The Log *of* Mystic Seaport®

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On the cover: The famous Sinbad of the fighting Coast Guard cutter *Campbell* logged 11 years of sea duty, beginning in 1937. In February 1943, the *Campbell* rammed and finally sank the German submarine U-606. Sinbad's performance as mascot during the dangerous trip home earned him the respect of his crewmates. When the *Campbell*'s story came out, Sinbad became America's most famous sea dog. (Records of the United States Coast Guard, 1785-1988, Record Group 26, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD)

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ROLEX

Sightings

Sea stories come in all shapes and sizes: in songs and chanteys, in poetry and prose, of course. But at Mystic Seaport they can now be found on four legs!

We have just opened a wonderful new exhibit called *Sea Dogs! Great Tails of the Sea.* It reflects the wide-ranging talents of the fantastic staff of Mystic Seaport, who are dedicated to providing returning members and first-time visitors alike with new and continually refreshed perspectives on America's relationships with the sea. The Museum's researchers, exhibit designers, artists, authors, interpreters, and educators teamed up to produce a great exhibit, special programs featuring water-related dog breeds, and an imaginative suite of activities throughout the Museum grounds as well. The exhibit itself, located in the East Gallery of the Mallory Building, has something for visitors of all ages, drawing on artifacts and images as well as children's literature, film, and art to tell great sea-dog stories.

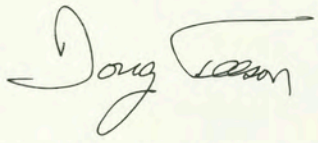
The wide variety of topics covered by the exhibit and related programs will give you an idea of the depth of this whimsical yet substantive subject. Here you'll discover the origins of sea dogs; dogs that made a difference for voyagers, explorers, and fisherfolk; dogs around Cape Horn; small dogs on tall ships; lighthouse dogs; Coast Guard beach patrol dogs; and sea dogs just having fun. Special programs highlight the contributions and activities of dogs in search, rescue, and at-sea service, and demonstrate the responsible handling of historic water breeds such as the Portuguese Water Dog and the Newfoundland. Activities include games on the Museum's Village Green, quests to find and learn about sea dogs throughout the Museum grounds, children's art projects, and readings of dog stories.

Special events include demonstrations featuring local and regional sea dogs, in partnership with organizations like Connecticut Canine Search & Rescue and the Newfoundland Club of New England. The Newfoundland Club showcases the working abilities of their dogs by hosting a variety of draft tests that relate to the traditional work of the breed. Water rescue tests are held to demonstrate the dogs' ability to take a line to a drowning victim, jump off a boat to rescue a victim in the water, or tow back to shore a boat that has gone adrift.

In this issue of *The Log* you will find an introduction to *Sea Dogs!* by exhibitions researcher John Jensen, who developed the exhibit content. I hope you will take the opportunity to visit *Sea Dogs! Great Tails of the Sea* and experience a new facet of the relationship of America and the Sea.

Further aspects of this relationship are reflected in the other articles in this issue. The development of the concept of seaside summer resorts through the case study of nearby Watch Hill, Rhode Island, is well described in former Williams-Mystic student Andrew Lipman's "The Wild New England Shore." Eric Roorda, co-director of the Museum's Munson Institute summer graduate program, looks at the U.S. Navy's history of peacetime activities in "Goodwill Gunboats." We also pay tribute to the late Francis "Biff" Bowker, long-time captain of the *Brilliant* and a real sea dog, and look at the project to process the William Garden Collection of watercraft plans, which were donated to the Museum recently.

At home—through the pages of *The Log* and the *Wind Rose* as well as the Museum's Web site, *www.mysticseaport.org*—and here on the grounds along the beautiful Mystic River, we make every effort to engage you with the compelling stories of America and the Sea, past and present. We appreciate your endorsement of this effort through your membership in Mystic Seaport.



PRESIDENT AND DIRECTOR

The Wild New England Shore

Reinventing Nature in Watch Hill, Rhode Island, 1830-1890

by ANDREW LIPMAN



At Watch Hill Point, the lighthouse—established in 1808—and U.S. Life-Saving Station—established in 1850—carried on the serious business of supporting safe coastal navigation, even as pleasure-seekers flocked to the surrounding beaches. In this 1895 view by Edward H. Newbury, vacationers stroll the rugged beach as a string of coal-carrying schooner barges passes the light on the way into Fishers Island Sound. (Mystic Seaport 1980.41.670)

Captain Jonathan Nash had excellent vision, not only in the optical sense of the word. Beginning in 1808, he spent two decades manning the wooden light-house at Watch Hill Point in Westerly, Rhode Island. From his perch, he noticed a pattern as regular as the tides: groups of visitors coming to the beaches each summer. When he began taking boarders into his home, Nash became the unofficial host of the scrubby peninsula. Soon he realized that his second job could be a more profitable full-time occupation. He raised funds to build a hotel near the lighthouse and beaches, and in the summer of 1833, Nash opened his "Watch Hill House."

Nash did not invent tourism, hotels, or seaside resorts. All these things existed long before his hotel opened. Many other lighthouse keepers hosted guests–although few had the initiative to build a hotel. His vision was not quite innovative, it was clairvoyant; he spotted a coming trend just before it was evident to everyone else around him.[1]

In 1833, the country was entering an intense period of industrialization that would forever change how Americans used and perceived

their natural environments. Nash and hundreds of other like-minded entrepreneurs helped to reinvent one particular environment, the seashore. By 1890, the once-quiet Watch Hill had blossomed into a summer hub for urban elites. Previously the haunt of farmers, clam-diggers, and lighthouse keepers, it was now the domain of tourists as well as all the people needed to get tourists there and keep them happy: steamboat operators, porters, hoteliers, waitpersons, merchants, and entertainers. In roughly the same period, the booming resort story occurred again and again in "picturesque" spots across the country.[2]



Established as Watch Hill's first hotel by Captain Jonathan Nash, the original, small Watch Hill House had grown into a large and rambling wooden structure by the time of this 1889 photograph. The white Atlantic House is at left. (Mystic Seaport 1985.112.2)

Of course, the origin of these resorts cannot be solely credited to developers like Captain Nash. The 1800s were a time of intense but erratic economic growth, spurred on by rapid industrialization and urbanization. These changes did not pass Watch Hill by; they helped to create it. Historians have long argued that events of the nineteenth century changed Americans' relationship with nature. Simply put, the radical transformations of the "civilized" world—growing cities, busy factories, and their resulting social and environmental impact—caused many to abandon older beliefs that championed "civilization" over "wilderness," and embrace more "natural" and "pastoral" settings. The physical changes to the Watch Hill shore would not have been possible without this intellectual shift. Watch Hill was a recycled place. In her study *Inventing New England*, historian Dona Brown calls this practice of turning landscapes into commodities "producing scenery." This reinvention of Watch Hill occurred in two interrelated but distinct ways.[3]

First, the development of the resort changed how humans used the physical shore. Hotels represented only another step in a long procession of different uses. Resorts turned the physical shore into a destination, drawing many people to it for many reasons. The resort's history is a narrative of people: who they were, where they came from, and what they did. This section closes at another "reinvention" of Watch Hill: the shift from hotels to cottages, which began in earnest in the 1880s.

Second, the growth of the resort altered the imagined shore. Changes in how humans use nature are accompanied by changes in how they think of nature. The shore became what historian Leo Marx calls a "cultural symbol," which he defines as "an image that conveys a special meaning (thought and feeling) to a large number of those who share the culture." This Victorian shore appeared in many places: in philosophy, in poems, in newspaper columns and advertisements. It was a powerful creation: many vacationers believed that the seaside was an antidote to the many ills of the industrialized world. They thought it could cure their bodies, soothe their souls, and fulfill their desires. Tourists traveled far in hopes of finding this idealized shore, but it remained true to Leo Marx's definition of a cultural symbol: it was only "an image" and never a place.[4]

Once the site of Native American fishing camps and wampum-making camps, Watch Hill, Rhode Island, was primarily farmland in the early 1800s. Local farmers valued the intertidal zone for its seaweed (which made a hearty fertilizer) and for its shellfish (which were a staple in summer meals). Displaced from their ancestral coastal settlements, the Niantics, Pequots, and Narragansetts who lived on nearby reservations had limited access to shellfishing grounds, as well. But aside from those who came into direct contact with the shoreline, most knew the point for its navigational significance. The peninsula earned the name "Watch Hill" in 1754, when Westerly townsfolk built a signal tower on a drumlin previously known as Bear Hill. The tower's fire gave off light and smoke signals to alert the nearby towns of potential French threats during the Seven Years' War. Local militia used the point as a critical lookout twice more, during the American Revolution and the War of 1812. Recognizing its key location near the mouth of Long Island Sound, the U.S. Lighthouse Service built a light-





With its understated Greek-revival style, the Atlantic House was opened in 1861 and overlooked Napatree Beach and the sheltered waters of Little Narragansett Bay. By the 1890s the area had been thoroughly landscaped. (Mystic Seaport 1993.136.25)

Coming ashore on the long steamboat pier built inside Watch Hill Point, one was confronted by the Larkin House, opened in 1868. Already in the 1880s, summer cottages had begun to fill in the spaces between the large hotels, as is evident in this 1889 photo. (Mystic Seaport 1985.112.3)

house on Watch Hill Point in 1808. The first keeper was none other than the sharp-sighted Captain Nash.[5]

While the white citizens of Westerly did not have seasonal camps like their Indian predecessors, wealthy families with enough time and money did make "excursions" to the shore in the summer months. Captain Nash likely encouraged visitors when he took in boarders; still others came for daytime picnics. When he opened the Watch Hill House in 1833, he was taking a large financial risk. Nash's early guests came from nearby towns: the railroad did not run through Westerly until 1837, and Watch Hill had no regular ferry service for its first 15 years. However, he likely built the hotel in anticipation of future customers arriving with the railroad.[6]

For Nash, success depended on a recent advance in technology: the steam engine. "Steam is annihilating space," wrote travel-writer Henry Tuckerman in 1844. "Traveling is changed from an isolated pilgrimage to a kind of triumphal procession." While the completion of the Shore Line Railroad in 1837 was necessary to open Watch Hill to a larger market, the crucial second step was linking rail stations to the shore. The first steam-powered ferry to Watch Hill was a fickle side-wheeler named *Novelty*, which connected Westerly and the hotels in 1848. To increase commercial traffic to the growing town of Westerly, a local consortium started dredging the muddy shoals of the Pawcatuck River in 1850. Two more steamboats from Groton and Stonington began serving Watch Hill in the early 1850s. Improved rail and water access encouraged competition on the Hill. The Narragansett House opened in 1844, and soon several other hosts opened smaller boardinghouses.[7]

In an effort to lure more customers to the area, investors raised the funds for a fashionable new hotel. The completion of the Atlantic House in 1861 inaugurated a decade of steady development, which would greatly alter the character of the resort. In the prewar period, when only a couple of hotels were open and rail and steamer service was limited, the majority of guests came from nearby towns. Only a small portion of vacationers came from beyond New York City. Arrival lists from the *Westerly Narragansett Weekly* indicate that nearly two-thirds of hotel guests in 1858 and 1861 hailed from Connecticut. Upper-class travelers from Hartford, New Haven, New London,

Norwich, and other nearby small cities formed a loyal bond with the hotels that would remain strong as the resort flourished. Many of these cities had steamer service to the coast; in some cases, directly to Watch Hill. As a result, the same family names appeared season after season.[8]

Development paused during the Civil War, when even the *Weekly* failed to publish its chatty lists of arrivals. Presumably, the hotels were in a lull, as their urban clientele focused on the war effort. But soon after Lee's surrender at Appomattox, Watch Hill resumed the growth that began four years earlier. The North emerged from the war with more factories, more railroads, and more money. This swelling economy favored affluent tourists, who were eager to escape the very urban settings that nurtured their prosperity. Likewise, Watch Hill developers were also flush with postwar capital. They swiftly began work on three hotels, each one gaily painted and wrapped in porches.[9]

One prominent developer was Commander Daniel F. Larkin, the lighthouse keeper who took over Jonathan Nash's post in the 1830s and also shared his predecessor's entrepreneurial spirit–like Nash, his hosting career began by inviting boarders into his house. Larkin was a nervy, cigar-smoking man who was not afraid to challenge the Nash family's preeminence. In 1868, he opened a fancy new hotel to surpass the Atlantic, which he humbly named "Larkin House." Other competitors opened the Plimpton House and Ocean House one year later. Larkin bought the Watch Hill House from the Nashes in 1870 and soon built a barn-like seafood restaurant on the harbor offering "Shore Dinners." Later, he built the areas first bowling alley.[10]

The freshly built houses attracted more visitors and drew them from greater distances. By 1870, New York surpassed Connecticut as the most represented home state of hotel guests. Less than half of these New Yorkers were from New York City. Instead, they hailed from booming factory towns—namely Poughkeepsie, Albany, Troy, and Utica. Tourists also came by railroad from similarly prosperous cities like Hartford and Springfield. Many guests were whole families, who brought nurses and governesses with them to look after the children. These


EXCURSION!

THE FRIENDS OF TEMPERANCE
in HARTFORD COUNTY and vicinity are invited to enjoy an
EXCURSION to WATCH HILL,
Wednesday July 10, 1872.

Favorite Excursion Barge FRANCIS RISLEY, for Watch Hill,
RETURNING.
New Connecticut Valley Railroad
Fare for the Round Trip.
From Hartford, Wethersfield and Rocky Hill, *only* $2 50
TAKE NOTICE.
MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENTS ON THE BOAT.

