If English provincials clamored for prints, so too did Londoners. Many of the lower rank of print shops were located in St. Paul's Churchyard, or in Cheapside. Fleet Street was another popular location, and we may

quantify what proportion of taxable estates owned prints.

²¹ Timothy Clayton, *The English Print, 1688-1802* (New Haven, 1997), 216.

²² Essentially, the difference between the two categories can be found in their subject matter. "High" art, or artistic works collected most frequently by the educated portions of society, was most often concerned with classical or biblical themes. The great paintings in the rococo and later neoclassical styles, the works that most often graced the halls of the country houses and town homes of the wealthy, fall into this category. "Low" art, on the other hand, could be said to include everything else. The works produced for mass consumption, such as the prints of William Hogarth and Thomas Rowlandson, usually depicted scenes of daily life, and often sought to make some moral statement. Rarely did they depict mythological or other high-style subjects. Satire, pathos, sympathy, and most often, comedy, were their themes. John Hayes, *Rowlandson Watercolours and Drawings* (London, 1972); Stuart Barton, *The Genius of William Hogarth* (Worthing, Sussex, UK, 1972).

²³ Clayton, *The English Print*, 215.

²⁴ Hayes, *Rowlandson*, 48,

imagine that these shops did not receive the same clientele as the "picture shops" of Covent Garden or the Exeter Exchange.²⁶

Despite a fairly complete knowledge of the mechanics of the print trade, relatively little is known about the purchasers of these works. Given that the price of a colored print in the late eighteenth century equaled approximately one eighth of an agricultural laborer's weekly wage,²⁷ the very lowest class of society was probably not the primary purchaser of these works. It seems safer to assume that the middle classes were purchasing prints from the many retailers in London or the provinces. These people possessed a surplus or disposable income. Such a clientele raises questions about the meaning of these pictures. Did the prints reflect the consumer's perception of seamen, or did the print influence these attitudes? Would the middle classes feel more threatened by the unruly behavior of sailors than the lower orders (from which the sailors themselves presumably came)? Finally, should one even attempt to read anything into these prints; were they ever considered more than just pleasant decoration?

Unfortunately, very little has been written on the interplay between polite [i.e. upper-class] and popular art during the period in question. Some who consider the subject cannot even agree that such a thing as plebian or popular art ever existed. According to one scholar, popular works may have been "only plebian versions of the vocabularies of the Classical Republicans, the Eighteenth-century Commonwealth men,

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Clayton, *The English Print*, 3, 5.

²⁷ The price of a hand-colored engraving ranged from 1 to 2 shillings. The weekly wage of a Buckinghamshire laborer between 1767 and 1770 was about 8s. Kirstin Olsen, *Daily Life in 18th-Century England* (Westport, CT, 1999), 140.

and the Old Whigs. There may not be within reach a language of any particular subculture itself."²⁸ Such a revelation, if accepted, will be extremely important when it comes to examining sailor clothing in period literature and prints. If what we see are not in fact lower-class attitudes toward seamen, but only the naïve expression of what were once patrician attitudes, then these works become all the more valuable for what they can tell us about the dominant, upper-class attitudes toward sailors. The prints, paintings, and drawings, can be used to evaluate the power of the marketplace in influencing, or being influenced by, popular perception.

There is much recent discussion regarding the use of writing in the eighteenth century. Historians and literary critics have increasingly turned from examining the art of literature to questioning how different writing styles were both designed for and received by various audiences. At the same time, these discussions raise several important questions: "What kind of reader did the author envisage, and how did he try to influence him?" and "in what ways did different kinds of reader respond to different kinds of books?"²⁹ Answering these questions can be rather difficult, especially when we must consider middle and lower class reading habits. Still, at least one historian has suggested some strategies for approaching these problems:

Every author makes certain assumptions about his reader, whether the ideal, imagined reader who will respond appropriately to his rhetorical strategies, or the particular class of reader to whose expectations or

²⁸ Ronald Paulson, *Popular and Polite Art in the Age of Hogarth and Fielding* (Notre Dame, In., 1979), xiii. See also E.P. Thompson, "Patrician Society, Plebian Culture," *Journal of Social History*, VII (1974), 396-404.

²⁹ Isabel Rivers, "Introduction," in Isabel Rivers, ed., *Books and Their Readers in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York, 1982), 1. It should be noted that "play," "ballad," "poem," or "newspaper" may be substituted for "book" in these discussions, as the problems of authorship and readership apply to all types of printed works.

perhaps limitations he tailors his style or argument.... By careful study of the text the historian can deduce not only the class of reader the author is addressing..., but, more important, the moral, intellectual, or social assumptions the author shares with his reader. The author may be confirming the reader's views, extending them, or challenging them; careful consideration of vocabulary, tone and rhetoric will help the historian decide which is the case. What the author does *not* say may be important; there may be significant matters which he takes for granted, which he assumes his reader already knows and approves.³⁰

Such considerations will be important as we study the depiction of sailors in period literature. Whether positive or derogatory, comments made about seamen reflect not only the author's perception of that class of men, but his audience's notions about them as well. With reinforcement from both producer and consumer, it will come as no surprise that certain attitudes enjoyed a great deal of currency throughout the period.

Let us now turn to a number of examples. The image of the sailor leaving on a voyage and bidding farewell to his wife or sweetheart is one of the most commonly depicted scenarios in period prints. So common are they that they seem to have become almost formulaic by mid century. The typical picture shows the sailor embracing a woman, who gazes longingly at her departing lover. The sailor nearly always gestures towards a ship in the offing with his free hand. A fine example of this *topos* may be seen in a 1744 engraving by J. Booth and L. P. Boitard entitled "The Sailor's Farewell" (fig. 1). A pretty female lovingly embraces a sailor, who gazes back with affection. The sailor points to his ship (with loosened topsails and raised anchor), in the background. A group of seaman further down the beach move toward a launch that waits to carry them out to the ship. One man turns and beckons to the sailor, extending a finger and smiling knowingly. And if the picture does not adequately convey the story, the printer included

³⁰ *Ibid.*

a verse below the image:

See, see, yon streamers! lo, the wind sets fair,
And cruel calls the fondly parting pair.
Oh, signal dire! the foresail too is bent;
And lo, they give their mutual anguish vent.
The longboat waits, sly beck'ning are the crew;
They, death-like struggle in a last adieu.

Thus, the parting is bitter sweet. The ship and the wide ocean suggest adventures awaiting the sailor, but also the hardships. The phrases "death-like struggle" and "last adieu" provide a measure of melodrama, and perhaps foreshadowing. But most of all, the image and accompanying words stress the sailor's affection for a loved one left behind.

A later print by R. Pollard presents the same story, but with a variation on this theme (fig. 2). "William and Mary," as the print is titled, must say goodbye to each other. The weeping female dries her tears with her apron, while sailor William looks at her and gestures at his ship. Below the verse are the words:

The topsails shiver in the wind,
The ship she's bound to sea;
But yet my heart, my soul, my mind,
Are, Mary, moored with thee.

Again one learns that the sailor must leave against his will, but he will remain faithful to his love.

As these scenes became commonplace, they were depicted in a wide range of mediums. Staffordshire potters molded pearlware figurines of departing sailors, and Liverpool ceramicists painted them on tiles.³¹ The movement from print into more durable art forms is significant, because it implies that for the general public, the

³¹ J. Welles Henderson and Rodney P. Carlisle, *Marine Art and Antiques: Jack Tar, A Sailor's Life 1750-1910* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK, 1999), 33-34.

consumers of such products, these subjects were worthy of adorning their homes.

Although perhaps overly sentimental by modern standards, the images evoked specific emotional reactions, as well as suggest the promise of adventure, danger, and fortune. More important for our purposes, they provide insight into the tastes of the land-bound public.

Just as the sailor left land amid a shower of tearful goodbyes, so did he return to abundant smiles and welcoming arms. The welcome was especially exuberant if he came bearing prize money or several years of wages. A highly sentimental example of this is seen in a stipple print entitled, "The Sailor's Return," by W. Ward and F. Wheatley (fig. 3).³² In this 1770's image, a young rosy-cheeked sailor has returned from sea to a dilapidated garret apartment, where his mother lies sick in bed. His sweetheart, who seems to have been nursing the old woman through her illness, assumes an attitude of surprise, although strangely, she looks neither at the sailor's face nor at his hat full of sovereigns. Still, the artist plainly conveys his intent, as does the short verse below the picture: "Her filial duty paid,/ Virtue and love shall reward/ His constancy and toil." The sailor will not only have his love's hand in marriage, but he has rescued his kin from wretched poverty.

A 1744 engraving by J. Booth and L. P. Boitard, the companion to figure 1, depicts the sailor after his triumphant return (fig 4). He still wears his old sailor's coat and

³² Although undated, the style of the engraving as well as the clothing suggests a date of 1770-1780.

a hat resembling a triangular "apple pasty."³³ But beneath this quotidian garb he now wears a gold laced waistcoat, breeches, and silk stockings. His companion, looking quite pleased, holds out her apron, into which the sailor has dropped a handful of coins, and he is about to present her with what appears to be either a watch or locket. The scene in the background, which looks very much like an army's baggage train, is in fact a depiction of the treasure taken from the Acapulco galleon by Anson on its way to the mint in London.³⁴ Below the print are inscribed the words:

The world sail'd round, behold the faithful youth,
Returns to her who sympathised in truth,
His much-loved charmer he bedecks with spoils;
And in her longing arms forgets past toils.
Yet ready, when his country calls, to fly;
Tho' now to sever, would be worse than die.

Two additional themes are made explicit by this text: the sailor as "faithful youth," and always ready "when his country calls." Let us now explore how these perceived characteristics were expressed visually.

As has been seen, the theme of faithfulness and constancy as a trait of the sailor was widespread. A very fine graphic example of this comes from a 1795 engraving by Laurie and Whittle entitled "Lovely Nan" (fig. 5). A sailor, identified by his white trousers, short jacket, and Monmouth cap, walks arm and arm with a young lady dressed in white. They are in the midst of a retail district, and as they stroll past an instrument maker's shop, the sailor points to a compass prominently displayed in the bow window. The accompanying verse explains the picture:

The Needle, faithful to the North,

³³ Philip Haythornthwaite and William Younghusband, *Nelson's Navy* (London, 1993), 26.

³⁴ Robinson, *British Tar*, 466-467.

To show of constancy the worth,
 A curious lesson teaches man;
 The Needle time may rust, a squall,
 Capsize the binnacle and all,
 Let seamanship do all it can.
 My love in worth shall higher rise,
 Nor time shall rust, nor squalls capsize,
 My faith and trust for lovely Nan.

One might wonder why the sailor, of all men, was chosen as the paradigm of faithfulness, considering his reputation for lasciviousness while ashore. Still, there must have been something enticing about the sailor's predicament. Eighteenth century sensibilities were acutely attuned to sensations of "pleasurable melancholy,"³⁵ and there was nothing more bitter sweet than a sailor forced to leave his loved one to pursue a dangerous profession.

Just as the sailor was a sentimental creature, he was also, according to popular imagery, a brave and noble patriot, ready to defend England's empire against the advances of her enemies. Numerous prints depict him as a stout "John Bull" type character, or better yet, as a classical hero, while historical paintings have him fighting (and dying) gloriously amidst the smoke of battle. A wonderful example of the first type may be seen in a 1737 print entitled "The British Hercules" (fig. 6). In this engraving, the artist has dressed the famous Roman copy of Lysippus' Hercules³⁶ in sailor's clothing. He leans nonchalantly against an anchor, his club and lion skin lying at his feet. In his right hand he holds a scroll bearing the words "I wait for orders," while in the background, numerous men-of-war swing to their anchors at Spithead. The print clearly criticizes the pacific foreign policy of Sir Robert Walpole, and it is interesting to note that it dates to the year before the outbreak of hostilities between Britain and Spain. The might and resources of

Britain were seen to be rotting idly by the shore while Spanish vessels had their way with British merchantmen.³⁷ In this instance, Jack Tar becomes a pawn, albeit a pawn going willingly to his fate.

The stylistic exuberance of eighteenth-century historical painting provided the public with many similar images of the British Tar. According to Linda Colley, the British elite of this period recognized that an "ostentatious cult of heroism and state service served an important propaganda function," but this "cult" was "highly selective,...never focusing on ordinary soldiers or seamen but only on those commanding them."³⁸ This, however, was obviously not always the case. A 1779 mezzotint printed by W. Ward (after a painting by T. Stothard) entitled "Fighting a Gun" depicts common sailors in the same heroic stances usually reserved for their superiors (fig. 7). Nine seamen, stripped for battle, strenuously labor to load and train their cannon. The pictures' deep chiaroscuro focuses the viewer's attention to the scene's center, where a sailor in a white shirt hauls on a training tackle. Smoke billows in the background, while a midshipman or gun captain gestures with his hat. In the lower left hand corner, a sailor drags a wounded comrade away from the recoiling gun. If one compares this picture with Copley's *Death of Major Peirson* or West's *Death of General Wolfe*, one sees the same treatment: the contemporary dress, the smoke of battle, and the limpid forms of the dead and dying. But whereas an original oil painting might have been worth something in the

³⁵ David Irwin, *Neoclassicism* (London, 1997), 183.

³⁶ John Boardman, ed., *The Oxford History of Classical Art* (Oxford, 1993), 141-142.

³⁷ For more on the navy and popular politics in mid-century Britain, see Kathleen Wilson, "Empire, Trade and Popular Politics in Mid-Hanoverian Britain: The Case of Admiral Vernon," *Past and Present*, 121(1988), 74-109.

realm of £400,³⁹ a hand-colored mezzotint could be had for only a few shillings. Non-elite members of the general public could thus purchase these prints and participate vicariously in the glorious actions which these images portrayed.

So far I have concentrated only on visual representations of sailors. Other media, notably song and literature, provide glimpses of contemporaries' views on seamen. One student of eighteenth-century music writes that "ballads...were a popular form of expression for poets and publicist ashore. Some sailors also described their exploits in verse, but ballads were primarily the work of landlubbers."⁴⁰ This is an important statement, for it means that the majority of surviving "sea songs" are not in fact the work of sailors, who might portray themselves as they wished to be seen, but are by land-bound songsters who had their own ideas about seamen and the sea. Well-known songs such as "Rule Britannia," and "Heart of Oak" were composed specifically for the theater, then reproduced in broadsides and chap-books. These cheap and easily distributed publications ensured that such songs would reach "a wider audience than the usual range of playgoers, including the illiterate."⁴¹

The popular song "Tars of Old England," which portrayed sailors as both carefree spirits and loyal subjects, contained the following verses:

Our canvas and cares to the winds we display,
Life and fortune we cheerfully venture;
We laugh and we quaff and we banter,
Nor think of to-morrow, while sure of to-day

³⁸ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven, 1992), 178, 180.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁴⁰ Peter H. McCracken, "'Symbolic History' and Sailors: Image Development through Song at Sea" (M.A. Thesis, East Carolina University, 1999), 46.

⁴¹ Gillian Russell, *The Theatres of War: Performance, Politics, and Society, 1793-1815* (Oxford, 1995), 100-101.

Chorus

While British oak beneath us rolls,
And English courage fires our foulds;
To crown our toils, the fates decree,
The wealth and empire of the sea.⁴²

Such is the popular image of sailors in song. The preface to a collection of naval ballads by Charles Dibdin and Henry Lee explains to readers that a sailor's thoughts do not reach "much above the topmasthead...He has seen in his days more than enough to have made any thinking creature wise and honest; but this brave fellow views all things as sheep do the stars, or a dray horse what passes in Cheapside, without any afterthought, or reflection."⁴³ Seamen are as unthinking as animals, but brave.

The sentimental sailor often makes an appearance in the theater during this period. The opera *Thomas and Sally* (1760) "presents a sentimental tar, who returns to his love just as the Squire is about to attack her. Having protected her from the latter, Thomas takes her to the church to be married. He uses many nautical expressions, stresses sentimental patriotism, and discusses the hardships and plain dealing of the sailor."⁴⁴ The plays *A Pill for the Doctor* (1790) and *Auld Robin Gray* (1794) present much the same story: a sailor returns from sea with "six hats full of money" and rescues his love from the advances of unwanted suitors (much as Odysseus does Penelope, though less violently).⁴⁵

⁴² "Tars of Old England," in *Songs Naval and Military*, printed by James Rivington (New York, 1779).

⁴³ Charles Dibdin and Henry Lee, *The Naval Sonster, or Jack Tar's Chest of Conviviality, for 1798* (London, 1798), 6, quoted in Russell, *Theatres of War*, 101.

⁴⁴ Harold Francis Watson, *The Sailor in English Fiction and Drama, 1550-1800* (New York, 1931), 198.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

Many writers referred to the sailor's "childish simplicity."⁴⁶ A preternatural state of naivety and ignorance supposedly characterized men who spent most of their formative years far from the corrupting influence of shore-based society. Novelist Tobias Smollett, in the book *Sir Lancelot Greaves* (1760-1761), describes one salty character as follows:

He was an excellent seaman, brave, active, friendly in his way and scrupulously honest; but as little acquainted with the world as a suckling child; whimsical, impatient, and so impetuous, that he could not help breaking in upon the conversation, whatever it might be, with repeated interruptions, that seemed to burst from him by involuntary impulse.⁴⁷

One William Glascock saw sailors in the same light, and thought that they were a "remarkably plain, downright race...Devoid of all guile, the seaman never thought to disguise his object."⁴⁸

Ned Ward claims that the seaman is "all at sea" while ashore, but quite at home aboard ship. He writes:

He can no more sleep in sheets than in a horse pond, and put him into a feather-bed, he shall fancy he's sinking streight, and fall to swimming in all weathers, but sling him up in a hammock, and he shall lie a whole night as dormant as Mahomet hanging betwixt two load-stones. His chief station is that hill of Parnassus, the forecastle; here he and his brother jacks lie pelting each other with sea wit, and toss jests and oaths about as thick and fast as boys do squibs on coronation day.⁴⁹

The image of the sailor as completely ignorant of the most basic terrestrial objects was a favorite subject with printmakers. A print by R. Ackermann entitled "Sailors on Shore," recounts a conversation between two seamen (fig.8). One tar says: "Why Jack, what the deuce do you do with that great stone tied to the tail of your horse?" The sailor on

⁴⁶ Michael Lewis, quoted in John Laffin, *Jack Tar, The Story of the British Sailor* (London, 1969), 11.

⁴⁷ Watson, *Fiction and Drama*, 172.

⁴⁸ Quoted in Laffin, *Jack Tar*, 15.

horseback replies, "You must know messmate it is an invention of my own- I've come but a short Voyage d'ye see, and have in the time been unshipped twice, by this fellows pitching on his knees. So do you see - I had some ballast to the stern, and shiver my timbers if there ever was a better thing invented to prevent a vessel from going too much a head!" The sailor's ignorance, as well as his nautical speech, is held up as an object of humor. Of course, while caricatures such as these would never have been seen as anything but, they are significant in that the viewer would be expected to know one need not tie a rock like a sea anchor to a horse's tail to make it walk steadily. Therefore, the viewer was perhaps reinforcing his own perceived superiority over simple, ignorant men such as these. At the same time, these prints, as in the passages from comic operas quoted above, were meant to be humorous. Sailors were not presented as objects of ridicule, nor were they seen as dangerous troublemakers. Their quirks are lovable, their speech and appearance quaint. They are always willing to fight and die for their country, but when not wrestling with nature or the enemy, they are quite content with simple pleasures. In short, this view of the sailor makes him nothing more than a lovable, if inferior, specimen of the lower orders.

The sailor may have enjoyed a worthy reputation in some circles, especially among the public who lived inland, away from the ports and establishments catering to seamen, but many artists and writers chose to depict him in a less flattering manner. It was ashore, in the taverns and brothels, where one sees the other side of the sailor's perceived character. Henry Fielding, writing in 1740, commented on what he saw as the

⁴⁹ Ned Ward, *Wooden World* (London, 1707), quoted in Robinson, *British Tar*, 105.

dual nature of the sailor. At sea he was possessed of "so many good qualities;" but "on land there is nothing more idle and dissolute." Indeed, "all these good qualities...they always leave behind them on shipboard; the sailor out of water is...as wretched as an animal as the fish out of water; for, though the former hath, in common with amphibious animals, the bare power of existing on land, yet if he be kept there ant time, he never fails to become a nuisance."⁵⁰ The sailor as nuisance, or worse, is a theme that occurs frequently in prints and writings of the period. A 1767 indictment typifies the landsman's perception of the sailor's behavior ashore; his only activities were "drinking, typling, quarelling, fighting, whoring, and misbehaving."⁵¹ In some respects, the sailor's troublesome side was an even more common image than the "good" images. Of course, most landsmen never interacted with seamen in their own element; the only time they got a good look at sailors was in port.

The sailor's greatest vice was his addiction to liquor. Nearly all commentators, from printmakers to polemicists, placed a tankard in the sailor's hand. Charles Shadwell's 1723 play *Fair Quaker of Deal or the Humours of the Navy* contains a number of sailors, who "get drunk and propose to overthrow the purser, boatswain and bilboes, beat the mayor and corporation, and drown the constable, or to ravish all the women they meet, or break all the windows."⁵² Smollett's *Roderick Random* (1749) likewise contains a number of malcontents who intend to get drunk and then "scour the hundreds, sweat the

⁵⁰ Quoted in, Robinson, *British Tar*, 118-119.

⁵¹ The King v. James Dunn, Indictment, filed November 5, 1767, Court of General Quarter Sessions, quoted in Jesse Lemish, *Jack Tar v. John Bull: The Role of New York's Seamen in Precipitating the Revolution* (New York, 1997), 58.

⁵² Watson, *Fiction and Drama*, 165.

constable, maul the watch, and then reel soberly home to bed."⁵³ Such behavior was clearly thought a dangerous threat to orderly society, and though fictionalized, was probably influenced by reality. Numerous riots occurred in England's port cities and colonies throughout the eighteenth century; it would be surprising if an abundance of liquor did not have some hand in instigating these disturbances.⁵⁴

Woodes Rogers, in *A Cruising Voyage Round the World*, claims "Good Liquor to sailors is preferable to Clothing."⁵⁵ Indeed, to the shore-bound observer, strong drink seemed to the sailor preferable to many things. For some, it was even as necessary as air or food. Barnaby Slush explained that, "liquor is the very cement that keeps the mariner's body and soul together."⁵⁶ A theater song agreed:

'Tis grog is the soul of the sailor,
'Tis that makes him squeeze the French frog,
Was the boat full, by Neptune, I'd bale her,
Or drown in an ocean of grog.⁵⁷

It should be noted that drinking per se was not reviled in the eighteenth century as it would be under the Victorians, (Pitt and Melville, after all, were known for their liver-killing revels), but the evils that such recklessness engendered certainly were.⁵⁸

Drinking, more often than not, was accompanied by unabashed whoring. The printmakers were especially fond of such a bawdy subject. Rowlandson's view of Portsmouth Point, for example, depicts a scene of pure mayhem (fig. 9). One contemporary described the daily rhythm of the place:

⁵³ Quoted in, *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Marcus Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, 249.

⁵⁵ Quoted in, Watson, *Fiction and Drama*, 36.

⁵⁶ Quoted in, Laffin, *Jack Tar*, 88.

⁵⁷ Quoted in, *Ibid.*, 90.

It [the Point] has one good street through the middle, from the Point Gate to the water side, is full built, and very populous and thriving, being the Wapping of Portsmouth. Here the Johns carouse, not being confined to hours, and spend their money for the good of the public, which makes ale houses and shops thrive mightily upon this spot. Some have compared it with the Point at Jamaica, that was swallowed up by an earthquake, and think, if that was Sodom, this is Gomorrah...⁵⁹

A similar scene is enacted in a print by Carrington Bowles entitled "Men of War, Bound for the Port of Pleasure" (fig. 10). The sailors, accompanied by their "doxys" or "Judys," are having a fine time. The men have evidently been paid at the end of a commission and are hell-bent on spending their "swag." The young ladies, smiling coyly, seem willing to oblige. On the left, one girl helps herself to a sailor's watch as he embraces her.

Figure eleven portrays an even more raucous scene.⁶⁰ The print, entitled "Exporting Cattle, Not Insurable," depicts a bum boat full of prostitutes being rowed out to an anchored warship. William Robinson described just such a scene, although with a rather different tone:

After having moored our ship, swarms of boats came round us...a great many of them were freighted with cargoes of ladies...the seaman flocked down pretty quick, one after the other, and brought their choice up, so that in the course of the afternoon, we had about four hundred and fifty on board.

Of all the human race, these poor young creatures are the most pitiable; the ill-usage and the degradation they are driven to submit to, are indescribable.... A boat usually carries about ten of these poor creatures at a time, and will often bring off three cargoes of these ladies in a day.... Thus these poor unfortunates are taken to market like cattle...⁶¹

To what sort of a market did these prints appeal? It is hard to believe that these images were purchased by anyone with genteel pretensions, but without any knowledge of the

⁵⁸ Alan Schom, *Trafalgar: Countdown to Battle 1803-1805* (New York, 1990), 30.

⁵⁹ Stephen Martin-Leake, in a letter of January, 1729, quoted in Robinson, *British Tar*, 114.

⁶⁰ Judging by the style of the drawing, it is probably by Thomas Tegg.

⁶¹ William Robinson, *Jack Nastyface, Memoirs of an English Seaman* (London,

consumers, one may only make assumptions. The afore mentioned print was priced at only "one shilling coloured," which would have put it within the reach of the lowest classes. Moreover, the relative abundance of this type of print suggests that a great many were produced and purchased, giving a great number of people a titillating look at seafaring's vulgar side.

Violence was an acknowledged fact of a seafaring life. Yet, whereas people expected that ship-board discipline was enforced with an iron fist, when such arbitrary violence came ashore it became alarming. Nowhere does one see this fear of violence to greater effect than in pictures and stories of the press gang. Indeed, a great deal of ink has been spilt by historians, as well as contemporaries, decrying the scourge of impressment. Still, as one scholar explains, "it was accepted by everyone who had any experience of the subject as an unavoidable necessity."⁶² Be that as it may, impressment, and more to the point, the sailors who formed the press gangs, was regularly vilified in popular media. Take for example a 1782 print by Carrington Bowles entitled "The Press-Gang, or Cruel Separation" (fig. 12). Three downright grotesque seamen grab the gang's victim by the shoulders. His wife or sweetheart kneels beseechingly before a lieutenant who looks as roguish as the men he commands. It is interesting to compare the features of the young man and lady to those of the sailors. For a culture that equated physical beauty with goodness or innocence, the gang's lumpy, warty cheeks and bulbous noses stressed their cruelty and inhumanity.

1836), 87-92.

⁶² N.A.M. Rodger, *The Wooden World*, 150.

The press gang in a print by Barlow entitled "Manning the Navy, The Press-Gang on Tower Hill" display the same characteristics (fig. 13). A gang, under the command of a lieutenant, has rounded up a number of likely "recruits" in front of the Tower of London. In the center, two hideous sailors threaten a destitute-looking man with their cudgels, while a woman looks on in horror. The fellow kneeling to the left appears from his vestments to be a clergyman, and looks rather bewildered. On the right stands a short, stout man who seems to be the crimp responsible for the men's seizure. He holds his hand out to the lieutenant, as if seeking a reward. Yet ironically, the tables have turned on him. Another sailor grabs his arms from behind, and the officer rests his hand on the man's forehead, as if assessing his worth. While doubtlessly meant to be satirical, the print still provides ample commentary on popular perceptions of the pressgang. One must note that none of the captured men are sailors, and so legally were not subject to impressment. A minister would never have been taken by a gang, and it is doubtful if a tavern keeper/crimp would have been either. As for the poor man in ragged clothes, he does not seem desirous of entering the service (although apparently he will not have any say in the matter).

One final print by W. Ward (after a painting by G. Morland) entitled "The Waterman's Reluctance on Going to War" emphasizes the violent tendencies of the press gang (fig. 14). Three very angry looking seamen have seized a waterman as he delivers passengers to a landing. The two genteel passengers and their spaniel look on aghast, as the sailor in the brown jacket winds up to strike the doleful waterman. The contrast between the angelic, upper-class passengers and the slovenly, violent sailors is readily

apparent.

Nowhere does the supposed violent character of British seamen appear more sinister than in certain political cartoons. To be sure, many such works depict sailors as hearty John Bull type characters, always spoiling for a fight with the French, Dutch, or Spanish. Others, however, paint a decidedly evil picture of sailors and their culture of violence. A 1778 print by Robert Sayer entitled "An English Jack-Tar Giving Monsieur a Drubbing," depicts a sailor preparing to thrash a foppish looking Frenchman (fig. 15). The beating takes place before the Admiral Keppel Tavern, and in background rides H.M.S. *Victory*, both of which lend this picture a politicizing air. The whiggish admiral, commander at Ushant, was a vocal critic of the 1783 Treaty of Paris, and consequently resigned his post at the head of the Admiralty.⁶³ Yet, the viewer's attention remains fixed by the scene's central activity, where a smirking seaman raises a cane to strike the man pleading for mercy. One sees nothing of the heroic tar in this scene, but only a bold ruffian who beats a gentleman, albeit a French gentleman. The broken small sword at the sailor's feet hints that this incident may not have been unprovoked, but even so, the picture, with its odd perspective and dark colors remains strangely disturbing.

"Bostonians Tarring and Feathering a Tax Collector, 1773," a famous print by Philip Dawes, depicts a mob expressing its dislike for the Stamp Act. The man on the right, holding the noose around the tax collector's neck, is a sailor. His expression is one of anger or rage, and from his posture he seems about to strike the hapless victim with his cudgel. Jesse Lemisch wrote on the role of the seaman in the popular outcry against the

short, he is both angel and devil. How then does one reconcile these disparate images?

In the end order and explanation must be brought to these artifacts. The majority of the genre scenes, novels, plays, and journals remained beyond the reach of the majority of the population because of their costs. Due to their often bawdy or indecorous subject matter, they have been supposed to have been marketed toward the less-genteel elements of society. But what if the moneyed classes were less concerned with propriety and more with ribald humor than usually supposed? If the drawings by men such as Rowlandson are any indication, the rich and influential were just as addicted to gambling, drinking, and fighting as the stereotypical lower sort. Images of seamen in compromising situations may then be seen to fill a necessary niche, perhaps much as some off-color television programs and films are seen to do today. The need to laugh, and the willingness to belittle those less fortunate than ourselves is a universal human trait. No wonder then that the shore-bound public found sailors irresistibly fascinating.

The preceding discussion has shown that period sources, far from being unbiased, inert illustrations of a sailor's appearance and behavior, are in fact extremely subjective, reducing seamen to mere stereotypes. With these limitations in mind, these sources, as scholars insist, must be "carefully distinguished in terms of the kind of information they provide and their degree of reliability as an indication of what people were actually wearing."⁶⁷ At the same time, however, these considerations must not lead us astray. There is a danger in taking methodological problems too far; if one discounts all one's sources, there is nothing to work with. As long as one remains aware of these works'

inherent biases, they may be used safely.

Having reviewed the sources, sailor dress may be placed in context. Sailors were a vital and highly visible part of the Atlantic world, and their clothing served an important role in defining who they were and what they did for a living. An accurate portrait of Anglo-American seamen, requires considering the meaning and uses of clothing in general, and sailors' clothing in particular. Only then will the sailor's place in society make sense.

At some point in the distant past, man found it necessary, or desirable, to cover his nakedness. This was at first a conscious response to his environment. The sun scorched him, or the north wind chilled him. An impermeable mantle of animal skins or plant material protected his flesh from the elements. Such a development was peculiar to the human race. Yet man is never content with the *status quo*. He soon discovered that by altering his clothing, giving it a particular shape, or improving the way it draped, he could satisfy a deeper and somewhat more mysterious yearning. As human interactions became more complex, as what is called "civilization" developed, clothing began to serve other functions. It still protected the wearer from the rain or the sun, but it also became a vehicle for personal and social expression. Every segment of society came to be marked by a particular style of dress. Clothing's ability to reveal facts about its wearer makes it a perfect source of certain types of information. The relative wealth or poverty of a man, his occupation, even his personal philosophy was expressed by the fineness of his cloth, the elaborateness of his adornment, indeed by the very cut of his clothes. As William

⁶⁷ S.A. King and C. Payne, "The Dress of the Poor," *Textile History*, 33, 1 (2002), 4.

Hogarth said, it was possible to "know the very minds of people by their dress."⁶⁸

Clothing became a form of non-verbal communication that could be heard even more clearly than the spoken word.

Certain styles and types of dress "speak" louder or more clearly than others. Scholars often comment on the power of dress to explain or define social roles or economic standing.⁶⁹ The farm laborer, wearing soil-stained overalls, will never be mistaken for a Wall Street stockbroker, just as the banker in a blue pinstripe suit will not be mistaken for a carpenter. Occupational clothing, those articles of dress that are both adopted to, and typical of, particular lifestyles and jobs, usually carry the most overt message. According to one scholar, "[h]istorians point out that clothing choice is ordered by cultural standards that determine (some would say dictate) what is considered appropriate wear for a given person in a particular place and time."⁷⁰ This becomes a very important premise, one that must be fully grasped if a meaningful theory of occupational costume can be created. Sailors' apparel was constrained not only by social position, but by the very nature of their work.

What is meant by the phrase, the "language of clothes?" Obviously, garments do not literally speak, but they do convey messages about their wearer, however subtle those messages may be. The language of clothes possesses a distinctive vocabulary and grammar, the elements of which, like written words and phrases, are merely symbols for spoken words, which are themselves representative of certain shared concepts and

⁶⁸ Quoted in Linda Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America* (Williamsburg, Va., 2002), 52.

understandings collectively call culture.⁷¹ Clothing communicates the cultural values of the wearer to the viewer. To put it another way,

clothing and fashion, as communication, are cultural phenomena in that culture may itself be understood as a signifying system, as the ways in which a society's experiences, values and beliefs are communicated through practices, artifacts and institutions.⁷²

If clothing is a cultural marker – a social artifact- as well as a form of communication, it stands to reason that it is best understood from its social context.⁷³

Clothing worn by the laboring man must serve two functions, protection and utility. If the garment does not provide protection from the natural environment or does not allow the performance of allotted tasks with ease, it is worthless. Both qualities are essential in the seaman's attire. To drive home this point, imagine the living and working conditions of the average British or American sailor during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Having grown up close to the coast, in a damp and cloudy environment, he was relatively well adjusted to the seafaring life.⁷⁴ Still, living for weeks or months in a wet, foul-smelling forecastle or berth deck, in close contact with dozens or hundreds of other men, was quite different from living ashore, even if his childhood abode was a ramshackle cottage or crowded tenement. Furthermore, a ship, unlike a farmer's field or artisan's workshop, must be attended to at all hours of the day and night,

⁶⁹ Barnard, *Fashion as Communication*, 58.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 52-54.

⁷¹ Lurie, *The Language of Clothes*, 4.

⁷² Barnard, *Fashion as Communication*, 26.

⁷³ Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms*, 1.

⁷⁴ Ira Dye, "Physical and Social Profiles of Early American Seafarers, 1812-1815," in Colin Howell and Richard Twomey, eds., *Jack Tar in History: Essays in the History of Maritime Life and Labour* (Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada, 1991).

in all sorts of weather. The typical watch schedule, that divided the day into four hour segments, meant a sailor never received a full night's sleep, and fully expected to be called on deck to work the vessel whenever necessary.

Although Anglo-American seamen were a common sight in nearly every port in the world at this period, the majority of men who made their living by the sea did so on North Atlantic waters. These seas are notoriously harsh, and for most of the year are swept by cold winds and rain. A man working in such an environment, without the benefit of adequate shelter, had to wear, as it were, his house on his back. Protection from the weather, then, became a primary concern. It is no coincidence that the popular term for a sailor was "Jack Tar," or simply "Tar"; this was the primary material with which working clothing was made impervious to rain, spray, and wind.⁷⁵ Trousers, hats, and jackets were regularly given a liberal coating of pine, or "Stockholm" tar, which made the garments, if not waterproof, at least water resistant. Yet, such garments were usually constructed of linen or hemp canvas, and so were not particularly warm. This is where jackets and waistcoats were important. The thick woolens of a fitted jacket or waistcoat could repel mist or light rain but, more importantly, formed a barrier between wearer and weather. In fact, it was Northern Europeans who developed tailored clothing. Early on, they recognized that closely fitting garments provided less space for cold air to enter, thus

⁷⁵ James Durand writes, "When we got our cargo ready in Port-au-Prince the Captain called me aside and asked me if I dared go ashore to help him steal away an old man, his wife and daughter. I told my Captain that I thought this a proper purpose, to get white people out of the reach of these horrid murderous blacks [this was during the Haitian Slaves' Rebellion]. Accordingly, I went on shore, prepared as he had directed me. I carried a spare sailor's clothing and a little tar. I caused the girl to dress in the sailor's habit and to daub her face and hands with the tar..." Clearly, tar-stained faces and hands were common characteristics of sailors. James Durand, *James Durand, An Able Seaman of 1812*, George S. Brooks, ed.

tools, etc. In short, the jacket was a fine marriage of form and function.⁷⁷ Wide-legged trousers or petticoat breeches allowed freedom of movement, could be easily rolled above the knee, readily shed if a man fell overboard, and were relatively easy to construct.

So far, only the practical aspects of sailor's dress have been considered. As mentioned above, however, occupational clothing, like all clothing is something more than an inert, meaningless bundle of textiles. Anthropologists, as well as psychologists and other social scientists regard dress as something more than protection for the naked body. Indeed, while occupational dress allows wearers to perform specific duties in certain locations (in this case aboard ship), Nathan Joseph believes that people too often see working clothing as a "practical device" and nothing more, an attitude he terms the "utilitarian fallacy," and insists that there are other, less-tangible explanations for working dress styles.⁷⁸ For example, one scholar notes, "fashion and clothing delineate one group from another at the same time as they identify common values in a group."⁷⁹ This is an *important premise if one is to understand sailor dress.*

Eighteenth century people were well aware that clothing served as a kind of signpost or advertisement for certain occupations or social classes. Sailors' dress proved no exception. Their wide legged trousers and short jackets identified them as seamen to fellow sailors, as well as to otherwise uninitiated men ashore. Indeed, many contemporary comments about seamen focus on their seemingly outlandish costume as

⁷⁷ Seaman Robert Wilson put on a suit of "long clothes" to make himself look like a landman, hoping to fool the press gang. Unfortunately for him, it did not work, and he was taken during a "hot press". Brian Lavery, *Nelson's Navy, The Ships, Men, and Organization 1793-1815* (Annapolis, MD, 1989), 204

⁷⁸ Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms*,

much as on their unruly behavior. Often, English society frowned on such garb outside the immediate environment of the dockyard or waterside tavern. The diary of Jacob Nagle provides a graphic example of such disdain for seamen (when dressed as such). One evening in 1792, Nagle, an American serving in the Royal Navy, was invited by two gentleman friends to attend the theatre. After fighting their way through the crowd, Nagle and his friends,

delivered our tickets for the boxes, but the gentleman [sic] that received the tickets observed that I had a short round-about on [that is, a short sailor's jacket], and that I could not go into the boxes without a long coat. Mr. Goodall observed it [Nagle's jacket] was first cloth and finer than his coat. He allowed that, but it was a rule. "Well, Sir," said I, "lend me your coat till I come out again." It created a monstrous laugh amongst the croud [sic]. "Well," said Mr. Goodall, "we will all go into the one shilling gallery." Therefore he lost twelve shillings by my round about jacket.⁸⁰

Such strict rules of etiquette were by no means uncommon in the era. Even though the navy was considered the "Senior Service", and men such as Jervis, Rodney, and Nelson were held in high regard, the common seaman rarely received much respect. His clothing, more than anything else, told a viewer that here was a man not deserving of the niceties of high society.

On the other hand, seamen were just as contemptuous of landsmen. When Robert Hay found himself taken by the press gang, notwithstanding his attempts to disguise himself in "long" clothes (he was recognized by his tar-stained hands), he experienced first-hand the enmity held against those outside the fold. "My landward appearance," he remembered, "placed me in some measure beyond the pale of sympathy. I was styled by

⁷⁹ Malcolm Barnard, *Fashion as Communication*, 38.

⁸⁰ Jacob Nagle, *The Nagle Journal: A Diary of the Life of Jacob Nagle, Sailor, from the Year*

way of distinction and ridicule 'the Gentleman,' and was considered a privileged butt for the shafts of nautical witt and banter to be levelled at." After his shipmates repeatedly attempted to cut off his coat tails, Hay "considered it a folly to dress any longer in my landsmans habillements," and procured a suit of seaman's clothes.⁸¹

If a seaman's dress erected a fence between him and the land-bound public, it also built a bridge to his fellow seafarers. A group of sailors meeting ashore would know by other men's dress that here were people who understood their way of speaking, shared in the same dangers, and would in all probability meet the same fate. Robert Hay relates that, "seamen who have been pressed together into one ship have usually a great affection for one another. Their trade, their habits, their misfortunes are the same and they become endeared to each other by a similarity of sufferings."⁸² As one scholar asserts, "[t]he hardships they faced as members of a community at sea encouraged a 'clannishness' on land that amounted to an oppositional culture carefully nurtured as a means of asserting a particular identity."⁸³ Melville's *Billy Budd* opens with a description of such comraderie:

In the time before steamships, or then more frequently than now, a stroller along the docks of any considerable sea-port would occasionally have his attention arrested by a group of bronzed mariners, man-of-war's men or merchant-sailors in holiday attire ashore on liberty. In certain instances they would flank, or, like a body-guard quite surround some superior figure of their own class, moving along with them like Aldebaran among the lesser lights of his constellation. That signal object was the "Handsome Sailor" of the less prosaic time alike of the military and merchant navies. With no perceptible trace of the vainglorious about him, rather with the off-hand unaffectedness of natural regality, he seemed to accept the spontaneous homage of his

1775 to 1841, John C. Dann, ed. (New York, 1988), 153.

⁸¹ Robert Hay, *Landsman Hay, The Memoirs of Robert Hay, 1789-1847*, M.D. Hay, ed. (London, 1953), 221-222.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 220-221.

⁸³ Margarette Lincoln, *Representing the Royal Navy* (Aldershot, Hants, UK, 2002), 9.

shipmates. A somewhat remarkable instance recurs to me. In Liverpool, now half a century ago, I saw under the shadow of the great dingy street-wall of Prince's Dock (an obstruction long since removed) a common sailor, so intensely black that he must needs have been a native African of the unadulterate blood of Ham. A symmetric figure much above the average height. The two ends of a gay silk handkerchief thrown loose about the neck danced upon the displayed ebony of his chest; in his ears were big hoops of gold, and a Scotch Highland bonnet with a tartan band set off his shapely head.⁸⁴

The magistrate John Fielding wrote in 1776,

When one goes into Rotherhithe and Wapping, which places are chiefly inhabited by sailors, but that somewhat of the same language is spoken, a man would be apt to suspect himself in another country. Their manner of living, speaking, acting, dressing, and behaving are so peculiar to themselves.⁸⁵

Or, as Charles Nordhoff claims, "[t]here is a distinct manner, an easy, graceful carriage of the body, a rakish set of the hat, a knowing look out of the corner of the eye, peculiar to the sailor, but more especially to the man-of-war's man, which can not be counterfeited, and is not to be acquired, without long experience...."⁸⁶ An officer looking to hire hands for a voyage could tell by looking at a man if he were an able-bodied seaman, or merely a ~~land~~lubber in sailor's clothes. In fact, a sailor's clothing was such a matter of pride, and such an essential element of his persona, that without it, some skills and knowledge seemed to disappear, or at least might be called into question. Note, for example, Melville's consternation at being forced by necessity to wear his "white jacket," a very unseaman-like garment.⁸⁷

Another issue that might be profitably added to the mixture is the influence of

⁸⁴ Herman Melville, *Billy Budd and Other Tales* (New York, 1961), 5.

⁸⁵ Quoted in Lincoln, *Royal Navy*, 9.

⁸⁶ Charles Nordhoff, *Man-of-War Life, A Boy's Experience in the United States Navy, During a Voyage Around the World in a Ship-of-the-Line* (1855, reprint ed., Annapolis, Md., 1985), 79.

pride in the sailor's appearance. The able seaman was a highly skilled laborer. He was literate in the language of the ship, and able to find and use a multitude of lines, each of which had specific uses for manipulating the ship. He was an expert at tying knots, from a simple figure eight to the complex Matthew Walker knot. Damaged rigging required deft hands capable of forming splices, eyes, hitches, and seizings. In addition to basic seamanship, the sailor knew how to row in time, was versed in cargo handling, sail repair, and the basics of navigation.⁸⁸ Pride in these abilities manifested itself in the sailor's clothes. By visually proclaiming his mastery of the arcane knowledge of seamanship, the able-bodied seaman was, perhaps, compensating his psyche for living such an otherwise difficult life. That is, by indulging in sartorial splendor while ashore, the sailor created an aura of romance that hinted at danger and excitement, tales of which drove many young men to sea. Indeed, men speak of such things in their memoirs. Samuel Leech fell under the siren spell of the "Jolly Tar." Arriving in Gravesend to join the *Macedonian*, the young Leech "experienced a new gratification, which was nothing less than being arrayed in a complete suit of sailor apparel; a tarpaulin hat, round blue jacket and wide pantaloons. Never did young knight swell with loftier emotion when donning for the first time his iron dress, than I did when in sea dress I trod the streets of Gravesend. This had always been my highest ambition. The gaudily dressed soldier never had charms for me; but the sailor, how nice he looked!"⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Herman Melville, *White Jacket, or, The World in a Man-of-War* (London, 1922).

⁸⁸ For a look at some of the sailor's skills, see Darcy Lever, *The Young Sea Officers' Sheet Anchor, or A Key to the Leading of Rigging and to Practical Seamanship* (1819, reprint ed., Mineola, N.Y., 1998).

⁸⁹ Samuel Leech, *A Voice From the Main Deck, Being a Record of the Thirty Years Adventures of*

Deep-sea sailors belonged to a society separate and distinct from its parent society. Indeed, a ship might be considered what Susan Kaiser calls a "total institution," or "places where large numbers of like-situated individuals reside and work in a context cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time. Collectively, these individuals lead enclosed, formally administered lives."⁹⁰ Examples of such institutions include prisons, convents, and military training camps. The ship may just as easily fall into this category. Separated from land for weeks, months, or even years, the sailor lived in a world strictly circumscribed by ancient custom and a rigid disciplinary code. Given Samuel Johnson's observation that "being in a ship is being in jail with the chance of being drowned," this appellation makes sense.

Such an institution generally requires an identifying uniform of some sort. The American navy had no officially prescribed uniform for enlisted men until 1841, the Royal Navy not until 1857, and the merchant services not until much later. Often, a man wore whatever he had on when he volunteered or was "pressed", until it became completely unserviceable. Officers routinely complained of the untidy appearance of green hands.⁹¹ Yet, this is not to suggest that there was no uniformity among seaman. From the standpoint of utility and convenience, one sailor's wardrobe looked much like another's. Each man's clothing served its intended function and was constructed with the same features. As one scholar explains, "a great deal of occupational dress is standardized clothing...which is a pattern of dress arising among members of an

Samuel Leech (1843, reprint ed., Annapolis, Md., 1999), 14.

⁹⁰ Kaiser, *Social Psychology of Clothing*, 383.

occupation, or family of occupations, partly because they share similar social and physical conditions."⁹² In addition, the method of supplying seamen with garments ensured a degree of uniformity among a ship's crew. The men purchased ready-made clothing directly from the purser, or were issued bolts of cloth with which to sew their own garments.⁹³ Since the slop clothing was mass produced and the issued fabric all the same, it was inevitable that the men dressed alike.

For seamen, "[u]niform is the legitimating emblem of membership within an organization."⁹⁴ I have attempted to show that this organization, this "brotherhood of the sea," extended beyond individual ships' companies to embrace to whole seafaring community of the English-speaking Atlantic. Marcus Rediker has brought to light this particular aspect of eighteenth-century maritime labor. He ascribes the development of this "maritime occupational consciousness" to the "irreconcilable conflict between the needs and imperatives of, on the one hand, an international market economy organized by merchant capitalists and, on the other, an international moral economy of common tars."⁹⁵ In other words, sailors reacted to the illiberal treatment of captains, owners, and the admiralty by banding together in defense of their rights. Jesse Lemisch, in his discussion of New York's seamen's role in advancing the American Revolution, describes a collectivity of sentiment and action among American seamen, and, like Rediker, sees this developing out of various injustices perpetrated against sailors.

⁹¹ Lavery, *Nelson's Navy*, 204.

⁹² Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms*, 144.

⁹³ Philip Haythornthwaite and William Younghusband, *Nelson's Navy* (London, 1993), 26.

⁹⁴ Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms*, 2.

⁹⁵ Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*, 291.

If seamen constituted a distinct social category, their clothing served as the primary marker of that status. Protecting them from a harsh environment, easing their labors, and demonstrating rank and solidarity, seamen's garments played an essential role in their lives. By studying the clothes on their backs, scholars gain a deeper insight into the lives and times of these men, for as Thomas Carlyle says, "man's earthly interests are all hooked and buttoned together, and held up, by Clothes."⁹⁶ Of what other artifacts can as much be said?

⁹⁶ Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus* I, VIII

CHAPTER 2: A SAILOR'S WARDROBE

The previous chapter served to justify the study of seamen's clothing and to explain the sociology of occupational clothing, especially as perceived in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This chapter will turn attention from the general to the particular, by looking at individual clothing items. Specific clothing will be examined in detail. Because of the incredible variety of garments worn by seafarers, this is the only way to sketch a definitive portrait of the Anglo-American seaman.

But before rummaging through sea chests, how did a seaman procure his clothing? As briefly mentioned in the previous chapter, garments could be had from three sources: the purser's slops, civilian purveyors, or by the man's own handiwork.¹ The first of these was probably the least favored, for a number of reasons. In Britain, until 1758, individual contractor's agents supplied clothing to the navy. These purveyors sold articles directly to a ship's purser as needed. These purser's slops were stowed in the "slop room," usually located at the after end of the orlop deck. When clothes were issued, they were charged against the men's pay, and the contractors drew the money from the Pay Office. Of course, this system produced numerous dishonest transactions, and after 1758 the Navy Board assumed distribution of slop clothing. They charged a set price, which around 1800

¹ The word "slop" has two meanings - and an interesting history in itself. Derived from the Old English *oferslop*, a loose over garment worn by the Anglo-Saxons, the word seems to have reentered the language via Dutch, for whom slops were loose or baggy trousers, usually worn as work garments to protect under breeches from dirt, paint, tar, etc. These trouser-like garments were likewise worn by English sailors until the late eighteenth-century, when they were generally replaced by trousers. The term soon came to refer to all clothing, bedding, and other personal articles issued to seamen by the purser. Anne Murray, "From Breeches to Sherryvallies," *Dress* 2.1 (1976), 19.

amounted to the following: jackets 10s, trousers 3s 2d, shoes 5s 10d the pair, waistcoats 4s 3d, and shirts 5s 3d.² The purser, who was now relegated to the ship's storekeeper in this matter, earned a commission of £5 per every £100 of slop clothing sold. Yet pursers could not sell a man more than 5s worth of slops per month, presumably to prevent them from making exorbitant profits at the men's expense. The only exception to this rule was when a man came aboard for the first time; he was then allowed to purchase clothing worth the equivalent of two months pay. Some men undoubtedly favored taking purser's slops over other clothing sources, because it meant they did not have to take money out of their own pockets to pay for it. Since deductions were made from the men's pay, and this pay was always several months or even years in arrears, buying from the purser did not deprive them of "ready money."³

Despite the precautions taken by the Navy Board to decrease graft amongst pursers, seaman often complained they were being robbed. Samuel Leech added his

² By comparison, the able seaman's wages from 1653 to 1797 were 24s per lunar month. Minus deductions for Greenwich Hospital, the Chatham Chest, the surgeon, and the chaplain, the seaman received £14.2.6 per annum. After the 1797 mutinies, the able seaman's pay increased by 5s 6d per month. Finally, in 1806, the pay increased to 33s 6d per month before deductions. Lavery, *Nelson's Navy*, 130; Pope, *Life in Nelson's Navy*, 164. Comparing Royal Navy slop prices through time is relatively simple. Inflation was low and the cost of items did not fluctuate greatly during the period. When looking at prices paid by American seamen, however, making a comparative study becomes rather more difficult. This is especially true in regards to the Continental and state navies during the Revolution. Invariably, slop accounts give prices in state currency, the value of which constantly fluctuated. Continental currency suffered the same devaluation. Thus in 1776, Daniel Bears, sailor aboard the Continental ship *Columbus* paid the following rates in Pennsylvania currency: for a jacket, £1.8.0; check shirt £0.16.6; stockings £0.5.0; and shoes £0.7.6. A year later in April 1777, John Brannon of the Pennsylvania Sate Navy was charged £3.17.6 for "1 pair Breeches, 1 pr Shoes & 1 pr Stockings," while his comrade John Charmondy paid £0.15.0 for a pair of shoes. The same year, Connecticut privateer Nathaniel Shaw, Jr. paid £1.6.0 for a pair of "Everlasting Breeches," £3 for a "Cotton Jacket," and £0.10.0 for "1 pair of Linen Stockings." William James Morgan, ed., *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*, (Washington, 1979-80), 7:209, 8:31, 210. John J. McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775, A Handbook* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1978).

³ Lavery, *Nelson's Navy*, 204; Jarrett, *British Naval Dress*, 55; Pope, *Life in Nelson's Navy*, 161-

voice to the chorus:

The practice of paying seamen at long intervals, is the source of many evils. Among these, is the opportunity given to pursers to practice extortion on the men - an opportunity they are not slow in improving. The spendthrift habits of most sailors leave them with barely sufficient quality of clothing for present purposes, when they ship. If the cruise is long, they are, consequently, obliged to draw from the purser. This gentleman is ever ready to supply them, but at ruinous prices. Poor articles with high prices are to be found in his hand; these poor Jack must take of necessity, because he cannot get his wages until he is paid off. Hence, what with poor articles, high charges and *false* charges, the purser almost always has a claim which makes Jack's actual receipts for two or three years' service, woefully [sic] small. Were he paid at stated periods, he could make his own purchases as he needed them. The sailor is aware of this evil, but he only shows his apprehension of it in his usually good-humored manner. If he sees a poor, ill-cut garment, he will laugh, and say it "looks like a purser's shirt on a handspike."⁴

During the Revolutionary War, the Continental navy procured and issued slops in much the same manner. In November 1776, Captain Nicholas Biddle wrote to Alexander Todd requesting slops for the frigate *Randolph*. His list gives an indication not only of the types of articles issued, but also the quantities needed to outfit a frigate:

Great Coats.....	20
Outside Jacketts.....	200
Inside do.....	60
Shirts.....	200
Frocks.....	100
Pair of Shoes.....	260
Stockings.....	300
Caps.....	250
Hatts or Dutch Caps.....	100
Beds.....	180
Rugs & Blanketts.....	260
Woolen Trowsers.....	240
Mittens.....	280 ⁵

The Federal-era American Navy used the same system as the Royal Navy for providing men with purser's slops. According to the *Naval Regulations*, American

⁴ Leech, *A Voice from the Main Deck*, 73.

⁵ Morgan, *Naval Documents*, 7:212.

seamen could draw clothing from the purser as soon as the ship set sail. They could not, however, receive a second supply until they served two full months, "and then not exceeding half their pay." The purser was authorized to make a ten percent profit on the sale of slops, "as a compensation for the risk and responsibility." The 1818 *Regulations* included a table "showing the quantity and kind of slops allowed to be issued for the first year:"

1 pea jacket, to serve 2 years.
 2 blue cloth jackets.
 2 do. trousers.
 2 white flannel shirts
 2 do. drawers.
 2 pair of yarn stockings.
 2 black handkerchiefs.
 2 duck frocks.
 2 do. trousers.
 1 do. banyans.
 4 pair of shoes.
 1 mattress.
 2 blankets.
 1 hammock.
 1 red cloth vest.
 2 hats.

On a foreign station, if the purser made additional slop clothing purchases, he was to buy only blue jackets and trousers, red vests, yellow [brass] buttons, and black hats in the winter, and white duck jackets, trousers, and vests in the summer.⁶

Although the *Regulations* demanded greater accountability from American pursers, it did not offer the sailor the same protections as his British counterpart.⁷

Although admittedly later than the period under review, in 1845 Charles Nordhoff was

⁶ *Rules, Regulations, and Instructions for the Naval Service of the United States* (Washington, 1818), 103-104.

⁷ *Naval Regulations, Issued by Command of the President of the United States* (1802; reprint ed., Annapolis, Md., 1970), 26-28.

advanced twenty-four dollars (three month's pay) to outfit himself with the "articles of clothing enumerated in the navy regulations." Unfortunately, he was "taken in hand by certain speculators in slop-clothing," who furnished him with a very shoddy assortment of garments. The sorry conclusion of this episode was that,

at...muster, most of the outfitter's clothing was condemned, and orders given to such as mustered therein, to furnish themselves with better from the purser's stores. I was included in the list, and found that of the supply for which twenty-four dollars had been charged, in Philadelphia, I could not use a single article. In common with nearly all our draft, I received an entire new outfit, which made way with about six months' pay, thus finding myself, when not yet three months in the navy, indebted to the amount of nine months' salary.⁸

When a man died at sea, the purser sold his effects at auction by the mainmast. Men could purchase the dead man's clothing just as they bought purser's slops; the amount bid was recorded in the muster, pay, and slop books and charged against their pay. In the Royal Navy, the purser was allowed twelve pence for every pound (or £5 per every £100) raised at auction, while the remainder went to the deceased's family.⁹ The regulations further stated that, "no seaman shall be permitted to bid for dead officer's clothes that are above their wear or be suffered to bid for any affects beyond their real value according to the judgment of the Master and Purser." In addition, if the dead man left cash, "no officer or man is to bid for it," -- it would go directly to the heirs.¹⁰ That this regulation was not always followed is substantiated by an account of a dead man's effects sold aboard H.M.S. *Gloucester* in 1750; one Thomas Whitehead bid for, or

⁸ Nordhoff, *Man-of-War Life*, 79.

