

A SHIP SO THAT EVERY VISITOR MAY INHERIT THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:  
THE PRESERVATION AND DISPLAY OF HISTORIC VESSELS AFLOAT

by

Emily T. Powell

December, 2017

Director of Thesis: Gerald J. Prokopowicz

Major Department: History

Historic vessels are preserved and displayed afloat by museums and cultural institutions throughout the world. Present efforts to maintain these vessels must account for the binary nature of the historic ship as both a historic artifact in need of care, and a historic structure that must be exposed to the elements and to visitors as a part of its interpretive mission. It may seem that the decision to collect and display historic watercraft afloat, and the development and professionalization of preservation practices, occurred as a part of the evolution of museums and collecting behaviors in general. The display of ships afloat in a museum setting, however, has a unique history that pulls from numerous practices and behaviors both within and apart from the development of formal museology. Examining the history of the collection, display, and stewardship of watercraft in detail not only explores the impact of changing academic interests and public emotions on prevailing collecting behaviors, but also reveals the continual presence of the maritime world within the history of the collection and display of historic objects.



A SHIP SO THAT EVERY VISITOR MAY INHERIT THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:  
THE PRESERVATION AND DISPLAY OF HISTORIC VESSELS AFLOAT

A Thesis

Presented To the Faculty of the Department of History

East Carolina University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts, History

by

Emily T. Powell

December, 2017

© Emily T. Powell, 2017



A SHIP SO THAT EVERY VISITOR MAY INHERIT THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:  
THE PRESERVATION AND DISPLAY OF HISTORIC VESSELS AFLOAT

by

Emily T. Powell

APPROVED BY:

DIRECTOR OF  
THESIS: \_\_\_\_\_

Gerald J. Prokopowicz, PhD

COMMITTEE MEMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

Bradley A. Rodgers, PhD

COMMITTEE MEMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

Wade G. Dudley, PhD

CHAIR OF THE DEPARTMENT  
OF HISTORY: \_\_\_\_\_

Christopher A. Oakley, PhD

DEAN OF THE  
GRADUATE SCHOOL: \_\_\_\_\_

Paul J. Gemperline, PhD

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES .....	vi
CHAPTER 1 – Introduction and Historiography.....	1
Historiography .....	3
Secondary Sources .....	3
Primary Sources .....	7
Catalogs, Souvenir Booklets, and Promotional Booklets .....	7
Memoirs .....	9
Sources on the History, Saving, and Preservation of Historic Ships .....	9
Articles in Scholarly Journals .....	10
Papers Presented at Conferences .....	11
Articles in Trade Publications and “Patron” Periodicals .....	13
Records and Archival Material .....	16
Additional Sources.....	19
CHAPTER 2 - The Origins of Object Collections and the Evolution of a Maritime Context .....	20
Maritime Heritage’s Ancient Roots .....	20
The Maritime World in the Wunderkammer and the Infancy of Modern Heritage Practices .....	29
The Emergence of the American Cabinet .....	36
CHAPTER 3 - Sentiment vs Document: The Introduction of Western Watercraft into Historic Object Collection Practices .....	42
Sentiment and Ships - The Victorian Ship Relic and the Emergence of the Association Object.....	45
The Establishment of an Academic Collection Framework and the Inclusion of Maritime Material Culture in Institutional Object Collections.....	54
CHAPTER 4 - The End of the Age of Sail and the Beginning of Ship Saving: Exhibition, Documentation, and other attempts at Preservation .....	68

America’s First Maritime Museums .....	70
Early Attempts at Ship Saving.....	75
New Forms of Preservation: Adaptive Reuse and Vessel Documentation.....	90
A Proposed National Maritime Museum and Government Interest in the Display of Historic Ships.....	95
CHAPTER 5 – Hearing the “Call to Action”: The Professionalization of Maritime Preservation .....	103
Naval Vessels in a Post-War America and the Practical Development of the Museum Ship .....	104
The Reinvention of the History Museum and New Collection Policy .....	112
United by Loss but Determined to Succeed: Pooling Resources and Professionalizing Practices .....	121
Standards for Historic Vessel Preservation: Historic Integrity and the Ship as Artifact and Structure .....	125
CHAPTER 6 – Conclusion .....	129
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	134

## TABLE OF FIGURES

Figure 1 – Rock Art of Alta .....	22
Figure 2 – Traveling Boat being Rowed .....	23
Figure 3 – Bronze sestertius of Nero with harbor scene .....	24
Figure 4 – Reconstructions of Octavian’s Campsite Memorial .....	26
Figure 5 - The Athlit ram, The National Maritime Museum, Haifa. <a href="http://www.hms.org.il/eng">http://www.hms.org.il/eng</a> . .....	26
Figure 6 - The extant retaining wall and ram sockets, Octavian's Campsite Memorial .....	27
Figure 7 – Saint Mark Preventing a Shipwreck, Saint Clement Chapel, Basilica di San Marco, Venice, Italy .....	28
Figure 8 - Interior of Olé Worm’s museum, Leiden, 1655 .....	34
Figure 9 - Postcard, chair made from remnants of the ship <i>Golden Hinde</i> , Bodleian Library .....	36
Figure 10 - North view of East India Marine Hall as it appeared between 1825 and 1867 .....	40
Figure 11 – Reconstructed remains of the <i>Sparrow Hawk</i> exhibited, 1865 .....	49
Figure 12 - Postcard: the USS <i>Lawrence</i> raised in Misery Bay .....	51
Figure 13 - A cane made from timbers of the <i>USS Lawrence</i> .....	51
Figure 14 – Francis Life Car, Late 1840’s .....	53
Figure 15 - The Blake Gallery at the Royal Naval Exhibition, Chelsea, 1891 .....	56
Figure 16 - The <i>Heroine</i> on display at the Royal Naval Exhibition, Chelsea, 1891 .....	57
Figure 17 - The Victory replica at the Royal Naval Exhibition, Chelsea, 1891 .....	58
Figure 18 - Fisheries Exhibit in the U.S. National Museum during the 1880's .....	61
Figure 19 - The Boat Hall, U.S. National Museum, photo taken before 1923 .....	63
Figure 20 - The Mariners' Museum's first gallery .....	72
Figure 21 – Interior stairwell of India House .....	74
Figure 22 - Raising the hull of the <i>Niagara</i> , Misery Bay, March 6, 1913 .....	76
Figure 23 - The Niagara, starboard side looking forward, April 2, 1913 .....	77
Figure 24 - Diagram and images of the raising of the <i>Royal Savage</i> .....	78
Figure 25 – The raising of the <i>Philadelphia</i> .....	79
Figure 26 - <i>USS Constitution</i> in the Charlestown Navy Yard circa 1926 - 1930 .....	82
Figure 27 - Girl Scouts donating to save the <i>USS Constitution</i> , May 7, 1927 .....	83
Figure 28 – Save the <i>Victory</i> Fund Card (reverse) .....	83
Figure 29 - King George V visiting the <i>HMS Victory</i> , July 1927 .....	84
Figure 30 - Charred hull remains of the <i>Glory of the Seas</i> , April, 1926 .....	86
Figure 31 - <i>Benjamin F. Packard</i> on display at Rye Playland .....	88
Figure 32 - The <i>Charles W. Morgan</i> at Mystic Seaport circa 1950-52 .....	89
Figure 33 - Windjammer Cruise passengers aboard the <i>Mabel</i> , circa late 1930’s .....	91
Figure 34 - Architectural drawing for the National Naval Museum in Washington, DC, elevation, by Waddy B. Wood. Pre 1941 .....	100
Figure 35 – <i>USS Oregon</i> in June of 1925 .....	110
Figure 36 – <i>USS Oregon</i> at anchor in Guam Harbor in 1948 .....	111
Figure 37 – The <i>Philadelphia</i> being loaded in to the new Smithsonian Museum of History and Technology Building while under construction, 1961 .....	115
Figure 38 – “South Street in the 1850's.” Marine Museum of the City of New York .....	119
Figure 39 – New York Harbor on July 4, 1976 .....	121

## **CHAPTER 1 – Introduction and Historiography**

Historic ships can be found along the waterfront of cities throughout the United States in connection to, or functioning independently as maritime museums. Tall wooden masts can be seen against the backdrop of skyscrapers as well as beside sleepy waterfronts peppered with historic buildings and houses. The massive steel hulls of aircraft carriers and massive guns of battleships are easily spotted in city ports, dwarfing visitors as they approach. To stand aboard these vessels is to be transported, the wind, the water, and the movement of the hull momentarily immersing the visitor in the intangible essence of a ship at sea. Visitors climb aboard any one among the fleet of historic ships across the US, some having never set foot on a boat of any kind.

The interpretive power of this experience is unmatched. There are very few historic objects that possess the power to communicate so much before a text panel is read, or an interpreter begins to speak. At the same time, a ship is not simply a historic object. Most often relying on a visitor to enter the vessel to really get a sense of its use life, and the life of those who lived, worked, and served aboard her. In this way a ship is very like a historic structure; the ship remains exposed to weather while afloat on the water, must be structurally maintained, and often altered to accommodate the visitors who dictate the ship's new use life. The preservation of historic vessels afloat is a complex practice, but essential to keeping the ship alive and maintaining this rare and important artifact.

It may be assumed that the successful display of historic ships as floating exhibits is the natural result of the inclusion of maritime history within the evolution of collections and museum practices over time. It is a logical conclusion that, as new modes of transportation were introduced and ocean liners, ferries, and riverboats rendered obsolete, museums naturally

collected these vessels and their associated objects. It also seems reasonable to assume that as museum collecting practices utilized taxonomic and chronological organization and acquisition guidelines, examples of watercraft were collected by type and displayed to track innovation over time. In practice however, the development of the collection of watercraft and the display and preservation of historic ships afloat has much more complex origins.

The way in which maritime material and the maritime world was present within the larger framework of the history of collection practices and the establishment of museums, reflect the changes in attitude toward historic objects within collections. The prolonged tension between academic interests applied to collecting behaviors, and the power of sentiment and emotion in the determination of an object's value had positive and negative effects on the inclusion of maritime material in object collections. This is seen most acutely in the eventual attempts to save ships for display. It was only with the acceptance of historic objects as having a value to the documentation and presentation of history that enough interest was generating in saving ships as museum objects.

Standing somewhat apart from other large historic artifacts, the ship itself was not always considered the best representation of form and design for exhibit purposes. The inherent problems of size and cost was easily overcome by the collection of ship paintings and models. As the collection, and in some cases rescue, of historic ships began in earnest, the museum establishment could not support the immense needs of historic vessels, and some level of loss and failure put the entire practice at risk. In the end, vessel managers had to look to the field of historic preservation for a model on developing resources to enable the continued stewardship of historic ships and to professionalize the field of historic vessel preservation. This achievement has enabled the continued development of best practices in care, sustainability, and interpretation

that has made the display of historic vessels afloat among the most valuable elements of the preservation of maritime history.

## **Historiography**

### *Secondary Sources*

The subject of historic vessels and the evolution of their care and presentation in a museum context is one that has not been fully explored by historians in any secondary source material. The few existing written works on the history and genesis of the field of ship preservation are authored by scholars and professionals who worked directly within this field in a museum or professional setting and are descriptive rather than analytical in nature. They include and pull from events related to specific milestones in the development of vessel collection and preservation practices. They are also written for a varied audience of museum visitor, maritime enthusiast and hobbyist, and rely heavily on the professional experience or the direct role of their authors in the field of preservation for their perspective, narrative and additional material. Because the history that led to the practice of saving ships for display afloat has roots in a number of different museum practices and collecting behaviors, mining scholarly works in these subjects for the treatment of ships, watercraft, and representative maritime material proved to be extremely valuable.

Tracing the representation and inclusion of maritime related material among the earliest collecting practices was important in examining early museology to determine watercraft may or may not have been included, and in what context ship related material was being saved. Texts and articles related to the Cabinet of Curiosities, to the development of the first museums, and the creation of the touring object display attraction all provided vital information on the

treatment and understanding of maritime objects. Most helpful in this regard were texts chapters, and articles written by Renaissance historian Paula Findlen including her article “Possessing the Past: The Material World of the Italian Renaissance” from *The American Historical Review*, and the book *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Findlen and Pamela H. Smith. Additional texts by Patrick Mauriès and Joy Kenseth were of great value to gaining an understanding of the complexities of early collecting practices seen in Cabinet Collections. Joel J. Orsoz’s *Curators and Culture: The Museum Movement in America, 1740-1870*, along with other texts on American museum history were helpful in understanding the distinct “American” characteristics that contributed to the evolution of maritime collections. This was supplemented with articles by James M. Lindgren, Ernest S. Dodge, and Daniel Finamore on the collections and museum of the Salem East India Marine Society.

Regarding the peculiar 19<sup>th</sup> century practices of the public collecting and saving fragments of objects, and institutional distaste for their display, two sources were invaluable in understanding the complex interplay between personal and intuitional psychology. Teresa Barnett’s *Sacred Relics: Pieces of the Past in 19<sup>th</sup> Century America* provided a thoroughly researched and comprehensive look at the popularity of “Relics,” and the Victorian notion of value rooted in proximity and association. So called Association items, seen as fragments or in the making of a new object from material of an historic object, place, or event, was a very popular treatment of the aging timbers of historic vessels. Steven Lubar and Kathleen M. Kendrick’s *Legacies: Collecting America’s History at the Smithsonian*, aptly details these practices as encountered by the Smithsonian, providing insight on the collecting practices of relics in cultural institutions, and how The National Museum handled these objects through its own evolution.



*The Ships That Brought Us So Far: An Account of the Ship Preservation Movement*, a 1971 booklet written by Peter Stanford, the then-president of the South Street Seaport Museum, and published by the National Maritime Historical Society, is the closest thing to a stand-alone history of the collection and display of ships. The 54 page booklet provides a brief overview of the age of sail, of the development of watercraft typology through time, and then discusses specific vessels and their preservation story. Interestingly enough, the piece serves the dual role of being a historical work, utilizing research of historians like John Lyman and the experiences of noted seamen like Alan Villiers, while also being a primary document; this booklet marks the first time the field of vessel preservation is addressed as just that – a field. It also marks the beginning of a period that would bring recognition, organization, standardization and resources to vessel stewards. It captures the perspective of a maritime seaport museum manager entrusted with the fate of a small fleet of historic ships, while also, to some extent, trying to sell the idea that historic ships and their care has value, but needs funding. The back cover of the booklet notes a “Sea Museums Council,” counting 13 maritime museums as members including the author’s South Street Seaport Museum.<sup>1</sup> It is likely that this booklet was primarily distributed through these museums for sale to their patrons, or to members of the National Maritime Historical Society, with the intention of drawing interest to vessels in these museums’ collections and perhaps attracting financial support for ongoing preservation efforts.

Similar in style and form is the preface and introductory chapter of the 1991 book *Great American Ships: A National Trust Guide* by maritime historian and archaeologist Dr. James Delgado, the then Maritime Historian for the National Park Service and head of the Maritime Initiative, along with maritime photographer J. Candace Clifford. This 17 page chapter, written

---

<sup>1</sup> Peter Stanford, *The Ships That Brought Us So Far: An Account of the Ship Preservation Movement* (New York: National Maritime Historical Society, 1971), back cover.

by Dr. Delgado, begins with the history of the idea of preserving vessels, tracing occurrences of preservation through history from 31 BC to then present day efforts – pulled heavily from the “background” sections of reports issued by the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1988, *Maritime America: A Legacy at Risk, Issues and Needs in Maritime Heritage Preservation*, by Marcia L. Myers, and the report *Preserving the Legacy: Maritime Preservation and the National Trust*.

The chapter includes sections on notable accomplishments in the field, including the creation of a National Preserved Vessels inventory, the National Register of Historic Ships, the *Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for Historic Vessel Preservation Projects With Guidelines for Applying the Standards*, the National Maritime Initiative, the and National Maritime Alliance, all of which benefit from Dr. Delgado’s involvement in these accomplishments. These sections could also be considered a report on these occurrences from one their key participants – a fact that makes this chapter teeter on the line between secondary and primary source. The book itself, published by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, is meant to be a guidebook; the rest of the text identifies historic vessels in each city of each state and includes brief histories of the vessels and their associated maritime institutions, visiting information, etc. The intended audience is the traveler interested in maritime historic sites and not intended to serve as scholarship, however, the essay remains one of the most comprehensive accounts of the development of the vessel preservation field in the United States.

Other secondary sources consulted are works that deal not with vessel preservation, but with public history theory and practice, historic preservation theory and practice, conservation theory and practice, and cultural resources management theory and practice. The subject of vessel preservation can be somewhat of a disciplinary crossroads, utilizing both theory and

practice from other, related disciplines. The practice of preservation itself and subsequent standards, guidelines and resources come largely from the field of land-based historic preservation. Ships are similar to land-based structures in that they remain in the open, exposed to elements, they are restored or preserved to a specific time or time period, and they accommodate visitors who continue to place stress on the structural fabric. Viewed either as more a structure or more the object or artifact, historic ships are on display because of their historic value, and play some role in interpreting a message to the public. Their incorporation into a museum's interpretational scheme or their value as singular interpretational tools falls within a number of approaches to and perspectives on public history. To apply theory from these fields to the understanding of vessel preservation helps place this practice into a greater context while also highlighting those issues within the field that may not be unique to vessels and maybe of interest and value to scholars in other related fields.

### *Primary Sources*

#### Catalogs, Souvenir Pamphlets, and Promotional Booklets

Catalogs and promotional documents were created by collection stewards and exhibition/celebration planners to provide details of their offerings. In some cases, as with material created to commemorate the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Oliver Hazard Perry's naval victory in the War of 1812, these documents were published booklets that included historical accounts of the events as well as images of elements included in the present celebrations. The images and their captions provide views of historic vessels on display as part of the celebration, along with details of the ships recovery and "restoration." Souvenir guides to expositions such as the Centennial International Exhibition of 1876 (Philadelphia, United States) and the Royal Naval

Exhibition of 1891 (Chelsea, England) provide both descriptive and illustrated documentation of the display of maritime content. Their introductory notes in these documents also place the exhibition in a historical context by providing a contemporary perspective on the significance of the Exhibition and its connection to historical elements.

In the case of collections catalogs, both introductory notes as well as the list, detail, number, and kind of objects and ephemera included, provide important information on the nature, context, and intent of the given collections. The *East-India Marine Society of Salem* (1821), Walter Muir Whitehall's *The East India Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem; a sesquicentennial history* (1949), and the *Handbook to the Collections of the Peabody Museum of Salem* (1949), each provide a contemporary perspective on the collection contents and collecting practices of their time while also documenting the evolution of both. Carl Mittman's *Catalogue of the Watercraft Collection in the United States National Museum* details the holdings of the Smithsonian Institution's first watercraft collection, transferring institutional knowledge and memory to the reader along with collecting practices extant in the catalog list itself. Howard Chapelle's 1960 catalog of the United States National Museum's holdings, *The National Watercraft Collection*, provides a much more in-depth examination of the watercraft including plans and drawings, a definite change in the type of information considered to be of value to the catalog's user.

## Memoirs

The identification of memoir as a primary source is both accurate and inaccurate, as a number of features of the document must be considered. In the case of memoirs that relate to the topic of the history of museums, the development of maritime museums, and the preservation and display of historic ships, the memoirs are often presented in the framework of providing a history of events in which the author was involved. Whitehall's *Sesquicentennial History* can be included here, as he speaks frankly to his years of involvement with the East India Society/Peabody Museum. John Fanning Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia* (1830) include a number of anecdotes that present his personal opinion and interaction with artifacts and collection practices. Most recently, Peter and Norma Stanford's *A Dream of Tall Ships, How New Yorkers came together to save the city's sailing-ship waterfront* presents Peter's account of his involvement in Maritime History, in efforts to rescue ailing historic vessels, and his founding and continued work with the South Street Seaport Museum. While all of these texts contain histories of events and topics from the perspective of "historian", and can be used as such, the role the author played in the history of their own profession allows the reader to consider statements of opinion, feeling, and personal recollection as primary source material.

### *Sources on the History, Saving, and Preservation of Historic Ships*

As seen in the case of memoirs related to museums and museum collection practices, almost every piece of written material on the subject of vessel preservation serves as a primary source in some fashion. Because they are written by scholars and professionals who work in maritime institutions or in a preservation trade directly involved in the care of at least one historic vessel, these works provide invaluable insight into and information on all aspects of the

preservation field. Their opinions reflect and respond to attitudes held at the time by those directly involved in, and responsible for, vessel care. These sources range from published works to documentation collected from archives, preservation shipyard offices, and culled from the congressional record. The sources will be explained according to categories determined by the author and detailed below.

### Articles in Scholarly Journals

There are a number of articles published in Journals such as *The Public Historian*, *Association for Preservation Technology (APT) Bulletin*, *Nautical Research Journal*, *History News*, *The Journal of Architectural Education*, and *The Northern Mariner* that directly address issues of vessel preservation. These journals cater in content to a readership of professional scholars whose research, work, and interests are similarly aligned. The articles are, in most cases, peer-reviewed before publication and tend to be more detailed and sophisticated in content than articles published for mass consumption. It is interesting to note the range of subject matter addressed by these specific-focus journals, as issues of vessel preservation seem to interest public historians, maritime historians, preservation specialists, museum specialists, and even architects.

Relevant journal articles consist mostly of accounts of preservation projects, curatorial or collections management perspectives, as well as some commentary on the state of the author's affiliated institution, or of the status or condition of the field at the time of press. All of these provide valuable information relevant to preservation, ranging from technical details of best practices to "state-of-the-union" like presentations of the vessel preservation field. Because maritime preservation can relate to the aforementioned range of other specialties, it is interesting

to see how the authors appeal to other, similarly placed professionals/scholars and the perspectives they share in doing so.

### Papers Presented at Conferences

Conference papers and proceedings are the most abundant and, perhaps, the most valuable sources of written material on vessel preservation. As in many other academic professions, annual conferences and their topical focuses offer a unique opportunity for scholars and professionals from both the US and abroad, to come together and have a dialogue on a range of issues and interests within their fields. Presentations occur during sessions held over any number of days, with each session focusing on a specific, pre-determined topic. Generally time is allotted for questions and discussion either after a presentation or at the conclusion of the session allowing for feedback and for further discourse to develop based on the material presented. The nature of these specific sessions and its specialized audience create prime situations for the sharing of information, best practices, perspectives and innovations in vessel care. Examples of such conferences directly dealing with issues of maritime preservation include annual meetings of the International Congress of Maritime Museums (beginning in 1972), the Council of American Maritime Museums, and The North American Society for Oceanic History (beginning in 1975) to name a few.

While those groups tend to meet on a yearly or regular basis, there have been other conferences that have taken place either less frequently or were unique occurrences. These include The First National Maritime Preservation Conference in 1977, the Seventh Maritime heritage Conference & Fifth International Ship Preservation Conference in 2004, The Third International Conference of the Technical Aspects of the Preservation of Historic Vessels in

1997, The Conference on the Technical Aspects of Maintaining, Repairing & Preserving Historically Significant Ships in 1994, and the APT Short Course on Maritime Preservation in 1985. While the title of some of these conferences may indicate a regular meeting schedule, these specific occurrences were noted because no records of any other meetings could be located by this author.

There have undoubtedly been a number of other conferences and sessions since the 1970's that deal with maritime preservation, but they are not to be easily found. This problem is not limited to these more specialized conferences. It seems that publication and distribution of conference proceedings is not common. The majority of the proceedings that could be located in print were found in the holdings of the Collection Research Center of Mystic Seaport. They were most likely collected by employees who had attended the conferences or were distributed to the museum as a result of its participation in the conference. Some conferences are so specific or unique in occurrence that you would have to know that the conference had taken place at all to begin to attempt to locate copies of the session presentations, a fact that makes researching past conferences or building off of the momentum of other conference more difficult for interested scholars or professionals. For annual meetings of organizations such as NASOH, there are no published conference proceedings, so content of presentations is valuable only to those who are present to participate. This also illustrates the drawback to conferences being an epicenter of information development and exchange, in that organizations who cannot afford to send representatives to these conferences, or professionals and individuals working in the field but not affiliated with a museum or scholarly institution will not have access to the material and/or the benefit of shared knowledge provided by these events.



Research for this thesis was limited by the constraints mentioned above. All conferences discovered by the author and whose material could be attained in either a digital or printed format were consulted for this work. There will undoubtedly be missing information in the form of the body of NASOH proceedings or of conferences unknown to the author, however the abundance of articles that were found and consulted represent an adequate sampling of papers spanning the modern period of vessel preservation and include work presented within the last 10 years.

#### Articles in Trade Publications and “Patron” Periodicals

A number of articles on the topic of vessel preservation have been published in magazines such as *National Fisherman*, *WoodenBoat*, *Mariner’s Mirror*, and *Messing About in Boats*. These publications cater to a readership that consists of a range of people from those engaged and employed in maritime trades, to those with hobby interests in boat ownership and maintenance, to those who are casually interested in maritime issues and subject matter. This range would differ based on the publication, but in each case you would see an overlap in readership between professionals in the preservation field and the audience of these publications.

The most abundant source of preservation related material is *WoodenBoat*, a magazine that began as a small operation catering to a small readership that has grown to be large scale publication produced six times per year and catering to “boat owners, beginner builders, boating enthusiasts, builders and designers, repairers, and surveyors.”<sup>2</sup> The company itself is a multi-faceted publication employing over 40 people, producing sister publications *Professional BoatBuilder Magazine* (six times per year) and *Small Boats Magazine* (annually), as well as

---

<sup>2</sup> WoodenBoat Publications, Brookline Maine, “A Brief History About WoodenBoat Publications,” <http://www.woodenboat.com/woodenboat-publications-brooklin-maine> (accessed March 31, 2013).

running a *WoodenBoat* School, *WoodenBoat* Show, an International Boat Builders Expo (IBEX), and managing a resource library. The periodical provides a place for those who deal with vessel maintenance issues to discuss new products, share new techniques, feature restoration projects, and present histories of vessel types/designs, shipbuilders and shipyards. It is safe to say that their audience includes both those professionals employed and aligned with maritime institutions directly responsible for the care of historic vessels, as well as professionals in private shipyards that may take on or consult on the preservation of historic vessels. *WoodenBoat* is a unique venue for preservation discussion that has an opportunity to reach all individuals involved in the field no matter their professional affiliation.

Noted authors of articles in trade publications include Peter Stanford, formerly of South Street Seaport, as well as Maynard Bray, the first director of the Henry B. du Pont Preservation Shipyard at Mystic Seaport, and John Gardner, Mystic Seaport's former curator of small craft. These periodicals also gave rise to authors who came to specialize in researching and writing about vessel preservation issues such as Peter Spectre, the former executive editor of *WoodenBoat*. Content pertaining to the subject of historic vessel preservation found in these periodicals ranges from the general, to the minute in detail, and has touched on everything from efforts taken or needed to save a specific vessel, to best practices of specific maintenance issues, to examination of the habits of the torredo worm and on testing and use of a specific tool for a specific task. All articles referencing the preservation of historic vessels were consulted for this thesis. Many articles about maintenance, care or construction issues pertaining to wooden vessels could be relevant to the care of historic vessels, so only a sampling of articles on the topic of specific maintenance issues were consulted to identify typical/standard maintenance practice and

needs for wooden/historic vessels. Issues of *WoodenBoat* are easily accessed via library holdings and/or microfilm collections, or interlibrary loan in most libraries.

Occasionally articles on vessel preservation appear in periodicals whose publication is managed by a specific organization, and whose readership is that organization's membership. These "patron" periodicals are dedicated to presenting subject matter that is relevant to its parent organization and that would be considered of interest to its paid membership. Often a subscription to the periodical is included in membership fees. Examples of this are *The Log of Mystic Seaport* and *Mystic Seaport Magazine*, both written for members of the museum<sup>3</sup>; *Sea History* a magazine for members of the National Maritime Historical Society, and *National Parks* a magazine for members of the National Parks Conservation Association. These magazines often include articles written by historians and scholars, key figures in the managing organization, staff writers, and professionals from maritime or similar heritage, preservation or environmental institutions. When maritime preservation is discussed, the articles are almost exclusively written by the latter.

Because the readership of these periodicals is geared towards a membership who's demographic, age-range, education level, knowledge base, and interest level in issues of maritime preservation varies significantly, the articles tend to be more general in detail and often provide a succinct history of the vessel to date, both in use-life and in its life as a museum vessel. They also tend to be written to garner support and interest in specific preservation causes that are either of great importance and financial interest to the parent organization (i.e. your membership dollars are helping to fund this project,) or are seeking financial support for a vessel or project in need (i.e. help us reach our goal so this vessel can be saved / this is why your financial assistance

---

<sup>3</sup> *Mystic Seaport Magazine* replaced *The Log of Mystic Seaport* as the museum's membership periodical.

is important to saving this vessel, please help.) In either case, these articles are good indications of the attitudes held by managing institutions towards their vessel collection and its needs, and are often the best sources for repeated studies of specific vessels.

A final addition to this source sub-set would be standard newspaper articles, although its readership would be the general public rather than a membership organization affiliates. Where preservation issues have appeared in local and national newspaper articles, the content and characteristics are almost identical to patron magazines; they are written for general audiences, they provide a succinct history of the vessel, and they often provide insight into the attitudes of the vessel's managing institution. With the exception of small, local news outlets or blogs that cover city day-to-day happenings, newspaper articles on preservation are almost exclusively about ships in danger or ships that have been saved. Regular maintenance or general vessel care that is not a part of a landmark restoration project would not be found in this type of source.

### Records and Archival Material

The last kind of primary source material includes records and documents pertaining to vessel preservation housed in archives and libraries. Research was conducted at the Collections Research Center at Mystic Seaport: The Museum of America and the Sea (the CRC at Mystic Seaport). Materials consulted and utilized for research in this thesis include museum annual reports, published restoration accounts for specific vessels in the museum collection, unpublished reports and daily logs of preservation work conducted on watercraft in the museum collection, hand-drawn illustrations, photographic logs and documentation of preservation work conducted on watercraft in the museum collection, transcripts and audio recordings of museum board of trustee meetings, an unpublished 1981 copy of the *USS Constitution's* maintenance

manual, as well as their abundant holdings of maritime texts and periodicals, including the unpublished 2004 historic preservation master's thesis of Quentin Snedicker, the current head of the Henry B. duPont Preservation Shipyard, titled, "Impact of Regulation on Historic Vessels in Underway Service."

The primary sources from the CRC that deal with Mystic Seaport watercraft, operations, and preservation efforts and practices have been used both in their value as case studies, as well as to provide a basic understanding of vessel care, vessel management, maritime museum organization/management, and to identify factors such as funding and stakeholder management that aided in establishing an understanding of basic issues and operations within the field. Consultation with library and museum staff was an immense help in this process.

Research was conducted in the Documentation Office of the Henry B. duPont Preservation Shipyard at Mystic Seaport: The Museum of America and the Sea (Shipyard Documentation Office), in the form of research in the Office records, meetings with the head of the documentation office, observation of shipyard senior staff meetings, consultation with the shipyard director and curator of watercraft and observation and guided tours of preservation facilities and active projects underway in the shipyard. The Shipyard Documentation Office is home to detailed logs and records of every restoration project conducted at the shipyard as well as research records and materials pertaining to specific vessels and their diagnostic and design features and details. This includes lines drawings, photographic records, and material samples collected from various projects over time. Records are also maintained on best practices for various divisions of the shipyard including the paint shop, electrical, etc. This information further supplemented the research material gathered from the CRC, and dialogue with shipyard staff was

an invaluable resource in gaining an understanding of operations specific to Mystic Seaport as well as general operational practices in the field.

Research was conducted at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York utilizing material pertaining to Senator/President Roosevelt's ongoing interest in historic vessel preservation as well as his almost decade-long effort to create a National Maritime Museum in the Navy Yard in Washington, DC that would have housed a number of historic vessels afloat. His papers include correspondence from and to citizens, interest groups, congressmen, senators and governors on the topic of historic vessel preservation, specifically mentioning the *USS Constitution*, *USS Constellation*, *USS Hartford*, *USS Olympia*, and the *USS Wolverine* (nee *USS Michigan*) as well as museum related plans. This material is supplemented by a number of House and Senate resolutions from the Congressional Record on these subjects, as well as further House Subcommittee hearings on historic vessels held in the 1950's and 1970's. The Dudley Knox papers, held in the manuscript division of the Library of Congress, were consulted for information that paralleled correspondence found in the FDR Presidential Library and related to vessel preservation interests.

Staff of the Erie Historical Society in Erie, Pennsylvania was able to provide information that was used to locate materials at the FDR library, as well as documents related to preservation efforts made in the region. Staff of the Erie Maritime Museum generously offered their time and services in checking objects in their collection related to the *Lawrence* and the *Niagara*, as well as providing information on the tourist and relic trade connected to the War of 1812, Oliver Hazard Perry's fleet, and the region in general.

### Additional Sources

Further primary source material consists of publications and directives produced by the United States Department of the Interior, the National Park Service (NPS), the National Trust for Historic Preservation (National Trust) and the Council of American Maritime Museums (CAMM) for the care and management of historic vessels. This includes *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Vessel Preservation Projects, with Guidelines for Applying the Standards*, "Help from the National Trust for Historic Preservation's Information Center – Information Sheet #42: Maritime Preservation," "National Register Bulletin Number 20: Technical Information on Comprehensive Planning, Survey of Cultural Resources, and Registration in the National Register of Historic Places," published reports on maritime preservation and issues in maritime heritage preservation produced by the National Trust, the CAMM "Maritime Museum Emergency and Disaster Preparedness and Recovery Manual," and the Historic American Building Survey (HABS) /Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) / Historic American Merchant Marine Survey (HAMMS) collections of documents, drawings and data. All of this information can be accessed either via online resources or via library holdings and are included and interpreted within this thesis based on their key roles in the field of historic vessel preservation.

## **CHAPTER 2 - The Origins of Object Collections and the Evolution of a Maritime Context**

The practice of collecting and displaying historical objects, including those representing maritime activity, is most often dated to the 19<sup>th</sup> century establishment of cultural institutions and museums dedicated to the collection of objects. Maritime material, especially watercraft, was a part of that phase of collection management and museum history, but the behaviors associated with saving, collection, and display have far older ties to the maritime world. Preservation and veneration of maritime objects and ephemera, including some forms of watercraft, have been found among a number of ancient societies. When formal collecting behaviors began to develop in the early modern era through the establishment of cabinet collections, the contents included objects linked both culturally and historically to the maritime world. This chapter reviews the presence of maritime themes and cultural practices in the saving and reverential behaviors of ancient societies, and the origins of museums and their object collection practices.

### **Maritime Heritage's Ancient Roots**

Maritime and maritime-related art, objects, and ephemera are among the earliest subjects of saving and display behaviors. Fishing, transportation, exploration, commerce, and battle have left evidence of maritime interests on the landscape of nearly every society. Examples of the memorialization of maritime related activity can be found throughout antiquity, most often seen in iconographic artworks and documentary representations, but also in practices oriented around the saving and presentation of culturally significant maritime-related objects. Such behaviors in ancient societies were primarily acts of commemoration and veneration. These objects of value – most often representing the spiritual, civic, or military domains of a given society – were commonly created for members of the ruling class and religious leaders. Beyond the intent of



their creation, the possession of these objects became expressions of societal “correctness,” or status within that society’s social structure

Contemporary understanding of the significance of maritime activity to ancient societies has been informed not only through the study of surviving material and structures, but more immediately in recognizing the prevalence of maritime references and motifs found among this type of material. Pictorial images or objects d’art depicting some element of maritime activity or events can be found in the material of ancient civilizations separated by vast distances and of disparate geography and environment. An expansive series of engraved and painted petroglyphs found in the Alta Fjord near the Arctic Circle, dating from roughly 5,000 BC to 100 AD, include images of simple boats carrying hunters and fishermen, as well as larger watercraft carrying groups of people, some of which are depicted with oars. These images are parts of larger, multifaceted scenes portraying ordinary practices, significant events, spiritual customs, theology, and rituals of import, understood by modern scholars to have been created as part of the culture’s historical record (Figure 1).<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> See Trond Lødøen and Gro Mandt. *The Rock Art of Norway*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010.