The Friends of Temperance in Hartford County were just one group that took advantage of rail and steamboat connections to enjoy the healthful and alcohol-free setting of Watch Hill. (Mystic Seaport 1981.98.9)

In this 1889 photo, the steamboat Ella *leaves the waterfront landing to navigate shallow Little Narragansett Bay. A few shops line the street, alongside Daniel Larkin's large shore dinner emporium. There is a vegetable garden on the slope leading up to the hotels, and two new summer cottages have joined an early fisherman's home on the point in the background. (Mystic Seaport 1985.112.13)*



women had busy days. A local newspaper account declared that "children are omnipresent; on the docks, on the beaches, on the piazzas; in the water, in the sand, in trouble."[11]

Geographic and economic factors shaped the northeast skew of Watch Hill's customer base. While the growing factory towns could hardly match the hectic pace of life that defined their larger siblings, they were now connected by rail and commerce. With these ties came an exchange of ideas. If the well-to-do families of Boston and New York used the word "summer" as a verb, the wealthy citizens of Worcester and Poughkeepsie were bound to do the same. Watch Hill was a sensible option of vacationers from second-tier cities: it was expensive, but not exorbitant, with vistas that were handsome, but not breathtaking. Located just outside the mouth of Long Island Sound, it was the westernmost New England resort to look out on open ocean. True, Connecticut had fine beaches facing Long Island Sound, but a family coming from Albany needed only to travel a few extra hours to experience higher surf and a smoother horizon.[12]

Watch Hill could only draw so much of the large New York City market, since it competed with resorts in New Jersey, Long Island, Pennsylvania, and upstate New York. Boston and its satellite mill towns already had many options in Massachusetts and Maine; as a result, visiting Bostonians were rare. Even most Rhode Islanders snubbed Watch Hill in favor of resorts on Narragansett Bay. A minority of guests came from beyond the Northeast. The numbers of Midwesterners were modest, but not dismissible; at times, visitors from Providence were less common than those from Ohio. In fact, a cluster of families from Cincinnati and Cleveland became faithful visitors to Watch Hill. Others hailed from Chicago, Detroit, and St. Louis, cities that were exploding with trade and industry, and already had what historian William Cronon calls "recreational hinterlands" of their own. Presumably, these Midwestern guests found lakes and rivers to be lacking, and decided instead to travel several extra days to reach the ocean. Smaller numbers of people traveled from what could best be described as "points elsewhere," including Rio de Janeiro, London, and Florida. These long-distance pilgrims indicate that Watch Hill now appeared on a larger map of fashionable places. At last, it was widely known as a "destination."[13]

Soon after the paint dried on the last hotels of the 1860s boom, the flow of guests slowed. The panic of 1873 caused many wealthy tourists to skip summer retreats for a few years, and the national economic doldrums also stifled commerce in nearby Westerly. Worse, a shipwreck had a depressing and traumatic effect on the resort. On a September morning in 1872, the Providence-New York steamer *Metis* collided with a schooner off the Watch Hill beaches. The collision crippled the overloaded ship, which began to disintegrate in heavy seas. Rescuers from the U.S. Life-Saving Station at the point, aided by hotel employees and late-season guests, made valiant efforts to save the people aboard the *Metis*. One reporter wrote: "Scenes at the beach were heartrending in the extreme.

Wreckage from the steamer Metis *littered the beach east of Watch Hill on 30 August 1872, reminding late-season vacationers that the sea was a dangerous place. Spectators in the foreground gather on one of the steamer's pontoon liferafts, in this stereo view by E. Ayers of Norwich. (Mystic Seaport 1981.76.19)*



Strong men cried like children to see so many human beings almost within grasp and they unable to do anything to save them from certain death."[14]

One hundred and fifty-odd passengers and crew members survived, but at least two-dozen died from drowning and hypothermia. For days after, the surf carried bodies onto the shore at Watch Hill; drowned passengers washed up at Point Judith and Block Island weeks later. The resort became infamous for the *Metis* accident, and for some townsfolk and tourists, memories of the wreck continued to haunt the offshore waters.[15]

The economic dip turned out to be temporary, and by the late 1870s, the hotel guests were back, in even greater numbers than before. The regular report on Watch Hill in the *Westerly Narragansett Weekly* took on the tone and rhythm of crop forecasts: "The prospect for Watch Hill during the coming summer is very bright"; "The season at Watch Hill is opening fairly"; "Last week marked the climax of the season at Watch Hill"; "Harvest has been passed at Watch Hill." The locals were now keenly aware of the value of their shore. Hotel owners did what they could to improve each season's "crop." They added new wings and annexes, bought carpets and light fixtures, installed telephones and elevators, and built docks and bathhouses. What they already had, they made better: each spring, they hired crews to repair, repaint, and refurbish their property. Maintenance work benefited Westerly and Pawcatuck, since area laborers filled most off-season jobs. Westerly shipbuilders built most of the resort's steamboats, which tied Watch Hill's fortunes even closer to the small city upriver.[16]

The annual flow of urban dollars also attracted workers from beyond the Pawcatuck River.



The sea view from the top of the Larkin House, ca. 1888, captures the corner of the Watch Hill House (left) and the tower of the Ocean House, as well as a growing number of summer homes overlooking East Beach and Misquamicut beyond. (Mystic Seaport 1985.112.4)

With the summer visitors came vendors from around New England, who set up stands along the beach and in hotel lobbies, selling candy, ice cream, "hot peanuts," fireworks, "bathing costumes," "colored glasses," scenic and portrait photographs, tobacco, and newspapers. An Indian family from Maine annually "pitched their tents opposite Larkins' Shore Dinner House" and sold handmade crafts, including birch canoes and baskets. Magicians and bands visited regularly, although most hotels hired in-house musicians for dances and concerts.[17]

Some people traveled the farthest for the hardest work. Racially stratified pay scales made it cheaper for hotels to hire African Americans from the South for waiting, cooking, and cleaning jobs. It is not clear when the Watch Hill hotels began this practice. Evidently, black men and women held a large number of serving positions by the early 1880s, when a *Westerly Narragansett Weekly* correspondent welcomed "the introduction of white waitresses" at the Atlantic House. Calling the change a "happy" one, the reporter snidely remarked, "[T]he room seems ten shades lighter than when Afric's [sic] sunny shore shed the light of its contenance [sic] upon the scene."[18]

This casual display of prejudice hints at the experiences that black workers had in Northern seaside resorts. These men and women perhaps found some relief of their own by taking the long railroad trip to Rhode Island each summer. Watch Hill's climate was certainly milder than anywhere in the South. And while racism was still omnipresent, perhaps overt racial tensions were also cooler at this latitude. A black person was less likely to be physically harassed or have his life threatened in Rhode Island than in Georgia. Yet, after leaving familiar surroundings for subservient jobs with meager pay, the staff had different perspectives on the "luxuries" of Watch Hill. Each hotel was a house of work and not leisure, and each fine meal represented an evening of toil.

On their limited time off, African American workers enjoyed the pleasures of the shore, and like the white tourists, they created a thriving seasonal community. Many attended the Sunday evening service "for the colored



Viewed from the north in 1887, Watch Hill's glacial terrain formed a picturesque setting for summer cottages, as well as the large hotels, including the Ocean House of 1869 (left), the Watch Hill House at center, and several plainer hotels at right. The steeple of the chapel is visible at left center. (Mystic Seaport 1985.112.1)

people" at the newly built chapel at Watch Hill. They organized parties with the waitpersons from area hotels and nearby resorts in New London. But even their moments of fun became another type of entertainment for white guests. Hotels announced that their "colored waiters" would be singing at dinner and competing in wheelbarrow and three-legged races, which were well attended and covered in the local paper. One report on waiter races mentioned the winners' nicknames and the hotels at which they worked. The degrading nature of these races (which would likely encourage spectacle and laughter) gave these festivities a feeling of plantation paternalism. How did one waiter feel about guests who saw him as merely "'Jumbo' of the Plimpton House," congratulated him for winning a sack race, and then expected him to cheerily serve their food the next day? In spite of its carefree image, Watch Hill was the site of quiet collisions of race and class.[19]

While Watch Hill continued to grow in the 1880s, hotels began to lose their prestige. Summer cottages came into fashion, as Gilded Age families began to shun hotels in favor of private houses. In 1886, a group of Ohio industrialists purchased a seaside farm not far from the Hill, and laid out 192 parcels of land. The "Cincinnati Syndicate" then began building cottages by the dozen. As the syndicate's 1887 brochure stated: "The ever-increasing demand for summer homes on our sea-coast is steadily absorbing every foot of beach property within 150 miles of New York City, at prices which annually increase." The decline of the hotels was gradual: developers tore down the Larkin House in 1906 to clear land for cottages; most of the others burned down and were never rebuilt. As the land grew more valuable, and hotels became less desirable, the cottage builders eclipsed hotel owners as the dominant force in the development of Watch Hill.[20]

While new structures cluttered the face of Watch Hill in the hotel era, people arrived each summer with their heads full of new concepts of what the seaside could offer them. These ideas all shared one dominant theme: renewal. Americans believed that at the shore they could become better people, meaning that the seaside shared many traits with that other famous intellectual creation of the nineteenth century–the frontier.

Like the western frontier, the coast represented a line between what can be controlled (land) and what cannot (ocean). In his study of nineteenth-century Atlantic City, historian Charles Funnell wrote that for urban vacationers "the sea provided a handy substitute for open land in the popular imagination . . . the ocean wilderness became the frontier."[21]

Many believed that coming into contact with the chaotic boundary of land and sea would restore their bodies and souls, and this regeneration would help them function better when they returned to their lives in the ordered world. True, coming to Watch Hill did not challenge tourists to work the land, conquer natives, or bring "law and order" with them, but that is the convenience of a resort. It was a frontier of comfort, of somewhat subdued nature that gently questioned, but did not test.

No one actually referred to Watch Hill as a frontier, but with its windswept dunes and occasional violent storms, no one declared it tamed, either. On its more peaceful days, it invoked a sentiment that Leo Marx calls "pastoralism": a feeling that inspires "flight from the city" to satisfy "[a]n inchoate longing for a more natural environment." Henry David Thoreau put this sentiment best when he visited the beaches of Cape Cod, and declared: "A man may stand there and put all America behind him." In the local minister's poetic version of Watch Hill's founding, he claimed that Nash's early customers were looking for "something to restore them" and Watch Hill best satisfied this "hygeian need." As the seaside became a restorative agent, Americans found similar significance elsewhere: in deserts, mountains, lakes, rivers, and canyons. Like the Grand Canyon or Yosemite, Watch Hill's seaside was a "natural" place rediscovered in the nineteenth century, and it must be viewed as a product of that time.[22]

Hoteliers and tourists alike believed in the seashore's power to heal. Myriad tonics and pills came into fashion during the Victorian period. Although Watch Hill could not be poured into glass bottles, its promoters often made similar claims. The *Westerly Narragansett Weekly* quoted an authoritative 1883 article in the *British Medical Journal* on the merits of sea bathing as "a stimulant, alternative, and tonic, promoting appetite, tissue change, and excretions, and bracing up the nervous, vascular, and muscular systems." Besides promoting general health, salt water's healing powers were "unsurpassed" in treating "acute diseases," "chronic affections," and soothing those "enfeebled by injurious excesses, by mental strain, or by unhealthy occupations." Never one to miss out on a fad, innkeeper Daniel Larkin installed six bathtubs in his Larkin House with faucets that ran hot and cold seawater, pumped fresh from the Atlantic Ocean.[23]

Salt water was not the only restorative agent found at the shore. Boosters praised the "pure," "bracing," and "invigorating" ocean breezes. A promotional brochure claimed that when a heat wave sent the mercury over 100° in much of the Northeast, it "barely reached" 80° in Watch Hill. A reporter from the *New York Times* mentioned the "tonic effect of the atmosphere," which was ideal for "stimulating appetite, and promoting digestion to a wonderful degree." Others touted the air's ability to sooth "shattered nerves and overworked brain[s]."[24]

Ocean air could not only restore a stressed body, it could also enhance beauty. One female vacationer casually mentioned in a letter that, "[f]or the last two nights I have slept with my head out of the window, because we have had such heavy fogs, which every one tells me are excellent for the complexion." At a time when medicine and quackery were often lumped together, the "recuperative influences" of the seaside seemed as potent as any of the elixirs that crowded druggists' shelves.[25]

Tourists also hoped to find a kind of spiritual renewal from Watch Hill's scenery. "Does not the sight and sound of the glorious ocean awaken nobler and more lofty emotions?" asked a letter in the *Westerly Narragansett Weekly*. A report in the *New York Tribune* mentioned the views from the hotels: rolling hills "embowered in trees and rising up from the water like the land of dreams," and sunsets which made "a golden path" across the water. Not every description was so complimentary. In Mariana Tallman's entry on Watch Hill in *Pleasant Places in Rhode Island* (1893), she commented that "excursionists come home and report, as we often hear them, that Watch Hill is a bleak, lonely place, all sand and no trees, and that it is strange what any one can want to go there for." But Tallman found that the description, while not inaccurate, did not express its stark beauty. "A remarkable ocean sickle is this," she wrote of Napatree Beach, "one interminable, undulating sand dune, thrown up by combined wind and wave in long years, and bristling with harsh beach grass." The shore could inspire wonder for natural settings. While no tourist claimed to find sublime wilderness in Watch Hill, they sought out reminders of forces greater than themselves.[26]

Some well-to-do vacationers came to the seaside hoping to find romantic renewal as well. "More young people are found here than any other summer resort in this vicinity," wrote a *New York Tribune* reporter in 1882. "Every young girl says she comes here to get the air. Many an heir comes here to get the girls." A brochure referred to "lovers spooning in the moonlight on the verandas." Young paramours were not the only ones to praise the shore's aphrodisiac effects.[27]

In 1876, a poet wrote a ballad commemorating the bicentennial of the founding of Westerly. He glorified the romance of a colonial couple named John Babcock and Mary Lawton, who eloped from Newport to settle near Watch Hill. Their courtship is most natural and potent at the land's edge:

By spray-wet cliff they sauntered long,
Or round the elm-clad hill
Their thoughts accordant with the song
Of wooing whip-poor-whill.[28]



Most of the sea bathing took place in the sheltered waters inside Watch Hill Point, where a galleried bathhouse, seen here ca. 1900, offered convenience for bathers and shelter for spectators. (Mystic Seaport 1993.136.61)

While the poet's subjects were historical, their budding passions seem more like those of vacationers in the late-1800s than colonial subjects from the mid-1600s. The poetic Watch Hill reverend made reference to the resort's picnicking days, "when the haying days were o'ver,/The young men brought the girls down to the shore,/To see the ocean and breathe its air."[29]