⁹ Pope, "Life in Nelson's Navy, 162.

¹⁰ "Regulations and Instructions relating to His Majesty's Service at Sea: Of Slop Clothes, articles XI-XII," in Brian Lavery, ed., *Shipboard Life and Organization, 1731-1815* (Aldershot, Hants, UK, 1998), 22-23.

received, 1s 9½d.¹¹ H.M.S. *Victory* lost fifty-seven men at Trafalgar. Of these, forty-one men had their clothes "sold at the mast." Thirty-five year old Andrew Sack, Yeoman of the sheets, died early in the action. His clothes were subsequently sold to eleven different men. The purser's clerk's entries in the ship's muster book indicate not only the extravagant prices paid for the items, but also the large amount of clothing owned by one man:

348 Willaim Terrant: One Chest. 1/6d
 713 Thomas Pickering: Jacket, waistcoat, 2 shirts and frock. £1.10s.0d
 89 Robert Shadd: Jacket, waistcoat, trousers and five shirts. £2.5s.0d
 426 John Appleby: Three pairs of trousers, frock and shirt. £1.10s.0d
 385 George Aunger: Three pairs of trousers, hankerchief, shirt, 2 pairs socks. £1.3s.0d
 105 James McDonald: Two pairs of trousers, 3 frocks, 1 hankerchief. 18/-
 412 George Prescott: One pair of boots. £1.2s.0d
 262 William Welsh: Four pairs of stockings, hankerchief and shoes. £1.0s.0d
 590 Thomas Dennison: 2 frocks, 1 waistcoat, 1 shoes. £1.5s.0d
 191 John Thomas (1). One shirt, 1 shoes and 1 frock. £1.0s.0d
 485 David Smith: 1 shoes and hankerchief. 10s. 6d¹²

Seaman Sack thus owned (including what he presumably had on when thrown overboard) ten pairs of trousers, eleven shirts, eight frocks, and five pairs of shoes.

Men with money in their pockets could turn to other sources for their clothing. This was especially true of merchant seamen, who seem to have usually purchased their kit from dockside shops. In 1806, before Ned Myers joined his first ship (the *Sterling* of New York), the captain "took [him] to a slop-shop, and [he] was rigged like a sailor."¹³

¹¹"Account of clothes &c. sold at the mast of His Majesty's ship *Gloucester*, belonging to James Bearcroft, Gunner, D.D., the fourteenth day of March 1750," in John Knox Laughton, ed., *The Naval Miscellany*, vol. II (London, 1912), 289-291.

¹²John D. Clarke, *The Men of H.M.S. Victory at Trafalgar* (Eastbourne, UK, 1999), 16-17. The prices paid should be compared with the list price of items held in the purser's stores: Jackets 7s.2d., Shirts 4s.7d., Shoes 6s.0d., Stockings 2s.3d., Duck trousers 3s.0d., Duck frocks 4s.8d., Woolen trousers 4s.0d., Flannel jackets 3s.2d., Hats 3s.2d.

¹³Ned Myers, *Ned Myers; or, A Life Before the Mast*, James Fenimore Cooper, ed. (1843; reprint ed., Annapolis, Md., 1989), 21.

These "slop shops" were a common feature on the waterfronts of major ports. In 1777, Joseph Adams advertised for sale "at his store on the Docks....Slops of all sorts."¹⁴

Catering specifically to sailors, they stocked a wide variety of clothing for all climates. A 1791 advertisement for a Portsmouth "Sea-Draper" described some very salty-sounding items for sale:

Sailors rigged complete from stern to stern, viz., chapeau, mapeau, flying-job and flesh-bag; inner pea, outer pea, and cold defender; rudder-case, and service to the same, up-haulers, down traders, fore-shoes, lacings, gaskets, etc.¹⁵

In 1800, Boston slop shops were located on Fish and Ann (now North) Streets. In New York, slop shops clustered on Water and Front Streets, later moving to Cherry Street and Maiden Lane. In Philadelphia, they were found on Front Street, and on Calvert and Water Streets in Baltimore.¹⁶ Other merchant seamen purchased clothing directly from the manufacturer, or commissioned a tailor to produce garments. Samuel Kelly "ordered a guinea hat" from a Cornish hatter. Later, he employed a "tailor to make me some clothes."¹⁷

Since he was a jack-of-all-trades, the sailor could usually wield a needle with some dexterity. This skill served him well, as it was common for the crew of a warship to be issued with cloth in lieu of ready-made garments. In a ship with a large company, drawn from all walks of life, it was inevitable that there would be several ex-tailors

¹⁴ *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* (New York), 20 Jan. 1777.

¹⁵ Quoted in Lincoln, *Representing the Royal Navy*, 11. A similar shop sign was said to have come from the shop of one Bromby, a sea draper of Kingston upon Hull, but its authenticity has been questioned (as might this one be). "Queries, no. 2," *The Mariner's Mirror*, 89, 1 (2003), 97.

¹⁶ Harry A. Cobrin, *The Men's Clothing Industry, Colonial Through Modern Times* (New York, 1970), 19.

¹⁷ Samuel Kelly, *Samuel Kelly, An Eighteenth Century Seaman, Whose days have been few and*

Edward Mangin, chaplain aboard H.M.S. *Gloucester* in 1812, described one old seaman, "whose occupations were manifold...his duty now consisted in sweeping our deck, and opening and shutting the stern-ports; while to these functions he added the craft of a tailor, which he exercised, seated under the thirty-two pounder, outside my cabin; carving trousers, and sewing on horn buttons, to the tune of 'Death and the lady'".²² Captain Boteler breezily described the scene aboard his ship when fabric was served to the men:

As soon as the weather permitted, we beat to division; mustering the men; taking down the different stores wanted; - 'Well, sir, twelve yards duck, thread and needles in course, three or six lbs. tobacco, soap, and a black silk handkerchief.' A brass nail at three or six yards driven into the deck, as a guide for measuring; and before the retreat was drummed, 'Hear the news, fore and aft, by next muster day everyone will be expected to appear in a frock and trowsers.' You would see fellows run to the galley fire, burn a stick, down on the deck, spread out their duck, dot off the shape, and commence the work at once. Others, unable to do this, would give their grog to those more expert: and the consequence was, at the end of the week, there were not above fifty, or so many defaulters. The same thing with straw hats. Every bumboat attending the ship was expected to bring off a bundle of the peculiar grass used for that purpose, so much to each man at a very moderate price, and soon you would see the men at their sinnet and in a very short time with first-rate hats.²³

Young Robert Hay was fortunate to have fallen under the care of seaman Jack Gilles for whom "the cutting out and making of jackets, shirts, and trousers, the washing of them when soiled, and the mending of them neatly when they began to fail, took precedence. The making of straw hats and canvas pumps came next in order."²⁴ As another commentator added, "a right good seaman will have a whole jacket," even if he must, "lace it over the seams, with bits of old sails, by the help of a sail-needle and

Five Naval Journals 1789-1817 (London, 1951), 257.

²² Edward Mangin, "Some Account of the Writer's Situation as Chaplain in the British Navy," in H.G. Thursfield, ed., *Five Naval Journals 1789-1817* (London, 1951), 31.

²³ Boteler, *Recollections of My Sea Life*, 58.

packthread."²⁵

What sailors produced during "make and mend" session often displayed a great deal of individual taste, if not a distinctive sense of style. Seamen practiced embroidery with great relish, often decorating large swaths of their clothing with flowers or nautical motifs. So great was the urge to create a distinctive style that the men often altered their ready-made slops to conform to the beau-ideal of a sailor. Jeffery Raigersfield, a midshipman on H.M.S. *Mediator*, speaks of the crew altering issue clothing: "these slops consisted of duck frocks and trousers, which the sailors altered to a kind of uniform, which the captain chose to establish for the ship, and the watch off deck were employed at this every day, from nine to half past eleven, upon the quarterdeck, so that these alterations took up some time."²⁶

Apparently, purser-issued clothing exhibited a distinct cut which seamen immediately recognized. After Robert Hay deserted from his ship in 1803,

I immediately commenced looking for a Situation in some merchant ship...A greater bar than my timidity prevented me from obtaining employment, and this was that I was dressed in a purser's garb by which I was at one glance recognised [sic] as belonging to a ship of war...A merchant captain in fact would no more have ventured to take me aboard than he would have taken a hand spike with a broad "aar" on it, a bolt of canvas with a waved strip of green paint, or hawser with the rogue's yarn.²⁷

One wonders if merchant captains were really so discriminating.

A large number of young sailors received their first set of clothing from the

²⁴ Hay, *Landsman Hay*, 71.

²⁵ Jonas Hanway, quoted in Phillis Cunningham and Catherine Lucas, *Charity Costumes of Children, Scholars, Almsfolk, Pensioners* (New York, 1978), 199.

²⁶ Quoted in Pope, *Life in Nelson's Navy*, 163.

²⁷ Hay, *Landsman Hay*, 56-57.

Marine Society. Founded in 1756 by Jonas Hanway (better known for his involvement with the English umbrella industry), this charitable foundation took it upon itself to feed, cloth, and educate runaway, orphaned, illegitimate, or otherwise unwanted boys from the towns, and then sent them to sea on warships (or merchant vessels in peacetime).²⁸

Another role of the Marine Society was to provide landsmen volunteers with suitable clothing. The clothing issued to men and boys included the following:

Men	Boys
One felt seaman's hat	One felt hat
One kersey pea jacket	One worsted cap
One kersey waistcoat with a slashed sleeve ²⁹	One kersey pea jacket
One kersey drawers	One kersey pair of breeches
One pair of drab breeches	One striped flannel or kersey waistcoat
One pair of worsted hose	One pair of trousers
One pair of yarn hose	Two pair of hose
Two shirts	Two pair of shoes
Two worsted caps	Two handkerchiefs
One pair of shoes	Three shirts
One pair of buckles	A pair of buckles and buttons
A pair of buttons	
One pair of thin trousers	

In June 1757, the Society paid over one thousand pounds for cloth alone, and a separate bill for dyeing.³⁰ One member explained that, "to make the most of the money," the Society was careful to buy only Yorkshire made kerseys, "which being wetted and milled on the spot...will last twice as long, and resist weather four times as much" as other cloth. Also, the woolen clothing was to be "brown, instead of blue, the former being found the most durable colour, and such Jackets cost ten *per Cent.* cheaper than *blue*, on account of

²⁸ Laffin, *Jack Tar*, 34-35.

²⁹ This probably refers to a vent at the cuff.

³⁰ Cunningham and Lucas, *Charity Costumes*, 199.

the excessive price of *Indigo*; but this is alterable at pleasure."³¹ The following year, the price of indigo evidently dropped, for the color was "now fixed to a dark blue, dyed with true indigo; which color stands the weather."³² In 1758, Hanway published a list of prices paid for men's slops in 1756:

	£	s	d
1 Dutch cap	1	2	
2 Worsted Ditto		8	
3 Linen Handkerchiefs	1	6	
2 Striped Flannel Wastcoats	3	0	
1 Kersey Pee-Jacket	4	0	
2 pair of Russia Drab [breeches]	2	10	
1 Settee Wastcoat	5	0	
2 Pr of Petticoat Duck [trousers]	4	0	
2 Canvas or Hessian Frocks	3	4	

Obviously, the items actually issued did not correspond to those laid out in the original list.³³

At its inception, the Marine Society clothed the boys as soon as they were accepted, but since this practice encouraged desertion (once they received their new clothes, they could sell them and use the proceeds to run away), the Society was compelled to wait until the recruits were onboard their respective ships before issuing clothing. Even with this minor problem, the Marine Society provided the Royal Navy with 10,625 men and boys during the Seven Year's War, and 23,000 during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Therefore, there was always a proportion of men in

³¹ "A Letter from a Member of the Marine Society, London, 1757," quoted in Albert W. Haarmann and Eric I. Manders, "American And British Seaman's Dress During the French and Indian War, 1755-1763," *Military Collector and Historian*, 31, 4 (1979), 162. Kersey was a coarse narrow cloth, woven from long strands of wool, and often ribbed.

³² Cunningham and Lucas, *Charity Costumes*, 199.

³³ *Ibid.*, 200.

the fleet clothed in Society garments.³⁴

With several sources of clothing available to seamen at any given time, one would think they would be well-clothed. Yet large numbers of regulations, orders, and recommendations concerning their men's clothing poured from the pens of officers and surgeons. Most of these regulations were put forward for health reasons; dirty men, it was rightly believed, invited disease aboard ship, and so the men and their clothing had to be regularly scrubbed and properly dried.³⁵ Naval regulations stipulated that the "Captain is to be particularly attentive to the cleanliness of the men, who are to be directed to wash themselves frequently and to change their linen twice every week." Many captain's orders were quite strict in this regard, threatening punishment to any defaulters.³⁶

Officers were also admonished to make sure seamen had the proper quality and number of garments. Edward Riou was very adamant about this, going so far as to define exactly what each man should have in his kit:

³⁴ Rodgers, *The Wooden World*, 162; Laffin, *Jack Tar*, 35.

³⁵ In his orders, one captain commented on the importance of cleanliness in one unintentionally humorous passage: "It is no uncommon a thing for the most *unhealthy, decayed and dirty* ships - ships never clean, never wholesome, to be constantly washing and scraping, from no other cause than that whilst one half of the ship's company are washing and scraping in one place or on one deck, the other half are making dirt in another place or another deck. Such ships reflect disgrace upon every person belonging to them and produce sickness, dangers and difficulties unknown to a clean, healthy and well disciplined ship's company. Therefore it is repeated - Avoid making dirt." "Instructions and standing Orders for the General Government and discipline of His Majesty's Ship Amazon, By Edward Riou, esq, Captain of the said ship, October 1799," in Lavery, *Shipboard Life*, 165.

³⁶ "Regulations and Instructions, Section V, article VII," "Instructions and standing Orders... By Edward Riou," and "General orders to be observed on board His Majesty's ship *Indefatigable*, John Fyffe Captain, 8 August 1812," in Lavery, *Shipboard Life*, 54, 162, 185. Such strictness was the source of many complaints. The crew of HMS *Proserpine* drew up a list of grievances, the second of which was, "in regard of mustering clothes clean is our next complaint and a small quantity of a gallon water once per fortnight to complete the same. If not clean, stoppage of grog or other punishment would ensue." "Grievance of His Majesty's Ship *Proserpine's* company, 30th May 1797," in *Ibid.*, 426.

The following is a list of such clothing in order to produce uniformity and neatness of dress, as is directed to be worn. Climate and season must admit of alteration of more or less woolen clothing, more or less canvas duck, banyans and trousers.

Blue Jacket, outside, with yellow buttons	2
Guernsey waistcoat, blue striped	3
Trousers, white duck, pairs	3
ditto blue cloth, pairs	2
Banyans, white duck	2
Drawers, flannell [sic]	1
Shirts, striped cotton	4
Silk handkerchiefs, black	2
Stockings, worsted, pairs	3
Shoes, pairs	2
Hat, round, small brim	2

Flimsy linen trousers, cloth waistcoats of variegated colours and other trash are only brought on board to catch the eye of and cheat the inexperienced boys.³⁷

It was the lieutenants' duty to examine the clothing of the men in their divisions each month, and report any deficiencies to the captain.

If the captain's chief concern was uniformity, the surgeon's was with the crew's health and comfort. Not only should the men wash their clothes frequently, but they had to have garments appropriate for whatever climate they worked in. Dr. Edward Cutbush, a surgeon aboard U.S.S. *United States*, drafted his recommendations in this department:

Seamen should be furnished with such clothing as will guard them against the effects of a moist atmosphere, which must either be combined with heat or cold, according to the climate they are employed in: a woolen shirt appears to me to be the best calculated for this object; it will prevent the perspiration from being checked suddenly, and an equable degree of temperature will be maintained thereby; in warm climates, where there are heavy dews, they should be obliged to wear their blue roundabout jackets at night; they should have a proper change of woolen shirts. A seaman should have very little in his power with respect to his own dress; they are generally too inattentive to suit their dress to circumstances, unless they are forced to it. It is [a] very common thing to see men with light linen trousers on in ice cold

³⁷ "Instructions and standing Orders or the General Government and discipline of His Majesty's Ship Amazon," in *Ibid.*, 164. It is interesting to note that of all the articles enumerated, the men were to have only one pair of drawers, the very garments one would expect they should change most often.

weather, and thick woolen ones in summer. To prevent this a *uniform* should be established for summer and winter.³⁸

Of course, the U.S. Navy did not prescribe an official uniform until 1841, but then adopted (perhaps unwittingly) many of Dr. Cutbush's sensible recommendations.

Naval officers were fond of legislating their men's wardrobes, but they often neglected to provide adequate storage space for such a large number of articles. Where, after all, in the confines of a ship's forecabin or berth deck, could a man stow his multiple jackets, waistcoats, and trousers? It was common practice for men to keep the clothes they needed in their hammocks, or in seabags hung along side. Chests were frowned upon for the space they occupied, and one captain went so far as to order that, "if [chests] are found dirty they are to be immediately stove."³⁹ The lack of personal space caused hardship among the men. Melville comments on what he considered tyrannical regulations aboard an American frigate:

Your clothes are stowed in a large canvas bag, generally painted black, which you can get out of the 'rack' only once in the twenty-four hours; and then, during a time of the utmost confusion; among five hundred other bags, with five hundred other sailors diving into each, in the midst of the twilight of the berth-deck. In some measure to obviate the inconvenience, many sailors divide their wardrobes between their hammocks and their bags; stowing a few frocks and trousers in the former; so that they can shift at night, if they wish, when the hammocks are piped down.⁴⁰

Some officers, however, recognized the problem and sought to amend the regulations.

One British officer recommended the following:

³⁸ Scott S. Sheads, "Dr. Edward Cutbush, U.S.N., A Prescription for Seamen's Naval Dress, 1808," *Military Collector and Historian*, 37,3 (1985), 137.

³⁹ "General orders to be observed on board His Majesty's ship *Indefatigable*," in Lavery, *Shipboard Life*, 187.

⁴⁰ Melville, *White Jacket*, 43.

Upon each of the seaman's chests the person or persons' names whose clothes it contains may with propriety be marked and this regularity will be attended with the advantage of dispatch. But besides the chests, each private man should certainly be provided with a canvas bag, large enough to contain two jackets, one pair of breeches, one pair of trousers, four shirts, four pairs of stockings and a pair of shoes; which bag, with its contents, is always to be kept in the hammock of the person to whom it belongs. Nor might the difficulty of procuring these bags for the seamen be great had the captains in the Navy agreed upon the propriety of requesting that they might be supplied. By some officers such bags as are here recommended have been deemed sufficient for containing the whole of the seaman's clothes and they have accordingly permitted no chests for the private men to be kept on board the ship. But as some of the best and most respectable seamen may happen to be possessed of more clothes than can be contained or safely deposited in a bag, the hardship of a conduct which obliges them to divest themselves of what they may reckon necessary and which savours so much of an arbitrary proceeding must have an effect the direct contrary of what hath been uniformly inculcated in the course of these pages.⁴¹

Merchant seamen enjoyed more latitude when it came to their wardrobes, and the sea chest was their primary asset.

Orders, regulations, and recommendations aside, seamen of the period wore a great diversity of clothing. As will become apparent, however, the requirements of the sea service ensured that many garments remained fairly standardized during the entire period. Let us now examine each article in detail.

Hats and Caps

The hat at its most basic protects the head from sun and rain. But it has also been, since at least the fifteenth century, a fashion statement, capable of identifying a man's political and social sensibilities. Hats served sailors in both these capacities. Yet unlike civilian hats, those of the sailor had to be adapted to his working environment. Wind,

⁴¹ Phillip Patton, "Strictures on the Discipline and the Conduct of a Ship of War, intended to produce a uniformity of opinion among sea officers," in Lavery, *Shipboard Life*, 630-631.

rain, and salt spray are great enemies of hats, especially those made of felt. The sailor generally modified his hat by trimming the brim to reduce its wind-catching surface area and by attaching a lanyard that could be tied beneath the chin.

Sailor's head-gear roughly paralleled fashions in civilian hats between 1750 and 1820. This time span saw three distinct hat types wax and wane in popularity – the cocked hat, the round hat, and the high hat. Although all three types were worn simultaneously during this period, each experienced a period of greatest popularity. Thus, the cocked hat (what the nineteenth century would call the "tricorn") was the sailor's hat of choice from the early eighteenth century to about 1775 or 1780. The round hat gained in popularity from 1780 until superseded by the more fashionable high hat (also called a topper or top hat) about 1810. These dates are suggested primarily by dated pictorial representations, and should in no way be considered absolutes. As is always the case, young men will adopt a prevailing fashion long before their elders, who usually adhere to the fashions of their youth, however outdated they might seem to younger eyes.

The term "cocked" refers to the practice of turning a hat's brim upward, so that its upper edge touches the crown. About the middle of the seventeenth century, fashionable men took to turning up the back brim of their hats, a style dubbed the "Monmouth" cock. By 1690, hats were worn with three cocks (or leaves as they were called), which formed the familiar triangular shape.⁴² The style was worn through most of the eighteenth century, and sailors wore it like everyone else. Yet, the cocked hat is remarkably ill suited for sea. Its up-turned brim affords little protection from sun or rain; in fact, rain

tends to collect in the brim and run off onto the wearer's shoulders. This problem was somewhat ameliorated with a lacing or cord by which the brims of some hats were cocked; by loosening the lacing, the brim could be folded back down. It seems many sailors tried to lessen the cocked hat's catch-basin effect by adopting the so-called "Nivernois" style popular during the 1760's. The men rolled the deep brims so that the edges nearly touched in the middle of the crown, providing a semi-waterproof canopy over their heads. In 1762, the *London Chronicle* reported that "sailors wore the sides of their hats uniformly tacked down to the crown, and looked as if they carried a triangular apple pasty [sic] upon their heads."⁴³

A quick perusal of *Virginia Gazette* runaway advertisements reveals that seamen commonly wore cocked hats into the 1770's. David Ashbill and William Ferrell, who ran away in 1751 and 1752 respectively, both wore "cock'd" hats. A servant who ran from John Lane's estate in 1751 wore "a Sailor's Hat bound round the Brim with [Oznabrig] and cock'd up with Twine." Barnaby Allay "had on when he went away...an old Hat cock'd up with three corners."⁴⁴ Two French servant men, run from the snow *Charming Sally* at New York, "both wore their hats cocked *Alamode*, and were formerly in the *French* service."⁴⁵ Peter Robb, who had "much the Appearance of a Sailor," wore his "Hat cocked very sharp." As late as 1775, a runaway convict who "wanted to engage as a Sailor" had on "a small Hat, the Crown of which is sewed in with brown Thread, and

⁴² Fiona Clark, *Hats* (New York, 1982), 12.

⁴³ Quoted in Dickens, *The Dress of the British Sailor*, 5.

⁴⁴ *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), 2 May 1751, 8 Aug. 1751, 18 June 1752, 7 Nov. 1754.

⁴⁵ *New York Mercury* (New York), 7 Oct. 1754.

cocked two Ways.”⁴⁶

Period illustrations support such descriptions. In figure 1, the sailor wears the “apple pasty” hat style. The extremely narrow brim has been rolled so that the outer edge makes contact with the crown. The sailor in figure 4 wears the same hat, and we get a better view of the brim’s roll (figure 4 was published as a companion to figure 1, and so probably represents the same hat). Figure 17, dated to 1744, depicts a seaman with a similar hat with a slightly wider brim. These men all wear their hats with the forward point over the left eye, which must have been a fashionable affectation of the time. In figure 18, dated to 1773, the two seamen also wear small cocked hats; the man on the left sports a cockade. The amorous sailor in a 1781 print (fig. 19) wears a hat cocked in the late eighteenth-century style, the brim of which is bound with white tape. White lacing, probably sewn to the crown and looped over a button, secures a white cockade to the brim.⁴⁷

Despite its persistence in art, the cocked hat seems to have fallen out of favor with sailors by 1780 (although the process had started at least two decades before). Hereafter, until the first decade of the nineteenth century, the round hat was the seaman’s favored headgear. The round hat, as its name suggests, is simply a *round hat*, usually with a round crown (when made of felt) and narrow brim. The earliest sailors’ round hats were probably created by unlacing cocked hats, turning the brim down and then trimming it. A 1769 runaway advertisement notes that a man had on “a small cropped hat,” which may

⁴⁶ *Virginia Gazette*, 26 Aug. 1773, 10 June 1775.

⁴⁷ Klinger, *Sketch Book* 76, 1-2.

have been a cut-down cocked hat.⁴⁸ A 1774 sketch by Gabriel Bray (fig. 20) depicts a sailor wearing a hat that, based on the curl of its brim, was probably cut down from a cocked style. When the Continental Marine Committee placed an order with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs for naval clothing in 1779, the shipment was to include "2800 felt Hats small Brim'd & Round."⁴⁹ By the 1780's, men could purchase round hats directly from hatters, without having to modify cocked hats.

The round hat may be characterized by the material from which it is constructed and by its decorative elements. Thus, these hats were made of wool or fur felt, canvas, straw, or leather, and could be decorated with ribbons around the crown, bows, or brim binding. Fur felt had long been the standard for hat construction, beaver felt being the most prized. Yet the cost of procuring beaver pelts from the New World and the labor intensive manufacturing process ensured that a beaver hat was a coveted and expensive commodity. Briefly stated, the felting process carried out by the furrier involved four basic steps. After debris and the coarse "guard" hairs were removed from the pelt, the craftsman brushed it with a mercury nitrate solution which raised the scales on the individual shafts of fur, thereby ensuring they would lock firmly together. Cut from the skin, the fur was spread over a special bench called a "hurdle." The craftsman, using a violin bow-like tool, spread the fibers evenly into a thick mat called a "batt." Multiple batts were compressed, or "planked," to form a hood of dense felt. These hoods were

⁴⁸ *Virginia Gazette*, 18 May 1769.

⁴⁹ Marko Zlatich, "Clothing to be Imported for the Continental Navy and Marines, 1779," *Military Collector and Historian* 52, 2 (2000), 77.

dyed, shellacked, and sent to the hatter for styling.⁵⁰

A cheaper alternative was wool, which could be obtained and felted locally, thereby reducing the cost. Wool hats were not as durable or waterproof as beavers, but their relative cheapness recommended them to laborers and seamen alike. Especially popular was a lightweight felt of coney and merino sheep wool called caudebec or cordie.⁵¹

Perhaps more common was the sail canvas "tarpaulin," which became *the* mark of the deep-sea sailor in the late eighteenth century. Stitched by the men themselves from sailmaker's scraps or purser-issued cloth, these hats were generally tarred or painted and then varnished to render them waterproof and give them a glossy shine. Samuel Leech, for example, spoke of his crews' "black, glossy hats, ornamented with black ribbons, and with the name of our ship painted on them."⁵² Thus finished, they proved exceptionally durable. After the schooner *Scourge* sank in 1813, Ned Myers ordered his messmate "to take his tarpaulin, and to bail the boat, which, by this time, was a third full of water."⁵³

Numerous sources refer to the straw hats worn by sailors. As Captain Boteler wrote about the sailor's penchant for plaiting hats: "Every bumboat attending the ship was expected to bring off a bundle of the peculiar grass used for that purpose, so much to each man at a very moderate price, and soon you would see the men at their sinnet and in

⁵⁰ Clark, *Hats*, 84; David Corner, "The Tyranny of Fashion: The Case of the Felt-Hatting Trade in the Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Textile History*, 22,2 (1991), 153-157.

⁵¹ Corner, "The Tyranny of Fashion," 157.

⁵² Samuel Leech, *A Voice from the Main Deck*, 80.

⁵³ Myers, *Ned Myers*, 86.

a very short time with first-rate hats.”⁵⁴ Robert Hay maintained that “an elegant hat of straw” was “indicative of [the sailor’s] recent return from a foreign station.”⁵⁵ Aboard the frigate *Unité*, in the summer of 1808, the men wore straw hats for Sunday muster.⁵⁶ Apparently wide brimmed straw hats were also worn, but probably only on shore (fig. 21). Seaman often waterproofed their straw hats, just as they did those of canvas. One officer called such headgear “the marine Mambrino helmet,” so hard as to turn cutlass blows.⁵⁷ Many black hats in period illustrations may in fact represent straw hats thus treated. Some men also wore hats “made of glazed leather,” which were presumably fashioned like a tarpaulin.⁵⁸

Sailors individualized their hats by adding different decorative devices. In the 1770s, it was common for round hats to be “trimmed round the brim, and...bound with ferret [a coarse woolen tape].” In 1770, Thomas Bentley wore “a sailor’s hat, bound with black worsted ferret” when he ran away. Another sailor had on “a new Felt Hat bound round with red Ferret, and a Band of the same.” John Osborn’s round hat, however, was “bound with Osnabrugs.” Ribbons of various shades were also popular. Englishman John Booker wore a hat “with an old broad red ribband tied round the crown.” George Allen “had on when he went away...a small round hat with a black ribband and buckle.” Interestingly, one man had “a Felt Hat painted red on the Crown.”⁵⁹ Samuel Leech wrote

⁵⁴ Boteler, *Recollections*, 58.

⁵⁵ Hay, *Landsman Hay*, 190.

⁵⁶ Wilson, “Remarks on Board His Majesty’s Ship *Unite*,” 237.

⁵⁷ Quoted in Haythornthwaite and Younghusband, *Nelson’s Navy*, 59.

⁵⁸ Anonymous, “Diary Kept on Board HMS *Gibraltar*, 1811,” in Lavery, *Shipboard Life*, 462.

⁵⁹ *Virginia Gazette*, 8 Nov. 1770, 16 Aug. 1770, 8 July 1773, 1 Oct. 1772, 12 July 1770, 12 May 1774, 18 Feb. 1773.

that in 1812, H.M.S. *Macedonian*'s crew wore "black, glossy hats, ornamented with black ribbons, and with the name of our ship painted on them."⁶⁰

Period illustrations contain hats decorated in various ways. Figures 22, 23, 24, and 25 depict sailors in round hats, the brims of which are bound with light-colored tape. The crowns are likewise ornamented with a large bow (of silk perhaps). In figure 26, dated 1785, the off-duty men of the *Edgar* wear hats bearing the ship's name painted in black on a white field.

By the first decade of the nineteenth century, the high hat or topper dominated men's head-gear.⁶¹ Sailors quickly adopted this civilian fashion and the hats frequently appear in period illustrations. The hats, as their name suggests, had a high crown, up to seven inches in some cases, while their brims were invariably narrow and curled. As the ecstatic sailor in figure 27 demonstrates, men often wore the hat on the back of the head. By 1810, the high hat had virtually replaced all other felt hat types. In Cruikshank's humorous drawing "Paying Off" (fig. 28), only two seamen wear the distinctive hat style. Yet in a cartoon by Thomas Tegg, every seaman wears one (fig. 29). J.A. Atkinson's famous engraving "Heaving the Lead" suggests that the high hat could be woven of sennet or straw as well (fig. 30).

While felt hats may have been considered fashionable, suitable for sunny days and runs ashore, the working seaman invariably wore a knit woolen cap. Such a head covering would not blow off in gusty weather and kept the head warm when temperatures

⁶⁰ Leech, *A Voice from the Main Deck*, 80.

⁶¹ Clark, *Hats*, 28-39.

fell (although some men wore them in summer as well as winter). The most common cap was called a Monmouth (or Monmoth) cap, after the town in Wales where it had been produced since at least the fifteenth century.⁶² Similar in design to modern naval watch caps, Monmouth caps were knit of two-ply wool in a satinette or stocking stitch, then fulled to make a dense, warm head-covering. They occasionally appear in period illustrations (fig. 16), but other sources indicate that many sailors wore such caps regularly. Run-away and deserter advertisements are again valuable in this regard. When a "Mulatto man slave named Sam" ran away from the sloop *Tryall*, he wore "a milled double yarn Cap, of two colors," which must refer to the practice of knitting with two strands of yarn on one needle. Another run-away slave dressed in sailor's clothing wore "a red Worsted Cap" as did an Irish servant.⁶³ Seaman George Horn wore a "red Cap" and his messmate Thomas Jameson a "blue mill'd Cap," when they absconded from the privateer *St. George* at New York.⁶⁴

Another sort of cap that appears in advertisement descriptions is a Dutch cap. It is not clear, however, what this looked like. It may have been a knit cap with a fairly high crown and a brim. According to Daniel Defoe, Monmouth caps were "sold chiefly to Dutch seamen," and apparently were imported into the Low Countries in great numbers. A hat bought by Peter the Great while working the Dutch East India Shipyards in 1697 displays the characteristics described above- it resembles a beaver hat of the period but is

⁶² Kirstie Buckland, "The Monmouth Cap," *Costume* 13 (1979).

⁶³ *Virginia Gazette*, 2 May 1751, 7 Mar. 1771, 29 April 1773.

⁶⁴ *New York Mercury*, 12 Feb 1759. The term "milled" is somewhat confusing. Were these knit caps that had been fulled, or were they sewn of woolen cloth? See John U. Rees, "Continental Soldiers' Milled Wool Caps, 1778," *The Brigade Dispatch: The Journal of the Brigade of the American Revolution*

entirely knit.⁶⁵ Interestingly, two almost identical hats from the eighteenth century have recently come to light. One, the so-called Kravic, hat was dredged from the mud of New York Harbor (did it belong to a Dutchman?).⁶⁶ The second came from the H.M.S. *Debraak* sunk in 1798 (which, incidentally, had been taken from the Dutch two years earlier).⁶⁷ Both have a round crown and a narrow brim, and are completely knit. The Kravic hat was originally tarred. That such was usually the case is substantiated by Jonas Hanaway, who remarked that "Dutch caps of woolen stuff wove, though thick imbibe much water unless it be pitched...hats of long hair in a short brim, to turn the water, may do better."⁶⁸ At any rate, the Dutch cap makes an appearance in period runaway advertisements. In 1773, 45 year old ship's carpenter Thomas Glass ran from the ship *Chance* wearing "a round Dutch Cap." John Kennedy, an Irish servant man from the ship *Catherine* also wore a "Dutch cap."⁶⁹

Certain seamen also wore a number of other distinctive caps. A perennial favorite was the thrum cap, worn by English sailors since the sixteenth century. Cylindrical in shape, the cap had a particularly shaggy surface due to the weaving of thrums, or loose woolen strands, through its stitches. This arrangement provided a warm, water-repellant head covering. The thrum declined in popularity by the late-eighteenth century, but was retained as a mark of office by ship's carpenters. In fact, in Rowlandson's famous ship's

30,4 (2000),17.

⁶⁵ Buckland, "Monmouth Cap," 29.

⁶⁶ George C. Neumann and Frank J. Kravic, *Collector's Illustrated Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (Texarkana, Tex., 1975), 138.

⁶⁷ Donald Shomette, *The Hunt for HMS DeBraak, Legend and Legacy* (Durham, N.C., 1993), 147. David Beard, however, believes the ship to have been British-built.

⁶⁸ Cunningham and Lucas, *Charity Costumes*, 203.

carpenter study, the subject wears such a cap (fig. 31).⁷⁰

The Scotch cap or bonnet also made its appearance aboard ship. Worn by ethnic Scots (fig. 32) as well as others, the round cap was either knit or sewn of heavily felted wool. Samuel Kelly seems to have owned nothing but a Scotch cap. During a passage to New York in 1783, "My head was covered with a blue Highland worsted bonnet which had no rim to keep the hail from my face, therefore it was fully exposed to all weathers." He suffered from the opposite problem while in Florida: "This being a hot country bordering on the Torrid Zone and by my wearing a Highland bonnet, my face was much exposed to the rays of the sun, which made it turn nearly to the colour of an Indian."⁷¹ When Robert Hay volunteered for the navy in 1803, his father brought him "a fancy brab sky-scraper from the Spanish Main to circumscribe my brow instead of the chequered produce of Kilmarnock" (referring to the Scotch cap's diced band).⁷² After Ned Myers fell into the hands of the British in 1813, he acquired "an old slouched hat, that I had got in exchange for a Scotch cap that had been given to me in the *Julia*."⁷³ Thirteen year old Charles McDaniel, servant to a Long Island boatman, "wore a Scotch Bonnet" when he ran away in 1762.⁷⁴ The man on the inboard end of the yard in figure 33 wears a light blue Scotch cap with a diced band. Indeed, this image provides a review of several cap and hat types. Two men wear Monmouth caps, two tarpaulin hats, and one a straw hat (it also demonstrates why brimmed hats were a liability at sea).

⁶⁹ *Virginia Gazette*, 12 Aug. 1773, 23 Feb. 1775.

⁷⁰ Haythornthwaite and Youngusband, *Nelson's Navy*, 58.

⁷¹ Kelly, *Samuel Kelly*, 97, 103.

⁷² Hay, *Landsman Hay*, 37.

⁷³ Myers, *Ned Myers*, 102.

Some British sailors also wore cloth or leather fatigue caps similar to those worn by soldiers and marines. Crescent-shaped, the hats were always worn fore-and-aft. They could also be folded and stored flat, an asset for a sailor with only a chest or sea bag in which to store his belongings. Figure 10 contains the best view of such a hat. The sailor in the left foreground as well as one atop the coach wears the fatigue cap. In figure 34, the sailor on the right wears a more conventional cap, exactly like those worn by the military. Finally, the sailor seated on the right in figure 35 wears a variation on the fatigue cap. This version has a sort of woolen or fur crest. Yet it too clearly folds in the middle. These hats should be compared to those worn by the army in drawings by Pyne and St. Clair.⁷⁵

Strictly speaking, hair styles are not wearing apparel, but they do complete the image of the sailor. Seaman often wore their own hair long, tied in a pigtail or queue. Indeed, the mark of the true man-of-war's man was a long plaited queue. The men usually braided it with four strands, and then wrapped it with ribbon, marline, or a pickled eel skin.⁷⁶ The seamen in figure 25 and 35 wear queues bound with ribbon. While such a hair style may have been the ideal, run away advertisements reveal that many men wore their hair cropped short. More surprising is the prevalence of wigs among seafarers.⁷⁷ Worn by many eighteenth-century civilians, the wig must have been impractical at sea.

⁷⁴ *New York Gazette*, 16 Aug. 1762.

⁷⁵ Bryan Fosten, *Wellington's Infantry*(2) (London, 1990), 26, 28, 32.

⁷⁶ C. Keith Wilbur, *Pirates and Patriots of the Revolution* (Chester, Conn., 1984), 32.

⁷⁷ Especially common was the so-called "buckled wig." Despite the name, the wig was not worn with a strap and metal buckle. The term comes from the French *boucle*, denoting rolled side curls. C. Willett Cunningham and Phillis Cunningham, *Handbook of English Costume in the Eighteenth Century* (Boston, 1972), 245.

While wearing a wig may have decreased vermin, one imagines they would have fallen off or swiveled around while laying aloft. This may also explain why so many sailors wore knit caps--they would keep shaved heads warm. One ex-sailor, George Eaton, wore "his own hair which is short and fair, and sometimes wears a false curl, which a stranger would not know from his hair, being exactly the same colour."⁷⁸ By the nineteenth century, many seamen sported the popular "Brutus crop," with the hair cut short and brushed forward in the classical style (figs. 36, 37).

Shirts

Throughout the period, men's shirts were worn as underwear.⁷⁹ One never appeared in public in one's shirtsleeves, except perhaps while working, and even then a waistcoat was deemed essential. This taboo held for laborers as well as the genteel classes. Indeed, very few period images depict seamen, or anyone else, without a jacket or waistcoat, and only then when lounging about. Part of the reason for this was practical, of course; a sea breeze is always cool, even in the summer. Thin linen is not a very good insulator.

The basic shirt remained the same throughout the period, with only slight alterations of cuff width and collar height. Shirts were composed of squares and rectangles, a construction method that wasted the least amount of expensive textiles. The body was generally cut from one long piece of fabric folded in the middle and sewn up the selvages. A T-shaped slit in the front formed the head and neck opening. Triangular

⁷⁸ *Virginia Gazette*, 22 Sept. 1768.

⁷⁹ C. Willett and Phillis Cunningham, *The History of Underclothes* (New York, 1992).

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gussets at the neck and armpit ensured a better fit in those regions. The sleeves, cut as large squares, were gathered into the armhole and cuff to form the characteristic drop-shoulder, bloused profile. The shirt reached to the knees, and in an age before drawers were commonly worn, they did duty as underwear as well.⁸⁰ From 1750 to about 1790 shirts had a relatively narrow cuff about one inch wide. After 1790, the cuff widened to about 2 ½ or 3 inches. This was in response to civilian fashion, in which the sleeves of men's coats extended to the knuckles.⁸¹ Seamen never wore neck or wrist ruffles, as they would interfere with their work. Shirts closed at the wrist and throat with wooden, thread (also called Dorset), or mother of pearl buttons.

The fabric of choice for shirts, and indeed the only fabric available for most of the period, was linen. Farmers in America and the British Isles grew flax (*Linum usitatissimum*) extensively in the eighteenth century, and in consequence much linen was produced in both regions. Certain areas of continental Europe also produced large amounts of the fabric. Although linen was always spun from flax, the quality of the cloth varied widely, from fine, bleached holland to coarse, brown tow cloth, oznaburg, dowlas, or ticklenburg.⁸² Seamen likely owned shirts constructed of the coarser sort for wear at sea, reserving expensive, finer linen for their shore clothes.

Linens used for shirts came in only a few colors and patterns. Bleached or natural colored linen was always popular, as were narrow stripes and small checks. Oznaburg (or oznabrig), an inexpensive linen named after Oznabrück, Germany, was especially

⁸⁰ Gilgun, *Tidings from the 18th Century*, 84-89; Wright, *Everyday Dress*, 60-65.

⁸¹ Brown, *Thought on Men's Shirts*, 10-11.

and checks. In figures 28 and 38, seamen wear tattersall check patterned shirts.⁹² In two pictures by Atkinson (figs. 30, 35), seamen's shirts are of the more traditional small check pattern. Narrow red and blue stripes were also popular (figs. 31, 32, 36, 39, and 40). Incidentally, shirt body stripes always ran vertically. Unlike modern striped shirts, the sleeve stripes ran the length of the arm. Although jackets, waistcoats, and handkerchiefs covered most of the shirt, some men decorated the little surface area remaining exposed. In 1813 defector Samuel Leech "adopted that peculiarity of dress practiced by American men-of-war's-men, which consisted in wearing my shirt open at the neck, with the corners thrown back. On these corners a device was wrought, consisting of the stars of the American flag, with the British flag underneath. By these means I hoped to pass for a genuine Yankee, without suspicion, in case we should fall into English hands."⁹³

In cold weather, seamen commonly wore wool flannel shirts next to the skin. As Edward Cutbush maintained, a woolen shirt would "prevent the perspiration from being checked suddenly, and an equable degree of temperature will be maintained thereby."⁹⁴ Many believed in the salubriousness of flannel. As one officer remembered, "we attributed our good health to the captain making every seaman wear a flannel shirt."⁹⁵ A British officer in the steamy Leeward Islands placed his faith in flannel:

When sailors are ordered upon this kind of service with the army, it would be proper, as already hinted, to have a very different species of slops issued to them, consisting chiefly of flannels, which in hot, as well as cold climates, are absolutely necessary. Flannel shirts, as well as drawers, worsted stocking, and strong course[sic] blue jackets, are the only clothing fitted for the nature of their service. I myself wore thick

⁹² The term "tattersall", however, dates to 1904.

⁹³ Leech, *Voice from the Main Deck*, 129.

⁹⁴ Sheads, "Dr. Edward Cutbush, U.S.N.," 137.

⁹⁵ Boteler, *Recollections of My Sea Life*, 51.

flannel in the midst of all the heats, and during the whole campaign on shore, as well as on board, and found that with it I could endure the greatest fatigue. I never found it immoderately hot, nor experienced any inconvenience from the flannel: on the contrary, I am convinced, that I was preserved by it from colds and fevers. Long marches in the heat of the day in a broiling sun never affected me; the flannel prevented the violent perspiration from being checked, and kept it up amidst dews and rains.⁹⁶

Ned Myers may have sworn by flannel as well. Roused from his hammock by a cry of "man overboard," Myers found himself stranded in a boat when his ship sailed out of sight. He was "without hat, shoes, jacket, or trowsers. In a word, I had nothing on me but my drawers and a flannel shirt."⁹⁷

Documents also refer to men wearing cotton shirts. In an 1809 letter to his father, Robert Clover said that he "attracted the notice of the First Lieutenant, who gave me a bed and a pair of blankets, value 24 shillings, and a few days after a new cotton shirt."⁹⁸ A seaman on the U.S.S. *Constitution* also wore a "thin cotton shirt."⁹⁹ But of what material were these shirts actually constructed? Cotton had two meanings in the period. It could refer to fabric from the cotton plant (genus *Gossypium*), or to a sort of heavy woolen textile. For example, Virginia Governor Dinwiddie wrote that "The People in y's Dom's are supplied from G.B. [Great Britain] with all sorts of Woolen Manufacturies

⁹⁶ "Journal of the Proceedings of a Squadron on His Majesty's ships under the Command of Sir John Jervis, K.B., employed in conjunction with a Body of Troops, under the Command of Sir Charles Grey, K.B., to reduce the French Colonies in the Leeward Islands, 1794, and 1795: From the MSS of a naval officer," in *The Naval Chronicle: The Contemporary Record of the Royal Navy at War*, vol. I, edited by Nicholas Tracy (London, 1998), 82.

⁹⁷ Myers, *Ned Myers*, 155.

⁹⁸ "Robert Stafford Clover Letter," in *Five Naval Journals*, 368.

⁹⁹ James Durand, *James Durand, An Able Seaman of 1812*, George Brooks, ed. (New Haven, Conn., 1926), 33.

such as B[roa]d Cloth, Kersey, Duffils, [and] Cottons."¹⁰⁰ Therefore, many "cotton" garments may in fact have been wool.

The frock, another shirt-like garment, appears frequently in the documentary record. But what was meant by this term? Does "frock" refer to the large protective outer-shirt or smock worn by period farmers and laborers, or to the knit Guernsey frock so beloved of contemporary artists? That the frock differed from the shirt is made explicit in *Victory's* muster book entries detailing the auction of Andrew Sack's possessions; clearly shirts and frocks were considered two different garments.¹⁰¹

The first sort of frock was common among farmhands and other laborers in both England and America. Often called a round smock or smock frock, the garments resembled period shirts, but were generally longer and fuller, and constructed of coarser and heavier material. The typical frock required 2 ¼ yards of linen, or on occasion, wool. A 1739 Royal Navy slop contract, which called for "Canvas *Frocks* made of the best Osnaburg Canvas, with 3 buttons at the breast, and 2 at the wrist," stipulated that they should be 40 ½ inches long, 27 inches wide at the waist, and cost 3s. 4d. apiece.¹⁰² By the nineteenth century, these over-garments became increasingly ornamented, often with a multitude of pleats and embroidery down the front.¹⁰³

The frock regularly appears in period documents, especially runaway and deserter advertisements. A "Negroe man named Sam," who ran from the brigantine *Warren* in

¹⁰⁰ Quoted in Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, 113.

¹⁰¹ Clarke, *The Men of H.M.S. Victory*, 16-17.

¹⁰² G.E. Manwaring, "The Dress of British Seamen from the Revolution to the Peace of 1748," *Mariner's Mirror* 10.1 (1924), 44.

¹⁰³ Anne Buck, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York, 1979), 140-142; Merideth

the Shark (fig. 41), do seaman wear a frock-like garment. In Copley's picture, the black seaman's regular shirt can be plainly seen beneath his frock.

Artists may have ignored round-frocks, but they adored the knit Guernsey frock. Similar to the modern pull-over sweater, these frocks were knit of wool, and fit the body closely. Originally worn by Channel Island fishermen, they became increasingly popular among naval seamen at the end of the eighteenth century. The color of choice was blue and white stripes. Numerous illustrations depict the garment (figs. 28, 33, 42), but written documents never specify what is meant by the term "frock."

Handkerchiefs

Seaman, like other laborers, always wore a handkerchief (also called a neckerchief or neckcloth). Unlike the gentleman's carefully starched and knotted cravat, the seaman's neckwear was simply thrown about the shoulders and loosely tied (often with a square knot). According to period images, the handkerchief could be worn with the shirt collar open or closed. The typical handkerchief was a yard square piece of silk, folded into an isosceles triangle.¹¹⁴ The point, hanging down the back, helped to keep hair grease off the jacket. Black silk was especially popular. When Nagle's ship went aground off Cape May in 1781, he lost his "black silk hankerchief [sic]."¹¹⁵ Robert Hay also mentions sailors wearing black silk neckcloths.¹¹⁶ Period images depict many sailors with black handkerchiefs (figs. 3,5,8,10,29,32). Contrary to popular belief, the black handkerchief

¹¹³ Quoted in Pope, *Life in Nelson's Navy*, 163.

¹¹⁴ The term "bandana" was not used in the eighteenth century. However, one runaway advertisement mentions a "Bandana silk handkerchief," suggesting that this was a type of silk fabric produced in Banda, India.

¹¹⁵ *Nagle Journal*, 31.

was not worn as a sign of mourning for Lord Nelson, as they were obviously in fashion long before his death (although attendees at his funeral, as at most nineteenth-century funerals, did wear black "scarves" around their arms). The Marine Society supplied silk handkerchiefs to its recruits from 1778 onward.¹¹⁷

Equally popular were red and yellow, or red and white spotted handkerchiefs (figs. 17, 30, 35, 38, 40). One runaway sailor wore "a red silk handkerchief," and another "a new strip'd silk" one.¹¹⁸ While imprisoned in England during the Revolution, an American seaman recorded that "each man in prison had a check linen handkerchief sent to him, which was given us by the donation."¹¹⁹ Although normally worn at the neck, in battle, seamen commonly tied their handkerchiefs around their heads or waists. One runaway wore "a dirty Handkerchief about his Head" instead of a hat.¹²⁰

Waistcoats

As detailed in a previous section, men, high or low, never wore just a shirt in public; they nearly always wore a waistcoat.¹²¹ One might expect the waistcoat to have encumbered the laborer, but textual and pictorial evidence demonstrates that all men wore them, whether at work or rest. Considered a fashionable accessory, and therefore subject

¹¹⁶ Hay, *Landsman Hay*, 190.

¹¹⁷ Cunnington and Lucas, *Charity Costumes*, 204.

¹¹⁸ *Virginia Gazette*, 24 June 1773; *New York Mercury*, 1 Oct. 1753.

¹¹⁹ Charles Herbert, quoted in Bryan Paul Howard, *Had on and Took with Him: Runaway Indentured Servant Clothing in Virginia, 1774-1778* (Dissertation, Texas A&M University, 1996), 73.

¹²⁰ *New York Mercury*, 13 Aug. 1764.

¹²¹ A word on terminology: The English and their North American brethren almost always used the term "waistcoat" until after the Revolution. After that cataclysmic event, Americans seem to have cast off many Anglicism's; they then commonly referred to waistcoats as vests. To further muddy the issue, many documents call the garments "sleeveless jackets," and jackets "sleeved waistcoats." For this study, the term waistcoat will be used exclusively, while anything with sleeves will be classed under the term "jacket."

to the whims of fashion, waistcoat styles provide an accurate way to date illustrations. In the beginning of the period, until the mid-1760s, waistcoats were almost invariably single-breasted, with long skirts reaching to mid-thigh. At the waist, the skirts curved away to the sides, providing freedom for the legs. Through the late 1760s and into the 1770s, the skirts became shorter and the front cut-away more pronounced. By the 1780s skirtless waistcoats, referred to as "square-cut" or "Newmarket" styles were considered *de rigueur*. At the same time, double-breasted waistcoats became increasingly common, until, by the early nineteenth century, nearly all waistcoats were so fastened.¹²²

Collars also varied by decade. The simplest waistcoats were collarless, although the neck was often reinforced by a strip of fabric. Beginning in the 1760s, more elaborate waistcoats had a narrow standing collar, growing gradually taller and more pronounced by the century's end. During the nineteenth century's first decades, waistcoat collars stood as tall as the coat collar, and usually covered the wearer's jaw bone.¹²³

Because waistcoats were worn beneath a coat or jacket, only the front showed. For this reason the two front panels were generally made of much finer fabric than the back. Linings and back panels were most often made of coarse linens, or linen and cotton mixes. Some waistcoats worn by working men had backs cut from the same material as the front, since the men often worked without a jacket, leaving the back exposed.¹²⁴ There is a humorous story from the *Naval Chronicle* concerning Admiral Kempenfelt's waistcoat and an envious sailor:

¹²² Cunningham and Cunningham, *Handbook of English Costume*, 203-208.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

He [Kempenfelt] was once coming into port to have his ship paid off when a sailor eyed a gold-laced velvet waistcoat which his commander wore and with great earnestness asked who made it. The admiral gave him the necessary information, and Jack went ashore, and visited the admiral's tailor. Knowing the humours of his customers, the tailor went to buy the materials, and at last asked what he would have the back of the waistcoat made of. "Made of!" said Jack, "the same as the front to be sure." The tailor remonstrated, but in vain, so the waistcoat was made and put on with an old greasy jacket over it. One day the admiral met his man in this curious dress, which occasioned him to laugh heartily; and this merry fit was not a little increased, when Jack coming up to him lifted the hind part of his jacket, and showed his gold laced back, and exclaimed, "Damn me, old boy, no false colours; stem and stern alike by God!"¹²⁵

Although usually wearing less extravagant examples of the tailor's art, several period images show sailors with waistcoat backs made of the same material as the front. In figure 41, a detail of Copley's famous "Watson and the Shark," one of the men furiously pulling at an oar wears a waistcoat with a striped back. Likewise, in figure 43, a 1790 aquatint depicting the *Bounty* mutineers turning Bligh adrift, one of the men in the stern wears a waistcoat with a vertically striped back. Neither of the men in these images wear jackets, obviously, so they may have chosen to spend extra money on more expensive fabrics for the waistcoat backs.

Looking at period images allows us to trace waistcoat development through the period. In figure 1, dated to 1744, the seaman wears a long striped waistcoat, ornamented with many buttons, only a few of which he has fastened. In figure 18, dated to 1773, the men's waistcoats have gotten slightly shorter. By the 1780s, however, most seamen seem to have disposed with skirted waistcoats altogether, and adopted short, double-breasted pieces in their stead. In figure 2, the departing seaman wears a tight double-breasted

¹²⁴ Gilgun, *Tidings from the 18th Century*, 97.

example with small lapels turned back to reveal the white lining. This is similar to those worn by the cavorting sailors in figure 10, although these have silver buttons rather than cloth-covered ones. Two images from the 1790s, figures 38 and 40 depict men wearing square-cut waistcoats but with rolled or shawl collars, an unusual feature at this date. By the first decade of the nineteenth century, waistcoats came to the waist, and usually had high collars (fig. 29).

Colonial-era runaway and deserter advertisements in American newspapers yield some interesting statistics about waistcoats. Out of 71 ads, seeking the return of 120 men, only 26 waistcoats are described. More men may have owned or worn waistcoats, but their masters failed to include them in their otherwise detailed descriptions. The following tables elucidate certain trends.

Table A: Waistcoat Colors 1752-1787

Colors	Total	Percentage
Striped	5	19.2
Blue	4	15.3
Brown	4	15.3
White	3	11.5
Red/Crimson	2	7.6
Spotted	2	7.6
Black	1	3.8
Drab-coloured	1	3.8
Grey	1	3.8
Trimmed with black	1	3.8
Unspecified	2	7.6
Total	26	

Sources: Assorted newspapers, see appendix

Sailors had a marked preference for striped waistcoats, although these may have

¹²⁵ Quoted in Laffin, *Jack Tar*, 24-25.

appeared more often in advertisements because they were so distinctive, and therefore a good characteristic for identifying a runaway.

Table B: Waistcoat Fabrics 1752-1787

Fabrics	Total	Percentage
Flannel	5	19.2
Serge	1	3.8
Cloth	1	3.8
Cotton	1	3.8
Linsey Woolsey	1	3.8
Cotton and Thread	1	3.8
Bath Coating	1	3.8
Duffil	1	3.8
Velvet	1	3.8
Knit pattern	1	3.8
Ticking	1	3.8
Unspecified	11	42.3
Total	26	

Sources: Assorted Newspapers, see appendix

Flannel proved the most popular fabric for waistcoats. This soft, napped woolen would have made a warm undergarment, an important consideration for Atlantic seafarers.

Jackets and Coats

The jacket, along with his trousers, was the sailor's most distinctive garment. Period commentators always referred to the peculiar (to a landsman) cut of the jacket. Like waistcoats, changes in jacket cut and length allow period images to be dated accurately. Generally speaking, the longer and fuller the skirts, the earlier the jacket. Thus, sailors in figures 1, 4, 6, 18, and 25 wear jackets extending to mid-thigh. These jackets seem to all have center back vents and pleated side vents, similar to a civilian frock coat. Figure 25 provides a particularly good view of this arrangement. Buttons secured the top of the side vents, although these were nonfunctional. By the 1770s, the

hem had risen, and wide skirts had disappeared. In figures 15 and 16, dating to 1778 and 1773 respectively, jackets fit the body closely, and have welt pockets and slashed cuffs. They also have a v-shaped notch at the center front waist, much like a period waistcoat.