Figure 1 - Rock Art of Alta – a depiction of watercraft, some shown to be carrying many people, most likely men. Photo: Arve Kjersheim, Directorate for Cultural Heritage. <http://www.environment.no/Topics/Cultural-heritage/World-heritage/Rock-Art-of-Alta/> (Accessed October 1, 2014.)

Models of riverboats replete with posed figures enacting maritime related tasks were placed in rooms within the tombs of several Egyptian pharaohs and members of the nobility. One such example, the “Travelling Boat Being Rowed,” was recovered with twenty-three other models from the tomb of royal chief steward Meketre (circa 1981-1975 BC.) This intricately detailed boat model is also a sculptural diorama imbued with layers of meaning for its makers and their contemporaries. The model features the figures of the boat’s male crew in position to row, each holding oars and wearing garments made from cloth. Another figure stands at the bow holding a sounding lead. A small deck cabin made of a woven material is present, and research indicates that there was originally a mast and cloth sail (Figure 2).<sup>5</sup> Among the group of tomb

---

<sup>5</sup> While the boat appears to be similar to one that Meketre would have used in his lifetime, certain details, such as his holding the blue lotus – the symbol of rebirth, suggest that this might be a depiction of Meketre’s voyage to the afterlife. “Traveling Boat Being Rowed” <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544214> (Accessed October 12, 2014)

watercraft models, scholars have identified both ordinary scenes from the life of the deceased subject, as well as scenes alluding to the Egyptian ideal of a voyage towards the afterlife.<sup>6</sup>



Figure 2 – Boat model from the tomb of royal chief steward Meketre, who is depicted sitting at the entrance to the small boat cabin smelling a lotus blossom. Image is  $\frac{3}{4}$  view of the boat's port side. Traveling Boat being Rowed ca. 1981-1975 BC, Upper Egypt; Thebes, Southern Asasif, Tomb of Meketre (TT280. MMA 1101). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920, [www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org)

Another common commemorative practice was the depiction of vessels, naval battles, or busy ports on minted coinage. Often used as a method of promotion, coins served as traveling advertisements heralding the completion of construction projects, a ruler's successes in battle, or touting the health of the economy or military in the depiction of a newly built ship. One such example is a bronze sestertius issued during the reign of the Roman emperor Nero in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Figure 3). The obverse features head of Nero in profile, while the central image on the reverse depicts an aerial view of a Roman port. The scene features seven ships of various types surrounded by a pier, a statue of Neptune, and a breakwater with slips. At the bottom of the scene is the figure of the river god Tiber holding an oar. The coin was made to commemorate the completion of the harbor at Ostia, the port of Rome.

<sup>6</sup> "Traveling Boat Being Rowed" <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544214> (Accessed October 12, 2014)



Figure 3 – Bronze sestertius of Nero with harbor scene, British Museum, [www.britishmuseum.org](http://www.britishmuseum.org).

The documentation of the Ancient maritime world was not limited to art and manufactured objects. Not surprisingly, there are examples of the saving and display of actual maritime material captured in battle as spoils of war. In 31BC, Octavian constructed a memorial to commemorate his victory over Cleopatra and Mark Antony in the naval battle at Actium and to celebrate the resulting peace. Built on the hillside location of his battle campsite overlooking the straits and the new city of Nikopolis (which means “victory city,”) the structure was a limestone podium with a lower terrace topped with an upper terrace featuring two stoa and a portico (Figure 4).<sup>7</sup> The retaining wall for the podium was adorned with text that read

---

<sup>7</sup> William M. Murray and Photios M. Pestas, “Octavian’s Campsite Memorial for the Actian War,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 79, no. 4 (1989): 6, 11-12, 85-86

IMPERATOR CAESAR, SON OF THE DIVINE JULIUS, FOLLOWING THE VICTORY IN THE WAR WHICH HE WAGED ON BEHALF OF THE REPUBLIC IN THIS REGION, WHEN HE WAS CONSUL FOR THE FIFTH TIME, AFTER PEACE HAD BEEN SECURED ON LAND AND SEA, CONSECRATED TO NEPTUNE AND MARS THE CAMP FROM WHICH HE SET FORTH TO ATTACK THE ENEMY NOW ORNAMENTED WITH NAVAL SPOILS.<sup>8</sup>

Embedded below the text in the retaining wall were sockets that held between 33 and 35 bronze rams removed from the bows of ships captured during the battle and arranged in increasing sizes from right to left, the largest of which weighed over two tons.<sup>9</sup> It was an impressive use of maritime material simultaneously serving to memorialize the naval victory, while also standing as an imposing physical reminder of Octavian's naval power and success. Left exposed to the air and elements, the rams that once gleamed in the light of the open water would now corrode to dull greens reminiscent of the murky depths to which many a defeated ship was sent. The presence of the rams, the very adornment of the enemy fleet had immense power in this display.

---

<sup>8</sup> Murray and Pestas, "Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War," 86. The text is translated from the original Latin and reconstructed by the authors.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 55-56, 85-86.



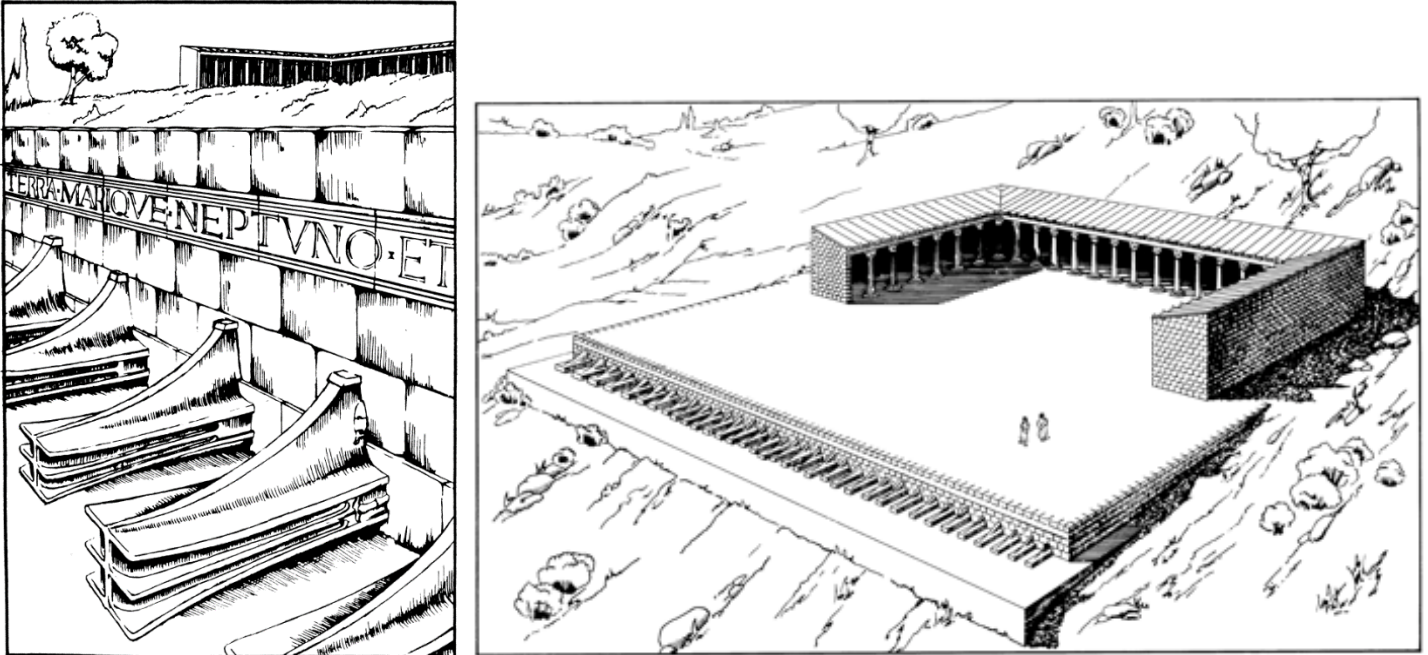


Figure 4 – Reconstructions of Octavian's Campsite Memorial. Left, a view from the lower terrace showing the rams embedded in the retaining wall. Right, an aerial view of the monument from the southeast. Note the rams along the retaining wall, with the largest on the left side. William M. Murray and Photios M. Pestas, "Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 79, no. 4 (1989): 88-89.<sup>10</sup>



Figure 5 - The Athlit ram, bronze, discovered in 1980 in the northern bay of Athlit roughly 100 meters from the Actium memorial. "The Athlit Ram," The National Maritime Museum, Haifa. <http://www.hms.org.il/eng>.

<sup>10</sup> The University of South Florida Department of History and Dr. William Murray's presentation *The Actium War Monument* (The University of South Florida Department of History and Dr. William Murray, *The Actium War Monument* <http://aist.usf.edu/data/Actium.pdf>, Accessed October 1, 2014,) features computer models of the site that differ from those in this image in that the stoas continue to the edge of the upper terrace at the retaining wall, and additional stone features are present in the center of the podium. Unfortunately there is no text accompanying the image citing a source for the model or the data upon which the model was based, nor is there a date on the presentation, so the images from the 1989 report are included here.



Figure 6 - A modern view of the extant retaining wall and ram sockets. The University of South Florida Department of History and Dr. William Murray, *The Actium War Monument*, <http://aist.usf.edu/data/Actium.pdf>, (Accessed October 1, 2014): 9.

In her study, *The Art and Archaeology of Venetian Ships and Boats*, Lillian Ray Martin used a sampling of the numerous extant depictions of ships and boats in mosaics, enamels, wood inlays, manuscript illuminations, frescoes, faience, paintings, and sculpture produced in Venice between the 10<sup>th</sup> century and the emergence of the “Venetian School” of artists during the early Renaissance (15<sup>th</sup> century,) to catalog and analyze the representations of watercraft made during this period.<sup>11</sup> These varied “pictorial documents” cumulatively attest to the abundance and importance of watercraft and the maritime world to this region and its people. Most of the pieces – which depict both ordinary maritime practices such as fishing as well as representations of maritime-themed biblical events – are found adorning the walls of churches as well as the pages of religious manuscripts. The incorporation of such material into the larger cultural framework of

---

<sup>11</sup> Lillian Ray Martin, *The Art and Archaeology of Venetian Ships and Boats* (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 2001): 13-19.



Christianity suggests the societal connection between the import of Christian narratives and communication of theological themes with the deeply held maritime identity of Venetian culture. These images documented watercraft with such a wealth of stylistic detail that they contribute substantially to modern scholarly understanding of regional vessel construction of the time.



Figure 7 – Saint Mark Preventing a Shipwreck, Mosaic, c. 1150. Saint Clement Chapel, Basilica di San Marco, Venice, Italy. Web Gallery of Art, [http://www.wga.hu/html\\_m/zgothic/mosaics/6sanmarc/1choir2.html](http://www.wga.hu/html_m/zgothic/mosaics/6sanmarc/1choir2.html), (Accessed December 15, 2014.)

These examples are only a few among the many representations of the maritime world that were preserved and documented by their inclusion in reverential practices of ancient societies. The saving and display of actual maritime material along with the creation of artistic representations of important maritime events and activities are particular to their makers, yet all share a similarly motivated celebratory and commemorative nature. In the execution of those sentiments, these objects communicate a given culture's relationship with the maritime world. The very acts of documentation, commemoration, and celebration that motivated the creation or



purpose of the objects, also made them outlive the practices they capture and the people who made them. Structures, rock carvings, tomb decoration, mass-produced currency, and religious art are all venues with significance and permanence. It is the makers and the cultural practices captured in their creations that have informed later generations' understanding of maritime culture and maritime history via their endurance as well as their eventual collection and display.

### **The Maritime World in the *Wunderkammer* and the Infancy of Modern Heritage Practices**

It was not until around 1400, at the beginning of the Renaissance as knowledge and technological improvement dissolved the remnants of the middle ages, that the world once again saw the advance of societies like those noted in antiquity via the establishment of institutions of learning, projects of exploration, and extensive commercial foreign trade practices utilizing sea travel.<sup>12</sup> With this multifaceted rejuvenation came not only a philosophical understanding and subsequent value placed on emotions such as wonder, admiration, and passion, but it also brought forth an interest in the “marvelous” as newfound curiosity and knowledge was applied to both the observable phenomena of the physical world as well as the supernatural and folkloric elements of the enduring medieval cultural and religious world.<sup>13</sup> The result of this evolution was a new interest in with the collection of objects – a practice which in its codification lay the groundwork for a culture, period, and style of collecting that would serve as the predecessor to modern museology.

---

<sup>12</sup> Joy Kenseth, “The Age of the Marvelous: An Introduction,” in *The Age of the Marvelous*, edited by Joy Kenseth (Hanover, New Hampshire: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, 1991): 25.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 26-27.

This burgeoning practice of “collection, creation, and celebration of objects” became a fundamental characteristic of the period.<sup>14</sup> Renaissance historian Paula Findlen notes that:

[w]hile medieval Europeans also privileged a variety of objects – ostrich eggs, jeweled goblets, relics, and the like – they did not give those things that increasingly defined the Renaissance investment in culture – antiquities, ancient manuscripts, paintings, and sculptures – the same degree of prominence. Such objects became meaningful in a succession that defined not only their initial hierarchy of value but also their place in shaping genealogical narratives about what it meant to possess the past.<sup>15</sup>

Findlen adds that, “intellectual and cultural agendas also reinforced the emphasis on the variety and quality of the artifacts,” the “urge to own” being fueled by some combination of a historical and aesthetic consciousness as well as a fascination with the exotic.<sup>16</sup> It is this cultural awakening – the mix of curiosity, academic study, the cultivation and patronage of the arts, and the societal shift towards antiquarianism simultaneous to the development of global trade, commerce, and commodification in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century that would evolve into an entrenched practice of private collecting that spread from its origins in Italy to become a pan-European activity by the late 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>17</sup> The practice spread within societies as well – while available funds did impact the nature of collections, even a collector of modest means could satisfy a range of interests through his display, moving the practice of collecting beyond the previously exclusive purview of the royal or the religious elite to the service of the scholar, the merchant, and the middle classes.

---

<sup>14</sup> Paula Findlen, “Possessing the Past: The Material World of the Italian Renaissance,” *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 1 (February 1998): 86.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

<sup>17</sup> Ken Arnold, “Museums Arrive in England,” in *Cabinets for the Curious: Looking Back at Early English Museums* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2006): 13-15. Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen, “Commerce and the Representation of Nature in Art and Science,” in *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2002): 3.

The result of this evolution was what came to be known in the 16<sup>th</sup> century as the *Wunderkammer* ("chamber of marvels") or as it is known in English, the "cabinet of curiosities."<sup>18</sup> Patrick Mauriès writes of these early modern incarnations of museums that,

...the common denominator between these places of study and collection was twofold, lying firstly in the system of organization and eclecticism of the objects amassed, and secondly in the unique personality with which they were imbued. Caught between the two great poles of wisdom of antiquity, of which the Renaissance sought to achieve a synthesis – nature in its wildest, most untamed forms and art in its boldest manifestations – the objects in these collections arranged themselves within a spectrum of vaulting and universal ambition, the scale of which may be gauged by the categories into which they were divided: *naturalia*, *mirabilia*, *artefacta*, *scientifica*, *antiquities*, and *exotica*.<sup>19</sup>

The nature of the collection reflected the interests of its creator(s), and included natural specimens, paintings, portraits, sculpture, ethnographic material collected from faraway lands, textiles, clothing, weapons, tools, and scientific instruments. As the trend for collections spread, institutions of learning started object reference collections to accompany their research, and scholars shared findings through publications relating to specimen collections.<sup>20</sup>

The characteristic of these cabinets most important to the history of maritime-specific collections was the way by which objects were procured. Mark Meadow observes of the very communal and network-dependent nature of collecting that, "princes, scholars, merchants, or apothecaries assembled their collections through complex systems of exchange, gift giving, commerce, patronage, and other forms of social and financial intercourse," thus creating a system in which the classes converged.<sup>21</sup> The key to this network was travel, which provided

---

<sup>18</sup> Patrick Mauriès, *Cabinets of Curiosities* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 2002): 50. Cabinets were first known as *Kunstammer* (German for 'chamber of art,) and then *Wunderkammer* and then a merged version of the two names *Kunst - und Wunderkammer* which Mauriès equates to the English "Cabinet of Curiosities."

<sup>19</sup> Mauriès, *Cabinets of Curiosities*, 50. *Mirabilia* means 'marvels'. "mirabilia, n.". OED Online. September 2014. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/240030?redirectedFrom=mirabilia> (accessed September 14, 2014).

<sup>20</sup> Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, eds. "Introduction" in *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985,) 3.

<sup>21</sup> Mark A. Meadow, "Merchants and Marvels: Hans Jacob Fugger and the Origins of the Wunderkammer," in *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen (New York: Routledge, 2002): 184.

both the source for the majority of these objects via sea voyages of exploration and trade as well as an audience for cabinets via travelers and tourism. The most important element, as Meadow contends, was the commercial aspect of this travel, specifically the passage of material and intellectual commodities via closely related trade networks.<sup>22</sup>

There was a reciprocal nature to this system, where the desire for objects was fueled by continuing voyages of exploration and trade with far away locales, while the continuation of exploration was driven by the desire for better trade routes and more remote and exotic trading partners and goods. In his discussion on the role of trade and travel in the creation and sustenance of cabinets, Ken Arnold cites Charles de Rochefort's account of ship cargoes in his *The History of the Carriby Islands*, where de Rochefort describes a ship "laden" with "several considerable Commodities," including 'sea-dogs skins', whale bones, and 'other little pieces of household stuff', as well as the horns of sea-unicorns, which should... be given 'the best places in the closets of the curious.'"<sup>23</sup> Arnold also details accounts of ships leaving European ports filled with a cargo of European manufactured goods, such as needles, knives, and fishing hooks, for trade with the Indians in the Americas.<sup>24</sup>

Indeed Mauriès begins his *Cabinets of Curiosities* by calling attention to the frontispiece of Francis Bacon's philosophical work *Instauratio Magna*, which depicts an image of, "a ship full sail upon a boundless sea," flanked only by the Pillars of Hercules, "marking the furthest reaches of the known world and the threshold of the unknown..."<sup>25</sup> He suggests that Bacon's visual ship metaphor is also an appropriate one for the context of cabinet collections, that is:

---

<sup>22</sup> Meadow, "Merchants and Marvels": 184-185.

<sup>23</sup> Ken Arnold, "Trade and Travel," in *Cabinets for the Curious: Looking Back at Early English Museums* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2006): 113.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Mauriès, *Cabinets of Curiosities*, 12.

...the knowledge of liminal objects that lay on the margins of charted territory, brought back from worlds unknown, defying any accepted system of classification (and most notably conventional categories of ‘arts’ and ‘sciences’), and associated with the discovery of new worlds. [The object within the cabinet] has meaning only in relation to an absolute ‘elsewhere,’ and to the things that are brought back from it. This outer realm, this elsewhere, is a source of wonder.<sup>26</sup>

While it was most likely not apparent to the viewer and unintentional on the part of the collector, the ship was not only integral to the creation of the cabinet, but was really the unifying element for these extremely diverse and sometimes disparate groupings of objects. The maritime world was the cornerstone of these cabinet collections, and was essential to the formation of what would eventually serve as the foundation of modern museology.

Ordinary and common objects related directly to ships and maritime trades would not have been of much interest to collectors in and of themselves, but found their way into collections via the context of their creation, the significance of their acquisition, or their cultural significance. This can be seen in the extensive inclusion of ethnographic material (including tools, weapons, and manufactured goods) of exotic peoples and places. A 1665 engraving of the museum of the Danish naturalist Olé Worm shows a room with almost every surface covered by objects, including the ceiling, from which a type of primitive kayak is suspended upside-down, allowing the cockpit to face the room (Figure 8). Along with such examples of small watercraft, the tools of foreign or ancient peoples’ maritime trades, including fishing and whaling implements, could also be found in cabinet collections. A rare exception to the exclusion of contemporary western maritime material is the display of objects removed from or manufactured from pieces of “vessels of accomplishment” in the form of commemorative relics or presentation pieces given or acquired to commemorate voyages and expeditions of exploration and discovery as well as Naval victories in Europe’s almost constant struggle for power.

---

<sup>26</sup> Mauriès, *Cabinets of Curiosities*, 12

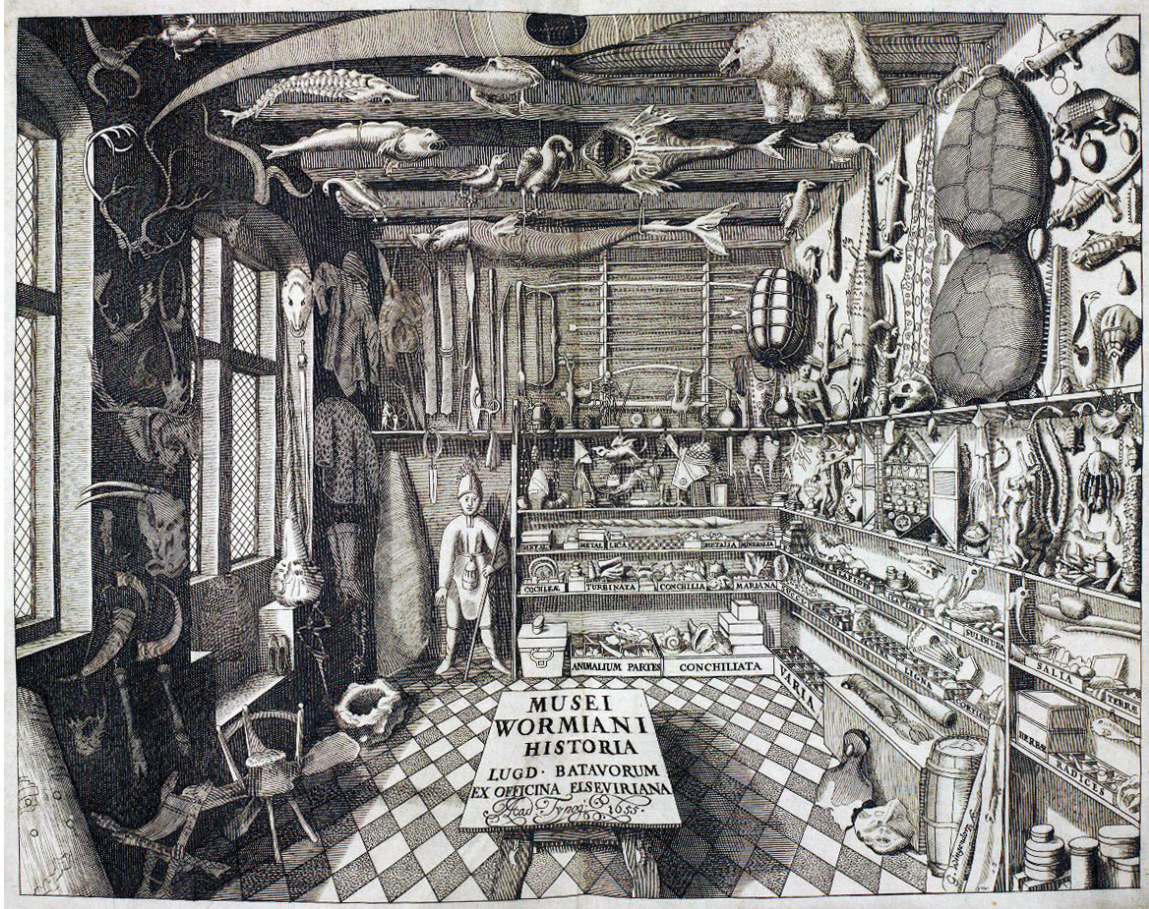


Figure 8 - Interior of Olé Worm's museum, note the kayak along the top of the image. Engraved frontispiece to Olé Worm, *Museum Wormianum seu historia rerum rariorum*, Leiden, 1655. Printed in Joy Kenseth, ed. *The Age of the Marvelous*, (Hanover, New Hampshire: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, 1991): 80.

After returning from his voyage of circumnavigation and plundering of Spanish ships in the Cape Verde Islands, Sir Francis Drake was knighted aboard his galleon *Golden Hinde* (née *Pelican*) by Queen Elizabeth I on April 4, 1581 on the Thames River at Deptford, where the ship was built. The vessel was then put on display in a dry dock to memorialize Drake's accomplishments. In his *Annals of England to 1603* (1603), John Stow notes that:

...[the] ship, by her majesties [sic] commandment is lodged in a docke [sic] at Deptford, for a monument to all posterity of that famous and worthy exploite [sic], whereof a worshipful gentleman master William Borough in his preface to a booke [sic] entitled, A Discourse of the variation of the compass, or magneticall [sic] Needle, hath these words: So now at length (saith [sic] he) our countryman Sir Francis Drake, for valorous attempt, prudent proceeding, and fortunate performing his voyage about the world, is not only become equal to any of them that live, but in fame farre [sic] surpassing.<sup>27</sup>

The ship remained there on the Thames until the 1660's, at which point the deterioration was so severe that the vessel was broken up.<sup>28</sup> Rumor persists that two pieces of furniture, a chair in the collection of the Bodleian Library (Figure 9) and a table (called "the cupboard") in the collection of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, were built with pieces of the ship's timbers.

This is the first recorded instance of a modern-era ship being saved and displayed intact. This is extremely unusual for the time period due to the size of the ship and the facility needed to house it. It would have been a significant allocation of resources to use a dry dock for display for so many decades when shipbuilding and ship maintenance were integral to both commerce and national defense. There is certainly a value in publicly celebrating a feat that expands man's potential for achievement to a scale previously unimaginable to most, reinforcing the accolades of fame, prudence, and valor described in Stow's *Annals*. Keeping Drake's ship as a port-side monument, the maintenance of the ship in a prime location in a busy port, and at high cost, demonstrated an understanding that the presence of this vessel had an ability to promote the power and accomplishment of Britain's maritime industry in a way that no traditional monument could.

---

<sup>27</sup> John Stow, *Annals of England to 1603*, Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/annalsofenglandt00stow> (accessed October 1, 2014): 1165.

<sup>28</sup> "Golden Hinde." The Mariners' Museum. <http://ageofex.marinersmuseum.org/index.php?type=ship&id=21> (Accessed October 1, 2014.) Stanford. *The Ships That Brought Us So Far*, 5. Delgado and Clifford, "Preserving Ships," 45.



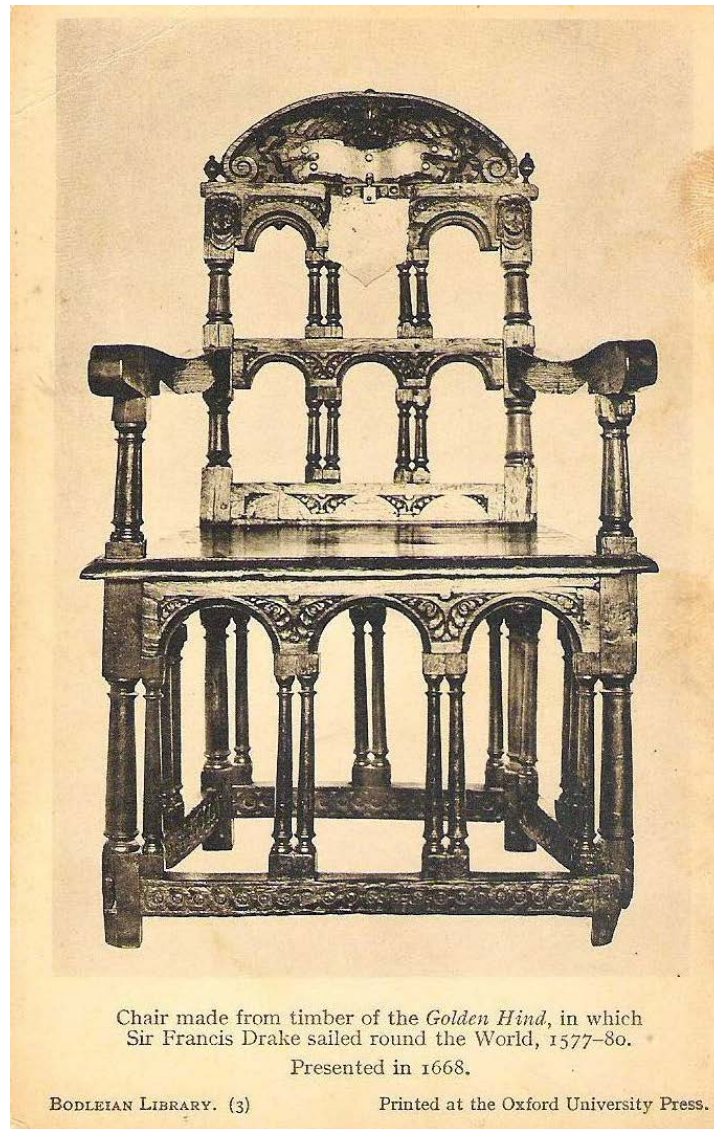


Figure 9 - Postcard, Bodleian Library, Oxford University Press, date unknown, private collection.

## The Emergence of the American Cabinet

By the 18<sup>th</sup> century the cabinet had evolved to serve the intellectual pursuits of the Enlightenment. Following the course of most European cultural interests and trends, the interest in cabinet-style collections came to the Americas via inspiration from European examples and through the export of European-based touring attractions. Cabinets of American origin, however, had a distinctive cultural tilt, finding a genesis almost simultaneous to that of the country's



intellectual groups and organizations as America began to establish its cultural identity. The Library Company of Philadelphia (est. 1731) formed a cabinet for their membership in the late 1740's, quickly accumulating "curiosities" after Captain Charles Swain donated a collection of Eskimo garments and artifacts accumulated on his 1752 and 1753 voyages in search of the Northwest Passage aboard the schooner *Argo*.<sup>29</sup> The American Philosophical Society (est. 1743) formally established a cabinet in 1768, creating three curator positions in their bylaws to manage their quickly growing collection consisting mostly of natural specimens.<sup>30</sup> Inspired by a visit to the British Museum (est. 1753) by some of its members, the Library Society of Charleston (est. 1748), founded the Charleston Museum in 1773, dedicating its collections to the study of science. The Museum accumulated a range of objects including ethnographic materials and scientific tools before the collection was destroyed in a fire in 1778.<sup>31</sup> As the first of their kind in the new world, these formal collections reflected the intellectual interests of their creators and patrons by serving as the physical representation of the breadth of their cultural and academic pursuits.

While these first cabinets served an institutional purpose, by the 1780's cabinet collections were established for the public at large. Post-Revolutionary nationalism promoted a cultural shift from European holdovers to distinctly "American" identities and interests.<sup>32</sup> Exclusivity and elitism existed in America, but were not wrought in to the social order as it was in Europe, potentially replaced by a feeling of duty and obligation to society.<sup>33</sup> While members of "the respectability" were the proprietors of museums, they sought to "earn their social keep"

---

<sup>29</sup> Joel J. Orosz, *Curators and Culture: The Museum Movement in America, 1740-1870* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1990): 15-16.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 18-19.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 22-23.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

by opening their collections to anyone who could afford the price of admission which they kept low.<sup>34</sup> American Enlightenment beliefs in reason, humanitarianism, and progress guided collections away from amusement toward innocence, rational thought, and public education. This was helped by the social structure of the young country, which had no generations of monarchs or patriarchy to demand tribute or to steer collections through their wealth and patronage. Early American cabinets were oriented toward practicality. They replaced the display of wonders of the exotic-for-aesthetics'-sake with the wonder of the abundant undocumented "naturalia" and ethnographic material of the Americas and her trade partners. And so the transition from cabinet of curiosity to early museum took place in this post-revolutionary wave of cultural nationalism with collections like those of Pierre Eugene du Simitere (1782-1785), and Charles Wilson Peale's successful ventures (est. 1786) – both called "The American Museum" and both in Philadelphia – not only ushering in the public era of the museum, but fully grasping and utilizing its social potential.

It is within this context that America's first dedicated maritime collection was created by the East India Marine Society of Salem, Massachusetts. Founded by two-dozen mariners in October of 1799 and incorporated in 1801, the organization was established to, "develop a better knowledge of the sea; to enhance its safe navigation; and to aid a member's family in the event of his death or injury."<sup>35</sup> Membership was limited to master mariners or supercargoes who had navigated the seas at or beyond the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, a stipulation that would limit its membership to the most successful of the East India trade.<sup>36</sup> Also listed among its chief priorities was, "[the formation of] a Museum of natural and artificial curiosities, particularly such

---

<sup>34</sup> Orosz, *Curators and Culture*, 28.

<sup>35</sup> James M. Lindgren, "'That Every Mariner May Possess the History of the World': A Cabinet for the East India Marine Society of Salem." *The New England Quarterly* 68, no. 2 (June 1995): 182-183.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.

as are to be found beyond the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn.<sup>37</sup> Unlike other object collections in the United States at the time, this one had a decidedly maritime slant. The group sought to create, as one member put it, “A Cabinet. That every mariner may possess the history of the world.”<sup>38</sup>

The society received their establishing donation of objects in the autumn of 1799 from Captain Jonathan Carnes after his return from a voyage to Sumatra on the brig *Rajah*. Becoming the East India Museum in 1820, the collection moved from a series of rented halls to its permanent home, the East India Marine Hall, a large purpose-built granite-faced building on Essex Street in 1825.<sup>39</sup> The content of the collection was extremely varied, a result both of the broad geography explored by its members as well as the resultant tendency of the museum to place more value on the source of the collection, indiscriminately accepting items acquired by their member sea captains irrespective of the individual’s taste or discrimination, rather than being guided or culled via curation.<sup>40</sup> The 1821 *Catalogue of the Museum* lists 2,269 items, which include, “War Clubs (Pahooa) headed with tufts of human hair, from the Marquesas;” “A wooden instrument, curiously carved, and edged with the teeth of a Shark, from New Zealand, used by the natives (and formerly by the Sandwich Islanders) to cut up human bodies;” “A tooth of an Elephant from Sumatra, (D. Molaes);” “Three thousand yards of human hair, braided;”

---

<sup>37</sup> The Salem East-India Marine Society. *The East-India Marine Society of Salem*. (Salem, Massachusetts: Printed by W. Palfray, Jr., 1821): 4.

<sup>38</sup> Lindgren, “That Every Mariner,” 184.

<sup>39</sup> Walter Muir Whitehill, *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem: A Sesquicentennial History*. (Salem, Massachusetts: Peabody Museum, 1949): vii.

<sup>40</sup> For a more in-depth critique of the collections strengths and weaknesses see Ernest S. Dodge’s “Captain Collectors, the Influence of New England Shipping on the Study of Polynesian Material Culture,” *The Essex Institute Historical Collections* LXXXI (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1945): 27-34. Dodge suggests that the captain collectors were better at acquiring items of cultural, artistic, and thus academic value from uncivilized regions than from ports of the civilized world where their selections tended to be of the souvenir trade – a circumstance created by both the qualifications of the collectors and the tendency of civilized societies to not easily part with items of cultural import.

“one hundred and twenty nine specimens of Woods, from Brazil;” “A Frock, with a hood, made of the intestines of the Sea Lion (Ursine Seal) from N. W. Coast of America;” “Two entire Dresses of Pelew Women;” and “Specimen of Rock of Gibraltar, (Carb. Of Lime,)” among others.<sup>41</sup>

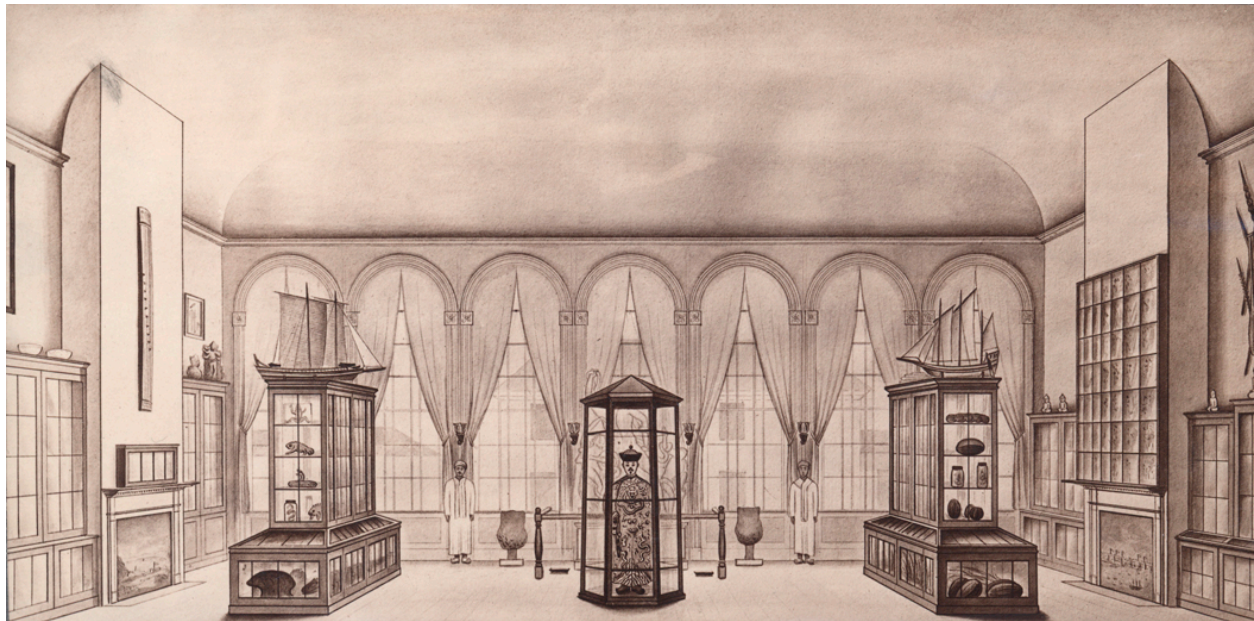


Figure 10 - North view of East India Marine Hall as it appeared between 1825 and 1867. Sketch by James H. Emerton. From George Schwartz. “19<sup>th</sup> Century Experiences,” *Connected*, Peabody Essex Museum. <<http://connected.pem.org/19th-century-experiences/>> (accessed April 15, 2014).