Nostalgic and romantic sentiments also infected accounts of Watch Hill's past. "Scenes and events of the weightiest historical interest have occurred upon our New England shore," wrote Westerly historian Frederic Denison in 1878. "Here may be found new and unequaled subjects for philosophy and for tragic and lyric song." In his account of the colonization of southern New England, Denison described the Indians' shoreline as dark and dangerous: "The unmeasured, mysterious ocean rolled upon the rocky coast . . . . Bark canoes descended the shaded rivers, and crept stealthily along the dangerous shores." Turning the New England's Indians into shadowy actors in the drama of colonization added a sense of antiquity to the landscape.[30]

One travel writer noted the many "Indian relics" found in the area, which were "suggestive of the days when King Ninigret and his dusky tribes waged their frequent combats with the encroaching Block Island red men." A brochure mentioned that the many "Indian bones and relics" that cottage builders dug up were "evidences that Watch Hill was a favorite resort, and an important point of observation of the aborigines." Another Watch Hill antiquarian wrote a lyric poem about an Indian maiden who lived a tragic life by the shore, and whose body was supposedly still buried on the Hill. Tying the sites of resorts with legends of the New England "frontier" made the seaside a place of more elemental feelings than those found in an urban setting. Romanticized tales of Indian lore charged the scenery with sparks of mystery and menace.[31]

Tourists could also get visceral thrills from more immediate dangers. Shipwrecks were still a common occurrence in the tricky offshore waters. Between the years of 1830 and 1890, 97 ships wrecked near Watch Hill. In 1893, the Watch Hill lighthouse keeper told a travel writer that the most frequent question that tourists asked him was "concerning the number of wrecks he expects to have this year." When a correspondent from the *Worcester Spy* wrote a sketch of the resort in 1883, he took note of the "fragments of wreck here and there on the beach [which] show that the waves have borne to this strand grimmer burdens than seaweed." A witness of the *Metis* wreck told the reporter that she "has never been able to walk the beach with pleasure since." But for resort promoters, the haunted surf was another attraction. A brochure mentioned summer "tempests," when "we seem to hear the crashing of wrecks, and the despairing cries of those who 'go down to the Sea in ships.'" After seeing the gruesome aftermath of a shipwreck in Massachusetts, Henry Thoreau wrote: "I saw that the beauty of the shore itself was wrecked for many a lonely walker there, until he could perceive, at last, how its beauty was enhanced by wrecks like this, and it acquired thus a rarer and sublimer beauty still." Thoreau believed that death, like everything else, could be transcended, and grieving excessively for drowned victims underestimated the human spirit.[32]

Although their reasoning may have been different, many tourists shared Thoreau's fascination. They sought out depictions of shipwrecks in dime novels, songs, paintings, and even silverware: soon after the *Metis* wreck, a Westerly silversmith made teaspoons and fruit spoons with scenes of the disaster on their handles. The spoons sold briskly, and according to historian Margaret Cooney, they became "a collector's item."[33]

Glorifying shipwrecks was part of tourists' general interest in maritime culture. When a young woman named Ida Lewis saved the lives of shipwrecked sailors off Newport, she became a tourist attraction. In the summer of 1869, over one hundred people showed up at her house on busy days. People who faced the natural elements were another draw of the seaside. Victorian tourists showed great enthusiasm for reading about the experiences of "fisher-folk" and light keepers. (Thoreau declared, "a light-house or a fisherman's hut [is] the true hotel.") Few tourists held jobs that forced them to come into close contact with natural elements or made them face the possibility of death. Learning about the lives of coastal residents could give them a vicarious thrill. Like the gunfights and Indian raids of the Wild West, shipwrecks and sea lore symbolized adventure and "wilderness" on the New England shore.[34]

In an 1882 brochure for Watch Hill, the author took pause "to say a few words to a class of persons who complain of disappointment when visiting the Sea Coast." The author scolded any tourist who, after reading about the seaside, arrived "anticipating an immediate and exhaustive presentation of all expected delights." According to the pamphlet, anyone who expected to find every advertised wonder of the shore would be disappointed. Watch Hill had no shortage of these visitors, particularly those who wished to find "rapture on the lonely shore." The *Westerly Narragansett Weekly* noted the "restless temptation" of "hotel guests to seek the seclusion which the east beach grants. But they usually find that a large number

of others have previously sought the same seclusion: and this makes the beach dotted for nearly a mile with groups." Another tourist took the "fashionable walk" to the lighthouse, and while she "thought it quite picturesque," she was annoyed to find that "even there I was destined to be followed by the common herd. Never mind the tourist who disliked her salt-water bath, failed to find summer romance, or was shocked by the grim realities of a shipwreck.[35]

With such bold promises to live up to, the shore was bound to disappoint. By 1890, the real Watch Hill, while still surrounded by handsome views, was also "hotel-crowned," "bazaar lined," and "craft-crowded." The Pawcatuck Valley Street Railways extended a trolley line to Watch Hill in 1894. The streetcars squealed loudly over tight turns, and they brought a new kind of visitor, the day-tripper from towns like Westerly, Mystic, and Norwich. The "common herd" finally had access to the shores long coveted by upper-class tourists.[36]

By the close of the century, Watch Hill bore a resemblance to the very places of which it was supposed to be the antithesis. While there is some irony in this, its fate cannot be simplified into a wry comment on those who seek refuge from the industrial world and inadvertently bring it along. The wealthy classes left cities to find refreshing surroundings, but they had no plans to abandon the comforts of their urban lives. The hotels were never supposed to be spartan. They wanted to get closer, but not too close to nature. Upon their arrival at a shore that was busy with industrial-age, commercial activity, tourists found only hints of the mythic "wild" and rejuvenating shore.

That concept of wilderness, like the steam engine, was another remarkable invention of the nineteenth century. It could carry people great distances, but it could not insure their satisfaction upon arrival.

As an undergraduate at Vassar College, Andrew Lipman attended the Williams College-Mystic Seaport Maritime Studies Program in the spring of 2000 and was awarded the Revell Carr Student Research Fellowship for this research project. This essay was submitted for the Museum's Gerald E. Morris Prize Article Contest.

Notes

1. Margret Woodbury Carter, *Shipwrecks and Marine Disasters on the Shores of the Town of Westerly, R.I. and Adjacent Waters* (Westerly: Utter Co., 1975), 9; Peter B. Griffen and the Watch Hill Long-Range Planning Committee, *The Watch Hill Comprehensive Plan* (Westerly, 1985), 21; Ralph Bolton Cooney, *Westerly's Oldest Witness: How Westerly and the Washington Trust Company Have Progressed Together for 150 Years* (Westerly: Washington Trust Co., 1950), 27.

2. Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1979), 3-5, 25-26; see Charles E. Funnell, *By the Beautiful Sea: The Rise and High Times of That Great American Resort, Atlantic City* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1983); John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 3-11; Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 1-13.

3. See Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991); for a twentieth-century example, see Richard White, *Lan Use, Environment, and Social Change: The Shaping of Island County, Washington* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992), 142-54; Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*; 1-9; Brown, *Inventing New England*, 41-74.

4. Cronon, "Introduction: In Search of Nature," in William Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996), 23-56; Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 4.

5. William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 162-63; Neal Salisbury, "Indians and Colonists after the Pequot War," in Lawrence M. Hauptman and James D. Wherry, eds., *The Pequots in Southern New England: The Fall and Rise of an American Indian Nation* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 93-94; Carter, *Shipwrecks*, 8, 9; Frederic Denison, *Westerly (Rhode Island) and Its Witnesses, for Two Hundred and Fifty Years, 1626-1876* (Providence: J.A. & R.A. Reid, 1878), 243; Cooney, *Westerly's Oldest Witness*, 13-14.

6. Carter, *Shipwrecks*, 9; Cooney, *Westerly's Oldest Witness*, 27; Griffen et al, *Watch Hill Comprehensive Plan*, 21; Marion I. Wright and Robert J. Sullivan, *The Rhode Island Atlas* (Providence: Rhode Island Publications Society, 1982), 205; Bill Ewen, "Steamboats to Watch Hill," *Tidings* (July 1986): 29. Not all seaside communities welcomed the railroad. As rails stretched across Long Island in the 1830s and 1840s, some local farmers were upset at the railroad's side effect on their livelihood: hay fires ignited by stray sparks, cows caught in the cowcatcher. They sawed through the supports of a railroad bridge over the Peconic River, sending a locomotive into the brackish waters, Floyd and Marion Rinhart, *Summertime: Photographs of Americans at Play, 1850-1900* (New York: Crown, 1978), 79-81.

7. Quoted in Marx, *The Machine in the Garden*, 196; Ewen, "Steamboats," 29, 31; Griffen et al, *Watch Hill Comprehensive Plan*, 21.

8. Cooney, *Westerly's Oldest Witness*, 35; "Arrivals At Watch Hill," *Westerly Narragansett Weekly* (hereafter cited as *WNW*), 1 September 1859, 2; Ewen, "Steamboats," 30-32; "Arrivals At Watch Hill," *WNW*, 1 September 1859, 2; Arrivals, Watch Hill House and Atlantic House, *WNW*, 15 August 1861, 2.

9. Cooney, *Westerly's Oldest Witness*, 35; Brown, *Inventing New England*, 82-85, 117-119.

10. Denison, *Westerly and Its Witnesses*, 243; Brigid Rooney Smith, *Watch Hill: By River and By Sea* (Charleston, South Carolina: Arcadia Publishing, 1999), 31; "Boarding Houses," *WNW*, 9 August 1866, 2; Cooney, *Westerly's Oldest Witness*, 35, 46-47; "Watch Hill," *WNW*, 16 August 1883, 2; Arrivals, Larkin House, Watch Hill House, *WNW*, 11 August 1870, 2; Smith, *Watch Hill: By River and By Sea*, 52.

11. Arrivals, Larkin House, Watch Hill House, *WNW*, 11 August 1870, 2; Arrivals, Larkin House, Ocean House, Watch Hill House, Bay View House, Atlantic House, *WNW*, 1 August 1872, 2; Arrivals, Plimpton House, Narragansett House, Watch Hill House, Larkin House, Atlantic House, *WNW*, 9 August 1866, 2; Arrivals, Watch Hill House, *WNW*, 16 August 1866, 2;

Arrivals, Larkin House, Watch Hill House, *WNW*, 11 August 1870, 2; Arrivals Larkin House, Ocean House, Watch Hill House, Bay View House, Atlantic House, *WNW*, 1 August 1872, 2; "Watch Hill," *WNW*, 27 July 1882, 2.

12. The Connecticut and Hudson River valleys, where many Watch Hill guests came from, were also becoming popular tourist attractions that were celebrated for their "refined" pastoral scenery, see Sears, *Sacred Places*, 49-71.

13. Bostonians were less common at Watch Hill hotels than guests from Philadelphia, St. Louis, or Chicago, see Arrivals, *WNW*, 1858-85; not only are Ocean State natives scarce in the arrivals lists, one travel writer wrote in 1892 that Watch Hill was "so little known among Providence people," Mariana Tallman, *Pleasant Places in Rhode Island, and How to Reach Them* (Providence: Providence Journal Co., 1893), 30; the population of Rhode Island was, and still is, centered around Narragansett Bay, which had its own resort boom that began in the 1860s, Wright and Sullivan, *The Rhode Island Atlas*, 63-131, 211-14; Arrivals, Plimpton House, Narragansett House, Watch Hill House, Larkin House, Atlantic House, *WNW*, 9 August 1866, 2; Arrivals, Watch Hill House, *WNW*, 16 August 1866, 2; Arrivals, Larkin House, Watch Hill House, *WNW*, 11 August 1870, 2; Arrivals, Larkin House, Ocean House, Watch Hill House, Bay View House, Atlantic House, *WNW*, 1 August 1872, 2; Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, 380-83; Arrivals, Watch Hill House and Larkin House, *WNW*, 11 August 1870, 2; Arrivals, Plimpton House, Narragansett House, Watch Hill House, Larkin House, Atlantic House, *WNW*, 9 August 1866, 2; Arrivals, Larkin House, Watch Hill House, *WNW*, 11 August 1870, 2; Arrivals, Larkin House, Ocean House, Watch Hill House, Bay View House, Atlantic House, *WNW*, 1 August 1872, 2.

14. Cooney, *Westerly's Oldest Witness*, 41; "The Great Disaster," *WNW*, 5 September 1872, 2; "Incidents," *WNW*, 5 September 1872, 2.

15. "Alphabetical List of the Saved," *WNW*, 5 September 1872, 2; Carter, *Shipwrecks*, 34. There are some discrepancies in the reported numbers of the dead. Margaret Carter claimed that 160 passengers and crew died, but she may have confused that astounding figure with the number of survivors. The primary sources indicate that approximately 25 perished, a number that seems more consistent with the capacity of the *Metis*, Carter, *Shipwrecks*, 35; "The Latest," *WNW*, 5 September 1872, 2; Moses Foster, ed., *New England: A Handbook for Travelers* (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1873), 71; Carter, *Shipwrecks*, 38; Foster, ed., *New England*, 70-71; "Watch Hill," *WNW*, 24 August 1883, 2.

16. Cooney, *Westerly's Oldest Witness*, 41; "Watch Hill," *WNW*, 7 September 1882, 2; 24 June 1883, 2; 17 July 1884, 2; 24 July 1884, 2; Cooney, *Westerly's Oldest Witness*, 50; Ewen, "Steamboats," 31-35; Cooney, *Westerly's Oldest Witness*, 50.

17. "Watch Hill," *WNW*, 17 July 1884, 2; "Watch Hill," *WNW*, 2 August 1883, 2; 17 July 1884, 2; 7 September 1882, 2; 28 June 1883, 2; 5 July 1883, 2; 19 July 1883, 2; 26 July 1883, 2; 16 August 1883, 2; Tallman, *Pleasant Places*, 29.

18. N.C. Wentworth, "Jottings," *WNW*, 2 August 1883, 1.

19. Tallman, *Pleasant Places*, 28; "Watch Hill," *WNW*, 2 August 1883, 2; 9 August 1883, 2; 24 August 1883, 2; 24 June 1884, 2; 9 August 1883, 2; 24 June 1884, 2; 24 August 1883, 2.