Jackets continued to get shorter into the early nineteenth century. Double and even triple-breasted jackets became popular by the 1790s. In figure 30, the sailor wears a classic jacket from the Napoleonic period. The most seaman-like features are the cuffs. Slashed *à la marinière*, the cuffs could be unbuttoned and rolled back to keep them clean and dry while working. The flaps appear to be scalloped, and end in a point. The boarders in figure 44 wear identical jackets. Neither they nor the jackets in figures 34 and 45 seem to have back vents. By about 1805, many jackets had the fashionable standing collar (figs. 32, 36, 37).¹²⁶

In addition to everyday jackets, many men also possessed heavy outer "pea" jackets or coats. These tended to be cut somewhat fuller than other jackets, and were made of heavier cloth. There is some confusion, however, when trying to identify what type of jackets sailors wore. In runaway and deserter advertisements, a large variety of different fabrics are mentioned. For example, James Dunavan wore a "blue pea Jacket, and waistcoat of the same," implying that "pea" referred to a type of fabric rather than the cut.¹²⁷ At any rate, it is logical to assume that this was a rather heavy, coarse fabric. Another fabric commonly employed in sailor coats was called "fearnought," a heavy,

¹²⁶ Cunnington and Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume*, 186, 196.

¹²⁷ *New York Mercury*, 13 Aug. 1764.

thick woolen with a deep pile.¹²⁸ William Watkinson "had on when he went away...a blue fearnought sailor's jacket." John Ewen also had "a new blue fearnought jacket, British made, and such as sailors usually wear." Another sailor wore a "blue Fear-nothing Jacket."¹²⁹ The name for this cloth is very suggestive; one need not fear the weather when wearing a garment constructed of such material. Other men, like William Johnston, "carried away a new Sailor's Jacket and Breeches of blue Duffil, with white Metal Buttons, and lined with white Plaid."¹³⁰ Duffil was closely woven in a "two-and-two twill, heavily milled, and with the nap raised and left shaggy."¹³¹ Finally, James Ross wore "a Kersey double breasted new Jacket, with white Metal Buttons on each Side."¹³² Like fearnought and duffil, kersey was a coarse, twilled woolen made from thick-spun carded wool (kersey yarns). Yorkshire was a major producer of kersey, as was Devonshire (the term Devonshire kersey often appears in period documents, although this was not as coarse as that woven in Yorkshire).¹³³

Lighter weight outer jackets were also made of various fabrics. By the far the most common was that simply referred to as "cloth". In most cases this was a woolen, probably of plain weave. For example, John Cunningham had "a blue cloth coat turn'd, very short, was broke and mended at the elbows."¹³⁴

Two other fabrics commonly appear in conjunction with jackets: flannel and

¹²⁸ Howard, *Had on and Took with Him*, 240.

¹²⁹ *Virginia Gazette*, 3 Nov. 1768, 10 Jan. 1771, 24 Jan. 1752.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 21 Jan. 1775.

¹³¹ Quoted in Howard, *Had on and Took with Him*, 239.

¹³² *Virginia Gazette*, 30 Sept. 1773.

¹³³ Howard, 245.

¹³⁴ *New York Mercury*, 20 Jan. 1755.

swanskin. Both were soft woolen fabrics, often woven of lamb's wool. These came in a variety of colors, although white seems to have been most common. John Dwyer wore "a white flannel jacket," as did Patrick Randle.¹³⁵ When Michael Purcel deserted from H.M.S. *Hunter*, he wore "a Flannell Jacket, with red Flowers."¹³⁶ A runaway from the snow *Sadler* wore a "plain white Swan-skin Jacket," while two deserters from the Continental schooner *Liberty* had "spotted Swan Skin Jackets faced with red."¹³⁷

Most jackets and coats would have been lined, usually with a vegetable fiber. Hemp, linen, and cotton were all used for this purpose, although linen would have been the most common during the period. Most images show sailor's jackets lined with white fabric, and textual sources bear this out. The fabric used for this, however, was only mentioned if out of the ordinary. Thus, three deserters all wore "sailors new short jackets, lined with white flannel." Another runaway had "a sailor's blue duffel jacket, lined with white plaid," a soft woolen.¹³⁸

Runaway and deserter advertisements provide information on jacket and coat colors and fabrics, as worn in North America. Not surprisingly, blue was the most popular color, even at this early date. Brown and green were common colors for laborers' clothes, and they were also worn by sailors. Fabrics on the other hand were more varied.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 9 Sept. 1754, 13 Mar. 1758.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 29 May 1758.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 17 Mar. 1760; *Virginia Gazette*, 29 July 1776.

¹³⁸ *New York Mercury*, 28 Nov. 1763; *Virginia Gazette*, 22 Sept. 1768. "Plaid" in this context was probably not a tartan pattern, but an inexpensive woolen textile made in Scotland. Howard, *Had on and*

Table C: Jacket and Coat Colors, 1752-1787.

Color	Totals	Percentage
Blue	50	47.6
Brown	9	8.5
Green	8	7.6
Red, including Crimson and Scarlet	7	6.6
Light- coloured	5	4.7
Light-blue	3	2.8
White	3	2.8
Grey	3	2.8
Drab-coloured	2	1.9
Spotted	2	1.9
Light-brown	1	.95
Black	1	.95
Cloth-coloured	1	.95
Unspecified	9	8.5
Total	105	

Sources: Assorted newspapers, see appendix.

Table D: Jacket and Coat Fabrics 1752-1787

Fabrics	Total	Percentage
"Rough," "coarse", and "thick"	5	4.7
Swanskin	3	2.8
Fear-nothing/ fearnought	2	1.9
Flannel	2	1.9
Duffil	2	1.9
Cloth	1	.95
Homespun	1	.95
Broadcloth	1	.95
Nankeen	1	.95
Kersey	1	.95
Bath Coating	1	.95
Unspecified	85	80.9
Total	105	

Sources: Assorted newspapers, see appendix.

The majority of advertisements did not specify fabrics. Obviously, color was a much more important characteristic than material, and could be more readily identified, especially from a distance. Still, it is probably significant that, of the fabrics that were

described, the most numerous were called "thick," "coarse," or "rough," as would be expected of a sailor's outer working garment.

The number of jackets each man possessed varied according to circumstance. As detailed above, regulations in both the American and British navies stipulated that sailors be provided with between one and three jackets and coats. Judging from period textual sources, however, such was not always the case. When Robert Hay arrived aboard H.M.S. *Culloden*, "An account of our stock of clothing was also taken but with regard to this subject we made a very slender show. There were not as many articles among the whole eight of us as would have made one decent suit. Some wanted jackets, some shirts, some waistcoats and nearly all hats, handkerchiefs and shoes."¹³⁹ Hay was not the only man in such dire want. He later relates another story concerning the magnanimity of Admiral Collingwood:

He [Collingwood] was walking the quarter deck one very cold day, when a main-top man with a jacket through which the wind had free ingress mounted the Jacob's ladder.

'Where are you going, my lad?' said the Admiral.

'To the look-out at the mast-head, your honour.'

'Have you not a warmer jacket than that to put on?'

'I have no other, your honour, but my mustering one.'

'Jacobs,' said he to the signal man, 'tell my coxswain to come here. How many jackets have you, Davies?'

'Four, sir.'

'Jump down and bring the second-best one here; and, d'ye hear, if you have the spare leg of a pair of trousers lying by, put it in one of the pockets.'

Davies's second best jacket, and a good one it was, soon covered the shoulders of the main-top man, and the old jacket and the spare leg were shoved beneath one of the carronades, till the turn at the mast-head was over.

'Remind me of this Davies the first time we go ashore.'

But there was no necessity, and I need scarcely add that Davies was not a jacket out of pocket by the transaction.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Hay, *Landsman Hay*, 62.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 75.

While the main-top man possessed the regulation number of jackets, one was evidently in of terrible shape. The coxswain, on the other hand, owned a superfluity of jackets.

Breeches and Trousers

Sailors wore several different garments on their lower extremities. These may be classified according to three categories: breeches, petticoat trousers (also called "slops"), and trousers. As with other garments, each of these experienced periods of popularity and decline, although all three were worn throughout the period.

Breeches had been worn in Europe since the sixteenth century, and remained a mainstay of men's costume well into the nineteenth century (and later for court wear). The earliest breeches were voluminous, often being padded and standing well away from the hips. Breeches typically terminated just below the knee. In time, the garment became smaller and closer fitting. By 1750, breeches achieved the cut which they would retain for the rest of the period. All breeches featured the same characteristics. Because waistcoats generally extended to below the waist, breeches were worn slung low about the hips, although they often had a wide waistband, exceeding four inches in width. The knee band was secured with a placket on the outside of the leg and buckle or button on the band proper.¹⁴¹ Because the knee fit tightly, the breeches' legs could not ride up when the wearer sat down or bent over. To keep the back seams from ripping out, the seat had to be baggy.¹⁴²

The front closure was the only breeches' feature to change during the period. In

¹⁴¹ The old English children's song comes to mind: "Johnny Shaftoe went to sea/ Silver buckles on

the 1750s and 1760s, waistcoats typically had long skirts that covered the waist and front of the breeches. Because the front closure did not show beneath the waistcoat, there was no reason to hide the buttons with a fly-flap such as modern pants have. Thus, the vertical fly was clearly visible, and closed with three or four buttons. As waistcoats grew shorter, a new closure was needed to hide the fly. To make the breeches appear "always tight and smooth," the front fall was adopted.¹⁴³ This could be either a "broad fall" or "small fall." The first consisted of a flap that opened horizontally all or most of the way across the front of the breeches. This flap was secured by any number of buttons, although two to four was most common. The small fall, on the other hand, was much narrower, covering only one half to one quarter of the breeches' front. This was generally secured by only two buttons. The fall remained the primary closure system well into the nineteenth century.

Seamen clearly wore breeches, although after about 1770 their popularity began to wane as trousers became ever more popular.

Table E: Breeches Colors 1752-1787

Colors	Total	Percentage
Black	4	16
Blue	4	16
White	4	16
Brown	2	8
Grey	1	4
Unspecified	10	40
Total	25	

his knee..."

¹⁴² Murray, "Breeches," 17-25.

¹⁴³ Bennett Cuthbertson, *A System for the Complete Interior Management and Oeconomy of a Battalion of Infantry* (Dublin, 1768), 87.

Table F: Breeches Fabrics 1752-1787

Fabrics	Total	Percentage
Leather	6	24
"fine" cloth	1	4
Plush	1	4
Worsted shag	1	4
Worsted knit	1	4
Thickset	1	4
Nankeen	1	4
Canvas	1	4
Duffil	1	4
Osnabrug	1	4
Unspecified	10	40
Total	25	

Sources: Assorted newspapers, see appendix

In 1754, John Dwyer wore "a pair of old whitish plush breeches, with silver buttons." Another man had "worsted shag breeches."¹⁴⁴ Black, white, and blue seem to have been popular colors, and at least one man had breeches of nankeen, a yellow tinted cotton.¹⁴⁵ A surprising number of seamen owned leather breeches, which one would think would have fared badly at sea. Less frequently worn were canvas breeches, although trousers were nearly always made of such fabric.¹⁴⁶ Artists almost never depict sailors wearing breeches alone (except fig. 20), but only underneath slops or overskirts. By the Napoleonic period, breeches had fallen completely out of fashion for seamen. One purser requested that the Navy Board stop sending breeches in slop clothing bundles, because they were "a part of sailor's clothing hardly or ever required, as he always prefers trowsers."¹⁴⁷ The disdain for breeches may have had to do with their association with the landsman's "short togs," and as such would be ridiculed at sea.

¹⁴⁴ *New York Mercury*, 9 Sept. 1754, 20 Jan. 1755.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 4 Sept. 1767.

Those men who did wear breeches protected them by wearing a canvas overskirt or wide-legged "slops." Cut of two or four panels gathered into a waistband, these protective overgarments kept paint, tar, and other messy substances off the finer garments beneath. Period images of slops and overskirts are somewhat ambiguous when it comes to construction details. In some images it is clear that the overskirt was in fact worn like a skirt; that is, there were no distinct legs. These were often referred to as "petticoat" breeches or trousers. In figure 46, for example, dated 1796, the right-hand seaman wears a canvas over garment, but the position of his right leg makes it impossible to tell how it is constructed. He clearly wears this garment over breeches, which are closed at the knee with a buckle. In figures 47 and 48, the artists show the overskirt from the front. Neither of them has been divided to accept the leg. In figure 48, it is not clear whether or not the sailor wears breeches beneath the skirt. In figure 49, the seaman also wears a sort of loose, flowing garment over breeches, but the details are equally vague.

The best image of slops can be found in Copley's "Watson and the Shark" (fig. 41). The seaman madly thrusting with the pike wears a pair of slops. These are obviously divided into two legs. The wide waistband closes with two buttons, and an unbuttoned fly at the center front allows ease of access. He too wears breeches beneath the slops.

Runaway advertisements do not provide any additional clarity, because people evidently referred to breeches, trousers, and slops interchangeably. One servant who ran

¹⁴⁶ *Virginia Gazette*, 9 Feb. 1769.

¹⁴⁷ Quoted in Pope, *Life in Nelson's Navy*, 162.

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away in 1749 had "petticoat Trowsers."¹⁴⁸ John Almond wore "Leather Breeches under a Pair of Oznabrig Trowsers." Two other men wore "short Canvas Trowsers," and "coarse linen short trowsers."¹⁴⁹ These may have been trousers in the conventional sense, or possibly "slops."

Trousers seem to have been adopted by seamen and laborers long before anyone else. Indeed, the garment was often considered "a badge of the lower orders."¹⁵⁰ Since they afforded much greater freedom of movement than did breeches, they would come recommended to anyone performing heavy labor. The waistband and front closure was the same for trousers as for breeches. The difference was that trousers were fuller in the legs and longer. As a general rule, trousers became longer as the period progressed. In figure 18, dated 1773, the center seaman wears trousers that extend only a few inches below the knee. By the first decade of the nineteenth century, most sailors wore their trousers long, letting them fall over the shoes, and in some instances drag along the ground (figs. 28, 29, 32). During the 1770s, trousers narrowed or pegged at the ankle were considered fashionable (figs. 25, 50), but the sources do not explain whether these were only worn ashore, or as working clothes at sea. Nevertheless, these are probably the "narrow trousers" worn by boatswain George Patterson when he ran from the sloop-of-war *Scorpion* in 1776.¹⁵¹

Fabrics and colors varied, although white linen seems to have been the most

¹⁴⁸ *New York Weekly Post-Boy*, 11 Sept. 1749.

¹⁴⁹ *Virginia Gazette*, 21 Aug. 1752, 11 June 1772; *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, 8 Nov. 1773.

¹⁵⁰ Quoted in Howard, 126.

¹⁵¹ *Virginia Gazette*, 23 Aug. 1776.

common material for trousers. The following charts record the frequency and range of dyes and fabrics.

Table G: Trouser Colors 1752-1787

Color	Total	Percentage
Check	7	11.1
White	5	7.9
Blue	3	4.7
Red	3	4.7
Striped	2	3.1
Light-coloured	1	1.5
Brown	1	1.5
Grey	1	1.5
Drab-coloured	1	1.5
Unspecified	39	61.9
Total	63	

Sources: Assorted newspapers, see appendix.

Since many trousers were made of canvas or linen, it stands to reason that many in the “unspecified” category were in fact of a white or cream color. The frequent omission of color suggests that “trowsers” were nearly always undyed. In fact, few additional sources mention trouser color, other than naval regulations. Samuel Kelly, however, wrote that “our master laid in a few slops to sell us, from which each man was supplied with a pair of red baize trousers, so that when we were aloft reefing the sails we appeared like a flock of flamingoes.”¹⁵²

Although the table does not reflect it, duck seems to have been common for trousers. In India, the land of cheap cotton, Robert Hay nevertheless “gave six rupees to purchase me some Russia duck for trowsers.”¹⁵³ J.H. Boteler also mentions the use of

¹⁵² Kelly, *Samuel Kelly*, 97.

¹⁵³ Hay, *Landsman Hay*, 142

duck for making trousers.¹⁵⁴ Russia was a common supplier for the fabric, although it was also produced domestically in England and Scotland. Made of linen or hemp, it was fairly heavy (although it came in different weights according to application), with a tight, water-resistant weave.¹⁵⁵

Table H: Trouser Fabrics 1752-1787

Fabric	Total	Percentage
Canvas	8	12.6
Oznabrig	7	11.1
Linen	2	3.1
Woolen	2	3.1
Duck	2	3.1
Homespun	1	1.5
Fearnought	1	1.5
Worsted	1	1.5
Coarse cloth	1	1.5
Duffil	1	1.5
Unspecified	37	58.7
Total	63	

Sources: Assorted newspapers, see appendix.

Stockings

As long as men continued to wear breeches, stockings (or hose) remained an important accessory. Highly visible, they covered the lower leg below the knee. Knit stockings had been worn only since the early sixteenth-century. Prior to this, and well into the nineteenth century, rich and poor alike wore woven hose. Cut from woven cloth along the grain or on the bias for elasticity, the stockings were sewn up the back. In 1589, Englishman William Lee invented the stocking frame, which revolutionized stocking production. Hosiers could now produce knit stockings at a faster rate, lowering their cost.

¹⁵⁴ Boteler, *Recollections*, 58.

¹⁵⁵ Howard, *Had on and Took With Him*, 233.

By the eighteenth-century, nearly all stockings were knit.¹⁵⁶ Yet there were still problems. As one commentator wrote, "Knit stockings are much more preferable in durability and strength to those made in the loom [woven], but the time employed in knitting stockings of any fineness raises their price too much for common wear."¹⁵⁷

Originally confined to London, framework knitters had spread to other parts of England and the colonies by 1750. Most operated in the Midlands, although Yorkshire boasted of many as well.¹⁵⁸ The greatest number of stockings came from Westmoreland. Hosier Abraham Dent of Kirby Stephan supplied undyed stockings to army contractors, and it is likely the Navy Board found a source in the same region.¹⁵⁹ While fewer stocking frames existed in America, the colonies also produced stockings. Before 1775, there were 150 frames in Germantown and Philadelphia. By 1778, Norwich, Connecticut produced silk, cotton, and worsted stockings, as did Hartford, New Haven, Litchfield, and Wallingford.¹⁶⁰

Stockings rose above the knee, held there by a garter or the breeches' knee band. Hosiers shaped them by increasing and decreasing stitches to allow them to conform to the thigh. Stockings were sometimes knit in the round, but the usual practice was to knit them flat and then sew up the center back. The sole was knit separately and then sewn on as well. Fancy stockings sported decorative clocking on the ankles, often in a contrasting

¹⁵⁶ Baumgarten, Watson, and Carr, *Costume Close-Up*, 75-79.

¹⁵⁷ R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, 1747, quoted in Jeremy Farrell, *Socks and Stockings* (London, 1992), 19.

¹⁵⁸ Farrell, *Socks and Stockings*, 29.

¹⁵⁹ D.S. Smith, "Army Clothing Contractors and the Textile Industries in the 18th Century," *Textile History* 14,2 (1983), 153.

¹⁶⁰ Farrell, *Socks and Stockings*, 40.

color.¹⁶¹ While the design never changed, the raw material did. Yarn stockings were those knit of coarse, carded, short-hair wool. Worsted stockings were made of finer combed wool. "Thread" stockings, on the other hand, were typically of linen, but also occasionally of cotton. Finally, the finest dress stockings were knit of silk.¹⁶² Jonas Hanway had this to say about stockings given to Marine Society recruits:

Stockings of worsted [sic], well-made, are the cheapest in the issue [i.e. in the long run]. They are not so clumsy as yarn [ordinary short-hair wool], nor heat the feet so much...In the summer season, unbleached thread will be best.

Constant charge is given, that the *stockings* be not too short in the feet, a fault which often happens in these coarse goods.¹⁶³

Not surprisingly, most seamen wore cheap yarn stockings. In 1756, John Cristell wore "coarse sheep's grey yarn stockings," while a "negro man named *Cambridge*," had "blue yarn stockings."¹⁶⁴ On the cold night of January 16, 1758, a "Negro Man, named Ralph," ran from the sloop *Walter*; he "Had on when he went off...grey Stockings, much wore, with a Pair of black worsted Stockings under them."¹⁶⁵ Another sailor had a curious pair of "light blue Stockings, joined in the Middle," meaning they were sewn up the back.¹⁶⁶ William Johnston had "Country made...Stockings," while Henry Peggs wore "thread stockings."¹⁶⁷ When seized and questioned by a press gang in 1811, Robert Hay denied having ever been to sea. Yet, "I trembled exceedingly in the fear that they would

¹⁶¹ Burnston, *Fitting and Proper*, 100.

¹⁶² Paul Dickfoss, "'grey-worsted,' 'mixt blue Yarn,' 'White ribb'd worsted,': Stockings of Runaways Advertised in Rhode Island," *The Brigade Dispatch*, 31, 3 (2001), 6-7.

¹⁶³ Quoted in Cunningham and Lucas, *Charity Clothes*, 200.

¹⁶⁴ *New York Mercury*, 6 Dec. 1756, 8 Aug. 1757.

¹⁶⁵ *New York Mercury*, 16 Jan. 1758.

¹⁶⁶ *New York Mercury*, 17 March 1760.

¹⁶⁷ *Virginia Gazette*, 21 Jan. 1775, *Maryland Journal*, 4 Feb. 1777.

inspect my small bundle, for in it were a pair of numbered stockings [purser's issue] which would not only have made them suppose I had been at sea, but would have given them good reason to think I had been in a war ship."¹⁶⁸

Almost every image from before the late eighteenth century depicts seamen in breeches and stockings. In figure four, the triumphant sailor seems to wear expensive silk stockings, but then he is on shore and flush with prize money. In figures 13 and 16, however, the sailors may wear woven stockings, since they bunch at the ankle and do not fit the calf snugly. These men are in working garb, so it makes sense that they would not be wearing expensive, fashionable fitted stockings. The seaman thrusting with the harpoon in figure 41, appears to wear his stockings pulled over his breeches' knee band, a style popular until the 1760s. The sailor in figure 51 wears horizontally striped stockings beneath his breeches.

Shoes

Footwear was probably less important for seamen than for other laborers. The need to maintain a sure footing on deck and in the rigging meant that sailors frequently went barefoot while at sea. Saltwater is particularly bad for leather, and shoes would have deteriorated rapidly if worn constantly. On shore, however, seamen always wore shoes, usually with fancy buckles.

Eighteenth-century cordwainers used vegetable tanned leather to produce shoes. All shoes were created on a straight last, and sewn with linen thread.¹⁶⁹ Earlier shoes

¹⁶⁸ Hay, *Landsman Hay*, 217.

¹⁶⁹ A last was a wooden form around which a shoe was formed. In the eighteenth-century, lasts

generally had a rounded toe and wide latches for buckles. By the 1780s, toes became pointed, and latches narrower.¹⁷⁰ Men had the choice of two types of shoes, turned and welted. Turnshoes were made with thin leather (usually calfskin) upper and sole. The cordwainer sewed the two halves together inside-out and then, taking it off the last, turned it right-side out (hence the name turnshoe). Welted shoes, on the other hand, were sewn on the last right side out. A thick rim of leather (the welt) was stitched to the bottom edge of the upper, increasing flexibility and making the seam watertight. Military welted shoes were generally made with the rough flesh side out and waxed or blackened.¹⁷¹

One would expect seamen to have possessed the more robust welted shoes. Jonas Hanaway adamantly insisted that Marine Society recruits' shoes "should be well made and of such leather as will stand [last] and suited to their condition...a bad spungy shoe is an abomination."¹⁷² This may have been true for Hanaway's boys, but other pictorial and documentary evidence suggests most sailors wore shoes that were anything but robust.¹⁷³ According to one officer, writing in 1811, the men were "fond of wearing shoes which

were "straight," that is, there was neither a left nor a right foot.

¹⁷⁰ June Swann, *Shoes* (New York, 1982), 24-28.

¹⁷¹ Stephen R. Davis, "With Feet Firmly Planted: Footwear from Archaeological Sites," in *Issued to the Troops, Military Uniforms of the Last Half of the 18th Century*, Winterthur Museum Symposium Papers (Wilmington, Del., 1996), n.p.

¹⁷² Quoted in Cunningham and Lucas, *Charity Costumes*, 200. Hanaway also added that the "shoes are provided in Northamptonshire, under the direction of some gentlemen of the Society, whose estates are in that country."

¹⁷³ A British naval officer serving with a detachment of sailors on shore in the Leeward Island in 1794 complained that "this is also a service which occasions an additional expense to the sailor: his shoes are worn out in a few days, which otherwise would last him many months...." Obviously, the seaman's shoes were not made for walking on rough terrain. "Journal of the Proceedings of a Squadron... From the MSS of a naval officer," in *The Naval Chronicle: The Contemporary Record of the Royal Navy at War*, vol. I, edited by Nicholas Tracy (London, 1998), 75. Samuel Kelly, on the other hand, complained of having to

are made exactly after the fashion of women's pumps."¹⁷⁴ Even as early as 1755, one seaman wore "turn'd pumps."¹⁷⁵ Clearly these were the soft, diminutive turnshoes. Period images bear this out. In figure 28, dated to the early nineteenth-century, all the men wear small, soft pumps fastened with a bow. The same shoes are evident in figures 29 and 30. More common, however, are pumps with buckles. Most of these shoes are soft, with pointed toes and large silver or brass buckles (fig. 55). An interesting detail in many illustrations is that the sailor's shoes are unbuckled, with the latchet hanging out (figs. 10, 12, 25, 38). This may have been symbolic of dissolution or rowdiness, as most of the images depict men in the midst of debauchery.

Most buckles were oval shaped, but square buckles were also popular (fig. 24, 50). A boy who deserted from the ship *Diana* in 1777 had "square pewter buckles in his shoes."¹⁷⁶ Another man had "shoes with large square Buckles in them."¹⁷⁷ The Continental Marine Committee requested "2800 Pr Shoe Buckles block tin with brass Chasses & Tongues."¹⁷⁸ Finally, by the end of the eighteenth century, laces became popular, replacing buckles. Early archaeological examples from H.M.S. *Invincible*, sunk 1758, had been modified for laces by trimming off the latchets, as were examples from H.M.S. *De Braak* (1798).¹⁷⁹ A man who ran from a sloop at New York in 1757 wore

walk on shore in Florida and Nassau without shoes, which "galled my feet severely." Samuel Kelly, *Samuel Kelly*, 103-103, 110-111.

¹⁷⁴ Anonymous, "Diary Kept on Board HMS *Gibraltar*," 462.

¹⁷⁵ *New York Mercury*, 20 Jan. 1755.

¹⁷⁶ *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, 20 Oct. 1777.

¹⁷⁷ *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, 8 April 1782.

¹⁷⁸ Zlatich, "Clothing to be Imported...," 77.

¹⁷⁹ Shomette, *The Hunt for H.M.S. De Braak*, 304; James P. McGuane, *Heart of Oak, A Sailor's Life in Nelson's Navy* (New York, 2002), 85.

"shoes almost new ty'd with leather thongs," while another wore "a Pair of old single Channel Pumps tied with Strings."¹⁸⁰

Buttons

Buttons played an important role in sailor clothing, more so than in civilian dress. While buttons fastened breeches, trousers, waistcoats, and jackets, they were also used as decorative elements. Buttons could be white metal (pewter or a tin alloy with little lead content), yellow metal (brass or other copper alloys like Pinchbeck), horn, leather, wood, or self-covered (that is, covered with the same fabric as the garment). Robert Hay mentions sailors wearing jackets "studded with pearl buttons," which may have look something like the jackets worn in figure 10.¹⁸¹

England produced prodigious amounts of buttons in the eighteenth century, exporting them to every country in Europe and to America. Like so much else in eighteenth-century manufactory, buttons were the special purview of one class of craftsmen: button makers. Using both mechanized and more traditional methods, button makers were further specialized by type of button they produced. Some cast metal buttons, some drilled horn, while still others carved bone and wood. America had a few button makers of its own, but they were mostly confined to New York and Philadelphia. Through out the period, Americans relied primarily on British imports for their buttons. As Lord Sheffield explained in 1784, "Whilst Great Britain supplies a great part of Europe with this article, it cannot be questioned from whence the Americans will import

¹⁸⁰ *New York Mercury*, 8 Aug. 1757; *Virginia Gazette*, 10 June 1775.

¹⁸¹ Hay, *Landsman Hay*, 190.

it; and this will be one of the last manufactures which it will be worth the while of the Americans to attempt."¹⁸²

Surprisingly, horn buttons were common on seamen's clothes. In England, horn buttons were "only worn by Labouring People, who otherwise would wear Hooks and Clasps."¹⁸³ Robert Wilson records that at the Isle of Tenedos, "for a few horn buttons the boat's crew could get as much wine as they could drink; it was laughable to see them on their return on board with scarcely a button on their clothes."¹⁸⁴ Samuel Kelly complained of having his jacket's horn buttons devoured by rats.¹⁸⁵ While Tynie Roach's jacket definitely had horn buttons, it is probable that Pooling Horne's jacket, with "small black buttons, set thick on both sides," also had horn buttons.¹⁸⁶ Jonas Hanway had obviously put a great deal of thought into the buttons supplied to Marine Society recruits:

The buttons are of horn, coloured with blue; which, tho' cheap, look as well as the buttons on a gentleman's coat. They have strong brass wire shanks, and are set upon canvas, the want of which in the seamens clothes, occasions the buttons seldom holding fast. A strip of *leather*, and also a *packthread*, are run through the shanks, by which they are held the stronger; and the more so, because as the one relaxes by being wet, the other contracts.¹⁸⁷

Thus the buttons were not sewn directly to the cloth. A hole was punched and the shank inserted so that it extended through the back. As Hanway suggests, this is far stronger than merely tacking buttons on the cloth with thread. The military used a similar

¹⁸² Quoted in Ivor Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (Philadelphia, 1969), 92.

¹⁸³ Quoted in Howard, *Had on and Took with Him*, 63. Patrick Randle, an "apprentice lad" who ran from a snow at New York, wore "a white Flannel Jacket, with Hooks and Eyes, for Buttons." *New York Mercury*, 13 Mar. 1758.

¹⁸⁴ Wilson, *Five Naval Journals*, 141.

¹⁸⁵ Kelly, *Samuel Kelly*, 139.

¹⁸⁶ *Virginia Gazette*, 24 June 1773, 10 Nov. 1774.

¹⁸⁷ Quoted in Cunningham and Lucas, *Charity Costumes*, 199.

arrangement to attach buttons to regimental coats and smallclothes.¹⁸⁸

While metal buttons tended to be more expensive, seaman liked them for their flashy appearance. John Dwyer, who ran from his mariner master, had silver buttons on his breeches.¹⁸⁹ These were not sterling silver, but were only plated on the face, using the plating method invented by Thomas Bolsover of Sheffield in 1742.¹⁹⁰ On the other hand, they may have been tin plated, a process that was inexpensive and easy to do in the eighteenth century. Another sailor's coat had "yellow buttons," while two others had "white Metal Buttons."¹⁹¹ Shiny buttons could be a liability, however. As Samuel Leech remembered after deserting from the *Macedonian* in 1812, the "bright anchor buttons which shone on my best suit, presented an insuperable objection. For how could I appear among them [New Yorkers] with the badge of the British service on my coat? This dilemma was removed, however, by the skill of my landlady...who very carefully covered the buttons with blue cloth."¹⁹² This passage suggests that Royal navy seaman had brass or gilt anchor buttons on their dress jackets. Was this universal among in the navy at this time, or merely the whim of Captain Carden?

Archaeologists recovered many leather buttons from the 1760 wreck of the French frigate *Machault*, sunk at the mouth of the Restigouche River. Punched from thick leather, they have two attachment holes. They were probably used on the seamen's

¹⁸⁸ Henry M. Cooke, "Revolutionary War Uniforms: Construction Details and Finishing Touches," in *Issued to the Troops*, n.p. A similar arrangement was used on nineteenth-century Russian sailor clothing recovered from Fort Ross. John Middleton, *Clothing in Colonial Russian America: A New Look* (Fairbanks, Ak., 1996), 114-115.

¹⁸⁹ *New York Mercury*, 9 Sept 1754.

¹⁹⁰ Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artifacts*, 90.

¹⁹¹ *New York Mercury*, 8 Aug. 1757; *Virginia Gazette*, 30 Sept. 1773, 21 Jan. 1775.

jackets.¹⁹³ Cloth covered buttons were also quite common during the period. Scraps of fabric were drawn around a form, usually of bone, wood, or metal, and secured to the garment by means of a thread shank.

Battle Dress

When the drummers beat to quarters, seamen raced about, preparing their ship and themselves for battle. Navies had no formula or regulation for what men wore when engaging the enemy. The weather was the only factor influencing the men's choice.¹⁹⁴ In warm weather, it no doubt became stifling on the gundeck, and even if the air was cold, the physical activity and adrenaline of battle would have warmed the men considerably. Therefore, it is not surprising to read that during H.M.S. *Macedonian's* fight with U.S.S. *Constitution*, the British seamen "fought like tigers. Some of them pulled off their jackets, others their jackets and vests; while some, still more determined, had taken off their shirts, and, with nothing but a handkerchief tied round the waistbands of their trowsers, fought like heroes."¹⁹⁵ The same degree of nakedness prevailed in the British fleet at Trafalgar: "Men, shirtless, with handkerchiefs bandaged tightly round their loins and heads, stood with naked brawny arms folded on their hairy and heaving chests, looking pale and stern, but still hushed."¹⁹⁶ Before another impending battle, "the men began to trim and blow their matches, to take off their jackets, one to tie a handkerchief round his head, another to tie one round his waist; and all began to tuck up their sleeves,

¹⁹² Leech, *Voice from the Main Deck*, 103-104.

¹⁹³ Catherine Sullivan, *Legacy of the Machault, A Collection of 18th-Century Artifacts* (Ottawa, Can., 1986), 78-79.

¹⁹⁴ Fear of having fabric driven into a wound may have also been an influence.

¹⁹⁵ Leech, *Voice from the Main Deck*, 85.

and to arrange and rearrange the tackle of their guns.”¹⁹⁷ Gardner writes of an encounter with a Spanish squadron in 1793. They sent an officer on board, who “seemed astonished when he saw our men at quarters, their black silk handkerchiefs tied round their heads, their shirt-sleeves tucked up, the crows and handspikes in their hands, and the boarders all ready with their cutlasses and tomahawks.”¹⁹⁸ In *The Battle of Camperdown*, by Samuel Drummond (fig. 52), seamen at the guns have stripped to the waist, even though the battle took place on 11 October (another example of artistic license?). In other battle scenes, however, the seamen do not appear in substantially different clothes from those that they usually wear (figs. 39, 44, 50).

The gunner issued pistols and cutlasses to men acting as members of a boarding party. In 1813, Ned Myers participated in the landing at Fort George. “We left the schooner, just as we quited [sic] our guns, black with powder, in our shirts and trowsers, though we took the precaution to carry our boarding-belts, with a brace of pistols each, and a cutlass.”¹⁹⁹ After 1800, the American navy also issued boarding helmets to its men. Samuel Leech remembered that in 1812, aboard U.S.S. *Syren*, “we were all supplied with stout leather caps, something like those used by firemen. These were crossed by two strips of iron, covered with bearskin, and were designed to defend the head, in boarding an enemy’s ship, from the stroke of the cutlass. Strips of bearskin were likewise used to fasten them on, serving the purpose of false whiskers, and causing us to look as fierce as

¹⁹⁶ C.R. Pemberton quoted in John Terraine, *Trafalgar* (Ware, Hertfordshire, UK, 1998), 188.

¹⁹⁷ Anonymous, “Surrender of the Dutch Squadron in the Texel to the British Squadron under Vice-Admiral Mitchell, Aug. 30th, 1799,” in *Naval Yarns of Sea Fights and Wrecks, Pirates and Privateers from 1616-1831 as Told by Men of Wars’ Men*, W.H. Long, ed. (New York, Francis P. Harper, 1899), 208.

¹⁹⁸ Gardner, *Under Hatches*, 130.

hungry wolves."²⁰⁰ Royal Navy officer John Cunningham also offered a description of the American helmet:

Their fighting arrangements are admirable; and having seen them at quarters, I could not help admiring several of their appointments. One especially – their boarding caps. It is of helmet form, the frame of pretty stout iron, covered outside with a stout, hard leather. Unless a cutlass were laid on by a very heavy arm, the head would scarcely be wounded. They are decidedly the best preservative I ever saw before in any service.²⁰¹

There is no evidence that the Royal Navy ever issued boarding helmets, although one simple specimen in a private collection bears a maker's label from Portsmouth, England, suggesting that they were available for private purchase.²⁰²

Cold and Foul Weather Gear

While his ship was at sea, the sailor was always on duty. When the wind blew cold and the rain came down in torrents, he could not simply hunker below in his hammock or huddle around the galley stove. The ship had to be worked no matter the weather. Samuel Kelly provides a description of what the typical sailor endured in a ship's wet environs:

As we drew near Newfoundland we experienced much fog and rain, which continued many days, and as I had little clothing and had been long in a warm climate, I suffered severely not being able to dry my jacket, or even my shirt, the weather being so wet.... I have gone below wet, and for want of a change of clothes have been afraid to go to bed, dreading what I should experience in turning out of my bed, in a bath of sweat occasioned by going to sleep in a wet shirt, and then again putting on my wet jacket and trousers to keep my watch on deck. I have in preference to turning into my hammock, during my four hours below, sat down on a chest with my arms across shivering and shaking with the

¹⁹⁹ Myers, *Ned Myers*, 67.

²⁰⁰ Leech, *Voice from the Main Deck*, 118-119.

²⁰¹ Quoted in William Gilkerson, *Boarders Away – With Steel* (Lincoln, R.I., 1991), 104-105. Neumann and Kravic's *Encyclopedia* (142) has a picture of a similar helmet, but they identify it as a cavalry helmet.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 104, 148 n. 51. These helmets may have been used by privateers.

wind pouring down on my wet clothes.²⁰³

Therefore, the seaman needed protective outerwear to fend off cold, wind, rain, and spray.

Layering was the most effective way to keep warm. Seamen generally wore three layers (shirt, waistcoat, jacket), but in low temperatures added several more. Captain Edward Riou recorded in his journal that, when his ship was in danger of sinking south of the Cape of Good Hope, "many of the sailors had equipped themselves in as many jackets, etc. as they could put on."²⁰⁴ In February 1807, Robert Wilson noted that H.M.S. *Unité's* purser "served out jackets and trousers and shoes; indeed they were much wanted, the season was extremely cold."²⁰⁵ Off Tierra Del Fuego, Captain Cook recorded that he "gave to each of the People a Fearnought Jacket and a pair of Trowsers, after which I never heard one Man Complain of Cold, not but that the weather was cold enough."²⁰⁶ In addition to multiple coats and Guernsey frocks, some sailors may have owned under waistcoats. Cut like regular waistcoats, these garments were typically made of flannel and were worn between the shirt and waistcoat.²⁰⁷

Some sailors wore greatcoats when temperatures dropped. Similar to modern overcoats, greatcoats were made of heavy woolen cloth, often duffels, kerseys, or shags (fabrics characterized by a pronounced nap). Single or double-breasted, the coats closed with large buttons and often had round cuffs and capes. A greatcoat was an extremely expensive garment because of the amount of fabric required (between six and eight

²⁰³ Kelly, *Samuel Kelly*, 124.

²⁰⁴ Riou, "Log of the Guardian," *Naval Miscellany IV*, 313.

²⁰⁵ Wilson, *Five Naval Journals*, 163.

²⁰⁶ James Cook, *Captain Cook's Journal During His First Voyage Round the World*

yards). Therefore, not many men owned them. Ships often supplied several, which were shared by the men when on duty. The Continental Marine Committee made an attempt to issue every man with a greatcoat in 1779, ordering "2800 Watch Coats long & wide" from the French, but whether the men received them or not is unknown.²⁰⁸ Some men did possess their own greatcoat, however. One sailor who ran away "took with him a blue great coat, with large flat metal buttons."²⁰⁹ Another sailor who ran from the *Alfred* in 1777 had "a blue French Great Coat;" perhaps he acquired it while the ship was in France.²¹⁰ Some men wore what was termed a "Surtout Coat" which seems to have been the same as a greatcoat.²¹¹ A greatcoat proved a liability to at least one sailor. In a letter to George Hancock on the death of his son, John Vincent wrote, "at the time of his falling overboard, he had a great Coat on, which I believe must have been a great annoyance to him."²¹² Finally, the greatcoat could serve as a carry-all or blanket. When Robert Hay left his ship in 1811, he clothed himself "in my best apparel and took a few small articles which I most esteemed... These I tied up in my great coat and thus equipped I went on deck resolved to make the best of my way ashore."²¹³

Sailors, especially those in the merchant fleets, probably owned different sorts of over-garments. One atypical article was the so-called "greygoe." One officer felt compelled to describe them: "Greygoes are large woolen coats, with small thrums inside,

²⁰⁷ Linda Baumgarten, "Under Waistcoats and Drawers," *Dress* 19 (1992), 5-16.

²⁰⁸ Zlatich, "Clothing to be Imported..," 77.

²⁰⁹ *New York Mercury*, 9 Sept. 1754.

²¹⁰ *Boston Independent Chronicle*, 15 May 1777.

²¹¹ *New York Mercury*, 12 Feb. 1759; Paul Dickfoss, "Greatcoats of Runaways Advertised in Rhode Island and Pennsylvania," *The Brigade Dispatch* 33, 2 (2003), 15.

²¹² "Letters from the Lower Deck," *Five Naval Journals*, 359.

and are very warm and well adapted for the extreme coldness which prevails in the winter season; they generally have hoods.”²¹⁴ The thrums, loose woolen fibers, must have been woven through the lining of the coat.

Wool contains a natural oil called lanolin which renders it water resistant. Indeed, a stout woolen coat will repel water for some time before it is penetrated. Men wore their outer jackets, pea coats, and greatcoats to fend off light precipitation. For example, in figure 53, the helmsman and three watch-standing officers wear greatcoats in the driving rain. A seaman in the foreground wears only his every-day coat (and looks miserable because of it), while a black servant wearing nothing but a shirt runs aft with a decanter in hand. Still, in truly wet weather the men dragged their oilskins out of the bottom of their chests. These were probably cut like greatcoats, but were made of oilcloth, a heavy hempen or linen canvas impregnated with oil. Only one period description of such garments exists. Quoted by Henry Bouquet in 1765, it describes a fellow officer's method of making “watch coats” for his light infantry:

I propose a sort of surtout, to preserve men in a great measure both from wet and cold. Take a large shirt, of about half a crown sterling per yard, for it should be pretty fine; cut off the wrist-bands, and continue the opening of the breast down to the bottom; sew up the sides from the gussets downwards; rip out the gathers in the fore parts of the collar as far as the shoulder straps, and resew it plain to the collar. The shirt will then become a sort of watch coat like a bed gown, with very wide sleeves.

Take a quantity of linseed oil, and boil it gently till one half is diminished, to which put a small quantity of litharge of gold [lead oxide], and when it is well incorporated with the oil, lay it on with a brush upon the watch-coat, so that it shall be every where equally wet.

I suppose [sic] the watch coat, hung in a garret, or other covered place, and so suspended by crooked pins and packthread in the

²¹³ Hay, *Landsman Hay*, 186.

²¹⁴ Wilson, *Five Naval Journals*, 160.

extremities of the sleeves and edges of the collar, that one part shall not touch another. In a short time, if the weather is good, it will be dry; when a second mixture of the same kind should be laid on with a brush as before. When the second coat of painting is dry, the grease will not come off and the surtout is an effectual preservative from rain; it is very light to carry, and being pretty full on the back, will not only keep the man dry, but also his pack and ammunition.

The sleeves are left long.... The coat is double breasted to be lapped over, according to which side the rain drives. A man will be kept dry by one of these surtouts as far as the knees....

It would be of service to have a small piece of the same oiled linnen to put under the hat or cap to carry the rain down to the watchcoat or surtout, otherwise whatever wet soaks through the hat or cap, will run down the neck, and thereby in some measure defeat the design of the watchcoat.²¹⁵

Although intended for service in North American woods, such a garment would have been of great service aboard ship, especially when coupled with a sou'wester and tarred trousers.

The subject of tar must be addressed. To be sure, sailors were frequently covered with tar from performing ship maintenance, climbing the rigging, or sitting on the deck. But just how prevalent was the use of Stockholm tar for water-proofing garments? Recent experiments indicate that tar-covered clothing does not hold up all that well during active use. The tar becomes brittle and cracks when the fabric bends. After awhile, only a brown film is left on the cloth. While still minimally water resistant, the tar would have to be frequently reapplied.²¹⁶ Still, this does not rule out the use of tar among seamen, but suggests that the more durable oilcloth may have been more prevalent than tar-slathered slops.

²¹⁵ Henry Bouquet, *An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians in the Year 1764, Under the Command of Henry Bouquet, Esq., Colonel of Foot, and now Brigadier General in America* (Philadelphia, 1765), 47.

²¹⁶ Lawrence E. Babits, "Living History Observations on Sailor's Clothing," Manuscript on file, Maritime Studies Program, East Carolina University.

Formal and Special Occasion Dress

While sailor's spent most of their time in grubby working clothes, certain occasions called for clean, well-made clothing. The most common reason for getting cleaned up and putting on one's best clothes was Sunday muster. In the Royal Navy, most captains stipulated the garments to be worn. As Samuel Leech remembered of Sundays in 1812,

We usually made a sort of holiday of this sacred day. After breakfast it was common to muster the entire crew on the spar deck, dressed as the fancy of the captain might dictate; sometimes in blue jackets and white trowsers, or blue jackets and blue trowsers; at other times in blue jackets, scarlet vests, and blue or white trowsers; with our bright anchor buttons glancing in the sun, and our black, glossy hats, ornamented with black ribbons, and with the name of our ship painted on them.²¹⁷

Robert Wilson wrote in July, 1808 that, "it being Sunday, everyone on board *Unité* cleanly dressed, uniformly, the seamen in white frocks and trowsers and stockings also white shoes with black riband for ties, black silk handkerchiefs and straw hats."²¹⁸

Sailors wore similar garments when foreign dignitaries and other people of rank visited a ship. Aboard the *Unité*, the men frequently had to turn out in their best clothes. In 1806, Robert Wilson noted that "We saluted him [the Bashaw of Algiers] with twenty guns and manned the yards, crew dressed in white frocks and trowsers."²¹⁹ A year later, in March 1807, "Mr. Adair, Ambassador from the Court of Vienna, and his suite came on board; manned the yards (dress blue jackets and white trowsers) and saluted with fifteen

²¹⁷ Leech, *A Voice from the Main Deck*, 79-80.

²¹⁸ Wilson, *Five Naval Journals*, 237.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 139.

guns.”²²⁰

Many captains dressed their barge crews in distinct uniforms. These could be quite flamboyant on occasion. The men of Admiral Anson’s gig wore costumes modeled after those of Thames watermen, and consisted of “scarlet jackets with silver badges on the sleeves, and blue silk waistcoats.”²²¹ At Barcelona in 1802, Captain William Bainbridge’s barge crew wore uniforms of white duck.²²² While on the First Fleet voyage to Australia in 1787, Jacob Nagle served in Governor Phillips’s barge crew. At the market in Rio de Janeiro, he inadvertently fell asleep. “In the morning when I awoke, the Governors barges cap that I wore was gone, my hankerchief off my neck, and what money I had about me was gone. The cap was silver mounted, with a large silver plate in the front with the Portegee coat of arms stamp’d on it, with Portegees letters or charictors on it.”²²³ A 1777 aquatint by Dominic Serres depicts a bargeman in a similar cap (fig. 54).

King George’s yacht crews also wore expensive and sumptuous garments. According to the August 1761 *Gentleman’s Magazine*, “The *Charlotte* and other royal yachts, fell down the river from Deptford, in order to join the fleet off Harwich to proceed to the Elbe. The crew of *Charlotte* are cloathed, at his Majesty’s private expense, in a red uniform, with gold-laced hats, light grey stockings, buckles and pumps.”²²⁴

In wartime, the number of funerals for senior officers increased dramatically. Thomas Hughes witnessed a naval funeral at New York in 1778: “The captain of the

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 219.

²²¹ Jarrett, *British Naval Dress*, 56-57.

²²² Edgar S. Maclay, “Navy Costumes,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 15 April 1893, 358.

²²³ Nagle, *The Nagle Journal*, 90.

²²⁴ *Gentleman’s Magazine*, 31 (1761), 376.

Sultan- a 74 gun ship- having died, he was buried this morning with the honours of war. The corpse was brought on shore attended by all the boats of the Fleet – the rowers all dress'd in white shirts and black caps."²²⁵ The age's most expensive and elaborate funeral was that held for Admiral Lord Nelson, who died at Trafalgar. Seaman John Brown participated in the ceremony. As he wrote to his father-in-law, "There is three hundred of us Pickt out to go to lord Nelsons Funral we are to wear blue Jackets white trowsers and a black scarf round our arms and hats besides gold medal for the battle of trafalgar Valued at £7 1s. round our necks."²²⁶ A Salem, Massachusetts newspaper described the 1813 funeral procession of Captain James Lawrence and Lieutenant Augustus Ludlow of the U.S.S. *Chesapeake*. Their bodies had been fetched from Halifax by local merchant George Crowninshield.

The brig *Henry*, containing the precious relics, clad in sable, lay at anchor in the harbor. At half-past twelve o'clock they were placed in barges, and, preceded by a long procession of boats filled with seamen uniformed in blue jackets, and trousers, with a blue ribbon on their hats bearing the motto of 'Free Trade and Sailors' Rights,' were rowed by minute-strokes to the end of India Wharf, where the bearers were ready to receive the honored dead.²²⁷

At the Duke of Argyll's funeral in 1806, the crew of the revenue cutter *Princess Elizabeth* were "dressed in nankeen, with crapes round their hats," while the *Prince William Henry*'s men wore "white frocks, with black velvet caps trimmed with silver."²²⁸

Finally, the best-known image of the sailor is of him decked out in his shore-going

²²⁵ Thomas Hughes, *A Journal by Thomas Hughes, For his Amusement, & Designed only for his Perusal by the time he attains the Age of 50 if he lives so long* (Cambridge, 1947), 49.

²²⁶ John Brown letter, *Five Naval Journals*, 364.

²²⁷ Quoted in Ralph D. Paine, *The Ships and Sailors of Old Salem* (Chicago, 1912), 377.

²²⁸ Quoted in Haythornthwaite and Younghusband, *Nelson's Navy*, 28.

“rig.” When given liberty, the men invariably dressed in their best clothing. Often these clothes were of the highest quality. While Jacob Nagle wandered about London in 1795, he “was well dressed in silk jacket, waiscoat [sic], and India gingums.”²²⁹ Perhaps the best and most famous description of the sailor ashore comes from Robert Hay. Parts of this have been quoted previously, but it must be repeated in full:

[T]he jolly tar himself was seen with his white demity [dimity, a cotton cloth] trowsers fringed at the bottom, his fine scarlet waistcoat bound with black ribbon, his dark blue broadcloth jacket studded with pearl buttons, his black silk neckcloth thrown carelessly about his sunburnt neck. An elegant hat of straw, indicative of his recent return from a foreign station, cocked on one side; a head of hair reaching to his waistband; a smart switch made from the back bone of a shark under one arm, his doxy under the other, a huge chew of tobacco in his cheek, and a good throat season of double stingo recently deposited within his belt by way of fending off care. Thus fitted out, in good sailing trim, as he himself styles it, he strides along with all the importance of an Indian Nabob.²³⁰

There is no finer portrait of the English sailor than this.

Conclusion

What has been presented hitherto is a collection of idealized images and individual, subjective impressions. Artists had preconceived notions about the appearance of sailors. Masters describing runaway servants mentioned only articles of clothing that stood out. Likewise, sailor's memoirs usually described seamen in picturesque language. None of these sources describe cut or construction methods. What is more, there is no certainty as to what seaman wore on a daily basis. As mentioned earlier, work clothes differ dramatically from shore-going garments. Therefore, to complete the true sailor's portrait, we must turn to archaeologically recovered examples

²²⁹ Nagle, *The Nagle Journal*, 187.

from an English wreck, namely the *General Carleton of Whitby*.

²³⁰ Hay, *Landsman Hay*, 190.

CHAPTER 3: CLOTHING FROM THE *GENERAL CARLETON*

Clothes, it is said, are the most personal of artifacts.¹ They literally touch the body in a way no other artifact does. While traditional, written sources provide scope and elucidate trends, they lack the intimate details that only examination of an original garment can provide. Therefore, to hold an eighteenth-century coat, shirt, or pair of breeches is to connect, in a visceral way, with people of the past. More important than this slightly reverential communion with the past, however, are the details found nowhere else. Construction methods, materials, and repairs through time allow a garment to speak about past economies, trade patterns, and daily usage. These unspoken stories transform a garment into a true historical document.

Many exquisite eighteenth-century garments are curated in museums around the world. But for the most part, these are the dress clothes of the wealthy, not the laborer's everyday garb. We are fortunate therefore to possess an assemblage of sailor clothing preserved in an historic shipwreck. The underwater environment is an excellent preserver of organic material.² Once buried under a protective mantle of silt, objects of wool and leather enjoy miraculous survival rates in the anoxic environment. Vegetable fibers typically do not survive as well. Thus, while archaeologists may recover scores of shoes from a wreck, they may never find a single intact shirt. As with all things, there are exceptions to this rule, and these will be detailed below. Even with differential

¹ Joan Severa and Merrill Horswill, "Costume as Material Culture," *Dress*, 15 (1989), 51.

² Colin J.M. Martin, "Ships as integrated artefacts: the archaeological potential," in Mark Redknap, ed., *Artefacts from Wrecks, Dated Assemblages from the Late Middle Ages to the Industrial Revolution* (Oxford, 1997), 9-11.

preservation, clothing, or at least evidence of clothing, is often recovered. Nearly every wreck yields buttons, buckles, hooks, and other fasteners, even if entire garments have disintegrated. Then there are the spectacular finds, such as those excavated from the *General Carleton of Whitby*: entire garments in near original condition. If one considers the entire spectrum, then a truer image of the sailor reveals itself.

The clothing examined below must not be totally divorced from the context in which it was discovered. It all came from an eighteenth-century British vessel, in this case a merchantman under contract to the navy. It must not be forgotten that the crew's garments were part of a larger social system in which the men lived and died. Therefore, a short history of the ship must be presented.

Built in Whitby, England in 1777, the *General Carleton of Whitby* was designed as a collier, and carried coal between the River Tyne and London. Soon after, the ship was put into the Baltic trade, sailing between London and Riga with cargoes of timber and tar. In 1782, the Navy Board hired the ship as a transport, and the vessel sailed to America. After participating in the evacuation of Savannah and Charleston, the *General Carleton* was ordered to Jamaica, and thence to Portsmouth, England. During the next three years the vessel made repeated voyages to the Baltic.

The *General Carleton* sailed from London for the final time in mid-September 1785. On 27 September, near the mouth of the Piasnica River, northwest of Gdansk, the vessel foundered in a storm, although the exact sequence of events surrounding her loss

must remain conjectural. The master, William Hustler, and all but three of the eighteen crewmen perished.³

In 1991, a recreational diver reported the remains of a vessel near Debki, at the mouth of the Piasnica River, resting in five to seven meters of water. The Central Maritime Museum's Department of Archaeology conducted excavations at the site in 1995 and 1996. After the initial overburden of sand was removed, a second, dense layer of concretions was encountered. Recovered from this matrix were 757 artifacts, including clothing articles that had been covered with the ship's store of pine tar. This assemblage was in a remarkable state of preservation, and included stockings, breeches, trousers, hats, shoes, jackets, waistcoats, and mittens, many in near-original condition.⁴

The recovery of such a large and complete assemblage of documented eighteenth-century sailor clothing invariably raises as many questions as it answers. Approaching the items from an art-historical standpoint such as was presented in chapter two, it was first hypothesized that what period artists drew were not exactly true-to-life renditions of British seamen. After all, any artist worth his salt will alter his subject's bearing, disposition, appearance, or other characteristics to suit the heroic, polemic, or picturesque

³ Stephan Baines, "The History of the *General Carleton*, and some of those connected with her," Unpublished Manuscript, Centralne Muzeum Morskie, Gdansk. There is some question about the number of crew members who actually drowned. A *Lloyd's List* report says that all but three men were lost, but the *Carleton's* final muster roll, completed in February 1787, implies that everyone aboard drowned. The master, William Hustler, certainly perished, as the guardianship of his son was given to the boy's two grandmothers in March 1786. On the other hand, only one skull was discovered aboard the wreck, though the site has not been completely excavated, and the drowned bodies could have easily washed ashore and been buried there.

⁴ Lawrence E. Babits and Waldemar Ossowski, "1785 Common Sailors' Clothing and a Ship's Camboose from the *General Carleton of Whitby*" in Adrian Askins Neidinger and Matthew A. Russell, eds., *Underwater Archaeology* (Tucson, Ariz, 1999), 115-116; Roman Chlebowski and Włodzimierz Kowalski, "Petrographic and Mineralogical Studies of Contemporary Sediments Developed on the Wreck of a Ship on the Baltic Sea Bottom," *Archiwum Mineralogiczne*, 2, 2 (1999), 141-162.

nature of his work. The actual clothing, it was thought, would bear little resemblance to the garments idealized by the artists. Surprisingly, this was not wholly the case. Many recovered garments did, in fact, closely resemble those in artist's renditions, so much so in some cases that art historians might do well to reconsider the use of live models and preparatory sketches rendered from life among eighteenth-century printmakers. On the other hand, many garments from the *General Carleton* were known mainly from descriptions in documents, being rarely portrayed in contemporary art.