There were numerous maritime related objects and ephemera in the museum’s holdings as well, ranging from maritime material such as, “A Paddle, from the North-west Coast of America;” “Stern for a Canoe, carved with a stone chisel, by the natives of New South Wales;” and “A piece of the Rudder of the brig Two-Friends, of Salem, eaten by worms in one voyage to the W. Coast of Sumatra;” to documents of vessel design such as “A Model of a pleasure boat of Japan; and “A Correct model of the U.S. Frigate [*Constitution*], rigged; to paintings of ships and

---

<sup>41</sup> The Salem East-India Marine Society. *The East-India Marine Society of Salem*, 38, 42, 45, 46, 52, 56.

harbor scenes such as, “Four Views of the [*Essex*], East Indiaman, in a storm, shipwrecked and refitted;” as well as the bound journals of voyages made by society members.<sup>42</sup>

As with the museum’s approach to collecting, its displays during this time were a complete mix of exotic objects, antiquities, and natural specimens, all of which stood as physical representations of the merchant mariners’ encounters with distant peoples and lands.<sup>43</sup> Visitors came to satisfy their curiosity more often than in satisfaction of academic pursuits, but the organization of displays would eventually prove to have an influence on viewer tastes. The inadvertent contextual presentation of disparate objects that came to be displayed via a shared maritime mercantile mechanism (thanks to the mariner as donor) changed what was important or interesting to the viewer. Daniel Finamore suggests that the maritime origins of the objects became the “integral player,” linking the viewer to these distant places, and thus became more important than the object’s maker.<sup>44</sup> The satisfaction of viewing these objects was had in the connection and proximity to places unknown and unimagined, afforded by the viewers’ presence and propinquity to the objects rather than from the academic expansion of the viewers’ known world, making the maritime element of the process essential to its appeal. Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this experience of proximity via object collection and display would heavily influence both Victorian notions of significance as well as the century’s preference in saving and collection behaviors.

---

<sup>42</sup> Article 14 of the by-laws of The Salem East-India Marine Society as well as the chief objectives of the society – both in the 1821 printing – state that a blank journal is to be given to every society member to record “all things worthy of notice which occur during his voyage.” The journals were to be collected, bound, and maintained by the society for research and review. At the time of the 1821 printing there were 67 journals in the Society’s collection, an index of which is included in the publication. *The East-India Marine Society of Salem*, 3-4, 8, 10, 23-29. Ibid., 33, 40, 46, 53, 54.

<sup>43</sup> Daniel Finamore, “Displaying the Sea and Defining America,” *Journal for Maritime Research* 4, no. 1 (May 2002): 47.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

### **CHAPTER 3 – Sentiment vs Document: The Introduction of Western Watercraft into Historic Object Collection Practices**

The arrival of the 19<sup>th</sup> century brought about a noticeable shift in collections-making as formal object collections came to be separated by kind, subject, or shared context. Material already in fledgling academic collections was thus re-allocated to appropriate specialized institutions or became the focus of a particular kind of categorical collection<sup>45</sup> This would include synoptic exhibitions documenting the stages of technological development in numerous realms of material production. The ship, for example, would primarily be examined in the context of the increasing efficiency in its modes of operation – the seafood industry, the business of trans-oceanic shipping, the sustenance of naval power, and the diverse realm of transportation. The focus was industry begetting technology, and in academic institutions these were the circumstances under which maritime material was collected and displayed.

Among the public, however, the allure and excitement found in the experience of the proximity to, and the association of, an object with a person or event of note would come to be a dominant force in both personal and mass-consumption collection and exhibition preferences during most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The qualities of sentiment, memory, nationalism, and grief oriented the focus of non-institutional collecting behaviors. This was most evident in the context of display, as such items were put on public view specifically because of their appeal to the emotions and experience of the viewer. This allowed for items, referred to during this period as relics, to enter collections and displays entirely because of their association rather than for possessing qualities that institutional collections specialists would regard as constituting “actual”

---

<sup>45</sup> Mauriès, *Cabinets of Curiosities*, 185.

historic or informative value. Interestingly these two motivations for collecting emerged somewhat simultaneously, and both would create very different reasons for (and approaches to) the collection and display of western watercraft and associated objects in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century can be regarded as the first real period of activity in the history of vessel collection and preservation. As the previous chapter's look at early American collections intimated, the large, publicly exhibited collections of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were just as likely to be comprised of objects grouped by intellectual characteristics determined by "curation" as it was to be filled with objects linked only by their appeal to the popular human fascination with the unknown. A maritime context was inherent to many of these collections regardless of its foundation or organizational scheme in that the maritime world was the method by which the known world was expanded and by which the distant and exotic were made accessible. The ordinariness of the maritime component of this process initially made the inclusion of expressly maritime objects, i.e. material related to the then modern forms of watercraft, a rarity.

The evolution of collection and display in the 19<sup>th</sup> century created two disparate yet equally driven approaches to the saving, display, and viewing of objects. The importance placed by Victorians on sentiment and memory would not only expand the public's interest in objects of the past - from the artifacts of ancient civilizations to objects of American origin including ships and ship related material - but would also designate a unique set of characteristics that would determine the way historical value in objects was understood. The establishment of the "relic" and elevation of its importance would use those characteristics to determine the value of objects, even through the creation of completely new objects using material of the old.

The intellectual and academic collecting pursuits of formal museums and academic institutions in this century would also expand to include the ordinary, applying intellectual designs at organization, known as taxonomy, to the documentation of the technological development of civilizations from the past to the present. This would somewhat bridge antiquarianism with the sciences, making the exhibition of objects of the past the purview of multiple academic fields. Value rooted in the products and ingenuity of everyday life would emerge as the dominant and accepted foundation for academic object collection by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, making important changes to collecting, exhibition, and museology.

Both approaches were often in conflict, not only because of the thought process behind their application of value, but often because each focused on completely different material both in collection practice and in the saving and display practices used by each, while addressing the same periods of history. By the end of this century, intellectual approaches to object collection and curation would continue to develop beyond the small and private groups and institutions to the establishment of large scale national museums and exhibitions. In contrast, the Victorian fascination with relics remained particular to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and to the informal practice and interest of the common public. Nevertheless, some remnant of the power of the emotional nature of the relic as association item would persist into the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and become the motivator that would enable the saving of vessels, in their entirety, for exhibition.



## Sentiment and Ships - The Victorian Ship Relic and the Emergence of the Association

### Object

Evolving from the cabinet traditions of preceding centuries, the presence of historical objects began to change in collections at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Predecessor cabinets of previous centuries often included objects from antiquity, but the interest in these objects was rarely just their age. Such objects appealed to collectors for their aesthetic value or their representation of the typical life and technology of their period. By the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, however, souvenir collection emerged in Europe in the form of the collection of objects related to the famous or infamous, such as memorabilia of the life of Shakespeare and Mary Queen of Scots, and the interest in objects with notable associations became popular.<sup>46</sup> Historic “association objects,” referred to during this period as “relics,” did not necessarily have the characteristics valued by predecessor collectors and established collections. Often fragmentary, these relics lacked aesthetic appeal as well as the ability to communicate information on life or technology of the past. Their interest lay, rather, in their stories, specifically as links to a significant person, place, or event.<sup>47</sup>

In her in-depth study of American relic collection in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Teresa Barnett notes that in America, the emergence of interest in association items would take on a unique course since the country lacked the age and artistic history to generate native interests of the same breadth as those of European collectors. Americans would instead seek to venerate people and events related to the national patriotic narrative through the collection of objects related to

---

<sup>46</sup> Theresa Barnett. *Sacred Relics: Pieces of the Past in Nineteenth Century America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 20-21.

<sup>47</sup> Steven Lubar and Kathleen M. Kendrick. *Legacies: Collecting America's History at the Smithsonian* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 36.

statesmen, founding fathers, great battlefields, and significant events, all beginning in the 1770's with what Barnett calls the "archetype" of American association items, Plymouth Rock.<sup>48</sup>

Relics grew in popularity beyond personal collections to the stores of the nation's state and local historical societies and organizations. These items ranged widely in composition and included such things as a lock of a person's hair, a swatch cut from an article of clothing, a splinter of a tree growing near the site of a notable event, or an object constructed from material taken from a significant object or place. The motivations for saving and venerating such items were both psychological and emotional. One Congressman commented after receiving of a lock of George Washington's hair in 1863 that the object, "sent, 'a Thrill of Awe & reverence... Thro my whole frame.'"<sup>49</sup> Historic homes and buildings were similarly governed by the mindset of veneration, with the subject of a preservation project often seen as a shrine, and the objects collected as sacred relics.<sup>50</sup> Nineteenth-century tourists visiting American attractions often described themselves as "pilgrims" and their trips to such sites as "pilgrimages," as travel to places, "intimately associated with the deepest, most cherished, axiomatic values of the traveler seems to be a 'cultural universal.'"<sup>51</sup> These relics, even as fragments of a whole, created an immediate connection to all of the events to which the object or person was connected. Like the early Christians who venerated the bones and garments of saints and fragments of sacred objects

---

<sup>48</sup> Barnett, *Sacred Relics*, 21.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>50</sup> Charles B. Hosmer, Jr. *Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States Before Williamsburg* (New York: G. P. Putnam Sons, 1965): 41. "Relic" at this time would have been understood as "something kept as a remembrance, souvenir, or memorial; a historical object relating to a person, place, or thing; a memento," "a precious or valuable object or thing, esp. a sacred ornament"; "an object vested with interest because of its age or historical associations." This, of course, is subjective – as the viewer or viewers would assign their own importance based on their relationship to the subject, but at this time particularly, if it was being saved or collected, it was because there was a group of people who valued the object/place and its historical association.

<sup>51</sup> John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989): 5.; Victor and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978): 241.

to achieve a perceived transferrable power from proximity to the relics, Americans of the 19<sup>th</sup> century found power in the connection and proximity to the past through memory made possible by keeping and viewing tangible pieces of their past.

The result of this sentiment-driven collecting was that objects were kept, in whatever form and by whatever origin, with no attention to any informational value the object could possibly possess. Saved and dried leaves and flowers could offer nothing to inform a viewer of the significance of a battlefield or a grave's occupant, but even more, as Barnett states, "...Victorian Americans cared so little for informational value that they routinely hacked up or otherwise altered articles that, in our eyes, would have historical significance only if they were preserved whole."<sup>52</sup> It was common for "association objects" to be cut into pieces that could be spread among admirers. While many would happily keep their splinters and shards, carefully labeled for display, in other cases pieces of deconstructed objects were made into something else, to be given as a special gift or sold in the souvenir trade. Oddly enough it is in this fashion, via the ship relic, that the first pieces of contemporary maritime material became the subject of collection.

In his 1830 *Annals of Philadelphia*, Antiquarian John Fanning Watson discussed the Revolutionary War frigate *Alliance*, then an old wreck whose remains were still present in his city. He notes that:

---

<sup>52</sup> Barnett, *Sacred Relics*, 24.

When no longer seaworthy, her hull has been stretched upon the margin of Petty's Island, to remain for a century to come a spectacle to many river-passengers, and qualified to raise numerous associations of the past connected with her eventful history in the Revolution... When I presented [the Marquis de Lafayette] with a relic of her timber he was delighted with it for the mental associations it afforded him. Another relic, which I had given to one of our naval officers, has been formed into a miniature ship and now holds a place at the President's Palace. Such a vessel deserves some commemoration and some memorial effort to revive her fame. She is still a relic visibly uniting the present to the former navy, and in her single remains preserving single and alone the solitary link of union.<sup>53</sup>

Clearly Watson saw the transformative nature of relics of the *Alliance*, which allowed their viewers to experience “mental associations” with a nationally shared and venerated past, as the dominant value of the ship's remains. He seems equally as delighted with effects of a fragment of timber and a model boat made from the ship's wood as he does with the idea of constructing a memorial display with her remaining timbers. In his view, the import and power was in the experience, and the object should be made available in any way possible for that experience of memory and connection to be achieved.

Watson's ideas of the veneration of timbers would come to prominence along with the relic trade and traveling exhibition in the mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Such is the case with the remains of the 1626 pilgrim vessel *Sparrow Hawk*. Discovered and excavated in 1863 on Cape Cod, portions of her recovered hull remnants were reassembled and displayed in a number of places including an outdoor platform on the Boston Common in 1865.<sup>54</sup> A segment of the rudder was given to the Pilgrim Society for display in their Pilgrim Hall in Plymouth, Massachusetts in 1864, and the rest of the vessel's extant remains were installed there in 1889.<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> John F. Watson. *Annals of Philadelphia, Being a Collection of Memoirs, Anecdotes, & Incidents of the City and Its Inhabitants from the Days of the Pilgrim Founders* (Philadelphia: E. L. Carey & A. Hart, 1830), 692.

<sup>54</sup> H. H. Holly. *Sparrow-Hawk: A Seventeenth Century Vessel in Twentieth Century America* (Boston: The Nimrod Press, 1969), 1,12.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

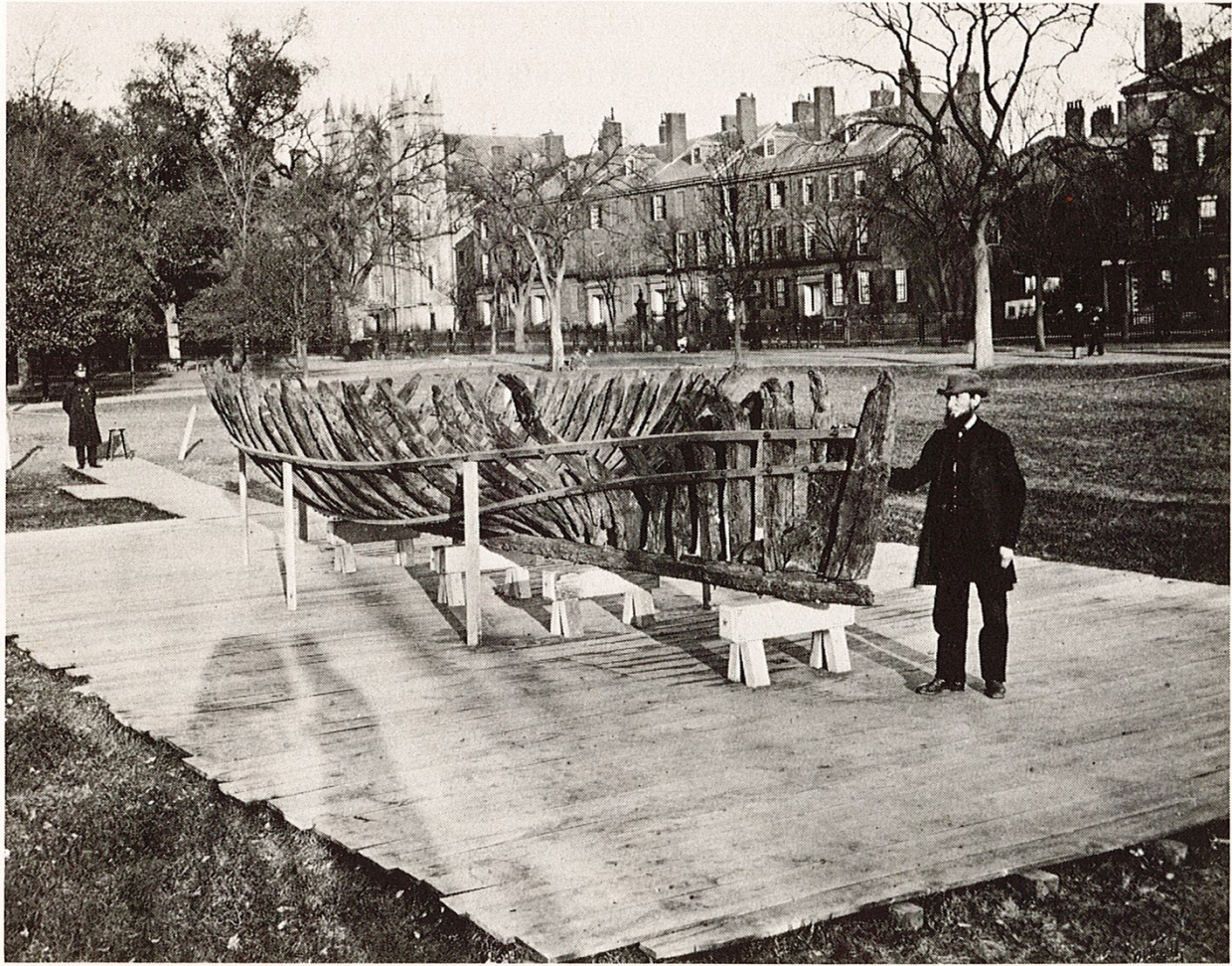


Figure 11 – Reconstructed remains of the *Sparrow Hawk* exhibited on Boston Common opposite Temple Place in 1865. Photograph reproduced from negative by Southworth and Hawes, no. 118, owned by the Holman Print Shop. In H. H. Holly, *Sparrow-Hawk: A Seventeenth Century Vessel in Twentieth Century America* (Boston: The Nimrod Press, 1969) 11-12. The man on the right is Leander Crosby, Esq. one of the men responsible for moving the timbers from their excavation site and arranging for their reassembly by Dolliver and Sleeper shipbuilders.<sup>56</sup>

Similarly, the remains of the War of the 1812 brig *Lawrence*, Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry's first flagship, were raised from Misery Bay, part of Presque Isle Bay off of Erie, Pennsylvania, in September of 1875 in anticipation of the Nation's centennial celebrations.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup> *The Ancient Wreck: Loss of the Sparrow-Hawk in 1626. Remarkable Preservation and Recent Discovery of the Wreck* (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1865), 7.

<sup>57</sup> There is some debate as to whether the vessel raised was actually the *Lawrence* or another period vessel sunk in the Bay for preservation. See Charles Alan Watkins. "Is this the Real Niagara?" *Naval History* 15, no. 1 (February, 2001)

Sunk intentionally for preservation purposes after the war, the accessible submerged hull remnants had long fed a local cottage industry of relic sales, the most popular items being canes or walking sticks. What remained of her hull was raised in 1875, cut into pieces, loaded onto a railroad car, and sent to Philadelphia for the United States Centennial International Exposition of 1876. The hull remnants were placed on display in a temporary structure on Elm Avenue, across the street from the exhibit grounds, where souvenirs crafted from the timbers were sold for additional revenue. Some dispute arose over money owed on rent for the exhibit space after the exhibition closed, and the *Lawrence* remains were sold in a sheriff's sale and ultimately completely cut up by the buyer to produce a variety of souvenirs.<sup>58</sup> In both cases the achievement of the display was not to inform the public of the history of these vessels, and so seeing them in their entirety for scale, design, or diagnostic features was unnecessary. Simply being close to some part of the original ship, as a manifestation of colonial discovery or American military victory, was enough. That same value of memory and significance of past events of nation building would be just as strong in the pieces being separated and sold as private relics, allowing the experience to be permanent for the owner or shared more widely in the transfer and display of the fragment.

---

<sup>58</sup> "What Became of Perry's Ships," in *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society Volume VIII* (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1905): 404. "Commodore Perry's Niagara: The Old Ship May Be Raised from the Bottom of Lake Erie Before 1892," *Roanoke Times*, April 10, 1890. There is some debate as to the ultimate fate of the *Lawrence*, as some secondary sources say that the vessel was destroyed in a fire at the exhibition, either during or shortly after the exhibition run. While there is some evidence of a fire on Elm Avenue outside of the Exhibition on September 10, 1875, there is no evidence that the *Lawrence* exhibit was destroyed there, and the only surviving document that provides a location for the *Lawrence* exhibit, if accurate, would place it outside of that fire's path. Since research has produced multiple newspaper clippings that mention – in varying degrees of detail – the ship's ultimate fate as being cut up for souvenir production (possibly in Trenton, NJ,) in addition to the Buffalo Historical Society essay, it would seem that this is more likely to have been her true fate. It should be noted that pieces labeled as being from the *Lawrence*'s hull are present in a few artifact collections including the Lake Erie Maritime Museum and the collections of the United States Navy.





Figure 12 - From David Frew. *Perry's Lake Erie Fleet: After the Glory* (Charleston: History Press, 2012): 98.



Figure 13 - A cane made from timbers of the *USS Lawrence*, now in the collection of the United States Naval History and Heritage Command. From *The War of 1812*, Flickr: Naval History and Heritage Command <<https://www.flickr.com/photos/naulhistory/albums>> (accessed February 2, 2016).

Even those who rejected the collection of relics for sentiment's sake found the popularity of the practice to be too ubiquitous to avoid. The Reverend William Bentley, renowned scholar, academic collector, and contributor to the East India Marine Society, noted in his diary late in his life that he was given a cane supposedly made from, "the bottom plank of the old ship *Resolution* in which [Captain James] Cooke [sic] went around the world... Mr. Felsh, the Chaplain, warrants for the wood & the worm holes prove it from some ship or other. So I receive it."<sup>59</sup> Even Bentley, an academic minded collector of specimen and artifacts of the past meant to educate viewers of the present, found himself caught up in the popularity of relics. While expressing doubt as to its provenance, he relied on his scientific knowledge to accept the item because he could establish the veracity of the wood as being from a ship by the presence of worm holes. And so a cane made from part of a ship – whichever it may be – became an object worth having.

The sentiment that governed relic collecting was not bound to the breaking up of important objects. In 1890 the United States National Museum acquired a Francis life car that was used to rescue 199 passengers and crew from the wreck of the British ship *Ayrshire* of the coast of New Jersey in 1850. This enclosed boat-shaped capsule, used for transporting shipwreck victims to shore via a series of lines, was invented by Joseph Francis, founder of the U.S. Life Saving Service. He gave the vessel to the museum, "[so that] the relic may be preserved as sacred which has performed an unparalleled feat in saving so many lives."<sup>60</sup> It was became one of the most popular exhibits at the turn of the twentieth century and appeared on every period list of the museum's treasures. While its accomplishment in the *Ayrshire* rescue was

---

<sup>59</sup> Barnett, *Sacred Relics*, 15.; William Bentley. *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.*, 4 vols. (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1962), 4:605.

<sup>60</sup> Steven Lubar and Kathleen M. Kendrick. *Legacies*, 25.



certainly significant, it is interesting to note that even the vessel's own inventor did not identify its collection value in its ingenuity of design or as an example of the technological achievement in the development of life-saving devices. The vessel was a sacred relic because of its association with the specific wreck, and its popularity in the museum lasted as long as there were people who remembered the event. When Francis' fame faded and maritime disasters were no longer commonplace, the life-car was moved to a smaller exhibit.<sup>61</sup>



Figure 14 – Francis Life Car, Late 1840's, Gift of Joseph Francis. Of the 166 passengers and 36 crew aboard the British bark *Ayrshire*, only one lost his life when he insisted on riding atop the car with his family secured inside, and was washed off in a swell. From “On The Water” < [http://americanhistory.si.edu/onthewater/collection/TR\\_160322.html](http://americanhistory.si.edu/onthewater/collection/TR_160322.html) >

---

<sup>61</sup> Lubar and Kendrick. *Legacies*, 25.

## **The Establishment of an Academic Collection Framework and the Inclusion of Maritime Material Culture in Institutional Object Collections**

At the same time that people were collecting fragments of Confederate battle flags and chips cut from Plymouth Rock, the collection practices of intellectual and academic curators moved towards acquiring and preserving objects of historical and scientific significance, especially objects that reflected the practices of daily life rather than being associated with specific notable events.<sup>62</sup> Innovation, technical evolution, and human ingenuity as applied to both the social and economic realm became the dominant theme, and the establishment of formal national and international museums from extant cabinet-type collections reflected this ideal. The early-to-mid part of the century saw the establishment of national museums like the Smithsonian Institution, established in 1838, as object research institutions. Academic investigations of newly formed typologies such as John Fanning Watson's published studies of decorative arts (early to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century), as well as the national establishment of the public school and the public library, were undertaken not just for the service of a small membership or constituency, but with an emphasis on the education of the public and self-culture as a means of good citizenship.<sup>63</sup>

In regard to the past, these learned institutions asserted the primacy of documentation and representation – via illustrations, paintings, depictions, books, portraits, models, etc. rather than elderly relics of the past – to serve as informative displays. Exhibits focused on documenting the accomplishment of man through his ingenuity, technology and industry using these representations to demonstrate chronological advancement. As the maritime world comprised a

---

<sup>62</sup> Thomas J. Schlareth. *Material Culture Studies in America* (New York: Altamira Press, 1999), 9. Both the flag swatch and tea cup are pictured in Lubar and Kendrick. *Legacies*, 37-38.

<sup>63</sup> Orosz, *Curators and Culture*, 7; Barnett, *Sacred Relics*, 27.

significant part of technological efforts – for warfare, industry, and travel – is no surprise that these objects would become the focus of their own area of study.

In England, a campaign began around 1890 for the establishment of a national naval museum, inspired by enthusiasm for smaller naval artifact rooms established throughout the country in the preceding years, as well as the naval artifact museums in the capitals of Europe.<sup>64</sup> British “navalism” was at its height at this time as a result of public propaganda campaigns designed to support the country’s new naval program of expansion, shipbuilding, and technical development. An example of this program’s success is the production of the popular Royal Naval Exhibition of 1891.<sup>65</sup> From May 2 to October 24, the exhibition hosted 2,351,683 visitors and featured a number of exhibit buildings and pavilions containing marine art and artifacts, small craft, ship models, and maritime business displays. The grounds also featured a temporary lake that staged naval battles involving large models.<sup>66</sup> Taking advantage of the Exhibition’s waterfront location in Chelsea, the 40-ton Yarmouth sailing trawler *Heroine*, which had been restored after damage during her last voyage in January of that year, and a partial hull replica of the *HMS Victory*, were both on display.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup> Kevin Littlewood and Beverley Butler. *Of Ships and Stars: Maritime Heritage and the Founding of the National Maritime Museum Greenwich*. (London: The Athlone Press, 1998), 15, 23-24, 41.

<sup>65</sup> Peter van der Merwe. “Views of the Royal Naval Exhibition, 1891,” *Journal for Maritime Research* 3, no. 1 (2001): 146-147.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 147, 152.



Figure 15 - The Blake Gallery at the Royal Naval Exhibition, Chelsea, 1891. Many of the paintings displayed came from private collections, the Greenwich Hospital Collection and the Admiralty, and are now part of the National Maritime Museum collections. From Peter van der Merwe, "Views of the Royal Naval Exhibition, 1891," *Journal for Maritime Research* 3, no. 1 (2001): 149.



Figure 16 - The 40-ton ketch-rigged trawler *Heroine* on display at the Royal Naval Exhibition, Chelsea, 1891. The vessel was lent to the Exhibition by the Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen and sold for £13 when the Exhibition closed. From Peter van der Merwe. "Views of the Royal Naval Exhibition, 1891," *Journal for Maritime Research* 3, no. 1 (2001): 152.

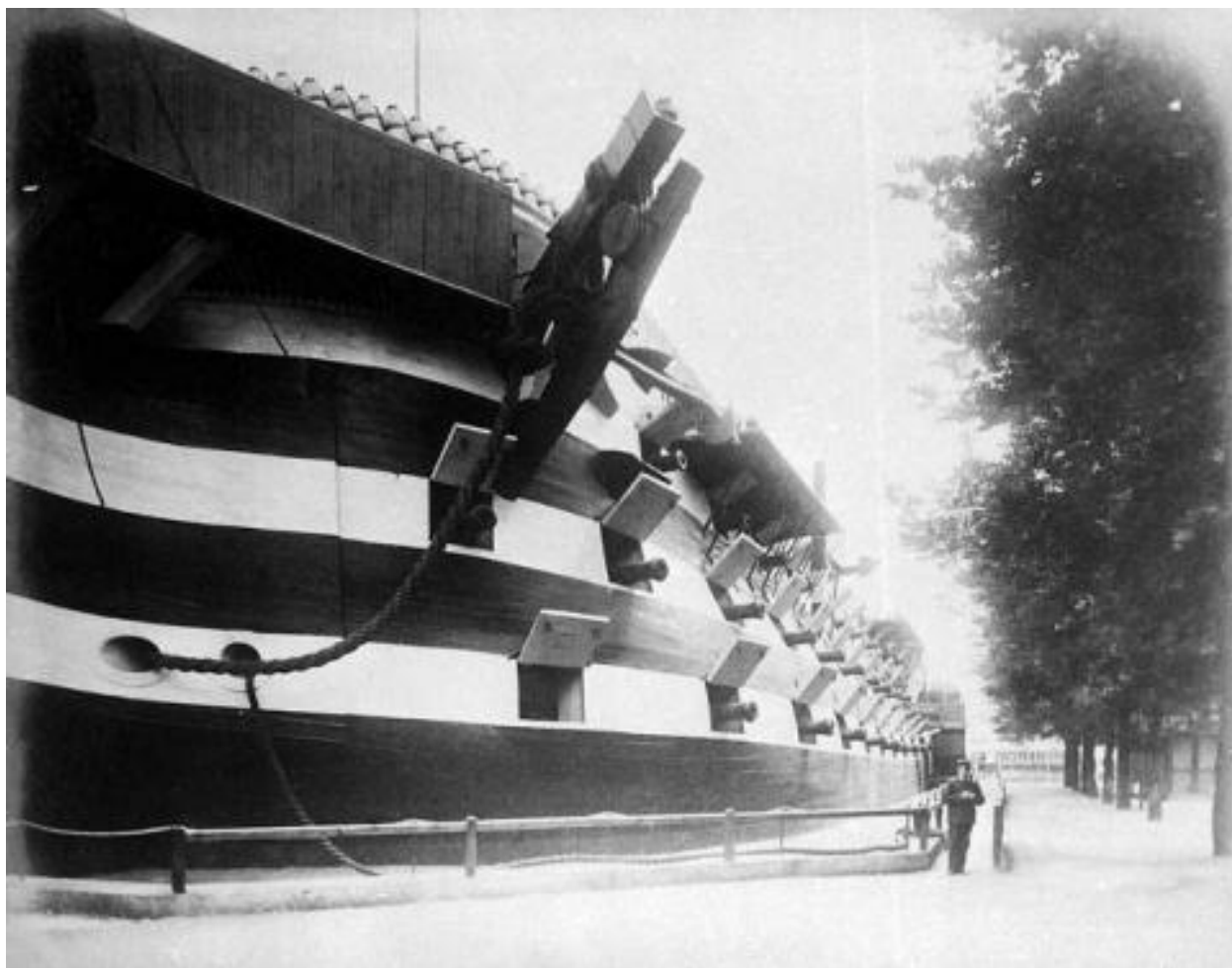


Figure 17 - The Victory replica at the Royal Naval Exhibition, Chelsea, 1891. Viewed from the bow down the port side. The replica did not have the top two decks found on the original ship (the quarter deck or the upper deck,) nor did it have masts, rigging, or sails.<sup>68</sup> From Peter van der Merwe, "Views of the Royal Naval Exhibition, 1891," *Journal for Maritime Research* 3, no. 1 (2001): 151.

In the United States, motivation for the creation of formal maritime object collection was similarly sparked by the desire to index and celebrate American navalism and development. In 1865 the U.S. Navy sought a place to display its collection of objects and artifacts that included a 1793 French gun captured during the Quasi-War with France, 1798-1801.<sup>69</sup> The Navy settled upon the former paint shop at the Navy Yard, Building 10, in Washington DC for their new

<sup>68</sup> *Royal Naval Exhibition 1891: The Illustrated Handbook and Souvenir* (London: The Pall Mall Gazette, 1891): 35.

<sup>69</sup> U.S. Navy Museum. "The National Museum of the U.S. Navy: History." Accessed January 15, 2014. [www.history.navy.mil/braches/org8-4.htm](http://www.history.navy.mil/braches/org8-4.htm)



museum which opened that year to visitors as the Museum of Naval Relics and Weapons. References to the museum can be found in several period editions of *Morrison's Stranger's Guide for Washington City*, wherein noted highlights of the museum's exhibits include, "a curious collection of munitions of warfare; among them, on the first floor... a Spanish gun, cast in 1490, brought by Cortez to America and used in the conquest of Peru; a small mortar captured by Cornwallis, and many historical relics of the late war..."<sup>70</sup>

Continuing with the idea of displays organized by chronology, development, and nationalism, the United States National Museum, part of the Smithsonian Institution, established a national watercraft collection in 1884. Called the "Section of American Naval Architecture," it was described by then curator of the Divisions of Mineral and Mechanical Technology, Carl W. Mitman, as a, "...tangible record of the development of naval architecture in a country which owes so much of its success and greatness to the art which has created the floating fabrics that have sailed from its shores."<sup>71</sup> In his introduction to his 1923 publication *Smithsonian Institution, United States National Museum, Bulletin 127: The Catalogue of the Watercraft*

---

<sup>70</sup> William H. Morrison. *Morrison's Strangers Guide to Washington City. Illustrated with Numerous Engravings and Map, Fortieth Edition.* (Washington, DC: William H. Morrison, 1888), 26-27. The collection changed buildings in 1913, and then was placed in storage in the 1920's where it remained until 1935 when it finally found a home in the Breech Mechanism Shop, building 40.

<sup>71</sup> Howard I. Chapelle, *The National Watercraft Collection, Second Edition* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1976), 3. Carl W. Mitman, ed. *Smithsonian Institution, United States National Museum, Bulletin 127: Catalogue of the Watercraft Collection in the United States National Museum* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1923) 2-3. The term "Naval" refers to all maritime craft and does not denote military or government use or designed vessels. Chapelle's introduction to *The National Watercraft Collection* does not include much of the information on the origin of the collection contained in Mitman's description of the collection and its origin. It may be that Chapelle had no knowledge of the prior work, as an image included on page 2 of Chapelle's book captioned "Old Watercraft Hall in the U.S. National Museum," is described as being taken "prior to 1930" where the same image, captioned as "The Boat Hall," appears as the frontispiece in Mitman's text, published in 1923. Chapelle credits Collins with establishing the collection, and that the majority of the contents came from exposition exhibits he had arranged in addition to models he collected, while Mitman describes a slightly more diverse collection of artifacts that include watercraft and come from a range of sources, including Collins and his exhibits. In his "Notes" that accompany the 1983 publication of the Historic American Merchant Marine Survey, project Assistant Director Frank A. Taylor notes that Mitman's *Catalogue* was largely helped by a manuscript produced by Captain Collins. Frank A. Taylor, "Notes," in *The Historic American Merchant Marine Survey, Works Progress Administration, Federal Project No.6* (Salem, New Hampshire: The Ayer Company, 1983), xvii. Mitman provides no date for the official establishment of the collection as Chapelle does, so Chapelle's date is included here.