20. Tallman, *Pleasant Places*, 28; Griffen et al, *Watch Hill Comprehensive Plan*, 22; *Watch Hill Attractions*, 21; Cooney, *Westerly's Oldest Witness*, 60; Burdick, "The Night the Watch Hill House Burned," in Howard Burdick, *Along the Shore: Selected Letters* (Westerly: Westerly Historical Society, 1988).

21. Funnell, *By the Beautiful Sea*, 140.

22. Marx, *The Machine and the Garden*, 5; Henry David Thoreau, "Cape Cod," in Brooks Atkinson, ed., *Walden and Other Writings* (New York: Modern Library, 1992), 526; Rev. A.G. Palmes, "A Poem," *WNW*, 3 August 1882, 2; on this topic, and specifically creations of nature in the nineteenth century, see Funnel, *By the Beautiful Sea*; Sears, *Sacred Places*; Brown, *Inventing New England*; Cronon, "The Trouble With Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," Anne Whitson Spirn, "Constructing Nature: The Legacy of Frederick Law Olmsted," Kenneth R. Olwig, "Reinventing Common Nature: Yosemite and Mount Rushmore–A Meandering Tale of a Double Nature," in Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground*, 69-90, 91-113, 379-408.

23. Thomas J. Schlereth, *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876-1915* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), 284; "Sea Bathing," *WNW*, 23 August 1883, 1; *WNW*, 23 August 1882, 1; "Watch Hill," *WNW*, 26 July 1883, 2.

24. *Watch Hill, R.I. and Its Attractions as a Summer Resort* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Company, 1887), 4, 9; quoted in "Watch Hill," *WNW*, 23 August 1883, 2; *Watch Hill, R.I.: A Description of Its Three Beaches, Its Climate, Scenery, Etc.* (1882; reprint, Watch Hill: Book & Tackle Shop, 1994), 3.

25. *Watch Hill Attractions*, 20.

26. "Watch Hill," *WNW*, 24 August 1883, 2; Tallman, *Pleasant Places*, 26; 27; for a discussion of the true meaning of "sublime" and its corruption, see Cronon, "The Trouble With Wilderness," in Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground*, 69-90.

27. Quoted in "Watch Hill," *WNW*, 31 August 1882, 2; *Watch Hill Attractions*, 8.

28. Denison, *Westerly and Its Witnesses*, 41.

29. Palmes, "A Poem."

30. Denison, *Westerly and Its Witnesses*, 19; Sears, *Sacred Places*, 49-53.

31. Tallman, *Pleasant Places*, 27; *Watch Hill Attractions*, 17; "A Watch Hill Legend," in Howard Burdick, *Along the Shore*, 42-43.

32. Carter, *Shipwrecks*, 63-65; Tallman, *Pleasant Places*, 30; quoted in "Watch Hill," *WNW*, 24 August 1883, 2; *Watch Hill: A Description*, 15; Thoreau, "Cape Cod," in Atkinson, ed., *Walden and Other Writings*, 465-67.

33. A reporter wrote, of Block Island in 1897, "its wrecking history is thrilling enough to satisfy even a dime-novel boy." He went on to recall the legendary wreck of the *"Palatine,"* and to quote poems and historical accounts of the wreck, see Samuel W. Mendum, "Block Island," in Frank Oppel, ed., *Tales of the New England Coast* (Secaucus, New Jersey: Castle Press, 1985), 275; Carter, *Shipwrecks*, 38; for a revisionist view of the *"Palatine"* wreck, see Mary K. Bercaw Edwards, "'The Slack End of a Lyin' Tale': John G. Whittier and William G. Simms Retell the Wreck of the *Princess Augusta*," *The Log of Mystic Seaport* 51, 2 (Autumn 1999): 38-43.

34. "Miss Ida Lewis," *WNW*, 22 July 1869, 2; see Thoreau, "Cape Cod," in Atkinson, ed., *Walden and Other Writings*, 526; Joseph William Collins, "Evolution of the American Fishing Schooner" [1898], Holman Day, "The Queer Folk of the Maine Coast" [1909], Clifton Johnston, "Cape Cod Folks" [1902], Guy Wetmore Carryl, "New England Fisher-Folk" [1902], in Oppel, ed., *New England Coast*, 117-31, 177-87, 209-23, 363-70.

35. *Watch Hill Description*, 14; Lord George Gordon Byron, "The Ocean," in William Harmon, ed., *The Top 500 Poems: A Columbia Anthology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 486; "Watch Hill," *WNW*, 16 August 1883, 2; "A Letter From the Seaside," *WNW*, 28 June 1866, 2.

36. Tallman, *Pleasant Places*, 26; Ewen, "Steamboats," 35; "Trolley Cars in Westerly," "Seaview Railroad," in Burdick, *Along the Shore*, 63.

Goodwill Gunboats

A Peacetime Role for the U.S. Navy

ERIC PAUL ROORDA

In November 1776, the *Andrew Doria* sailed into port at the Caribbean island of Sint Eustatius, or Statia, flying the colors of a new nation, the United States of America. On that occasion, the governor of the Dutch colony recognized the independence of the 13 colonies by firing a salute, then treating the captain of the visiting warship with hospitality, not hostility. Governor de Graaf hosted a dinner for Captain Robinson at his mansion, attended by all the American merchants in port. This gesture communicated more eloquently than words that the Dutch arms embargo against the rebellious British colonies had ended; Robinson was free to fill his brigantine with the much-needed guns and ammunition he had come to purchase on Statia's booming market, and carry them back north for the war against Britain. The *Andrew Doria*'s sailors were permitted to come ashore as well for a period of "liberty," and an observer from Maryland noted that "Tories sneak and shrink before the Americans here."[1]

The pattern set by this country's first international naval encounter in 1776 has been followed on countless occasions ever since. When warships arrive in peace, their presence in the foreign port becomes an expression of goodwill. Personal contact between U.S. Navy men, foreign officials, and the local people prepares the ground for closer relations between the countries. Though wartime exploits dominate the vast literature of U.S. naval history, peaceful contact with other countries on the part of our naval vessels and sailors has been much more characteristic than conflict. Naval visitors, from admirals to ensigns to able seamen, have personified the United States in foreign port cities for more than two centuries, physically acting out the abstract idea of "relations" between nations. Whether conducting high-level talks, attending exclusive receptions, or only going ashore for a day-long "liberty," seamen in naval service have given a body and a face to the term "American." All of them were like ambassadors, said Rear Admiral Harry S. Knapp: "The officers and men of the Navy are in a very real sense doing diplomatic work daily in so far as they meet foreigners–doing it well or ill as they represent well or ill American standards."[2]

In addition to being *de facto* diplomats, U.S. Navy men also imported cosmopolitan influences with them upon returning home. Though world travel has become common with the expansion of air transportation and international tourism in recent decades, returning navy men are still prominent among the large number of American citizens who travel abroad. In the days when far fewer Americans left the country, the globe-circling navy men were even more significant as interpreters of the rest of the world to their respective corners of the nation. Though the navy's sea battles dominate its image in the popular imagination, it was far more typical for salts to cruise among the cities of Europe, Asia, and Latin America for the purpose of making friends, not enemies. These men, having depicted America to the people they met on their voyages, returned home telling tales that depicted other peoples to the folks at home.

"Showing the flag" was a logical activity for a nation with a small navy, which the U.S. was from the time of independence throughout most of the 1800s. Dispatching to far-flung ports what few impressive vessels the country possessed was an efficient use of weak naval muscle. This applied in particular to superannuated leviathans like the frigate *United States*, famous for besting HMS *Macedonian* with Stephen Decatur in command during the War of 1812. Herman Melville sailed aboard her from Hawaii to Boston more than 30 years later, then dubbed her the *Neversink* in his derisive novel based on the experience, *White Jacket* (1850). His scathing description of the frigate's visit to Rio de Janeiro in 1844 covered the forms of intermingling that typically took place when a warship came to anchor in a foreign port, in this case bringing Americans, including a commodore, together with Brazilians. The most important of these encounters was the visit to the *United States* by Emperor Dom Pedro II, who visited all the foreign men-of-war in the harbor, coming last to the American frigate.

He came in a splendid barge, rowed by thirty African slaves, who, after the Brazilian manner, in concert rose upright to their oars at every stroke; then sank backward again to their seats with a simultaneous groan.



The U.S. Navy's Mediterranean Squadron calls at Naples, Italy, ca. 1858, in the painting by Tomaso de Simone. A sloop of war believed to be the USS Constellation *and a steam frigate believed to be the USS* Wabash *rest at anchor below the peak of Mount Vesuvius. (Mystic Seaport 1989.105.20)*

Melville observed the scene from the foretop, where he manned the yards with his wise-cracking shipmates, as the ship's cannons roared out a salute and the commodore greeted Dom Pedro. "It was a fine sight to see the Emperor and the Commodore complimenting each other. Both wore *chapeaux-de-bras* [hats with gold braid], and both continually waved them."

The emperor and his entourage reviewed the ship's company, turned out in a "warlike array," and admired the "extraordinary polish of the *bright-work* about the great guns." Though a Brazilian marquis fell down a hatchway, the visit was cordial, symbolized by Melville's metaphor for the pomp and circumstance of the peacetime navy: the officers' swords rusted in their polished scabbards.

The scene was not so refined when "the People" of the vessel were granted liberty in Rio for 24 hours. Many ignored the deadline for returning to the ship, and shore parties had to spend much of the next day "ferreting them out of their hiding-places" around the beautiful city. They hauled the sailors back "in all imaginable stages of intoxication; some with blackened eyes and broken heads; some still more severely injured, having been stabbed in frays with the Portuguese soldiers."[3] For "well or ill," the United States had been represented ashore by hundreds of carousing navy seamen.

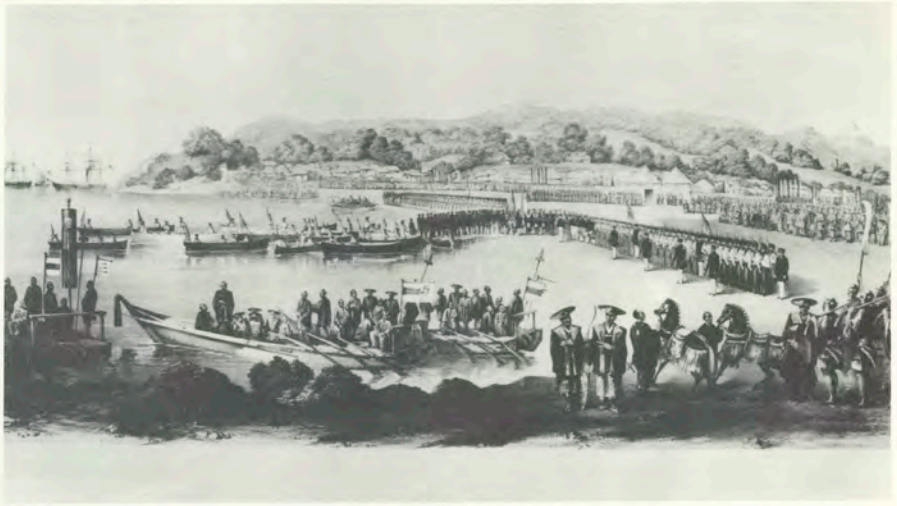
The activities sketched by Melville became institutionalized with the organization of the navy into squadrons scattered around the globe. Squadrons were usually created in response to a regional crisis, as in the case of the first of them, the Mediterranean Squadron, formed to defend American commerce from the "Barbary" states of North Africa. But squadrons always remained when the crisis passed, perpetuating the presence of U.S. warships in distant waters, and visiting foreign ports. In theory, this system offered "the constant protection of flag and gun," but in practice it meant "gala foc's'le frolics" for local dignitaries, as Commodore Robert Shufeldt complained in advising that the Mediterranean Squadron be disbanded in the 1870s, long after the "Barbary Pirates" ceased to be a threat.[4]

The problem was that the U.S. Navy, briefly formidable during the Civil War, had also ceased to be a threat, composed as it still was of wooden sailing vessels in an age of steam and iron. The squadron system represented the strategic worst-case scenario in the view of Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, whose "sea power" thesis became the dominant naval theory in the country and the world in the 1890s. Mahan's thesis argued that a nation's fleet had to comprise technologically advanced battleships gathered in a unified fleet in order to be effective, while the squadron system dictated the dispersion of antique vessels around the Seven Seas.[5] Given the lamentable condition of the U.S. Navy during much of the nation's first century, however, dispatching vessels built from the 1790s to the 1830s as impressive visitors to distant cities was the best use of the redoubtable oaken goliaths, which were glaringly obsolete but still picturesque.