Before drawing any conclusions, one must consider a number of other factors. Excavators recovered all of this material from the stern section of the ship, the area traditionally reserved for officers. The presence of silk stockings, a fine broadcloth coat, and a silk waistcoat among the finds suggests that at least some material belonged to either William Hustler, the master, or John Swan, the mate. But the *General Carleton* also carried seven servants, young men ranging in age from twelve to nineteen, who served as apprentice seamen.

The typical apprenticeship lasted seven years and could fall into one of three broad categories. In the first, sons of successful masters or merchants were trained in navigation and mathematics, in addition to learning basic seamanship. These boys were, in effect, groomed for eventual command of their own vessel, and often had successful careers. The second class of apprenticeship, open to those with fewer aspirations, connections, or funds than the first, trained boys in seamanship and basic navigation, but unless one was especially gifted or lucky, a servant of this sort would hardly ever rise higher than second mate. The final class of apprentices would be made up of poor and

orphaned children, or any other boys dependant on the parish for subsistence. It is not likely that any of the latter sort served aboard the *General Carleton*.⁵

Among the materials excavated are two monogrammed items. One bears the initials "RN," the other "IH." These initials can be matched to two servants, Richard Neal and James Hart. Clearly then, at least two of the seven servants were berthed aft. The discovery of a pair of diminutive stockings and shoes and a small waistcoat suggests that there were others quartered here as well. Did the master, who was ostensibly responsible for the servants' schooling and well-being, want to keep them under his watchful eye and away from the corrupting influences of the seamen? And how many recovered garments belonged to these servants? Many jackets are not overly large, but they are adequate to fit grown men who had subsisted on ship's rations during their adolescence. At the same time, some surprisingly well-finished garments could have belonged to boys whose families could afford to outfit them with new and well-made clothes. What we may be seeing is not the clothing of the hard-bitten foremast hands, but the semi-genteel kit of aspiring merchants, masters, and mates.

All these theories, however logical they may seem, are thrown into confusion when one considers a single inescapable fact: the *General Carleton* was wrecked and lay on the bottom of the Baltic for 210 years. The wrecking process and the subsequent decomposition of the ship could not have failed to jumble the artifacts, thus confusing associations and all attempts at making sense of them. Be that as it may, this is still the

⁵ Baines, *General Carleton*, 3-4.

finest collection of working class, or at least working, clothes from the eighteenth-century.

What follows are detailed descriptions of the *General Carlton* clothing as observed and recorded in March 2004. Many pieces are heavily damaged, but as long as condition allowed the taking of accurate measurements, a pattern for each item was drafted. The identifications, accession numbers, and measurements are followed by a basic description of each garment. In addition, construction technique, material used, present condition, and any repairs that indicate use are detailed to create a comprehensive database. For the most part, colors given are a garment's post-conservation color, not its original color. In some cases, it has been possible to determine an artifact's original color, and this has been duly noted. Images of the individual artifacts may be found in the "Plates and Patterns" section beginning on page 167. Plate numbers correspond with numbers given in the following catalogue.

Hats

Excavators recovered five hats that cover the whole spectrum of eighteenth-century headgear. The felt hats are made of wool, rather than fur felt, so were not the highest quality available. These were probably work hats, meant to shield the face and stand up to the weather. Only one hat (plate 3) seems to have ever been cocked, and this was done in a method fashionable for 1785. Yet its crown was coated with tar, which, while no doubt providing protection from rain and spray, ruined any chance of ever being worn as a dress hat.

Plate 1. Brown wool-felt round hat
 W-32/285/95 : CMM/HZ/3189
 Crown height: 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (13.75 cm)
 Crown circumference: 15 in. (37.8 cm) extant
 Brim width: 3 in. (7.5cm)
 Brim circumference: 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (66 cm) extant

This hat was constructed of a single piece of $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (2mm) thick felt, stretched over a form. Stitch holes provide evidence for a brim binding. A shadow around the crown indicates that there was a hat cord. There are, however, no lacing holes, suggesting the hat was never intended to be cocked. Much of the brim decayed after the ship sank, and the remaining fabric has been stitched to a form to stabilize it. The seaman with his back to the viewer in figure 56 wears a similar hat.

Plate 2. Light brown wool-felt round hat
 no number
 Crown height: 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (12 cm)
 Crown circumference: 22 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (57.8 cm)
 Brim width: 4 in. (10 cm)
 Brim circumference: 51 in. (129.7 cm)

This plain round hat was constructed with one piece of $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (2mm) thick wool felt stretched over a form. There is no evidence of binding or lacing. A shadow around the inside of the crown suggests it may have originally had a lining or sweat band. The crown is well preserved, but the brim has been torn and decayed.

Plate 3. Light brown wool-felt cocked hat
 W-32/411/95 : CMM/HZ/3188
 Crown height: 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in (11.5 cm)
 Crown circumference: 23 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (60.5 cm)
 Brim width: 4 $\frac{9}{16}$ in. (11.55 cm)
 Brim circumference: 52 in. (132.6 cm)

This plain hat was constructed from one piece of 1/8 in. (2 mm) thick wool-felt stretched over a form. There was no binding or lining, but the brim was cocked on three sides. The extant lacing holes indicate that the brim was cocked in the 1780's military style, a transition between the triangular hat and the bicorn of the 1790s. Also, a uniformly discolored patch on the top of the crown suggests this hat was originally tarred to render it waterproof. The fashionable design coupled with a utilitarian modification makes for an odd contrast. The most likely answer is that the hat was already old, had seen hard service, and had been relegated to working-class status.

Plate 4. Canvas round hat
CMM/HZ/3135

Crown height: 3 1/2 in. (8.58 cm)

Crown circumference: in. (59.69 cm)

Brim width: 3 3/16 in. (8.10 cm)

Brim circumference: 47 in. (119 cm)

This tarred canvas round hat, or "tarpaulin," is the only example surviving from the eighteenth century. Probably made by a sailor on board the *General Carleton*, the light-weight hemp or linen canvas shell was stitched to a heavily damaged black wool-felt hat using two-ply sail twine. A linen lining inside the hat was probably the felt hat's original lining. The hat was probably constructed using scraps of sail canvas, by someone familiar with sail-construction techniques. The crown's rear seam was flat-felled, and the top attached with an overcast stitch. After construction, the hat was most likely tarred, and indeed, remnants of this process may be seen along the seams (of course, all the artifacts were preserved by tar, so the discoloration might be attributed to

the site formation process). The seaman dancing in the left center in figure 36 wears a similar hat.

Plate 5. Wool knit cap with decorative motifs

W-32/60/95/1 : CMM/HZ/2719

Height, not including fringe: 8 in. (20.2 cm)

Circumference: 17 in. (43.2 cm)

7 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

Stitch circumference: 119

Fringe length: 1 ¼ to 1 ½ in. (3.18 to 3.85 cm)

This well-preserved knit cap has suffered little or no damage, only some discoloration from tar. The pompom and bottom fringe are made of thrums, untwisted lengths of yarn, drawn through a band. There are four 1 ¼ in. (3.18 cm) bands of decoration with checks and diamonds in contrasting yarn. Examining the inside revealed that these motifs were created by Fair Isle knitting in which two colors are worked per row.⁶ The diamonds and squares were created by stranding, whereby yarn of the color not currently used is carried across the back until needed. This forms a distinctive pattern of loose, horizontal threads on the back side.

Mittens and Gloves

Plate 6. Knit woolen mittens, pair

W-32/758/96 : CMM/HZ/3144/ 1 and 2

Left mitten – length: 10 ¾ in. (27.5 cm)

circumference: 8 1/2 in. (22 cm)

Right mitten – length: 11 ½ in. (28.7 cm)

circumference: 8 1/2 in. (22 cm)

Stitch circumference – at wrist: 61

at thumb: 22

⁶ Gale Diven and Cindy Kitchel, *The Complete Idiot's Guide to Knitting and Crocheting* (New York, 1999), 114-115.

Hand-knit in the round with what was originally grey or natural wool yarn, these well-preserved mittens feature a ¼ in. (6.4mm) wide band of checkering at the wrist. The points of the hands and thumbs were formed by simply dropping stitches. The wrist hem is three stitches wide. The two sides differ slightly, suggesting that they were made by an amateur knitter, perhaps a crew member's sister or sweetheart.

Plate 7. Left-hand knit glove with fringe

CMM/HZ/3130

Length: 11 ¼ in. (38.5 cm)

Width: 3 ½ in. (9 cm)

Fringe length: ¾ in. (1.91 cm)

Hand stitch circumference: 67

The glove is decorated with two rows of fringe, framing a band of checkering (each check is seven stitches high by four stitches wide). In addition, decorative three-stitch wide channels run along the back of the hand to the finger tips. This glove was made by someone well versed in a wide range of knitting techniques. The first three fingers were torn and later darned. There were also unrepaired holes in the thumb and palm. The damage and repairs suggest the gloves were worn while handling lines or climbing aloft, a practice generally frowned upon as being dangerous and unseaman-like.⁷

Handkerchief

Plate 8. Spotted silk handkerchief

CMM/HZ/NW/1218

Length: 36 in. (91.44 cm)

Width: 8 in. (20.32 cm)

⁷ Gardner, *Under Hatches*, 67.

Each spot ¼ in. (6.4 mm) wide

Although often depicted in period images (figs. 35, 38, 40, 51), this is the only patterned handkerchief known to exist. It is now black with white spots, but may originally have been red or blue, both colors substantiated by the images. The two ends are selvages, 1/16 in. (1.5 mm), and the long sides are finished with a rolled hem, proving that neck handkerchiefs were not 36 in. (91.44 cm) squares as often surmised.⁸

Shirts

Plate 9. Blue and white striped linen shirt fragment

CMM/HZ/NW/1224/1

Sleeve length: 16 ¼ in. (41.28 cm)

Sleeve width: 9 ¼ in. (23.50 cm)

Collar width: 2 ¾ in. (6.99 cm)

44 warps per inch/ 2.5 cm

Despite heavy damage, enough remains of this shirt to show that it was finely constructed in the contemporary mode (see figs. 31 and 32). Made of moderately fine linen with 1/16 in. (1.5 mm) wide blue stripes, the shirt's pieces were joined using a very fine and even backstitch (11 per inch, 6 per cm), indicating that a skilled seamstress created this specimen. The sleeve was pieced together from two 9 ¼ in. (23.50 cm) wide lengths of fabric. The underside of the arm is sewn with a typical felled seam, but on the top of the arm, the pieces were butted and joined by over-handing (*point d'surjet*). Pattern and construction techniques are typical of the period, save for the inside shoulder treatment, where the gathers have been closely overcast to keep them from raveling.

⁸ Merideth Wright, *Everyday Dress in Rural America, 1783-1800* (New York, 1992), 66; Mary Moyers Johnson, Judy Forbes, Kathy Delaney, *Historic Colonial French Dress* (Chelsea, Mich., 1982), 19.

Plate 10. Checked shirt sleeve fragment

W-32/633/91

Length: 9 in. (22.86 cm) extant

Cuff: 5/8 in. (1.59 cm) wide

The color on this specimen has completely faded, but it is possible to discern the check weave of the fabric. The checks are each 3/16 in. (5 mm) square. The sleeve is very finely gathered to the cuff. The most interesting feature is that the cuff closed with cuff links. There is a 5/8 in. (1.59 cm) long buttonhole on each side of the cuff, to accept the studs. See figure 35 for a similar example.

Waistcoats

Plate 11. Double-breasted linen waistcoat

CMM/HZ/3143

Left side – length: 16 in. (40.64 cm) extant
width: 11 3/4 in. (29.85 cm)

Right side – length: 15 in. (38.10 cm) extant
width: 11 3/4 in. (29.85 cm)

Back panels – length at center back seam: 19 in. (48.26 cm)
width: at armpits: 9 in. (22.86 cm)

False pocket welt: 1 1/4 in. by 6 in. (3.18 cm by 15.24 cm)

This double-breasted waistcoat is made of off-white linen canvas (36 to 40 warps per inch/ 2.5 cm) and closes with eight 9/16 in. (1.43 cm) diameter buttons per side. The front panels have been pieced using a one inch (2.54 cm) wide felled seam, such as used in sail making. The rest of the seams are felled as well, while the edges were rolled 1/4 in. (6.4 mm) and overcast. The front edges are topstitched with a running stitch, 6 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm. The collar is rolled and finished with a double line of topstitching worked with backstitches, 5 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm. The conserved waistcoat has been mounted on a linen backing. In figure 40, John Crawford wears a similar waistcoat.

Plate 12. Left front silk waistcoat panel fragment

W-32/206/95

Length: 13 ½ in. (34.29 cm) extant

Width: 14 in. (35.56 cm)

Made of light green silk, this finely constructed single-breasted waistcoat may have belonged to the mate or master. Only three 1 in. (2.54 cm) button holes are extant, but these are very well made, with both ends finished with a bar tack. The light-weight wool facing is 3 7/8 in. (9.84 cm) wide, but the linen lining was sewn to it 2 in. (5.08 cm) from the outer edge. The lining is marked by a row of running stitches that appear on the panel's surface. The edges are finished with topstitching worked with a running stitch, 8 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm. The welt, 8 in. by 1 in. (20.32 cm by 2.54 cm) is still in place, and finished with a double row of topstitching.

Plate 13. Front wool waistcoat panel

W-32/15/95

Length: 21 in. (53.34 cm)

Width: 14 ½ in. (36.83 cm)

Made of heavy dark-brown wool (possibly blanket material), this waistcoat was fairly crudely made, despite its fashionable cut. The seams were worked with coarse brown thread using only running stitches. The back is missing, but was likely made of the same fabric as the front. The buttonholes are unbound, and there is no evidence they ever were. The upper two buttonholes are 1 ½ in. (3.81 cm) long, suggesting that the lapels were meant to be turned back. There is no evidence of buttons being attached to

the panel, so the waistcoat was probably single-breasted. All edges were bound with tape, none of which survives.

Jackets and Coats

The jackets run the gambit from fine to extremely crude. Their makers took great care to sew them strongly, but one may discern varying skill levels among the jackets. Many have been extensively pieced, not just in an inconspicuous place, but often on the front panel. One rarely sees such economy on the fancy coats of the upper-class. Are such details indicative of poverty, a shortage of fabric, or the intended use for these garments? That is, since these jackets were intended to be worked in and worn out, were they constructed with bits and pieces left from other projects? Another matter for consideration is the linings. At least two jackets were never lined, while the rest have linings of thick, loosely-woven brown wool (incidentally, these linings may have been white originally, although they are now stained light to medium brown). Were these linings original to the jackets, or were they added later, in anticipation of autumn in the Baltic? Interestingly, some lining material is similar to blankets recovered from the wreck. The men could have easily cut up blankets to line their jackets when the weather turned cold.

The color of these artifacts is also noteworthy. Of fifteen jackets or jacket parts, nine were brown, six blue. Obviously, neither the sample size nor the state of

preservation of some fragments can support a claim that sailors wore brown more frequently than blue, but it is surprising to see so many brown coats at this date.⁹

Plate 14. Double-breasted jacket

CMM/HZ/3147

Overall length: 23 1/16 in. (58.58 cm)

Chest: 37 in. (93.98 cm)

Back shoulder width: 15 1/2 in. (39.37 cm)

This, the best preserved specimen in the assemblage, is made of heavily felted wool. The original color preserved on the inside of the pocket welt is a medium brown. The jacket closes with eight 1 1/16 in. (1.75 cm) buttons per side. All seams are felled and as there is no stitch line or shadow on the front facing, the jacket was unlined. The 2 in. (5.08 cm) wide facing itself is fastened to the body along the inner edge using an overcast stitch. A 1/2 in. (1.27 cm) wide fabric strip runs the entire length of the front panels behind the buttons to provide a sturdy anchor point. This feature is rarely seen in surviving clothing, and then usually only on military uniforms.¹⁰ The back was assembled in a strange fashion. It was cut in one piece, then split down the middle to within 1 1/2 in. (3.8 cm) of the collar. The split was then overlapped and sewn with overcast stitches. There is no way to know if this was done when the garment was originally constructed, or if it was a later modification. The cuffs are cut *à la marinère*, with a buttoned placket. This allowed the cuffs to be rolled back for work. The uppermost placket button is merely sewn on – there is no buttonhole. Finally, all edges

⁹ See chapter 2, pg. 93 for a discussion of dyes.

¹⁰ Henry M. Cooke, "Revolutionary War Uniforms, Construction Details and Finishing Touches," in *Symposium Papers, Issued to the Troops: Military Uniforms of the Last Half of the 18th Century* (Wilmington, Del., 1996), n.p.

are bound with ½ in. (1.27 cm) worsted twill tape, including the cuff placket and slit. A similar coat, but of blue wool with silver buttons, may be seen on the left-hand sailor in figure 56.

Plate 15. Double-breasted jacket left front panel

W-32/408/95

Length: 27 ½ in. (69.85 cm)

Width at armpit: 17 ½ in. (44.45 cm) extant

Made of brown wool broadcloth, this jacket closed with eight ¾ in. (1.91 cm) buttons per side. The line of stitching that attached the lining to the shell is visible along the facing. The shell is composed of four pieces, joined with fine backstitches, while the facing is made up of five irregular pieces, the ragged edges of which were covered by the lining. A line of running stitches and color variation indicate that the jacket was bound with tape originally.

Plate 16. Right front jacket panel or lining

CMM/HZ/NW/1235

Length: 25 in. (63.5 cm)

Width: 9 ½ in. (24.5 cm)

Made of plain brown wool cloth, this fragment is difficult to identify. The lack of buttonholes suggests it is the right front panel of a single-breasted jacket, but there is no evidence of button attachment. Furthermore, the bottom edge and back seam are turned under, as if originally joined to a lining. This piece may have been a lining itself. The neck opening was bound. This also could have belonged to a waistcoat.

Plate 17. Right front double-breasted jacket panel and lining fragments

W-32/6/95

Length: 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (47.63 cm) extant

Width: 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (41.60 cm)

Only three 1 in. (2.54 cm) long buttonholes remain on this brown wool broadcloth jacket panel fragment. The facing, 2 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (5.5 cm) wide, is irregular on the inside edge, but was covered by the lining, a light-brown loosely-woven wool. The shell was pieced under the arm.

Plate 18. Blue broadcloth coat fragment and covered button

W-32/410/95 and 95 B

Length: 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (57.15 cm) extant

Width: 19 in. (48.26 cm)

This was a high-quality garment made of fine broadcloth. The fabric has been so well felted that the edges do not ravel and were left unhemmed. The facing, of the same fabric, is set back slightly from the edge and tapers from 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (13.34 cm) at the top to a point 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (6.35 cm) from the bottom of the coat. The facing is attached to the shell along the outer edge with running stitches, and along the inner edge with an overcast stitch. The single remaining buttonhole is placed square, although the coat's front edge curves away, providing what would have been a fashionable silhouette. The 1 in. (2.54 cm) wooden button form is covered with a 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (3.81 cm) square of blue linen or linsey-woolsey gathered to fit. Such a fine coat may have belonged to the master or mate. The departing sailor in figure 56 wears such a coat.

Plate 19. Blue broadcloth sleeve fragments and lining

W-32/316/95

Sleeve- length on diagonal: 21 ½ in. (54.61 cm)
 width at top: 8 ¼ in. (20.96 cm), at cuff 5 5/8 in. (14.29 cm)
 Cuff – length: 6 ¼ in. (15.86 cm)
 width, one half: tapers from 5 ¾ to 5 ½ in. (14.61 cm to 13.97 cm)
 Lining – length: 6 ¾ in. (17.15 cm) extant
 width: 7 ¾ in. (19.69 cm)

This fine blue broadcloth sleeve fragment may have been part of coat W-32/410/95. The fabric is the same weight and weave. The turned-back cuff corresponds stylistically with the coat's pattern. The lining fragment is made of loosely woven brown wool. The measurements of this piece do not match the sleeve's dimensions, and so it may have belonged to a different coat or jacket.

Plate 20a. Blue wool jacket and lining fragments
 W-32/248/95

Right front panel – length: 23 ½ in. (59.69 cm)
 width: 14 in. (35.56 cm)

This jacket was probably constructed by a crew member, or some other amateur tailor. The buttonholes are on the right side, whereas, even in the period, they were always placed on the left.¹¹ Only six buttonholes remain, but judging from the spacing there were originally nine. The 7 in. (17.78 cm) long pocket slit was finished with a 1 in. (2.54 cm) high welt. There is a 3 in. (7.62 cm) wide facing behind the buttonholes. This was cut from the fabric's selvedge. The jacket's edges may have been bound originally, but the front edge was also folded under, behind the facing, and topstitched with a running stitch.

¹¹ A search through numerous costume books did not reveal a single men's garment with buttonholes on the right. This convention dates to at least the fourteenth century. Sarah Thursfield, *The Medieval Tailor's Assistant* (Carlton, Bedford, UK, 2001), 55.

Plate 20b. W-32/249/95

Overall length of three panels and lining: 39 ¼ in. (99.70 cm)

Maximum height: 14 ⅞ in. (37.78 cm)

These parts are associated with fragment W-32/248/95, and include the left front panel, back panel, and assorted lining pieces from one jacket. The shell panels are cut from the same blue broadcloth. The lining was cut from brown, blanket-like wool, and later patched with even heavier and coarser brown wool. This second, coarser fabric extends 5 ½ in. (13.97 cm) up from the bottom of the back panels and is sewn to the original lining with a thick yarn-like wool thread. This is almost certainly a later repair, as the earlier lining is clearly torn.

Plate 21. Left front jacket panel

Un-numbered

Length: 21 ¾ in. (55.25 cm)

Width: 13 ¾ in. (34.93 cm)

This blue broadcloth jacket or waistcoat fragment is unusual in that it has two rows of buttonholes. The first row of 5 buttonholes runs about ½ in. (1.27 cm) from the edge and features buttonholes ¾ and 1 in. (1.91 and 2.54 cm) long. The second row has 6 buttonholes, each between ¾ and 1 5/8 in. (1.91 and 4.13 cm) long. This is a strange configuration, and there is no obvious reason for having been made like this. None of the buttonholes appear to have been sewn closed, so the second row was not created to alter the garment's size. Likewise, they are not torn or stretched.

22. Nine associated woolen jacket parts

W-32/184/95/1 and 2

Left front panel – length: 9 in. (22.86cm) extant
width: 8 7/8 in. (22.54 cm)
Left sleeve – length: 21 1/2 in. (54.61 cm)
width at shoulder: 8 in. (20.32 cm)

This jacket was constructed of what was probably a dark-blue, plain-woven woolen, although it is a rusty grayish-brown. Four 1 in. (2.54 cm) buttonholes are extant. The jacket was originally lined with brown blanket-weight wool. The extant facing, 2 7/8 in. (6.67 cm) wide, was pieced together from three irregular scraps of the shell fabric. The lining was overcast stitched on top of the facing. The pocket welt, no longer attached at the pocket slit, is 6 3/4 in. (17.15 cm) long, and 1 1/2 in. (3.81 cm) wide. The edges of the jacket were originally bound with tape. The upper left sleeve, also found in association with the front panel, is 21 1/2 in. (54.61 cm) long and 8 in. (20.32 cm) wide at the shoulder. The cuff was slit 5 1/2 in. (13.97 cm) to accept a buttoned placket, just like jacket CMM/HZ/3147 (plate 14). A three button cuff placket was also found in association with other pieces, but since it is 6 1/8 in. (15.56 cm) long, and the sleeve slit is only 5 1/2 in., the placket may not have belonged to this jacket. Note: No image available.

Plate 23. Six woolen jacket and lining fragments
W-32/254/95 : CMM/HZ/NW/401
Front panel- length: 19 in. (48.26 cm)
width: 13 in. (33.02 cm)

These fragments seem to belong to the same jacket. The shell is made of brown broadcloth and lined with a loosely-woven brown woolen (18 wefts per inch/ 2.5 cm). Only seven buttonholes are extant. The jacket may have been double-breasted, yet this

fragment appears to have been the right side, and there is no evidence for button placement.

Plate 24. Right back jacket panel
W-32/409/95
Height: 23 ½ in. (59.69cm)
Width at armpit: 6 ½ in. (16.51 cm)

This panel is made of heavily felted, dark brown wool broadcloth. The seams were backstitched with a 3/16 in. (4.7 mm) seam allowance. The bottom edge is unhemmed, although above this, a line of stitching shows that the lining was tacked down. Since there is no evidence of stitching at the arm scye, this may, in fact, have been a waistcoat back.

Plate 25. Jacket front placket fragment
W-32/651/96 : CMM/HZ/NW/1233
Length: 12 ½ in. (31.5 cm)
Width: 4 1/8 in. (10.5 cm)

This brown woolen fragment was most likely the left front placket of a jacket. The five remaining buttonholes are each 2 in. (4.6 cm) long. The front edge is finished with a row of running stitches.

Plate 26. Small woolen jacket back panels
Un-numbered
Height of one panel: 15 ½ in. (39.37 cm)
Width of one panel: 5 5/8 in. (14.29 cm)

This child-sized jacket or waistcoat was made of heavily felted wool dyed with indigo or other dye to produce a rich, deep blue. There are no patches or obvious signs of wear, and no stitching other than the seams.

Plate 27. Lower back jacket fragment

W-32/60/95/2

Height: 10 ¼ in. (26.04cm) extant

Width at top: 10 7/8 in. (27.62 cm)

Width at bottom: 12 in. (30.48 cm)

This fragment of dark yellowish brown, heavily-felted wool has a raised nap on both sides. Judging from its shape, this is probably the lower portion of a jacket's back panel. The fabric may be duffil or fearnought, two popular textiles used for outergarments in the period.

Plate 28. Jacket cuff placket

W-32/229/95 : CMM/HZ/NW/1216

Length: 6 ½ in. (16.51cm)

Width: 1 ¾ in. (4.45 cm)

Made of a double thickness of light-weight blue wool, this three button placket was mounted on a right sleeve originally. The bottom piece is joined to the top with a running stitch.

Plate 29. Pocket flap

W-32/208/95

Length: 6 ¼ in. (15.86 cm)

Width: 2 ½ in. (6.35 cm) tapering to 1 ⅞ in. (4.76 cm)

The shape of this greenish-brown lightweight woolen suggests that it was a buttoned pocket flap for a jacket or coat. Two extant buttonholes are each $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (1.59 cm) long. The two layers were joined by turning the edges under and topstitching them.

Breeches and Trousers

Incomplete excavation and differential preservation have again skewed any conclusions one might make concerning the breeches and trousers recovered. Two pair of breeches, as well as the petticoat breeches, were clearly working garments, as was the only pair of trousers found. The other two black woolen breeches were much finer, but even these had been ripped and repaired. Again, once-good clothing had been repaired and adapted, and presumably would have been used until it was good for nothing but rags.

Plate 30. Brown woolen breeches fragments W-32/769/97

Left front shell – length: 21 in. (53.34 cm) extant
width: 14 in. (35.56 cm)
fall height: 5 in. (12.7 cm)

Left front lining – length: 20 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (51.44 cm) extant
width: 12 in. (30.48 cm) extant

Right back shell – length: 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (54.61 cm)
width: 14 in. (35.56 cm)

Right back lining – length: 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (52.07 cm) extant
width: 14 in. (35.56 cm)

The shell of this specimen is brown wool, the lining of light-brown wool, with a twill weave. All four pieces are heavily damaged. The waist, without accounting for gathering at the waistband, is 45 in. (114.3 cm), but the actual waist was probably closer to 30 to 32 in. (76.2 cm to 81.28 cm).

Plate 31. Black woolen breeches fragments

W-32/318/95

Right leg – length: 11 ½ in. (29.21cm) extant
width: 6 ½ in. (16.51 cm) at knee

Left leg – length: 9 in. (22.86 cm) extant
width: 6 ½ in. (16.51 cm) at knee

Knee band 1 ½ in. (2.86 cm) by 15 in. (38.1cm)

Knee placket 9 in. (22.86 cm) long

Although these breeches appear to be made of silk, examination of fibers under the microscope revealed that they are wool. Only the lower parts of the legs remain. They were damaged at the knees and darned with black worsted thread. The plackets close with four buttons and are faced with 2 in. (5.08 cm) wide pieces of wool. The facings are not sewn down on the inside edge, but rather are made fast by the buttonholes. The outer edge of the plackets are finished with a running topstitch. The knee bands curve behind the knee to allow for ease of movement, and are designed to accept a buckle, the tongue of which punched a hole in the band.

Plate 32. Petticoat Breeches fragment

Un-numbered

Maximum dimensions: 8 ⅝ in. (21.91 cm) by 9 ½ in. (24.13 cm)

Although fragmentary, it is possible to reconstruct this overgarment. Made of heavy hemp canvas, probably sail scraps, it was quickly and crudely made. The waistband consists of an 8 in. (20.32 cm) wide strip of fabric folded in the middle and whipstitched to the body. The body panels were simply rectangular canvas pieces sewn together with felled seams. The body was gathered to the waistband with a series of ¾ in. (1.91 cm) wide pleats, six of which are extant on the left side. At some point after

construction, the button was removed and the right waistband was sewn behind the left, with an overlap of 3 in. (7.62 cm).

Plate 33. Blue-grey woolen breeches

W-32/771/97 : CMM/HZ/3136

Length overall: 23 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (58.5 cm)

Inseam: 14 $\frac{15}{16}$ in. (38 cm)

Waist: 31 to 36 in. (78.74 cm to 91.44 cm), with gusset extended

Knee circumference: 13 $\frac{13}{16}$ in. (35 cm)

These breeches are made of coarse kersey, with alternating warps of blue and grey thread. While possibly lined originally, no trace remains. These were clearly working breeches, being robustly made. There is a 4 $\frac{5}{16}$ in. (11 cm) long vent at the knee, but no knee band; the bottom hem was bound with tape. Strangely, only the left vent had a button and buttonhole. Stranger still, for breeches with an English provenance, is the fall arrangement. This opens on the right side only, a style favored by Hessians of the period.¹² None of the crew were German, however, so these breeches may have been acquired at a German port such as Danzig (Gdansk). On the other hand, this style may have been popular among British laborers as well. The lack of comparative material compounds problems of identification.

Plate 34. Black wool breeches lined with coarse brown wool

W-32/347/95 : CMM/HZ/3187

Length overall: 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (50.17 cm)

Waist: 26 to 28 in. (66.04 to 71.12 cm)

Inseam: 14 in. (35.56 cm)

¹² Personal communication, Dr. Lawrence Babits, 8 May 2004.

The shell is made of a fine black wool (possibly swanskin), and has been pieced at the crotch and seat. They may have been lined with linen originally, a remnant of which can be seen at the waistband, but they were later lined with rough brown blanket wool, probably in anticipation of a Baltic voyage. The lining has been pieced together somewhat awkwardly, and is reinforced with a large patch in the seat. The pockets are faced with the same fabric as the shell and retain their original linen pocket bags. Both the fall and the knee placket are faced with shalloon, a glazed twilled wool. The edges of the pocket and fall are left raw and topstitched with a double row of running stitches. Although rarely depicted wearing breeches, the seaman in figure 20 wears a pair similar to these.

Plate 35. Blanket trousers

W-32/346/95

Length overall: 35 ¼ in. (89.54 cm)

Inseam: 24 ¼ in. (61.60 cm)

Waist: 27 in. (68.58 cm)

These trousers were made from a stiff and heavily felted blanket. An embroidered "X" on the waistband matches those found on two of three blankets. As with the blankets, these trousers were probably white, although they are now stained brown. All seams were sewn right sides together, turned, and felled, and the edges left raw.

Plate 36. Brown wool waistband fragment with button

W-32/606/95

Length: 7 ½ in. (19.05 cm)

Width: tapers from 2 ⅞ in. to 1 11/16 in. (5.40 cm to 4.29 cm)

Button diameter: ⅞ in. (2.22 cm)

This fragment was part of left side of a breeches or trouser waistband. The material is coarse, 20 warps per inch (2.5 cm). The buttonhole is 1 ¼ in. (3.18 cm) long.

Stockings

This may very well be the single largest collection of eighteenth-century common stockings in the world. Interestingly, the same number of stockings (thirteen) were frame-knit as were hand-knit (the pairs were counted as a single stocking). One would expect sailors in a cold climate to have preferred coarser hand-knit stockings, but this was clearly not the case. On the other hand, only two stockings were made of silk, the rest being knit of worsted woolen yarn. Only one stocking bore initials that could be matched to a servant, but the small size of several stockings suggests that others belonged to them as well. For some reason, knit woolen garments were better preserved than anything else, which accounts for the large number of stockings recovered. Also, these were clearly not in storage, or held as someone's private venture. Nearly all bear signs of wear and repair. Period images almost always show the men wearing trousers, and so their stockings are covered. Runway advertisements, however, do often describe stockings, and many of these sound similar to the following artifacts

Plate 37. Hand-knit wool stocking pair
 Stocking 1: W-32/61/95 : CMM/HZ/3156/1
 Stocking 2: W-32/207/95 : CMM/HZ/3156/2
 Overall length with foot extended: 29 ½ in. (74.93 cm)
 Foot length: 8 ½ in. (21.59 cm)
 8 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

These tan to light-brown hand-knit wool stockings were sewn up the back. The welts are $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (2.22 cm) high and consist of two rows knit, two rows purled. The rest of the stockings are knit with a stockinette stitch. Stocking 1 was darned at the heel and toe. About $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. (9.21cm) from the toe of stocking 1, the yarn changes color, probably because the knitter ran out of yarn and had to change skeins.

Plate 38. Hand-knit wool stocking pair

Stocking 1: CMM/HZ/3203

Stocking 2: W-32/512/95 : CMM/HZ/3046

Overall length with foot extended: 29 in. (73.66 cm)

Foot length: $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. (24.13 cm)

7 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

These natural, hand-knit woolen stockings are closed at the back with large stitches. Judging from the crude nature of the knitting, these were probably homemade. The welts are $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (1.27 cm) high, finished with two rows of garter stitch. The rest of the stockings are knit with stockinette stitch. The soles are integral. Stocking 1 has been darned at the heel and toe. Part of the toe of stocking 2 is missing.

39. Hand-knit wool stocking

W-32/517/95 : CMM/HZ/3156/6

Overall length with foot extended: 29 in. (73.66cm)

Foot length: 10 in. (25.4 cm)

8 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

This stocking was probably knit by the same hand that made the previous pair of stockings. It is knit of the same wool and has almost the same dimensions. The welt, however, is $\frac{9}{16}$ in. (1.43 mm) wide and consists of three rows of garter stitching. There are no repairs. Note: No image available.

Plate 40. Frame-knit silk stocking pair

Stocking 1: W-32/283/95/1 : CMM/HZ/3047/1

Stocking 2: W-32/283/95/2 : CMM/HZ/3047/2

Overall length with foot extended: 31 in. (78.74 cm)

Foot length: 9 5/8 in. (24.45 cm)

16 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

These white to light-tan frame-knit stockings were sewn up the back. These are very finely made. The welts are 3/8 in. (9.5 mm) wide, and are finished with three bands of garter stitching. The rest of the stockings are knit with a stockinette stitch. The soles are integral and the toe pointed. A 4 in. (10.16 cm) high length of decorative stitching, or clocking, runs up the ankles. Stocking 1 has been darned at the heel and the top of the ankle, as was stocking 2. This pair may have belonged to an officer.

Plate 41. Small frame-knit wool stocking pair

Stocking 1: CMM/HZ/3192/1

Stocking 2: CMM/HZ/3192/2

Overall length with foot extended: 24 in. (60.96 cm)

Foot length: 7 3/4 in. (19.69 cm)

15 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

These dark-blue wool frame-knit stockings have a brown toe. Because of their diminutive size, they probably belonged to a juvenile. The 1/2 in. (1.27 cm) wide welts are alternately knit 5 and purled 6 on stocking 1, but knit 5 and purled 4 on stocking 2. The rest of the stockings are knit with a stockinette stitch. The soles are integral, but 3 1/2 in. (8.89 cm) of each toe is finished with a light-colored yarn. These show no signs of wear.

Plate 42. Frame-knit wool stocking pair

Stocking 1: W-32/516/95

Stocking 2: CMM/HZ/3113/2

Overall length with foot extended: 29 ½ in. (74.93 cm)

Foot length: 10 in. (25.4 cm)

10 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

These brown wool stockings were frame-knit. The foot of stocking 1 is missing.

The welt on stocking 1 is ¾ in. (1.91 cm) deep, but ½ in. (1.27 cm) on stocking 2. A 2 ½

in. (6.35 cm) band of darker yarn decorates the knee. Stocking 1 was damaged and

repaired at the heel and ankle, stocking 2 at the heel, toe, and top of the foot.

Plate 43. Frame-knit wool stocking pair

Stocking 1: CMM/HZ/NW/1225

Stocking 2: W-32/288/95

Overall length with foot extended: 30 in. (76.2 cm)

Foot length: 9 in. (22.86 cm)

12 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

These frame-knit wool stockings are sewn up the back. They are now almost black, but may have been blue, or even deep red, originally. Of stocking 2, only the foot remains. About 5 in. (12.7 cm) from the toe, the thread color changes to a slightly lighter color. The same color variation extends 2 ¼ in. (5.72 cm) down from the top. The surviving welt is 3/8 in. (9.5 mm) wide and is finished with two rows of garter stitch.

Stocking 1 was damaged and darned at the heel.

Plate 44. Hand-knit wool stocking

W-32/600/96 : CMM/HZ/3198

Overall length with foot extended: 27 ½ in. (69.85 cm)

Foot length: 8 ¼ in. (20.96 cm)

8 stitches per inch/2.5 cm

This hand-knit stocking is made of black-flecked natural wool. The foot is darker, as if stained from wearing wet shoes. There is not a proper welt, the top being finished with only a binding stitch. The entire stocking is knit with a stockinette stitch, and the sole is integral. The most interesting feature is the monogram worked on the upper front near the knee. This reads "TH," but there are loose threads at the bottom of the "T." It may have originally read "JH" or "IH", in which case this stocking probably would have belonged to James Hart, one of seven servants aboard.¹³ There are two repaired holes on the bottom of the sole.

Plate 45. Knit wool stocking

CMM/HZ/3113/1

Overall length with foot extended: 28 ¾ in (73.03 cm)

Foot length: 10 1/16 in. (25.56 cm)

12 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

It is difficult to determine if this stocking was hand-knit or frame-knit. The fineness of the stitching suggests it was frame-knit, but many stitches seem irregular, as if done by hand. The top is finished with two rows of two-stitch-wide garter stitches. About 3 ⅝ in. (9.21 cm) of the toe is composed of slightly different colored yarn. There is a darned repair at the back of the ankle.

Plate 46. Frame-knit wool stocking

W-32/177/95

Overall length with foot extended: 27 ½ in. (69.85 cm)

Foot length: about 8 ½ in. (21.59 cm)

18 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

¹³ Baines, *General Carleton*, 20.

This dark-blue or black frame-knit wool stocking was sewn up the back. The welt is $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (2.22 cm) wide, knit 1, purl 1. The rest of the stocking is knit with a stockinette stitch. The sole is applied, and it has been heavily darned at the heel and toe.

Plate 47. Hand-knit wool stocking

W-32/30/95

Overall length with foot extended: 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (62.23 cm) extant

Foot length: 8 in. (20.32 cm) extant

18 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

This natural colored hand-knit wool stocking is heavily damaged at welt and toe. The rest of the stocking is knit with a stockinette stitch. The sole is integral. There is darning at the ankle, heel, and the side of the big toe.

Plate 48. Frame-knit wool stocking

W-32/312/95 : CMM/HZ/NW/638

Overall length with foot extended: 26 in. (66.04 cm)

Foot length: 8 in. (20.32 cm)

17 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

This frame-knit, tan wool stocking is sewn up the back. It was perhaps originally white. There is no welt, only a row of garter stitching along the top. The rest of the stocking is knit with a stockinette stitch. The sole is applied, and about 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (11.43 cm) of the toe is stained darker. The ankle was damaged and darned.

Plate 49. Ribbed frame-knit wool stocking

W-32/616/96 : CMM/HZ/NW/640

Overall length with foot extended: 30 in. (76.2 cm)

Foot length: 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (23.5 cm)

24 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

This finely ribbed, frame-knit wool stocking is sewn up the back. It may have been blue or even red originally. There is no welt, only a single row of garter stitching along the top. The rest of the ribbed leg was done knit 1, purl 1, to form the fine ribs. Both the sole and the top of the foot were knit separately and sewn together. These elements were done in a plain stockinette stitch. The heel was damaged and darned.

Plate 50. Ribbed frame-knit wool stocking

CMM/HZ/NW/1238

Overall length with foot extended: 28 ½ in. (72.39 cm) extant

Foot length: 5 in. (12.7 cm) extant

25 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

This finely ribbed frame-knit wool stocking is sewn up the back. It varies from tan to black, but was probably light colored originally. The welt is ¼ in. (6.4 mm) wide and finished like the rest of the stocking. The ribbed leg was done knit 1, purl 1, to form the fine ribs. Both the sole and the toe are applied, but much of the toe and sole are missing. The stocking was heavily worn, with large patches of darning at the ankle, heel, and calf.

51. Ribbed frame-knit wool stocking

CMM/HZ/3156/7

Overall length with foot extended: 28 ½ in. (72.39 cm) extant

Foot length: 7 ¾ in. (19.69 cm) extant

24 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

Wide ribbed frame-knit brown wool stocking. The welt is ¾ in. (1.91 cm) wide, finished with a plain stockinette stitch. The rest of the stocking is stitched knit 2, purl 1

to form ribs. The sole is applied, and a portion of the toe is missing. It is heavily darned at heel, ankle and toe. Note: No image available.

Plate 52. Hand-knit wool stocking
W-32/207/95 : CMM/HZ/3156/3
Overall length with foot extended: 30 in. (76.2 cm)
Foot length: 10 ½ in. (26.67 cm)
8 stitches per inches/ 2.5 cm

This hand-knit natural wool stocking is sewn up the back. The welt is ⅝ in. (1.59 cm) wide and finished with ribbing using a knit 2, purl 2 combination. The rest of the stocking is knit with a stockinette stitch. The sole is integral, and the toe has been drawn to a point by decreasing stitches. The sole suffered heavy damaged due to site formation processes, but there is no other sign of wear or damage.

Plate 53. Hand-knit wool stocking
W-32/406/95 : CMM/HZ/3156/5
Overall length with foot extended: 25 ¼ in. (64.14 cm)
Foot length: 7 ½ in. (19.05 cm)
11 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

This hand-knit wool stocking is sewn up the back. It may have been black or dark-blue originally. The welt is ¼ in. (6.4 mm) wide and consists of two rows of garter stitches. The rest of the stocking is knit with a stockinette stitch. The sole is integral. The heel and the ball of the foot are darned.

Plate 54. Hand-knit wool stocking
W-32/314/95 : CMM/HZ/NW/643
Overall length with foot extended: 21 ⅜ in. (54.29 cm) extant
Foot length: 8 ⅜ in. (21.27cm)
8 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

This badly damaged hand-knit woolen stocking is sewn up the back. It is now dark brown. The welt is missing. The rest of the stocking is knit with a stockinette stitch. The sole is integral. The stocking is darned at the toe, heel and ankle, and there is a smear of red paint just above the ankle. This smear suggests that at least some part of the *General Carleton* was painted red. It is easy to imagine the man who wore these walking into a hatch combing or other piece of deck furniture soon after it had been painted.

Plate 55. Hand-knit wool stocking

W-32/62/95 : CMM/HZ/3156/4

Overall length with foot extended: 28 ¼ in. (71.76 cm)

Foot length: 7 ¼ in. (18.42 cm)

9 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

This hand-knit grey woolen stocking has a white welt and toe. The welt is ½ in. (1.27 cm) wide and finished with a double row of garter stitching. The light colored band at the top is ⅞ in. (2.22 cm) wide. The sole is integral. Light colored yarn extends about 3 ½ in. (8.89 cm) from the toe. There are several small holes in the heel and toe that were not repaired.

Plate 56. Ribbed hand-knit wool stocking

CMM/HZ/NW/639

Overall length with foot extended: 26 ¾ in. (67.95 cm)

Foot length: 8 in. (20.32 cm)

10 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

This hand-knit dark-brown wool stocking has wide ribs. The $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (1.27 cm) wide welt is composed of three bands of garter stitching. The leg is made up of wide ribs formed by knitting 9 stitches and purling 3. The foot is done with a stockinette stitch. There is darning at the heel and toe. This may be an example of the once-popular "Derby Rib," first knit in Derbyshire in 1758. If so, it is the only one of its type known to exist.¹⁴

Plate 57. Ribbed frame-knit wool stocking

CMM/HZ/NW/1219

Overall length with foot extended: 29 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (74.61 cm)

Foot length: 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (19.05 cm)

21 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

This frame-knit light-brown wool stocking features fine ribbing. The stocking was recovered inside out. The $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (2.22 cm) wide welt is finished with a stockinette stitch. The leg is made up of narrow ribs formed by knitting 2 stitches and purling 1. The foot is finished with a stockinette stitch, and seems to have been sewn on later. There is darning at the heel.

Plate 58. Hand-knit wool stocking fragment

W-32/117/95

Overall length with foot extended: too fragmentary for accurate measurement

Foot length: 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (19.05 cm) extant

9 stitches per inch

A light-brown hand-knit wool stocking fragment, heavily damaged. The welt, ankle, and toe are missing. The leg is knit with a stockinette stitch.

¹⁴ Jeremy Farrell, *Socks and Stockings* (London, 1992), 31.

Plate 59. Frame-knit wool stocking fragment
W-32/182/95 : CMM/HZ/NW/1215

This frame-knit blue or black wool stocking fragment is heavily damaged. The piece was found inside out. The welt is $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (1.59 cm) wide. A segment of clocking, consisting of an inverted "V" adorns the heel.

Plate 60. Hand-knit wool stocking fragments
W-32/181/95
13 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

Heavily damaged, hand-knit dark mottled brown wool stocking fragments. The $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (1.27 cm) wide welt was formed by knitting 4 stitches, and purling 4. The rest of the stocking is knit with a stockinette stitch.

Plate 61. Knit stocking fragments
W-32/65/95

Two fragments of an unidentifiable part of a dark-brown wool stocking. The stocking was turned inside out.

Plate 62. Frame-knit wool stocking fragment
W-32/755/ no year
Foot length: 8 in. (20.32 cm)
14 stitches per inch

Dark reddish brown wool stocking foot fragment. The toe is applied.

Plate 63. Frame-knit silk stocking fragments
W-32/104/95 : CMM/HZ/NW/1402/ 1 and 2
Overall length: 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (40 cm) extant
16 stitches per inch/ 2.5 cm

This frame-knit white silk stocking is sewn up the back. The $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (2.22 cm) wide welt, as well as the rest of the stocking, is done with a stockinette stitch. The toe and bottom of the foot are heavily darned. This was probably a left stocking, as the darning appears to have been done on the ball of the foot, under the big toe.

Blankets

64. Woolen blanket

W-32/526/95

Width selvedge to selvedge: 52 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (133.35 cm)

Length: 73 in. (185.42 cm)

This woolen blanket was probably white when new, but is now stained brown, except for a few light-tan patches. The non-selvedge ends are finished with a blanket stitch. A 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 1 in. (3.81 cm by 2.54 cm) "X" is stitched in the corner, and the blanket has been carefully patched in two places.

65. Woolen blanket

W-32/594/96

Width: 62 in. (157.48 cm)

Length: 68 in. (96.52 cm) extant

This loosely woven yellowish-brown blanket is composed of two pieces, sewn up the middle. One half is 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (82.55 cm) wide, the other 29 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (74.93 cm). The blanket had seen heavy use, for there are numerous darned repairs throughout.

Plate 66. Woolen blanket

W-32/405/95 : CMM/HZ/NW/1403

Width selvedge to selvedge: 62 in. (157.48 cm)

Length: 38 in. (96.52 cm) extant

Made of loosely-woven wool that was once white, this blanket features the faint outline of a painted monogram: a broad arrow (↑) over "GR", for *Georgius Rex*, in this case George III. There is also an embroidered "X" in one corner. It is interesting to find a government-issued blanket aboard a merchant vessel, even one in the employ of the Navy Board. It has been suggested that blankets bearing the royal monogram were issued primarily to the militia, as well as to loyalist regiments in America.¹⁵ The Navy Board may have issued this blanket to the *General Carleton* from public stores, or it could have been acquired privately as surplus goods at the end of the American War. This last source may explain why two blankets are so heavily damaged and repaired. Alternately, it may have been left aboard after the 1782 American evacuation. Note: image has been enhanced.

Bags

Plate 67. Linen bag with monogram
CMM/HZ/3196
Length: 23 ½ in. (60 cm)
Width: 13 ½ in. (34.5 cm)

This bag is constructed of white linen, with a selvedge along the opening, and the bottom seam whipstitched closed. The initials "RN" are worked with unwaxed sail twine. It probably belonged to Richard Neal, one of the servants in the *General Carleton*'s complement. It has been suggested that this is a bread bag, for personal food stores, but the presence of the initials, and the fact that it was found in association with blankets suggests this bag could have been a pillowcase.

¹⁵ Wayne Daniels, "A British Military Blanket," *The Brigade Dispatch*, 3,3 (1969), n.p.

Plate 68. Canvas fragment with felled seam
 Un-numbered
 Maximum dimensions: 22 in. (58 cm) by 13 in. (23 cm)

Constructed of heavy natural canvas and sewn with sail twine, this may have been part of a sea bag, although nothing more than its association with personal items suggests this identification.

Miscellaneous Fragments¹⁶

Bolt of fabric, 3 fragments
 W-32/256/95: CMM/HZ/NW/642
 Fragment 1- Length: 55 in. (139.7cm) extant
 Width: 16 in. (40.64 cm)
 Fragment 2 – Length: 56 ¼ in. (142.86 cm)
 Width: 16 in. (40.64 cm)
 Fragment 3 – Length: 66 ½ in. (168.91 cm)
 Width: 16 in. (40.64 cm)

Although first thought to be scarves, these pieces of loosely-woven reddish-black worsted cloth were probably part of a much longer bolt of fabric carried as a trade good by a member of the crew. The long edges end in a ¼ in. (6.4 mm) selvedge. The fabric was probably hand loomed. There is an irregular weft every few rows. 16 warp threads per inch, 20 wefts per inch/ 2.5 cm.

Bolt of fabric fragment
 CMM/HZ/NW/1234
 Length: 22 in. (55.88 cm) extant
 Width: 11 in. (27.94 cm) extant

Part of the same bolt as W-32/256/95.

¹⁶ None of the following is deemed important enough to merit a plate of its own.

Lightweight canvas fragment

Un-numbered

Length: 10 ½ in. (26.67 cm)

Width: 6 ¼ in. (15.88 cm)

Fragment has ¼ in. (6.4 mm) rolled hem on one side, but the thread has vanished.

Sewn canvas fragment

Un-numbered

Length: 10 ½ in. (26.67 cm)

Width: 4 in. (10.1 cm)

Sail canvas sewn with a sailmaker's stitch. Possibly part of a hatch cover, sling, or tie down. Two button holes were worked diagonally from one corner. One was torn, the other intact.

Grey silk grosgrain ribbon fragment

W-32/122/95 : CMM/HZ/NW/1213

Length: 27 ¾ in. (70.49 cm) extant

Width: 2 in. (5.08 cm)

Probably worn as a decorative hatband.

Woolen fragment

Un-numbered

Length: 15 ½ in. (39.37 cm)

Width: 7 ¾ in. (19.69 cm)

Brown, loosely-woven woolen without stitch holes or any other diagnostic feature.

Woolen fragment

Un-numbered

Length: 17 ¾ in. (45.09 cm)

Width: 9 ¾ in. (29.77 cm)

Brown, blanket-like woolen. The long edge is a selvedge, while two other edges are finished with a ¾ in. (9.5 mm) turned seam.

Woolen fragment
 Un-numbered
 Length: 12 ¼ in (31.12 cm)
 Width: 7 ½ in. (19.05 cm)

Irregular fragment of heavy, felted brown wool with blanket stitched buttonhole.

The material is similar to that used for trousers W-32/346/95.

Woolen fragment
 Un-numbered
 Length: 10 ⅞ in. (25.72 cm)
 Width: 6 ¾ in. (17.15 cm)

Unidentifiable brown woolen fragment, with a line of stitching.

Two woolen fragments
 Un-numbered
 Fragment 1- Length: 7 in. (17.78cm)
 Width: 5 in. (12.7 cm)
 Fragment 2- Length: 6 ½ in. (16.51 cm)
 Width: 4 ¼ in. (10.8 cm)

Unidentifiable, both of brown wool.

Woolen fragments
 Un-numbered
 Length: 8 ¾ in. (22.5 cm)
 Width: 4 ⅜ in. (11.4 cm)

Blue woolen fragment with stitching along two edges. Perhaps the upper part of a jacket facing.

Binding tape fragment
 Un-numbered
 Length: 18 ¾ in. (47.63 cm)
 Width: ⅜ in. (9.5 mm)

Rusty brown twilled wool used to bind edges of jackets and other garments.

Blue wool fragment

Un-numbered

Length: 24 ½ in. (62.23 cm)

Width: tapers from 8 in. to 4 ½ in. (20.32 cm to 11.43 cm)

Blue wool broadcloth with a fragment of woolen binding tape at narrow end. This may be part of a jacket sleeve, except that there is an incongruous line of stitching running diagonally across the piece.

Two woolen fragments, button, and scissors

W-32/330/95

Fragment 1 – Length: 4 ¾ in. (12.07 cm)

Width: tapers from 4 ⅝ in. to 2 ⅞ in. (11.75 cm to 7.30 cm)

Fragment 2 – Length: 6 3/16 in (12.72 cm)

Width: tapers from 4 ¾ in to 1 ⅞ in. (12.07 cm to 4.76 cm)

Button: ⅞ in. (2.22 cm) diameter

Scissors: 3 ¼ in (8.26 cm) long

Tan woolen fabric scraps and wooden button covered with same material. The presence of the button and thread scissors suggests that these artifacts were part of a personal sewing kit or housewife.

Woolen fragment

W-32/473/95

Length: 11 ¾ in. (29.85 cm)

Width: tapers from 5 ½ in. to 4 ¾ in (13.97 cm to 12.07 cm)

Heavy dark brown woolen with a plain weave. Perhaps belonged to a jacket sleeve.

Striped woolen fragments

CMM/HZ/NW/1236/1 and 2

Fragment 1: unknown

Fragment 2: 15 ⅞ in. by 4 in. (38 cm by 10 cm)

Unidentifiable heavy striped wool fragments. The stripes, which are 3/16 in. (4.7 mm) wide, may have been blue and white originally. Fragment 2 may have been part of a waistband.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

When faced with an array of facts and figures, the scholar's first question should be, "what does all this mean?" I have hitherto presented a diversity of facts and opinions, drawn from many sources. How do they support one another? In chapter one, it was seen that very little has been written on the subject of sailors' clothes by modern scholars. This dearth of secondary material forced me to turn to primary sources, which should, at any rate, form the foundation of any historical study. Yet, I was loath to take these sources at face value. Before extracting potentially useful information from period prints, paintings, journals, and literature, I had to know whether these works presented factual information, or were the products of artists' fancies. I demonstrated that eighteenth-century artists considered seamen from two angles. From one direction, sailors were considered drunk, womanizing trouble-makers, more animal than human. From the other direction, Jack Tar was seen as loyal, patriotic, and brave, honest to a fault and possessed of child-like simplicity. These two images existed side by side, and called into question the accuracy of the sources. With this caveat always in mind, I proceeded to place sailor clothing in the context of occupational clothing, which was in turn placed in a theoretical context. Working garments not only protected the body from the environment and eased labor, but they also served to delineate and reinforce group identity and social status. This delineation worked both for members of a group, as well as for those outside that group. Thus, the seaman's distinctive garb allowed him to mingle with fellow sailors, while at the same time it formed a barrier between him and polite society on shore. Only at sea, or at the seaside, in the company of other seamen, could he truly be at ease.

In chapter two, I moved away from the theoretical and social implications of sources and clothing, and focused instead on describing individual garments. Seamen had three common options for acquiring clothes. They could buy them ready-made ashore in "slop shops," establishments catering especially to seamen's sartorial needs. At sea – and this was far more common, especially for naval seamen – ready-made clothes could be bought from the purser; all purchases were deducted from a man's pay. Equally common was for men to obtain fabric from the purser or other purveyor and sew their own garments. In addition, a sailor could buy a deceased shipmate's wardrobe at auction. Poor boys, taken out of London slums by the Hanaway's Marine Society were fortunate enough to be clothed by that philanthropic body.

The remainder of chapter two was devoted to a detailed description of a wide variety of garments worn by period seamen, ranging from hats to shoes, and from the minimal dress of battle to the finery of the going ashore "rig." It was seen that, although the men wore a variety of different garments for different occasions, and some items passed out of popularity as the century progressed, the seaman's basic wardrobe changed very little over sixty-five years. There are two obvious explanations for this. First, seamen spent much of the year at sea, away from the centers of fashion. Gone from the land for a long period, they were not influenced by the whims of fashion. This is not to say that they would have adopted the latest innovation from London or New York, but they were divorced from even the trickledown effect, whereby the lower-class aped the rich by using second-hand clothes and naïve interpretations of their own making. A second, more compelling argument depends on the very nature of occupational clothing.

The garments had to be functional, and since shipboard labor did not change during the period, it stands to reason that seamen's clothing would remain unaltered.