*Collection in The United States Museum*, Mitman adds that the collection was international in scope and placed just as much importance on craft developed by native people and primitive cultures as it did on more advanced seafaring technology.<sup>72</sup> According to Mitman, material that would form the founding collection came to the institution from a variety of sources including a series of expeditions commissioned by the United States, beginning with the Wilkes Expedition [The United States Exploring Expedition] in 1838-1842.<sup>73</sup> Material including watercraft and models were collected from these expeditions, as well as, “all forms of boats or other means of water transportation used by the natives in various parts of America,” collected from expeditions within the US.<sup>74</sup>

The collection was unofficially curated in its early years by Captain Joseph William Collins, a former Gloucester fishing schooner master and curator of international fishery exhibits for the United States Commission of Fish and Fisheries.<sup>75</sup> Captain Collins’ fisheries exhibits had appeared at expositions in the US and abroad and were curated with the goal of illustrating the importance and evolution of American designed watercraft, with a particular emphasis on New England fishing schooners. These exhibits and artifacts were then incorporated into the National Museum collection and expanded to form a new “Naval Architecture” collection. Collins acquired a substantial number of builder’s half-hull models of New England fishing schooners as well as rigged scale models representative of vessels of the American Merchant Marine, thus forming what Mitman referred to as, “a most comprehensive and exhaustive epitome of naval architecture.”<sup>76</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> Mitman, *Catalogue of the Watercraft Collection*, 2-3.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 3. Also known as the “U.S. Ex Ex” this expedition explored and surveyed the Pacific Ocean and its island and bordering lands.

<sup>74</sup> Chapelle, *The National Watercraft Collection*, 3.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Mitman, *Catalogue of the Watercraft Collection*, 2-3. Chapelle, *National Watercraft Collection*, 2. A similar image of one of Captain Collins’ fisheries exhibits from the 1880’s (Figure 6) shows a predominance of photographs





Figure 18 - Fisheries Exhibit in the U.S. National Museum during the 1880's when Captain J. W. Collins was serving the U.S. Commission of Fish and Fisheries. Note the extensive prints and photographs of watercraft nearly every flat surface. Smithsonian photo 46597. From Howard I. Chapelle, *The National Watercraft Collection, Second Edition* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1976), 5.

At the time of the publication of the 1923 *Catalogue*, Mitman explained the curatorial focus of the collection, stating that, “the object has been, so far, to give special attention to the representation of historical objects through which can be traced the beginnings of an enterprise destined in later years to revolutionize the water-borne traffic of the world.”<sup>77</sup> The majority of the collection was American vessels, with a then recent inclusion of innovation in steam vessel

---

of vessels at work/afloat/underway displayed along with natural specimens and fisheries tools and equipment. Ibid., 5.

<sup>77</sup> Mitman, *Catalogue of the Watercraft Collection*, 4-5.

and engine design, noting that a predominance of the vessel type on the inland and coastal waterways facilitated the later development and expansion of vessel and engine types for transatlantic travel.<sup>78</sup> The *Catalogue* also expounded on the scope of the international portion of the collection, mentioning watercraft and models from South America, Great Britain, Germany, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, numerous countries and populations from Asia including Sri Lanka, India, China, Japan, The Maldives, and Kashmir (to name a few), and an extensive representation of Pacific Islands. Absent from the collection is the inclusion of material related to “government vessels,” as such objects had long been collected and maintained by the Navy Department.<sup>79</sup> The *Catalogue* entries consist of examples of models or specimens of representative watercraft, some including photos of ship models and small craft. Mitman notes that the collections were too extensive at that time to fully index in the publication, but that in addition to the models and full-sized vessels, there were a number of photographs, drawings, and paintings in the collection that had to be excluded.

While small craft were included when size appropriate for display, the predominate forms of vessel saving and representation were scale models, builder’s half hull models, and paintings, illustrations, and photographs. These were thought to be the most precise representations of such craft at the time, possibly for their accuracy in scale and depiction, and possibly because they allowed for a large number to be grouped together for study and comparison in one place, something that was impossible and impractical with actively working full scale ships.

---

<sup>78</sup> Mitman, *Catalogue of the Watercraft Collection*, 4-5

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 4.



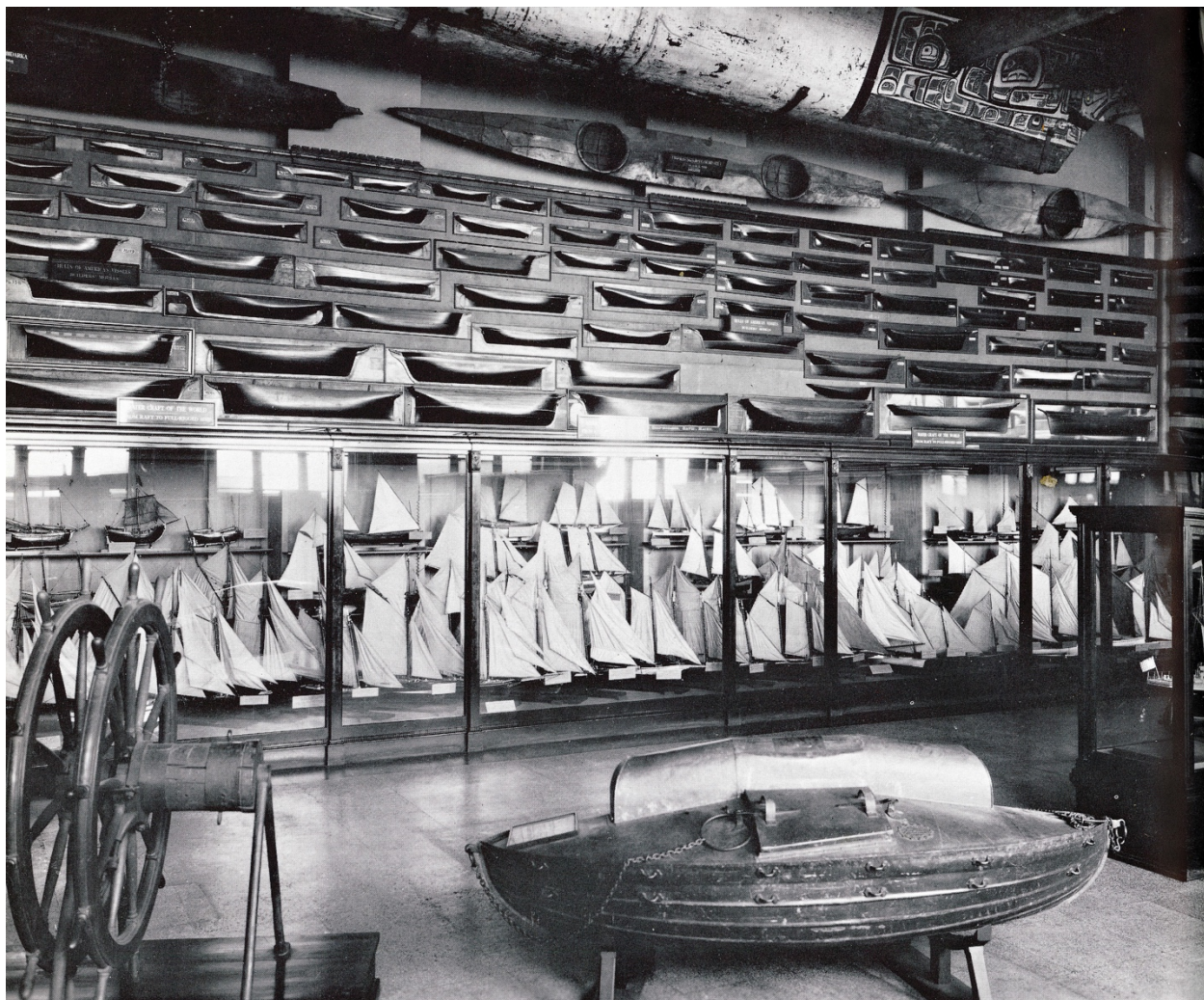


Figure 19 - The Boat Hall, U.S. National Museum, photo taken before 1923. Shown are half-hull models, rigged ship models, and examples of small craft. Note the relocated Francis life car now displayed in a more academic context. From Carl W. Mitman, ed. *Smithsonian Institution, United States National Museum, Bulletin 127: Catalogue of the Watercraft Collection in the United States National Museum* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1923), Frontispiece.

The Centennial Exhibition of 1876 attracted numerous displays both on and off the official fairgrounds. In contrast to the somewhat sensational nature of the *Lawrence* display and its relic sales outside the Exhibition gates, within the exhibition grounds, maritime industry was shown in quite a different atmosphere. James Dabney McCabe's *The Illustrated History of the Centennial Exhibition* (1876) described Machinery Hall's maritime exhibits:

...there was a fine ice yacht, a peculiarly American institution, and above it an American double life-boat with its equipments [sic], beyond which was a collection of boats and shells, and a half-size model of the famous Monitor life-raft, which, it will be remembered, made a successful voyage across the Atlantic a few years ago, and has since been adopted by the Navy of the United States. Beyond this was a full-sized steam yacht, exhibited by Baird & Huston, of Philadelphia, showing an improvement in the arrangement of the propeller... John Roach & Sons, the famous shipbuilders of New York and Chester, Pennsylvania, exhibited a handsome collection of models of the noted iron steamships they have built for the Pacific Mail Company and other shippers, and models of the ironclads "Puritan" and "Miantonomoh," built by them for the United States. They exhibited also a sample of armor plating, and other work for iron vessels.<sup>80</sup>

In the United States Government Building, the Navy Department also exhibited ship-related material including an 800-horsepower compound screw engine, a 500-horsepower back-acting condensing engine, two compound marine boilers, a cutter engine with a vertical boiler, countless guns and ordnance, and an Ericsson and Lay Torpedo, "the most perfect moveable torpedo known."<sup>81</sup> There was historical material shown in the pavilion as well, including the boat *Faith*, used in the first and second Grinnell Arctic Expeditions, and, from the latter, one of three boats pushed 80 miles over ice to open sea when Dr. E. K. Kane and his crew had to abandon their ship the *Advance* in 1858. Another was a boat made from the wreck of the *Polaris* in 1872 and used as a life-boat for surviving crew until being rescued by the Scottish whaler *Ravenscraig*.<sup>82</sup>

The maritime material presented at the Exhibition celebrated ingenuity, technological development, and achievement. From the ice boat, noted for its "peculiarity" to America, to the newest and biggest steam engines being used by the biggest ship builders in the country, the display of this material was meant to inform and awe the viewer, all in the spirit of celebrating the nation's progress in its first hundred years. The *Faith* and the handmade *Polaris* lifeboat were

---

<sup>80</sup> James D. McCabe. *The Illustrated History of the Centennial Exhibition Held in Commemoration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of American Independence* (Philadelphia: The National Publishing Company, 1876): 454-455.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 568.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 515.

displayed in that same spirit, documenting particular moments of ingenuity. While the watercraft are examples of success and progress, there was still a tension at the exhibition between heralding technology and celebrating past achievement. The former may have been the intention of the exhibition's creators, but the latter was seen throughout the exhibit not only in the aforementioned historic craft, but more expressly in the form of furniture made from a 200-year-old maple tree in Independence Square, and a chair made from the wood of a large tree branch under which George Washington had taken command of his army in 1775.<sup>83</sup> In the case of maritime material, one can assume that the proponents of the technological were the dominant force at the exhibition, as the *Lawrence*, despite her nationalist connection to victory in the war of 1812, was excluded from the exhibition proper and instead privately posted in the makeshift town of such exhibits that developed in the public streets outside the exhibition grounds.

By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the collection and display of modern and historic maritime material was a fully rooted practice. Following the developments in collection practices and museology in general, maritime material became the singular focus of some national exhibitions and dedicated museum collections. The vernacular craft from expeditions to far off nations that remained from the previous centuries' cabinets were combined with more recent discoveries and modern technological development in watercraft and maritime industry to create synoptic exhibits focused on ingenuity and technical and architectural development over time. While some small objects could be used in such exhibits, the academic forces behind these collections saw more value in the display of paintings, models, and photographs of vessel architecture and vessels underway as a means of demonstrating advancement and achievement in the merchant

---

<sup>83</sup> Karal Ann Marling. *George Washington Slept Here: Colonial Revivals and American Culture, 1876-1986* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986): 32-33.

marine and fishing and travel industries. Actual modern craft and modern maritime material was either impractical for display in size and scale, or predominately valued by the public for the object's notoriety, sentiment, and transformative connective power linking the viewer to a specific event.

The power of this connection, fed by emotions such as pride and nationalism, spurred the other mode of collection and display that was popular in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The power of being in the presence of items associated with famous people and events was an enormous public draw. Local historical societies as well as private citizens felt an obligation to preserve relics as their connection to a greater national past. Relics were created and cared for with no mindfulness to informative value, resulting in accumulations of swatches of fabric, locks of hair, and splinters of wood. Ships and watercraft of historical import to the Victorian public were displayed in various states of completeness, sometimes barely recognizable save for the thin nubs of rib timbers of an aged hull rising from a long, lone keel. The production of objects made from such vessels was extremely popular. Canes, cribbage boards, snuff boxes, chairs, and countless other objects were crafted from notable ships, likely being kept by a person or family for only a short time before being donated to an historical institution.

While the deconstructive nature of Victorian relic collection was particular to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, its motivating characteristics of sentiment and nostalgia would endure in the new maritime collection practices of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, sparked by the beginning of the end of the age of sail and the dwindling of the once dominant maritime industry. As the next chapter will discuss, mainstream museums would continue their organizational focus on the chronology and evolution of objects developed by man. Fueled by emotions borne of the changing maritime climate and in a race against modernity, ingenuity would be applied to the focused and dedicated

saving and collection of maritime material of all types with any and all resources available to the remaining maritime enthusiasts, thus creating new approaches to the collection and display of maritime material.

## **CHAPTER 4 – The End of the Age of Sail and the Beginning of Ship Saving: Exhibition, Documentation, and Other Attempts at Preservation**

The period from roughly 1860 to 1948 is referred to by historian and material culture studies specialist Thomas J. Schlereth as the “Age of Collecting,” a period defined by the emergence of the need to save, preserve, and classify and organize historical relics, objects d’art, and “unique” or “elite” artifacts as well as by a fascination with the historical, and a “hoarding of high style.”<sup>84</sup> This is an evolution of both kinds of motivations for collectors discussed in the previous chapter. Formal collecting went beyond the taxonomic and synoptic to look at representations of style and form in addition to the evolution of function. It also altered sentimentally-driven saving and collecting behaviors to be less rooted in personal memory, brought forth by fragments, in favor of the value of an object in whole as a best example of type, kind, or the emotional connection to product of a significant period of time. A surge in interest in Americana at the time of the centennial in 1876 influenced a range of interests and practices from the development of the colonial revival style of architecture, to the preservation of historically significant homes and structures, to a shift in the focus of historical societies from genealogy to object, artifact, and document collection.

The collection and saving of maritime material would make its first significant development as a professional cultural practice during this period, as the convergence of the end of the age of sail and the buildup to the First World War brought about unprecedented change to the American maritime landscape. The full transition of commercial vessels from sail to steam simultaneously transformed the industry of travel and the transportation of goods, and caused a

---

<sup>84</sup> Thomas J. Schlereth. “The Shifting Paradigms: A brief Historical overview of Material Culture studies in America,” in *Material Culture Studies*, 7-8.



visible change in the landscape of America's coasts and inland waterways. The harbor skyline of towering masts and billowing sails was replaced with epic hulls of steel and plumes of coal smoke. The chandlers, rope walks, and sail lofts of port towns would vanish outright, creating a nostalgia among the adult generation for their childhood experiences and community livelihoods. Along with the loss of age-of-sail infrastructure to support the marine trades, there was a similar evolution of the technology of naval architecture and warfare. The American Civil War and the First World War both advanced the design and strategic use of new naval technology. Both wars would leave nations with unprecedented destruction and loss of life. Steam vessels, ironclads, modern battleships, and submarines were able to transform hundreds of years of naval practice in the span of a few decades.

It is around these events that the first dedicated maritime museums were established both in the United States and abroad. Particularly around the time of the First World War, there emerged a mounting desire to preserve, or at the very least record, the objects of the age.<sup>85</sup> Connected still to the emotional aspects of remembrance and sentiment that promoted the collection of relics and association items in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, collection of the early twentieth century was driven by the sentiment for objects of the past as they vanished, as well as the emotional toll of loss and memorialization brought on in America by the Civil War and internationally by the first World War.

People collected maritime material to save and remember a vanishing sector of public and private life and to memorialize and process an incomprehensible loss of life. It is in this climate that the interest in saving maritime material expanded to include an interest in saving whole ships. While it seemed desirable to save wooden ships from being burned for their metal

---

<sup>85</sup> Littlewood and Butler, *Of Ships and Stars*, 38.

fittings, or to let a war ship stand as a memorial to a nation's wartime sacrifice, the practice of saving and keeping ships proved to be nearly impossible, because of the characteristics and needs of the ships themselves. Mooring space or display space, maintenance, exposure to elements, age, reconstruction of lost material, and cost were only a few of the hurdles encountered in vessel preservation. This period of maritime collection would be marked by discovery of these issues by the first generation of vessel preservationists. Driven by sentiment, or duty, or loss, their dedication to the idea of saving whole vessels would result in a number of approaches to keeping, saving, and collecting maritime material that would be in the forefront of cultural heritage and preservation practices.

### **America's first Maritime Museums**

As extensive as collection efforts at the Smithsonian and the U.S. National Museum continued to be at this time, the collection of maritime materials was not limited to national organizations. Large-scale museum and preservation projects were begun at this time by wealthy members of elite society, such as Rockefeller's Colonial Williamsburg restoration project (est. 1926), and Henry Ford's Museum and Greenfield Village (est. 1929). In the same vein, lawyer Carl C. Cutler, doctor Charles K. Stillman, and silk manufacturer Edward Bradley incorporated the Marine Historical Association in Mystic, CT on Christmas day of 1929. Cutler had noticed a disconcerting number of maritime manuscripts and artifacts being destroyed as maritime connections were lost, and all three had personal connections to sail either in having made a voyage or in having family members in a maritime industry.<sup>86</sup> Their efforts and fundraising allowed them to open their first exhibit in a former mill building in 1931. In that same year they

---

<sup>86</sup> Mystic Seaport: The Museum of America and the Sea™. *Mystic Seaport: A Visitor's Guide* (Mystic, CT: Mystic Seaport Museum, Inc., 2005), 9-10.

added their first historic vessel, the sandbagger *Annie*, to the collections of what would come to be known as Mystic Seaport. At the same time, an 800-acre parcel of land was purchased in Newport News, VA by railroad and shipping fortune heir Archer Milton Huntington and his wife to establish a park and eventual maritime museum. Together with his partner and head of Newport News Shipbuilding Homer L. Ferguson, they set out to New York, New England, Europe, the West Indies and several other locations to collect international maritime material for their Mariners Museum.



Figure 20 - The sandbagger *Annie* on display on the lawn near the Stillman building, at the Mystic Seaport Museum. The vessel was displayed outdoors and on land in her early years at the museum. 1990.76.61, Photograph, Mystic Seaport Collections. <<http://www.mobius.mysticseaport.org/detail.php?t=object&type=all&f=&s=Annie&record=252>>

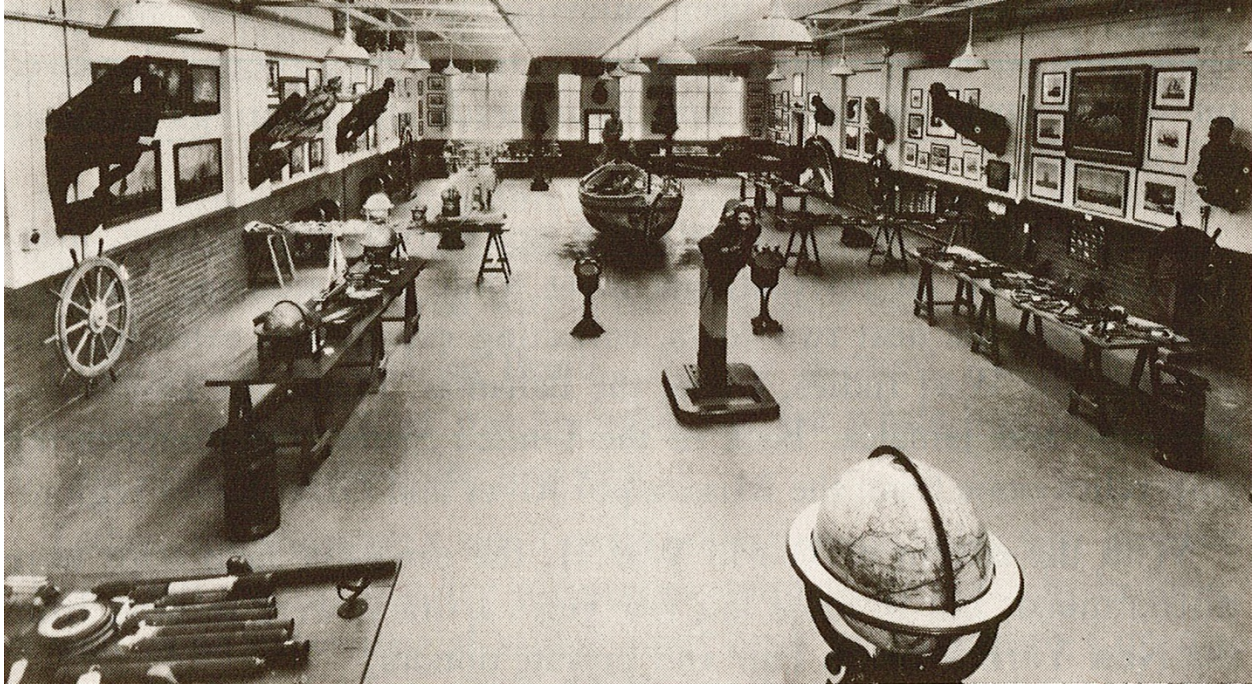


Figure 20 - The Mariners' Museum's first gallery. Valuable artifacts were strapped down with wire, which was then tied under the sawhorse-type tables. From Thomas N. Downing, *The Mariners' Museum: Preserving the Culture of the Sea* (New York: The Newcomen Society of the United States, 1987): 13.

Collections were also founded by private institutions, such as the New York Yacht Club (1844) and India House (1921) who felt that their particular connection to the sea could be bolstered by a display of specific maritime material. India House was founded in reaction to the “low ebb” in public interest in maritime matters, but more prominently as a meeting place for men who saw a supremacy in America’s place in the merchant marine and the economics of global shipping.<sup>87</sup> The collection amassed by the club members and used to decorate its rooms was placed to document “the story of a maritime people, through whose efforts the port was made the gateway to a Western World of boundless wealth and resources.”<sup>88</sup> The forward to the India House’s 1935 catalog of their maritime collection notes that the organization and situation

<sup>87</sup> *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Marine Collection to be found at India House*. Second Edition. (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1973): xi.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

of its collection “is calculated to impress upon its members the dramatic story of the growth of [their] commerce... in these rooms are treasured the relics of the past, symbolizing the world-wide extent of [their] trading interests.”<sup>89</sup> The 1935 catalog lists paintings and models of large, well known trade ships, but also included some historic maritime material including 19<sup>th</sup> century shipping company stock certificates, papers signed by Napoleon Bonaparte, and an order of sailing signed by Horatio Nelson. In the period after this catalog, the collecting focus expanded to include material associated the Asian cultures of the countries with whom the members did business. While India House was not a public exhibition space, the rooms were carefully curated to make an impression on its members’ elite guests. The presentation of these rare objects and art suggested a level of wealth, power, and economic success owed to a long history of accomplishment in the maritime world.

---

<sup>89</sup> *India House*, xi-xii.





Figure 21 – Interior stairwell of India House, with its centerpiece figurehead from the *Glory of the Seas*. Taylor & Dull. *Glory of the Seas Figurehead*. In *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Marine Collection to be found at India House*. Second Edition. (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1973)

## Early Attempts at Ship Saving

At these early maritime collections and institutions, the collection and subsequent display of historically significant watercraft was initially limited to examples of small craft that could be easily housed in museum collections, like *Annie* and the international small craft collected for the National Watercraft Collection. Soon, however, it expanded to accommodate the 19<sup>th</sup> century practice of finding, recovering, and displaying the remnants of lost historic vessels, but with the new determination at making the ship whole again. In 1912, a diver was sent to the bottom of Misery Bay to examine the remains of Perry's War of 1812 brig *Niagara*.<sup>90</sup> Ordered by the Pennsylvania Perry's Victory Centennial Commission, the examination was to determine the viability of raising the hull from the twenty feet of water and six feet of sand and mud in which she had been situated since she was sunk at her moorings in 1825.<sup>91</sup>

During the fall and winter of 1912, the hull was uncovered via the use of a "sand sucker" that used hydraulic pressure to clear a path so that four chains could be secured around the hull and attached to "strong beams" supported by pontoons on either side of the wreck.<sup>92</sup> Aided by Captain William L. Morrison and the crew of the sail side-paddle steamer *USS Wolverine*, the hull was then lifted via the chains by a twenty-foot lever winch system on a steam barge, finally breaking the icy surface on March 6, 1913.<sup>93</sup> Her remains were beached as soon as weather permitted, and deteriorated material was removed to allow for a reconstruction. Following lines taken from the hull at the time of her raising and then combined with those of "four famous

---

<sup>90</sup> Editorial Staff of the Journal of American History under the Auspices of the Board of Perry's Victory Centennial Commissioners of the State of Pennsylvania. *Perry's Victory Centennial Souvenir: The Niagara Keepsake* (New York: The Journal of American History, 1913): 19. As with the *Lawrence*, there may be some debate as to whether this vessel was actually the *Niagara*,

<sup>91</sup> Editorial Staff, *Perry's Victory Centennial Souvenir*, 19.; W. L. Morrison and A. G. Kessler, "Raising the United States Brig 'Niagara,'" *Scientific American* 108, no. 26 (1913): 580

<sup>92</sup> Editorial Staff, *Perry's Victory Centennial Souvenir*, 20.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

clipper ships of that period... but skillfully adjusted to the shallow waters of lake Erie” chosen by Howard Chapelle, she was rebuilt where she was beached, then armed, and was ready to launch just two months after work began.<sup>94</sup> The “reconstructed” ship was subsequently sent on tour from port to port to celebrate the centennial of the battle of Lake Erie, towed by the *Wolverine*, and was then returned to Erie for public exhibition. The vessel was closed in the 1920’s due to lack of maintenance and again sank at her moorings in 1929.<sup>95</sup>

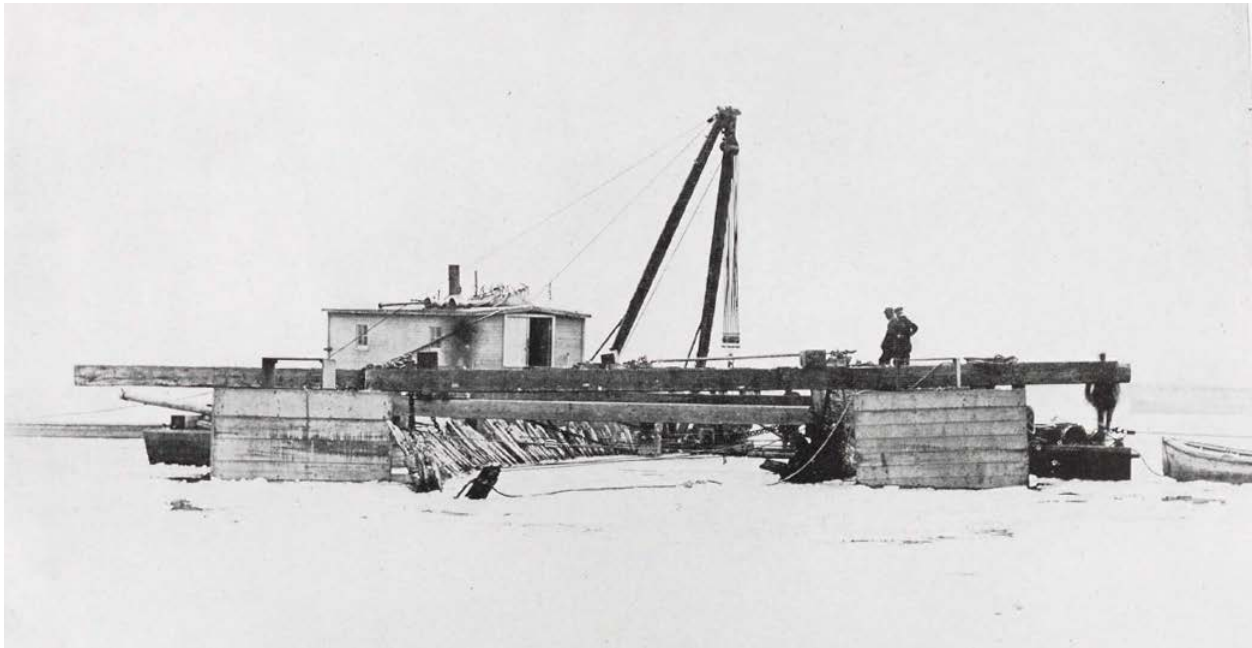


Figure 22 - Steam barge raising the hull of the *Niagara* through the icy surface of Misery Bay on March 6, 1913. From Editorial Staff of the *Journal of American History* under the Auspices of the Board of Perry’s Victory Centennial Commissioners of the State of Pennsylvania. *Perry’s Victory Centennial Souvenir: The Niagara Keepsake* (New York: The Journal of American History, 1913): 21.

---

<sup>94</sup> Editorial Staff, *Perry’s Victory Centennial Souvenir*, 24, 28.

<sup>95</sup> Walter Rybka and Daniel Moreland. *U. S. Brig Niagara: Crew Handbook* (Erie, PA: U. S. Brig Niagara, 1992): 14.





Figure 23 - The Niagara, starboard side looking forward, April 2, 1913. From Editorial Staff of the Journal of American History under the Auspices of the Board of Perry's Victory Centennial Commissioners of the State of Pennsylvania. *Perry's Victory Centennial Souvenir: The Niagara Keepsake* (New York: The Journal of American History, 1913): 25.

In the summer of 1932, World War I veteran and history buff Lorenzo F. Hagglund spent his summer vacation searching for the wreck of the Revolutionary War flagship of General Benedict Arnold, the *Royal Savage*, in Lake Champlain. Finding the wreck off of Valcour Island on the last day of his trip, Hagglund tried to raise government interest in the salvage of Arnold's fleet but had no success.<sup>96</sup> Financing the project himself, he returned to Valcour Bay in 1934 and, using a hand-operated compressor and twenty-two empty tar drums, successfully raised the lower portion of the hull to the surface.<sup>97</sup> The hull pieces were disassembled and tagged in

---

<sup>96</sup> John R. Bratten. *The Gondola Philadelphia & The Battle of Lake Champlain* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2002): 75.

<sup>97</sup> Popular Mechanics. "Arnold's Flagship Raised on Old Tar Drums," *Popular Mechanics* 63, no. 6 (June, 1935): 803.

anticipation of being put on display, but instead spent 50 years stored in garages until Hagglund's son donated the remaining pieces to a small museum in 1990.<sup>98</sup>

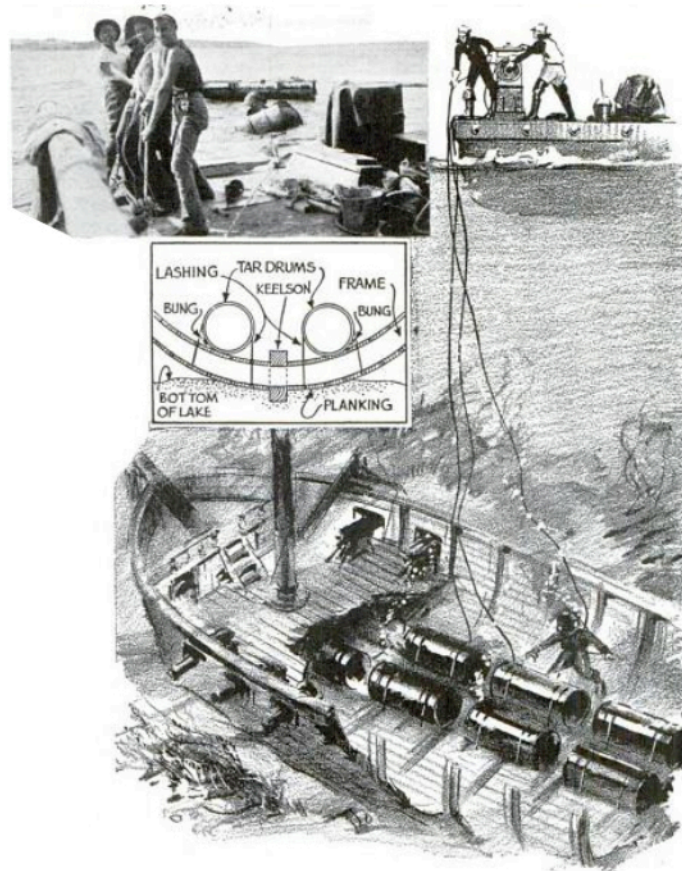


Figure 24 - Diagram and images of the raising of the *Royal Savage*. From *Popular Mechanics*. "Arnold's Flagship Raised on Old Tar Drums," *Popular Mechanics* 63, no. 6 (June, 1935): 803.

In 1935, Hagglund teamed with J. Ruppert Schalk (heir of brewing magnate and New York Yankees owner Colonel Jacob Ruppert) and veteran diver William Lilja to search for the Revolutionary War gondola *Philadelphia*. After two weeks of diving, the ship was discovered in 57 feet of water, about 350 yards south of Valcour Island, sitting upright with three mounted guns and her mast still standing.<sup>99</sup> The ship was in surprisingly good condition despite 159 years

<sup>98</sup> The remains of the *Royal Savage* were sold to the City of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania in 1996 for an exhibit, and then were given to the Naval History and Heritage Command in 2015 where they have been undergoing conservation.

<sup>99</sup> Bratten. *The Gondola Philadelphia*, 77.



at the bottom of Lake Champlain, with the three areas of damage from British cannon fire clearly evident.<sup>100</sup> The hull was released from the mud by a high pressure water jet, and then strapped into a system of three rope slings attached to a hook suspended from steel cables on a floating derrick with which she was raised, her hull wrapped in canvas, and then pumped free of water and mud.<sup>101</sup> The *Philadelphia* was subsequently turned into a floating tourist attraction and was towed around Lake Champlain and the Hudson River Valley to historic sites like Whitehall and Fort Ticonderoga.<sup>102</sup>

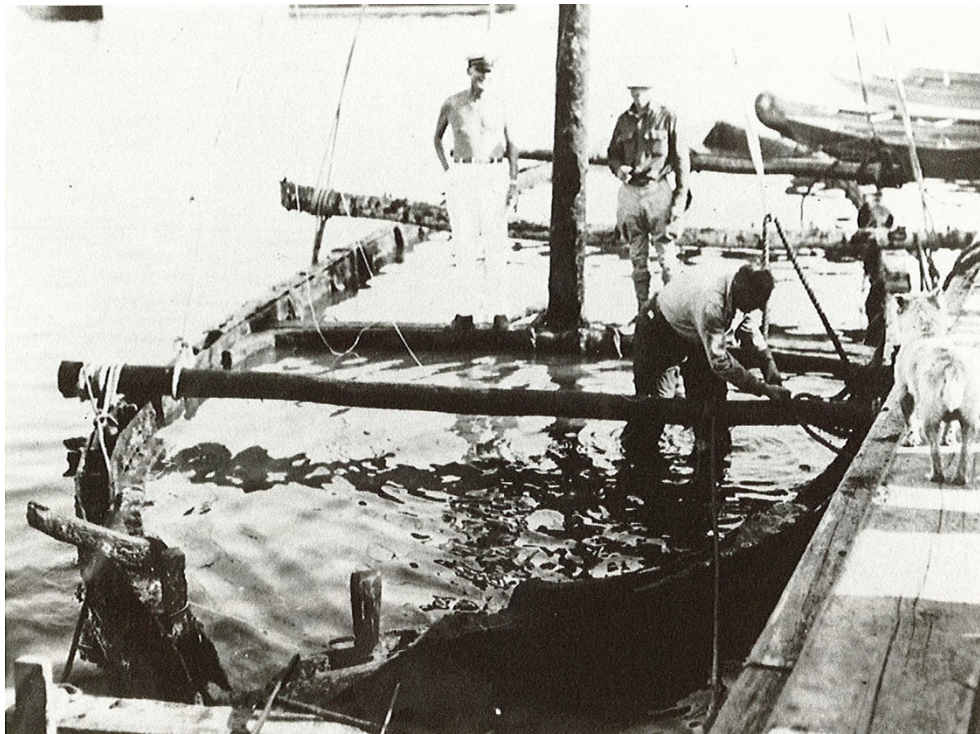


Figure 25 – The raising of the *Philadelphia*. From John R. Bratten. *The Gondola Philadelphia & The Battle of Lake Champlain* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2002): 84.