Sailing ships also had the advantage of being capable of cruising indefinitely, provided they could replenish their food and water, propelled only by the wind. Steamers, requiring heavy, bulky amounts of coal, were a different matter. To operate a steam fleet in foreign waters, Mahan pointed out, required "coaling stations" located at strategic points around the world, which the U.S. was without until 1899. The navy's prejudice in favor of sail continued long after the duel between the ironclads *Monitor* and the *Virginia* in 1862, partly because of the economic benefits of harnessing wind rather than burning coal on long voyages. All new steam-powered naval vessels built in the U.S. had to carry a full complement of masts, yards, and canvas, despite the technical drawbacks of such a hybridized design. The steam plants aboard these ships operated only when absolutely necessary, with commanding officers required to note in red ink in their logs the extraordinary event of firing up the boilers and proceeding under power.[6]

This is not to say that all U.S. naval visits during the 1800s were routine, or that they were always conducted in old sailing ships. The most modern warships were assembled for special diplomatic missions, such as when Caleb Cushing went to negotiate a treaty with China in 1843. Cushing, the Congressional representative of Newburyport, Massachusetts, and son of a shipowner, sailed with four ships led by the steam frigate *Missouri*, making her maiden voyage. The brand-new steamer burned and sank at Gibraltar, depriving Cushing of the visual power brought to bear ten years later by Matthew C. Perry upon his arrival in Edo Bay (Tokyo) aboard the ill-fated *Missouri*'s sister ship, the *Mississippi*. The *Mississippi* and the other steam side-wheeler in Perry's four-ship flotilla had an intimidating effect, with their smoke and bristling armaments. The Japanese feared that Perry's *kurofune* (black ships) would devastate their capital, as the Royal Navy had done to Canton (Guangzhou) in the Opium War, an event that had resulted in the "opening" of China and Caleb Cushing's 1843 voyage. Perry's naval visits of 1853 and 1854 brought about the "opening" of Japan as well, not as the result of war, but of maritime theater. He displayed his warships in the bay and paraded his marines and bluejackets on shore in the face of 17,000 Japanese troops in an ironic expression of goodwill, saying, in effect, "be my friend, or else."[7]

Even when the battleship mania of the 1890s seized Washington and the country constructed a powerful steam armada, the gigantic vessels saw much more use as symbols of goodwill than as weapons of war. The most famous example was Theodore Roosevelt's beloved "Great White Fleet," painted white because that was the color of peace; "battleship gray" became appropriate only in time of war. The ten new battleships constructed at Roosevelt's urging circled the world in 1907-09, bringing a festival atmosphere to every port they visited. Warships became outdated quickly during the naval arms race that preceded World War I, and Roosevelt's fleet was soon dwarfed by the *Dreadnought* class of battleships constructed after 1906. These mammoth vessels proved virtually impotent when nations began to fight, but nothing was as effective as a "dreadnought," displacing up to 42,000 tons, in catching the attention of a foreign audience when making an official port call. Certainly the weapons that proved to be the masters of the enormous warships, submarines and airplanes, were not nearly so awesome to behold. Poking fun at the bally-hoo over dreadnought construction, a member of Congress suggested that the first battleship of the class should be christened the USS *Skeerd O'Nuthin'*. Though he was ruled out of order, the representative's sarcasm (which echoed Melville's lampooing of the large frigate *United States* as the *Neversink*) captured the essence of what battleships were best at doing, which was not fighting fleet actions (as their designers intended), but representing "the idea of power," to use Commodore Shufeldt's phrase.[8] This idea was only conveyed when there were people watching, however, and that happened mostly when the battleships came into port.



"First Landing by Americans in Japan" is the title of this lithograph depicting U.S. Navy sailors and U.S. Marines forming on the shore at Kurihama, 14 July 1853. In the background are the kurofine *(black ships) USS* Susquehanna *and* Mississippi, *representing the idea of power and hope of peace. Drawn by Peter B.W. Heine, lithograph by Sarony & Company. (Mystic Seaport 1963.349)*

Matthew Perry expressed his philosophy of naval diplomacy in his advice about getting along with "people of forms," a phrase he used to refer to the ritual-loving Japanese, but which also describes the ritual-loving navy. "It is necessary either to set all ceremony aside, or out-Herod Herod in assumed personal consequences and ostentation. I have adopted the two extremes–by an exhibition of great pomp, when it could properly be displayed, and by avoiding it, when such pompwould be inconsistent with our institutions."[9]

Though Perry claimed to eschew pomp at times in favor of republican simplicity, the navy in general seems mainly to have deemed ceremonial trappings appropriate, as Melville reported after the Brazilian emperor's visit to the USS *United States*: "Republicans are often more courteous to royalty than royalists themselves."[10]

In fact, according to Article 243 of the U.S. Navy *Regulations*, royal sovereigns and presidents were to be treated exactly the same; that is,



Forceful gunboat diplomacy was represented in the landing of sailors and marines of the USS Manila *and* Marietta *and HMS* Intrepid *at Bluefields, Nicaragua, a major port for the United Fruit Company, in March 1899. (Mystic Seaport 1947.1835.47)*

with all the fanfare the ship could muster. The ship's company manned the rails in full-dress uniforms; a gun crew fired a 21-gun salute; the ship's band played the foreign national anthem; the buglers sounded four "ruffles and flourishes"; a full honor guard with eight side boys stood at attention; and the foreign flag flew from the mainmast for the duration of the visit. The only difference in greeting a member of the royal family was that the flag flew only for the duration of the salute. This article, published in the form of a table, was part of an entire chapter of the *Regulations* pertaining to "Honors, Distinctions, Salutes, and Ceremonies." The chapter was the heart of a body of ceremonial regulations and protocol that developed as a result of decades of official encounters abroad. By 1843, when Melville visited Rio, there were six permanent squadrons cruising overseas and "showing the flag" in ports of the Mediterranean (1815), the West Indies (1822), the Pacific (1822), Brazil (1826), the East Indies (1835), and Africa (1843).[11] Service on these stations set the precedent for the wide dispersement of U.S. naval forces down to the present day.

This wide geographic range required navy men to be culturally flexible, a fact underlined in one of the published guides to such matters, *Naval Ceremonies, Customs, and Traditions*. "A naval officer and his wife must know and observe the customs and traditions of the people of foreign lands," noted the caption of a photograph of a navy couple taking part in a Japanese rice-pounding ceremony. The key to success was adaptability and refinement, and a willingness to shed the informality of American social relations for the sake of goodwill. "The American abroad sometimes finds an amount of antiquated ceremonial, as well as dreary forms of stilted etiquette, bordering closely on servility. Some of it may seem mummery, but it should be politely accepted. While in Rome, do as the Romans do–that is, if one wishes to learn something, have a good time, and be invited back."[12]

The navy had its own labyrinth of propriety to navigate, as evidenced by another guide, *Service Etiquette*, which contained chapters devoted to "Service and Civilian Dress," "Receptions and Cocktail Parties," and "Official Calls, Visits, and Personal Cards," along with an entire section on "Easy Conversation."[13] The importance of these considerations was compounded when making a foreign port call, especially the challenge of conducting "easy conversation" across a language barrier.

Spanish was one of the more useful languages to know, considering the regular cruising of U.S. warships in Latin America. With dozens of naval interventions in the Caribbean in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the term "Gunboat Diplomacy" came to characterize the role of the navy in the region. These numerous uses of force have come to dominate recollections of navy service in Latin America, but "Goodwill Cruising" was a much more consistent activity in the waters to the south.

There were frequent special diplomatic missions sent to Latin America aboard warships. Secretary of State Elihu Root was the first diplomat of his rank to voyage to South America when he went to Rio in 1906. The visit went so well that Secretary of the Treasury William Gibbs McAdoo, President Woodrow Wilson's son-in-law, made a "goodwill cruise" aboard the battleship USS *Tennessee* all the way to Buenos Aires and back. The Wilson administration sent ships all around Latin America in 1917 to drum up support for entry into World War I. Admiral William Caperton called these visits "festivals of enthusiasm." Wilson's secretary of state, Bainbridge Colby, also made the rounds in a warship in 1920, urging a closer relationship with Latin America and pledging to ease the military occupations in the Caribbean recently undertaken by the United States. President-elect Herbert



Merchant mariners as well as U.S. Navy sailors were enticed by the easy atmosphere of bars and dance halls during their liberty time ashore. This sailor enjoys female companionship in Havana, ca. 1929. Photo by Rupert S. Decker. (Mystic Seaport 1994.62.75)

Hoover visited ten nations around the shores of the Caribbean Sea in 1928-29, calling for "good neighbor" relations between the Americas. Franklin Roosevelt declared the Good Neighbor Policy in 1933, and he and his secretary of state, Cordell Hull, both made several long sea cruises on battleships to attend peace conferences in Latin America. In addition to his voyage to Buenos Aires in 1936, Roosevelt enjoyed cruising for pleasure aboard naval vessels in the Caribbean. A former assistant secretary of the navy and avid naval enthusiast, Roosevelt felt at home aboard cruisers like the USS *Philadelphia* and USS *Houston*, deep-sea fishing by day and playing poker with naval officers at night.[14]

"Goodwill Cruising" went beyond state visits by chief executives and members of the Cabinet, especially after the creation in 1920 of the Special Service Squadron, based in the Panama Canal Zone. The "terminal cities" of Panama City on the Pacific side of the isthmus and Colon ("Columbus") on the Atlantic side earned a notorious reputation during the period of canal construction that was at odds with the orderly environments in the "American towns" of Balboa and Cristobal ("Christopher") that bordered them. The ports "swarmed with life" at both ends, giving a "kaleidoscopic effect" with their diversity of races and cultures. A U.S. Navy flotilla had been based at Balboa since 1904, but the Wild West atmosphere of nearby Panama City was still alive and well in the 1920s. Conditions were worse than they had been in Deadwood, South Dakota, during the days of the Black Hills gold rush, reported Canal Zone Governor George Washington Goethals, who had seen both. With no prohibition in effect in the Republic of Panama, there were hundreds of saloons in the terminal cities where sailors could get into trouble, as they often did. Knowing their clientele, some of these watering holes advertised in *Our Navy*, the enlisted men's magazine, such as the Atlas Beer Garden, "a picturesque spot whose delightful beauty precludes comparison in the tropics."[15] Though the chances of being injured in an altercation with Panamanian police were reduced by staying on board the ships of the squadron, the intensely hot and cramped quarters of the cruisers made officers and men both look forward to voyages among the islands of the Caribbean. The high points of these cruises were stops at "liberty ports" along the way, where navy men of all ranks played tourist and spread goodwill.

Havana was a particularly popular and prominent destination, with its large "American Colony" of compatriots and frenetic night life. Naval contingents visited annually to commemorate the sinking of the USS *Maine* on 15 February 1898, with bluejackets marching in a parade with Spanish-American War veterans, the Havana firemen who carried the dead to the cemetery, and Cuban soldiers. The President of Cuba and high-ranking officers of the U.S. Navy reviewed the procession every year. Though after 1925 the event took place at the *Maine* memorial, located on the ocean two miles from the harbor where the battleship went down, most of the action for sailors ashore in Havana went on closer to the dock. The shore patrol was vigilant at locales such as Sloppy Joe's Bar, where a detail was stationed for the duration of the "liberty."[16]

The Good Neighbor Policy declared by Franklin Roosevelt in 1933 intensified the effort to use the system of naval visitation to benefit U.S. foreign relations with Latin America. The Liaison Committee formed by the navy, state, and war departments to coordinate "courtesy calls" in the region called for visiting ships to be equipped with at least one Spanish-speaking officer to translate at meetings with dignitaries, a "good ship's baseball team and rifle team" to compete with local squads, and "most important of all, a good band and orchestra" to play music at parades and parties. The

Help Mystic Seaport tell the story of the U.S. Navy! As the Museum of America and the Sea, Mystic Seaport is seeking to enhance its collection of naval artifacts, books, documents, photographs, and memories. Navy veterans and their families can contribute written accounts of naval service in peace and war, especially diaries and letters (contact the Manuscript Division of G.W. Blunt White Library). The Museum also welcomes the contribution of cruise books (contact G.W. Blunt White Library), and artifacts related to Navy ships and their ports of call around the world (contact the Curator of Collections).



Launched at the New York Navy Yard in 1917, the 624-foot battleship USS New Mexico *(BB-40) served as flagship of the Pacific Fleet in the 1920s, making goodwill visits as far away as Australia. After being modernized in the early 1930s, she was photographed here at Newport, Rhode Island, in 1934. She returned to the Pacific Fleet but often came through the Panama Canal for war games and good-neighbor visits around the Caribbean. After serving in the Pacific during World War II, the* New Mexico *was decommissioned in 1946 and scrapped in 1947. (Mystic Seaport 1954.1282.161)*

next several years witnessed extensive "goodwill cruising" by the navy, especially the Special Service Squadron, at the behest of the FDR administration, which sought to solidify defense arrangements with neighboring republics through salty hospitality and recreation. One marine colonel taking part in such a pleasant voyage called the experience "Champagning around the Caribbean," though his editors at the *Marine Corps Gazette* were not amused by the pun in the title of his account of the USS *Omaha*'s cruise to several ports between Panama and Trinidad. Latin American newspapers in the late 1930s provided extensive coverage of naval diplomacy when U.S. vessels came to their countries, printing photographs of the respective nations' presidents sitting on anti-aircraft guns, proposing toasts at receptions, witnessing maneuvers by ships, subs, and aircraft, and reviewing marines and bluejackets on parade. A unique ceremony awaited dignitaries like Assistant Navy Secretary Henry Latrobe Roosevelt when they visited Santo Domingo, oldest European settlement in the Western Hemisphere. They were escorted to the tomb of Christopher Columbus in the cathedral, where the box containing the remains of the Admiral of the Ocean Sea was hauled out of its niche and opened for their examination![17]

The fun was not confined to naval brass. For instance, while the officers of the battleship *Texas* attended an elegant reception during their visit to Santo Domingo in 1939, the rest of the ship's company (500 enlisted men) consumed "pig, plantain, and beer" at a fiesta thrown by their Dominican hosts. Sailors often made the most of their time on shore by taking trips away from the usual "sailortown" close to the anchorage, and sometimes wrote articles recounting their adventures for the readership of *Our Navy*. An enterprising quartet took advantage of the visit of the battleships *Mississippi*, *New Mexico*, and *Pennsylvania* to Port-au-Prince, Haiti, to hire a car and driver to see the sights. Getting away from "the noise and confusion of the waterfront district," the sailors snapped photos at the principal monuments of the capital, then headed into the mountains to the swank environs of Petionville, which commands a stunning view of the harbor and city below. The hostess of the exclusive Hotel La Citadelle greeted them graciously, as she had the admiral of the battleship division the night before, and when they asked her if she received "a great many visitors from the fleet," she responded, "Oh, yes. We are delighted to have them." After six hours of surprise-packed liberty, the four young men headed back to the landing amid "the spectacle of streams of white-clad sailors who were pouring down each side of the street mingling with hundreds of jabbering peddlers." Confronting the dilemma faced by generations of globe-circling navy men, the author of the article feared that "the gang" back in his hometown would not believe his tales of touring in Haiti—"and they didn't."[18]