These two chapters are tied together by the third, in which archaeologically recovered garments were examined and interpreted. Here are actual artifacts, true working garments, worn and repaired by the men who owned them. The *General Carleton* clothing collection reveals that seamen's wardrobes were as diverse as period images and descriptions suggest. Indeed, examination of the individual garments shows that, while details of construction may be unusual, and vary from techniques seen in higher quality clothing, the majority possess the same cut and silhouette depicted by artists. Some garments were clearly not worn for shipboard labor, although the coarse cloth and construction of other pieces suggest that they were. Several garments were surprisingly well made, while others were sewn by men from scraps of sail canvas and other fabrics. The problem of determining ownership for the individual garments will remain, and so must temper any conclusions made. Still, eighteenth-century seamen clearly did not wear the rags of popular imagination. The clothing that exhibited wear was carefully repaired. Even the garments crudely constructed would have projected a neat and workman-like air. The men who wore them were professionals, and took pride in their occupation. Their clothing was for them the vestment of an honorable profession.

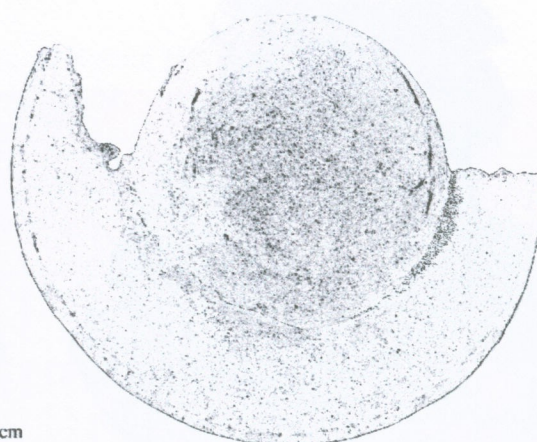
This ties in well with other conclusions reached throughout this thesis. Seaman thought of themselves as belonging to a distinct brotherhood; the members displayed their affiliation by wearing distinctive clothing. Clearly the garments these men wore were in fact different from landmen's everyday garb. Artists of the period recorded

what they saw. Although what they saw may have been only one side of the seaman's personality, we can now say with confidence that there was truth in these images and descriptions. This is not to say that art was not self serving, that it did not attempt to preach a stricter morality or inspire confidence in the nation, but the details are usually correct. Many written descriptions mentioned clothing in passing, but those that explored the topic in greater depth, such as runaway advertisements and the more perceptive commentators of the age, described garments identical to those recovered from the *General Carleton*. When all this information is assembled and broken down as has been done in this work, a clearer image of the British and American seaman emerges.

PLATES AND PATTERNS



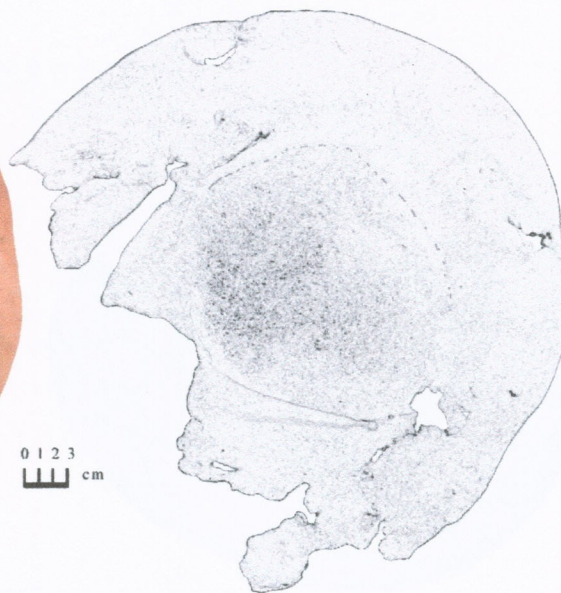
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cm



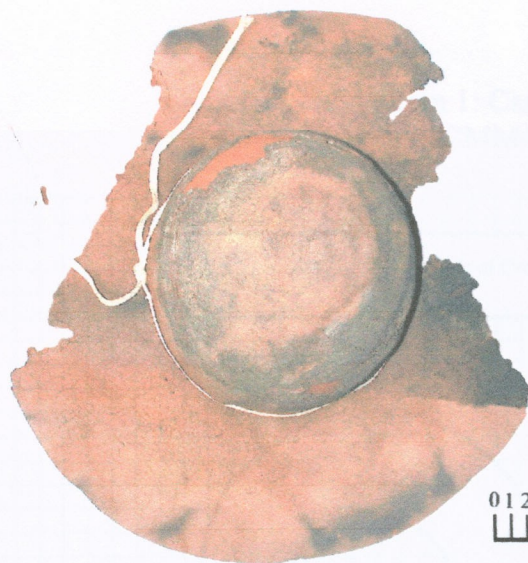
1. Brown wool-felt round hat
W-32/285/95 : CMM/HZ/3189



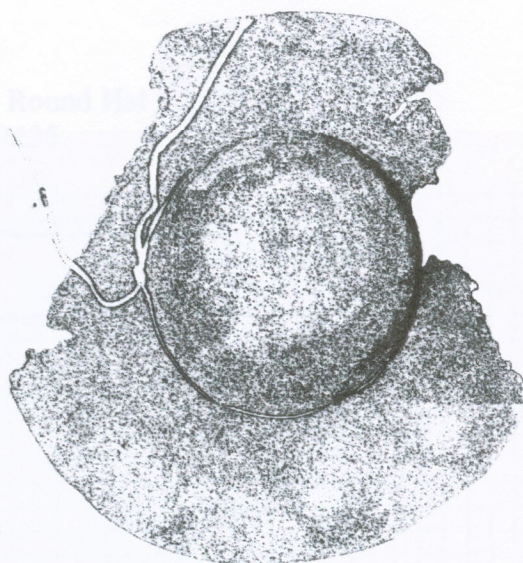
0 1 2 3
cm



2. Light brown wool-felt hat
Un-numbered



0 1 2 3
cm



3. Light brown wool-felt cocked hat
W-32/411/95: CMM/HZ/3188

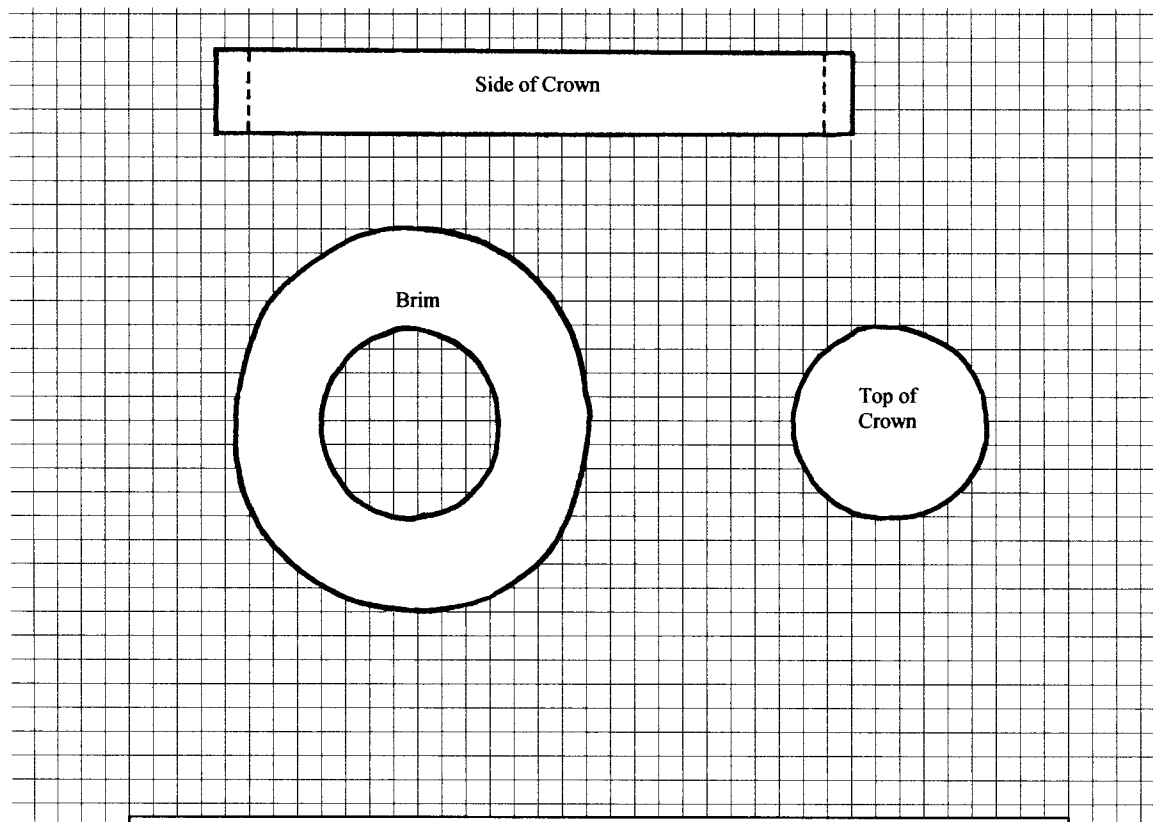


0 1 2 3
cm



4 Canvas round hat
CMM/HZ/3135

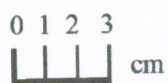
Pattern 1: Canvas Round Hat
CMM/HZ/3135



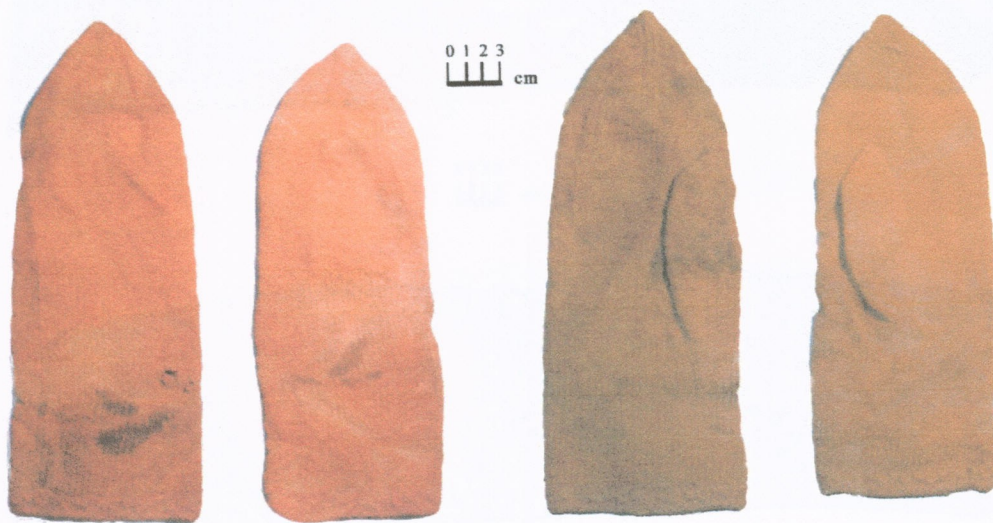
Scale: $\frac{1}{4}$ in. = 1 in.

$\frac{1}{4}$ in. seam allowance

1. Made of light-weight linen or hemp canvas, sewn to a heavily damaged felt hat of the same dimensions. The top of the felt hat's crown has been removed. The canvas shell was tarred.
2. All elements sewn with two-ply sail twine, using an overcast stitch.
3. Back seam overlaps $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. and flat felled with eight stitches per inch.
4. All raw edges turned under.



5. Wool knit cap with decorative motifs
W-32/60/95/1 : CMM/HZ/2719



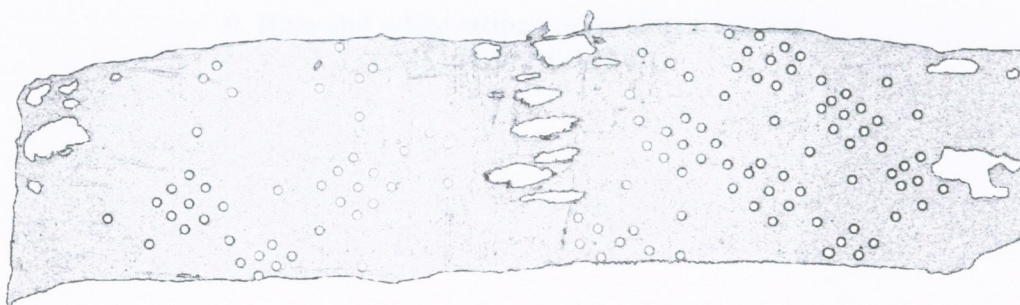
6. Knit woolen mittens, pair
W-32/758/96 : CMM/HZ/3144/1 and 2



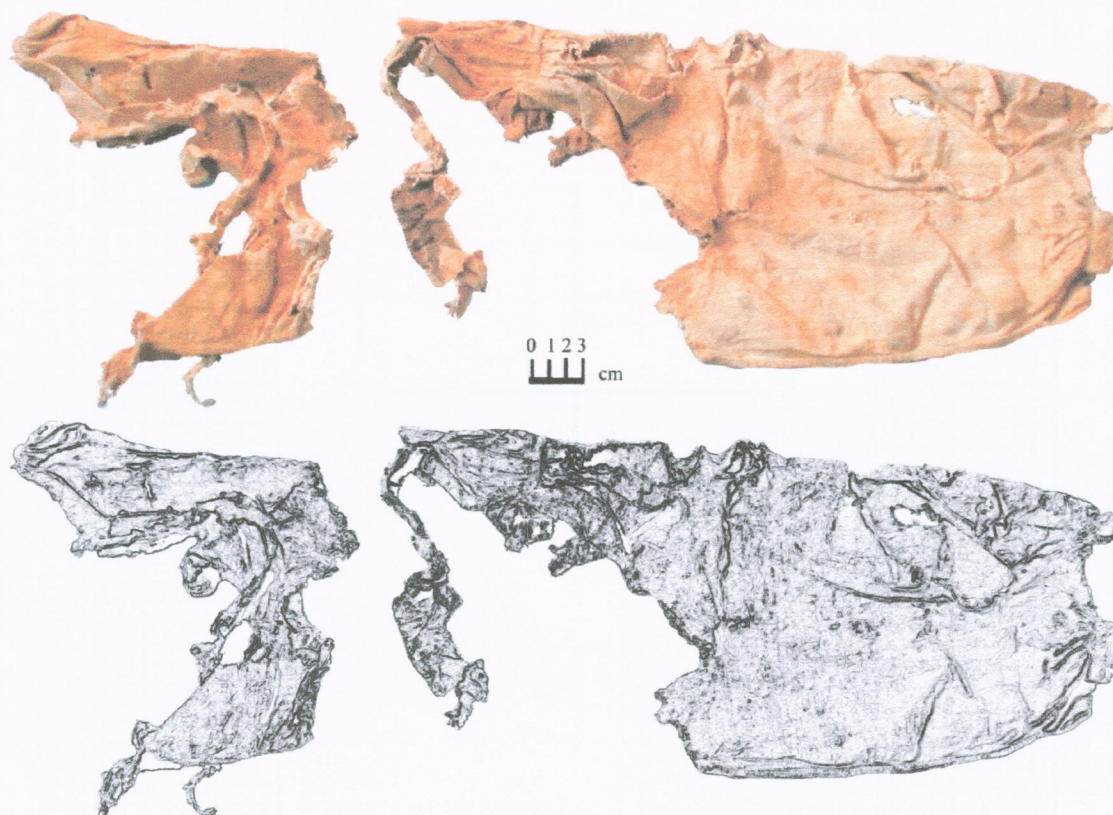
7. Left-hand knit glove with fringe
CMM/HZ/3130



0 1 2 3
cm

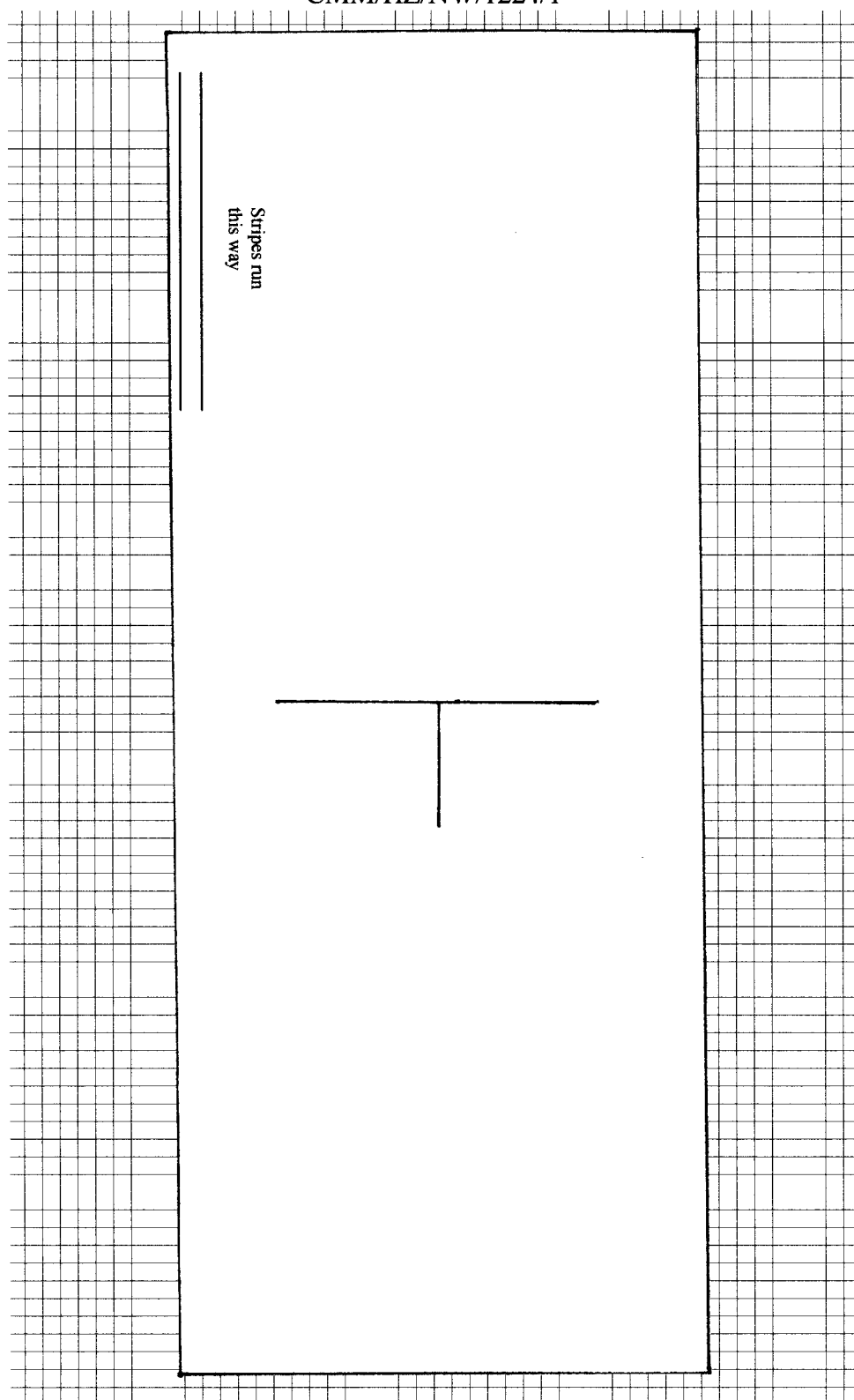


8. Spotted silk handkerchief
CMM/HZ/NW/1218

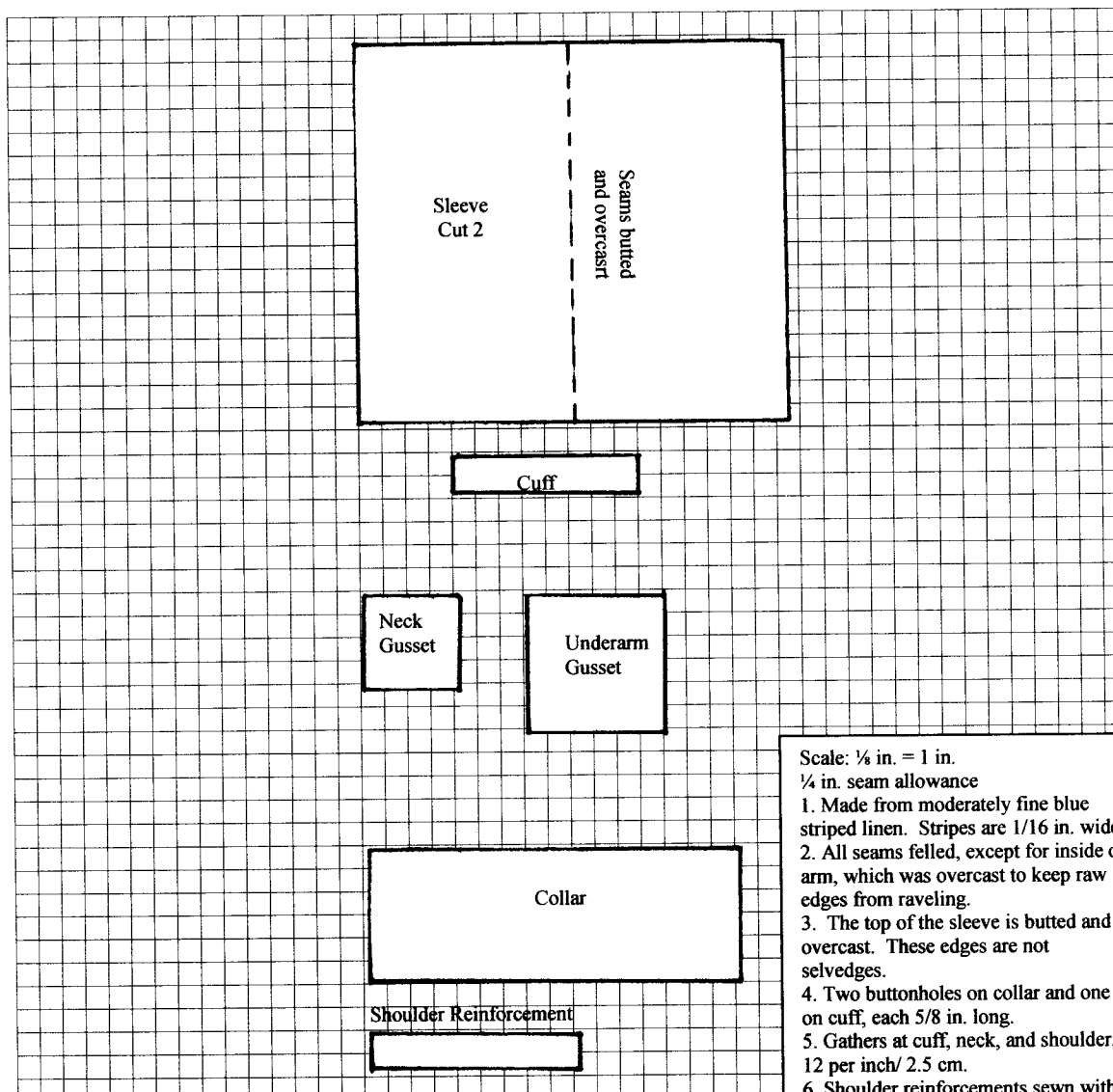


9. Blue and white striped linen shirt fragment
CMM/HZ/NW/1224/1

Pattern 2a. Blue and White Striped Shirt (Body)
CMM/HZ/NW/1224/1



Pattern 2b. Blue and White Striped Shirt (Assorted Parts)



Scale: $\frac{1}{4}$ in. = 1 in.

$\frac{1}{4}$ in. seam allowance

1. Made from moderately fine blue striped linen. Stripes are $\frac{1}{16}$ in. wide.
2. All seams felled, except for inside of arm, which was overcast to keep raw edges from raveling.
3. The top of the sleeve is butted and overcast. These edges are not selvages.
4. Two buttonholes on collar and one on cuff, each $\frac{5}{8}$ in. long.
5. Gathers at cuff, neck, and shoulder, 12 per inch/ 2.5 cm.
6. Shoulder reinforcements sewn with close backstitches, 15 per inch/ 2.5 cm.

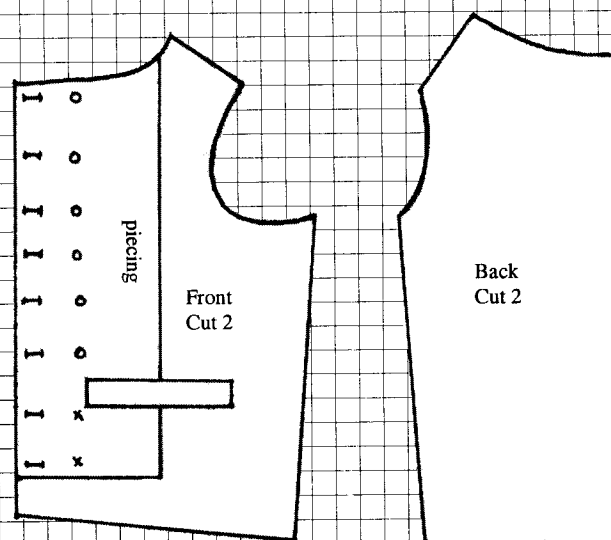


10. Checked shirt sleeve fragment
W-32/633/91



11. Double-breasted linen waistcoat
CMM/HZ/3143

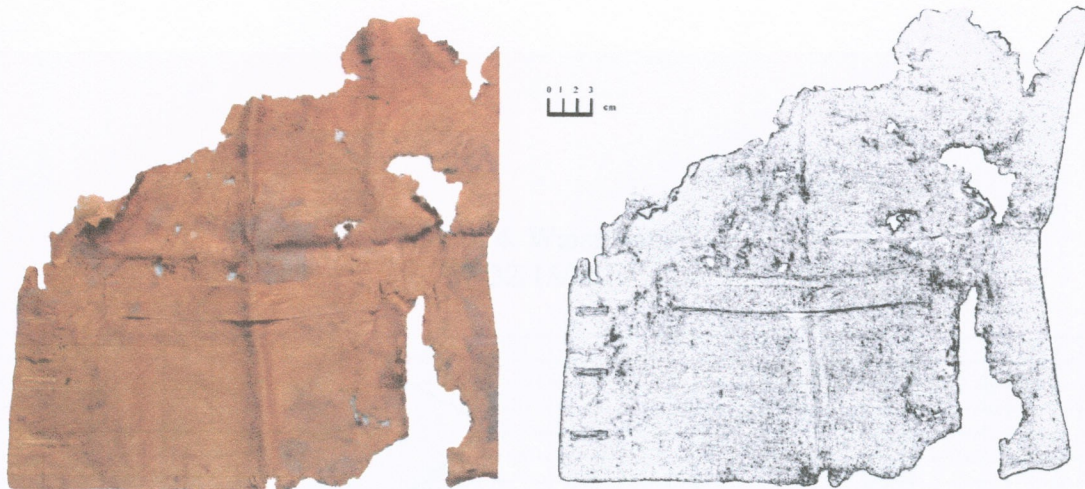
Pattern 3. Double-breasted Waistcoat
CMM/HZ/3143



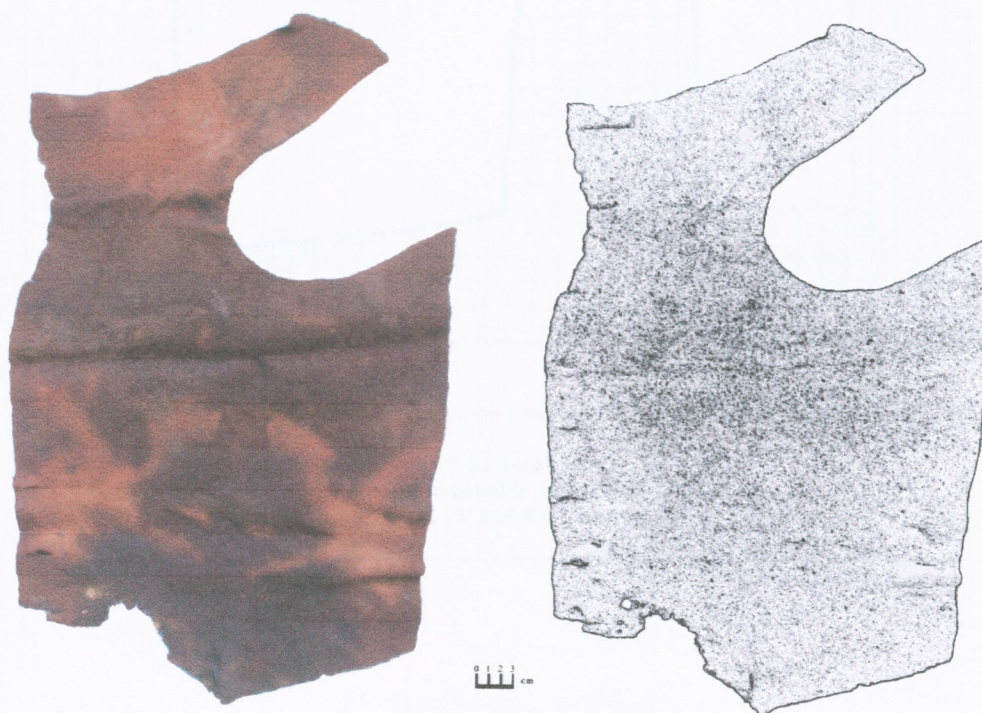
Scale: $\frac{1}{8}$ in. = 1 in.

$\frac{1}{4}$ in. seam allowance

1. Made of off-white linen canvas. Sewn entirely with two-ply sail twine. Probably no lining.
2. All seams felled. Bottom edges rolled $\frac{1}{4}$ in. and hemstitched. Front edges turned and topstitched with running stitches, 6 per inch.
3. False pocket with welt, edges turned and then topstitched with a running stitch, 5 stitches per inch.
4. Sixteen $\frac{3}{16}$ in. leather buttons. The two lower buttons incised with a star pattern.

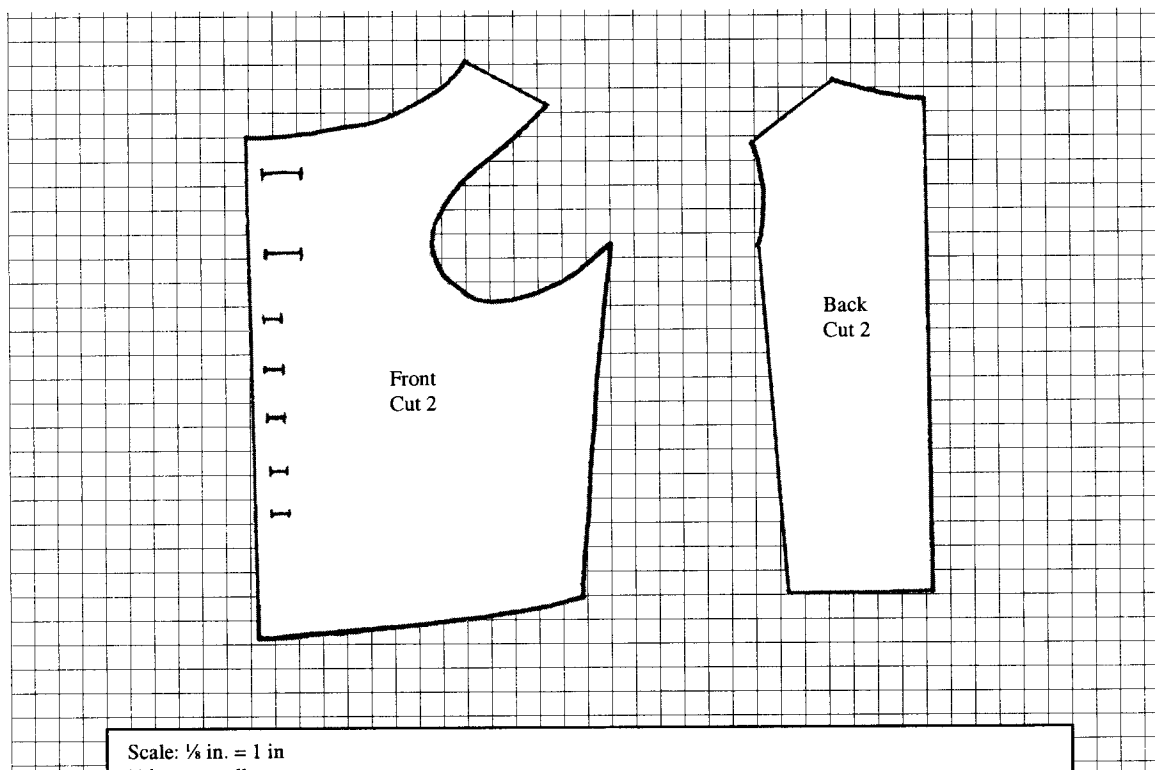


12. Left front silk waistcoat panel fragment
W-32/206/95



13. Front wool waistcoat pattern
W-32/15/95

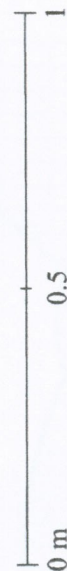
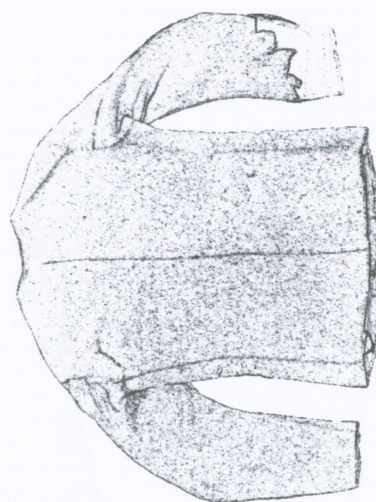
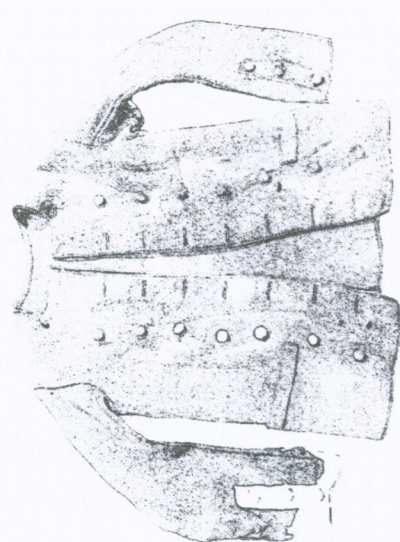
Pattern 4. Waistcoat
W-32/15/95



Scale: $\frac{1}{8}$ in. = 1 in

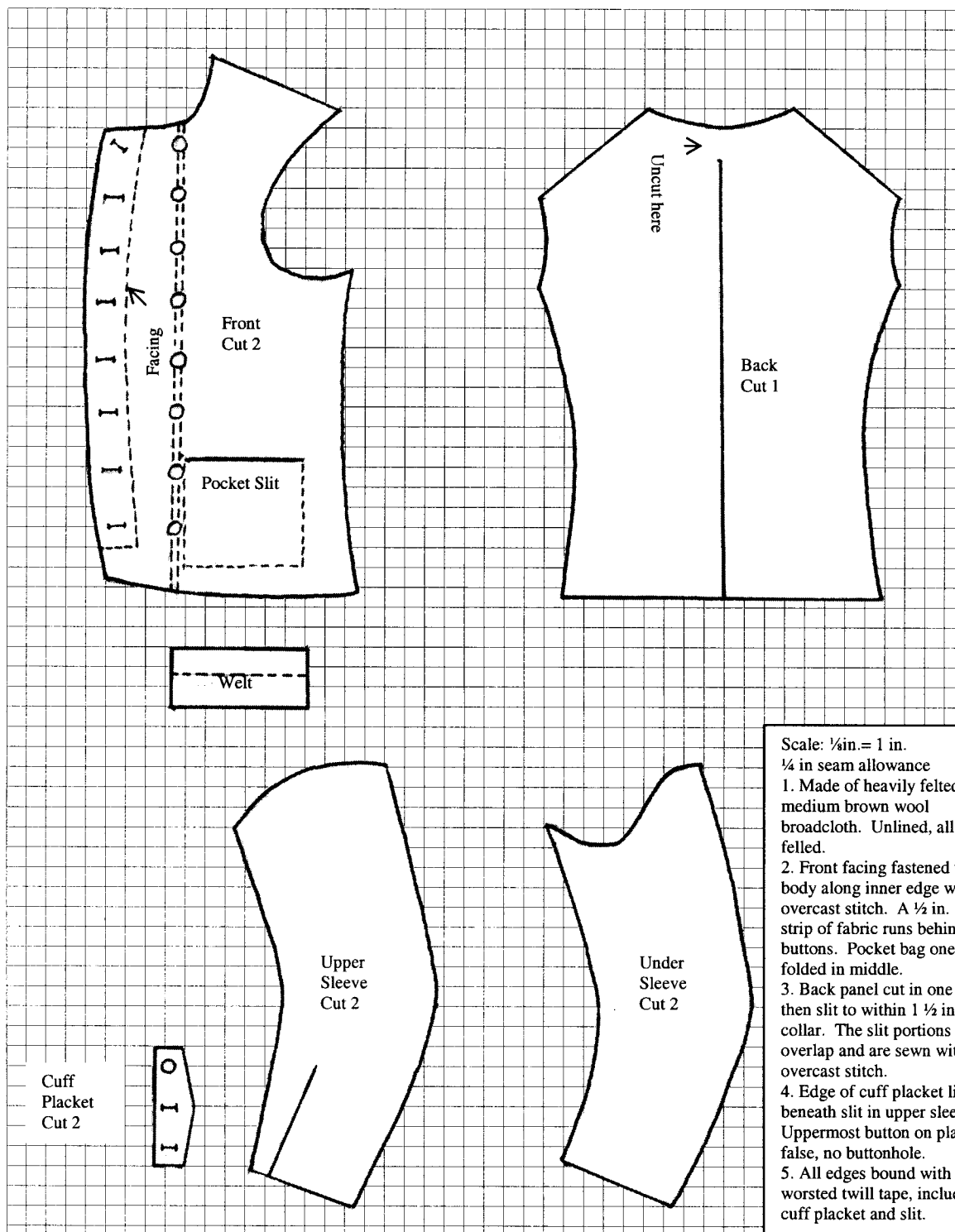
$\frac{1}{4}$ in. seam allowance

1. Made of heavy dark-brown wool. No evidence for lining or pockets, but bound with tape along all edges.
2. Assembled with running stitches worked with tan thread.
3. Back panel reconstruction hypothetical, was probably wool as well.
4. Upper two buttonholes $1 \frac{1}{2}$ in. long. Lapel was probably turned back.



14. Double-breasted jacket
CMM/HZ/3147

Pattern 5. Double-Breasted Jacket
CMM/HZ/3147



Scale: $\frac{1}{4}$ in. = 1 in.

$\frac{1}{4}$ in seam allowance

1. Made of heavily felted, medium brown wool broadcloth. Unlined, all seams felled.

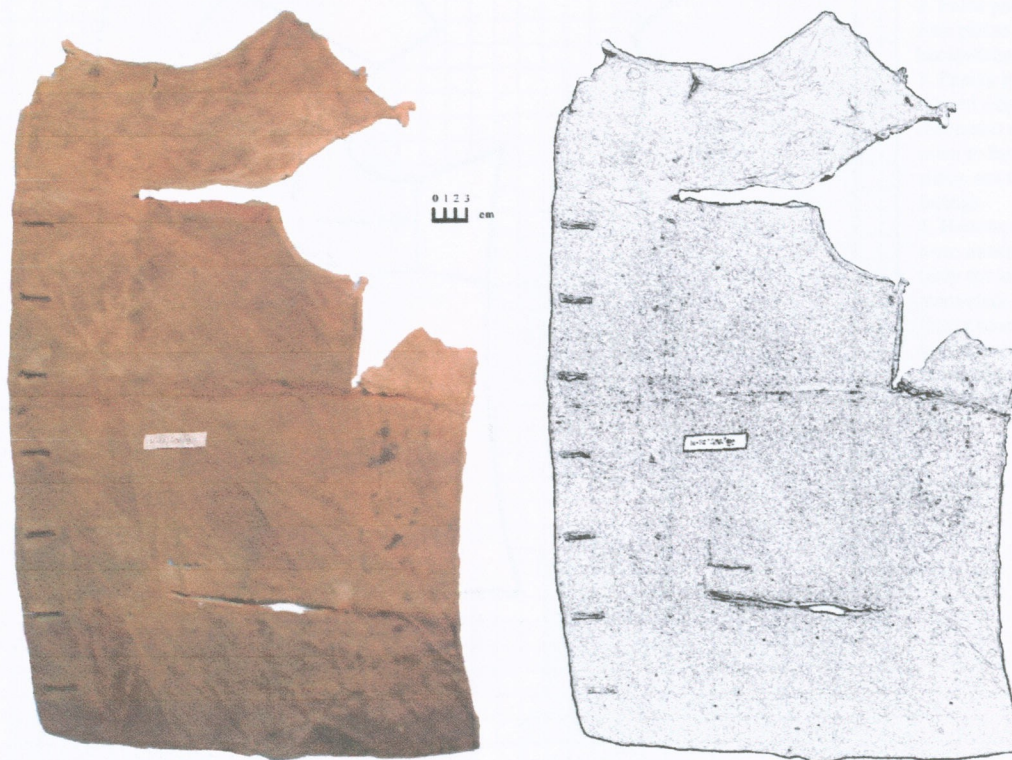
2. Front facing fastened to body along inner edge with overcast stitch. A $\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide strip of fabric runs behind the buttons. Pocket bag one piece folded in middle.

3. Back panel cut in one piece,, then slit to within 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. of collar. The slit portions overlap and are sewn with an overcast stitch.

4. Edge of cuff placket lies beneath slit in upper sleeve. Uppermost button on placket is false, no buttonhole.

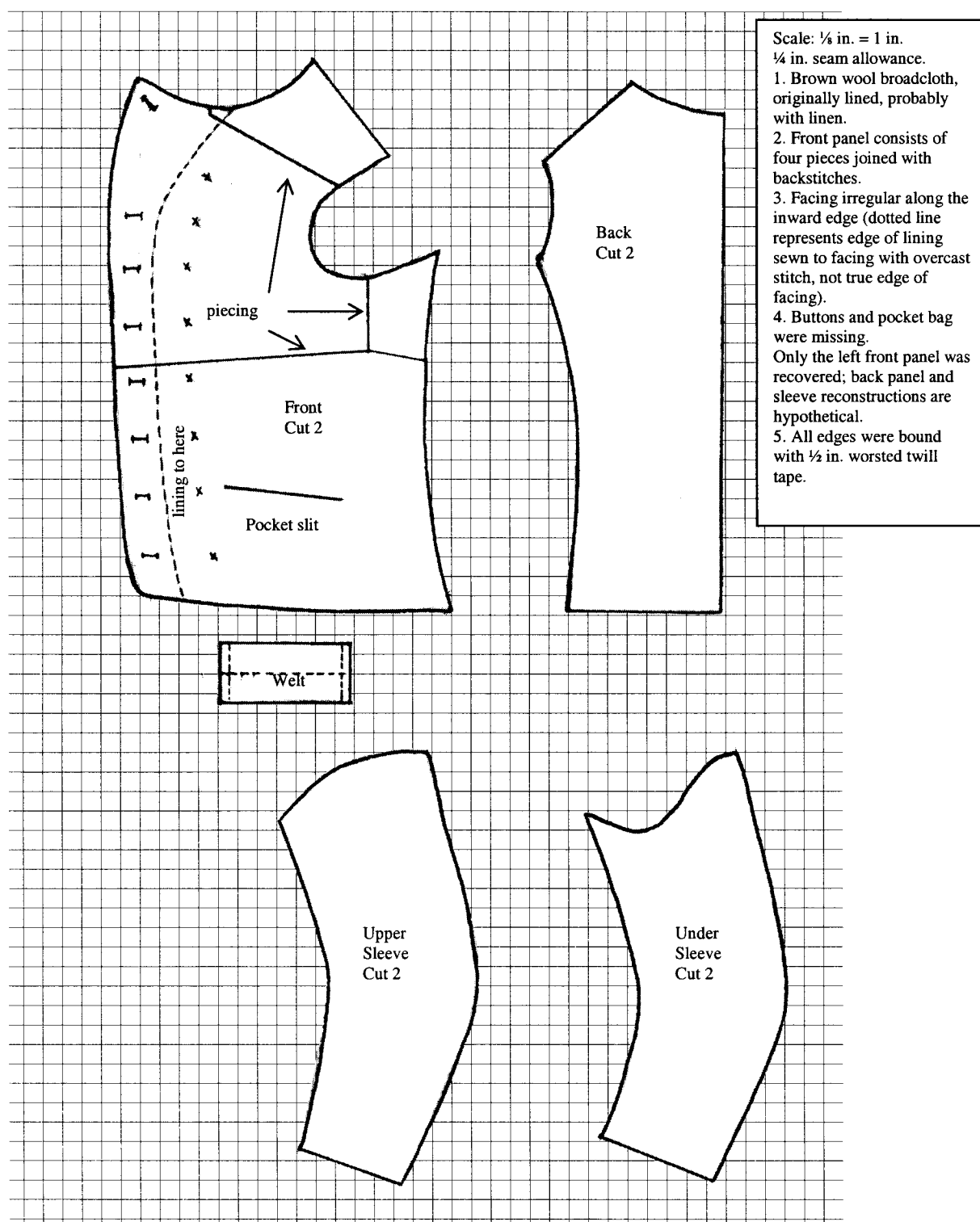
5. All edges bound with $\frac{1}{2}$ in worsted twill tape, including cuff placket and slit.

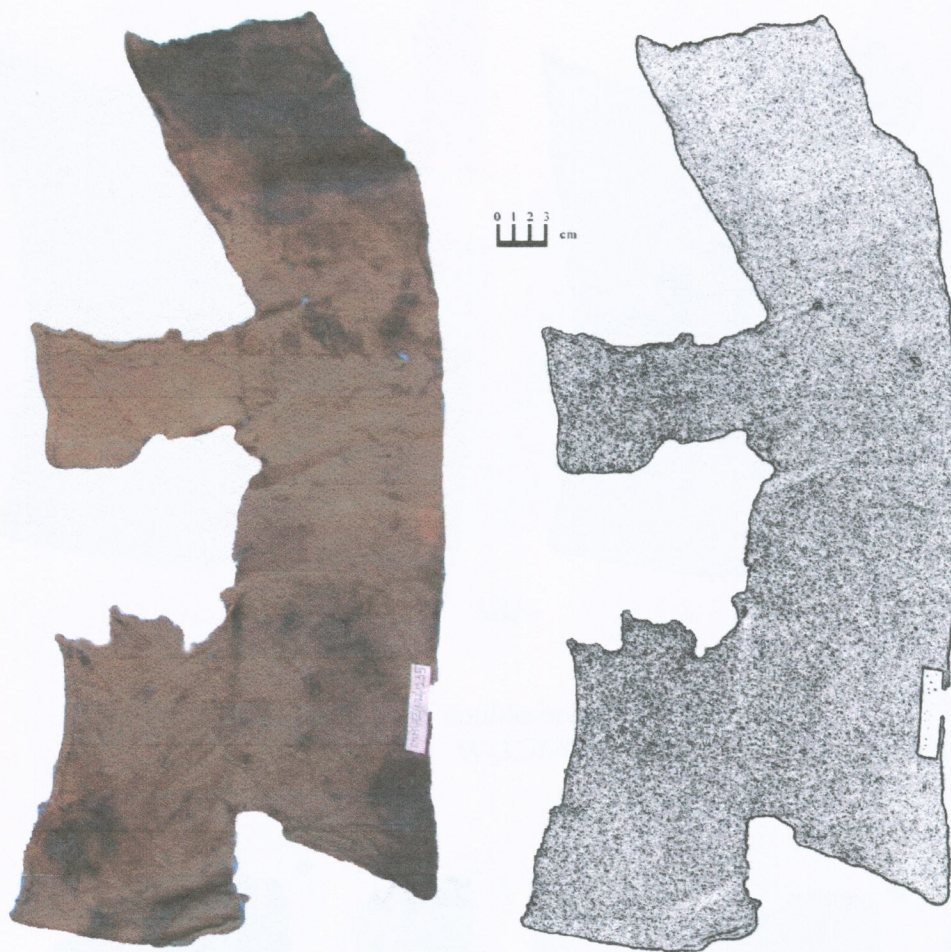
Pattern 6. Pictorial Double-Breasted Jacket
W-32/408/95



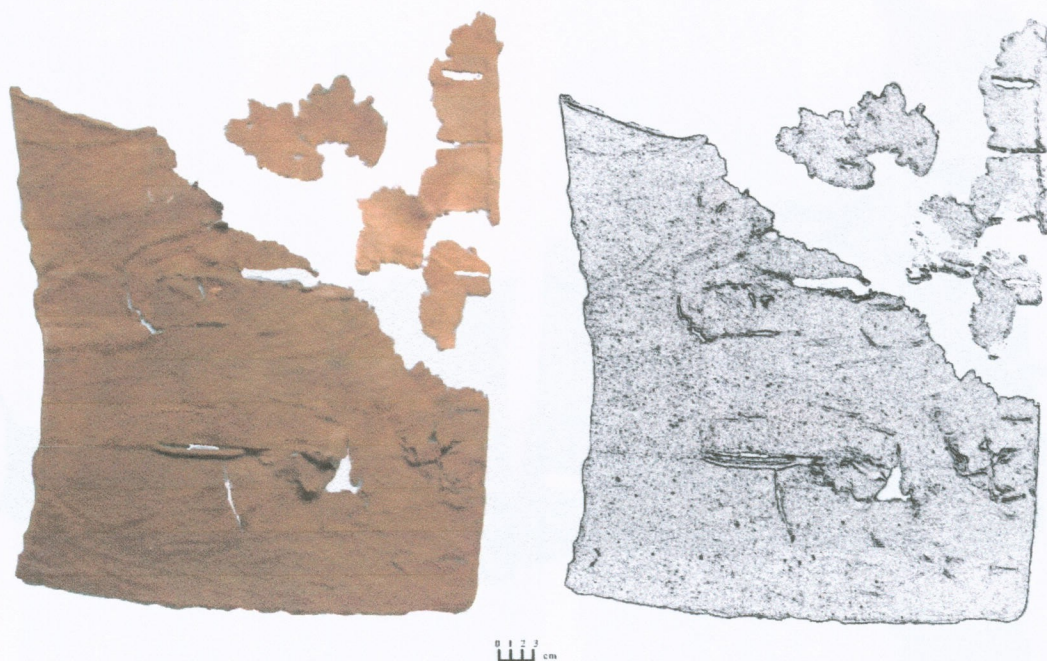
15. Double-breasted jacket left front panel
W-32/408/95

Pattern 6. Pieced Double-Breasted Jacket
W-32/408/95

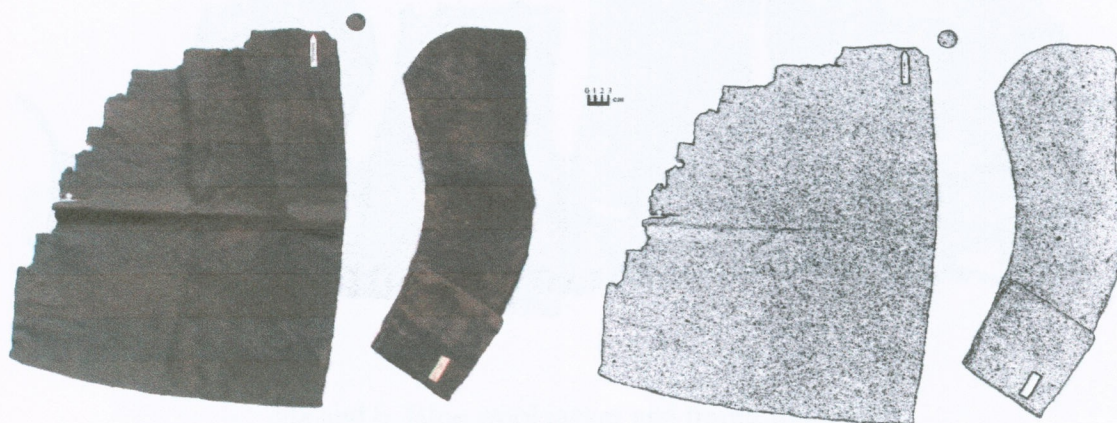




16. Right front jacket panel
CMM/HZ/NW/1235



17. Right front double-breasted jacket panel
W-32/6/95

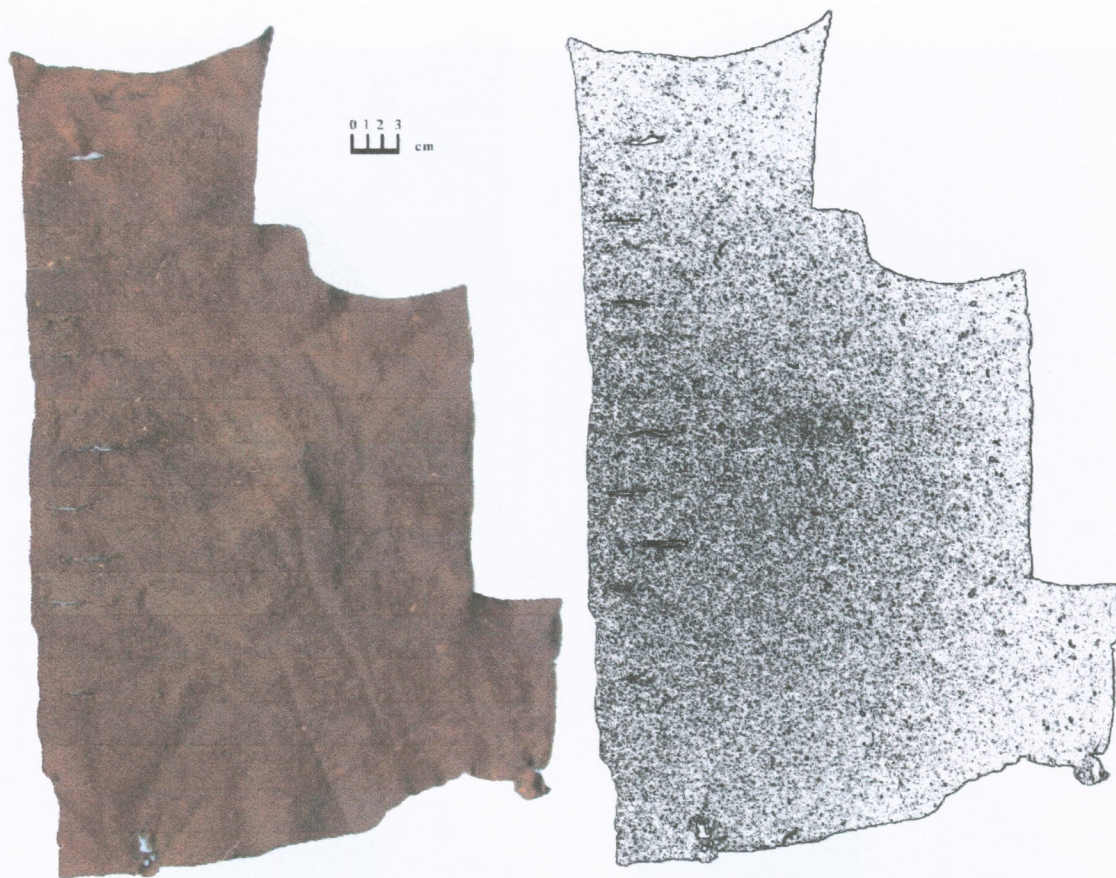


18. Blue broadcloth coat fragment and covered button
and

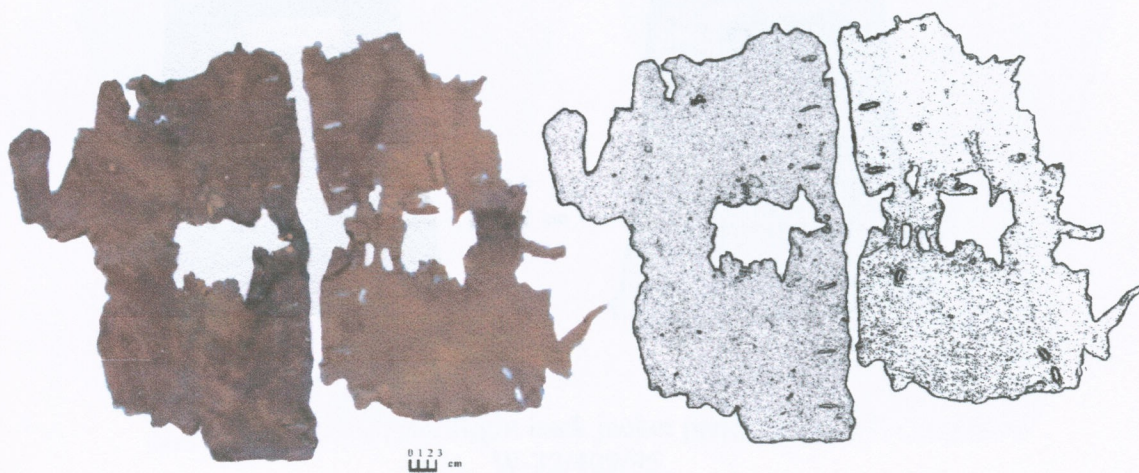
19. Blue broadcloth sleeve fragments and lining
W-32/410/95 and 95 B : W-32/316/95