---

<sup>100</sup> Bratten. *The Gondola Philadelphia*, 78.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 81-82. The three cannon were salvaged prior to the ship being raised.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 84-85.

A part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century interest in historic relics, the recovered timbers of sunken vessels were often cut up or disassembled to achieve some condition for display in multiple locations, which was easily achieved via a portion of “preserved” hull. Vessel remnants were just as likely to be cut up and made into souvenirs sold as part of a local tourist trade if there was any access to the vessel, in the water or not, or divided among historical societies and collections. There would be some attempts in later years at raising intact vessels from fresh water environments to restore for display, but as maritime archeological practices developed, considerable study and documentation of a vessel and its surrounding wreck site would determine if recovery and conservation or in-situ preservation would best suit the vessel’s needs, and new conservation practices (significantly different from preservation practices for floating vessels) were developed to preserve historically significant material for indoor storage or display.<sup>103</sup>

The first significant efforts in preservation of an historic vessel still afloat gained national attention when the cause of protecting and saving the *USS Constitution* became a national campaign in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. So popular a cause was the saving of this hero of the War of 1812, that she earned homage in the form of a poem from Oliver Wendell Holmes and a series of restorations and re-buildings in 1835, 1871, 1897, and 1907.<sup>104</sup> These efforts culminated in the storied national campaign to save “Old Ironsides” in which pocket change collected by schoolchildren raised the essential \$154,500 needed to complete the 1930-1931 restoration allowing her to set sail on a subsequent national recognition voyage. A similar wave of maritime nationalism swept England as efforts to save the *HMS Victory*, Nelson’s flagship of the battle of

---

<sup>103</sup> Further explanation of the differences between conservation and restoration as practices that fall under the umbrella of preservation, as they are to be understood in this paper, will be provided in the following chapter.

<sup>104</sup> Delgado and Clifford, “Preserving Ships,” in *Great American Ships*, 45.

Trafalgar, found unprecedented momentum after World War I. The ship, thought of as “the shrine of patriotism,” and a “shrine which compels the reverence of the most casual sightseer,” became a symbolic memorial and way of honoring the Royal Navy’s war dead.<sup>105</sup> The “Save the Victory!” fund was begun on Trafalgar Day in 1922 and with the help of a large, anonymous donation, secured enough funding to commence work the following year, which was completed in 1928.<sup>106</sup>

---

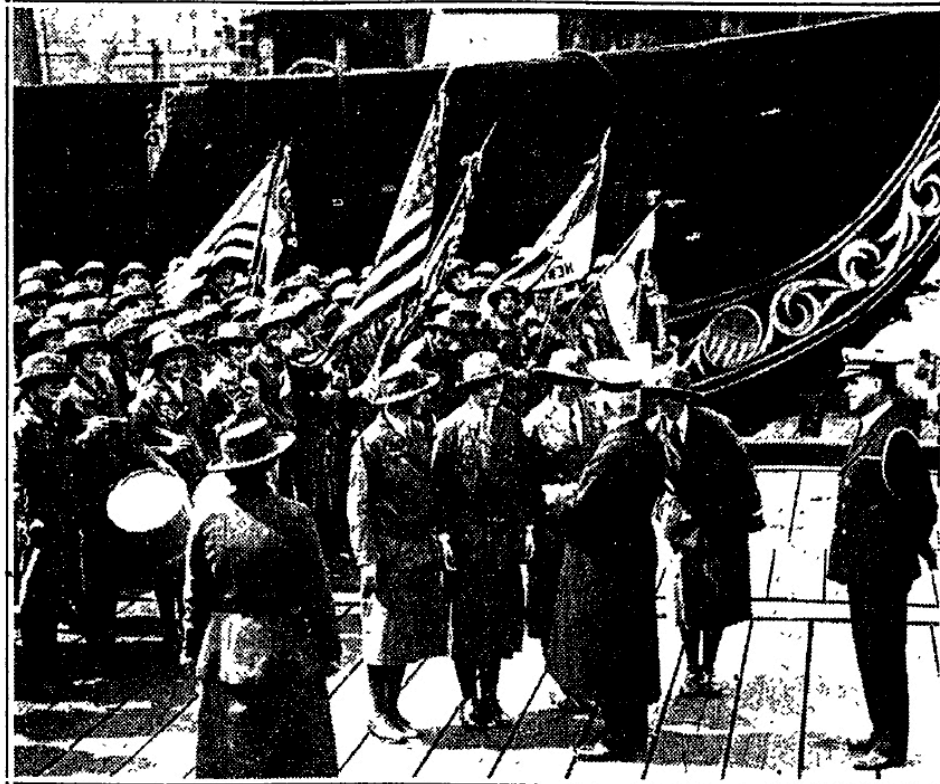
<sup>105</sup> Littlewood and Butler, *Of Ships and Stars*, 39.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 39-42. The Anonymous donor was Scottish shipping millionaire James Caird, who made further anonymous donations to the vessel during this restoration, as funding continued to be secured as the project continued.



Figure 26 - *USS Constitution* in the Charlestown Navy Yard circa 1926 - 1930. Sign reads, "Help Save Old Ironsides. Rebuilding is necessary to preserve her. Launched 1797, Rebuilt ? 1925. Contributions received by Save the Constitution Fund, Building 39 Navy Yard." Courtesy of the Boston Public Library, Leslie Jones Collection.

## *Their Pennies and Dollars Will Help Rebuild Famous Ship*



Newton Girl Scouts Presenting a Sum of Money to Admiral Andrews for Restoration of the U. S. S. Constitution, the Bow of Which is Seen in the Background.

Figure 27 - From *The Christian Science Monitor*, May 7, 1927, 5B

### H.M.S. VICTORY

*A Brief Record of her Service*

1st. Rate; 2,162 tons; 104 guns; 850 men.  
Laid down 1759. Launched on May 7th, 1765.

- 1778. Flagship of the "Grand Fleet." Admiral Hon. Augustus Keppel. Battle with the French off Ushant.
- 1779/80. Hoisted the Flags of Admiral Sir Charles Hardy, Admiral Gentry, Rear-Admiral Francis W. Drake. Actions with combined Franco-Spanish Fleet.
- 1781. Admiral Darby's relief of Gibraltar. Admiral Kempenfelt destroyed French convoy under de Guichen off Ushant. 15 Prizes.
- 1782. Admiral Lord Howe's relief of Gibraltar and Battle of Cape Spartel with French and Spanish Fleets.
- 1790/1. Admiral Lord Hood's occupation of Toulon.
- 1793. Destruction of French Fleet in Toulon Harbour.
- 1794. Bombardment and capture of San Florenzo, Corsica. Siege of Calvi.
- 1797. Admiral Sir John Jervis destroyed the Spanish Fleet at the Battle of Cape St. Vincent on St Valentine's day.
- 1798/9. Hospital ship in Medway.
- 1803. War renewed with France. Admiral Lord Nelson first hoists his flag on "Victory" as Commander-in-Chief.
- 1804. Lord Nelson blockades French Fleet at Toulon.
- 1805. Lord Nelson in "Victory" chases French Fleet to West Indies and back again; rout and destruction of Franco-Spanish Fleet at Trafalgar; death of Lord Nelson.
- 1808/11. Flagship of Admiral Sir James Sumner in the Baltic.
- 1810. Escorted transports to reinforce Wellington at the battles and siege of Torres Vedras.
- 1812. Paid off at Portsmouth.
- 1815-1922. Almost continuous service as Flagship of the Commanders-in-Chief, Portsmouth. All naval recruits at Portsmouth sign on, on board the "Victory."

*Save the Victory Fund*

ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET

Sir F. C. DOVETON STURDEE, Bart.,  
*G.C.B., K.C.M.G., C.F.O., J.P., LL.D.*

urgently appeals to the Empire for funds to restore and preserve our greatest Naval treasure.

The "Victory" holds an inspiration for all sons and daughters of the Empire; she is the living embodiment of the "spirit of leadership"; the mainspring of successful endeavour.

She helped to create the Empire and saved England in her hour of need.

*Do not fail her now.*

DONATIONS should be sent to the Chairman—"Victory" Offices, 233 High Holborn, London, W.C. 1., or to all Branches and Agencies at home and abroad of the London Joint City & Midland Bank, Ltd.

Figure 28 – Save the Victory Fund Card (reverse), provides a record of her service and "urgently appeals to the Empire for funds. National Museum of the Royal Navy.





Figure 29 - King George V visiting the *HMS Victory* while she is undergoing restoration, July 1927. A sign to the right states that the restoration is underway. National Museum of the Royal Navy.

It was after World War I that interest in saving non-Navy related historic ships became popular as well. Most of the deep-sea sailing ships that survived the maritime industry decline



before the war were scrapped, sold off, or converted during and after the war.<sup>107</sup> The vessels that remained became noticeable representatives of the last of their kind, but economic hardships of the Depression era were a challenge to costly preservation projects. A *New York Times* article entitled “Pyre of the Last Clipper Ship,” from June 1923 lamented the loss of *The Glory of The Seas*.<sup>108</sup> The vessel, touted as being the last of her kind and part of the “heyday of the American merchant marine,” was apparently burned by her owners to acquire and melt down her copper components, despite “talk of bringing her back to Boston, where she was built... to be perpetuated as a marine museum,” even with the likes of Cornelius J. Vanderbilt, IV having recommended her to be preserved as a permanent memorial to her builder, master of American Clipper Ship design Donald McKay.<sup>109</sup> The article shared the vessel’s history with a twinge of sentimentality, noting the circumstances of the demise of the rest of her fleet and concluding that “reefs, typhoons, all the varied malice that pursues ships, followed the old crack fleet. But the last of them all went for junk.”<sup>110</sup>

---

<sup>107</sup> Littlewood and Butler, *Of Ships and Stars*, 38.

<sup>108</sup> “Pyre of the Last Clipper Ship: End of *The Glory of the Seas*, Ninety-Six Days Around the Horn,” *New York Times*, June 3, 1923. Stanford, *The Ships that Brought Us So Far*, 14-15.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.



Figure 30 - Guy A. McKay and Hugh R. McKay, son and grandson of shipbuilder Donald McKay stand with the charred hull remains of the *Glory of the Seas*, April, 1926. From Michael Jay Mjelde. *Glory of the Seas*. (Middletown, CT: Published for the Marine Historical Association, Inc., by Wesleyan University Press, 1970): 245.

The fate of the *Glory of the Seas*, and countless vessels like her, was staved off or avoided altogether by a lucky few during this period as certain vessels found their use-life continued through refitting and repurposing, or were successfully displayed as floating exhibits.<sup>111</sup> The *Benjamin F. Packard*, the last “Down Easter” on the east coast of the US, had been towed to New York from the west coast via the Panama Canal in 1925. After serving as a packet ship making countless voyages around Cape Horn and then in the salmon packing business running from Seattle to Alaska, the vessel was seemingly at the end of her life when she was sold to a series of owners as well as being conscripted by the US Junior Naval Reserve.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Floating exhibit vessels at this time were often not associated with formal maritime museums, but could be found to hold exhibits or displays on board.

<sup>112</sup> Paul C. Morris, *A Portrait of a Ship: The Benj. F. Packard* (Orealns, MA: Lower Cape Publishing, 1987), 82.

Her owners, a pair of Swedish counts, saved the vessel from neglect and near abandon, reportedly spending \$50,000 on her renovation and installing her in Rye, New York in the spring of 1930 where the local park commission was finishing construction on a new amusement park called “Playland.”<sup>113</sup> She spent nine years serving as everything from a phony pirate exhibit ship to a floating dance hall, none garnering much interest and all the while suffering neglect. She was finally done in by the infamous hurricane of 1938 and, being deemed beyond repair, was scrapped and then scuttled in Long Island Sound. A portion of her interior and associated artifacts were saved by Mystic Seaport and eventually restored and arranged for display in a custom exhibit building.<sup>114</sup>

---

<sup>113</sup> Morris, *A Portrait of a Ship*, 93, 95.

<sup>114</sup> The brick outbuilding that housed the *Packer* cabin interiors along with other artifacts of the ship was razed in 2015 along with three other structures to make way for the new Thompson Exhibition Building and McGraw Gallery Quadrangle. The cabins have been relocated and reassembled on the second floor of the museum’s Stillman building.





Figure 31 - A photograph of the 244.2 foot long *Benjamin F. Packard* on display at Rye Playland, taken by the Goodyear Blimp during the 1930's. She was berthed in a lagoon between the passenger steamer pier (bottom right corner) and the boardwalk. Visible is the addition of a wide white stripe along the sides of the ship where fake gun ports were cut and the words "Clipper Ship" were painted, as well as a pirate flag hung between her fore and main masts. From Paul C. Morris. *A Portrait of a Ship: The Benj. F. Packard* (Orealns, MA: Lower Cape Publishing, 1987), 132.

The same hurricane that doomed the *Packard* saved the last remaining whaleship *Charles W. Morgan*. The vessel had been retired from whaling in 1921 after 37 successful voyages. After being used in a few motion pictures the *Morgan* ended up serving as a whaling exhibit near the

estate of her new owner, Edward H.R. Green, in South Dartmouth, MA.<sup>115</sup> After suffering damage from the hurricane of 1938, the vessel was left without financial support, and was given to Mystic Seaport in November 1941, just one month before the attack on Pearl Harbor.<sup>116</sup> America's involvement in World War II put off any plans for restoration, so the *Morgan* was placed in a sand berth and opened to visitors in 1942. Had the vessel not been donated when it was, it is likely that she would have met her end in the scrapping yard or as a barge to serve the country's wartime needs.



Figure 32 - The *Charles W. Morgan* in her sand and water berth at Mystic Seaport circa 1950-52. 1952-9-11 Mystic Seaport Museum Inc.

---

<sup>115</sup> Delgado and Clifford, *Great American Ships*, 63.

<sup>116</sup> Mystic Seaport, *Mystic Seaport*, 11.

Although efforts to hold on to America's maritime culture and remaining sailing craft in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century resulted in some saving or repurposing of these increasingly scarce vessels, it had become clear to many that this was a losing battle. The few vessels as fortunate as the *Morgan* were the exception, while the fate of the *Glory of the Seas* or the *Packard* was far more common for this time, as the cost and scale of restoration projects combined with depression-era economic hardships threatened the maritime industry. It was in the face of these conditions that men with ties to the maritime community would seek out alternative approaches to preservation.

### **New Forms of Preservation: Adaptive Reuse and Vessel Documentation**

In the 1930's former seaman Frank Swift had the idea to offer extended passenger cruises as a way to save the rapidly vanishing schooners that were a mainstay of the coastal waters near his Bucksport, Maine home.<sup>117</sup> Swift set out on his first cruise aboard the borrowed schooner *Mable* in 1936, with Captain William Shepard of Deer Isle at the helm and his wife as the cook, carrying three female passengers from Boston who paid \$35 for the week.<sup>118</sup> Business was slow to take off, but by 1939 Swift was able to buy his own schooner, the 1886 built *Anne F. Kimball*. Combined with other chartered vessels he established enough business to advertise and expand. Much like the "dude" ranch experience in the West, Swift's Windjammer Cruises out of Camden, Maine offered an "old fashioned" sailing experience on authentic, historic schooners.<sup>119</sup> With his success, and the financial sustainability of his business model, Smith was able to

---

<sup>117</sup> Delgado and Clifford, "Preserving Ships," in *Great American Ships*, 50 - 51.

<sup>118</sup> Maine Windjammer Cruises, "History & Restoration: 1936 – Capt. Frank Swift Trades Cargo for Passengers," [www.mainewindjammercruises.com/historyrest.cfm?viewyear=18](http://www.mainewindjammercruises.com/historyrest.cfm?viewyear=18) (accessed April 22, 2014).

<sup>119</sup> M. Le Tour, "'Dude Cruises' an Allure to Vacationist: 'One, Two, Three—And Up She Goes!'" *The Christian Science Monitor*, July 12, 1940



employ adaptive reuse to save more than a dozen vessels from their likely demise during his years of ownership.



Figure 33 - Windjammer Cruise passengers aboard the *Mabel*, circa late 1930's. From Ray Williamson, *Maine Windjammer Cruises Keeping the Tradition Alive: A Pictorial History of Maine's Original Windjammer Fleet* (Maine: Mainewindjammercruises.com, 2011): "A Passion Born Idea."

Another preservation project similarly found its wings via similar Depression-era ingenuity. After a series of publishing jobs fell through in 1929, maritime enthusiast Eric J. Steinlein abandoned the business and New York City for temporary work on the eastern shore of Maryland, where he filled his spare time with the close study of Chesapeake Bay watercraft in hopes of a future career in naval architecture. With no prospects in the latter, but an increasing bank of knowledge and information, Steinlein hatched a plan to record this information for

posterity, and potentially parlay his hobby into a paycheck.<sup>120</sup> A rejection from the under-funded Maryland Historical Society came with a suggestion to try the Federal Works Progress Administration (WPA), President Roosevelt's New Deal agency charged with employing hundreds of unemployed, skilled professionals to carry out public works projects.<sup>121</sup> WPA administrators liked the idea of recording historic vessels as a national project, and hired Steinlein in another role while he developed his plan for the survey.<sup>122</sup> This scale of the project required an institutional sponsor, and so Frank A. Taylor, curator of engineering (and thus the national watercraft collection,) for the Smithsonian was approached by Steinlein and brought on to the project with the Smithsonian as a "co-operating sponsor."<sup>123</sup>

The project was modeled largely upon the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), the heritage preservation program founded in 1934 to "mitigate the effects of rapidly vanishing historic resources upon America's built environment..., history and culture," by documenting structures of architectural and historic significance.<sup>124</sup> The HABS program utilized the skills of numerous unemployed architects, surveyors, draughtsman, etc. to record and document all kinds of American structures from the utilitarian to the monumental.<sup>125</sup> Steinlein and Taylor proposed

---

<sup>120</sup> Eric. J. Steinlein, "Memoir," in *The Historic American Merchant Marine Survey, Works Progress Administration, Federal Project No.6* (Salem, New Hampshire: The Ayer Company, 1983), xi.

<sup>121</sup> In his preface to the printed folios of the Historic American Merchant Marine Survey, former Smithsonian curator of marine transportation Melvin Jackson, stated that the WPA projects', "...sweeping accomplishments... endowed the nation with a heritage of vast public works. Through its patronage, unprecedented in the cultural history of the United States, it provided an enormous stimulus for creative efforts in the field of arts and letters. It revived and quickened public interest in the American past by amassing a great volume of hitherto neglected historical records and by its activities in the preservation of historic sites." Melvin H. Jackson, "Editor's Preface" in *The Historic American Merchant Marine Survey, Works Progress Administration, Federal Project No.6* (Salem, New Hampshire: The Ayer Company, 1983), v.

<sup>122</sup> Steinlein, "Memoir," xi.

<sup>123</sup> Frank A. Taylor, "Notes," in *The Historic American Merchant Marine Survey, Works Progress Administration, Federal Project No.6* (Salem, New Hampshire: The Ayer Company, 1983), xvii.; Frank A. Taylor, "The Historic American Merchant Marine Survey," in *The Historic American Merchant Marine Survey, Works Progress Administration, Federal Project No.6* (Salem, New Hampshire: The Ayer Company, 1983), xiii.

<sup>124</sup> Taylor, "Notes," xvii. National Park Service, *HABS: Historic American Buildings Survey* ([http://www.cr.nps.gov/hdp/habs/NPS\\_HABS\\_Brochure.pdf](http://www.cr.nps.gov/hdp/habs/NPS_HABS_Brochure.pdf)) Accessed May 5, 2013.

<sup>125</sup> National Park Service, *HABS*



similar goals for their vessel survey including the utilization of skilled tradesmen, craftsmen, and professionals in the marine industry. Their proposal eventually caught President Roosevelt's attention and was approved as WPA Federal Project No. 6: The Historic American Merchant Marine Survey (HAMMS).<sup>126</sup>

To address the large scope of the task at hand, the project divided the coasts, lakes and inland waterways into 16 regions, appointing a director and establishing a headquarters for each and employing about 100 men in total.<sup>127</sup> Within the region, "supervisors were asked to report all old vessels in their regions which appeared to them to have historical interest, keeping in mind the desire to make the greatest effort to survey types of vessels about which information was not otherwise readily available."<sup>128</sup> After receipt of these reports, the director indicated order of work, with priority for vessels in which there was the most historical interest, a potential lack of accessibility for researchers, and the most danger of becoming lost.<sup>129</sup> Survey parties were sent to beaches, railways, and shipyards for the vessels and source material including models and plans. They took measurements, plan copies, sketches, lines drawings, histories and notes. Because the project could not afford cameras, photographs were taken only if the surveyor could provide his own.<sup>130</sup> Finished drawings and official reports were completed at the regional offices, and then packaged with all of the collected material and shipped to the Smithsonian in Washington. Once there, drawings were bound into folio binders along with associated vessel

---

<sup>126</sup> Taylor, "Notes," xvii.

<sup>127</sup> Taylor describes the HAMMS surveyors as being men, but the gender of the full complement of artists, marine architects, and assistants is not confirmed. Taylor, "The Historic American Merchant Marine Survey," xiii. Taylor, "Notes," xvii.

<sup>128</sup> Taylor, "The Historic American Merchant Marine Survey," xiii

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

information, and assigned numbers. Notes and photographs went into separate three-ring binders catalogued with the same numbers, and all were made available for research and copies.<sup>131</sup>

While the goal of the HAMMS project was to produce a comprehensive survey, there were some holes in coverage. The Gulf Coast, the coasts of the Carolinas and Georgia, the inland waterways of the Midwest, and the Columbia River and the Puget Sound regions were “scarcely touched upon” while the tributary lakes, rivers and canals of the Hudson River and New York Harbor were “virtually ignored.” These omissions can be blamed on the significant limitations faced by the project and its staff. The project was only given 18 months to complete their fieldwork despite the seasonal restrictions found in cold weather climates. Funding for the project was tight; a budget of \$181,085 was approved for the work, but money was allotted on a monthly basis requiring a complete report of the previous month’s expenditures before awarding the next month’s funds.<sup>132</sup> Delays were caused by the need to train draughtsman in some regions, and by wage protests in others. The survey even encountered public media criticism from political conservatives when a grossly exaggerated expense figure was attributed to the HAMMS field work.<sup>133</sup>

In the end, and despite both shortcomings and setbacks, the project produced surveys of 426 different vessels, totaling 1,044 drawings and 550 photographs as well as separately stored field notes and materials. Notes, images, and drawings of vessels from regions where there were no offices or where work could not be finished in time were saved in additional HAMMS files. Steinlein and Taylor hoped that this endeavor would only be the beginning of the government funded effort to create a national watercraft record, but the end of the Depression and the

---

<sup>131</sup> Jackson, “Editor’s Preface,” vi.

<sup>132</sup> Taylor, “Notes,” xvii. The project only ended up spending \$149,794.98 returning the remainder to the US Government.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

beginning of World War II broke the project's momentum, which was not reinitiated until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as part of the larger Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) project. While the HAMMS project may have been the first direct government venture in actively saving watercraft, it was not the only one to develop during this period. It would be another series of efforts involving Franklin D. Roosevelt that would be the first to take initiatives to preserve large vessels as the mainstay of a formal museum collection.

### **A Proposed National Maritime Museum and Government Interest in the Display of Historic Ships**

President Roosevelt, who had previously served as the Assistant Secretary of the Navy under Woodrow Wilson from 1913 to 1920, was well known for his personal collection of maritime art, objects, and ephemera. He continued his interests in naval affairs and maritime history after his election to the presidency in 1932 and in 1934 began paying some attention to proposals to restore the *America*, the schooner yacht that won the trophy in the 1851 race that was to subsequently bear its name, the America's Cup. Later serving as a ship in the Union blockade during the Civil War, and then a training ship at the United States Naval Academy, she was sold into private hands in the 1870's and was again taken over by the US Navy in 1921.

In 1928 funds were approved by Secretary of the Navy and former America's Cup sailor, Charles F. Adams II, for a reconditioning of the *America*, "...to the extent of placing the vessel in suitable condition for retention at the Naval Academy for exhibition purposes – a sort of museum place – no sails provided."<sup>134</sup> In August 1934, President Roosevelt sent out a memorandum requesting information on the cost of restoring the *America* to cruising condition

---

<sup>134</sup> 1934; Folder: Historical Naval Vessels 1934 - 1945; Papers as President, Official File 1980; Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York. Page 2.

complete with sails and rigging. The result of a solicitation for bids by the Navy Department's Bureau of Construction and Repair indicated that the retrofit would cost \$19,000 and would require the Navy to tow the *America* to Noank, Connecticut in her current, unstable condition.<sup>135</sup> The final recommendation for the vessel was that it be placed instead in a concrete cradle and maintained for display with masts but without sails, at the Naval Academy or in Newport, RI (the home of the America's Cup).<sup>136</sup> In his response to this report President Roosevelt shared his ideas for displaying vessels in Washington, DC, indicating that the concrete cradle could fit into plans for "the new Naval waterfront in front of the Naval Hospital."<sup>137</sup> He asked for cost estimates not only for this project, but also, "...for bringing the 'Hartford' [sic] up from Charleston, the 'Olympia' [sic] from wherever she is and the 'Constellation' [sic] from Newport."<sup>138</sup> The president repeatedly shared the sentiment that it would be "...a fine thing if we

---

<sup>135</sup> 1934; Folder: Historical Naval Vessels 1934 - 1945; Papers as President, Official File 1980; Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York. Pages 2-3.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 3-4.

<sup>137</sup> Memorandum, Franklin D. Roosevelt for the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, November 8, 1934; Folder: Historical Naval Vessels 1934 - 1945; Papers as President, Official File 1980; Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York. Pages 1-2.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 1-2. The steamer *USS Hartford*, launched in 1858, was the Civil War flagship of Admiral David G. Farragut and veteran of the battle of Mobile Bay. The cruiser *USS Olympia*, launched in 1892, was Admiral George Dewey's flagship in the Spanish-American War, veteran of the battle of Manila Bay and was among the first of the "modern" war ships. The sloop of war *USS Constellation* was a veteran of the Civil War and a World War I training vessel. She was launched in 1854 closely following the disposition of her predecessor, the 18<sup>th</sup> century frigate *Constellation*, which was broken up in 1853. It is important to note, however, that during the period in question there was a generally held belief/understanding that the genesis of the latter was the result of a deconstruction, repurposing, and retrofitting of the former – thus causing the *USS Constellation* of the early to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century to be treated as oldest US Naval vessel in existence with a construction year (for the frigate) of 1797. This misattribution of provenance may have been the only reason that the *Constellation* was, at that time, still in US Navy service and thus a responsibility of the government. Further research and analysis could expand that question to debate the likelihood that the ship, as only a Civil War sloop of war, would have been of interest to Roosevelt as a subject of preservation. While these unusual circumstances, and the news-making debunking of the ship's history are a fascinating story on their own, they are only a side note to the events of interest to this chapter and to Roosevelt's ideas and efforts regarding saving and displaying historic ships. For a good summary of the *Constellation* affair, see Department of the Navy. David Taylor Research Center. *Technical and Administrative Services Department Research Development Report, Fouled Anchors: the Constellation Question Answered*. By Dana M. Wegner, appendices by Colan Ratliff and Kevin Lynaugh. DTRC-91/CT06, September 1991.

could collect such vessels at Washington where visitors from all over the country could see them.”<sup>139</sup>

In May 1936, “H.J. Resolution 372 For the Permanent Preservation of the United States Frigate ‘Constitution’ and Other Vessels Having Historical Tradition,” proposed a detailed plan for the Navy Department to take on the preservation and installation of these historic vessels in Washington. Discussion of the resolution in the House Committee on Naval Affairs stated that,

The estimated initial cost for this project, which would include the preparation of the vessels named for berthing, the construction of a tidal basin, river wall, entrance channel, pedestal for the *America* and placing her thereon, together with suitable facilities for exhibition is estimated at \$4,250,000. The annual upkeep, which would include pay and substance of personnel, the maintenance of the pedestal and the maintenance of the tidal basin and grounds, including periodical dredging, is estimates at \$202,951. Preliminary expenses before any of this work can be undertaken would include the hydrographic survey, the taking of borings at the site of the basin, and the making of drawings and specifications, would cost in the neighborhood of \$70,000.<sup>140</sup>

Although Acting Secretary of the Navy Adolphus Andrews recommended against enactment of the bill at that time due to the prohibitive cost, President Roosevelt did not abandon the plan. On June 1, 1936, the President sent a letter about the vessels to Congressman John J. Cochran of Missouri, a long-time proponent of the preservation of the *Olympia*, which Cochran read into the Congressional record on June 20.<sup>141</sup> In the letter, the President again introduced the idea of moving the five ships to Washington, and added that, “It is now contemplated that preliminary surveys may soon be made and that a comprehensive plan may be developed for the consideration of Congress looking to gradual and orderly restoration and establishment of these

---

<sup>139</sup> Letter, Franklin D. Roosevelt to Governor Hugh White, February 6, 1936; Folder: Historical Naval Vessels 1934 - 1945; Papers as President, Official File 1980; Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York. 1. This appears for the first time in his records in this letter but was repeated in 15 other identical letters sent to governors of as many states. The mass mailing was a response to form-letter appeals sent by these governors on behalf of Maryland Governor Harry W. Nice, all requesting that the *Constellation* be returned to Baltimore.

<sup>140</sup> “For the Permanent Preservation of the United States Frigate ‘Constitution’ and Other Vessels Having Historical Tradition (H.J. Res. 372). Mr. Carter,” included in: U.S. House Committee on Naval Affairs. *Committee on Naval Affairs Serial No. 654*. (23697-36-No.654). May 28, 1936. Text from: *Committee Prints*. Available from ProQuest® Congressional; Accessed: 1/22/2013

<sup>141</sup> Cong. Rec., 74<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., 1936, 80: 10817- 20.

vessels here in Washington. Such work and expense to be spread over a period of 4 years.”<sup>142</sup>

Cochran followed this with the presentation of communication received from the House Committee on Naval Affairs in response to a number of bills that he had proposed regarding preservation of the *Olympia*. The Committee stated that, “The preservation of historic treasures has received little attention at the hands of the American people. The historic relics which are preserved in the large cities of Europe are what make these cities interesting to American Visitors.” – a statement that expressed an understanding of the project’s value outside of the realm of Navy history and naval affairs, and suggested an intention to continue to work the problem despite testimony that found significant funding setbacks.<sup>143</sup>

By June 1938 some headway was made when Roosevelt approved a WPA project granting \$100,000 for the restoration of the *Hartford*. A memorandum on the project sent by the President describes his long held desire for the *Constellation*, *Hartford*, *Olympia*, and a “World War Destroyer,” to be moved to Washington and “moored along side [sic] the sea wall north of the proposed site of the new Navy Department building, i.e., north of the Naval Hospital and between it and the river.”<sup>144</sup> Word of the WPA project spread quickly, and the President soon received several letters requesting similar projects to be funded for the other naval vessels in consideration, as well as other aging naval vessels like the *USS Wolverine* (née *Michigan*) and the brig *Niagara*.

---

<sup>142</sup> Cong. Rec., 74<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2<sup>nd</sup> sess., 1936, 80: 10817-20.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Memorandum, Franklin D. Roosevelt for the Chief of operations, June 24, 1938; Letter, Franklin D. Roosevelt to John J. Cochran, March 14, 1940; Folder: Historical Naval Vessels 1934 - 1945; Papers as President, Official File 1980; Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York. The *Constitution* and the *America* are not listed among the vessels under consideration for display in this memo, nor do they appear in the remainder of Roosevelt’s correspondence on the subject.

In May 1940, President Roosevelt was still moving ahead with developments for the museum and the display of historic vessels at the Navy Yard waterfront, laying out a threefold plan:

1. Build a basin between the new Navy Department building and the river at a new site just west of the Naval Hospital;
2. Into this basin bring four historic Navy ships, set them on concrete bases and charge ten cents admission;
3. The ships would be the U.S.S. Constellation (war with France, war with Barbary States, War of 1812, etc.); U.S.S. Hartford (Civil War Farragut's flagship now at the Washington Navy Yard); U.S.S. Olympia (Dewey's flagship, now at Philadelphia); U.S.S. Dyer (or some other destroyer which saw active service in Europe during the World War). These ships would represent nearly the whole period of American Naval history and their upkeep would be paid for by the small admission fees.

...The above plan is a part of the plan for the new Navy building and I hope we will get the authorization for this building at this session.<sup>145</sup>

The addition of the concrete cradles to the preservation plans for all of the vessels was a money saving tactic, as the idea was that the vessels would theoretically only need an initial restoration to get them in display condition, and would then require less costly work in the future to maintain the vessels in their cradles (rather than keeping them seaworthy,) something that the President thought sustainable by admission fees. At the same time, Navy Department official plans for the museum must have been progressing, as architectural elevations for the museum building were created.

---

<sup>145</sup> Letter, Franklin D. Roosevelt to John J. Cochran, March 14, 1940; Folder: Historical Naval Vessels 1934 - 1945; Papers as President, Official File 1980; Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

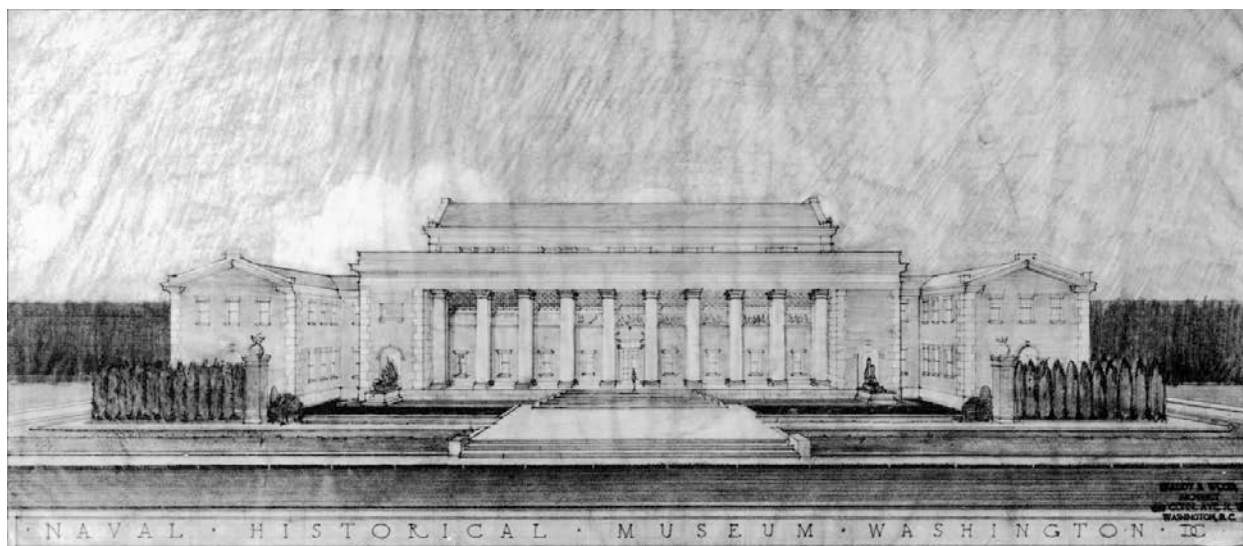


Figure 34 - Preliminary architectural drawing for the National Naval Museum in Washington, DC, elevation, by Waddy B. Wood. Pre 1941. Waddy B. Wood Archive, *Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Online Reading Room*. Accessed March 15, 2014. <<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/95859367/>>

When the United States entered World War II at the end of 1941, wartime budget priorities within Congress and the Navy Department likely sidelined the museum project. It was not mentioned again in the President's files until March 1944, when Vice Admiral Ross T. McIntire, then Surgeon General of the Navy and physician to the White House, expressed concern that construction of the new Pentagon building might get in the way of the advancement of the President's museum building plans from before the war.<sup>146</sup> A memorandum dated February 1945 and addressed to naval advisor Vice Admiral Wilson Brown, contains some of the president's specific concerns relating to plans for the Naval Museum sent to the president by Deputy Director of Navy History Dudley Knox.<sup>147</sup> Roosevelt wrote to Brown that he doubted the "wisdom of compelling the selection of an Annapolis graduate to run this public exhibition building, nor do I think it wise to put the Chiefs of Bureaus of the Navy Department on the

<sup>146</sup> Memorandum for the President, Ross T. McIntire to Franklin D. Roosevelt, March 27, 1944; Folder: U.S National Navy Museum 1934 - 1945; Papers as President, Official File 18ii; Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

<sup>147</sup> Knox had previously served as Officer in Charge, Office of Naval Records and Library, and then also as Curator for the Navy Department, before being appointed Deputy Director of Navy History by Roosevelt shortly after the War began.