Other excursions in Latin American countries were arranged for the sailors by their superiors in a conscious effort to harness their enthusiasm for the sake of closer ties with the host society. The Special Service Squadron flagship *Charleston* sent a group of 74 sailors and marines overland from the port of Veracruz to the capital of Mexico City in May 1939, retracing the route of General Winfield Scott's campaign to "the Halls of Montezuma" during the Mexican-American War. This time, though, the troops went for "a five-day fiesta." The daylight hours were filled with scheduled tours and receptions, including one where the Mexican Police Band played an original

composition called "Franklin D. Roosevelt." Though they went separate ways, the seamen heard "Anchors Aweigh" being "played almost constantly" everywhere they went, including at the elite El Patio Club, which presented "a special floor show in honor of the American sailors with military tap dances and skits to the tune of the sea-going song." The author of an *Our Navy* article on the trip believed that "not one of that group of sailors will ever forget Mexico City, its warm welcome, and its most successful attempt to open its arms to the American sailors." The diplomatic mission of the trip was accomplished. The same year, sailors from 14 ships of the U.S. fleet who visited the port of Callao and capital of Lima, Peru, also traveled beyond the littoral and met lavish hospitality. "Numerous excursions were arranged for the visiting man-o'-warsmen" on the mountain railway to a town 11,500 feet above sea level, and they attended a bull fight in the capital "in honor of the officers and men" of the U.S. ships. The effort to solidify relations with the president of Peru fell largely to naval diplomats of all ranks; the aircraft carrier *Ranger* had made a special trip to Callao in 1936 for that purpose, bringing formations of aircraft to the skies and swarms of bluejackets to the streets of Callao and Lima.[19]

There was phenomenal growth in the practice of "goodwill cruising" during the decade of the 1950s, especially in the Caribbean. Cuban ports received visits from 375 U.S. Navy vessels during 1956 alone, with 84,000 sailors spilling ashore for liberty. The capital of the Dominican Republic played host to 28 ships in February 1957, and 30 in February 1958. At ports such as Havana and Ciudad Trujillo (the once and future Santo Domingo), sailors enjoyed the expanding tourist amenities that accompanied the boom in Caribbean travel of the postwar years. The growth and institutionalization of naval visits in Asian and European ports was similarly proportional to the growth of U.S. foreign policy commitments in those regions. The beneficial effect of their crews in strengthening friendships with our Cold War allies apparently was realized at the Pentagon.[20]



Representing friendly power during the Cold War, the USS Compton *(DD-705) shows the flag—and her guns—off St. Mark's Square, Venice, ca. 1960. Launched in 1944, the* Compton *frequently cruised the Mediterranean between 1947 and the early 1960s. (Mystic Seaport 1993.123.399)*

One telling indication of the peaceful tenor of naval operations is the practice of compiling "cruise books" for each foray into the world made by a vessel. Resembling high school and college yearbooks, these volumes included pages devoted to a different sections of the ship's company and operations, and always featured prominent coverage of the port calls made along the way. The shelves of the Naval War College and Naval Historical Center archives hold thousands of these humorous, engaging publications, which eloquently belie the bellicose reputation and putative function of U.S. Navy.

Over the years, as "cruise books" attest, naval vessels have more frequently served as symbols of friendship and alliance than as weapons. For every sailor who has brought a coastal city under fire or splashed ashore under the guns of an enemy, dozens have gone ashore on foreign shores to have fun. Though prepared at every moment to fulfill their wartime function, the ships and men of the U.S. Navy carry out the work of foreign relations on a daily basis, year in and year out, as the history of "goodwill gunboats" reveals.

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Notes

1. Barbara Tuchman, *The First Salute: A View of the American Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1988), 15-16.

2. Some of the better histories of the U.S. Navy, none of which devote substantial attention to the peacetime role of the institution, are Harold and Margaret Sprout, *The Rise of American Naval Power, 1776-1918* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1939); Robert G. Albion and Jenny Pope, *Sea Lanes in Wartime: The American Experience, 1775-*

1945 (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1968); Captain Edward L. Beach, *The United States Navy: 200 Years* (New York: H. Holt, 1986); Nathan Miller, *The U.S. Navy: A History* (New York: Quill, 1990); Kenneth J. Hagan, *This People's Navy: The Making of American Sea Power* (New York: The Free Press, 1991); Stephen Howarth, *To Shining Sea: A History of the U.S. Navy, 1775-1991* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1991); Robert W. Love, Jr., *History of the U.S. Navy*, 2 vols. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 1992); and George W. Baer, *One Hundred Years of Sea Power: The United States Navy, 1890-1990* (Palo Alto, California: Stanford University Press, 1994). Even books whose titles suggest otherwise do not concentrate on the routine cultivation of friendly feelings in foreign ports, such as Jonathan Utley, *An American Battleship at Peace and War: The USS Tennessee* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991) and Kenneth J. Hagan, ed., *In Peace and War: Interpretations of American Naval History, 1775-1984*, 2nd ed. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984). Nor do Hagan and Mark R. Shulman mention this aspect of the subject in their appraisal of the state of the field, "Mahan Plus One Hundred: The Current State of American Naval History," in John B. Hattendorf, ed., *Ubi Sumus?: The State of Naval and Maritime History* (Newport, Rhode Island: Naval War College Press, 1994), 379-416. Rear Admiral H.S. Knapp, "The Naval Officer in Diplomacy," *Naval Institute Proceedings* vol. 53 (March 1927): 317. Works dealing with naval diplomacy include Charles Oscar Paullin, *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1912); Richard Challener, *Admirals, Generals, and American Foreign Policy* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1973); James Cable, *Diplomacy at Sea* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1984); and David Long, *Gold Braid and Foreign Relations: Diplomatic Activities of U.S. Naval Officers, 1798-1883* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1988).

3. Herman Melville, *White Jacket* (1850; New York: New American Library, 1988), 229-33, 237-44.

4. Long, *Gold Braid and Foreign Relations*, 250-60.

5. Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1890). For the development of the "sea power thesis" in naval theory and historiography, see Robert Seager II, *Alfred Thayer Mahan: The Man and His Letters* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1977) and John B. Hattendorf, ed., *The Influence of History on Mahan: The Proceedings of a Conference Marking the Centenary of Alfred Thayer Mahan's The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783* (Newport, Rhode Island: Naval War College Press, 1991).

6. Sprouts, *Rise of American Naval Power*, 235-37.

7. Margaret C.S. Christman, *Adventurous Spirits* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1984), a catalog of an exhibit on the subject of the China Trade presented at the National Portrait Gallery; Howarth, *To Shining Sea*, 150-53; Richard W. Van Alstyne, *The United States and East Asia* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1973), 40-50.

8. Robert A. Hart, *The Great White Fleet: Its Voyage Around the World, 1907-09* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1965); Robert L. O'Connell, *Sacred Vessels: The Cult of the Battleship and the Rise of the U.S. Navy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 112; Long, *Gold Braid and Foreign Relations*, 250.

9. Howarth, *To Shining Sea*, 157.

10. Melville, *White Jacket*, 237.

11. U.S. Navy *Regulations*, Articles 230-48 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1924), 70-91; for the Mediterranean Squadron, see James A. Field, Jr., *From Gibraltar to the Middle East: America and the Mediterranean World, 1776-1882* (Chicago: Imprint Publications, 1991); for the East India/Asiatic Squadron, see Robert E. Johnson, *Far China Station: The U.S. Navy in Asian Waters, 1800-1898* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1979) and Curtis T. Henson, Jr., *Commissioners and Commodores: The East India Squadron and American Diplomacy in China* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1982); for the West Indies Squadron, see Lester D. Langley, *Struggle for the American Mediterranean: United States-European Rivalry in the Gulf-Caribbean, 1776-1904* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1976).

12. Vice Admiral William P. Mack and Lieutenant Commander Royal W. Connell, *Naval Ceremonies, Customs, and Traditions*, 5th ed. (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1980), 71.

13. Oretha Swartz, *Service Etiquette* (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1986), 28-51, 68-96.

14. Mark Gilderhus, *Pan-American Visions: Woodrow Wilson in the Western Hemisphere* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986), 73-100, 154; Daniel M. Smith, *Aftermath of War: Bainbridge Colby and Wilsonian Diplomacy, 1920-21* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1970); photos of Hoover's visit, Collection of Commander Harold Train, USN, Naval Historical Center, Washington, D.C.; Walter Woodson Collection, Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island; J. M. Merrill, "Cruising with Our Commander-in-Chief," *Our Navy* (mid-December 1935): 22-23, 49.

15. Donald A. Yerxa, *Admirals and Empire: The United States Navy and the Caribbean, 1898-1945* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991); Jean Adler Heald, *Picturesque Panama: The Panama Railroad, The Panama Canal* (Chicago: Curt Teich and Company, 1928), 24, 43; John Major, *Prized Possession: The United States and the Panama Canal, 1903-79* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 124; *Our Navy* (mid-May 1936): 71; the same issue of the magazine published a photo of the entire U.S. fleet in Balboa Harbor, "where all hands went ashore for liberty and recreation," 68.

16. Collection of Vice Admiral Dixwell Ketcham, Naval Historical Center, contains photographs of all these activities, 1928-30.

17. Assistant Secretary of State Selden Chapin (Navy-State-War Liaison Committee) to Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles, enclosed in Chapin to Commander Louis E. Denfield, USN, 19 April 1939 (National Archives, Record Group 80, A4-5/3), emphasis present in original; Lieutenant Colonel Robert Blake Collection, memoir, "Champagning Around the Caribbean," Marine Corps Historical Center; Blake, "Campaigning Around the Caribbean," *Marine Corps Gazette* (June 1938): 6-11; see, for example, documents in the National Archives on visits to Costa Rica by submarine squadron #3 and destroyer squadron #6, 14 December 1934 (RG 80, A4-5/FS 12-24); to Chile by the cruisers USS *Chicago*, *Houston*, and *Salt Lake City*, 30 May 1936 (Valparaiso *El Mercurio* clipping); and to Guatemala and El Salvador by the USS *Erie*, 21 June and 10 August 1938 (RD 38, F10 E/17027). The records of the State and Navy Departments are filled with similar accounts, with newspaper clippings to accompany the official reports filed by naval officers and diplomats; First Secretary Bim Brown to U.S. Minister H.H. Arthur Schoenfeld, 4 August 1933, Schoenfeld Papers, private collection.

18. Captain R.R.M. Emmet to Chief of Naval Operations, 20 February 1939 (NA, RG 80, A15-2/EM-Trujillo, DR [390201]); Ed Bauer, "Six Hours in Port Au Prince," *Our Navy* (1 June 1939): 18-21, 59.

19. J.H. Lewis, "A Five-Day Fiesta," *Our Navy* (mid-July 1939): 18-19; Carl A. Stahl, "A Cruise to the Land of the Incas," *Our Navy* (August 1939): 25-26; cruise book of USS *Ranger*, 1936, shown to the author by Mr. Lee Moore.

20. Thomas G. Patterson, *Contesting Castro: The United States and the Triumph of the Cuban Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 52; U.S. Embassy reports, Ciudad Trujillo, 12 February 1957 and 12 February 1958 (NA, RG 59, 739.00W); for example, the 1952 cruise book of the USS *Block Island* printed a fond account of its visit to the Dominican Republic entitled "See You, Dad, in Ciudad," including several pictures of sailors lounging poolside at the new Jaragua Hotel, Naval War College collection; the naval history of the Cold War is just beginning to emerge, led by Michael T. Isenberg, *Shield of the Republic: The United States in an Era of Cold War and Violent Peace, 1945-1962* (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1993).

"So Many Nice Boats to Build and So Short a Voyage"

The William Garden Collection at Mystic Seaport

ANDREW PRICE AND CAROLE ZAPP

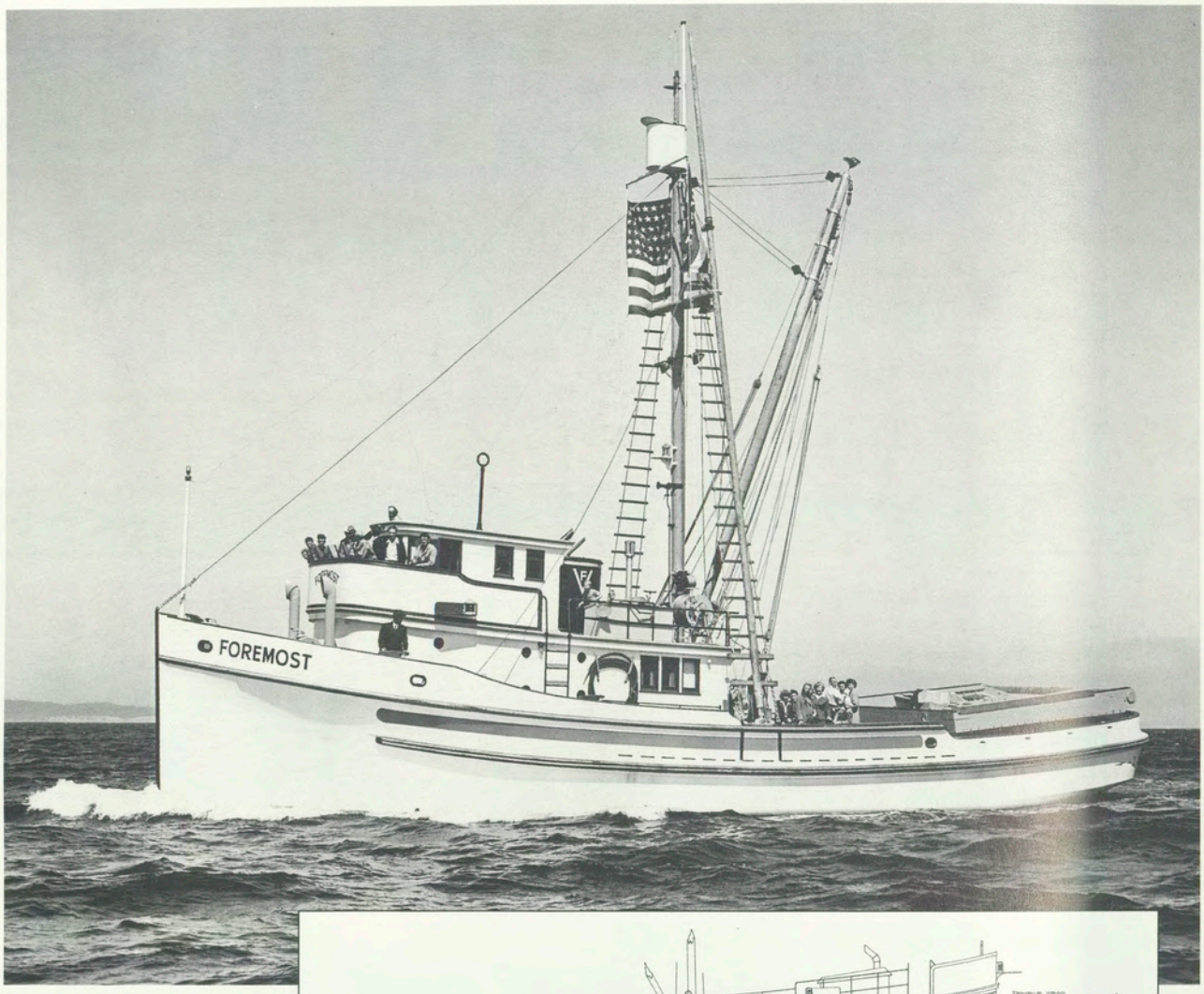
William Garden has been fascinated by watercraft since the age of four, when he loaded bugs onto floating leaves and watched them sail across a mud puddle. In his early teens, while living in Seattle, he and his friends boated on Lake Union and spent summers exploring the Port Madison waterfront, seeking out stories from former sailors who had jumped ship there during lumber mill days. After graduation from high school, his passion led him to the Edison Boatbuilding School, where he built sail and power vessels in preparation for his work as a naval architect. His first business office was located within sight of Lake Union in the early 1940s, and for nearly three decades his working address was never more than a few blocks away.