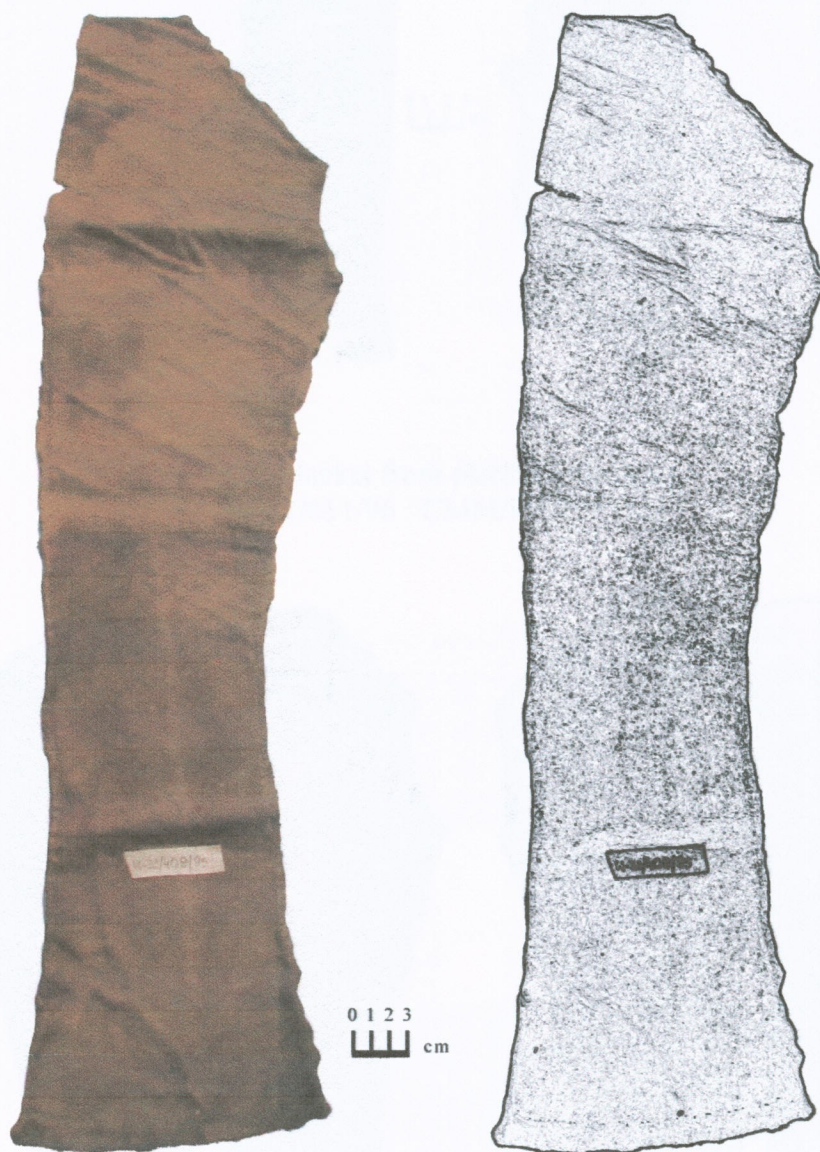
20a. and b. Blue wool jacket and lining fragments
W-32/248/95 : W-32/249/95



21. Left front jacket panel
Un-numbered



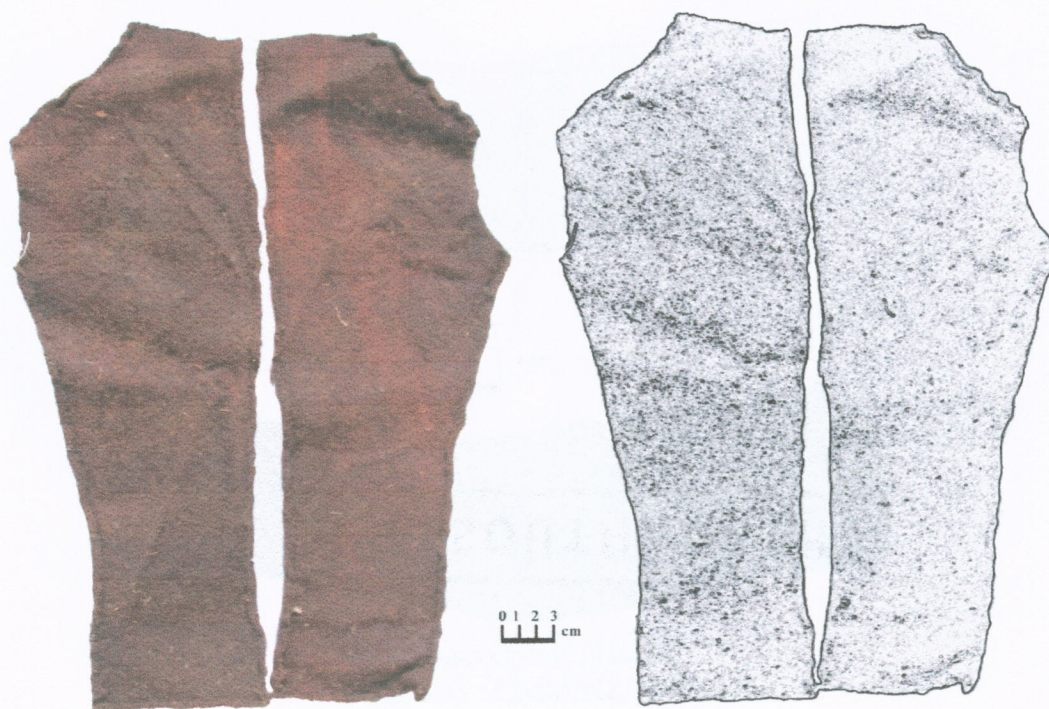
23. Six woolen jacket and lining fragments
W-32/254/95 : CMM/HZ/NW/401



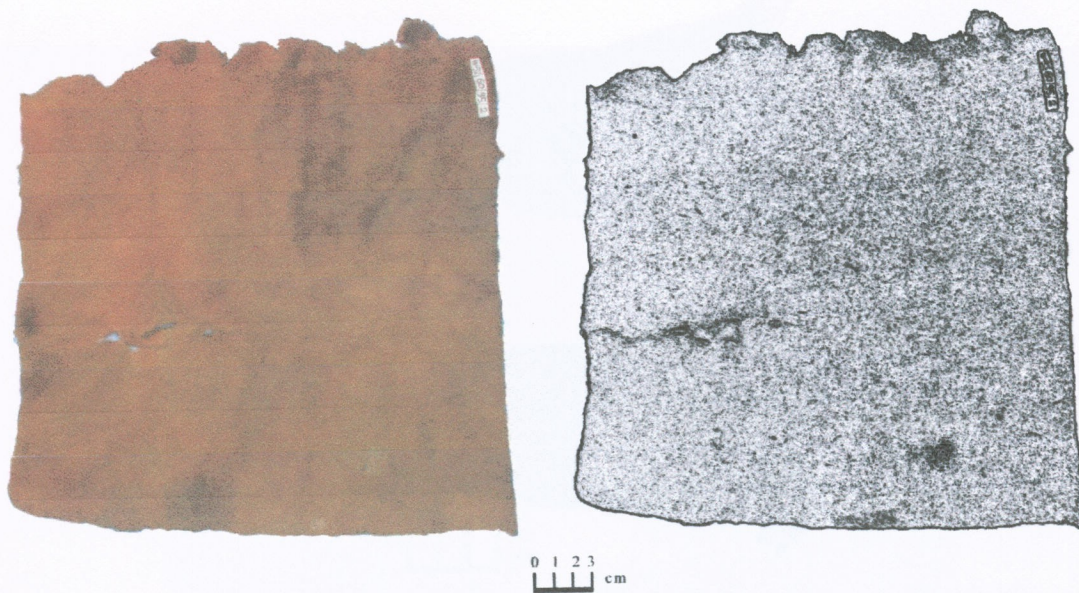
24. Right back jacket panel
W-32/409/95



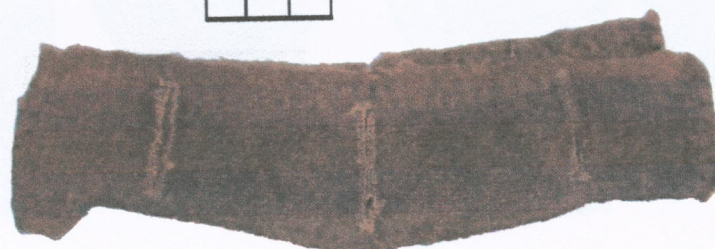
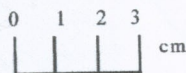
25. Jacket front placket fragment
W-32/651/96 : CMM/HZ/NW/1233



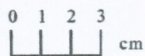
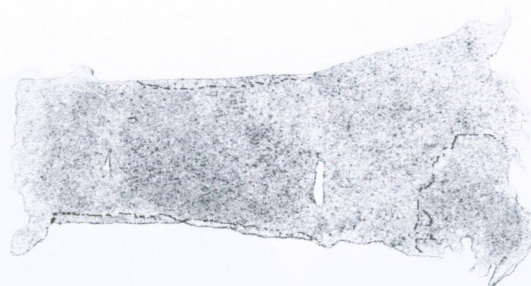
26. Small woolen jacket back panels
Un-numbered



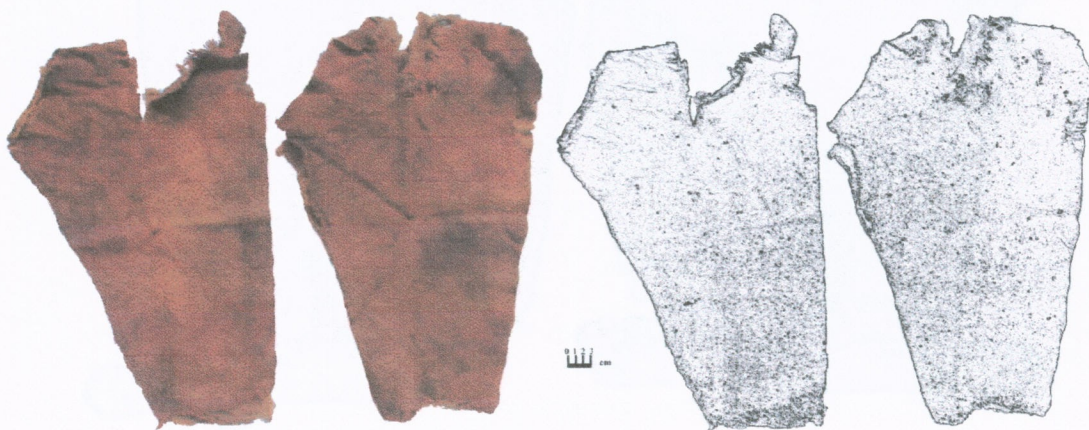
27. Lower back jacket fragment
W-32/60/95/2



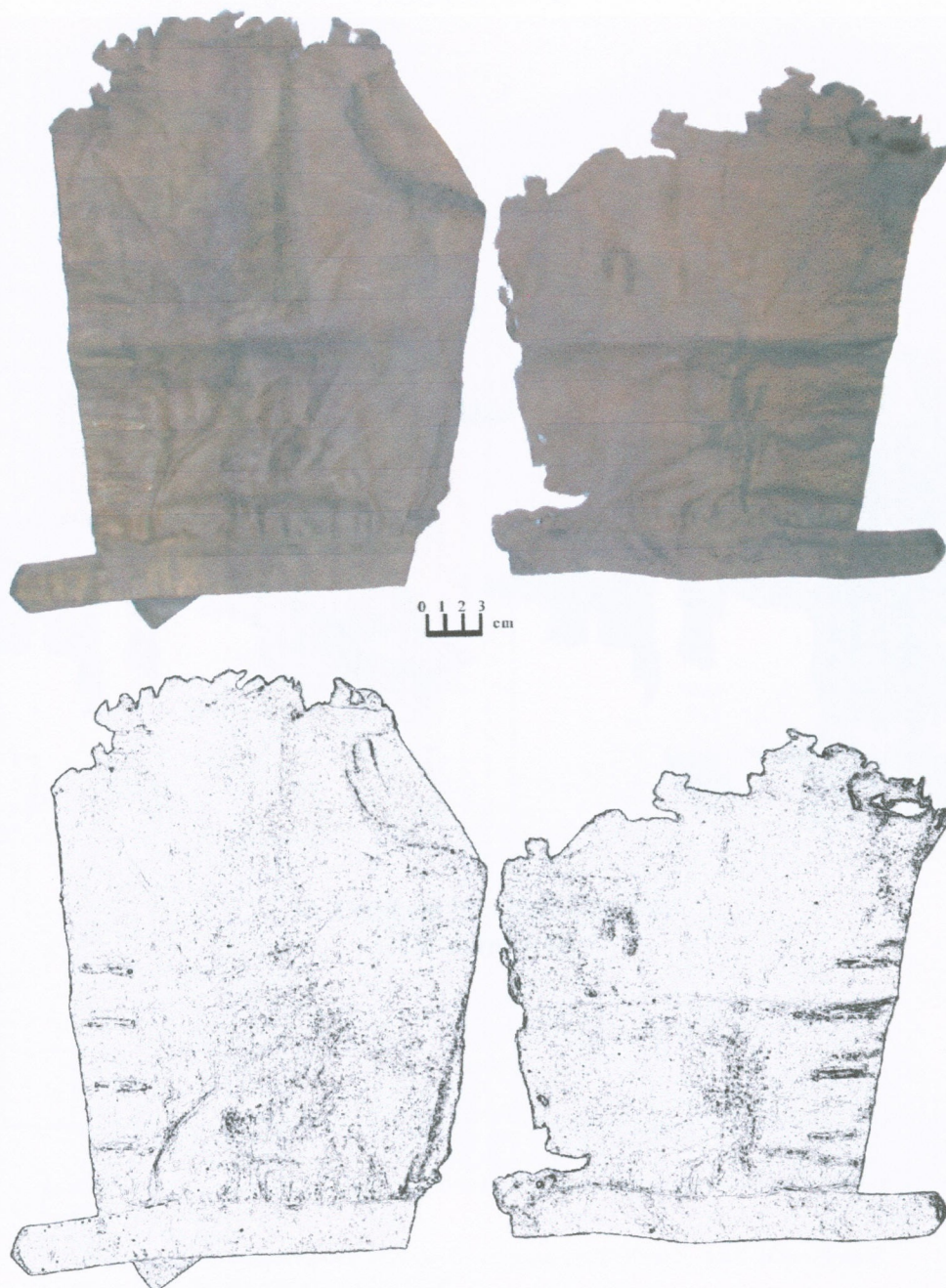
28. Jacket cuff placket
W-32/229/95 : CMM/HZ/NW/1216



29. Pocket flap
W-32/229/95



30. Brown woolen breeches fragments
W-32/769/97



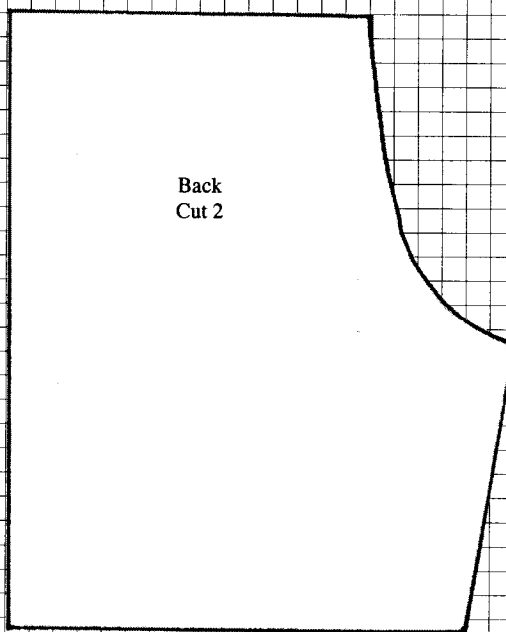
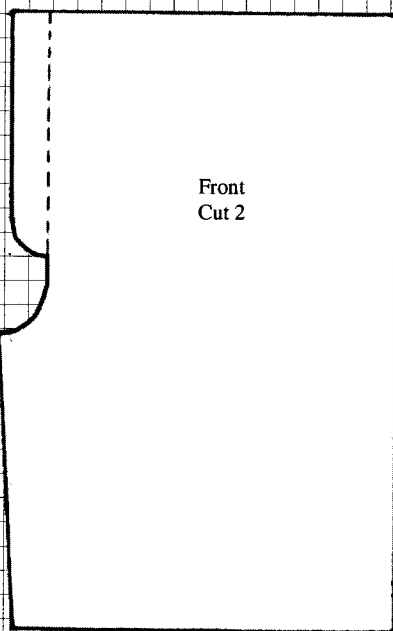
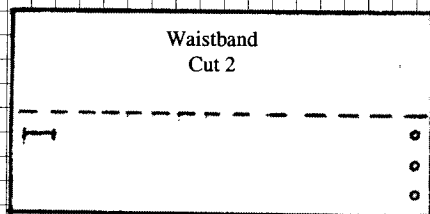
31. Black woolen breeches fragments
W-32/318/95

Pattern 7: Petticoat Breeches
Un-numbered



32. Petticoat breeches fragment
Un-numbered

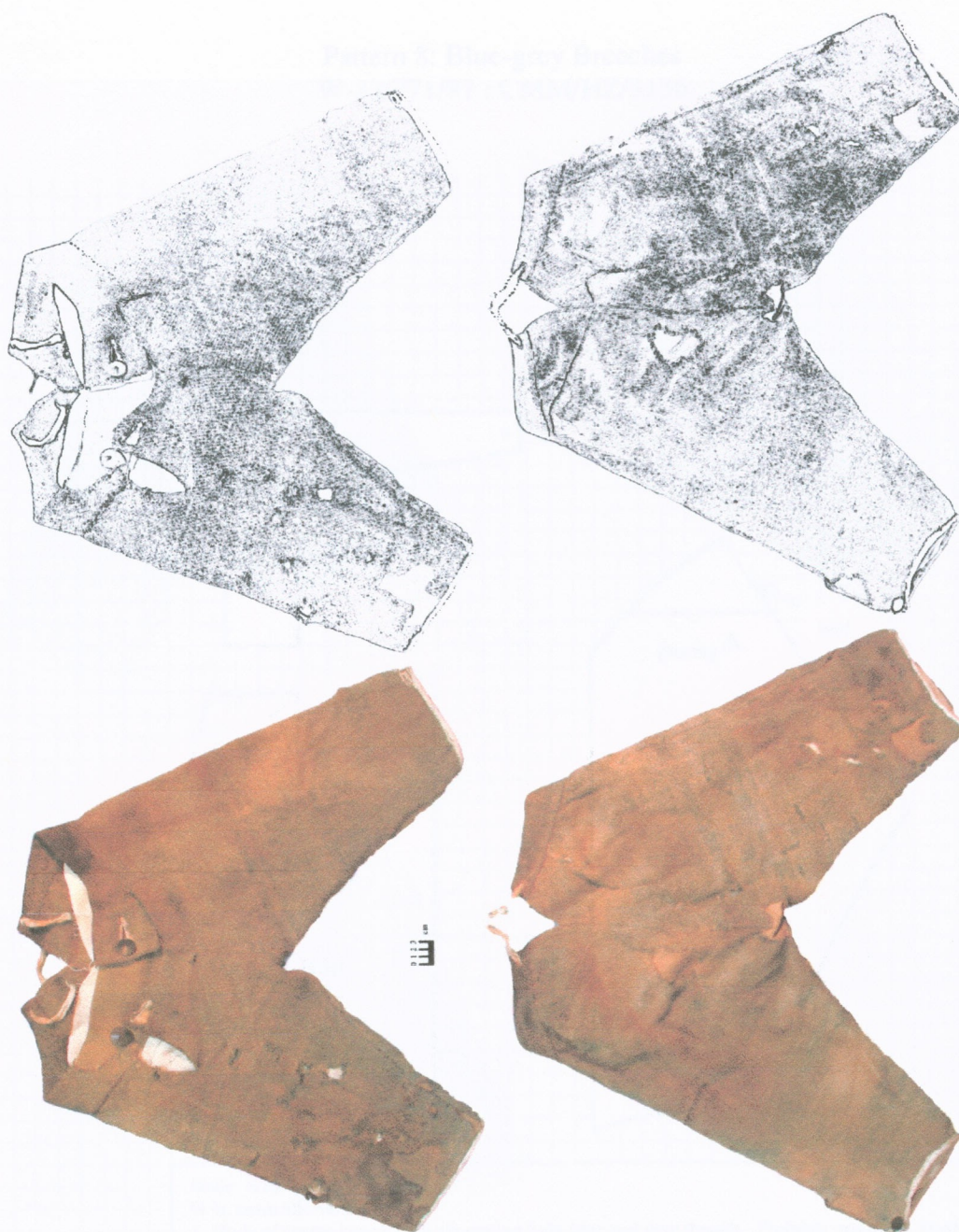
Pattern 7: Petticoat Breeches
Un-numbered



Scale: $\frac{1}{4}$ in. = 1 in.

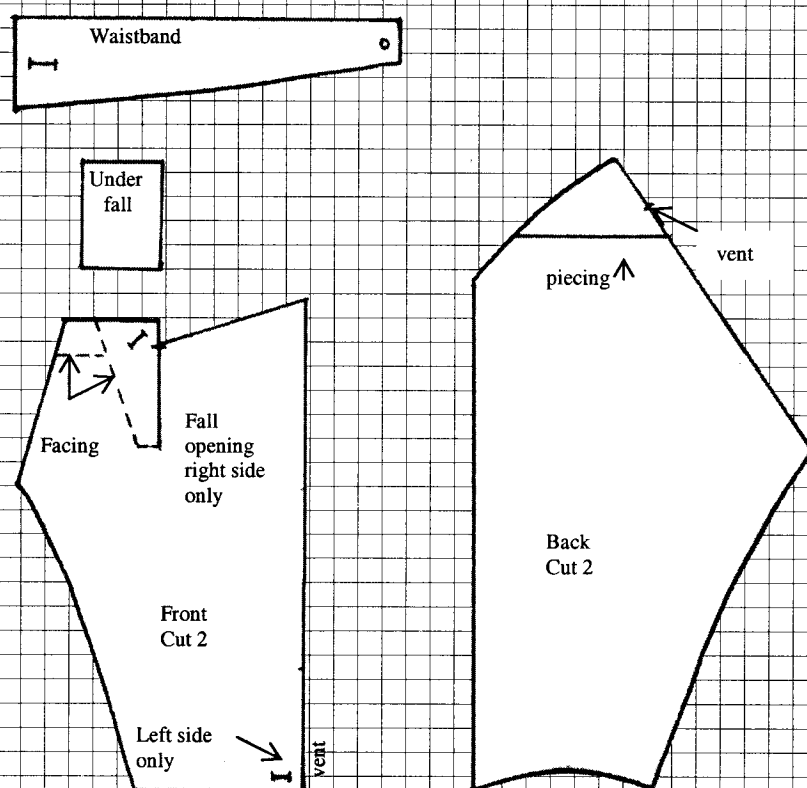
$\frac{1}{2}$ in. seam allowance

1. Hypothetical reconstruction from fragment of waistband and front panel. Made of heavy hemp canvas. Sewn entirely with two-ply sail twine
2. Seams should be felled, and body gathered with $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide pleats.
3. At some point after construction, the button was removed and the left waistband sewn down over the right waistband, with an overlap of three inches.
4. Fly opening is faced but does not fasten.
5. Waistband folded and stitched to body with irregular stitches through all three layers.



33. Blue-grey woolen breeches
W-32/771/97; CMM/HZ/3136

Pattern 8: Blue-grey Breeches
W-32/771/97 : CMM/HZ/3136



Scale: $\frac{1}{4}$ in. = 1 in.

$\frac{1}{4}$ in. seam allowance

1. Made of coarse kersey with alternating light-blue and grey threads. Probably originally lined with linen.
2. Waistband has only one button and one eyelet at center back, both stitched with heavy waxed linen thread. Waistband pieces sewn right sides together, turned and hem-stitched on inside to stabilize raw edge.
3. Fall opens on right side only, in the German fashion. On the left, fall opening was not cut, but the $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. extension is sewn directly to the waistband. Fall facings are same fabric as shell.
4. There are vents at both knees, but only the left side has a button. There is no knee band, but the bottom hems and vents were bound with tape.
5. The underfall is on the right side only.
6. There are no pockets.

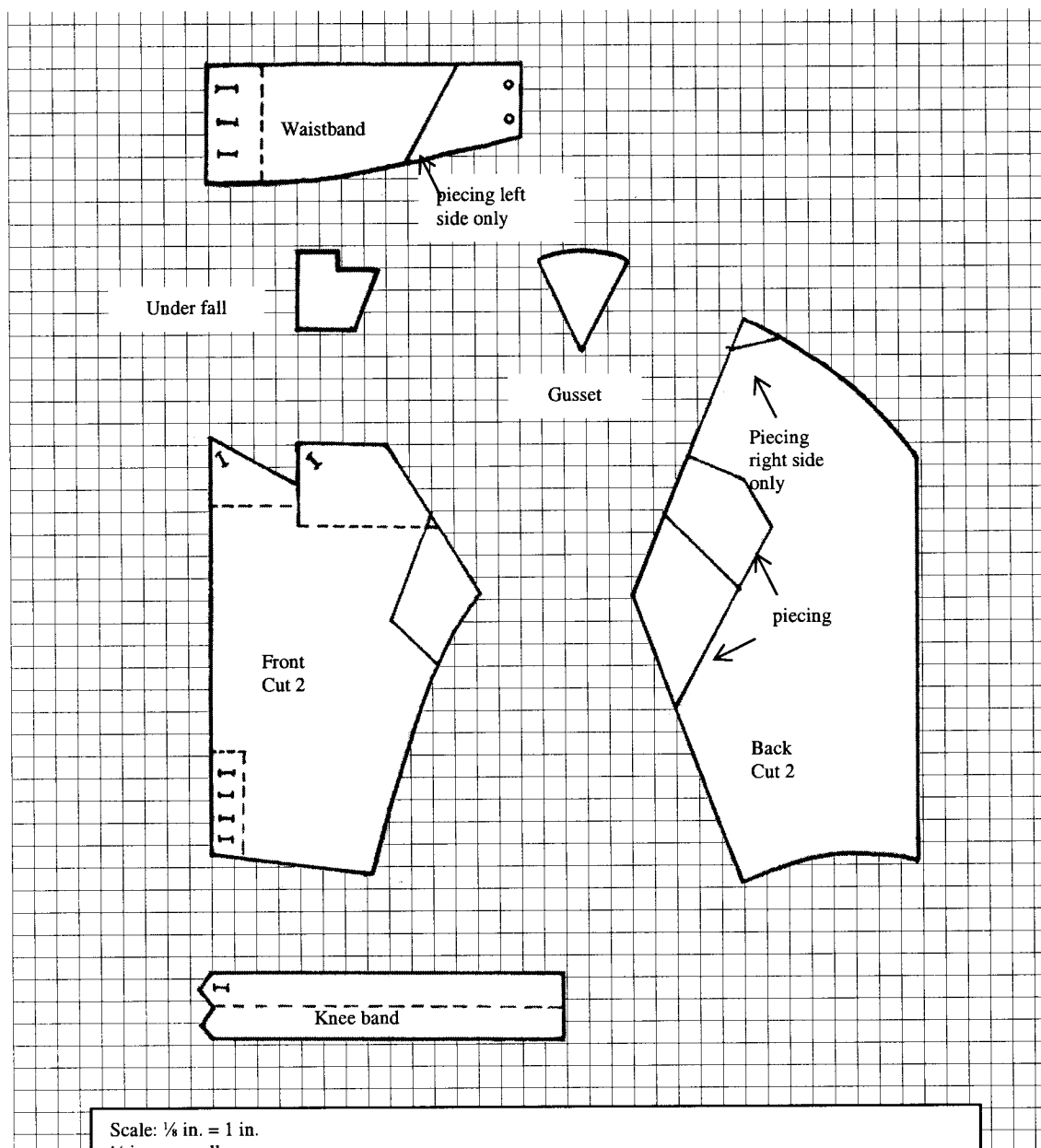
Pattern 8: Black Wool Breeches

W-32/347/95 : CMM/HZ/3187



34. Black wool breeches lined with coarse brown wool
W-32/347/95 : CMM/HZ/3187

Pattern 9: Black Wool Breeches
W-32/347/95 : CMM/HZ/3187



Scale: $\frac{1}{8}$ in. = 1 in.

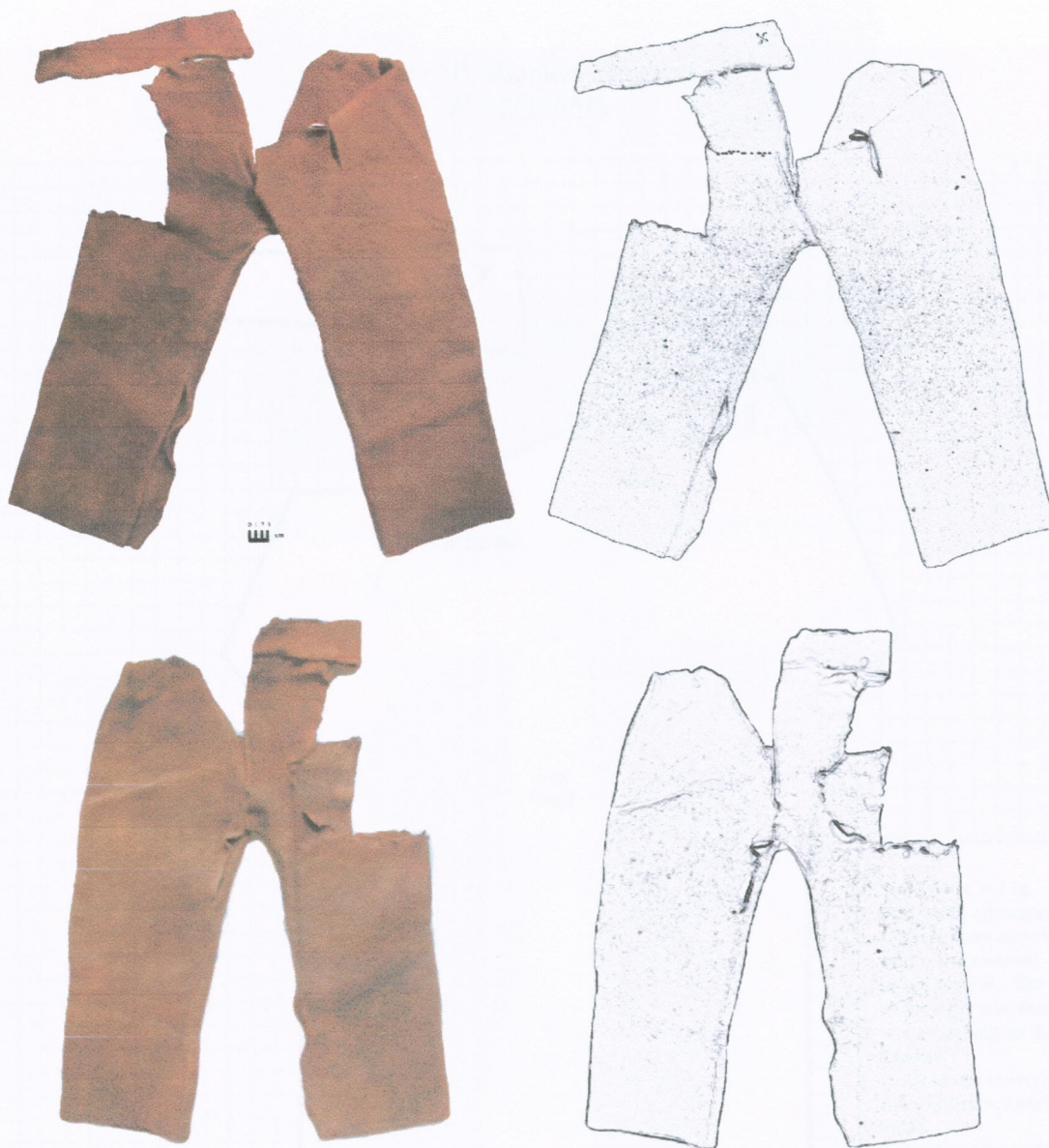
$\frac{1}{4}$ in. seam allowance

1. Shell made from fine black wool, pieced at crotch and seat. May have been originally lined with white linen, but was later lined with rough brown blanket wool. This later lining has been reinforced with a large patch in the seat.

2. Left and right backs pieced differently.

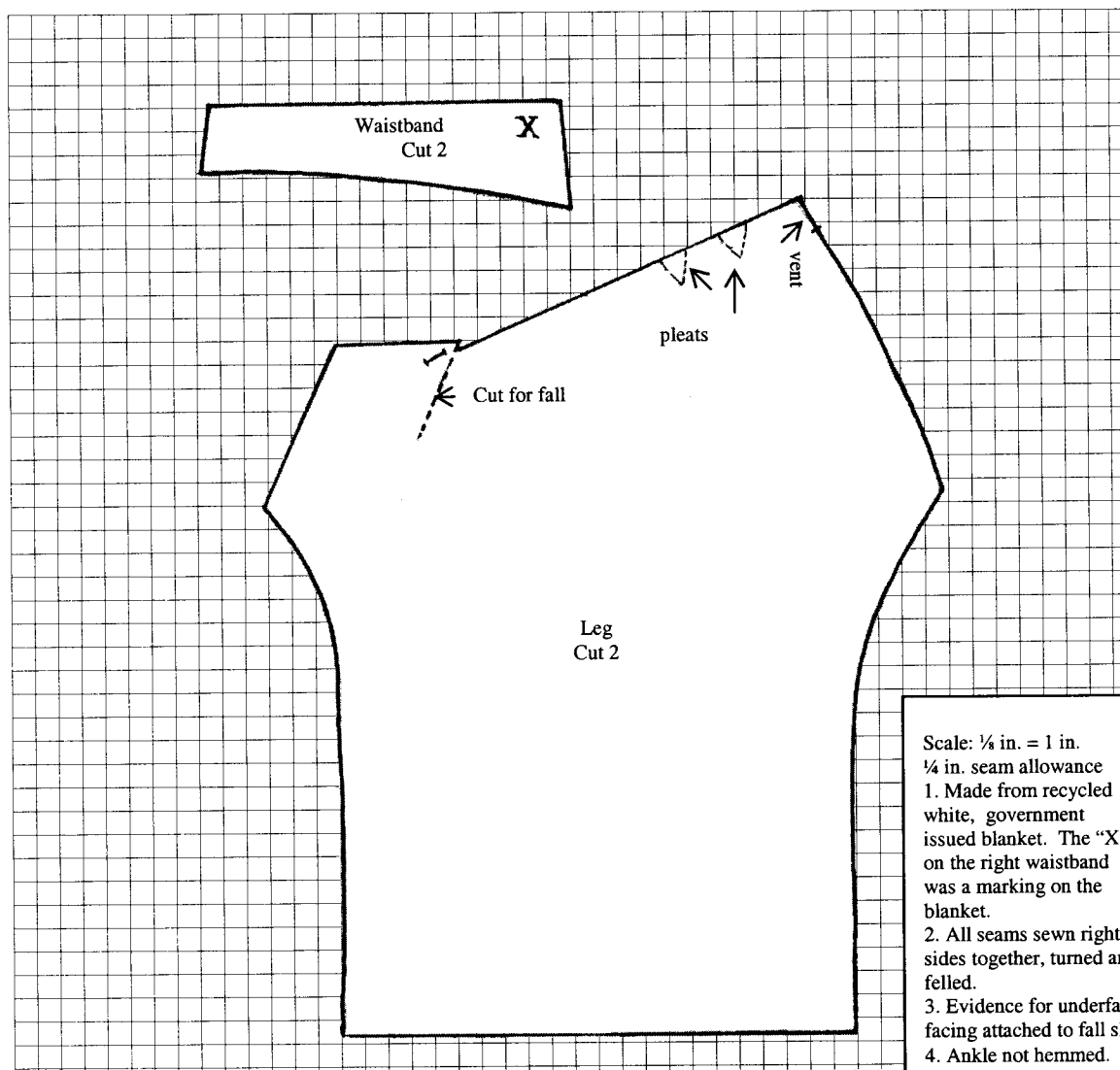
3. Pocket faced with same fabric as shell, with linen pocket bags. Fall and knee placket faced with glazed twilled wool. Edges of pockets and fall left raw and topstitched with double row of running stitches, 10 stitches per inch.

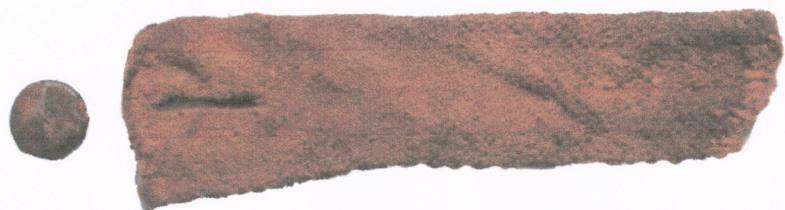
4. Back gusset and knee band are not original.



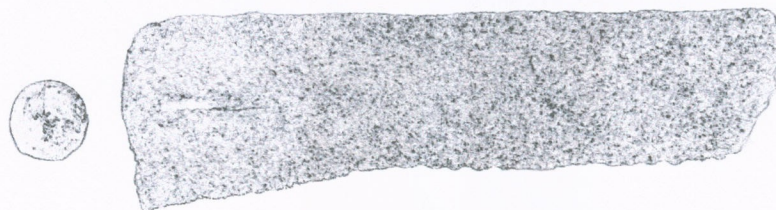
35. Blanket trousers
W-32/346/95

Patten 10: Blanket Trousers
W-32/346/95





0 1 2 3
cm



36. Brown wool waistband fragment with button
W-32/606/95



0 1 2 3
cm

37. Hand-knit wool stocking pair
W-32/61/95 : CMM/HZ/3156/1
W-32/207/95 : CMM/HZ/3156/2



38. Hand-knit wool stocking pair
CMM/HZ/3203
W-32/512/95 : CMM/HZ/3046



40. Frame-knit silk stocking pair
W-32/283/95/1 : CMM/HZ/3047/1
W-32/283/95/2 : CMM/HZ/3047/2



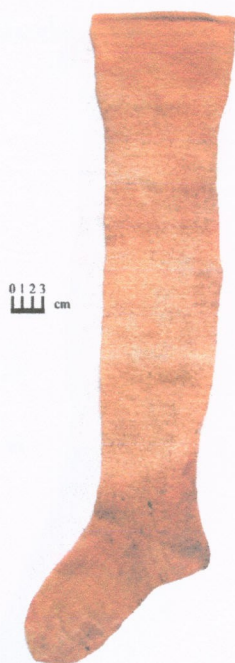
41. Small frame-knit wool stocking pair
CMM/HZ/3192/1
CMM/HZ/3192/2



42. Frame-knit wool stocking pair
W-32/516/95
CMM/HZ/3113/2

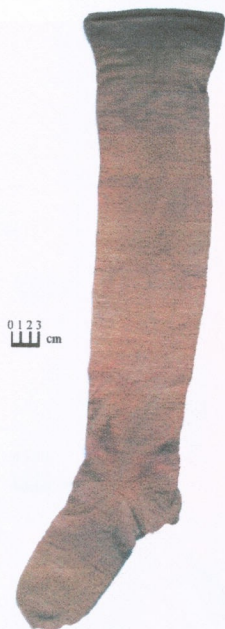


43. Frame-knit wool stocking pair
CMM/HZ/NW/1225
W-32/288/95



44. Detail

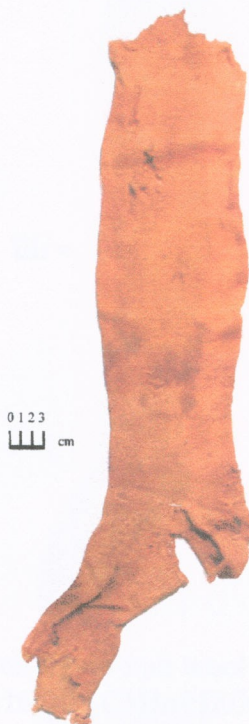
44. Hand-knit wool stocking
W-32/600/96 : CMM/HZ/3198



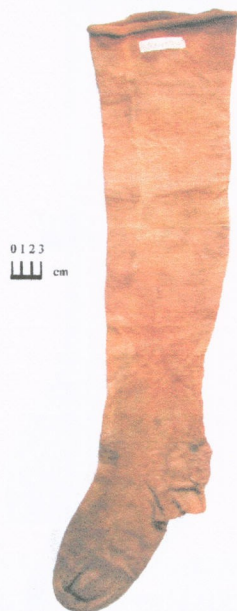
45. Knit wool stocking
CMM/HZ/3113/1



46. Frame-knit wool stocking
W-32/177/95



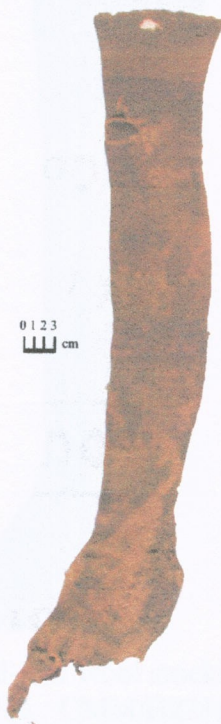
47. Hand-knit wool stocking
W-32/30/95



48. Frame-knit wool stocking
W-32/312/95 : CMM/HZ/NW/638



49. Ribbed frame-knit wool stocking
W-32/616/96 : CMM/HZ/NW/640



50. Ribbed frame-knit wool stocking
CMM/HZ/NW/1238



52. Hand-knit wool stocking
W-32/207/95 : CMM/HZ/3156/3



53. Hand-knit wool stocking
W-32/406/95 : CMM/HZ/3156/5

0 1 2 3
cm

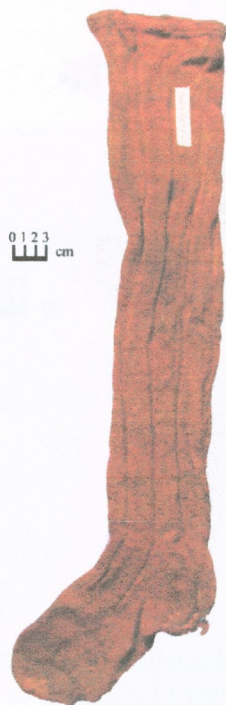


54. Hand-knit wool stocking
W-32/314/95 : CMM/HZ/NW/643

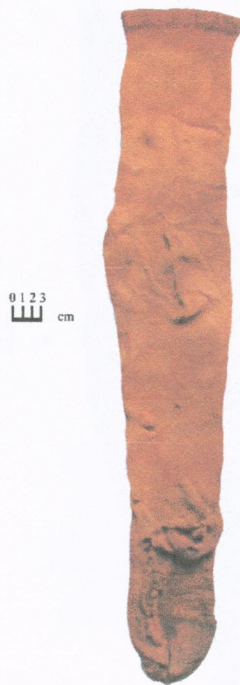
0 1 2 3
cm



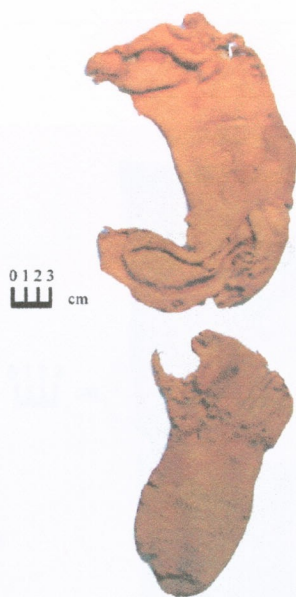
55. Hand-knit wool stocking
W-32/62/95 : CMM/HZ/3156/4



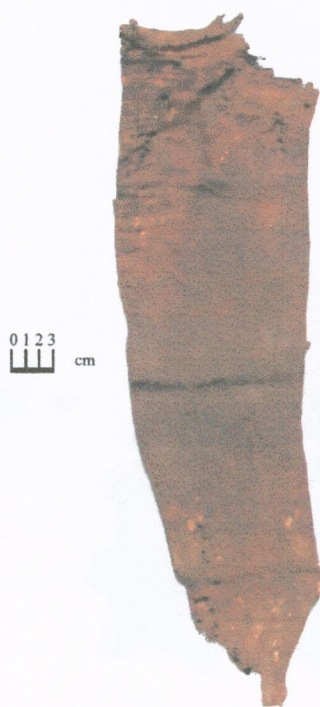
56. Ribbed hand-knit wool stocking
CMM/HZ/NW/639



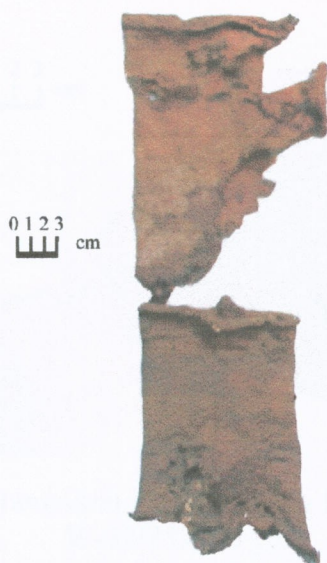
57. Ribbed frame-knit wool stocking
CMM/HZ/NW/1219



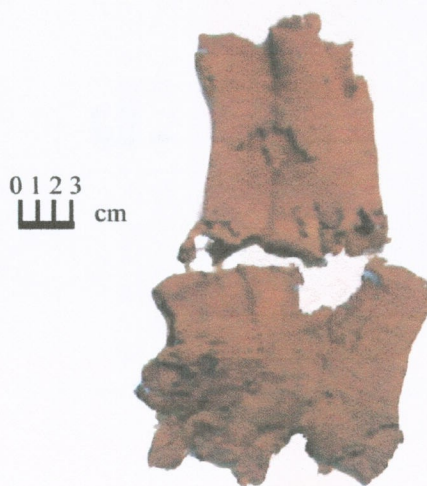
58. Hand-knit wool stocking fragment
W-32/117/95



59. Frame-knit wool stocking fragment
W-32/182/95 : CMM/HZ/NW/1215



60. Hand-knit wool stocking fragments
W-32/181/95



61. Knit stocking fragment
W-32/65/95

0 1 2 3
cm



62. Frame-knit wool stocking fragment
W-32/755/ no year

0 1 2 3
cm



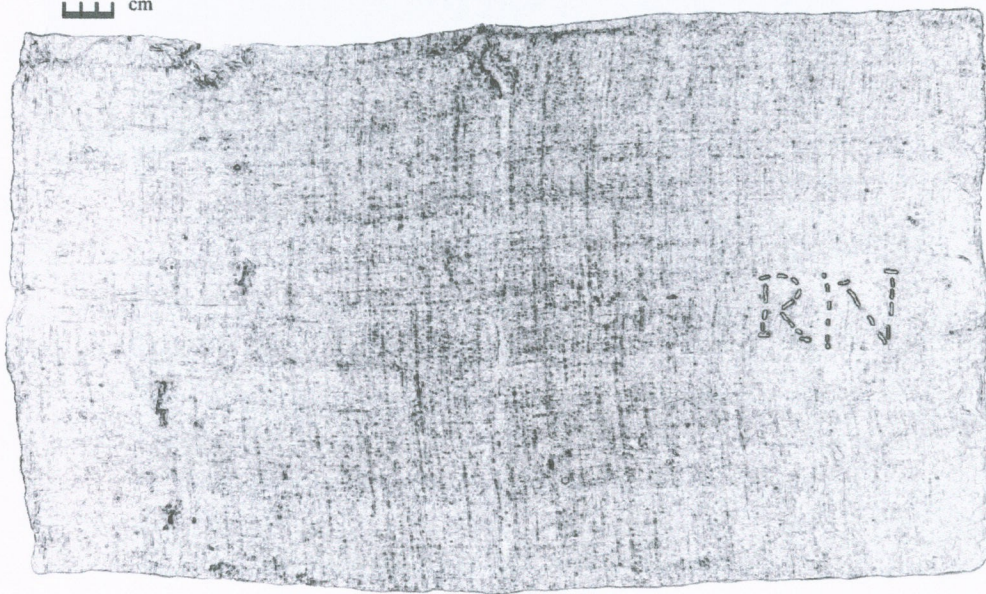
63. Frame-knit silk stocking fragments
W-32/104/95 : CMM/HZ/NW/1402/1 and 2



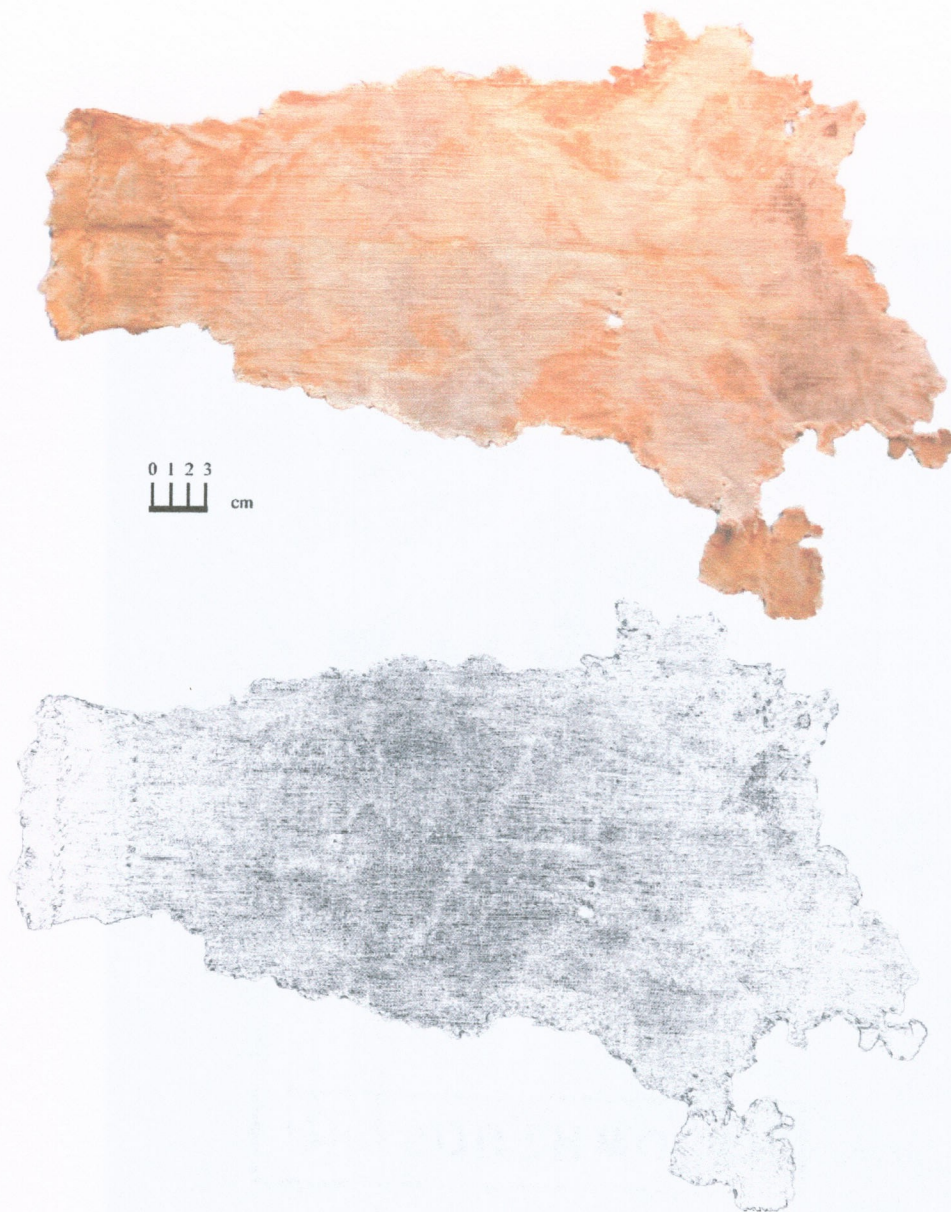
66. Woolen blanket
W-32/405/95 : CMM/HZ/NW/1403



0 1 2 3
cm



67. Linen bag with monogram
CMM/HZ/3196



68. Canvas fragment with felled seam
Un-numbered

FIGURES



Figure 1

"The Sailor's Farewell,"
J. Booth – L.P. Boitard, 1744
in Robinson: 1909 , 42.



Figure 2

“William and Mary,”
Chinese painting on glass after R. Pollard, 1785,
in Henderson and Carlisle: 1999, 33.

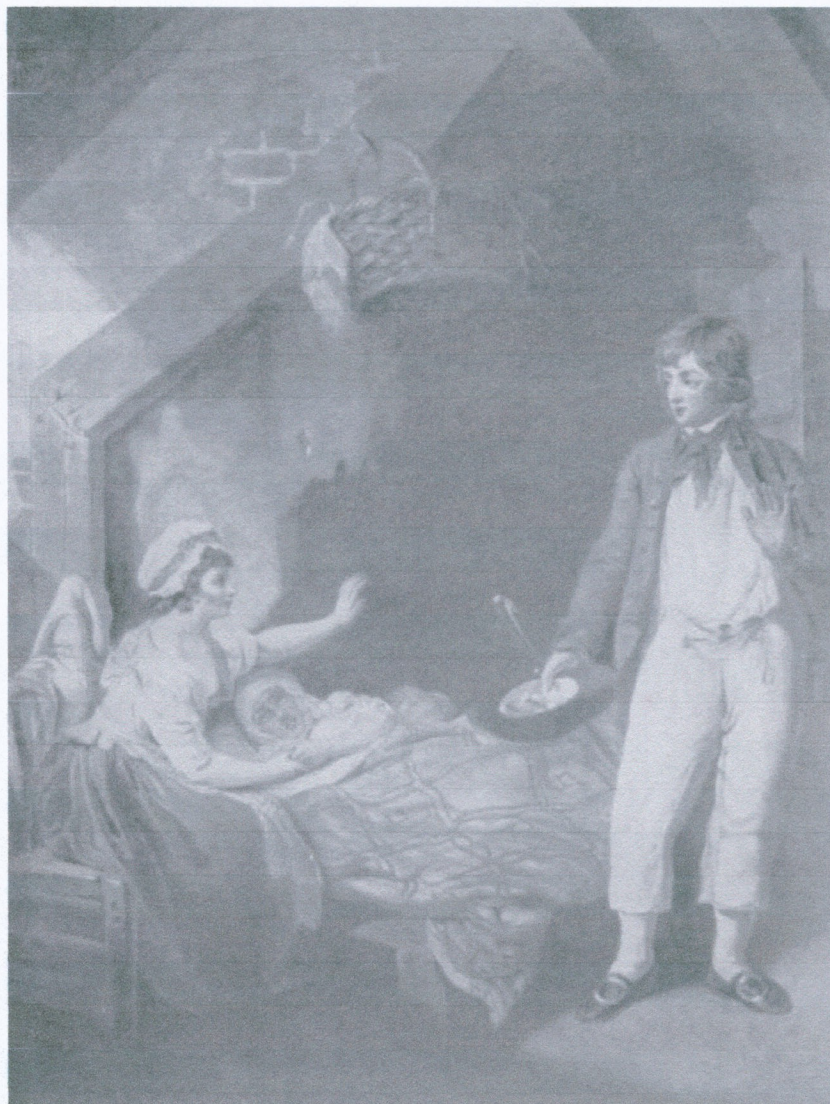


Figure 3

"The Sailor's Return,"
W. Ward – F. Wheatley,
in Robinson: 1909, 84.



Figure 4

"The Sailor's Return,"
J. Booth – L.P. Boitard, 1744
in Robinson: 1909, 44.

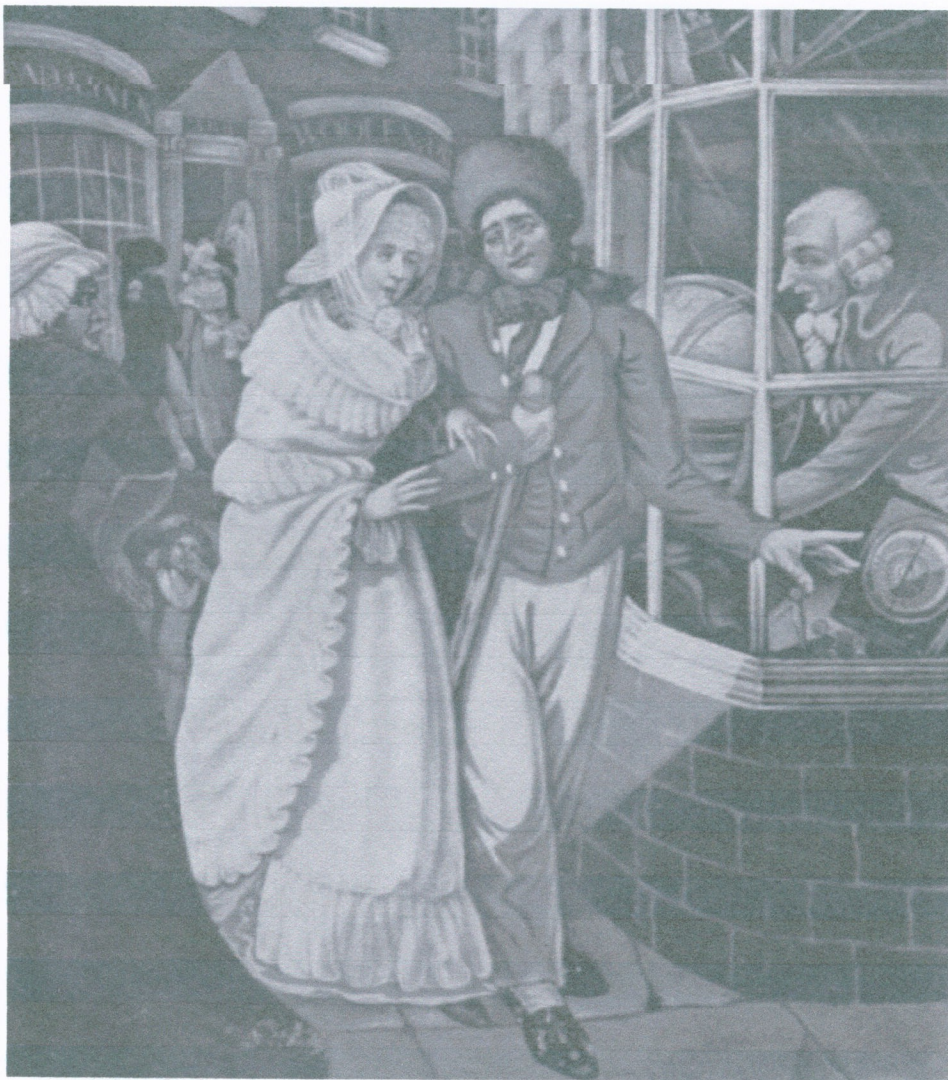


Figure 5

“Lovely Nan,”
Laurie and Whittle, 1795,
in Robinson: 1909, 448.