Board of Trustees,” adding that, “Navy people are notorious for not knowing what appeals to civilians.”<sup>148</sup> He again mentioned the ship basin as being the “major point of attraction,” and that the 10-cent admission fee should sustain the vessels, and commented on proposed staff size<sup>149</sup> Knox must have sent another memo to the president concerning these museum ideas, as Brown wrote to Knox in early March that the president had read his ideas with interest and would schedule a meeting with him in about two weeks’ time.<sup>150</sup> This meeting, however, would never take place, as President Roosevelt died a month later, on April 12, 1945. With him went the momentum behind the museum project.

While the loss of a National Maritime Museum that supported the preservation and display of whole ships can be viewed as a setback to the development of such practices in formal museum settings, the interest in “saving” vessels that fueled Roosevelt’s ideas would remain strong in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. So too would the other preservation efforts developed in the early half of the century. The interest in documentation and the application of archaeological practices to maritime subjects would form a professional field that, in the Americas, would formalize the study, documentation, preservation, and display of ships and cargoes from the era of discovery and colonial period in addition to vessels of military significance.

Alternative forms of preservation through documentation and active use initiated projects that required expertise and employed qualified and skilled people in their execution. No longer

---

<sup>148</sup> Memorandum: Franklin D. Roosevelt for Admiral Wilson Brown, February 23, 1945; Folder: U.S National Navy Museum 1934 - 1945; Papers as President, Official File 18ii; Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Memorandum: Admiral Wilson Brown for Dudley Knox, March 10, 1945; Folder: U.S National Navy Museum 1934 - 1945; Papers as President, Official File 18aa; Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

the folly of weekend hobbyists or fodder for tourist fare, these new preservation projects garnered widespread respect and support. Understanding the limitations to physically preserving all of the at-risk vessels unique to their regional landscapes, these projects managed the highest level of preservation available with existing resources. While the documentation efforts of the HAMMS project could not save the subjects of their extensive drawings, notes, and photographs, recording the vessels in line drawings and scaled plans allowed for the construction detail of vernacular craft to be available for study and potential replication. Windjammer cruises and other adaptive reuse projects created a formula for the sustainability of the preservation of vessels through the practice of keeping them active. Seen also in places like the skipjack fleet of the Chesapeake Bay, and even in the ongoing maintenance of the *USS Constitution* as an active commissioned Navy vessel, active use would generate the need for consistent maintenance, restoration, and the replacement of physical material. The dilemma of original material versus original work would be a prominent discussion point in the defining of “integrity” in preservation discussions of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Integral to these particular achievements of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is the adoption of the idea that ships have cultural value when saved, preserved, and displayed as a whole. With the desire to make this practice a reality came immediate problems. Cost, knowledge, and support were the first three, but in finding ways to demonstrate the value and interest in preservation in all of these forms, the path to finding solutions was established. As will be seen in the following chapter, the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century would ultimately find the creation of that path to come from an entirely different source within the burgeoning cultural heritage practices in America.

## **CHAPTER 5 – Hearing the “Call to Action”: The Professionalization of Maritime Preservation**

The second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw an important change in the treatment of historic ships. Given some legitimacy as intact, whole artifacts from the public interest generated by efforts to save ships before and during World War II, the idea of the “museum ship” was actualized. Aided by the dispensation of former military vessels to civic groups willing to oversee their care, the floating historic vessel was no longer just a tourist attraction or static monument. Effort was placed into presenting and interpreting the history of that vessel and its contribution to national defense as an important part of our national past.

The idea of using the ship to interpret the history of the larger enterprise to which it originally belonged was embraced by managing institutions, and soon several maritime museums were created to support collections of historic vessels once engaged in numerous forms of maritime industry and trade. This interest inspired some in the maritime museum community to expand and replicate the scope of previous efforts to save and display ships by actively searching for abandoned vessels of some structural or historic significance. As these ships found homes within collections, the problems of vessel management became more abundant. Ships throughout the country were in need of all levels of care, and managing institutions were found to be lacking the resources, expertise, or skill to establish and maintain such programs.

While some efforts were made to sustain vessels already in collections and attract visitors through public programs focused on preserving America’s maritime past, it was really through examples set by the historic preservation movement and the National Trust for Historic Preservation that historic vessel stewards found a model for creating a lasting framework to protect and preserve maritime objects and cultural landscapes. Through the work of the National

Maritime Task Force and the National Maritime Initiative, a national inventory of historic vessels was created. Preservation projects were identified and ranked by level of need. The culmination of this work was in the creation of official standards and guidelines for the preservation and care of historic ships.

Using expertise from members of the vessel management and restoration community, these standards and guidelines were created to provide a clear set of goals and approaches to restoration projects and maintenance plans. This resource empowered ship managers to identify and prioritize the needs of their own vessels, and to initiate the continuous program of work that is an inherent part of keeping a ship alive. While these efforts could not prevent the cycle of risk and stability in which a historic ship operates, they did bring about an official investment in activities related to vessel preservation and the professionalization of maritime heritage practices. This new field of preservation and public history solidified the status of the historic ship as an important museum object, understanding the value of its ability to represent and communicate the past by being kept afloat.

### **Naval Vessels in Post-War America and the Practical Development of the Museum Ship**

While the plans promoted by President Franklin Roosevelt, Dudley Knox, and other government figures to establish a National Maritime Museum with a collection of notable American ships never materialized, they represented growing interest in saving ships for cultural enrichment and the historical stewardship. World War II tightened the focus of Roosevelt's attention on preserving vessels that represent the Navy's role in American maritime historical narrative. National sentiment and the emotional state of the culture heavily influenced collection practices, as Postwar Americans sought to use at least some of the enormous surplus of wartime

vessels to memorialize hard-fought victory and immense sacrifice. At the same time, there was also a desire to see such ships function as more than just static monuments. Although public, state, and congressional appeals were not enough to motivate the Truman-era government to maintain the earmarked vessels as government property, the fact that they were not immediately disposed of was evidence that the government recognized that the fate of these vessels was of interest to more than small veterans groups or remote, local populations.

On the other side, those who sought to give new life to old ships by converting them to floating museums discovered that this was no simple task. Prewar ships that had survived the war years were now in desperate need of rescue, and institutions that tried to accomplish this had to save the vessel first and foremost, leaving the details of restoration funding and long term maintenance to be figured out later.<sup>151</sup> The managing entities for these vessels were often not-for-profit organizations, or a hybrid between a “friends” organization and state or municipal stakeholders. Their leadership made public appeals and pulled strings to find the means to restore, relocate, or even refloat ailing ships in various states of disuse. In many cases, the rescue of a federally owned or managed vessel from the breaker’s yard depended on whether there was a demonstrably well organized group able to receive a transfer of ownership.

The ships once on President Roosevelt’s museum list found varying degrees of support in the post-war years. The *America* had been one of the vessels fortunate enough to receive a Congressional appropriation of \$100,000 in 1940 to pay for her hauling out and restoration. Extremely deteriorated, she barely survived the tow from the Naval Academy across Spa Creek to Trumpy’s Annapolis Yacht Yard where work was work was completed as funds and workers became available, and halted altogether with the entry of the United States into the war at the end

---

<sup>151</sup> Myers, *Maritime America*, 4.

of 1941.<sup>152</sup> On March 29, 1942 a snowstorm swamped the protective shed covering the *America* and the structure collapsed, reducing the ship's rotting timbers to rubble.<sup>153</sup> With its attention on the war, the Navy Department waited over three years to make a decision on the disposition of the ship's timbers, finally authorizing her scrapping in November 1945 despite complaints from the yachting community. In the end she left only enough sound wood to provide for the creation of a model and a profit of \$990.90 for scrapping what was left over.<sup>154</sup>

In March and June of 1954, both the House and Senate Armed Services Committees held hearings to discuss a series of bills to determine the future of the *Constitution*, *Constellation*, *Olympia*, *Hartford*, and *Oregon*. The testimony initially centered on congressional funding for the restoration, permanent berthing, and continued care for a majority of the vessels. Over several days and nearly 200 pages of testimony, the conversation moved toward disposition of the vessels, citing excessive yearly costs for maintenance and repairs as well as estimated costs for restoration as the most pressing reasons for disposal. One estimate provided by Admiral Bernard E. Manseau, Deputy and Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Ships, was that it would take \$35,000,000 to restore the *Constellation*, *Hartford*, *Olympia*, and *Oregon*, a figure that was deemed "disproportionate to the value of those ships for any purpose."<sup>155</sup>

---

<sup>152</sup> John Rousmaniere. *The Low Black Schooner: Yacht America 1851-1945: A new history of the yacht America based on the exhibit held at Mystic Seaport Museum November 1986 through March 1987 cosponsored by the New York Yacht Club*. (Mystic, CT: Mystic Seaport Museum Stores, Inc., 1986): 60. Charles Boswell. *The America: The Story of the World's Most Famous Yacht*. (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1967) 254. Boswell dates her hauling out to early 1941, but a dated photograph from the collections of the Naval Academy included in Rousmaniere's text show her out of the water in 1940.

<sup>153</sup> Rousmaniere, *The Low Black Schooner*, 61.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid. The model of the *America* made from her wood remnants is located at the Naval Academy Museum.

<sup>155</sup> United States Senate, Committee on Armed Services. *Historic Ships: H.R. 8247, An Act to Provide for the Restoration and Maintenance of the United States Ship Constitution and to Authorize the Disposition of the United States Ship Constellation, United States Ship Hartford, United States Ship Olympia, and the United States Ship Oregon, and for Other Purposes*, Hearing, June 24, 1954. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1954): 11.

On July 23, 1954, Congress passed Public Law 523 - *An Act to Provide for the Restoration and Maintenance of the United States Ship Constitution and to Authorize the Disposition of the United States Ship Constellation, United States Ship Hartford, United States Ship Olympia, and the United States Ship Oregon, and for Other Purposes*. A result of the House and Senate hearings, this law consisted of eight sections addressing each of the five named vessels. The first section authorized the Secretary of the Navy to, “repair, equip, and restore the United States ship *Constitution*, as far as may be practicable, to her original condition, but not for active service, and thereafter to maintain the United States ship *Constitution* at Boston, Massachusetts.”<sup>156</sup>

The *USS Constellation* spent the war years serving on and off as the relief flagship for the Commander-in-chief of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet, Admiral Ernest J. King and Vice Admiral Royal E. Ingersoll. During this time, the *Constellation* had been the subject of a Navy Department study on the best way to maintain her “floatability,” as her hull was mentioned in more than one document as being in grave condition.<sup>157</sup> In 1946, Congress issued Public Law 442 tasking the government to “repair, equip, and restore the *Constellation* after 75 percent of the proposed cost was raised via private donations.”<sup>158</sup> The funding was not secured, and the work never completed, and so provisions made Section 2 of PL- 523 authorized minimum repairs to enable the towing of the ship from Newport, RI to Baltimore Harbor. The law mandated the transfer of

---

<sup>156</sup> United States Congress. *An Act to Provide for the Restoration and Maintenance of the United States Ship Constitution and to Authorize the Disposition of the United States Ship Constellation, United States Ship Hartford, United States Ship Olympia, and the United States Ship Oregon, and for Other Purposes*. Public Law 523, 83<sup>rd</sup> Congress, 68 Stat. ch. 565, July 23, 1954.

<sup>157</sup> Letter, Franklin D. Roosevelt to B. B. Crowninshield, March 13, 1941; Folder: Crowninshield, B. B.; Papers as President, President’s Personal File 7447; Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

<sup>158</sup> United States Congress. Report No. 1422 and Public Law 442, 80<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, March 13, 1946.



ownership via gift of the United States to either the State of Maryland, the City of Baltimore, or a not-for-profit organization who would maintain the vessel as a public memorial in Baltimore.<sup>159</sup>

After being moved to the Washington Navy Yard in 1938 for her WPA restoration project, the *Hartford* encountered setbacks when funds were rerouted toward active naval vessels as the country moved toward war.<sup>160</sup> Basic work was done to keep her afloat, and in 1945 she was moved to the Norfolk Navy Yard. Similar to Section 2, Section 3 of the 1954 law authorized the Navy to make the needed repairs to the vessel to enable her to be moved to Mobile, Alabama, followed by transfer of ownership to the State of Alabama, City of Mobile, or private, not-for-profit organization that would maintain the vessel as a public memorial.<sup>161</sup> By this time she had been stripped of her guns, masts, spars, and rigging, and was in poor overall shape. Extensive restoration costs prevented the City of Mobile from accepting the ship, and she remained at Norfolk until November of 1956 when her pumps failed and she sank at her moorings.<sup>162</sup> She was pumped out, broken up, and her remaining lower holds and keel burned by November of 1957.<sup>163</sup>

Sections 5, 6, and 7 of Public Law 523 addressed the disposition of the *Olympia* and *Oregon*, directing the government to retain ownership of both vessels for six months while receiving applications from interested parties (state, city, or non-profit) to take over the ships. If

---

<sup>159</sup> Public Law 523, 83<sup>rd</sup> Congress, 68 Stat. ch. 565, July 23, 1954. The ship was transferred to a private, not-for-profit organization. For a detailed history of the vessel in government care, Howard Chapelle's publicized findings on the vessel's provenance made during work on his *History of the American Sailing Navy*, and a detailed narrative of actions taken in light of those revelations, see Department of the Navy. David Taylor Research Center. *Technical and Administrative Services Department Research Development Report, Fouled Anchors: the Constellation Question Answered*. By Dana M. Wegner, appendices by Colan Ratliff and Kevin Lynaugh. DTRC-91/CT06, September 1991.

<sup>160</sup> Capt. Frederick L. Oliver, "Farragut's Flagship Poses \$1 Million Test for Navy," *The Christian Science Monitor*, March 10, 1951.

<sup>161</sup> Section 4 of Public Law 523 sets parameters for the transfer of ownership for both the *Constellation* and the *Hartford*, including a limitation that the transfer had to be completed within a year of the law's passage.

<sup>162</sup> Ethel Bacon, "The USS Hartford – Pride of the Union Navy," University of Hartford, Archives, [library.hartford.edu/UniversityLibraries/archspeccoll/archives/uss\\_hartford\\_1.aspx](http://library.hartford.edu/UniversityLibraries/archspeccoll/archives/uss_hartford_1.aspx) (accessed May 15, 2014).

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*

none was found within a year, ownership was to transfer to the Navy, which would then have the right to sell or scrap the vessels as they would see fit, with the stipulation that they had the right to first remove and retain ownership of any historically significant material from the vessels.

This would be lead to the ignominious fate of the Spanish American War veteran battleship *USS Oregon*. Spared the fate of her sisters-turned-target ships, and because of her historic significance and petitions sent by the people of Oregon, the *USS Oregon* had been declared a naval relic in 1925, and had spent the following 16 years on the Willamette River in Portland, Oregon as a war memorial and museum.<sup>164</sup> During this time the ship served as a meeting place for social groups and organizations, and remained a popular tourist attraction boasting over 100,000 visitors in 1941.<sup>165</sup> In 1938, the Battleship *Oregon* Commission began planning to move the ship shoreward via a constructed channel and encase the hull in concrete, making it the centerpiece of a public recreation space to be called Battleship *Oregon* Marine Park.<sup>166</sup> The plan only got as far as moving the ship to a basin near the Hawthorn Bridge in Portland, and dedicating the park as part of the United Spanish War Veterans national convention, before Depression-era funding constraints sidelined the rest of the work.<sup>167</sup> Because the ship still belonged to the Navy at the outbreak of war, the War Production Board claimed the ship for scrap metal. Despite much protest from citizens and veterans groups, President Roosevelt himself authorized the Board to take the vessel, which was sold to two Portland businessmen in December 1942 for \$35,000, only to be requisitioned back by the Navy a year later when little scrapping had actually been done.<sup>168</sup> She spent the rest of the war as an

---

<sup>164</sup> Ken Lomax, "Research Files: A Chronicle of the Battleship *Oregon*," *Oregon History Quarterly* 106, no. 1 (Spring, 2005): 139.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 139-140.

<sup>166</sup> Sanford Sternlicht, *McKinley's Bulldog: The Battleship Oregon*. (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1977): 114.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

explosives barge among the islands of the Pacific theater, settling in Port Merizon, Guam. After the war she remained in Guam until Public Law 523 ordered her disposition, at which point her ownership was transferred in a series of sales that ended in her transport to Kawasaki, Japan where she was broken up for metal scrap.<sup>169</sup>

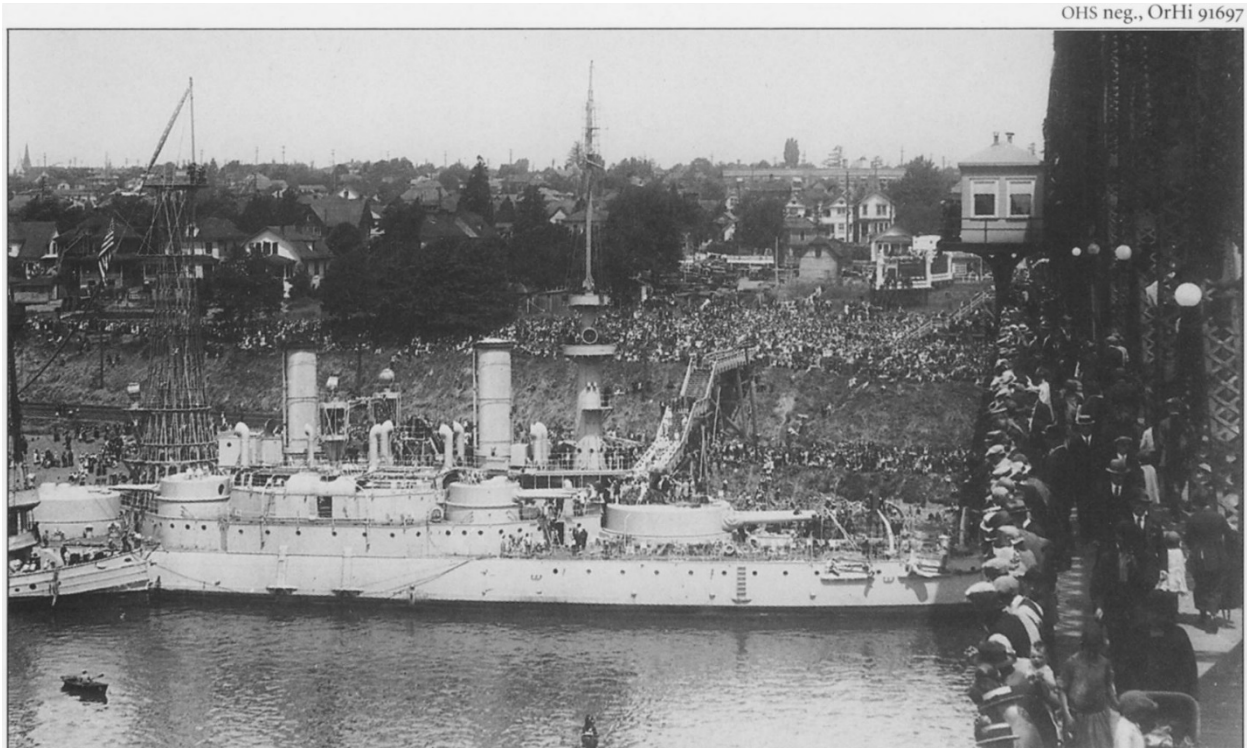


Figure 35 – *USS Oregon* in June of 1925 as she is installed at her first moorage as a museum ship, on the Willamette River, at the northeast end of the Broadway Bridge. From Ken Lomax, “Research Files: A Chronicle of the Battleship *Oregon*,” *Oregon History Quarterly* 106, no. 1 (Spring, 2005): 139.

---

<sup>169</sup> Sternlicht, *McKinley's Bulldog*, 121.

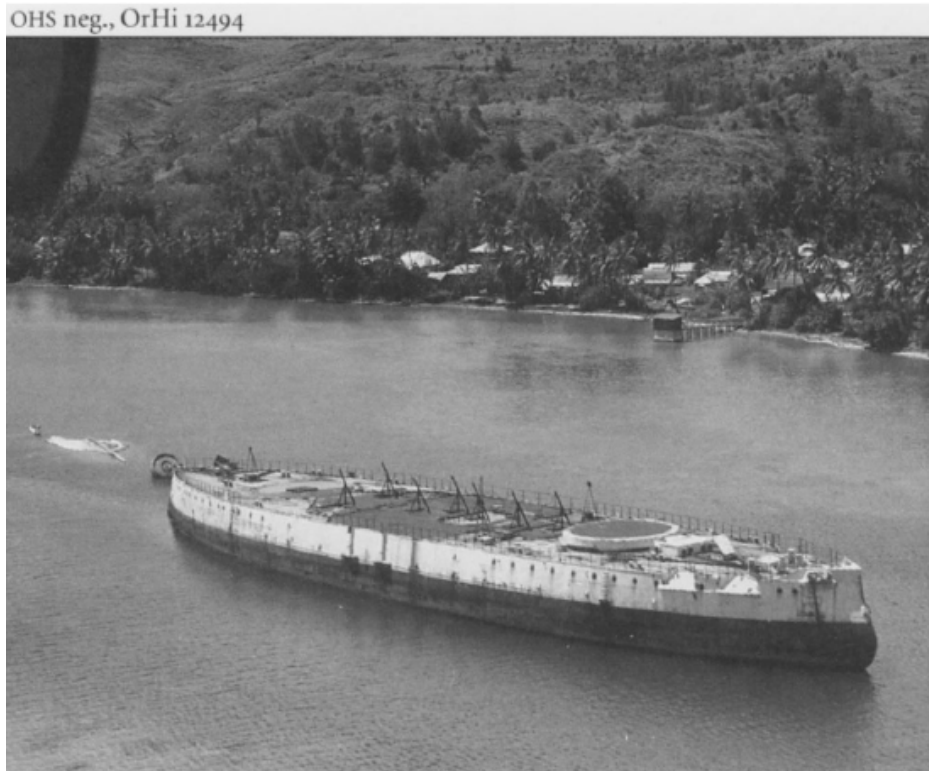


Figure 36 – *USS Oregon* at anchor in Guam Harbor in 1948 after being used as an explosives barge during WWII. From Ken Lomax, “Research Files: A Chronicle of the Battleship *Oregon*,” *Oregon History Quarterly* 106, no. 1 (Spring, 2005): 142.

Admiral Dewey’s Spanish American War flagship *Olympia* was spared the wartime scrapping fate of the *Oregon* and her sister ships thanks to President Roosevelt’s intervention. Her fate was held in limbo until Public Law 523 provided for her disposition to The Committee to Save Olympia – a non-profit organization spearheaded by historic-minded Philadelphians.<sup>170</sup> Funding for restoration work came in piecemeal for nearly two years until Keystone Dry Dock and Ship Repair Company offered to underwrite \$168,000 of repair costs.<sup>171</sup> Restoration was accomplished despite Keystone failing and filing for bankruptcy, the theft of a large portion of the port engine, and the ship itself being placed into bankruptcy by a judge to avoid suits from

---

<sup>170</sup> Benjamin Franklin Cooling. *USS Olympia: Herald of Empire*. (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000): 222.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 224.

creditors.<sup>172</sup> On October 6, 1964 she was opened to visitors as a floating museum in Philadelphia under the ownership of the Cruiser Olympia Association.

While historic and recent veteran Navy ships met different fates according to their particular circumstances, their dispositions represent two pivotal changes in the physical approach to saving and displaying historic ships. First, these events document the shift in public understanding of the historic ship's value from monument to museum. Whether installed in Washington as part of a national museum or in a city harbor as a stand-alone museum open to the public, the vessels were no longer novelty items, but important material documents of American history. Second, this marked the beginning of formal studies and detailed cost analyses dedicated to identifying the actual long-term requirements for maintaining historic vessels afloat. The early 20<sup>th</sup> century had popularized the idea of saving vessels, but attempts to keep them were marked by endemic, widespread loss. The fate of the *America* the *Hartford*, and the *Constellation* provided hard data on how the timing of intervention, or the extent of a lack of intervention, could mean the difference between the life and death of a ship.

### **The Reinvention of the History Museum and New Collection Policy**

In the years following World War II, a shift began in the collection policy and interpretive focus of America's established museums. The post-war cultural environment valued American history, but without the sentiment, superstition, and mythology that had allowed the relic and souvenir trade to dominate public attention and collecting trends. As the generation that had lived through two world wars, curators of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century could not deny the wholly transformative nature of unprecedented loss and rapid technological development to all aspects

---

<sup>172</sup> Cooling. USS Olympia, 224.

of American society and culture. The rubric of technological documentation and the satisfaction of taxonomy was no longer sufficient for governing museum content, and so the collection policies and organization of displays changed. For maritime collections, this meant that endless halls of models and paintings could instead be host to the things themselves – even making some exception for size.

An early beneficiary of this new trend was the Revolutionary War veteran gunboat *Philadelphia*. Before World War II, hobby salver Lorenzo Hagglund had tried to interest both the Smithsonian and the US Navy in preserving it. Despite it being the oldest intact military vessel, the former found it to be outside of the Institution's collection policy, and the latter had no interest in an "Army boat."<sup>173</sup> In 1959, however, Hagglund successfully reached out to the Smithsonian's fledgling Museum of History and Technology, established just two years earlier as part of the institution's "extensive" Exhibits Modernization Program begun in the 1940's.<sup>174</sup> Still in its planning stage while awaiting construction of a new museum building on the National Mall in Washington, DC, the Museum of History and Technology had been given stewardship of the Institution's historical collections, which included, "philately, numismatics, political and military memorabilia, costumes, furnishings, technology, medicine, textiles, graphic arts, photography, objects of everyday life, ceramics, glass, and musical instruments."<sup>175</sup> The new museum also absorbed the Section of Naval Architecture from the US National Museum collection, and the whole enterprise was placed under the direction of the Institution's engineering curator, and former HAMMS director, Frank A. Taylor. Hagglund finally found an

---

<sup>173</sup> Bratten, *The Gondola Philadelphia*, 85-86.

<sup>174</sup> *National Museum of American History: Growth and Development*. <https://siarchives.si.edu/history/national-museum-american-history> (accessed August 19, 2017). The program continued through the end of the 1950's.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

audience receptive to his offer, and after a process of authentication and negotiation, the vessel was accepted.

It is fair to assume that Taylor's leadership had a significant influence on the incorporation of the *Philadelphia* into the Museum's collection, as it was not only designated for immediate display in the new museum building, but required the design and creation of a customized space within the building while construction was underway. Taylor was responsible for planning and supervising the construction of the 750,000 square foot building which had begun in August of 1958.<sup>176</sup> To accommodate the vessel's size and situate it properly for display, the 54 foot long *Philadelphia* had to be loaded in to the building as part of the construction process, literally building the walls up behind her. In 1960, the boat underwent conservation and was then crated for transportation to the new building the following year.<sup>177</sup> Still in her crate, the *Philadelphia* was raised by derricks and then slid out and along a track to her display area in "Halls of the Armed Forces" on the museum's third floor, where she is still on display today.<sup>178</sup>

---

<sup>176</sup> *The National Museum of American History: Mission and History*. <http://americanhistory.si.edu/museum/mission-history> (accessed August 19, 2017).

<sup>177</sup> Bratten. *The Gondola Philadelphia*, 89-91. The vessel received two applications of polyethylene glycol solution sprayed onto the dried timbers to bulk the wood cells.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, 91. The ship is currently on display in its own room and its interpretation includes the vessel's recovery and an interpretive chart that provides "hands on experience with preservation needs." <http://americanhistory.si.edu/exhibitions/gunboat-philadelphia>





Figure 37 – The *Philadelphia* being loaded in to the new Smithsonian Museum of History and Technology Building while under construction, 1961. Still in part of her crate frame, the boat is suspended and balanced between two crane supports while being moved towards the awaiting exterior extension of rail track. The boat was moved along the rails into the building's 3<sup>rd</sup> floor and placed in her custom exhibit space. The building opened to the public in 1964. John R. Bratten. *The Gondola Philadelphia & the Battle of Lake Champlain*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2002.

Similar revisions of collection policy were seen in dedicated maritime museums as well. Moving away from the broader scope of early maritime collections, many museums adopted a regional or topical focus allowing for more specialized collection, exhibits, and interpretation.<sup>179</sup> Examples of this include the Maine Maritime Museum, founded in 1962 as the Bath Marine Museum, established with a focus on the regional marine industries of lobstering and

<sup>179</sup> Marcia L. Myers, *Maritime America: A Legacy At Risk – Issues and Needs in Maritime Heritage Preservation*. (Washington, DC: Preservation Press, 1988): 5.

shipbuilding, and The Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum, founded in 1965 in the town of St. Michaels on the eastern shore of Maryland, with a focus on the town's history in shipbuilding of Baltimore clippers and privateers, as well as the watermen of the Chesapeake Bay and the variety of Bay area indigenous craft including the oystermen's skipjack.<sup>180</sup> In these institutions as well as in countless others, collecting watercraft to support an interpretational program became common.

As the number of existing sail vessels in any repairable state continued to dwindle, their value as the representative artifact for their genre began to increase. As opposed to institutions that added watercraft to their established collections, some museums during this period were formed around the interpretation of one ship or a small collection of ships, such as Battleship Cove in Fall River, MA, founded in 1964 as a home for the *USS Massachusetts (BB-59)*, later joined by other naval vessels, and the Maritime Museum of San Diego, established in 1948 to support the sailing ship *Star of India*.<sup>181</sup> Established in 1950, the San Francisco Maritime Museum Association opened the San Francisco Maritime Museum in the city-owned Aquatic Park Bathhouse (casino) building.<sup>182</sup> Spearheaded by former sailor Karl Kortum, the Museum Association purchased its first vessel in 1954, the square-rigger *Balcutha*, which was restored and opened to the public the following year.<sup>183</sup> Three years later the California State Park Unit established a display of historic vessels at Hyde Street Pier and began restoration on the schooner

---

<sup>180</sup> "History," Maine Maritime Museum, Accessed May 20, 2014, [www.mainemaritimemuseum.org/about/history](http://www.mainemaritimemuseum.org/about/history) ; "History: Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum," Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum, Accessed May 20, 2014, [www.cbmm.org/ab\\_history.htm](http://www.cbmm.org/ab_history.htm)

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.; "About the Museum," The Marine Museum of San Diego, Accessed May 20, 2014, [www.sdmartime.org/the-museum/](http://www.sdmartime.org/the-museum/)

<sup>182</sup> "History," San Francisco Maritime National Park Association, Accessed May 20, 2014, [www.maritime.org/about.htm](http://www.maritime.org/about.htm). United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *General Management Plan: San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, San Francisco County, California*. (San Francisco, CA: 1997): 2.

<sup>183</sup> Stanford, *The Ships That Brought Us So Far*: 31.

*C. A. Thayer* and steam schooner *Wapama*, which were opened to the public in 1963 as the San Francisco Maritime State Historical Park.<sup>184</sup> The vessels reportedly claimed \$1 million in ticket sales in the 1960's, enough to support their restoration projects during that time.<sup>185</sup> The institutions along with their ships became part of the federally run Golden Gate National Recreation Area through a series of transactions in the 1970's.

Dazzled by the sight of masts on the urban horizon, Peter and Norma Stanford were inspired by a visit to the ships at Hyde Street pier and Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco. They wondered if the Maritime Collection of the Museum of the City of New York could support an off-site museum promoting the history of the East River waterfront, known as "the street of ships," and the Port of New York City.<sup>186</sup> The port had been the historical purview of the Marine Museum of the City of New York and the Maritime Collection of the Museum of the City of New York since the founding of the former in the 1931, and included a series of elaborate dioramas of port scenes (Figure 38), and some timbers of the Dutch ship *Tijger* discovered near

---

<sup>184</sup> United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *General Management Plan*, 2.

<sup>185</sup> Stanford, *The Ships That Brought Us So Far*: 31.

<sup>186</sup> Peter Neil and Barbara Ehrenwald Krohn, ed., *Great Maritime Museums of the World* (New York: Balsam Press, Inc. in association with Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1991): 294. The Maritime Collection of the Museum of the City of New York is the result of a merger of two existing institutions, The Marine Museum of New York and the Museum of the City of New York. The Marine Museum of New York was established around 1931 and housed in a dedicated wing of the new Museum of the City of New York's building at 103<sup>rd</sup> Street and 5<sup>th</sup> Avenue. A public appeal was made in the *New York Times* that year by the Maritime Museum's trustees (headed by Frank C. Munson of the Munson Steamship Company) for \$100,000 to "finance the purchase and installation of exhibits." This included models of Ocean Liners donated by the shipping companies and a section on modern ships, followed by "the various eras of the nation's development of ocean travel." The museum hoped to acquire models of the *America*, "Hendrik Hudson's *Half Moon*... which helped usher in the British occupation of New York", Navy vessels involved in the War of 1812, and representations of the *Leviathan* and the *Majestic*. ["Museum Will Show the History of Port: Collection of Ship Paintings, Models and Other Marine Objects Sought by Trustees." *The New York Times*, March 2, 1931.] The marine museum was officially absorbed by the Museum of the City of New York In 1953, however it is still referenced by name in a 1960 *New York Times* article discussing the desire of museum trustees to relocate the collection to the Battery Park area. The article provides an overview of the museum and its collections, and mentions that a planned relocation was part of the "Downtown-Lower Manhattan Association's proposed rebuilding program, as well as the subject of a membership drive. ["Trustees are Hoping to Move Collection Closer to the Sea: Ship Museum Dry-Docked on Fifth Avenue." *The New York Times*, February 14, 1960.]

the water in lower Manhattan during the construction of subway tunnels in 1919.<sup>187</sup> After consulting Anita Ventura, registrar at the San Francisco Maritime Museum, to learn more about presenting the history of a waterfront space along with dockside historic vessels, Ventura recommended Stanford meet Karl Kortrum.<sup>188</sup> In 1967, Stanford founded the South Street Seaport Museum, with a team of volunteers commencing work immediately on transforming their port setting and planning to acquire and display historic ships. The acquisition of ships relied on Kortrum, who had been on an extended trip to Brazil looking for redeemable hulks when Stanford first reached out to the San Francisco staff years prior. Stanford would soon join Kortrum on his travels, and support his near frenzied mission to acquire forgotten ships in South America and the Falkland Islands and match them with institutions willing to restore and display them.

---

<sup>187</sup> “300 Years of City’s Maritime History are Portrayed in Museum Exhibition.” *The New York Times*, May 14, 1953. “Trustees are Hoping to Move Collection Closer to the Sea: Ship Museum Dry-Docked on Fifth Avenue.” *The New York Times*, February 14, 1960.

<sup>188</sup> Peter & Norma Stanford. *A Dream of Tall Ships: How New Yorkers Came Together to Save the City’s Sailing-Ship Waterfront* (Peekskill, NY: Sea History Press, 2013): 10.



Figure 38 – “South Street in the 1850’s.” Miniature group installed at the Marine Museum of the City of New York circa 1931, photo 1934. Image from the collections of the Museum of the City of New York. [www.mcny.org](http://www.mcny.org).