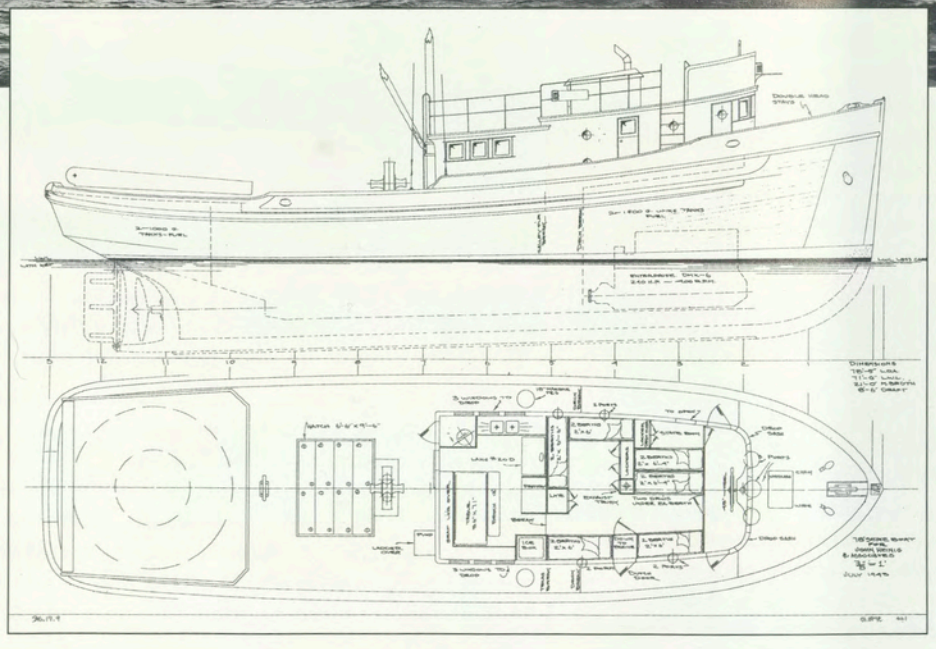


At the Museum's 1989 Yachting History Symposium, Timothea Larr presented William Garden with the William Piccard Stephens Award for his contributions to American yachting. (Claire White-Peterson photo)

More than eighty years after his childhood introduction to watercraft, a review of his work as a naval architect takes the researcher through several thousand sheets of drawings that encompass a wide variety of vessels, from working boats of the Northwest Coast to a 236-foot motor yacht. Garden's career extends from the 1930s to the new millennium, reflecting the influences of world events, a changing economy, and new technology on the boatbuilding industry. The days are long gone when wooden fishing boats and small sailboats were built at family-run boatyards in the Puget Sound area, but there remains a strong market for unique boat designs characterized by aesthetics, substance, and the ability to turn heads. It is no surprise to learn that Garden-designed boats continue to be built and that their owners enjoy a camaraderie and special status of their own. These enthusiasts share an appreciation for the designs themselves, as well as for the diversified expertise evident in the variety of large and small, sail and powered, traditional and modern boats that have originated from this architect's drawing board. For an in-depth look at more of his plans, readers will be intrigued by Garden's *Yacht Designs II,* published by Mystic Seaport in 1992 and available at the Museum bookstore.

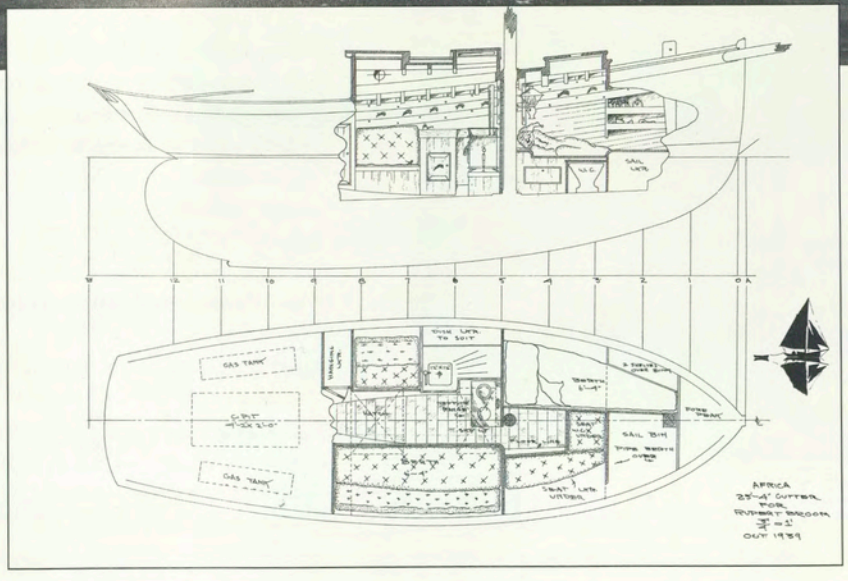
Thanks to a generous donation from Orin Edson, founder of Bayliner Marine and a longtime





Foremost *(Design No. 60), a 78-foot salmon seiner, was built in 1945 by Alf Hansen and his crew of highly skilled Norwegian boatbuilders. Representative of the working boats of the Northwest, she worked for more than thirty years out of Seattle for Foremost Fisheries. (Photo: Mystic Seaport, 20003.23; plan: SP96.19.9)*

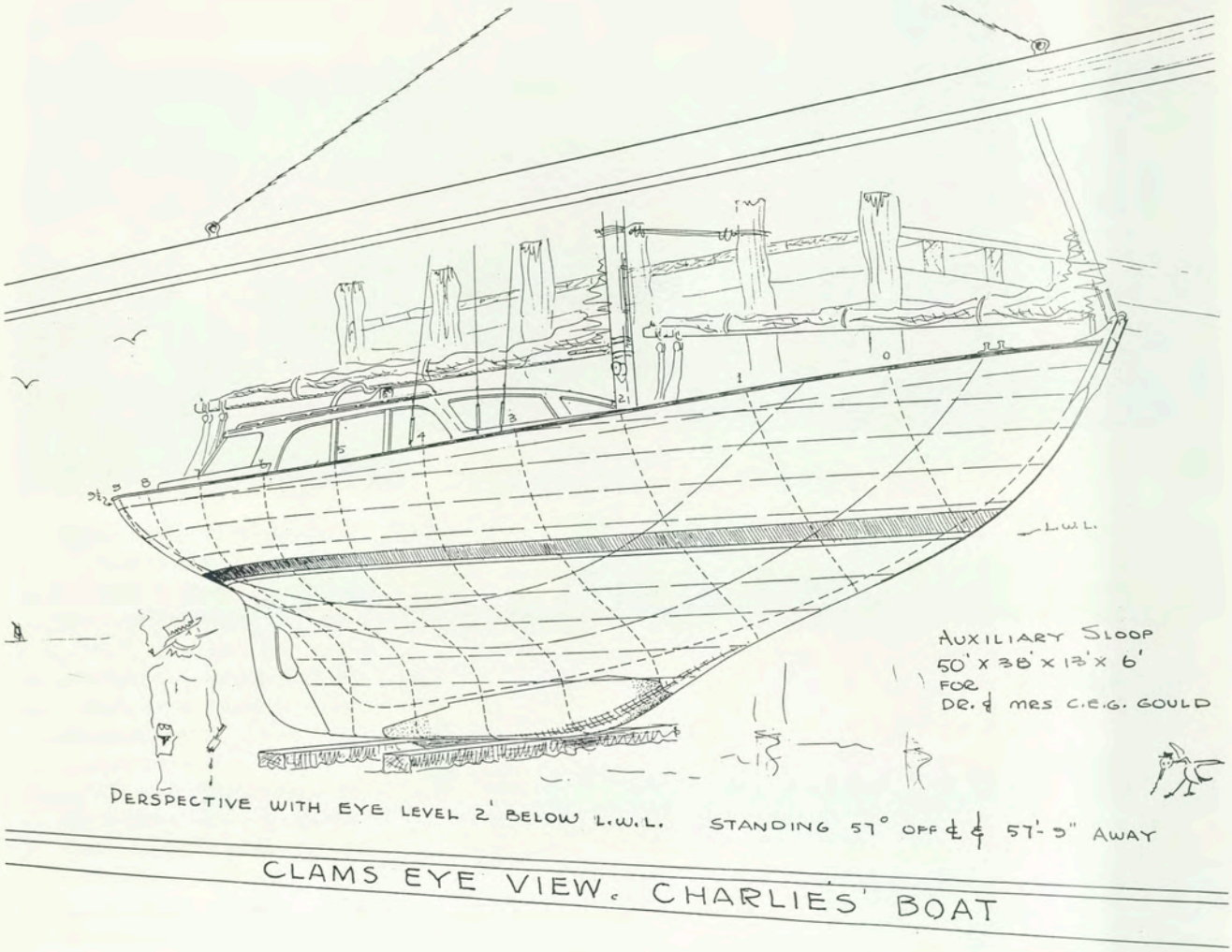




Africa *(Design No. 25), a 25-foot cutter, was built for a Seattle sailmaker in 1941. Her keel was Alaska cedar, which the designer noted was "grand stuff to work with. It has practically no grain, is very strong and I believe it is next to teak for lasting qualities (hardwoods excluded)." Typical of the architect's drawings is the inboard arrangement showing cabin details complete with a content owner dozing in his bunk. This slightly whimsical portrayal of boating found favor among many of William Garden's followers, and it provides insight into his effort to avoid taking himself too seriously. (Photo: Mystic Seaport 2003.23; plan: SP96.8.4)*

friend of William Garden, this collection will be cataloged, entered into a database, and stored under archival conditions at the new state-of-the-art Collections Research Center at Mystic Seaport. William Garden designed several boats for Bayliner Marine and, after discussions on how best to care for his lifetime collection of plans, his good friend agreed to facilitate the process. In the early 1990s, the Museum received the initial donation of nearly 2,200 sheets of plans, with the remainder of the collection arriving in the fall of 2002. Upon completion of the project, boat owners, builders, and researchers will find ample resources available to study plans of any of the hundreds of Garden designs as well as more than 400 photographs of various vessels. In addition to information relating to a specific design, the William Garden Collection provides a unique opportunity to view a window in time during which naval architecture and boat design were significantly altered in a number of ways.

Once cataloging has been completed, the plans will be scanned and copied to both CD and DVD, with jpeg images available for display over the Internet. Finally, a Web page dedicated to the collection and to William Garden's career will be developed and linked to the Ships Plans Web site. Ultimately, the site will provide a single information source for specific designs, biographical information, and available images of certain designs. Look for additional information as the William Garden Collection is processed and made more accessible.



"Charlie's Boat" (Design No. 284), a 50-foot sloop, illustrates the use of a perspective drawing to show how the boat will look either from a bird's- or clam's-eye view to provide a sense of proportion and layout. Before the use of computer-aided design programs, such a drawing would require from six to eight hours to complete. This 1953 rendering includes a pipe-smoking owner surveying his work while his brush continues to drip paint. It brings a sense of scale to the drawing, but also implies that this is still an informal business and that, after all, as William Garden noted, "Our yachts are toy boats—the glint on a lovely brief bubble of time. A boat's importance as an escape from reality, as a change of pace, as a theme for reflection, and as an art form gives it worth or value." (SP96.200.12)

Sea Dogs!

A Canine Approach to Maritime History

JOHN O. JENSEN

Dogs surely watched as people struggled to build the earliest boats. Demonstrating more love than good sense, some dogs joined people on the sea. Mystic Seaport's yearlong exhibition, *Sea Dogs! Great Tails of the Sea,* provides a colorful introduction to the history of dogs, people, and the sea.

Dogs are so much a part of the human world that observers usually take little notice of them. This is what made researching canine maritime history both difficult and so rewarding. Dogs, it turns out, participated in all the major activities that comprise traditional maritime history. They joined early and later explorers, labored on ancient and modern fishing boats, sailed to America with the Pilgrims, and served in major wars around the world. Dogs are also notably present in stories of great wrecks and rescues. Using art, literature, traditional history, photographs, films, and other communications media, *Sea Dogs!* touches on all these maritime themes and more.