Figure 6

"The British Hercules,"
1737
in Dickens: 1957, 12.

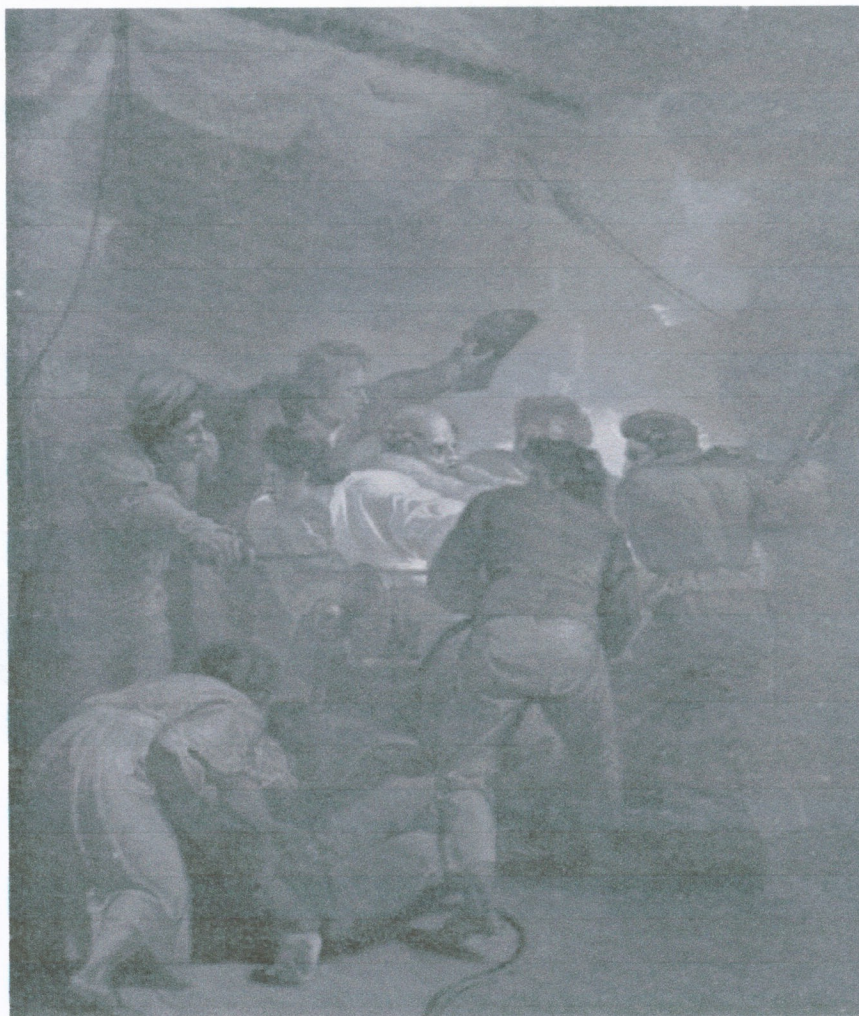


Figure 7

"Fighting a Gun,"
W. Ward – T. Stothard, 1779,
in Robinson: 1909, 54.



Figure 8

"Sailors on Shore,"
 R. Ackermann, 1800
 Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection,
 Hay Library, Brown University.



Figure 9

"Portsmouth Point,"
Rowlandson, c. 1790,
in Henderson and Carlisle: 1999, 130.



Figure 10

"Men of War, Bound for the Port of Pleasure,"
 C. Bowles, 1791,
 Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection,
 Hay Library, Brown University.



Figure 11

"Exporting Cattle, Not Insurable,"
T. Tegg, c. 1800,
in Henderson and Carlisle: 1999, 141.



Figure 12

"The Press-Gang, or Cruel Separation,"
C. Bowles, 1782,
in Robinson: 1909, 196.



Figure 13

“Manning the Navy, The Press-Gang on Tower Hill,”
 Barlow, 1790,
 in Robinson: 1909, 30.



Figure 14

"The Waterman's Reluctance on Going to War,"
W. Ward – G. Morland, c. 1790,
in Henderson and Carlisle: 1999, 24.

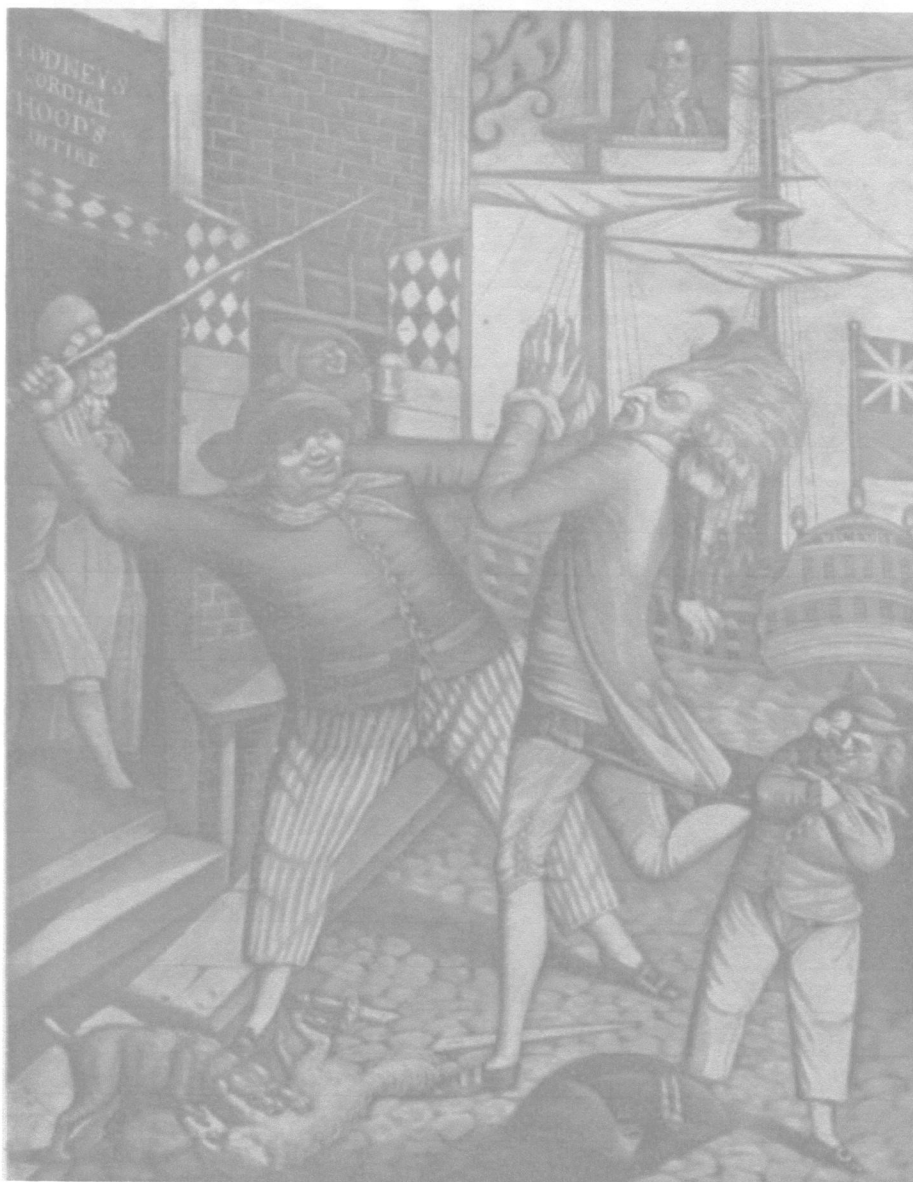


Figure 15

"An English Jack-Tar Giving Monsieur a Drubbing,"

R. Sayer, 1778,
in Robinson: 1909, 66.

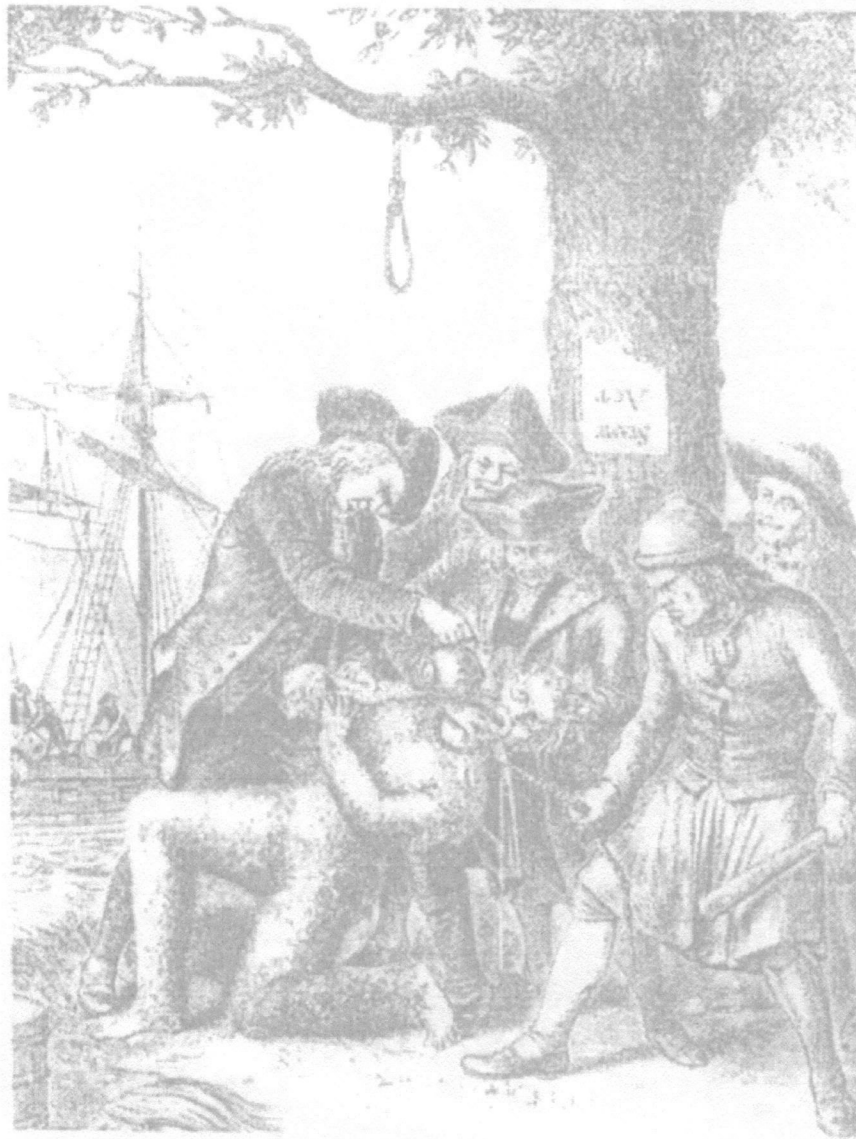


Figure 16

"Bostonians Tarring and Feathering a Tax Collector, 1773,"

P. Dawes,
in Copeland: 1977, 18.



Figure 17

"The Sailor's Return,"
C. Mosley, 1744,
in Robinson: 1909, 12.



Figure 18

"The True British Sailor's Resolution"
 Scene from "The Fair Quaker of Deal," ca. 1773,
 in Robinson: 1909, 154.



Figure 19

"Bachelor's Fare, or Bread and Cheese and Kisses,"
J. Collet, 1781,
in Robinson: 1909, 280.



Figure 20

"A sailor bringing up his hammock, January 1775,"

G. Bray,
in Quarm: 1995, 41.

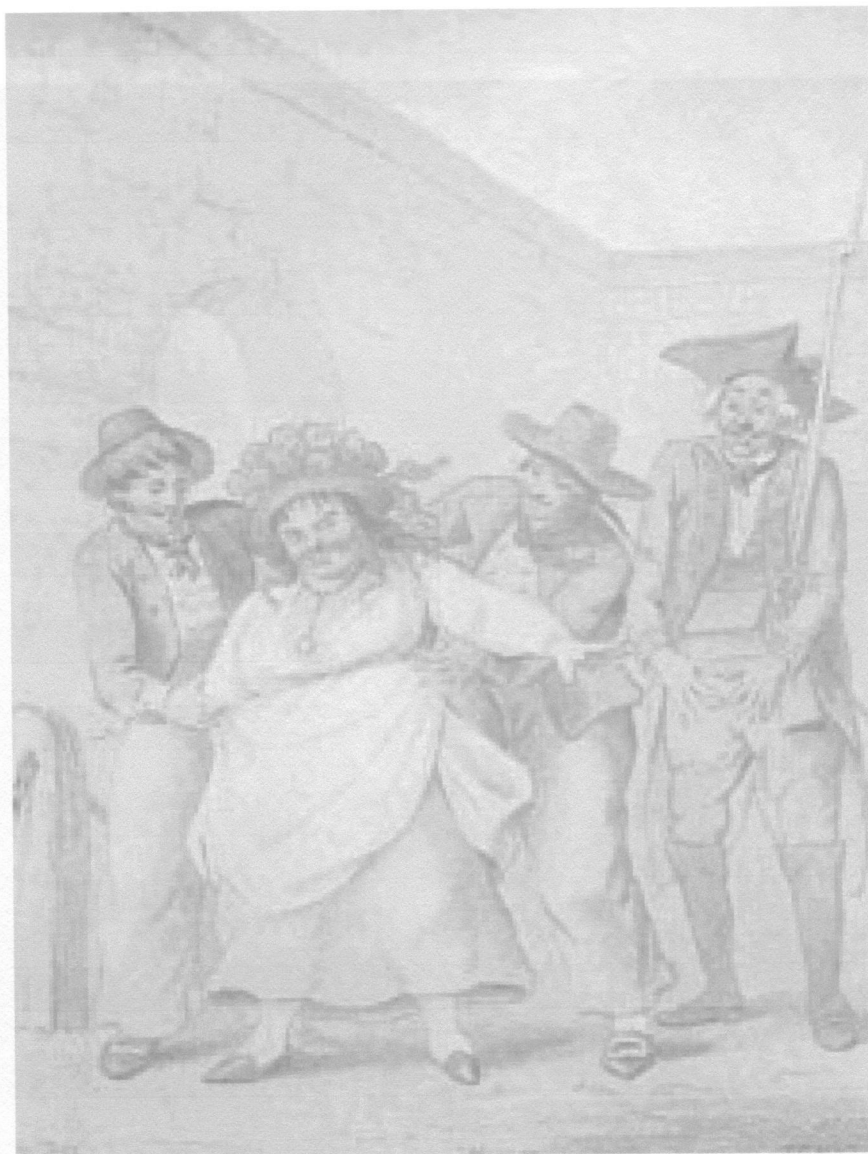


Figure 21

"Sweet Poll of Plymouth,"
G. Sheppard – H. Bunbury, 1796,
in Robinson: 1909, 390.

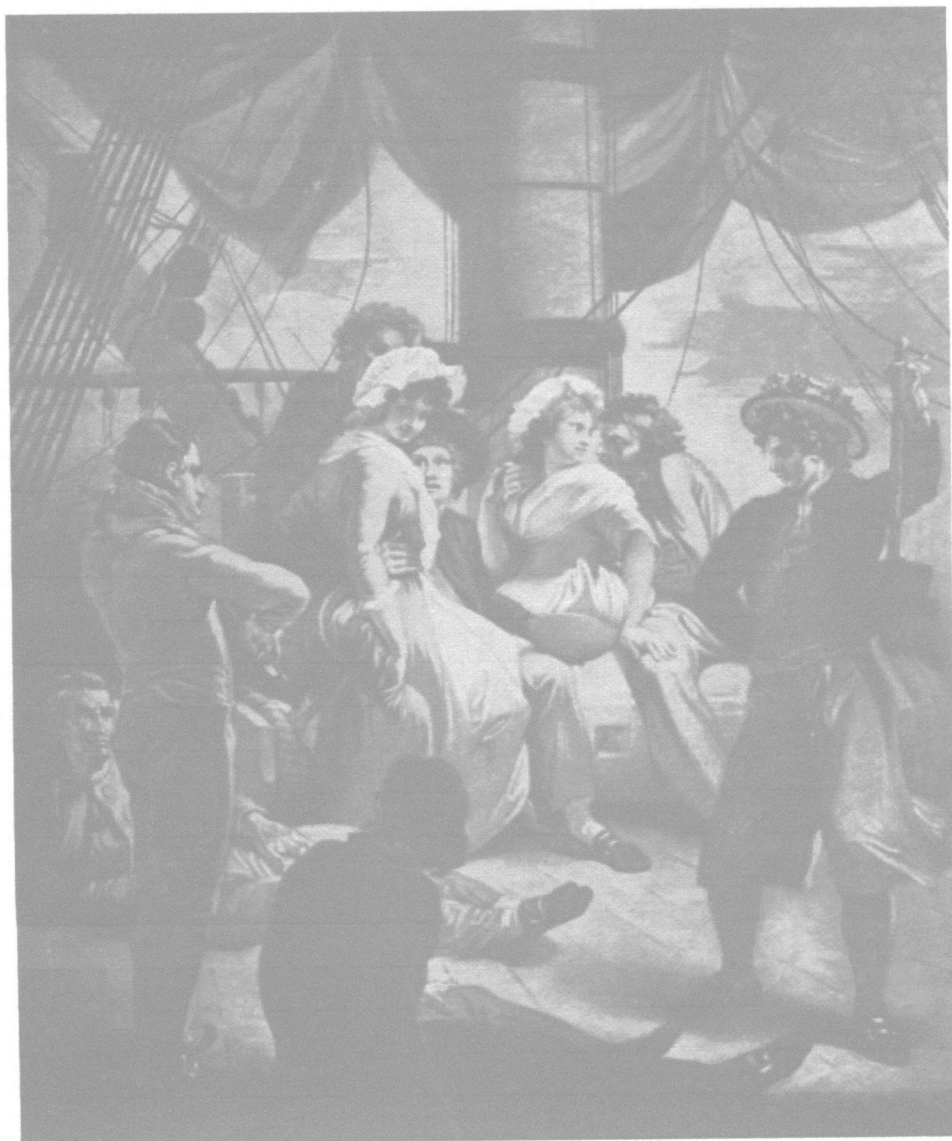


Figure 22

"On the Forecastle,"
W. Ward - T. Stothard, 1779,
in Robinson: 1909, 48.



Figure 23

“An English Man-of-War Taking a French Privateer,”
C. Bowles, 1781,
in Robinson: 1909, 172.



Figure 24

"Jack Oakham Throwing out a Signal for an Engagement,"
R. Sayer and J. Bennett, 1781,
in Robinson: 1909, 236.



Figure 25

"The True British Tar,"
C. Bowles, 1785,
in Robinson: 1909, 318.



Figure 26

"Seamen of the 'Edgar,' from a sketch taken at Portsmouth,"
J.R. Smith – W.H. Bunbury, 1785
in Robinson: 1909, 118.



Figure 27

"The Fortunate Tar,"
Berner and Richter, 1798,
in Robinson: 1909, 330.

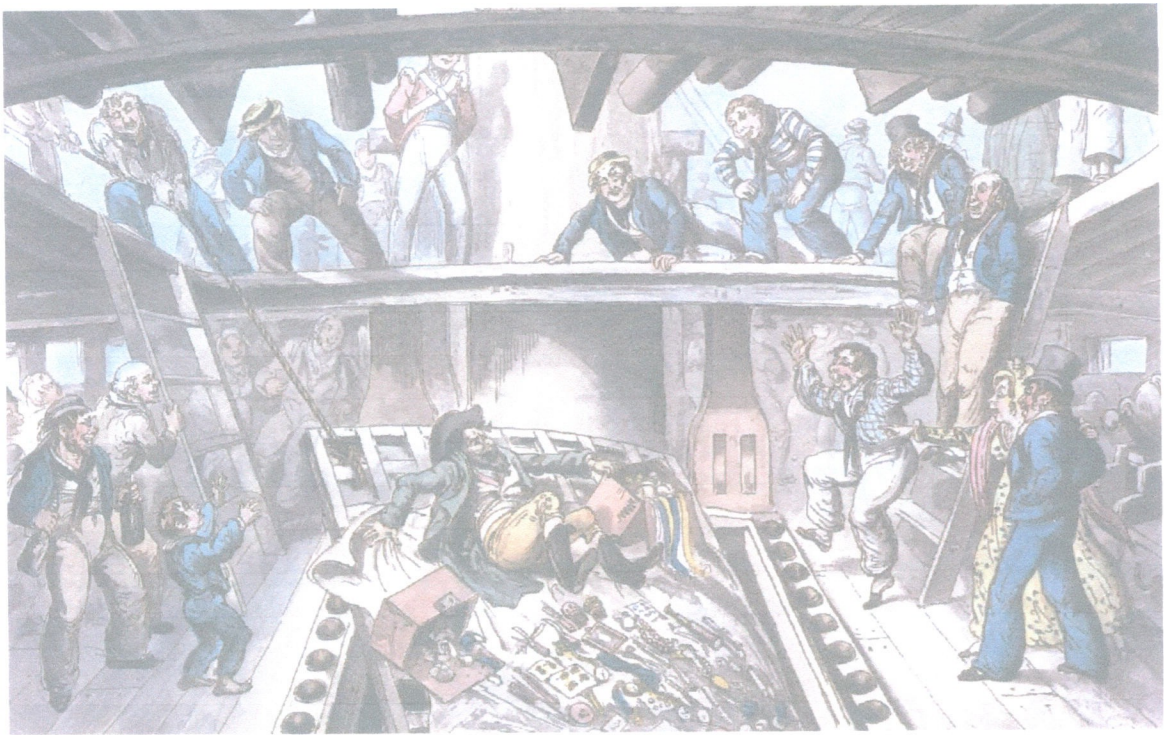


Figure 28

"Paying Off,"
G. Cruikshank, ca. 1800
in Ireland: 2000, 44.



THE USE of a GENTLEMAN, or Patronage for the Admiralty.

Figure 29

"The Use of a Gentleman, or Patronage for the Admiralty,"

T. Tegg, c. 1810,

in Henderson and Carlisle: 1999, 23.

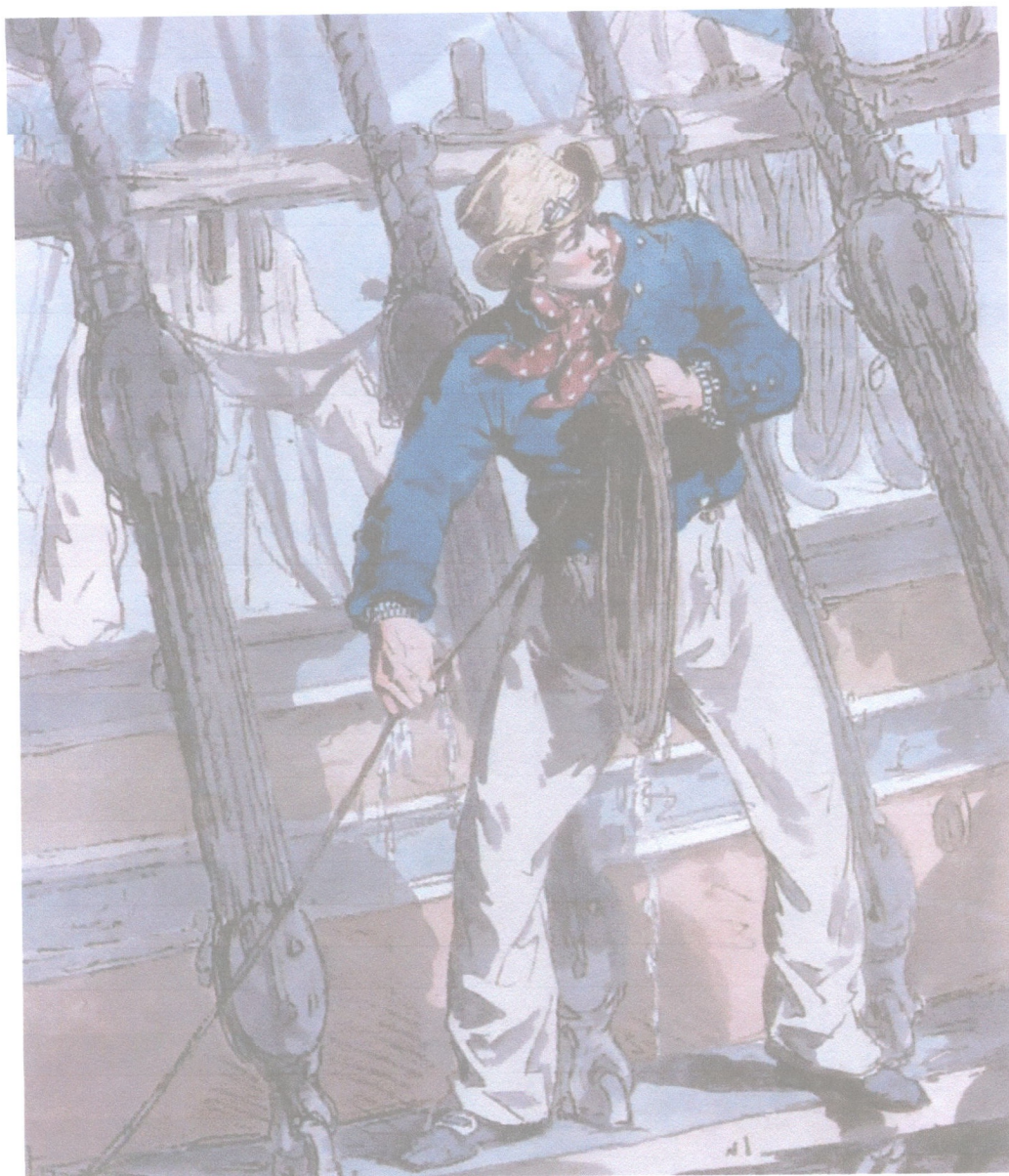


Figure 30

"Heaving the Lead,"
J.A. Atkinson, c. 1810,
in O'Neill: 2003, 77.



Figure 31

"Boiling the Pitch,"
T. Rowlandson, 1799,
in Dickens: 1957, 9.



Figure 32

"Making a Compass at Sea,"
 T. Tegg ?, c. 1810,
 in Henderson and Carlisle: 1999, 86.

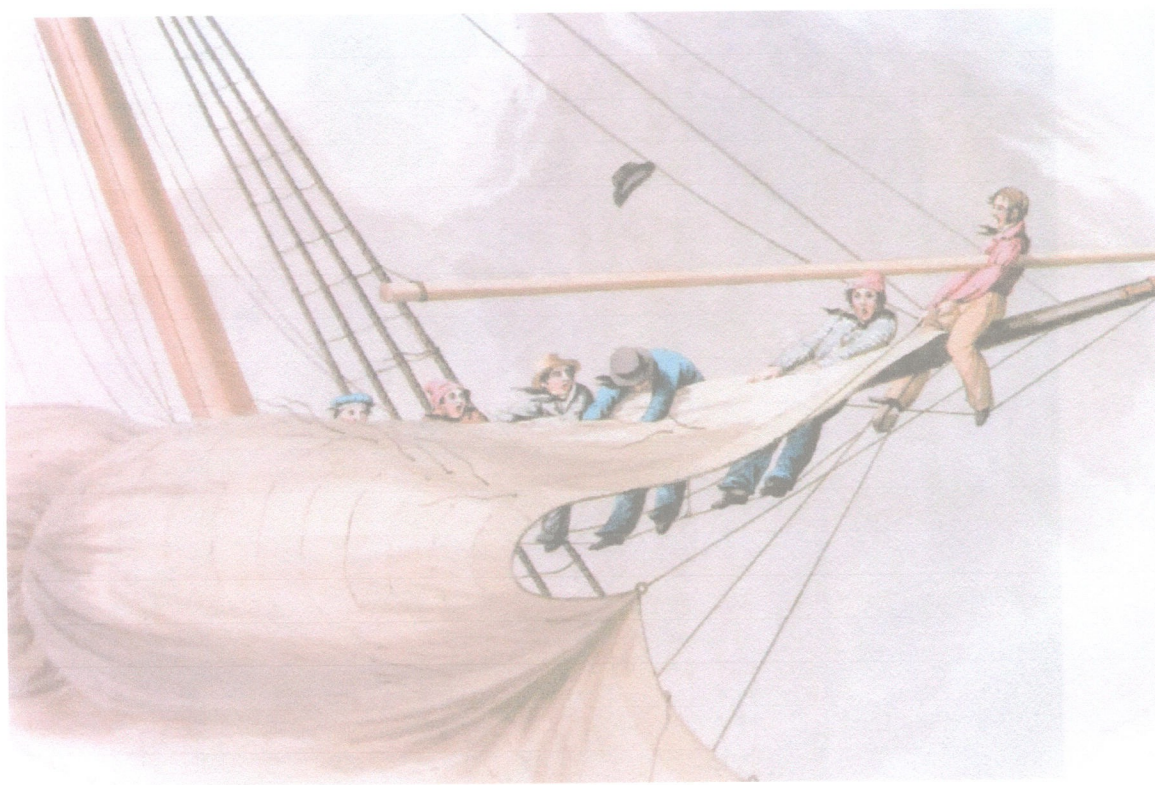


Figure 33

"Furling Sail,"
E. Duncan,
in O'Neill: 2003, 93.

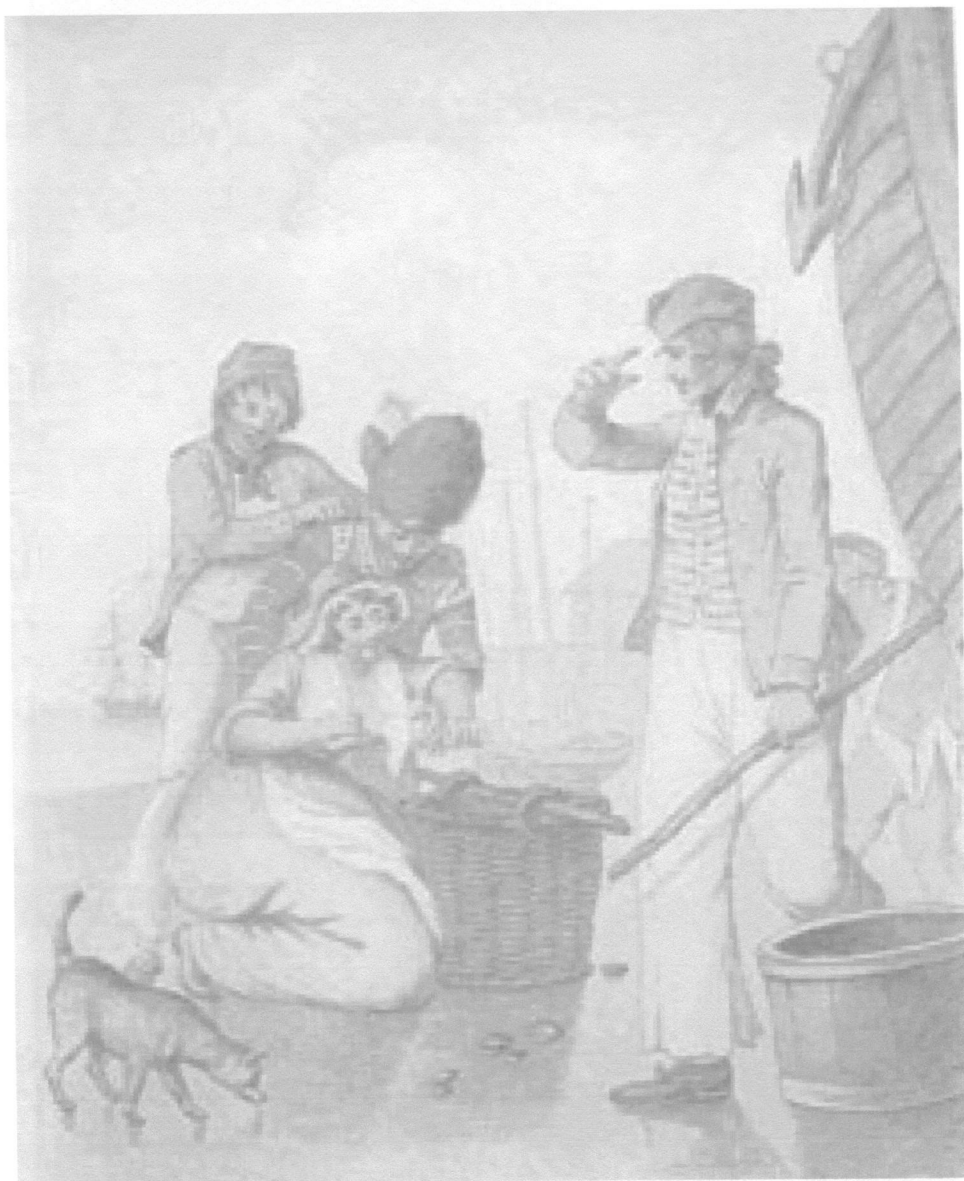


Figure 34

"The Amorous Rivals,"
G. Sheppard – H. Bunbury, 1796,
in Robinson: 1909, 390.



Figure 35

"Seamen,"
J.A. Atkinson, 1806,
in Dickens: 1957, 14.



Figure 36

Sailors dancing aboard schooner *Tyral*,
R. Van Lennep, 1807,
in Henderson and Carlisle: 1999, 149.



Figure 37

“The Cat Let Out of the Bag,”
W. Charles, 1808,
in Murrell: 1967, 87.



Figure 38

"British Plenty,"
H. Singleton, c. 1790,
in Henderson and Carlisle: 1999, 147.



Figure 39

“Boarding Action,”
G. Cruikshank,
in O’Neill: 2003, 122.



Figure 40

"John Crawford,"
 1797

in Henderson and Carlisle: 1999, 241.

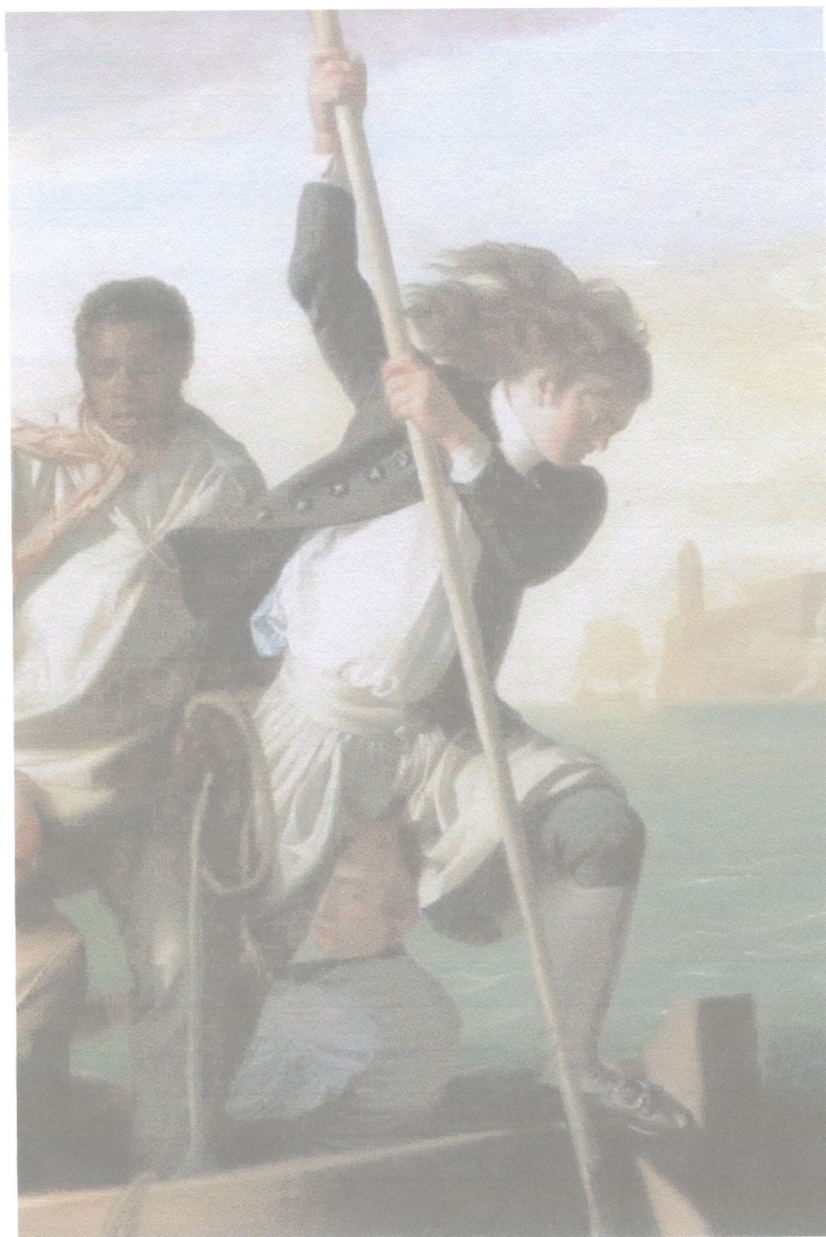


Figure 41

Detail: "Watson and the Shark,"
J. S. Copley, 1778,
in Baumgarten: 2002, 126.

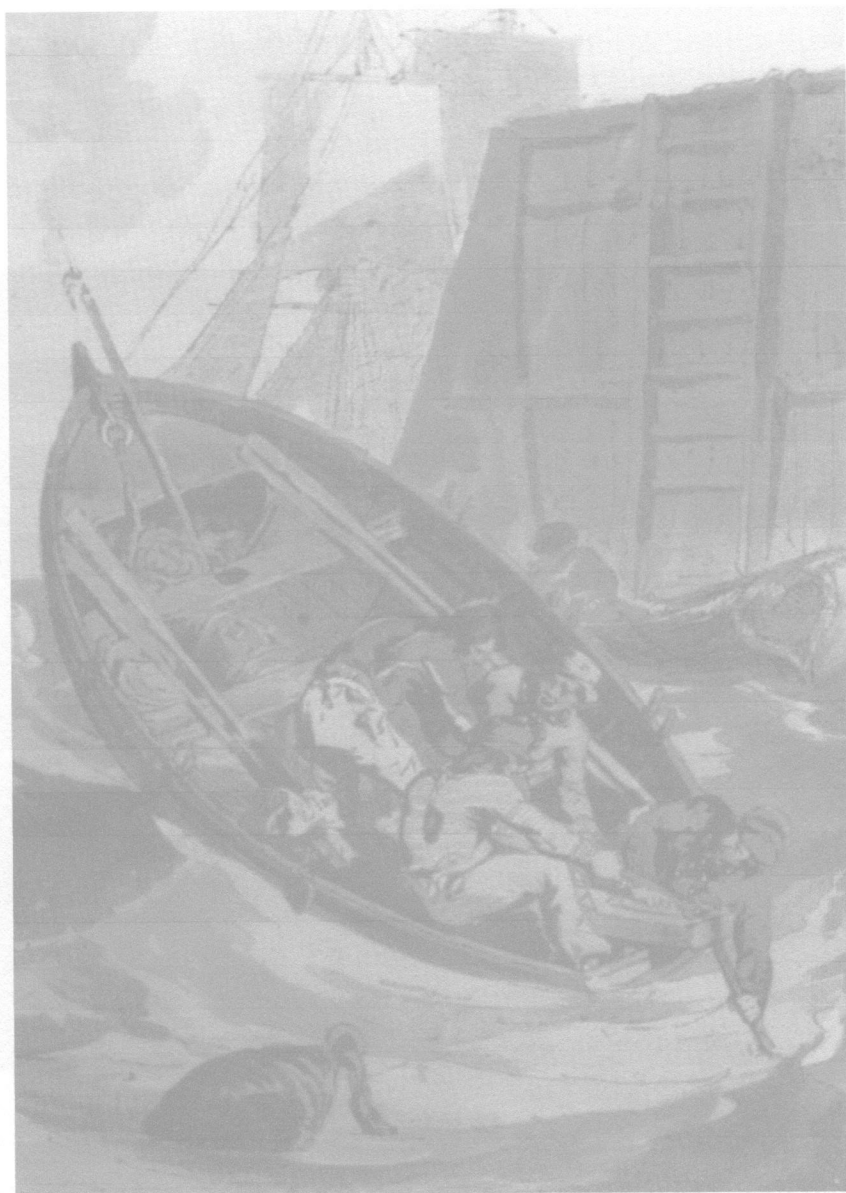


Figure 42

"Getting up a Kedge Anchor,"
J. A Atkinson, 1807,
in May: 1999, 35.



Figure 43

“The Mutineers Turning Lieut. Bligh and part of the Officers and crew adrift from His Majesty’s Ship the Bounty,”

R. Dodd – R.B. Evans, 1790,

Anne S.K Brown Military Collection, Hay Library,
Brown University.



Figure 44

“British Sailor’s Boarding a Man-of-War, the Recapture of the ‘Hermione’,”
J.A Atkinson, 1815,
in O’Neill: 2003, 78.



DISPATCH OR JACK PREPARING FOR SEA

Figure 45

"Dispatch, or Jack Preparing for Sea,"

T. Rowlandson, c. 1800,

Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, John Hay Library,
Brown University.



Figure 46

"A Peep into Saldanha Bay, or Dutch Perfidy Rewarded,"
 Cruikshank – S.W. Fores, 1796,
 Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, John Hay Library,
 Brown University.



Figure 47

“The Last Jig or Adieu to Old England,”
 Rowlandson – T. Tegg, 1818,
 Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, John Hay Library,
 Brown University.



Figure 48

Sailor,
T. Rowlandson, c. 1800,
Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, John Hay Library,
Brown University.

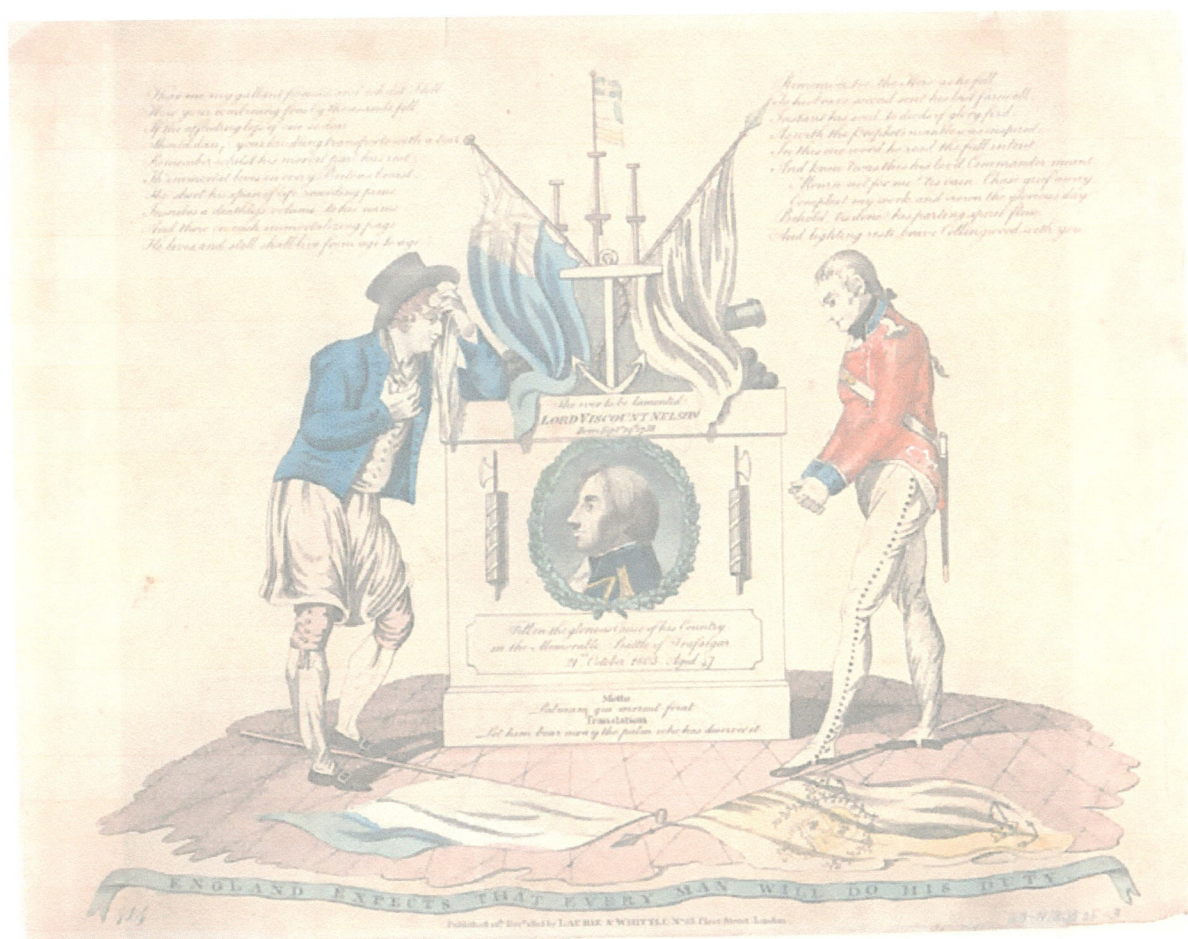


Figure 49

“England Expects that Every Man Will Do His Duty,”
 Laurie and Whittle, 1805,
 Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, John Hay Library,
 Brown University.



Figure 50

“Capt. Paul Jones Shooting a Sailor who had attempted to Strike his Colours in an Engagement,”

R. Sayer – J. Bennett, 1780,
in Smith: 50, 42.

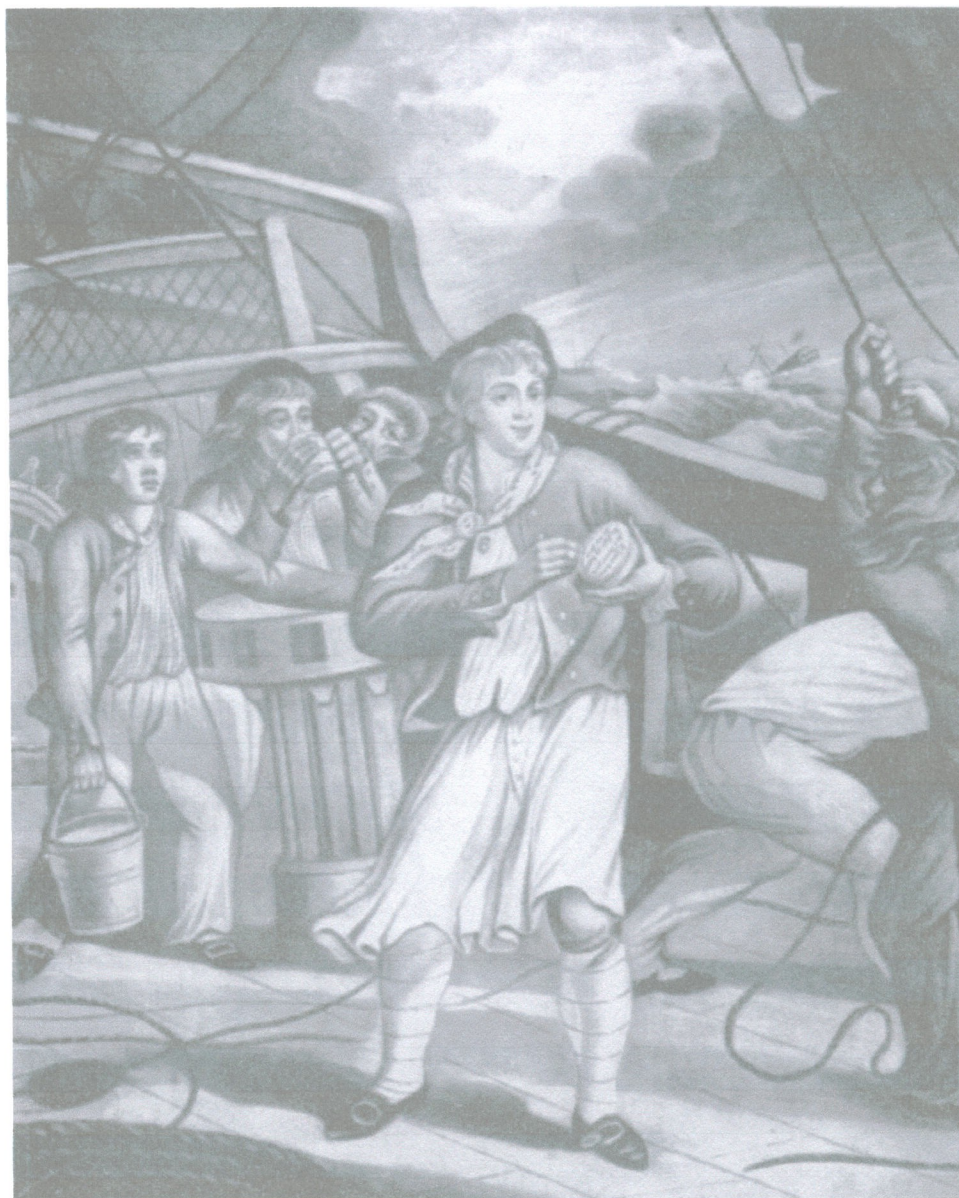


Figure 51

“The Tobacco Box, or Jack Taking a Quid of Comfort in a Storm,”
1790,
in Dickens: 1957, 6.

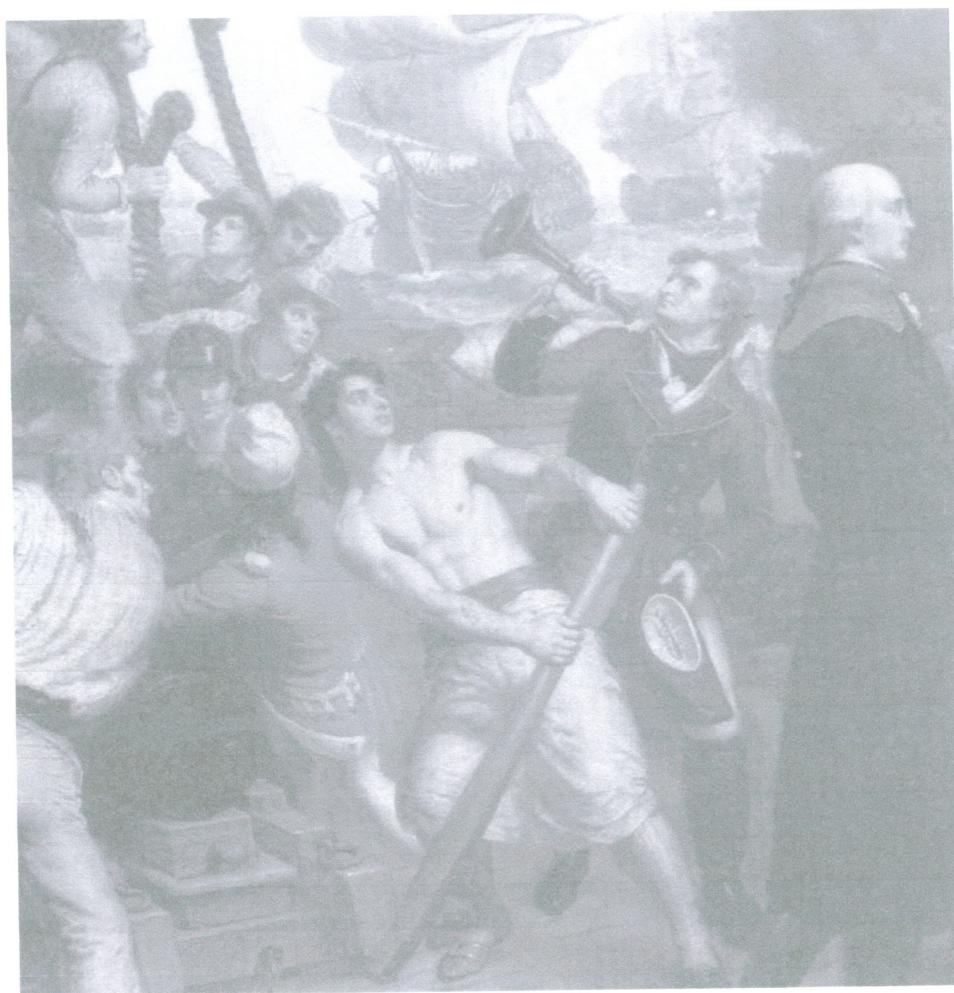


Figure 52

Detail: "Battle of Camperdown,"
S. Drummond,
in O'Neill: 2003, 21.



Figure 53

Untitled
in O'Neill: 2003, 75.



Figure 54

"Seaman with a Man-of-War's Barge"

D. Serres, 1777,
in Russett: 2001, 123.



Figure 55

“Sailors Eating Pork,”
 Woodward – P. Roberts, 1805,
 Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, John Hay Library,
 Brown University.



Figure 56

"The Sailor's Farewell,"
 T.H. Ramburg – H. Hudson, 1785
 in Henderson and Carlisle: 1999, 20.

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APPENDIX: RUNAWAY ADVERTISEMENTS

The following compilation of runaway and deserter advertisements from eighteenth-century American colonial newspapers was inspired by two useful works, Billy Smith and Richard Wojtowicz's *Blacks Who Stole Themselves: Advertisements for Runaways in the Pennsylvania Gazette 1728-1790*, and Alice Maureen Taylor's *Runaways, Deserters, and Notorious Villains from Rhode Island Newspapers*. Both include advertisements for sailors, but this, of course, is not their primary focus. What needed to be created was a database of sailor runaways, from which I could extract statistics on clothing. My methodology was fairly straightforward. I included only those men who were specifically identified as seamen in the advertisement. This acted as a control. Many servants, while not specifically described as sailors, nevertheless wore clothing remarkably similar to the seafarer's. Yet, to include them would have defeated the purpose. Therefore, of the 120 runaways described in the following 71 advertisements, all were connected with maritime commerce or warfare in some way. Not all were deep-sea sailors. Many runaways absconded from what were evidently coasting vessels or river boats. But since they worked on the water, and presumably wore clothing adapted to such an occupation, they were included.

Since masters placed newspaper advertisements to regain their servants, clothing descriptions may be judged accurate. Some biases still exist, however. For one, masters often described only the more remarkable clothing items, such as striped or check trousers, or an especially fancy hat. Shirts, stockings, shoes, and other more quotidian garments do not appear as often as outer garments. Also, it should be remembered that

these advertisements provide description and nothing more. That is, we do not know what the sailor himself thought about his clothes. Where they were fashionable and up-to-date, or did he find them outmoded, if hard-wearing? Despite these obvious limitations, runaway and deserter advertisements provide a useful database of clothing styles, colors, and fabrics worn by eighteenth-century seamen.

Virginia Gazette
Williamsburg,
24 January 1752.

December 24, 1751. RAN away from the Subscriber, living in Norfolk, a young Mulatto Fellow, named Joe, alias Josiah Sally: He is a Sailor, and had on when he went away, a blue Fear-nothing Jacket, Trousers, an old Hat and Wig, Yarn Stockings, and Shoes. Whoever will apprehend and bring him to me, or secure him so that I may have him again, shall have a Pistole Reward, besides what the Law allows. Charles Steuart.

Virginia Gazette
Williamsburg ,
6 October 1752.

October 6, 1752.

RAN away from the Brigantine Molly, in Hampton River, on the second of this Instant, the following Sailors, viz. David Aiken, a Scotchman, about 35 Years of Age, and 5 Feet 5 Inches high, thin Visage, and pitted slightly with the Small-pox. John Evans, a Welshman, about 5 Feet 7 Inches high, well-set, with light brown hair, wears a rough upper Jacket, and one of blue Serge under it. Robert Ford, Country unknown, about 5 Feet 6 Inches high, of a fair Complexion, with sandy colour'd Hair. They carried away with them a small new Long-Boat, about 16 Feet long and 6 Feet and a Half broad, with a high Main-thwart fitted to the upper Part of the Gunnel, two Coils of Ratline, a small Sprit-sail, and a Main top-mast Stay-sail, entirely new, with the Name of the Makers of the Canvass stamp'd upon it, viz. Robert Ouchterlany and Co, M[illeg.]s[?]. The Boat was seen in the Bay the Day after, and it is supposed they are gone towards Maryland. Whoever will secure any of the said Sailors, shall have a Pistole Reward for each, and Five Pistoles for the Boat, Cordage and Sails, to be paid on Delivery of the same in Hampton to James Graham.

Virginia Gazette
Williamsburg ,
21 August 1752.

RAN away from the Ship Allerton, lying at Berkeley, in James River, on Thursday the 30th of July last, a Servant Man, named John Almond, an English Man, about 5 Feet 4 Inches high, with a round Face and small Mouth; had on when he went away a brown Jacket with Metal Buttons, and Leather Breeches under a Pair of Oznabrig Trowsers. Whoever secures and conveys him to me, shall have a Pistole Reward, paid by James Wallace.

Pennsylvania Gazette
Philadelphia,
5 July 1753.