In 1970, South Street Seaport acquired the iron-hulled square-rigger *Wavertree* found in Buenos Aires by Karl Kortum and then towed to New York, to join the light ship *Ambrose* and the fishing schooner *Lettie G. Howard*.<sup>189</sup> They were soon joined by the *General Hart* (née *John Lynch*), the last of the East River ferries, the sail training schooner *Pioneer*, and the 19<sup>th</sup> century steam tug *Mathilda*. In his accounts of this period, Stanford credits a small group of outgoing and dedicated figures, Kortum chief among them, who travelled the globe identifying extant vessels and matching them with groups or institutions willing to take on their care. Some, like *Wavertree* and Burnell’s famous *SS Great Britain* were towed from distant locations back to familiar ports for repair and restoration. Stanford used periodicals and trade publications as a way not only to

<sup>189</sup> Stanford, *The Ships That Brought Us So Far*: 41-42.

make appeals for information identifying troubled vessels in need of intervention, but also to create interest in vessel restoration.<sup>190</sup> Publicity about vessels in need, combined with updates on preservation efforts underway in the US and Europe, inspired readers to identify and support restoration projects to which they felt a connection.

On July 4, 1964, a parade of 23 sailing “tall” ships lead by the USCG *Eagle*, entered New York Harbor surrounded by thousands of private yachts, and other active watercraft.<sup>191</sup> Operation Sail, dubbed OpSail for short, was coordinated with the New York World’s Fair. Preceded by a transatlantic race and complemented by a parade in New York City and two grand ball celebrations, the event attracted thousands of visitors and gained a large international audience.<sup>192</sup> Secretary of the Navy Paul Nitze aboard the official ship of review *USS Randolph* (CV-16), watched as the parade headed up the Hudson River. In 1976, OpSail was revived as part of the celebration of the American Bicentennial. Only 16 tall ships were in attendance as vessel condition limited the number of active ships at that time, but the gathering hosted 50 international warships in an International Naval Review overseen by President Gerald Ford from the *USS Forrestal* (CV-59).<sup>193</sup> Shown on television and drawing enormous crowds, the parade of ships was seen by millions of viewers. These two events, particularly the second as a centerpiece of the Bicentennial celebration, created an unprecedented interest in ships and American maritime ephemera. At Independence Hall, George Washington’s Mount Vernon, Colonial Williamsburg, and other sites, people flocked to see historic vessels and stand aboard a piece of history that, when afloat, still felt very much alive.

---

<sup>190</sup> Stanford, *A Dream of Tall Ships*, 17.

<sup>191</sup> OpSail: Operation Sail Inc. “1964.” <http://www.opsail.org/past-events-1964.php> (accessed November 18, 2017).

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> OpSail: Operation Sail Inc. “1976.” <http://www.opsail.org/past-events-1964.php> (accessed November 18, 2017).





Figure 39 – New York Harbor on July 4, 1976. Photo by Steven Lindner. “50 Amazing Color Photographs of Street Scenes of New York City in the 1970s” < <http://www.vintag.es/2015/02/50-amazing-color-photographs-of-new.html>>(Accessed November 18, 2017)

### **United by Loss but Determined to Succeed: Pooling Resources and Professionalizing Practices**

The interest in historic ships and maritime museums bolstered by the years of excitement and historical tourism surrounding the American Bicentennial helped to fund the restoration projects of the groups of vessels identified by maritime enthusiasts like Karl Kortrum and Peter Stanford. In the ebb of that wave of interest, however, the country was left with a fleet of vessels struggling to stay afloat, both physically and financially. Ships faced rapid deterioration due to weather and general wear and tear brought about by their exposure to environmental conditions inherent in being kept afloat. Without funds to meet restoration needs, let alone to sustain regular



maintenance plans, the ships that had been rushed to be saved were foundering. By the 1980's it was evident to those involved in the management of maritime assets that there was a lack of public awareness of how extensive and pervasive these problems were. The main reason for this was attributed to the "fragmented, individualistic constituency that suffers from its isolation from the rest of the preservation movement."<sup>194</sup>

The fledgling preservation movement, as it related to historic vessels, was considerably behind in development in almost every aspect as compared to its land-based counterpart, whose path of development it had unintentionally followed.<sup>195</sup> Much like the early years of historic building preservation efforts decades before, maritime "ship savers" were primarily concerned with saving the vessels and finding them a home.<sup>196</sup> The managing institutions were expected to carry out the restoration projects and figure out the long-term care of their ships independently. Slowly, driven by their needs, maritime institutions began to look toward each other for guidance and support.

One example of such spontaneous networking arose from the postwar acquisition of decommissioned warships by a number of cities and states. The Navy deeded the dreadnought *USS Texas* to its namesake state in 1948, and the battleships *Alabama*, *North Carolina*, and *Massachusetts* to their namesakes in the early 1960's, all to serve as museum ships open to the public<sup>197</sup> While the vessels were successfully installed and opened, it was not long before management difficulties unique to these large steel ships became more than an occasional nuisance. Seeking a forum to exchange ideas and best practices, share problems, and seek advice in the continued care of their charges, representatives from these vessels, along with the older

---

<sup>194</sup> Myers, *Maritime America*, 2.

<sup>195</sup> Delgado and Clifford, "Preserving Ships," in *Great American Ships*, 53.

<sup>196</sup> Myers, *Maritime America*, 4.

<sup>197</sup> Delgado and Clifford, "Preserving Ships," in *Great American Ships*, 47.

*USS Olympia*, came together on December 10, 1961 to establish what would become known as the Historic Naval Ships Association (HNSA).<sup>198</sup> In short order the organization grew to include former naval vessels of all type and size. As the first organized group dedicated to the care of historic vessels, HNSA developed a framework for making resources on all aspects of operations, from shipboard exhibits to staving off decay, available to member vessels. Expanding this idea to the non-military maritime community, other resources for museum ships and maritime institutions were established, including the National Maritime Historical Society in 1963. Founded by Peter Stanford and sponsoring the publication, *Sea History*, this group sought to raise interest and share information about preservation projects throughout the country.<sup>199</sup>

After the success of OpSail in 1976, the organization's board of directors gave a remarkable gift of \$500,000 to the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP) earmarked for the establishment of a maritime preservation program. This funding was supplemented with a congressional appropriation for maritime heritage projects that made a total of \$5 million available for preservation projects. The grants program existed from 1978-1982 and provided funding to 155 projects in 33 states, with a total \$11 million dispensation in answer to 220 projects that requested a total of \$24 million in funds.<sup>200</sup>

What followed was a relatively quick succession of initiatives undertaken to get a better understanding of the extent of the need for maritime preservation resources including some accounting of extant material and condition. In 1982 the NTHP created a Maritime Heritage Task Force which in 1984 made a series of recommendations related to maritime preservation

---

<sup>198</sup> Edward J. Marolda, "HNSA Visitors' Guide Introduction," Historic Naval Ships Association, About the Historic Naval Ships Association, Accessed November 1, 2017, [www.hnsa.org/intro.htm](http://www.hnsa.org/intro.htm). According to Delgado and Clifford in "Preserving Ships," the organization was formerly called the Historic Naval Ships of North America (HINAS), and was referred to by that name in the Delgado/Clifford publication. (p48.)

<sup>199</sup> Delgado and Clifford, "Preserving Ships," in *Great American Ships*, 52.

<sup>200</sup> Myers. *Maritime America*, 6-7.

concerns that were taken to Congress. As part of its 1985 fiscal appropriation for the National Park Service, Congress required the Task Force to conduct a survey to identify existing maritime resources, rank their needs, and address them in a systematic manner.<sup>201</sup> The result was the creation of the National Maritime Initiative, a cooperative endeavor between the NTHP and the National Park Service to create standards for the documentation of historic maritime resources including heritage skills, standards for historic preservation projects, and standards for the management of historic shipwrecks, as well as a comprehensive inventory of historic maritime resources.<sup>202</sup>

The results began with the formal definition of “Maritime Resources” broken down into categories of historic vessels, shipwrecks and hulks, maritime documents (ship logs, journals, charts, ship plans, and photographs), aids to navigation, marine sites and structures (canals, warehouses, rope walks, sail lofts, docks, and wharves), small craft (less than 40 feet in length and/or 20 tons displacement), art and artifact collections, and “intangible cultural resources” (traditional shipwright and rigging skills, oral traditions, music, folklore, etc.)<sup>203</sup> This was followed by the generation of an inventory of 256 known preserved vessels in the US over 40 feet in length and 20 tons displacement.<sup>204</sup> Working with the NTHP, the Historic American Building Survey/Historic American Engineering Record (HABS/HAER) was tapped with a first round of documentation projects subsequent to the completion of the Guidelines for Recording Historic Ships published in 1988. All of these efforts relied on the work of numerous maritime museum professionals contributing an immense amount of time, knowledge, and accumulated

---

<sup>201</sup> National Trust for Historic Preservation. *Preserving the Legacy: Maritime Preservation and the National Trust* (Washington, DC: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1988): 6-7.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>203</sup> Glennie Wall, ed., “The National Maritime Initiative,” *The Journal of the Association for Preservation Technology* IX, no.1 (1987): 4.

<sup>204</sup> Much of this inventory came from the International Register of Historic Ships compiled by Norman Brower of South Street Seaport in cooperation with the World Ship Trust, published in 1985.

resources to turn the restoration and long term preservation of maritime material from a series of ad hoc tasks to a professional practice with identified best practices. The codification of this new professionalism was embodied in the 1990 publication of *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Vessel Preservation Projects, with Guidelines for Applying the Standards*.

### **Standards for Historic Vessel Preservation: Historic Integrity and the Ship as Artifact and Structure**

On the “credit” page of *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Vessel Preservation Projects, with Guidelines for Applying the Standards* (the *Standards*) is a list of the professionals who contributed to and reviewed the document. The names read like a “Who’s Who” of the maritime museum world, including Maynard Bray and Dana Hewson of Mystic Seaport, Walter Rybka of the Erie Maritime Museum and the Brig *Niagara*, Peter Neill and Norman Brouwer of South Street Seaport, and Glennie Wall, James Delgado, and Karl Kortum of the National Park Service, among others.<sup>205</sup> As the foremost authorities on the management of historic museum vessels, they were the most qualified to address the needs that had been plaguing their profession for so long. With the production of the *Standards* they defined the unique nature of the ship, distinct from other historic objects, and crafted a document that addressed the issues and needs inherent to vessel care.

One of the most distinctive characteristics of the ship as an object is that it was not created to last forever. As a mode of transportation, a work horse tasked with moving cargoes, or a weapon, a ship lives in a hostile environment. There is never any pretense that a vessel, no matter how well made or finely ornamented, can have an indefinite use-life. No material

---

<sup>205</sup> This list states the subject’s professional association previous to or as listed in the publication. All of these people have extensive resumes in 2017.

substantial enough to be used in ship construction can withstand forever the biological and chemical factors of deterioration inherent in immersion in open water. A ship's life is a calculated cycle sustained by profit over loss, with money made by the vessel's work sustaining its upkeep until the profit margin diminishes to such a point where sale or scrapping becomes her successful end.<sup>206</sup> No ship at the end of her life was really the same as at the beginning, as hauling out and replacement of worm-eaten timbers, patches to corroded hull plating, or the replacement or conversion of any number of fixtures or features was integral to keeping a ship afloat.

In her life as a museum vessel, the ship had a different set of needs. Keeping the water out and weather damage to a minimum was a priority, but without the profits of cargoes and with disposition not an option, plans were necessary to mitigate damage and generate funds for her care. As a museum ship, the managing institution had to design an interpretive program that would attract paying visitors while satisfying the interpretive mission of the institution. Visitors, however, bring about a new set of problems, as their boarding, touring, and sailing (if applicable) on these vessels makes the ship not only an historic artifact, but simultaneously a historic structure. Similar to land based structures, visitors introduce a new kind of wear and tear to a ship as she potentially accommodates hundreds of visitors a week. Deterioration of decking, passages, and companionways from visitor traffic adds new consideration to maintenance planning. Coast Guard safety regulations can require the addition of modern structural elements that alter the historic form, or are visually noticeable or distracting. Addressing these new structural preservation needs are just as important to success and sustainability as a museum vessel as are addressing the historic preservation needs. The tension between these two halves of

---

<sup>206</sup> Navy vessels do not need to generate profit, but they rely on funding all the same and are disposed of when their cost, including that of updating components relied on for combat, is no longer sustainable.

the ship's existence is a significant risk factor in vessel preservation and a reason why the creation of the *Standards* was so important to ensuring a future for museum vessels.

The document identifies nine key elements of the process of vessel preservation, and defines the standards by which those processes are evaluated. These aspects are: project planning, acquisition, protection, documentation, stabilization, preservation/restoration/rehabilitation, preservation maintenance, interpretation, and preserving integrity. They represent the needs common to museum ships that must be addressed at some point in the ship's new life-cycle.

The subsequent guidelines for applying the standards seek to balance the tension between being steward to a historic object and maintaining a functioning historic structure. The key is the importance of preserving integrity. This is ideally done by preserving a vessel's historic form and material "tempered by the **ABSOLUTE REQUIREMENT** that the vessel be kept structurally sound, weather resistant, and watertight."<sup>207</sup> As an example, the document provides that

Historic fabric will, of necessity, be replaced in the course of maintaining a sound, weather-resistant, watertight structure. The integrity of materials of a vessel, however, can be retained if historic fabric is replaced by new material of the same size, composition, texture, color, and appearance as that which is replaced and if the methods of replacement are historically appropriate to the vessel.<sup>208</sup>

Thus a characteristic of the ship's original use life – the removal and replacing of the vessel's original fiber – becomes an activity that is essential to preserving the spirit and life of the object. The mandate for the replication of materials and original skills and techniques adds a dimension to the stewardship of this historic object, and to its interpretive value, that cannot be attained in the collection and display of most objects. While it may appear to the outsider as risk,

---

<sup>207</sup> *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Vessel Preservation Projects, with Guidelines for Applying the Standards* (Washington DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary, 1990) 12.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*

the value gained from feeling the ship move beneath your feet and the wind blow across the bow not only preserves the integrity of a historic ship, but provides an interaction and experience for the visitor that has an interpretive power nearly impossible to equal in a museum display.

Building upon of this new foundation of professional ethics and methodology for the management and care of historic vessels, new organizations, efforts, and funding sources helped institutions mitigate loss. Managers of historic vessels could, with resources provided through the continued development and sharing of best practices and the maintenance of a strong, connected network of preservation specialists, not only save their at-risk vessels, but develop long-term plans for a balanced cycle of care that identified and prioritized needs according to an established order of magnitude. While the *Standards* were (and continue to be) an immense benefit to the field, they are not a magic formula for success. The pitfalls of preservation are not undone by a good toolkit, and the years since the publication of these standards have seen a fair share of loss and decline among some of the most established maritime museums. The *Wawona* and the *Wapama* met their end within the last decade, as both ships reached a point of no return in their condition. The *Falls of Clyde*, the *Olympia*, and the *Eppleton Hall* among other well-known vessels, sit in various states of decay securing piecemeal grants and donations to address emergent issues with the hopes that a permanent solution can be found.



## **CHAPTER 6 – Conclusion**

The presence of a historic museum vessel is a common sight in cities and towns on the coasts, the Great Lakes, and the inland waterways of the United States. Displayed as a floating museum with guided tours and shipboard exhibits, or as part of a larger museum complex that supports a ship or ships with land-based exhibits, tens of thousands of visitors board preserved historic vessels every year. The long-term care of these ships is of interest to the public, with some supporting the institutions through membership and fundraising efforts. In the modern museum climate, funding is not a problem unique to the care of ships, but it is the topic that most often brings more widespread public attention to vessels. Financial hardships indicate structural problems, and when needs are extensive enough to warrant public appeals for support, it could be an indication the impending loss of an important piece of maritime history. It is this kind of publicity that often leads the public to question why such objects are put at risk through their display afloat.

The origins of the preservation and display of historic vessels afloat are interesting in that they are not the expected result of the development of collection practices or the history of museums. The path to modern day museum ships can be traced through the compounding and changing presence of maritime material and the maritime world in the evolution of collecting practices, the development of saving behaviors, the public and academic attitudes towards the documentary value of historic objects, the legitimization of sentiment and personal connection to objects, and the desire to save whole vessels as the last physical examples of objects that were, for thousands of years, at the center of societal structure.

Objects of the maritime world have been saved and preserved since antiquity, as surviving objects from that time not only indicate the importance of the maritime world to numerous ancient societies, but that the documentation of some element of watercraft was tied into the cultural practices of those people. Even in the early Christian era, contemporary maritime practices and vessels were used in the art that adorned religious structures and manuscripts. Maritime imagery was also used to commemorate achievement and naval victory in the form of images on coins and the construction of memorial structures.

The history of museums and collecting practices in the modern era can be found in the development of the Cabinet of Curiosity. In these somewhat primitive and scattered collections, the maritime world made the acquisition and trade of foreign and exotic objects possible, with the display of ethnographic maritime material for its novelty. Even early American cabinets replicated this formula, collecting objects donated by ship captains and merchant mariners along with objects used on their travels. As collection practices merged with academic interests, the collection and display of objects favored taxonomy and chronology, applying scientific interest to the technological achievement of man. Under this guideline, paintings and models were thought to be the most valuable forms of documenting the technological development of watercraft, and so they were created and collected in abundance. Naval collections followed suit, making some allowance for uniforms, flags, and weapons used in nationally significant battles.

The saving of an object purely as a representation of the past was dismissed as common and sentimental, and so much of the historic maritime material encountered in the Victorian era was turned into a historic relic. Favoring the breaking up of objects into unrecognizable fragments to allow the public to literally possess a piece of the past, sentiment governed public interest. It also expanded the qualification of “historic” to include pieces of objects found near to

important people or events, such as clippings from plants, pieces of trees, fragments of stone, and clippings of hair. Historic ship fragments became popular in the souvenir trade, with an extension of the practice dedicated to the manufacture of objects from ship timbers.

The 20<sup>th</sup> century saw the expansion of tourist interest to include seeing the display of some historic ships and preserved hulks remade to sail again. While successful for a period of time, deterioration and decay turned most of these ships back over to abandon or burned for metal scrap. The end of the age of sail and sentiment for the vanishing waterfront industries inspired founding of dedicated maritime museums with collections focused on a wide range of maritime ephemera. Where funds could not support the saving of ships or related material, other approaches to “saving” were developed in the form of an extensive documentation project and the creation of sustainable adaptive reuse of a small group of vessels in the vacation industry.

Prior to World War II, President Franklin Roosevelt backed a plan to establish a national maritime museum in Washington DC with a lagoon of floating ships as its main attraction. This idea evolved during the war years to focus on historic Navy vessels, and to eventually abandon the lagoon in favor of concrete cradles. While the museum was abandoned after his death, the government was forced to address the care of these vessels through orders of congress, turning several of them over to civic or non-profit entities dedicated to the care and display of the vessels. Post-war nationalism favored the exhibition of historic ships as museums dedicated to telling the story of the ship, rather than standing as static monuments to battle. This interest supported the disposition of a set of modern war ships to the public, placing large steel-hulled battleships in namesake states.

With interest in ships driving the need for institutional support and an interpretive mission, a number of museums were formed around an accumulated fleet of ships in places like

San Diego, San Francisco, and New York City. A peak in the public interest in saving old ships sent vessel managers to South America and the Falkland islands to identify viable hulks and tow them to waiting institutions. Over time, however, these rescued ships barely secured funding for initial restoration, leaving them vulnerable to the effects of the elements. Due potentially to a combination of a “market saturation” of vessels in immediate need of some level of restoration, as well as the placement of ships in locations to which they have no historic or geographic connection, waning interest and support brought a number of vessels to the precipice of loss.

With increasing levels of risk, and with no institutional resources for long term care of historic ships, museums and managing institutions took steps to organize and seek assistance in establishing resources and the professionalization of their practices. Following in the footsteps of the historic preservation movement, vessel managers worked with the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the National Park Service to get a handle on the state of maritime resources in the US. A series of reports and a congressional mandate brought about the creation of the National Maritime Initiative to carry out a survey of existing resources and an assessment of projects ranked by need. Pulling together experts in vessel care and preservation from around the country, the group worked with the NPS to create *The Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for Historic Vessel Preservation Projects, with Guidelines for Applying the Standards*, a benchmark resource for the management and care of all nature of maritime material.

With the creation of the *Standards*, there was now a set of formal parameters to be used to identify the kind of maritime material that should be protected, as well as to gain understanding of an object’s cultural and historic value. The guidelines provided in the document fulfilled the need for resources by way of the identification of best practices and common mistakes applicable to every phase of vessel care. While they were by no means a cure-all for the

problems shared by the most at-risk ships, nor did they guarantee the perpetual success of a ship through adherence to the guidelines and practices, they did empower previously isolated institutions to realistically and responsibly assess their vessels and determine how best to establish a program of care. While the field of preservation continued to evolve after the publication of the *Standards*, and the issues surrounding vessel preservation are still affecting ships and generating public pleas for financial support and intervention, it was with the professionalization of the field of vessel care and management that the historic museum ship became an officially recognized and valued cultural resource

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adam, Thomas. "Cultural Excursion: The Transitional Transfer of Museums in the Transatlantic World," in *The Museum is Open: Towards a Transitional History of Museums 1750-1940*, Andrea Meyer and Bénédicte Savoy, ed., 103-116. Boston: DeGruyter, 2014.
- Alanen, Arnold R. and Robert Z. Melnick, eds. *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
- Alexander, Edward P. and Mary Alexander. *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums, Second Edition*. New York: AltaMira Press, 2008.
- Altick, Richard D. *The Shows of London*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Anderson, Charles B. "How to Save the *United States*," *Sea History* 127 (Summer 2009), under "On A Lee Shore," <http://www.seahistory.org/html/ssunitedstates.htm> (accessed March 19, 2011)
- Anderson, Richard K., Jr. "Lifting Lines from the Schooner *Wawona*," *APT Bulletin* 19, no.1 (1987): 80-88.
- Anderson, Richard K., Jr. and Todd A. Croteau. "Futtocks, Buttocks, and Duck Tails: HAER's Maritime Program," *CRM* 23, no.4 (2000): 18-22.
- . "Saving the Lines: Documenting Historic Ships in the United States," *Nautical Research Journal* 52, no. 1 (March 2007): 33-45.
- Aplin, Graeme. *Heritage: Identification, Conservation and Management*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Arnold, Ken. *Cabinets for the Curious: Looking Back at Early English Museums*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2006.
- Ashley, Raymond. "Old Ships and Education." Paper, Third International Conference on the Technical Aspects of the Preservation of Historic Vessels, San Francisco, CA, April 20-23, 1997.
- . "Paying Their Way." Paper, Third International Conference on the Technical Aspects of the Preservation of Historic Vessels, San Francisco, CA, April 20-23, 1997.
- Associated Press. "Historic Ships Rotting at Maritime Museum," *The New York Times*, November 24, 1987, Late City Final Edition.

- Association for Preservation Technology. *APT Bulletin; The Journal of the Association for Preservation Technology* Vol. IX, no. 1, 1987.
- Aymar, Brandt. *A Pictorial Treasury of the Marine Museums of the World*. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1967.
- Bacon, Ethel. "The USS Hartford – Pride of the Union Navy," University of Hartford, Archives, [library.hartford.edu/UniversityLibraries/archspeccoll/archives/uss\\_hartford\\_1.aspx](http://library.hartford.edu/UniversityLibraries/archspeccoll/archives/uss_hartford_1.aspx) (accessed May 15, 2014).
- Baker, Andrew J. "Corrosion of Metal Fasteners in Wood." in *Conference Proceedings: Technical Aspects of Maintaining, Repairing & Preserving Historically Significant Ships*, 71-77. Charlestown, MA: Naval Historical Center Detachment Boston, September 12-14, 1994.
- Bann, Stephen. "'Views of the Past': Reflections on the Treatment of Historical Objects and Museums of History," in *The inventions of History: Essays on the Representation of the Past* by Stephen Bann, 122-147. New York, Manchester University Press, 1990.
- Barnett, Teresa. *Sacred Relics: Pieces of the Past in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013.
- Belasco, Warren James. *Americans of the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1979.
- Bellamy, Martin. "Financing the Preservation of Historic Ships: Should the UK Taxpayer Pay? An Overview of Past, Present and Future Policy," *The Mariner's Mirror* 97, no. 1 (February 2011): 244-365.
- Bell, Whitfield J, John C. Ewers, Clifford K. Shipton, Louis Leonard Tucker, Wilcomb E. Washburn, and Walter Muir Whitehill. *A Cabinet of Curiosities: Five Episodes in the Evolution of American Museums*. Charlottesville, VA: The University Press of Virginia, 1967.
- Benjamin, Walter. "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility," In *The Work of Art in the Age of Technological Reproducibility, and Other Writings on Media*, edited by Michael W. Jennings, Brigid Doherty, and Thomas Y. Levin, 19-55. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008.
- Bennett, Tony. *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*. London: Routledge, 1995
- Benson, Virginia O. and Richard Klein. *Historic Preservation for Professionals*. Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 2008.
- Berson, David. "Regina Maris: Long Live the Queen," *WoodenBoat* no. 149 (July/August 1999): 70-74.



- Bird, William L. *Souvenir Nation: Relics, Keepsakes, and Curios from the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History*, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2013.
- Birkholz, Don, Jr. "Steamship *Wapama* Finds a Cure: Remedial Treatment of Dry Rot in a Large Wooden Structure," *CRM Bulletin*: 12, no. 4 (1989): 18-19.
- Birnbaum, Charles A. "Making Educated Decisions on the Treatment of Historic Landscapes," *APT Bulletin* 24 no. 3/4 (1992): 42-51.
- Blinder, Alan. "A Historic Vessel, Stuck in Place: Riverboat's Backers Look for a Way to Get the *Delta Queen* Moving Again," *The New York Times*, December 17, 2013. Accessed December 17, 2013. [http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/18/us/a-historic-vessel-stuck-in-place.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2013/12/18/us/a-historic-vessel-stuck-in-place.html?_r=0)
- Booth, Russell. "Developing and Implementing A Long-Term Preservation Plan, Example: *USS Pampanito (SS-383)*," in *Conference Proceedings: Technical Aspects of Maintaining, Repairing & Preserving Historically Significant Ships*, 27-38. Charlestown, MA: Naval Historical Center Detachment Boston, September 12-14, 1994.
- Bond, Hallie. "What is 'Museum Quality'?; A Curator Looks at Boat Restoration," *WoodenBoat* no.144 (September/October 1998): 85-91.
- Bond, Michelle. "Down to the Sea Again, An 1841 Wooden Whaler," *The New York Times*, July 22, 2013, Late Edition – Final.
- Boswell, Charles. *The America: The Story of the World's Most Famous Yacht*. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1967.
- Boudreau, Guy Peter. "*Gazela's* New Timber: The Rebirth of a Grand Ship," *WoodenBoat* no.111 (March/April 1993): 52-57.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Saving *Constellation*," *WoodenBoat* no.147 (March/April 1999): 66-72.
- Bratten, John R. *The Gondola Philadelphia & the Battle of Lake Champlain*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2002.
- Bray, Maynard, ed. *Taking Care of Wooden Ships*, Walpole, Maine: Maine Sea Grant Publications, 1978
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Waldo Howland's *Life in Boats*" *WoodenBoat* no.143 (July/August 1998):33-42.
- Brebbia, C.A. and T. Gambin, eds. *Maritime Heritage*. Southampton, United Kingdom: WIT Press, 2003.
- Broad. William J. "A Quest to Make the Morgan Seaworthy," *New York Times*, August 16, 2010.

- Bromund, Ted R. "'This Somewhat Embarrassing Ship': The British Foreign Office and the *Mayflower II*, 1954-1957," *The New England Quarterly* 72, no.1 (March 1999): 42-60.
- Bronner, Simon J. *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1800-1920*. New York: W.W Norton & Company, 1989.
- Brooker, Hallie. "The National Maritime Heritage Grants Program," *CRM* 22, no.5 (1999): 13-14.
- Broom, Jack. "New Life on Lake Union for Brave Old Lightship *Swiftsure*," *The Seattle Times*, July 10, 2013. Accessed July 11, 2013.  
[http://seattletimes.com/html/localnews/2021369487\\_lightshipswiftsurexml.html](http://seattletimes.com/html/localnews/2021369487_lightshipswiftsurexml.html)
- Brouwer, Norman J. *International Register of Historic Ships*. Shropshire, England: Anthony Nelson Ltd., 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Role of Historical Research in Documenting Historic Vessels," *APT Bulletin* 19, no.1 (1987): 40-43.
- Burchard, Hank. "Ship Restoration: A Costly Plunge; Maritime Buffs Ponder SOS List," *The Washington Post*, June 30, 1977, Final Edition.
- Bureau of Ships, Department of the Navy. *Wood: A Manual for its Use as a Shipbuilding Material, Volume 1-4*. Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1957.
- Butowsky, Harry A. "Warships in the Pacific: A Theme Study," *CRM Bulletin* 8, no.5 (October 1985): 9-12.
- Cannon, Jeffrey. "Sustaining Historic Naval Ship Museums," in *HNSA Operations Handbook*. [www.hnsa.org/handbook/rdgmuseum/index.htm](http://www.hnsa.org/handbook/rdgmuseum/index.htm), Accessed April 15, 2014.
- Caple, Chris. *Conservation Skills: Judgment, Method and Decision Making*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Carter, John S. "Is America Losing its Maritime Heritage?: Challenges From the Field," *History News* 46, no. 2 (March/April 1991): 12-16.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Senguin Project: Background on Documentation," *CRM Bulletin*: 12, no. 4 (1989): 15-16.
- Chea-Annan, Melissa. "Fund Drive Aims to Save the *SS United States*," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 18, 2013, City-D Edition.

- Christensen, Arne Emil Jr. "Some Thoughts on Boats as Museum Objects," *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 2, no.2 (1973): 345-354.
- Clark, Glen. "Ship Donation Program Shares the Navy's Heritage with the Nation," *Pull Together: Newsletter of the Naval Historical Foundation* 40, no.2 (Fall/Winter 2009/2010): 4-14.
- Clayton, Brian. "The Historic American Engineering Record's Maritime Documentation Project," *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 4, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 77-81.
- Coleman, Laurence Vail. *Historic House Museums*. Washington, DC: The American Association of Museums, 1933.
- Cooling, Benjamin Franklin. *USS Olympia: Herald of Empire*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2000.
- Cottrell, Charlie. "Ship Shape," *History Today* 47, no.6 (June 2007): 5.
- Davies, Wyn. "The *Cutty Sark*: The Trials and Tribulations of a Restoration Project." Paper, Seventh Maritime Heritage Conference & Fifth International Ship Preservation Conference, Norfolk, VA, October 27-30, 2004
- Deayton, Alistair. "European Ship Preservation," *Ships Monthly* 29, no. 10 (1994): 28-31.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "European Ship Preservation – Part 2," *Ships Monthly* 29, no. 11 (1994): 38-41.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "European Ship Preservation – Part 3," *Ships Monthly* 29, no. 12 (1994): 34-37.
- Delgado, James P. "Difficult Choices and Hard-Won Successes in Maritime Preservation," *CRM Bulletin*: 12, no.4 (1989): 1-3.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Dogwatch," *CRM Bulletin* 12, no. 1 (1989): 16.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Dogwatch," *CRM Bulletin* 12, no. 6 (1989): 9-10.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Dogwatch: Maritime Heritage of the United States National Historic Landmark Study – Large Vessels," *CRM Bulletin* 12, no. 3 (1989): 27.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Dogwatch: Restoring *Grace Bailey*," *CRM Bulletin* 13, no. 4 (1990): 33.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Dogwatch: Standards and Guidelines for Historic Vessel Preservation Projects," *CRM Bulletin* 13, no. 4 (1990): 9-10.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Dogwatch: The Importance of Sailing," *CRM Bulletin* 13, no. 3 (1990): 22.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Dogwatch: The National Register and Historic Ships," *CRM Bulletin* 13, no. 6 (1990): 26.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Grim Realities, High Hopes, Moderate Gains: The State of Historic Ship Preservation," *CRM Bulletin*: 12, no.4 (1989): 1, 3-4.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Grim Realities, High Hopes, Moderate Gains: The State of Historic Ship Preservation," *History News* 46, no.2 (March/April 1991): 8-11.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Taking the Initiative: Six Years of Gains in the Cause of Maritime Preservation," *Sea History*, no.60 (Fall 1991): 16-18.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The National Maritime Initiative: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Maritime Preservation," *The Public Historian* 13 no.3 (Summer, 1991): 75-84.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The National Register of Historic Places and Maritime Preservation," *APT Bulletin* 19, no.1 (1987): 34-39.
- Delgado, James P and J. Candace Clifford. *Great American Ships*. Washington, DC: The Preservation Press, 1991.
- Dependahl, Deborah Louise. "John Fanning Watson, Historian: 1779-1860." Master's Thesis, University of Delaware, 1971
- A Descriptive Catalogue of the Marine Collection to be found at India House*. Second Edition. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1973.
- Descriptive Catalogue of the Portraits of Naval Commanders, Representations of Naval Actions, Relics, &c. Exhibited in the Painted Hall of Greenwich Hospital, and the Royal Naval Museum, Greenwich*. London: Printed by Eyre and Spottswode, 1906.
- Dietz, Lois Amorette. "John Fanning Watson: Looking Ahead With A Backwards Glance." Master's Thesis, University of Delaware, 2004.
- Dodge, Ernest S, "Captain Collectors, the Influence of New England Shipping on the Study of Polynesian Material Culture," *The Essex Institute Historical Collections* LXXXI (Salem, Massachusetts: The Essex Institute, 1945): 27-34.
- Dorr, Benjamin D.D. *A Memoir of John Fanning Watson: The Annalist of Philadelphia and New York*. Philadelphia: Collins, Printer, 1861.
- Dorset, Phyllis Flanders. *Historic Ships Afloat*. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1967.
- Downing, Thomas N. *The Mariners' Museum: Preserving the Culture of the Sea*. New York: The Newcomen Society of the United States, 1987.

The East India Marine Society of Salem, *The East India Marine Society of Salem*. Salem, MA: Printed by W. Palfray, Jr., 1821.

———. *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Articles in the Museum, Journals, &c. of the East India Marine Society of Salem*. Salem, MA: William Ives & Co., 1837.

Editor of the Journal of American History, “The Raising and Rebuilding of the ‘Niagara’: The Remarkable Condition of Perry’s Old War-Brig as She Came Up Out of the Bay, Making it Possible to Get All Her Lines and Restore Her as She Was,” *The Journal of American History* 8, no. 1 (1914): 19-32.

Editorial Staff of the Journal of American History under the Auspices of the Board of Perry’s Victory Centennial Commissioners of the State of Pennsylvania. *Perry’s Victory Centennial Souvenir: The Niagara Keepsake*. New York: The Journal of American History, 1913.

European Maritime Heritage Working Group. *The Barcelona Charter: European Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Traditional Ships in Operation*. Enkhuizen, The Netherlands: European Maritime Heritage, September 28, 2002.

Finamore, Daniel. “Displaying the Sea and Defining America,” *Journal for Maritime Research* 4, no. 1 (May 2002): 40-51.

Findland, Paula. “The Museum: Its Classical Etymology and Renaissance Genealogy,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 1, no. 1 (1989): 59-78.

———. “Possessing the Past: The Material World of the Italian Renaissance,” *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 1 (February 1998): 83-114.

Foster, Kevin. “Perilous Waters for Historic Ships,” *Sea History*, no. 133 (Winter 2010/2011): 20-24.

Foster, Kevin J. “Safety and Steamboats: *Delta Queen* as a Case History of Questions in the Operation of Historic Vessels,” *CRM Bulletin*: 12, no. 4 (1989): 8-9.

———. “Vessel Preservation Standards.” Paper, Third International Conference on the Technical Aspects of the Preservation of Historic Vessels, San Francisco, CA, April 20-23, 1997.

Frew, David. *Perry’s Lake Erie Fleet: After the Glory*. Charleston: History Press, 2012.

Fuller, B. A. G. “Towards A Maritime Interpretive Model,” *Museum Small Craft Association Transactions* 1 (1993/1994): 17-25.

Fuller, Gail, ed. *A Curatorial Handbook for Historic Naval Vessels*. Washington, DC: Committee on Curatorship, Historic Naval Ships Association of North America, 1993.