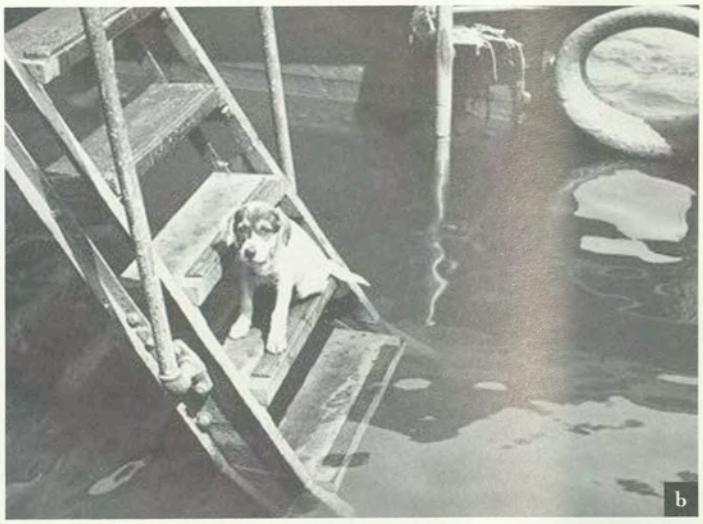
On a deeper level, studying dogs who love the water or live along the shore provides an effective vantage point for making fresh connections in maritime history. Ironically, the act of trying to understand maritime history from the point of view (literally) of a dog further humanizes our understanding of the maritime experience. For example, asking why thousands of dogs served as mascots on merchant vessels and warships during World War II, and beginning to recognize the powerful emotional support they provided during times of severe loneliness, stress, and fear, brings us closer to understanding the cultural and personal complexities of seafaring life. By looking for dogs on boat, we also find new sides of ourselves.

The images and captions that follow provide a brief glimpse into the world of *Sea Dogs!*



Blackout, the Sea Dogs! *exhibit's signature dog, represents hundreds of mascots that served aboard Coast Guard vessels during World War II. Mascots came from all walks of dog life and as a group exhibited a great deal of charisma. Blackout served on a landing craft and hit the beaches during the invasions of Sicily, Italy, and Normandy. (Records of the United States Coast Guard, 1785-1988, Record Group 26, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD)*









a. *During World War II, more than 3,000 dogs served in the United States Coast Guard as members of the Beach Patrol. Walking the nation's beaches with their Coast Guard masters, they helped keep a lookout for enemy submarines, spies, and saboteurs. (Courtesy of the United States Coast Guard Historian's Office, Washington, DC)*

b. *The sea is no respecter of species. Going voyaging, especially during wartime, is dangerous, and many dogs have lost their lives in sea service. This little mascot on a cargo ship was lucky. The Coast Guard rescued him before his torpedoed vessel went to the bottom. Coast Guard Lieutenant Commander Jack Dixon took this picture, which he called "The Last Man Off." (Records of the United States Coast Guard, 1785-1988, Record Group 26, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD)*

c. *The giant Newfoundland also helped fishermen. Newfoundlands pulled nets, carried communications, towed carts on land, and developed uncanny instincts as lifeguards. The Newfoundland Club of New England recently brought about 50 of these gentle sea dogs to Mystic Seaport as one of the first of many live sea-dog programs scheduled for this summer and fall. (John Jensen photo)*

d. *Dogs have had many jobs at sea and in seaports. For hundreds of years, dogs helped Portuguese fishermen by carrying messages between boats, diving for fish that slipped from hooks, and pulling nets. This great fishing breed, known as the Portuguese Water Dog, has webbed feet, a rudder-like tail, and a water-resistant coat. (Kalista's Amazing Ace, courtesy of Alissa Behn, Pet Personalities—Photography by Alissa, and* The Currier, *The Official Publication of the Portuguese Water Dog Club of America)*

Captain Biff

An Appreciation of Captain Francis E. "Biff" Bowker

In May, the Museum's longtime captain of the schooner *Brilliant* and research associate, Francis E. Bowker, passed away at Sailor's Snug Harbor in Sealevel, North Carolina, at the age of 86. During a memorial service at Mystic Seaport, Captain George Moffett, who succeeded him aboard the *Brilliant,* recalled his career in these words.

"Many people who become sea-struck in their youth never have a chance or make a chance to follow their dream. For whatever reason they do not follow that longing. There are a thousand reasons to avoid the sea, but Francis E. Bowker—or Biff as he is known to his friends—did not listen to those warnings and made up his mind as a teenager to find out for himself what it meant to go to sea. He had seen the big schooners off the coast of Harwichport, Cape Cod, and had read every nautical book he could find, so in 1934, at the age of 16, he signed on as a deck hand aboard the three-masted, 200-ton schooner *Peaceland* and sailed off to Nova Scotia. The following two summers he sailed aboard the last five-master, the 235-foot schooner *Edna Hoyt.*

"The next five years leading up to and including the beginning of World War II found Biff Bowker aboard a variety of three- and four-masted schooners, including the *Alvena, E.P. Theriault, Edward R. Smith, Helen Barnet Gring, Annie C. Ross, Theoline,* and *Herbert L. Rawding.*



Captain Francis E. "Biff" Bowker (left) joined Captain Adrian Lane (right) and Captain George Moffett in representing the only masters of the schooner Brilliant *during her 50 years at Mystic Seaport. Adrian Lane commanded her from 1953 to 1961, Biff Bowker commanded her from 1962 to 1983, and George Moffett took command in 1984. (Claire White-Peterson photo)*

"During the war years, from 1941 through 1943, Biff Bowker served aboard tankers, a troopship, and an ammunition ship. Although steamships were not what had drawn him to the sea, he served nevertheless as an A.B. aboard the SS *Durango,* SS *Altair* and SS *Carrollton.* He concluded the war years as third mate aboard the SS *George Washington* and SS *Alcoa Cutter.* Life aboard an ammunition ship in the presence of German submarines proved more than Biff's ulcer could endure. His bunk aboard the *Alcoa Cutter* was located directly over tons of highly explosive detonators.

"Following a sojourn in the business world, Biff retired from the board of directors of Patch Wegner, Inc., and once again looked for a way to the sea. He organized Sea Scouts to go sailing aboard one of the only sail-training vessels of the time available to the public, the schooner *Brilliant* at Mystic Seaport. Captain Adrian Lane, who skippered *Brilliant* during the 1950s, soon invited Biff to be the mate, and so began a long association with Mystic Seaport.

"After three years as mate aboard *Brilliant,* Biff became captain and stayed with the vessel for another 22 years. From 1959 to 1983, approximately 5,000 sail trainees sailed aboard *Brilliant* under Biff's supervision. He sailed the Museum's schooner some 60,000 miles without the benefit of Loran or GPS and brought back all

hands—and all fingers. In the entire twenty-five year period, Biff never missed a day at sea and never required a stand-in captain. Also during this period, the American Sail Training Association came into being under the inspiration of Barkley Warberton, and Biff was on hand to provide valuable advice as a founding member.

"Biff's contribution to maritime history as a scholar began in the early 1960s when he was encouraged to record some of his experiences aboard the great cargo schooners. His three books—*Hull Down* (1963), *Blue Water Coaster* (1972), and *Atlantic Four-Master* (Mystic Seaport, 1986)—provide a vivid insight into life aboard the vessels he knew so well, just before they vanished."

Following *Brilliant*'s 1983 season, Biff was named research associate in the Museum's Curatorial Department. He was supervised by Senior Curator Bill Peterson, who recalled:

"I didn't know Biff very well during his tenure as master of *Brilliant* but after he 'came ashore' to work in Curatorial I am proud to say he became my friend. I could always rely upon 'the Cap' to give me his honest, no-frills opinion on any subject. His technical knowledge of sailing vessels and their operation was something that he knew inside and out, and he loved to tell of his adventures. He was proud to be one of the last veterans of the waning days of the American commercial sailing fleet. Biff became a research associate, which really meant that he was the Museum's resident maritime raconteur. He was also one of the founders of the Museum's annual maritime history symposium, and for many years he served as master of ceremonies. I can remember thinking to myself many times as I watched him at the podium how fortunate we were to have him there. Biff once said, 'there was a certain pride to being a sailor man . . . we looked at shore people as a lesser species. We walked a bit taller.' One of the last projects he worked on at Mystic Seaport was a labor of love, titled *Three-Masted Schooners: A Compilation of Three-Masted Schooners Built on the American East Coast* (Mystic Seaport, 1991). In his introduction he said, 'those of us who knew and sailed these craft are growing old. Take good care of our work!'"

It was a sad day for all of us at Mystic Seaport when he finally retired in 1996 to Sailor's Snug Harbor at Sealevel, North Carolina. There, he became involved with the North Carolina Maritime Museum in nearby Beaufort. Connie Mason, historian and collections manager at the North Carolina Maritime Museum, noted:

"Biff was a captain determined to sail into his sunset rather than swallow the anchor like most sailors. His mind was ever on the sea and her ships. He reveled in teaching our visiting public, including the staff and our volunteers, about what it meant to work and live aboard a coastal schooner. We knew listening to his stories was a privilege; we were listening to history's personal voice about a maritime past that is fast translating from the first-person vernacular and leaving only second-hand experiences, imaginations, and re-creations. Many returning visitors still ask about Biff when they come into the museum. It is a sad job to relate to them the news of his passing, and ironically a joyful one, for we know he had once again touched and impressed another person with his great knowledge, infectious enthusiasm, and gentle spirit."

Those qualities speak through his published works, and especially through a poem he composed.

Hull-Down

Hull-down, the small boy watched them pass
Gray topsails etched against the sky,
And dreamed that some day he might stand
Upon a tall ship sailing by.

Upon a ship with billowed sails,
Bound off to some far distant land,
Beyond the place where sails turned gray,
To eyes that viewed them from the strand.

He little knew, in years ahead,
Such wooden decks his feet would tread;
Such sails he'd learn to reef and stow
In tropic heat and winter snow.

And yet, the day of sail was done;
He'd seen them vanish one by one.
Some died in unused creeks and bays,
And some in far more violent ways.

The rocks and reefs and winter gales
Have cleared the sea of tall gray sails,
And boys today can never see
Those ships, hull-down, that called to me.

—F.E. Bowker

Mystic Seaport Salutes!

MARTHA LANE AND THE MUSEUM TEACHERS

Sooner or later, most of Mystic Seaport's young visitors have the pleasure of meeting "Miss Martha."

Martha Lane has been a teacher in the Museum's Education Division for 13 years. Coming to Mystic Seaport fresh from a career as a certified elementary school teacher, Martha is one of the Museum's most experienced and dedicated professional educators. Today she is the manager of early childhood programs and is most often found in the Children's Museum, reading a sea dog story to a rapt audience, or helping a youngster coax a periwinkle out of its shell.

Martha and her husband, Calvin, began working at Mystic Seaport in 1990. Martha became a museum teacher and Calvin, a retired professor of English, became an exhibit interpreter. They are the parents of five grown children, two of whom also worked at the Museum. Josh was an intern, and Dan served as an interpreter and a member of the Demonstration Squad. During his Squad days, Dan met a fellow interpreter whom he later married: a true Mystic Seaport romance. The entire family, 20 strong, will gather this summer for a festive reunion in honor of Calvin's birthday.

Martha's special love is science, and she has helped to design a number of the Museum's programs for small children. A Planetarium program called "Zoo in the Sky" teaches two-year-olds the story of a lost baby bear, told through the stars. "Sea Squirts," for two- and three-year-olds, is a structured hour of maritime stories, songs, science, and crafts, also offering the children a "field trip" to one of the Museum's ships or exhibits. When it was designed, Martha was told Sea Squirts was her program, and she took the opportunity to "fly with it." She is especially delighted when enrolling siblings of former Sea Squirts–what she calls her "repeat families." Her patient and understanding manner of teaching has instilled in hundreds of young visitors a love of all things maritime and a healthy respect for the world.



Martha Lane loves to instill in her Sea Squirts a love of all things maritime and a healthy respect for the world. (Jennifer M. Stich photo)

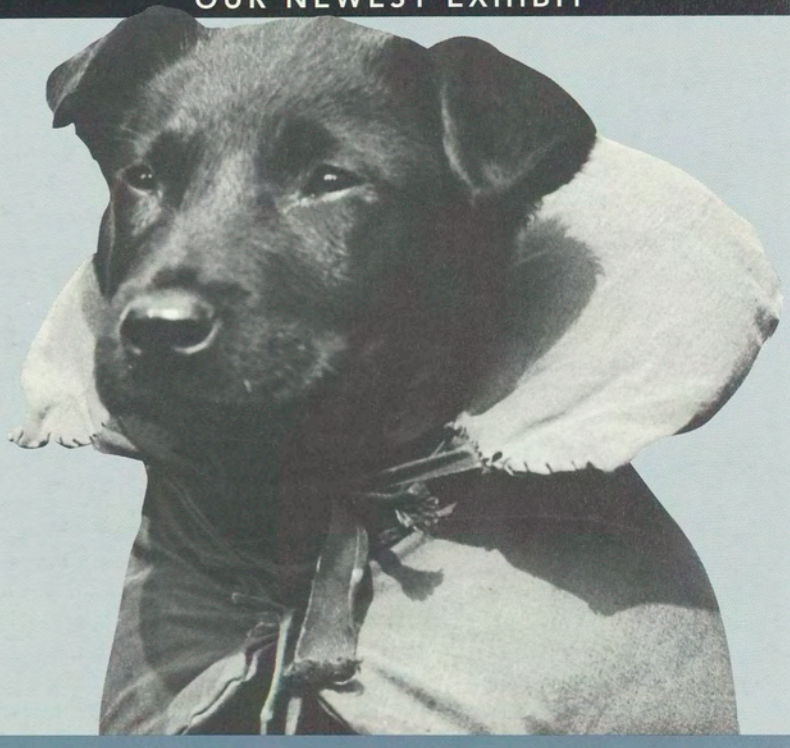
New in the summer of 2002, and part of the Summer Day Camp program, "Junior Seaport Explorers" for four- and five-year-olds, features exclusive hands-on activities in exhibits and ships, unique games, and fantastic craft projects. This program has proven so popular that a second session had to be introduced for summer 2003.

During her 13 years, Martha has seen Mystic Seaport become much more family-friendly as new programs engage younger and more diverse audiences. She especially welcomes the hands-on activities and hopes that much more can be done to offer youngsters the opportunity to use and learn from primary source material. As Martha says, "Mystic Seaport has some wonderful artifacts—let's make them part of the program and get kids more involved."

Mystic Seaport salutes Miss Martha and her colleagues—our gifted educators who open the eyes of youngsters to the wonders of the sea, the earth, and the sky, and to the creatures that inhabit them. These children are the Museum's future. Indeed, they are the future of America.

SEA DOGS!
GREAT TAILS OF THE SEA

OUR NEWEST EXHIBIT



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