RUN away on Monday, the 27th of June last, from the Brigantine Warren, at Clark's wharf, below the Draw-bridge, Francis Butterfield master, a Negroe man, named Sam, about five feet ten inches high, 27 years of age, a slim fellow, speaks pretty good English, has had the small-pox, and is an ill looking fellow: Had on a frock and trowsers, and straw hat; has a wife, a Negroe, who belongs to the widow Conyers, but now lives with Capt. Condy, who it is thought secrets him. Whoever takes up and secures said Negroe, or brings him to Henry Elwes, shall have Forty Shillings reward, and reasonable charges, paid by HENRY ELWES.

Virginia Gazette
Williamsburg ,
17 July 1752.

RAN away from the Subscriber, living in Fredericksburg, about the 20th of June last, a Convict Irish Servant Man, named William Ferrell; he is about 6 Feet high, strong and well-made, looks very much like a Sailor, wears his Hat cock'd, and a Silk Handkerchief about his Neck; had on when he went away, a Sailors Jacket and Trowsers; carried with him a brown Cloth Vest without Sleeves, a dark grey Frize Frock, about half wore, a Grizzle Wig, and a Scarlet Jacket; he is a Cloather and Dyer by Trade; has a strong Voice, and gives impertinent Answers; he appears to be about 25 Years of Age. Whoever secures and brings him to me, shall have Two Pistoles Reward, besides what the Law allows.

Anthony Strother. N.B. He's thought to be gone towards Mobjack Bay, or York River, in a Schooner belonging to Capt. Garnett.

New York Mercury
New York,
1 October 1753.

FIVE POUNDS, Reward.

RUN-away on the 28th ult. from the subscriber, an *English* servant man, named, *John Nicholas*, aged about 24 years, of a middle stature, yellow complexion, and pitted a little with the small-pox, speaks good English, and took with him a little black dog or bitch, which was accustomed to follow him; had on when he went away, a blue jacket, with a large patch on the back, a pair of fine grey cloth breeches, with a long pair of check trowsers, which he used to wear over them, a check shirt, a new strip'd silk handkerchief, an old felt hat, with the edge bound with tarr'd canvas, and a pair of good shoes, with large pewter buckles; he was imported hither by Capt. *Stephen Richard*, who sold him to one *Alexander Stirling*, (who follows coasting from *Maryland* and *Virginia* hither) from whom the subscriber bought him: It's thought that he is gone towards *Maryland* or *Virginia*, or ship'd himself in some vessel from this port, he being a tolerable seaman. Whoever apprehends the said servant, or secures him in any goal, so as his master may have him again, shall have FIVE POUNDS reward if taken out of this government, or FORTY SHILLINGS if taken within it, and any reasonable charges paid by
WILLIAM KELLY.

New York Mercury
New York,
9 September 1754.

RUN-away on Sunday the 1st Instant, from John Hance, of Shrewsbury, mariner, an Irish servant man, named John Dwyer, about twenty years old, of a fair complexion, dark brown hair, pretty long; has had the small-pox, though not much pitted, and writes a good hand: Had on when he went away, an old half-worn felt hat, check shirt, and took two more of ozenbrings with him, a white flannel jacket, a pair of old whitish plush breeches, with silver buttons, and wore trowsers over them, a pair of old shoes, walks lame with his right foot, he took with him a blue great coat, with large flat metal buttons. Whoever takes up and secures the said servant, so that his master may have him again, shall receive FORTY SHILLINGS as a reward, and all reasonable charges paid, by
JOHN HANCE.

New York Mercury
New York
7 October 1754.

Run away on Thursday the 3d inst. from on board the snow *Charming Sally*, Thomas White, commander, 2 French servant men, one named *Peter*, is about 28 years old, 5 feet 10 inches high, pale faced, thick and well set, and had on a blue jacket and breeches: The other named *Bursheau*, 30 years of age, thin faced, about 5 feet 9 inches high, both wore

their hats cocked *Alamode*, and were formerly in the *French* service. Whoever take up and secures said servants, so that they may be had again, shall have FORTY SHILLINGS for both, or THIRTY SHILLINGS for either of them, and all reasonable charges, paid by THOMAS WHITE.

Virginia Gazette
Williamsburg ,
7 November 1754.

RAN away, on Monday Night last, from the Delight Brig, Capt. Bartholomew Rooke, Master, lying at Capt. Dansie's, viz. John Towell, alias Teal, an Irishman, about 5 Feet 10 Inches high; wears his own Hair, and had in a Quarrel about 10 Days ago been beat, and his Face Bruised, which was not quite well under his Eyes, of a dark Complexion. Hamilton Harred, about 5 Feet 7 Inches high, a Whitehaven Man, of a dark Complexion [illeg.] Wig or Cap; had on a short blue Jacket, and check'd Trousers. Whoever apprehends them, shall have Half a Pistole Reward for each. Given under my Hand this 30th Day of October, 1754.
Bartholomew Rooke. N.B. The Mate says they have stole his Watch, and a Piece of Gold, out of his Cabbin.

New York Mercury
New York,
20 January 1755.

RUN-away on the 3d inst. from on board the ship Lydia, Capt. Caldwell, a servant man named John Cunningham, 30 years old, 5 feet 11 inches high, a spare man, tender ey'd, and has a down look: Had on when he went away, a blue cloth coat turn'd, very short, was broke and mended at the elbows, a lapell'd flannel jacket trim'd with black, worsted shag breeches, turn'd pumps, brass buckles, felt hat, pale wig, with an old silk handkerchief about his neck; and 'tis suppos'd he is gone towards Gilford or New London, in a shallop. Whoever takes up and secures said servant, so that he may be had again, shall have Thirty-Shillings reward, and all reasonable charges paid, by William Kennedy, Merchant.

New York Mercury
New York,
6 December 1756.

RUN-AWAY from the ship *Lord Dunluce*, Capt. Caldwell, JOHN CHRISTELL, about 5 feet 7 inches high, of a swarthy complexion, black eyebrows and black eyes: Had on a buckled wig, brown coat and striped tick westcoat, old shoes, and coarse sheep's grey yarn stockings, check shirt, is a very ill-looking fellow, and looks down, can speak *Irish* of the *Ulster* dialect; when he speaks *English*, 'tis with the *Scots* accent, and arrived here from Newry a few days since. Whoever secures, or gives good intelligence, so that he

can be found (or if listed, whoever will inform what company he is enlisted in) shall have three pounds paid by JAMES THOMPSON.

New York Mercury
New York,
30 May 1757.

RUN-away, on Wednesday the 25th of May inst. from the sloop *Ranger*, Captain Bethel, a negro fellow named Frank, about 44 years old, and 5 feet 6 inches high: Had on when he went away, a blue duffils jacket, and ozenbrigs trowsers. Whoever takes up and secures said negro fellow, so that his master may have him again, shall receive FORTY SHILLINGS reward, and reasonable charges paid, by the printer hereof, or by Benjamin Bethel.

New York Mercury
New York,
8 August 1757.

RUN-away on Wednesday night, the 13th of June last, from on board a sloop in the harbour of *New-York*, a negro man named *Cambridge*, and it's supposed will change his Name: Had on when he went away a brown homspun coat, with yellow buttons, ozenbrigs shirt and trowsers, blue yarn stockings, shoes almost new ty'd with leather thongs, a white linnen cap, felt hat half worn, has lost two of his fore teeth, and speaks broken *English*. Whoever takes up and secures said negro, so that his master may have him again, shall receive FORTY SHILLINGS reward, and all reasonable charges paid by ABRAHAM FONDA.

New York Mercury
New York,
16 January 1758.

RUN-AWAY, On the Night of the 23d *ultimo*, from the Sloop *Walter*, William Price, Master, lying in Rotten-Row; a Negro Man, named Ralph; about 25 Years of Age, 5 Feet 4 Inches high, smooth fac'd, thick lipp'd, and speaks good English: Had on when he went off, a blue Jacket, with a drab colour'd do. underneath; white Flannel Waistcoat, grey Stockings, much wore, with a Pair of black worsted Stockings under them. Whoever takes up the said Negro, and brings him to Mr. Waddel Cunningham, Merchant in New-York, or Mr. Alexander Hamilton, Merchant, in Philadelphia, shall receive Five Dollars Reward, and all reasonable Charges.

New York Mercury
New York,
13 March 1758.

RUN-away from the Snow Four-Cantons, Christopher Heysham, Master, an apprentice Lad named Patrick Randle: He is a short set Fellow, about 22 Years of Age; and had served some Time to the Blacksmith's Trade: Had on when he went away, a Pair of new Shoes, a brown Coat, a white Flannel Jacket, with Hooks and Eyes, for Buttons. Whoever takes up and secures said Patrick Randle, so that his Master may have him again, shall receive Twenty Shillings Reward, paid by CHRISTOPHER HEYSHAM.

New York Mercury
New York,
29 May 1758.

DESERTED from his Majesty's Sloop Hunter, Captain John Laforey, Commander, Michael Purcel, Seaman, aged 22 Years, 5 Feet ten Inches high, born at Kilkenny, in Ireland, by Trade a House-Carpenter; of a brown Complexion, and wears a Wig: Had on when he went away, a Flannel Jacket, with red Flowers. Whoever apprehends him, shall be intitled to the Reward of THREE POUNDS Sterling, according to his Majesty's Proclamation for taking up straggling Seamen; to be paid by Mr. White Agent-Victualler at New-York.

New York Mercury
New York,
12 February 1759.

RUN-away the 25th Instant, from the Privateer Ship St. George, James Devereux, Commander, the five following Persons, viz. John Young, smooth faced: Had on a brown Pee Jacket, and an under green Jacket, and wears a brown Wig. Andrew Charles, a Taylor by Trade, tall and smooth faced: Had on a close bodied light coloured Coat, wears a Wig, and of a pale Complexion. George Horn, a German, smooth faced, fresh coloured, wears his Hair, and had on a blue Jacket and a red Cap. Thomas Jameson, a Taylor by Trade, a short well set Man: Had on a blue Jacket, and a blue mill'd Cap. John Smith 22 Years old thin visaged, and generally wears a blue Surtout Coat. Whoever takes up all, or any of the Men above-mentioned, and delivers them to Capt. Devereux, on board the St. George, shall have Twenty Shillings Reward for each of them, and all reasonable Charges paid by JAMES DEVEREUX.

New York Mercury
New York,
7 March 1759.

RUN-away, a few days ago, Anthony Otlay, from the ship Hopewell, Capt. George Masterman, an indented servant, aged 25 years, of a brown complexion, pitted with the small-pox, wears a blue or green jacket, is about six feet high: Also, Robert Stringer, aged 18 years, of a brown complexion, about five feet high, pitted with the small-pox, with short brown hair; had on a short jacket; supposed to be skulking about the town until the departure of the ship. Whoever secures one or both of the above servants, and gives notice thereof to Sidney Breese, shall be rewarded beyond expectation.

New York Mercury
New York,
17 March 1760.

RUN-away on Saturday Evening, from on board the Snow Sadler, a Negro Boy, named Glasgow, aged about 18 Years, has several Cuts in his Forehead, a clumsy Walk, talks very broken English, and had on when he went away, a blue Great-Coat, plain white Swan-skin Jacket, a pair of Trowsers, light blue Stockings, joined in the Middle, and a pair of new Shoes: Whoever takes up and secures said Boy, and brings him to his Master, shall have a Reward of Three Pounds, and all reasonable Charges paid by Capt. William Fitzherbert, now lying at the New-Dock.

N.B. All House-keepers, and Masters of Vessels are forbid to harbour said Boy, if they do, they may depend on being prosecuted according to Law.

New York Mercury
New York,
17 May 1762.

New-York, April 27, 1762. RUN-away, from the Transport Ship Three-Sisters, on Saturday Night last, the 24th Inst. a Servant Lad named James Jewell, West Country born, 16 Years old, much marked with the Small Pox, and of a pale Complexion: Had on when he went away, a blue Jacket and Trowsers, has a fore Head, and wears a Cap. Whoever takes up and secures the said Servant, shall have 40s. Reward, paid by Mr. Henry White, of New-York, or the Captain of the said Ship JOHN MALTBY.

New York Gazette
New York,
16 Aug 1762.

Run away, in New-York, on Wednesday, the 4th August Instant, from George Cornwall, of Hampsted, Long-Island, Boatman, an Apprentice Lad, named Charles McDaniel; about 13 Years old, born in London, small Stature, and of a light Complexion: Had on a

pair of blue and white striped homespun Trowsers, an old light-brown Jacket, and wore a Scotch Bonnet; but 'tis probable he may change his Apparel, and cut off his Hair, which is of a light Colour. Whoever takes up and secures the said Apprentice, so that his Master may have him again, shall have *Twenty Shillings* Reward, and reasonable Charges paid by GEORGE CORNWELL.

N.B. All Commanders of Privateers, Masters of Vessels, and others, are hereby strictly forbid to carry him off, as they must expect to be prosecuted for the same.

Providence Gazette

Providence,

4 December 1762.

DESERTED last Night from the Brigantine *Rising Sun*, NEHEMIAH RHODES Master, a Sailor named JOHN GIBSON, a thick well set Fellow, about 5 Feet 8 Inches high, pitted much with the Small-Pox; has a reddish Beard, and a Sore in the Palm of his right Hand. He had on when he went away, a short green Jacket, a strip'd Flannel Wastecoast, a speckled Shirt, long Trowsers, Silver Buckles in his Shoes, a yellowish Wig, and a Hat about Half worn: Whoever takes up and secures said Fellow, so that the Subscriber may have him again, shall receive FIVE DOLLARS Reward, and all necessary Charges paid, by me NEHEMIAH RHODES.

Pennsylvania Gazette

Philadelphia,

30 December 1762.

Philadelphia, December 13, 1762.

RUN away last Saturday Night, from the Sloop Nabby, Josiah Godfrey Master, a Spanish Negroe Man, named Peter, a stout lusty Fellow, about 35 Years of Age, and well made: Had on when he went away, a blue Jacket and Breeches, a Hat and Cap, and took sundry other Cloaths with him. It is supposed he is concealed by some of the free Negroes about Town, as he speaks both English and Spanish very well, and will no Doubt pretend that he is free. Whoever will take up and secure the said Negroe, or bring him to Alexander Lunan, at Mr. Hamilton's Wharff, shall receive Forty Shillings Reward, and reasonable Charges.

N.B. All Masters of Vessels, and others, are desired not to carry him away, at their Peril.

New York Mercury

New York,

27 June 1763.

RUN-AWAY, From on board the SNOW CHARMING NANCY, Francis Haines, Master; a Molatto Negro, about 18 Years of Age, his Hair curls much, speaks good English. Had on when he went away, a striped Waist-Coat. Whoever takes up said

Negro, and will bring him to Lawrence Kortwright, shall have Forty Shillings, and all reasonable Charges, paid. N.B. All Masters of Vessels are forwarned not to carry said Negro off.

New York Mercury

New York,

11 July 1763.

Philadelphia, June 13, 1763. FIVE POUNDS REWARD, RUN-away, Yesterday Morning from on board the Brig Catharine, John Waterman, Commander; A Negro Man, named Joe, about 20 Years of Age; Virginia born; about 5 Feet 10 Inches high; branded on the Right Breast I and on the Left F. Had on when he went away, a Frock and Trowsers; speaks good English, and will attempt to pass for a Free Man. Whoever takes up and secures said Negro, so that his Master may have him again, shall have Five Pounds Reward, and all reasonable Charges paid, by John Waterman, or Willing and Morris.

New York Mercury

New York,

11 July 1763.

RUN-away, from the Subscriber, last Tuesday Morning, Master of the Ship Brotherly Love, an Apprentice Lad named Joseph Cox, about 14 Years old, thin visaged; Had on when he went away, a Check Shirt, and Canvas Trowsers. Whoever takes up and secures the said Lad, so that his Master may have him again, shall have Twenty Shillings Reward, paid by Elisha Bell.

New York Mercury

New York,

11 July 1763.

RUN-away, last Thursday Morning from the Snow Lamb, Captain Moore, an indented Servant Man named John Maddin, aged about 22 Years, 5 Feet 9 Inches high, long streight light colour'd Hair, much freckled, and pretends to be a School-Master: Had on when he went away, an old blue Coat, with a black Cape, blue Jacket, and a Pair of old black Leather breeches. Whoever takes up and secures the said Servant, so that his Master may have him again, shall receive Forty Shillings Reward, by WILLIAM MOORE.

New York Mercury
New York,
28 November 1763.

RUN-away, from the Shallop, between Gloucester Point and Chester, and went a shore on the Jersey side of the river, six servant men, viz. John Mc.Kay, aged about nineteen years, five feet six inches high, of a black complexion, and wears a black wig or cap. William Mc.Queen, aged about twenty one years, five feet nine inches high, of a ruddy complexion, wears a black wig or cap. Christopher Weigner, born in Sweden, or Denmark, aged twenty six years, five feet six inches high, strong made, wears his own hair, of a fair complexion, and speaks bad English. John Dawson, aged about twenty two years, five feet nine inches high, well made, of fair complexion, wears a black wig or cap. Alexander Mc.Donald, aged about twenty six years, five feet eight inches high, pitted with the small pox, a brown complexion, wears his hair. David Graham, aged about twenty eight years, five feet six inches high, swarthy complexion, short red hair. The first four have been some time at sea; the other two are by trade tinmen or pewterers; they had with them sailors new short blue jackets, lined with white flannel, and it is supposed they will endeavour to get to New-York, or on board some vessel: They were all lately imported from Leith, in the ship Boyd, Capt. Dunlap. Any person that secures any of the said servants, so that the subscriber may have them again, shall have twenty shillings reward for each, and all reasonable charges paid, by Robert Ritchey, at Philadelphia, or William Malcom, at New-York. N.B. They robbed the Shallop, and took away their indentures. All masters of vessels, are forbid to carry away any of the above servants.

Georgia Gazette
Savannah,
15 March 1764

RUN AWAY from the subscriber's schooner yesterday, an indentured servant, named WILLIAM RICKARD, about 22 years of age, light complexion, about five feet five inches high, born in Cornwall, and speaks very broad English, had on a cheque shirt, blue worsted knit breeches, a light blue milled cap, and coarse yarn stockings. A handsome reward will be given to any person that takes him and delivers him to FRANCIS GOFFE.

New York Mercury
New York,
13 August 1764.

RUN-away, on Saturday Night the 4th Inst. from on board the Brigantine Fanny, Thomas Stevenson, Master, a Negro named Robbin, of a yellow Complexion; he has a Wen on the middle Joint of his Right Fore-Finger, and a Scar across his Throat, where he attempted to cut it; has lost one of his Fore-Teeth, and is pitted a little with the Small-Pox: Had on when he went away, a Sailor's old Frock and Trowsers, a dirty Handkerchief about his

Head, and is bare footed. Whoever secures the said Negro, and brings him on board the said Brigantine, now lying in Rotton-Row, shall receive a Reward of Thirty Shillings, and all reasonable Charges paid by THOMAS STEVENSON.

N.B. All Persons are forewarned not to harbour, carry off, or employ said Negro; if they do, they will be prosecuted according to Law.

New York Mercury
New York,
13 August 1764.

RUN-away from the Brigantine Neptune, William Cockran, Commander, the 26th at Night, an indented Servant, named James Dunavan, about 18 or 19 Years of Age, about 5 Feet 6 or 7 Inches high, wears his own Hair, born in Ireland: Had on when he went away, a blue pea Jacket, and waistcoat of the same. Whoever takes up said Servant, and brings him to Mr. David Van Horne, of this City, Merchant, shall have Four Dollars Reward, and all reasonable Charges. July 30.

Pennsylvania Gazette
Philadelphia,
13 June 1765.

Philadelphia, June 5, 1765. RUN away, last Night, from Captain Hugh Wright's Ship, a Mulattoe Fellow, named Dick, about 5 Feet 6 Inches high, well set, very crafty, talks much, and is remarkable for a Cast in his Right Eye; he wears a red Jacket, white Breeches, Check shirt, new Shoes and Stockings, and an old Beaver Hat. It is supposed he is gone to Dover, as he has a wife there. Whoever secures said Fellow in any Goal, or brings him to JAMES HARDING, in Philadelphia, shall have Forty Shillings Reward, besides Charges.

N.B. Masters of Vessels are cautioned against taking him away.

Georgia Gazette
Savannah,
20 June 1765.

RUN AWAY from the subscriber, a thick well made NEGROE FELLOW, named JOE, of a yellowish complexion, speaks good English, has been for two years past used to a coasting vessel, usually wears a pea jacket and trowsers. As he is a sensible fellow, he may endeavor to pass as a free man, masters of vessels are therefore desired not to carry him off the province, otherwise they or their securities will be prosecuted as the law directs. Whoever will bring the said negroe to Paynter Dickenson in Savannah, or to me in Sunbury, or give any notice where he may may [sic] be found, shall receive 20 s. reward, besides all reasonable charges. STEPHEN DICKENSON.

New York Mercury
New York,
10 November 1766.

RUN-away from the Snow James and Mary, John Moore, Master, William Cook, about 20 Years old, wears his own hair, of a fair complexion, about 5 feet 6 inches high: Had on when he went away, a Sailor's white Jacket and trowsers, smooth fac'd, good like, and wears a sailor's hat.

Likewise John Cook, about 19 years of age, wears his own hair, fair complexion, about 5 feet 6 Inches high, was when he went away in Sailor's dress, with jacket and trowsers, smooth, thin-faced and good-like.

Likewise James Coulter, about 18 years old, wears a wig, brown complexion, about 5 feet 7 inches high, served part of his time to a Barber: Had on when he went away, an old blue coat, a pair of thickset breeches, good-like, smooth-fac'd: Whoever apprehends all or any of said servants, shall have Forty shillings for each, by applying to said Master, and all reasonable expenses paid; likewise all Masters of vessels on their peril, are discharged from countenancing or carrying them off the Continent.

New York Mercury
New York,
4 September 1767.

RUN-away from his Lodgings, on Golden Hill, in this City, on Friday Night last, a certain *William Trench*, Mariner, and carried with him a Pair of Nankeen Breeches, and a double-breasted Jacket of the same Sort, and several other Things: He is about 24 Years old, much pitted with the Small-pox, and of a swarthy Complexion: Had on when he went away, a green Jacket, and long Canvas Trowsers. Whoever takes up and secures the said *William Trench*, and will bring him to the Subscriber, shall have Forty Shillings Reward, paid by DANIEL BANE.

New York Mercury
New York,
4 January 1768.

RUN-away, from the Ship Three-Brothers, the 12th Inst. lying in the Harbour of New-York, an indented Servant named Dennis Reilley, 30 Years old, of a fair Complexion, wears his own Hair of a light Colour, & very straight, one of his upper Teeth broken, likely Company, plays very well on the Violin, and is supposed to be gone to Philadelphia: Had on when he went away, a black Coat, Jacket, and Breeches, and a Sailor's Hat. Whoever takes up and secures the said Run-away, and will bring him to Messrs. Thomas and Alexander, in New-York, or Messrs. Carson, Barclay, and Mitchell, in Philadelphia, shall receive Three Pounds Reward, and all reasonable Charges, or from the Captain, JOHN GWINN.

Virginia Gazette
 Williamsburg ,
 22 September 1768.

FREDERICKSBURG, August 29, 1768. RUN away from the subscribers, on Saturday the 27th Instant, at night, two white, and one Mulatto convict servants. One of the white servants is named George Eaton, born in London, and imported last February, in the Neptune, Capt. Arbuckle. He is by trade a cabinet-maker, about 5 feet 3 or 4 inches high, 20 years of age, of a fair complexion, wears his own hair, which is short and fair, and sometimes wears a false curl, which a stranger would not know from his hair, being exactly of a colour. He has several marks on his left arm, letters being set in with gun-powder. He carried off with him an old mixed broad-cloth coat and waistcoat, of a chocolate colour; the coat has a velvet cape with mohair basket buttons, a pair of old buckskin, and a pair of old Nankeen breeches, a sailor's blue duffil jacket, lined with white plaid, an old castor hat, 3 white and oznabrig shirts, two pair of oznabrig trowsers, 2 pair of yarn and a pair of old thread stockings, one pair of old shoes (new soaled) with yellow buckles. As he has been on board some of his Majesty's ships, he very likely will endeavour to get on board of some vessel as a sailor. The other named Charles Davis, a short squat fellow, about the height of Eaton, and about 18 or 20 years of age. He is of a fair complexion, with short curled hair, has a large scar or cut on his head, whereon the hair does not grow. He carried off with him sundry cloaths, among them a suit of Russia drab, of a lightish colour, a blue jacket with metal buttons, several oznabrigs and white linen shirts, an old castor and an old gold laced hat, 2 pair of boots, 2 pair of spurs, one of them silver, together with a saddle and bridle. The Mulatto fellow is named Jack, was born in the West-Indies, and imported in the Justitia in 1764 from London. He is about 5 feet 5 or 6 inches high, about 25 years of age, his hair or wool almost like a Negro's, and his eyes large and weak, and stammers in his speech; he carried with him, and might have on when he went away, a Monmouth cap, a brown linen shirt and trowsers, a red jacket with sleeves, or a white, or a green one, without sleeves, a pair of sagathy or Russia drill breeches, and country made shoes; he likewise carried with him a horse, betwixt a bay and a chesnut colour, hanging mane and tail, long backed, and we believe not branded, paces chiefly, is about 14 hands high, and about 8 or 9 years old. This fellow formerly belonged to John Briggs, deceased. Whoever takes up the said servants, and conveys them to the subscribers, shall have THREE POUNDS reward for Eaton and Davis, and reasonable charges; FORTY SHILLINGS for the Mulatto fellow, and TWENTY SHILLINGS for the horse.

WILLIAM PORTER,
 THOMAS MILLER,

JAMES LAVERTY. Davis is well known in most places on Rappahanock, having attended Mr. Porter as a waiting man, for upwards of 2 years. The three servants above-mentioned, were seen to pass by Todd's Ordinary, in Caroline, early last Sunday morning, and are expected to have gone towards James river, or Norfolk. All masters of vessels are desired, if they should offer themselves, to stop them.

Virginia Gazette
Williamsburg,
9 February 1769.

WEST POINT, Feb. 2, 1769 RUN away from on board the **ship** Middleton, a man and two boys, who have taken with them several things not their own. The man's name is JOHN, thick set, and had on when he went away a blue jacket, and a pair of canvas breeches. The oldest boy is very remarkable, having light eyes, and looks different ways with them, very red faced, and about 19 years old. The other is about 15 years of age, is an Irish boy, and goes by the name of TOM. Whoever apprehends any of the said persons, so that they may be brought to justice, shall have half a guinea reward. HENRY CLARK, Master.

Providence Gazette
Providence,
1 July 1769.

RUN away from on board a Brig lying in the River, a Mulatto Man, named Francisco, of middle Stature, thick set, speaks broken English; had on a blue Jacket, Sailors Trowsers, and took a small Hat belonging to one of the People. Whoever takes up said Mulatto, and brings him to the Subscriber, shall have Two Dollars Reward, and necessary Charges, paid by JOHN NASH.

N.B. He has a Sore on his right Hand. All Masters of Vessels are forbid to carry him off.

Virginia Gazette
Williamsburg ,
31 January 1771.

NORFOLK, January 14, 1771. RUN away last night from the Ship Hoyne, at Gosport, a Sailor Lad named DANIEL JOHNS. He is about eighteen or nineteen Years of Age, well made, five Feet six or seven inches high, and wears his own Hair, which is short and black; had on a short blue Jacket, and Canvas Trousers. It is imagined he went off in Company with three Seamen, from the said Ship, viz. GILES HAMMOND, thick, short, and stout made, of a fair Complexion, and has white Hair, tied behind; had on an old blue Jacket, and Canvas Trousers. PHILIP ROLLINGS, slender made, five Feet ten Inches High, of a sallow Complexion, and has short black Hair; had on an old red Jacket, and Check Trousers. ROGER GOUT, thick, short, and stout made, has dark Hair, is full faced; and much pitted with the Smallpox; had on a brown Jacket, and Canvas Trousers. Whoever secures the said Daniel Johns in any of his Majesty's Jails in this Colony, and will give Information thereof to the Subscribers, shall have THIRTY SHILLINGS Reward.

INGLIS & LONG. Who have for Sale Loaf, Lump and Muscovado SUGAR; Jamaica, Antigua, Grenada, and Northward RUM; Jamaica SPIRIT; Barbados CANE SPIRIT;

CHOCOLATE; SOAP; TALLOW CANDLES; Susquehanna River HERRINGS; Madiera WINE five Years old, London Quality; a small Quantity of Pruniac and Frontiniac WINE; a Parcel of WHEAT FANS, of the best Make; MARBLE FLAGS, twenty four inches and a Half and twenty Inches square, blue and white veined double OIL FLINTS, &c. HEMP, WHEAT, FLOWER, and Indian CORN, taken in Payment.

Virginia Gazette
Williamsburg ,
11 June 1772.

BERMUDA HUNDRED, June 8, 1772. RUN away from the Ship POLLY, Thomas Duncomb Master, two Seamen, WILLIAM SCREECH, an elderly Man, about five Feet ten Inches high, of a dark Complexion, and has black curly Hair tied behind; he had on when he left the Ship a Crimson Coat and Waistcoat, and black Breeches. WILLIAM STEVENS, an elderly Man, of a dark swarthy Complexion, about five feet eight Inches high, wears his own Hair, which is brown, short, and curls behind; he had on when he went away a Scarlet Jacket (better than Half worn) and short Canvas Trousers. Whoever apprehends either, or both of these Seamen, and will deliver them on Board the said Ship (now lying at Bermuda Hundred) shall have THIRTY SHILLINGS Reward for each, with the customary travelling Charges allowed for bringing them up.
THOMAS DUNCOMB.

Pennsylvania Gazette
Philadelphia,
2 July 1772.

RUN away on the 23d of June, 1772, from on board the sloop William, in Baltimore harbour, a NEGROE MAN SLAVE, named DICK, near 6 feet high, with an uncommon *large head and feet*, many *scars* on his face and body; is a very lusty fellow, of a yellowish complexion; had on a *red jacket, frock, trowsers*, and a half worn *castor hat*. He was seen taking the road to Philadelphia, intending it is thought to get into some vessel, as he followed the sea. Whoever shall apprehend the said Negroe in the province of Maryland, and deliver him to Mr. John Smith, of Baltimore-town, merchant, shall receive *Three Pounds* as a reward; or if taken in or near Philadelphia, and delivered to Captain William Allison, the same reward, and reasonable charges, from either of the above Gentlemen, or WILLIAM DUNSCOMB.

N.B. He may change his dress, as he had a blue coat, a blanket, check shirt, &c.

Virginia Gazette
Williamsburg ,
24 June 1773.

FIFTEEN POUNDS REWARD. RUN away from Neabsco Furnace two convicts and an indented servant belonging to the Honourable John Tayloe, Esquire, viz. JOSEPH

LOVEDAY, from the west of England, about 23 years of age, 5 feet 7 inches high, of a ruddy complexion, with sandy coloured hair, a red beard, a pretty smooth face, very squeaking voice, a large scar on his throat, and his knee has been disjoined when he was a boy, which makes him trail his leg when he walks. He went off some time last fall, and was seen, I am lately told, about Mr. Zeen's iron works, in Frederick county; so that it is presumed he is still in that or some of the back counties, and may be employed in the farming or team driving business, which he professed, but is very ignorant of both. He carried with him a blue fearnought and a white cotton jacket, long trousers died brown with tan bark, and in other respects was clothed as servants commonly are. The other convict is named TYNIE ROACH, a lad about 20 years of age, 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, and ran away last month, from a sloop of Col. Tayloe's, then in Rappahannock; he is fair, though of a ruddy complexion, somewhat pitted with the smallpox, has a smooth insinuating tongue, light coloured hair, and has been a sailor ever since he came in the country, which is about 4 years ago. He had on, and took with him, a new blue fearnought jacket with horn buttons, a blue double breasted jacket with large metal buttons, a red silk handkerchief, a good many oznabrig shirts which he stole from the sloop's crew, besides a white one he stole from the master, a pair of leather breeches, a new felt hat bound round with red ferret, and a band of the same. The indented servant is named JAMES M'LANE, a Scotchman, of the most unparalleled ingratitude, and ran away last winter from a schooner in Potowmack river, which I imprudently made him skipper of. He is a short well made man, of a brown complexion, with black hair tied behind, and had a variety of clothes of his own which he carried with him; he talks very much of his feats in the last war, and of having been in most parts of the world. Whoever secures the said servants, or either of them, so that they may be had again, shall have the above reward for each, and be paid all reasonable charges.

THOMAS LAWSON. [symbol] It is imagined that each of the above servants have got forged passes and discharges with them. All persons are forewarned from harbouring or concealing them, and masters of vessels from carrying them out of the country, at their peril.

Virginia Gazette
Williamsburg ,
12 August 1773.

RUN away from the Ship Chance, Captain Campbell, three indented Servants. THOMAS GLASS, a Ship Carpenter, 45 Years old, and has lost one of his Fingers; he wore a blue Coat and Jacket, Trousers, a round Dutch Cap, and carried with him a Chest of Tools. JOHN WHATMORE, a House Joiner, about 21 Years old, and is a middle sized young looking Man; he had on a round Hat, a Pair of old brown Breeches, and an Osnabrug Shirt. JAMES EARLY, a Barber, who is a middle sized young Man. Whoever apprehends the said Runaways shall have 30 Dollars Reward, and in Proportion for each, upon delivering them to the Subscribers in Norfolk.

BROWN, GRIERSON, & Co. [symbol] Who have for Sale JAMAICA RUM, SUGAR, MOLOSES, COFFEE, PIMENTA, and old MADIERA WINE.

Virginia Gazette
Williamsburg ,
30 September 1773.

RUN away from the Sloop Lark, John Lindsay, Master, on the Night of the 28th of August last, an indented Servant Man named JAMES ROSS: he was born in the Highlands of Scotland, is about eighteen Years old, has red Hair hanging about his Shoulders, is freckled in the Face, about five Feet eight or nine Inches high, and slim made. He had on, and took with him, a Kersey double breasted new Jacket, with white Metal Buttons on each Side, a Pair of Osnabrug Trousers, Check Shirt, Felt Hat, an under Jacket of spotted Cotton, Osnabrug Frock, and Dutch Blanket. He made his Escape in the Sloop's Flat, and landed at Hardy's Ferry. Whoever secures said Servant, and delivers him to Robert Kennan, Merchant at Cabin Point, shall have FORTY SHILLINGS Reward. JOHN LINDSAY.

New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury
New York,
8 November 1773.

TWELVE DOLLARS Reward. RUN-AWAY on Thursday morning last, from the ship Experiment, George Robson, Master, an apprentice lad named MORGAN POWELL, of low stature, his hair of a yellow cast, smooth face, and large nose; had on when he went away a blue sailor's jacket, and coarse linen short trowsers. Also Run-away from the said ship, JAMES WALKER, a scotch lad, also apprenticed to the said master, of middle stature, short black hair, freckled face; had on when he went away an old light blue sailor jacket, but as he took other cloaths might probably change his dress. Whoever will apprehend the said lads, and bring them to Reade and Yates in New-York, shall receive for Morgan Powell ten dollars reward, and for James Walker two dollars, and all reasonable charges.

N.B. Whoever employs or harbours the said apprentices shall be prosecuted according to law.

The said Morgan Powell was seen by several people this morning, near the seven mile stone on the road to King's bridge, and seem'd to be returning to New-York.

Virginia Gazette
Williamsburg ,
March 24, 1774.

RUN away, in the Morning of the 19th of this Instant (March) from on Board the ship Justitia, Captain Finley Gray, at Leeds Town, in Rappahannock, with the Yawl, Clinker built, and four Oars, the five following Servants, and one of the Ship's Company, viz.-----ROBERT WALKER, born in Surry, 26 Years of Age, five Feet six Inches high, of a dark Complexion, wears his own brown Hair, had on when he went away a gray coloured Cloth and a brown Surtout Coat, and either Shoes or Boots.-----RALPH LAWSON, born

in London, 22 Years of Age, five Feet four Inches high, black Hair, with a fresh Scar on his Nose, had on when he went away a blue Jacket and Linsey Woolsey Waistcoat.-----FRANCIS GRANGER, born in the North of England, 30 Years of Age, five Feet four Inches high, of a dark Complexion, with short black Hair, had on when he went away a Drab coloured Jacket and Waistcoat, and a Pair of Fearnought Trousers.---JAMES WATSON, born in Scotland, 20 Years of Age, five Feet five Inches high, a fresh Complexion, with black Hair, had on when he went away a green Jacket, and blue Worsted Drawers.-----ROBERT WOOD, born in the North of England, 30 Years of Age, five Feet five Inches high, of a dark Complexion, much pitted with the Smallpox, wears his own black Hair, had on when he went away a blue Sailor's Jacket, and white Waistcoat and Trousers.----LYDIA HEATHCOTE, born in London, 25 Years of Age, a fair Complexion, and fair Hair, had on when she went away a black Gown.--Whoever apprehends the above mentioned Servants, or any of them, and secures them in any of his Majesty's Jails, or sends them on Board the Ship at Leeds Town, shall have 20 s. Reward for each, besides what the law allows, and 40s. for the Yawl if brought to the Ship. FINLAY GRAY.

Virginia Gazette
Williamsburg ,
10 November 1774.

TEN POUNDS REWARD. RUN away from the Subscriber's Plantation on Bull Run, the 7th of September last, a convict servant man, who says his name is John Horne, but was convicted by the name of Pooling Horne, and imported into Potowmack river last month, in the ship Tayloe. He is an Englishman, about 24 years of age, 5 feet 8 or 9 inches high, with short black hair, a smooth face, and a scar under his left eye. Had on, and took with him, an old blue sailor's jacket, very short, with small black buttons, set thick on both sides, a black waistcoat, cord duroy breeches, light marled stockings, and old shoes, also new light gray jacket and breeches of coarse cloth, with white metal buttons, and two new oznabrig shirts, with several other shirts, silk handkerchiefs, and other things. He carried off a likely black blooded mare, about 14 hands high, with a star on her forehead, branded on the near shoulder H, and on the near buttock M. I will give the above reward for the servant and the mare, delivered to me in Colchester. ALEXANDER HENDERSON.

Virginia Gazette
Williamsburg ,
21 January 1775.

CABIN POINT, Jan. 3, 1775. RAN away from the Brig Innermay, lying at Brandon, on the 27th of December, an Apprentice Lad named WILLIAM JOHNSTON, about 17 or 18 Years of Age, 5 Feet 6 or 7 Inches high, is of a swarthy Complexion, a little pitted with the Smallpox, and knock-kneed. He was born in or near Williamsburg, where it is supposed he is now harboured; and was bound by Order of James City Court to a

Staymaker in Surry County. He carried away a new Sailor's Jacket and Breeches of blue Duffil, with white Metal Buttons, and lined with white Plaid, a green Jacket pretty much worn, a blue and white broad striped Cotton and Thread under Jacket, Country made Shoes and Stockings, one or two Pair of Sailor's Trousers, and his Bed Clothes. Whoever secures him so that I get him again shall have 15s. Reward. All Captains of Ships, or Masters of Vessels, are forewarned fom carrying him out of the Country, or employing him.

JAMES BELCHES.

New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury
New York,
30 January 1775.

RUN-away from on board the ship Monimia, Capt. Morrison, a servant lad named William Samond, aged about 18 years, 5 feet 10 inches high, pretty well made, much pitted with the small pox: Had on when he went away, a short grey jacket, check trowsers and a round hat. Whoever takes up said lad and delivers him to Capt. Morrison, at Hallet's-wharf, shall have 40s. reward.

Virginia Gazette or, Norfolk Intelligencer
Norfolk ,
23 February 1775.

FIVE DOLLARS REWARD. RUN away from the Ship CATHERINE, THOMAS PATTON Master, an Irish Servant-man, named JOHN KENNEDY, about Twenty six years of Age, five feet 5 or 6 inches High, well Set, long Visaged, straight black Hair: Had on when he went away, a blue jacket, drab-coloured woolen Trowsers, a checked Shirt, and Dutch cap.----It is supposed he will attempt to pas for a free Man, as he had a discharge from some Regiment in England, in which he pretends he formerly served. Whoever secures him so as his Master may have him again, shall be paid the above Reward, on applying to NORTH & SANDYS. N.B. All Masters of Vessels and Others are forbid harbouring or carrying off said Servant at their Peril. NORFOLK, February 23, 1775.

Virginia Gazette
Williamsburg ,
24 February 1775.

FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD. RUN away from the ship Elizabeth, Capt. Frederick Baker, lying at Alexandria, four sailors, viz. JAMES ROBB, born in the north of England, about five feet ten inches high, smooth faced, with black hair; had on, or took with him, a suit of blue clothes with a red velvet cape. WILLIAM TATE, six feet high, much pitted with the smallpox, and has short curly hair; had on a red waistcoat and trousers. CHARLES THOMPSON, about five feet five inches high, a short, thick, well

set fellow, smooth faced, with short straight hair. JOHN FIELD, about five feet seven inches high, well set, smooth faced, lisps, looks a little asquint, and has brown lank hair tied behind. They carried with them their chests and beddings, and robbed the ship of the hammocks they slept in, and four oars. They also carried with them, from on board the said ship, an indented servant for four years, named WILLIAM WILLIAMS, but went among the ship's company by the name of Alick. He is about 23 years of age, pock marked, speaks much in the Scotch accent, has short curly black hair, a watch in his pocket, a baker by trade, and will endeavour to pass for a freeman; had on a pepper and salt coloured cloth coat, and leather breeches. It is certain that they went down the river, as they were seen at Nanjemay, and will probably endeavour to get on board some ship, or proceed straight to Norfolk. All masters are forewarned from taking them on board. They went off in a moses New England built boat, the stuff on her looks like turpentine and ochre, and is of a brown colour. She was formerly a tender to a fishing schooner. Whoever apprehends them shall have the above reward, or 40 s. for each sailor, or the boat, and 5 l. for the servant, with reasonable charges if delivered to the Captain on board the said ship, or for the servants committed to any jail, or delivered to ROBERT ADAM & Co.

Virginia Gazette
Williamsburg ,
10 June 1775.

RUN away from the Subscriber, in Farnham Parish, Richmond County, the 12th of May last, a Convict Servant named WILLIAM WELLS, imported this Spring in the Justitia, Capt. Kidd, about 6 Feet high, very thin; a little pitted with the Smallpox, of a brown Complexion, his Nose somewhat red, and has short dark brown Hair. He had on, when he went away, a gray Bath Coating Coat and Waistcoat (the Waistcoat, I am informed, he has changed for a short red one since he ran away) a Check Shirt, a Pair of Osnabrug long Breeches, patched on both Thighs, a Pair of old single Channel Pumps tied with Strings, a small Hat, the Crown of which is sewed in with brown Thread, and cocked two Ways; he carried with him a Pair of light coloured coarse Cloth Breeches, patched on the Knees. He is very saucy, and fond of Liquor. I am informed he was seen the 18th of May at Hobb's Hole, and wanted to engage as a Sailor on Board some of the Ships there; but failing of employment, he quitted that place with two Sailors, who stole a Pettiauger with a Design of going to Norfolk. Whoever conveys him to me, shall have 5 l. Reward.

FRANCIS CHRISTIAN. [symbol] All Captains or Masters of Vessels are forewarned carrying him out of the Colony, at their Peril.

Virginia Gazette
Williamsburg ,
29 July 1776.

DESERTED from on Board the armed Schooner LIBERTY, the 20th Instant, while lying in East River, two Seamen, viz. ALEXANDER DAWSON about 6 Feet 7 Inches high, about 30 Years of Age, well made, has straight Hair, and born in Britain.-----JOHN WILLIAMS, 5 Feet 6 or 7 Inches high, slim made, has remarkable light Hair, and born in New York; they both had on Check Shirts, spotted Swan Skin Jackets faced with red, and Check Trousers. Whoever secures them, or contrives them on Board said Schooner lying in Rappahannock River, shall have 50 s. Reward for each.
RICHARD TAYLOR.

Virginia Gazette
Williamsburg ,
23 August 1776.

YEOCOMICO, August 10, 1776. RUN away from on board the Scorpion sloop of war the following seamen, viz. GEORGE PATTERSON, boatswain, a well set man about 5 feet 8 inches high, with brown complexion, short black hair curled around, and a snubbed nose; had on a small round hat bound, a short blue jacket, and narrow trousers, and took with him the vessel's silver call. JAMES PARKS, a likely well made man about 5 feet 7 inches high; had on an old blue jacket, and old duck trousers. THOMAS DAVIS, a slender made man, about 5 feet 10 inches high, dark complexion, much pitted with the smallpox, and long black hair; had on a new felt hat, blue jacket, and new osnabrug trousers. DAVID REESE, a short slender man about 5 feet 5 inches high, dark complexion, short straight black hair, and has a great impediment in his speech; had on an old hat, blue jacket, and very dirty shirt and trousers. Whoever takes up the said seamen, and secures them in any jail, so that I can get them, shall have EIGHT DOLLARS reward for each.
WRIGHT WESTCOTT.

Providence Gazette
Providence,
31 August 1776.

DESERTED from the Continental Ship WARREN, commanded by Capt. John Hopkins, two Sailors, who entered on board on Monday last, and received their Month's Pay; one of them named John Williams, about forty Years of Age, has a Scar on his left Cheek, had on a blue Jacket and a Pair of Trowsers; the other named Thomas Kalton, or Caton, an Irishman, about thirty Years of Age, had on a light coloured Jacket, new Shoes, and a Pair of Trowsers; one of his great Toes has been cut about Half off. Whoever takes up said Deserters, and confines them in the Gaol in Providence, shall have Six Dollars Reward, and all necessary Charges, paid by the Naval Committee.

N.B. It is supposed they are gone by Land, as no Vessel has sailed since.
Providence, August 28.

Providence Gazette
Providence,
21 September 1776.

Run away from the Ship Providence, Willaim Ling, about 5 Feet 8 Inches high, has dark Hair, and dark Eyes: Had on when he went away a light blue Jacket, a Pair of Canvass Trowsers, and an old Felt Hat; says he ran away from the Phoenix Man of War. Whoever will apprehend said run away, and commit him to any Gaol in the United States of America, shall have Five Dollars Reward, and reasonable Charges, paid by

WILLIAM BARRON, Lieut.

Providence, September 18, 1776

Virginia Gazette
Williamsburg ,
4 October 1776.

RUN away from on board the Scorpion sloop, two seamen, viz. ADAM LIDDLE, about 5 feet 6 inches high, 18 or 20 years old, born in Scotland, and has a down look; had on, when he went away, a coarse blue jacket, osnabrig trousers, and a new felt hat. JOHN CALVERT, about 5 feet 4 inches high, brown complexion, and speaks in the North Country dialect; had on, when he went away, a brown jacket without sleeves, long trousers, and round hat. Whoever takes up the said deserters, and secures them in any jail, shall receive EIGHT DOLLARS for each, and if delivered on board TWELVE DOLLARS.

WRIGHT WESTCOTT.

Virginia Gazette
Williamsburg ,
20 December 1776.

RUN away about the 26th of November, from on board the sloop Washington, lying at Broadway's on Appamattox, THOMAS TURKEL, an English indented servant lad, about 5 feet 6 inches high, has a fair complexion, short black hair, is much pitted with the small pox, speaks short and quick, and subject to liquor; had on, and took with him, blue duffil coat and waistcoat, leather breeches, and sundry other wearing apparel. It is supposed he will endeavour to leave the country, therefore all masters of vessels, and others, are forewarned from carrying him away. I will give a reasonable reward to any person who delivers the said servant to mr. John Holloway in Petersburg, or mr. Matthew Phripp at Norfolk.

HILLARY MOSELEY.

Providence Gazette

Providence,

18 January 1777.

DESERTED from the Rhode-Island Train of Artillery, Colonel Elliot's Regiment, Gilbert Rathbone, a Seaman, born in Cork, in Ireland, five Feet nine Inches and a Half high, of a light Complexion, has blue Eyes, light Hair, about 29 Years of Age, has a Scar in his Face: Had on a short blue Jacket, and Duffil Trowsers. Whoever will secure said Deserter in any of the Gaols of the United States, shall receive Five Dollars Reward, and all necessary Charges, paid by JOSHUA SAGER, Captain.
Providence, Jan. 7, 1777

Maryland Journal

Annapolis,

4 February 1777

Twenty Dollars Reward

Deserted from the New Galley, at West River, in Anne-Arundel County, on the 27th of January ult. a certain Henry Peggs, an Englishman, about 5 feet 8 inches and 3 quarters high. Had on a brown coat, black spotted velvet jacket, leather breeches, thread stockings, country made shoes, and a castor hat. He can play the fife and drum, and has a counterfeit discharge from the galley at West River. Whoever takes up said deserter, and brings him to said galley, shall receive the above reward, from John David, Captain.

N.B. Recruiting officers are hereby forewarned from enlisting the aforesaid deserter.

New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury

New York,

24 February 1777.

DESERTED from the ship Dutton Transport, Zachariah Norman, master, Thomas Rose, seaman, about 5 feet 9 inches high, fair complexion, own hair, wears a green jacket, and has been seen in town two or three days ago. Any person that can give information of him where he may be secured, shall on his being so, receive FIVE DOLLARS reward.

Pennsylvania Evening Post

Philadelphia,

4 March 1777.

Deserted on the 27th of February last from the Dickenson galley, Alexander Henderson, Esq, commander, three men, viz Wilson Jackson, of a brown complexion, about five feet seven inches high, and short hair. He had on, when he went away, a brown short jacket, blue trousers, new shoes, and plated buckles. He was born in London.

John Hutchinson, born in Pennsylvania. He had on a blue jacket, brown trousers, old shoes, oznabrig shirt, and is a servant to a gentleman in Maryland.

James Welsh, born in or about Philadelphia, of a swarthy complexion, about five feet four or five inches high. He had on a uniform brown coat pretty well worn, old stockings, shoes, and short hair. Whoever secures the said deserters so that I may have them again, shall have Six Dollars reward. Alexander Henderson.

Providence Gazette

Providence,

15 March 1777.

DESERTED from Capt. Thomas Cole's Company, in Col. Crary's Battalion, John Collins, a Seaman, 5 Feet 5 Inches high, brought up at Marblehead, has red Hair and blue Eyes, 19 Years of Age; had on a red Jacket, a striped Flannel under Jacket, a Check Shirt, and striped Trowsers. Whoever will secure said Deserter in any of the Gaols of the United States, and give Notice to me at East Greenwich, shall have Six Dollars Reward, and all necessary Charges, paid by ROBERT ROGERS, 2nd Lieut.

Providence Gazette

Providence,

22 March 1777.

Deserted from my Company of Artillery, in Col. Elliot's Regiment, Thomas Lewis, a Seaman, born in Newbury-Port, Twenty-three Years of Age, 5 Feet 6 Inches high, of a light Complexion, has Hazle Eyes and light Hair: Had on a light blue Broadcloth Coat, turned up with Buff, Leather Breeches, and white Stockings. Also Joseph Gordon, a Seaman, born in Philadelphia, 5 Feet 10 Inches high, Twenty-five Years of Age, has light Eyes, and short grey Hair: Had on a grey jacket, red Shag Trowsers, and a round Hat. Whoever will secure the above Deserters in any of the Gaols of the United States, so that they may be returned to their Company, again, shall receive Five Dollars Reward for each, and all necessary Charges, paid by GIDEON WESTCOTT, Capt.

Boston Independent Chronicle

Boston,

15 May 1777.

Deserted from the Alfred Ship of War, now in this Harbour, a French Negro, named Francois, by Trade a Barber, and plays well on the Violin: had on when he went away, a blue French Great Coat, brown Waistcoat and Breeches, and his Hair queued. Whoever takes up said Negro and returns him on board the above Ship shall receive Four Dollars reward, and all necessary Charges, by Elisha Hinman.

New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury
New York,
23 June 1777.

RUN-AWAY on Sunday the 15th instant, from the Swan transport, Capt. Deal, an apprentice lad named ANDREW: He is a mulatto, was born in Honduras Bay, about 5 feet high, straight, strong, black hair; had on a blue suit of cloaths, with fashionable buttons and long trowsers. Whoever takes up and secures the said boy, so that his master may have him again, shall receive FIVE DOLLARS reward, paid by JONATHAN DEAL.

Providence Gazette
Providence,
5 July 1777.

Deserted from the Galley SPITFIRE; commanded by Capt. Joseph Crandall, Willaim Smith, about 5 feet 8 inches high, short black hair, and of a dark complexion: Had on when he went away a light coloured surtout and jacket, and a pair of long checked trowsers. Whoever will take up said deserter, and secure him in any of the gaols of this State, or deliver him to the subscriber, shall receive Five Dollars reward, and all necessary charges, paid by me, JOSEPH CRANDALL.

Providence Gazette
Providence,
12 July 1777.

Deserted from the galley SPITFIRE, commanded by Capt. Joseph Crandall, Thomas Barker, 30 Years of Age, about 5 Feet 10 Inches high, short curled black Hair: Had on when he went away, a blue Coatee, new Ravens Duck Trowsers, and white Yarn Stockings. Whoever will take up said Deserter, and secure him in any Gaol in this State, or deliver him to the Subscriber, shall have Five Dollars Reward, and all necessary Charges, paid by me, JOSEPH CRANDALL.

New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury
New York,
20 October 1777.

DESERTED from the ship Diana, army victualler, William Brown, master, a boy about 5 feet 3 or 4 inches high, thick set, a little mark'd with the small-pox, brown complexion, straight short dark brown or black hair: Had on when he went away, which was on Saturday the 18th inst. a blue short jacket, a pair of canvas long trowsers, a round bound hat, and square pewter buckles in his shoes; was born in the north of Scotland, went by the name of Willaim Thompson, and is an apprentice to George Brown, Esq; merchant, in Stockton, owner of the above ship. A reward of 5 dollars will be paid for securing the

said apprentice, by the master of the vessel, who may be found on board, near the ship-yards.

Providence Gazette

Providence,

15 November 1777.

Deserted from the galley Spitfire, Joseph Crandall, commander, Ebenezer Bosworth, 5 feet 8 inches high, about 23 years of age, and has short light coloured hair: Had on when he went away, a light coloured coatee, and a pair of long white trowsers. Whoever will take up said deserter, and secure him in any gaol in the United States, or return him to the subscriber, shall receive Ten Dollars reward, and all necessary charges, paid by JOSEPH CRANDALL, Capt.

Deserted from the galley Spitfire, Joseph Crandall, commander, Thomas Austin, a stout young man, about 24 years of age, about 5 feet 9 inches high, and has short light coloured hair: Had on when he went away a light coloured thick jacket, and a pair of long white trowsers. Also Sampson Sims, a stout young fellow 5 feet 9 inches high, about 20 years of age, and has light coloured hair. Had on when he went away, a green thick jacket, and a pair of leather breeches. Also Willaim Clarke, 24 years of age, about 5 feet 4 inches high, has long reddish hair, and is a well set fresh looking man: Had on when he went away, a short blue jacket, and white breeches. Also, Preserved Sisson, 18 years of age, about 5 feet high, and has long light coloured hair: Had on when he went away, a blue jacket, and long white trowsers. Whoever will take up said deserters, and secure them in any gaol in the United States, or return them to the subscriber, shall receive Five Dollars reward for each, and all necessary charges, paid by JOSEPH CRANDALL, Capt.

Providence Gazette

Providence,

7 November 1778.

Run away from the general hospital in Providence, the 19th instant, the following prisoners of war, taken by the French fleet under the Count D'Estaing.

Joshua Chadwick, mate, about 27 years if age, of a fair complexion, has light eyes, and is pitted with the small pox: Had on a light blue coat, knit pattern jacket, and white breeches, and carried with him a blue sea jacket.

James Nesfield, seaman, about 20 years of age, born in Barbados, of a dark complexion, is pitted with the small-pox, and has short black hair: Had on a blue sea jacket, seamed with white, grey woolen trowsers and a round felt hat, and carried with him an old brown jacket.

James Kemp, seaman, about 19 years of age, of fair complexion, and has light short curled hair: Had on a round hat, cloth coloured jacket, and sea trowsers.

Whoever will apprehend the above named persons, or either of them, and secure them in any public gaol, so that they may be had for exchange, shall receive a generous

reward, and all necessary charges, paid by Jeremiah Hill, Com. of Prisoners State of R. Island. Providence, Oct. 26, 1778

New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury
New York,
8 April 1782.

Two Guineas, Reward. DROWNED from on board the Polly, Navy Victualler, laying off the Governor's Island, on the Morning of the 6th Inst. Thomas Jackson, about 5 Feet 4 or 5 Inches high, pretty lusty, and black Hair. Had on a brown Waistcoat without sleeves, coloured Shirt, black Breeches, light-coloured Stockings and shoes with large square Buckles in them. Whoever brings the Body of the said Thomas Jackson on board the Polly, shall receive the above Reward, from the Master Richard Pickering.

Providence Gazette
Providence,
11 May 1787.

Ten Dollars Reward
RAN AWAY from a Sloop, lying at Clark and Nightingale's Wharf, a NEGRO BOY, about 17 Years of Age: had on, when he went away, a small Felt Hat, with a Twine Thread run round the Brim, and a blue thick Jacket, patched with Canvas, a Check Shirt, patched Linen Trowsers, and a pair of double-soled Shoes: he is about 5 Feet high, a thick set Fellow, has thick Lips, and sometimes smiles when spoken to. Whoever takes up said Boy, and returns him to NATHAN GREENE, in East Greenwich, shall have Ten Silver Dollars Reward, and necessary Charges.

CHARLES BRIGGS.

N.B. He has a forged Pass, in which is inserted the Name of Michael M'Carter, and signed Capt. Benedict Smith: his right Name is Thomas Biscoe.