- Follansbee, Joe. "Schooner Wawona," *Sea History*, no. 106 (Winter 2004): 18.
- Gardner, John. "A Brief Look at Small Craft and Maritime Museums: Past, Present, and Future," *Museum Small Craft Association Transactions* 1 (1993/1994): 7-13.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Appreciation of Ships Should Parallel Preservation: Small Boats Easily Lost in Rush to Save," *National Fisherman* 56, no. 10 (February 1976): 10A-11A, 20A.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Pilot Gig Smuggled, Salvaged Way Into History: Ancient Craft Still Winning Races, Fans," *National Fisherman* 56, no. 11 (March 1976): 8A-9A.
- Getchell, David R. "Restoring Ships A Costly Project," *National Fisherman* 56, no. 10 (February 1976): 6A.
- Glass, James A. *The Beginnings of a New National Historic Preservation Program, 1957 to 1969*. Nashville, Tennessee: American Association for State and Local History, 1990.
- Goodspeed, Charles E. *Nathaniel Hawthorne and The Museum of the Salem East India Marine Society: or The Gathering of a Virtuoso's Collection*. Salem, MA: Peabody Museum, 1946.
- Gordon, Beverly. "The Souvenir: Messenger of the Extraordinary," *The Journal of Popular Culture* 20, no. 3 (Winter, 1986): 135-146.
- Gowell, Michael. "Piscataqua River Gundalow Project." in *Conference Proceedings: Technical Aspects of Maintaining, Repairing & Preserving Historically Significant Ships*, 385-390. Charlestown, MA: Naval Historical Center Detachment Boston, September 12-14, 1994.
- Grimes Rand, Anne. "The Ship is Only Half the Story: Thoughts on Collecting, Interpreting & Presenting Historic Vessels in Context," in *Conference Proceedings: Technical Aspects of Maintaining, Repairing & Preserving Historically Significant Ships*, 391-396. Charlestown, MA: Naval Historical Center Detachment Boston, September 12-14, 1994.
- Guerrero, Peter F. "The Skipjack: Saving a Chesapeake Icon, Maritime Traditions, and the Environment." Paper, Seventh Maritime Heritage Conference & Fifth International Ship Preservation Conference, Norfolk, VA, October 27-30, 2004.
- Haas, Irvin. *Ships: Replicas & Restorations*. New York: Arco Publishing Company, Inc., 1975.
- Hall, Nick. "Preservation Scene," *Ships Monthly* 36, no. 5 (May 2001): 32-35.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Preservation Scene," *Ships Monthly* 40, no. 6 (June 2005): 12-13.
- Haller, Stephen A. "The Role of Archives in the Preservation of Maritime History," *CRM Bulletin*: 12, no. 4 (1989): 10-13.

- Hastings, Stephen. "Restoration of *C. A. Thayer*, 1983," *CRM Bulletin* 7, no.3 (October 1984): 10-11, 18.
- Herreshoff, Halsey C. "Panel No. 2: Preservation, Restoration, and Reproduction," *Proceedings of the Classic Yacht Symposium, Herreshoff Marine Museum, April 1-3, 2005*. Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, Newport, RI, 2005. 129-130.
- Hickerson, Lynn R. "Preserving Historic Steamboats Through Operation," *CRM Bulletin*: 12, no. 4 (1989): 7-8.
- Hicks, Bob. "Saving the *Evelina M. Goulart*," *Messing About in Boats* 8, no. 23 (April 15, 1991): 12-19.
- Hierta, Ebba. "Staying Afloat," *National Parks* 70, no. ¾ (March/April 1996): 41-46.
- Historic Naval Ships Association. *HNSA Operations Handbook*.  
[www.hnsa.org/handbook/index.htm](http://www.hnsa.org/handbook/index.htm), Accessed April 15, 2014.
- Holly, H. H. *Sparrow-Hawk: A Seventeenth Century Vessel in Twentieth Century America*. Boston: The Nimrod Press, 1969.
- Holme, Bob. "Steam Tug *Yelta* From Wreck to Revenue: A New Life For an Old Tug." Paper, Third International Conference on the Technical Aspects of the Preservation of Historic Vessels, San Francisco, CA, April 20-23, 1997.
- Hosmer, Charles B., Jr. *Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States Before Williamsburg*. New York: G. P. Putnam Sons, 1965.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926 – 1949, Volume I*. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1981.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926 – 1949, Volume II*. Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1981.
- Hull, David A. "Unity in Maritime Preservation," *WoodenBoat* no.44 (January/February 1982): 70-71
- Impey, Oliver and Arthur MacGregor, eds. *The Origin of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.
- International Congress of Maritime Museums. "An Introduction to IHTS," *IHTS' Role*, Last updated September 2013. Accessed January 20, 2014.  
[www.icmmonline.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=123&Itemid=89](http://www.icmmonline.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=123&Itemid=89)



- International Historic & Traditional Ships Panel. *International Regulation of Historic & Traditional Ships: IHTS Best Practice Guidelines*. Bristol, UK, March 19, 2012. Accessed September 2013:  
<http://www.icmmonline.org/images/stories/ihts%20bristol%20guidelines%20project.pdf>
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Summary Report*. ITHS Panel Meeting, Bristol, UK, March 18-19, 2012. Accessed September 2013:  
<http://www.icmmonline.org/images/stories/ihts%20full%20bristol%20report.pdf>
- Jackson, Melvin H., ed. *The Historic American Merchant Marine Survey, Works Progress Administration, Federal Project No. 6*. Salem, New Hampshire: The Ayer Company, 1983.
- Jaeger, Harry A. "Saving the Tam." Paper, Seventh Maritime Heritage Conference & Fifth International Ship Preservation Conference, Norfolk, VA, October 27-30, 2004.
- Jenkins, Lawrence Waters and Walter Muir Whitehill. "The Restoration of East India Marine Hall," *The American Neptune* IV (1944): 5-17.
- Johnston, Laurie. "At Seaport, A Restoration of Spirit," *The New York Times*, October 16, 1981, Late City Final Edition.
- Johnstone-Bryden, Ian. "The *Charles W. Morgan*, The Restoration Begins," *Classic Boat* (June 2010): 37-39.
- Jones, J. Michael. *Historic Warships: A Directory of 140 Museums and Memorials Worldwide, With Histories*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 1993.
- Kenseth, Joy. "A World of Wonders in Once Closet Shut," in *The Age of the Marvelous*, edited by Joy Kenseth, 80-101. Hanover, New Hampshire: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Age of the Marvelous: An Introduction," in *The Age of the Marvelous*, edited by Joy Kenseth, 25-59. Hanover, New Hampshire: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, 1991.
- Kently, Eric. "The Conservation and Re-Display of *Cutty Sark*," in *1<sup>st</sup> Baltic Sea Maritime Museums Seminar: The Future of Baltic Museum Ships*, 9-21. Gdańsk, Poland: Polish Maritime Museum, September 4-5, 2013.
- Kim, Susan C. "All Hail The Queen: Reporter Susan C. Kim Visits the *Queen Mary*, Last of the Fabled Pre-War Atlantic Superliners," *Preservation* 64, no. 1 (January/February 2012): 54-58.

- King, Andy. "Preserving Vessels in a Diverse Local Maritime History Museum." Paper, Third International Conference on the Technical Aspects of the Preservation of Historic Vessels, San Francisco, CA, April 20-23, 1997.
- Kortum, Karl. "Why Do We Save Ships," *APT Bulletin* 19, no.1 (1987): 30-33.
- Kuncio, Elaine Will. "Relic Furniture in Victorian America." Master's Thesis, University of Delaware, 1993.
- Kure, Bernt. "Modern Technology in Historic Ships." Paper, Third International Conference on the Technical Aspects of the Preservation of Historic Vessels, San Francisco, CA, April 20-23, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Preservation of *Jylland*." in *Conference Proceedings: Technical Aspects of Maintaining, Repairing & Preserving Historically Significant Ships*, 92-100. Charlestown, MA: Naval Historical Center Detachment Boston, September 12-14, 1994.
- Kvarning, Lars-Åke. "The Wasa: Museum and Museum Exhibit," *Museum XXXXXXXX*
- Lagerbom, Charles. "The Fate of *Louise*: A Maine-Built 'Down-Easter' at Grytviken Harbor, South Georgia Island," *The Mariner's Mirror* 98, no.3 (August 2012): 301-311.
- Lee, Lance. "The Case for the Restoration of Skillfulness," *WoodenBoat* no.38 (January/February 1981): 48-51.
- Leon, Warren and Roy Rosenzweig, ed. *History Museums in the United States: A Critical Assessment*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989.
- Lewis-Jones, Huw W. G. "'Heroism Displayed': Revisiting the Franklin Gallery at the Royal Naval Exhibition, 1891," *Polar Record* 41, no 218 (2005): 185-213.
- Lindgren, James M. "'That Every Mariner May Possess the History of the World': A Cabinet for the East India Marine Society of Salem." *The New England Quarterly* 68, no. 2 (June 1995): 179-205.
- Littlewood, Kevin and Beverley Butler. *Of Ships and Stars: Maritime Heritage and the Founding of the National Maritime Museum Greenwich*. London: The Athlone Press, 1998.
- Lødøen, Trond, and Gro Mandt. *The Rock Art of Norway*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010.
- Lomax, Ken. "Research Files: A Chronicle of the Battleship *Oregon*." *Oregon History Quarterly* 106, no. 1 (Spring, 2005): 132-145.
- Lombardi, Joseph W. "Holding Out Hope for the Falls of Clyde," *Sea History* 123 (Summer 2008): 40-43.

- Look, David W. and Dirk H. R. Spennemann. "In a Tropical Climate: Conservation Management of Historic Metals," *APT Bulletin* 27 no. ½ (1996): 60-68.
- Lutz, Deborah. "The Dead Still Among Us: Victorian Secular Relics, Hair Jewelry, and Death Culture," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 39 (2011): 127-142.
- Lynaugh, Kevin. "Discussion of the Loads, Structure, and Monitoring of Them in Order to Reduce the Hogging of the *USS Constitution*," in *Conference Proceedings: Technical Aspects of Maintaining, Repairing & Preserving Historically Significant Ships*, 39-49. Charlestown, MA: Naval Historical Center Detachment Boston, September 12-14, 1994.
- Mack, Stephen P. "Restoration of the *Charles W. Morgan* to Sail Again," *Classic Boat* (June 2010): 34-36.
- Maines, Rachel P. and James J. Glynn "Numinous Objects," *The Public Historian* 15, no. 1 (Winter, 1993): 8-25.
- Maine Windjammer Cruises, "History & Restoration: 1936 – Capt. Frank Swift Trades Cargo for Passengers," [www.mainewindjammercruises.com/historyrest.cfm?viewyear=18](http://www.mainewindjammercruises.com/historyrest.cfm?viewyear=18) (accessed April 22, 2014).
- Mansfield, Howard. *The Same Ax, Twice: Restoration and Renewal in a Throwaway Age*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2000.
- Maounis, John. "Interpreting Historic Vessels," *APT Bulletin* 19, no.1 (1987): 62-65.
- Marcet I Barbe, R., C.A. Brebbia, and J. Olivella. *Maritime Heritage and Modern Ports*. Southampton, United Kingdom: WIT Press, 2005.
- The Marine Room of the Peabody Museum of Salem*. Lynn, MA: The Nichols Press, 1921.
- Marling, Karal Ann. "Writing History with Artifacts: Columbus at the 1893 Chicago Fair," *The Public Historian* 14, no. 4 (Autumn, 1992): 13-30.
- Marolda, Edward J. "Historic Ships: Linking Americans to Their Naval Heritage," *Pull Together: Newsletter of the Naval Historical Foundation* 40, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2009/2010): 3.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "HNSA Visitors' Guide Introduction." Historic Naval Ships Association, About the Historic Naval Ships Association. Accessed March, 2014. [www.hsna.org/intro.htm](http://www.hsna.org/intro.htm)
- Martin, Jay C. "Beyond the Brow: Researching and Restoring Historic Ships," *Nautical Research Journal* 49, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 44-50.

Martin, Lillian Ray. *The Art and Archaeology of Venetian Ships and Boats*. College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 2001.

The Marine Society at Salem. *A History of the Marine Society at Salem, Established 1766; Incorporated 1772, Together with The Laws of the Society, The Acts of Incorporation, and a List of Members, 1766-1966*. Portland, ME: The Anthoensen Press, 1966.

Mauriès, Patrick. *Cabinets of Curiosities*. London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 2002.

McCabe, James D. *The Illustrated history of the Centennial Exhibition Held in Commemoration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of American Independence, With a Full Description of the Great Buildings and All the Objects of Interest Exhibited in them, Embracing also A concise History of the Origin and Success of the Exhibition and Biographies of the Leading Members of the Centennial Commission, to which is added A complete Description of the City of Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: The National Publishing Company, 1876.

McClave, Edward F. "Panel No. 2: Preservation, Restoration, and Reproduction," *Proceedings of the Classic Yacht Symposium, Herreshoff Marine Museum, April 1-3, 2005*. Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, Newport, RI, 2005. 130-132.

McGrath, Thomas H., James P. Delgado and Don Birkholz. "Historic Structure Report: Wapama," *APT Bulletin* 19, no.1 (1987): 4-9.

McKay, Richard C. *Some Famous Sailing Ships and Their Builder Donald McKay: A Study of the American Sailing Packet and Clipper Eras, with Biographical Sketches of America's Foremost Designer and Master-BUILDER of Ships, and a Comprehensive History of his Many Famous Ships*. Riverside, CT: 7<sup>th</sup> Press, Inc., 1969.

McMurray, H. Campbell. "Ship Preservation – A Road to Hell Paved With Good Intentions," in *Conference Proceedings: Technical Aspects of Maintaining, Repairing & Preserving Historically Significant Ships*, 2-26. Charlestown, MA: Naval Historical Center Detachment Boston, September 12-14, 1994.

McNeil, Robert. "Panel No. 2: Preservation, Restoration, and Reproduction," *Proceedings of the Classic Yacht Symposium, Herreshoff Marine Museum, April 1-3, 2005*. Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, Newport, RI, 2005. 132.

Meadow, Mark A. "Merchants and Marvels: Hans Jacob Fugger and the Origins of the Wunderkammer," in *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen, 182-200. New York: Routledge, 2002.

Meyer, Andrea and Bénédicte Savoy. "An Introduction," in *The Museum is Open: Towards a Transitional History of Museums 1750-1940*, edited by Andrea Meyer and Bénédicte Savoy, 1-16. Boston: DeGruyter, 2014.

- Mitman, Carl W., ed. *Smithsonian Institution, United States National Museum, Bulletin 127: Catalogue of the Watercraft Collection in the United States National Museum*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1923.
- Mjelde, Michael Jay. *Glory of the Seas*. Middletown, CT: Published for the Marine Historical Association, Inc. by Wesleyan University Press, 1970.
- Moll, Dr. F. "The History of Wood-Preserving in Shipbuilding," *The Mariners Mirror* 12, no. 4 (1926): 357-374.
- Mooney, James L., ed. *Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships, Volume 1*. Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1970.
- Morris, Paul C. *A Portrait of a Ship: The Benj. F. Packard*. Orleans, MA: Lower Cape Publishing, 1987.
- Morrison, William H. *Morrison's Strangers Guide to Washington City. Illustrated with Numerous Engravings and Map, Fortieth Edition*. Washington, DC: William H. Morrison, 1888.
- Morrison, W. L. and A. G. Kessler, "Raising the United States Brig 'Niagara,'" *Scientific American* 108, no. 26 (1913): 580, 585.
- Mulloy, Elizabeth D. *The History of the National Trust of Historic Preservation, 1963-1973*. Washington, DC: The Preservation Press, National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States, 1976
- Murphy, David. "The Restoration of the Trading Ketch *Defender*," *WoodenBoat* no.92 (January/February 1990): 62-75.
- Murray, Timothy F. "*Coronet*: Wither Away?" *WoodenBoat* no.32 (1980): 20-27.
- Murray, William M. and Photios M. Pestas, "Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 79, no. 4 (1989): i-xi + 1-172.
- Murtagh, William J. *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1997
- Museum für Hamburgische. *5<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Maritime Museums: Proceedings 1984*. Geschichte, Hamburg, Germany: Prof. Dr. Jörgen Bracker, 1985.
- Myers, Marcia. *Maritime America: A Legacy At Risk – Issues and Needs in Maritime Heritage Preservation*. Washington, DC: Preservation Press, 1988

- Mystic Seaport. *The Third International Congress of Maritime Museums*. Mystic, Connecticut: 1978
- National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. *9<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Maritime Museums: Proceedings*. Greenwich, London: National Maritime Museum, Greenwich and Mersyde Maritime Museum, Liverpool, 1996.
- National Maritime Museum Greenwich and Mystic Seaport Museum. *The Proceedings of the First international Congress of Maritime Museums of the Atlantic Basin*. 1972.
- National Maritime Museums, Stockholm. *7<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Maritime Museums*. Stockholm: Lars-Åke Kvarning, National Maritime Museums, Stockholm, 1990.
- National Park Service. *HABS: The Historic American Buildings Survey*.  
[http://www.nps.gov/history/hdp/habs/NPS\\_HABS\\_Brochure.pdf](http://www.nps.gov/history/hdp/habs/NPS_HABS_Brochure.pdf), Accessed May 5, 2013.
- National Trust for Historic Preservation. *First National Maritime Preservation Conference: Proceedings*. Washington, DC: Preservation Press, 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Help From the National Trust for Historic Preservation's Information Center – Information Sheet #42: Maritime Preservation*. Washington, D.C., April, 2010.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Preservation and Conservation: Principles and Practices*. Washington, D.C.: Preservation Press, 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Preserving The Legacy: Maritime Preservation and the National Trust*. Washington, D.C.: Preservation Press, 1988.
- Naval Historical Center Detachment, Boston. *Conference Proceedings: Technical Aspects of Maintaining, Repairing & Preserving Historically Significant Ships*. USS Constitution Maintenance and Repair Facility, Bldg. 24 B.N.H.P., Charlestown Navy Yard, Charlestown, MA, September 12-14, 1994.
- Navy Department, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Naval History Division. *Historic and Scientific Displays in Naval Ships and Stations, Second Edition*. Washington D.C.: Navy Department, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Naval History Division, 1964.
- Neill, Peter. Letter to the Editor, "Who Cares About Historic Ships? South Street Seaport Does," *The New York Times*, August 2, 1988, Late City Final Edition.
- Neil, Peter and Barbara Ehrenwald Krohn, ed. *Great Maritime Museums of the World*. New York: Balsam Press, Inc. in association with Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1991.
- Nelson, Carl L. "At the Helm With Peter Neill," *Historic Preservation* 36, no. 5 (October 1984): 64-68.

- Newcomb, Robert M. *Planning the Past: Historical Landscape Resources and Recreation*. Kent, England: Wm Dawson & Sons Ltd., 1979
- North River Historic Ship Society. *Guidelines for Historic Vessels in Hudson River Park: A Proposal for Policy Regarding Educational Programming Goals and Options, Sitting and Operation of Historic Vessels in Hudson River Park*. New York, New York, February 6, 2001
- Oliver, Capt. Frederick L. "Farragut's Flagship Poses \$1 Million Test for Navy," *The Christian Science Monitor*, March 10, 1951.
- Orosz, Joel J. *Curators and Culture: The Museum Movement in America, 1740-1870*. Tuscaloosa, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1990.
- Otton, Patrick. "Nondestructive Testing of Materials, *USS Constitution*." in *Conference Proceedings: Technical Aspects of Maintaining, Repairing & Preserving Historically Significant Ships*, 100-111. Charlestown, MA: Naval Historical Center Detachment Boston, September 12-14, 1994.
- Overmier, Judith. "Cultural Record Keepers: The J. Porter Shaw Library, San Francisco Maritime Museum," *Libraries & the Cultural Record* 41, no. 3 (Summer, 2006): 395-400.
- Pedrick, David. "Panel No. 2: Preservation, Restoration, and Reproduction," *Proceedings of the Classic Yacht Symposium, Herreshoff Marine Museum, April 1-3, 2005*. Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, Newport, RI, 2005. 133-135.
- Perry's Victory Centennial Commissioners. *Official Souvenir Program of the Perry's Victory Centennial, 1813-1913, and Celebration of One Hundred Years of Peace Under the Auspices of the National Government and the States of Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, New York, Rhode Island, Kentucky, Minnesota, and Louisiana at Put-In-Bay Island, Lake Erie, Ohio, July 4<sup>th</sup> to Sept. 10<sup>th</sup> 1913; Celebrations also in the Cities of Erie, Buffalo, Cleveland, Louisville, Toledo, Sandusky, Milwaukee, Lorain, Detroit, Green Bay, Chicago, etc., etc.* Akron, Ohio: Published under direction of the Interstate Board of the Perry's Victory Centennial Commissioners by The New Werner Company, 1913.
- Petersen, Frank, Karolin Petersen, and Patricia Petersen. *Historic Preservation in the USA*. Berlin: Springer, 2002.
- Petrow, Stefan. "In Memory of Ships: The Shiplovers' Society of Tasmania 1931-1961," *The Great Circle* 29, no. 2 (2007): 29-43.
- Plummer, Russell. "Waverly – the Best of Both Worlds," *Ships Monthly* 36, no. 10 (October 2001):12-13.

- Pogrebin, Robin. "Cut Adrift by Its Would-Be Rescuer, Seaport Museum Seeks a Lifeline," *The New York Times*, June 26, 2013, Late Edition – Final.
- Popular Mechanics. "Arnold's Flagship Raised on Old Tar Drums," *Popular Mechanics* 63, no. 6 (June, 1935): 803.
- . "Old Wooden Ships Burned to Salvage Metal," *Popular Mechanics* 63, no. 3 (March, 1935): 396-397.
- Price, Nicholas Stanley, M. Kirby Talley Jr., and Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro, eds. *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, The J. Paul Getty Trust, 1996.
- Pye, Elizabeth. *Caring for the Past: Issues in Conservation for Archaeology and Museums*. London: James & James Ltd., 2001.
- Rea, Paul M. "One Hundred and Fifty Years of Museum History," *Science* 57, no. 485 (June 15, 1923): 677-681.
- Richmond, Alison and Alison Bracker, eds. *Conservation Principles, Dilemmas and Uncomfortable Truths*. Amsterdam: Elsevier/Butterworth-Heinemann, in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 2009.
- Robinson, John. "Preservation Standards: Some Aspects of the Impact of the National Lottery." Paper, Third International Conference on the Technical Aspects of the Preservation of Historic Vessels, San Francisco, CA, April 20-23, 1997.
- Ronnberg Jr., Erik A. R. "Evelina M. Goulart: Swordfishing Schooner, Dragger, Museum Ship," *Nautical Research Journal* 38 no. 2, (1993): 98-117.
- Ross, Robert J, Lawrence A. Soltis and Patrick Otton. "Assessing Wood Members in the *USS Constitution* Using Non-Destructive Evaluation Methods," *APT Bulletin* 29, no.2 (1998): 21-25.
- Roth, Rodris. "Pieces of History: Relic Furniture in the Nineteenth Century," *Antiques* 101, no. 1-3 (May, 1972): 874-878.
- Rousmaniere, John. *The Low Black Schooner: Yacht America 1851-1945: A new history of the yacht America based on the exhibit held at Mystic Seaport Museum November 1986 through March 1987 cosponsored by the New York Yacht Club*. Mystic, CT: Mystic Seaport Museum Stores, Inc., 1986.
- Royal Naval Exhibition 1891: The Illustrated Handbook and Souvenir*. London: The Pall Mall Gazette, 1891.



- Runyan, Timothy J. "Federal Support for America's Maritime Heritage," *Pull Together: Newsletter of the Naval Historical Foundation* 40, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2009/2010): 10-11.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Maritime Heritage Grants Funded," *Council of American Maritime Museum, Funding Sources, News*, October 1, 2013.  
<http://councilofamericanmaritimemuseums.org/2013/10/01/maritime-heritage-grants-funded/> (Accessed October 3, 2013).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "National Maritime Alliance Secures Federal Grants for Maritime Heritage," *Sea History*, no. 145 (Winter 2013/2014): 48-49.
- Rybka, Walter. "Plotting the Fix: A Call for a National Consensus to Save Historic Ships and the Battle to Save *Olympia*," *Sea History*, no. 135 (Summer 2011): 38-40.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Suggested Standards for Replicas and Reproduction Vessels." *APT Bulletin* 19, no.1 (1987): 66-71.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Why Sail Replica Ships?: Lessons Learned From Sailing the Brig *Niagara*." Paper, Seventh Maritime Heritage Conference & Fifth International Ship Preservation Conference, Norfolk, VA, October 27-30, 2004.
- Rybka, Walter and Daniel Moreland. *U. S. Brig Niagara: Crew Handbook*. Erie, PA: U. S. Brig Niagara, 1992.
- The Salem East-India Marine Society. *The East-India Marine Society of Salem*. Salem, MA: Printed by W. Palfray, Jr., 1821.
- Sands, John O. "Small Craft Restoration: In Search of Professionalism," *WoodenBoat* no.8 (1976): 31-34.
- San Francisco Maritime National Park Association. "History." San Francisco Maritime National Park Association, About Us. Accessed May 20, 2014. [www.maritime.org/about.htm](http://www.maritime.org/about.htm).
- Schlereth, Thomas J. *Material Culture Studies in America*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Material Culture Research and Historical Explanation," *The Public Historian* 7 no. 4 (Autumn, 1985): 21-36.
- Schwartz, George. "19<sup>th</sup> Century Experiences," *Connected*, Peabody Essex Museum.  
<http://connected.pem.org/19th-century-experiences/> (accessed April 15, 2014).
- Schwarzer, Mitchell. "Myths of Permanence and Transience in the Discourse on Historic Preservation in the United States," *Journal of Architectural Education* 48, no. 1 (September 1994): 2-11

- Sears, John F. *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Sendzikas, Aldona. "The Role of the Curator in Historic Ship Preservation." Paper, Third International Conference on the Technical Aspects of the Preservation of Historic Vessels, San Francisco, CA, April 20-23, 1997.
- Shaw, Jim. "SOS: Saving Old Ships," *Ships Monthly* 43, no. 1 (January 2008): 46-50.
- Smith, Melbourne. "Getting Historic Ships Off a Lee Shore: A Better Approach for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century," *Sea History* 111 (Summer 2005): 32-33.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Project *Sea Witch*." Paper, Third International Conference on the Technical Aspects of the Preservation of Historic Vessels, San Francisco, CA, April 20-23, 1997.
- Smith, Pamela H. and Paula Findlen. "Commerce and the Representation of Nature in Art and Science," in *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce, Science, and Art in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen, 1-25. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Smith, Robert H. *Maritime Museums of North America Including Canada*. New York: Finley-Greene Publications, Inc., 1998.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Naval Institute Guide to Maritime Museums of North America*. Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1990.
- Snediker, Quentin. "Impact of Regulation on Historic Vessels in Underway Service." Masters Thesis, Goucher College, 2002.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Mystic Seaport's Henry B. DuPont Preservation Shipyard: A Retrospective of Thirty Years," *The Log of Mystic Seaport* 54 no. 2,3 (Autumn/Winter 2002): 38-48.
- Snow, Ralph. "Ship Preservation Requires Skills, Money and Selectivity," *National Fisherman* (May, 1976): 9C.
- Sommer, Frank H. "John F. Watson: First Historian of American Decorative Arts," *Winterthur Newsletter* VII, no. 2 (February 24, 1961): 1-7.
- Spectre, Peter H. "The *Constellation* Meets Her Match: Howard Chapelle, Dana Wegner, and a Few Phony Documents," *WoodenBoat* no.106 (May/June 1992): 42-52.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The National Watercraft Collection, Wither Away?" *WoodenBoat* no.77 (July/August 1987): 21-28.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Issues of Maritime Preservation," *WoodenBoat* no.38 (January/February 1981): 36-45.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Legacy of Howard Chapelle: The Study of the Maritime Past, the Preservation of the Maritime Present," *WoodenBoat* no.84 (September/October 1988): 77-88.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Politics of Maritime Preservation," *WoodenBoat* no.44 (January/February 1982)
- Stackpole, Matthew. "Restoring and Icon: Preparing the Whaleship *Charles W. Morgan* for her 38<sup>th</sup> Voyage," *Sea History* 134 (Spring 2011): 16-21.
- Stammers, Michael. *End of Voyages: The Afterlife of a Ship*. Gloucestershire, England: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2004
- Stammers, M. K. *Discovering Maritime Museums and Historic Ships*. Princes Risborough, Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications LTD, 1978.
- Stanford, Peter. "A Way to Save Historic Ships," *National Fisherman* 56, no.10 (February 1976): 8A – 9A, 31A.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Ships That Brought Us So Far: An Account of the Ship Preservation Movement*. New York: National Maritime Historical Society, 1971
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Testimony of the Thing Itself," *WoodenBoat* no.38 (January/February 1981): 45-48.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Toward an American Ship Trust: If we're Serious About Saving our Heritage in Historic Ships," *Sea History* 117 (Winter 2006-07): 28-29.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Why Save Historic Ships?" *Sea History* 110 (Spring 2005): 32-34.
- Stanford, Peter and Norma Stanford. *A Dream of Tall Ships: How New Yorkers Came Together to Save the City's Sailing-Ship Waterfront*. Peekskill, New York: Sea History Press, 2013.
- Steele, Peter. "Artifacts Within Artifacts: Collections and Historic Vessels," *APT Bulletin* 19, no.1 (1987): 60-61.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "To Rehabilitate a Warship." in *Conference Proceedings: Technical Aspects of Maintaining, Repairing & Preserving Historically Significant Ships*, 112-118. Charlestown, MA: Naval Historical Center Detachment Boston, September 12-14, 1994.
- Steinlein, Eric J. "Memoir." in *The Historic American Merchant Marine Survey, Works Progress Administration, Federal Project No. 6*, edited by Melvin H. Jackson, xi-xii. Salem, New Hampshire: The Ayer Company, 1983.
- Sternlicht, Sanford. *McKinley's Bulldog: The Battleship Oregon*. Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1977.
- Sullivan, Dick. *Old Ships, Boats & Maritime Museums*. London: Coracle Books, 1978.

Summers, John. "A Paper About How to Think About Boats, or, A Material Culture Approach to Watercraft History," *Museum Small Craft Association Transactions* 1 (1993/1994): 43-50.

\_\_\_\_\_. "In Small Things Remembered: Historic Watercraft and Canada's Maritime Heritage," *The Northern Mariner* 2, no. 1 (January, 1992): 15-23.

Taylor, Frank A. "The Historic American Merchant Marine Survey," *The American Neptune* 1, no. 1 (January 1941): 63-79.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Historic American Merchant Marine Survey." in *The Historic American Merchant Marine Survey, Works Progress Administration, Federal Project No. 6*, edited by Melvin H. Jackson, xiii-xvi. Salem, New Hampshire: The Ayer Company, 1983.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Notes." in *The Historic American Merchant Marine Survey, Works Progress Administration, Federal Project No. 6*, edited by Melvin H. Jackson, xvii-xviii. Salem, New Hampshire: The Ayer Company, 1983.

*The Ancient Wreck: Loss of the Sparrow-Hawk in 1626. Remarkable Preservation and Recent Discovery of the Wreck.* Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, 1865.

Turner, Victor W., and Edith L. B. Turner. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.

Tyler, Norman. *Historic Preservation: An Introduction to Its History, Principles, and Practice.* New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2000.

United States Congress. *An Act to Establish a National Maritime Heritage Program to Make Grants Available for Educational Programs and the Restoration of America's Cultural Resources.* Public Law 103-451, 103<sup>rd</sup> Congress, 108 Stat. 4769, November 2, 1994.

United States Congress. *An Act to Provide for the Restoration and Maintenance of the United States Ship Constitution and to Authorize the Disposition of the United States Ship Constellation, United States Ship Hartford, United States Ship Olympia, and the United States Ship Oregon, and for Other Purposes.* Public Law 523, 83<sup>rd</sup> Congress, 68 Stat. ch. 565, July 23, 1954.

United States Congress. *Restoration of Historic Ships at the San Francisco Maritime National Historic Park.* Report 102-830, 102<sup>nd</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, October 26, 1992.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. *General Management Plan: San Francisco Maritime National Historical Park, San Francisco County, California.* San Francisco, CA: 1997.

- United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Heritage Preservation Services. *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring and Reconstructing Historic Buildings*. Washington, D.C., 1992.
- United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Interagency Resources Division. *National Register Bulletin #20: Nominating Historic Vessels and Shipwrecks to the National Register of Historic Places*. Washington, D.C., 1992.
- United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Maritime Initiative. *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Historic Vessel Preservation Projects With Guidelines for Applying the Standards*. Washington, D.C., 1990.
- United States House, Committee on Armed Services, Subcommittee No. 3. *Subcommittee Hearings on H.R. 2316, H.J. Res. 284, H.R. 2454, H.R. 4295, H.R. 4413, H.R. 6352, H.R. 6815, and H.R. 8247*, Hearing, March 1-2, 12, 1954 (Serial No. 67). Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1954.
- United States Navy Department, Office of Public Relations. *History of the USS Hartford (IX 13)*. Washington, D.C., 1954.
- United States Navy Department, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Naval History Division. *Historic and Scientific Displays in Naval Ships and Stations, Second Edition*. Washington, D.C., 1964.
- United States Senate, Committee on Armed Services. *Historic Ships: H.R. 8247, An Act to Provide for the Restoration and Maintenance of the United States Ship Constitution and to Authorize the Disposition of the United States Ship Constellation, United States Ship Hartford, United States Ship Olympia, and the United States Ship Oregon, and for Other Purposes*, Hearing, June 24, 1954. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1954.
- The University of South Florida Department Of History and Dr. William Murray, *The Actium War Monument*. <http://aist.usf.edu/data/Actium.pdf>
- U.S. Navy Museum. "The National Museum of the U.S. Navy: History." Accessed January 15, 2014. [www.history.navy.mil/braches/org8-4.htm](http://www.history.navy.mil/braches/org8-4.htm)
- van der Merwe, Peter. "Views of the Royal Naval Exhibition, 1891," *Journal for Maritime Research* 3, no. 1 (2001): 146-147.
- Wallace, Mike. "Preservation Revisited," in *Mickey Mouse History and Other Essays on American Memory*, 223-246. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Preserving the Past: Historic Preservation in the United States," in *Mickey Mouse History and Other Essays on American Memory*, 177-221. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996.

- Wagner, Dick. "Preserving the Heritage by Preserving the Skills." Paper, Third International Conference on the Technical Aspects of the Preservation of Historic Vessels, San Francisco, CA, April 20-23, 1997.
- Walker, David A. *A Guide to the Maintenance of THERESA E. CONNOR and CAPE SABLE*. Lunenburg, Nova Scotia: Fisheries Museum of the Atlantic, March 1984
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Documentation of Historic Museum Vessels: Bureaucratic Paperwork or Vital Working Tool?" *APT Bulletin* 22, no.1/2 (1990): 104-108.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Application of Preservation Technology to Historic Ships," *APT Bulletin* 19, no.1 (1987): 53-55.
- Wall, Glennie Murray. "The National Maritime Initiative," *APT Bulletin* 19, no.1 (1987): 2-3, 18.
- Walton, Thomas. *Steel Ships, Their Construction and Maintenance: A Manual for Shipbuilders, Ship Superintendents, Marine Engineers, and Students*. London: Charles Griffin & Co., 1964.
- Warren, James Peter. "The Historic American Merchant Marine Survey." Masters Thesis, Cornell University, 1986.
- Watkins, Charles Alan. "Is This the Real *Niagara*?" *Naval History* 15, no. 1 (February 2001): 36-40.
- Weaver, Martin. "Fighting Rust," *APT Bulletin* 19, no.1 (1987): 16-18.
- Weaver, Martin E. "The Conservation of Heritage Submarines," *APT Bulletin* 35, no. 2/3 (2004): 51-59
- Weible, David Robert. "Lucky Whaler: Restoring the Last Remaining American Whaling Ship," *Preservation* 64, no. 4 (Fall 2012): 57.
- Weiss, Thomas. "Tourism in America before World War II," *The Journal of Economic History* 64, no. 2 (June, 2004): 289-327.
- White, Colin. "Too Many Preserved Ships Threaten the Heritage" Paper, "*The Archaeology of Ships Of War*," Portsmouth, UK, October 29-November 1, 1992.
- Whitehill, Walter Muir. *The East India Marine Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem: A Sesquicentennial History*. Portland, Maine: The Anthoensen Press, 1949.
- Whitehill, Walter Muir, Clifford K. Shipton, Louis Leonard Tucker, and Wilcomb E. Washburn. "History of Museums in the United States: Report of a Session of the American

- Historical Association, 28 December, 1964,” *Curator: The Museum Journal* 8, no. 1 (January, 1965): 5-54.
- Wilkinson, Bonnie J. “Building Wooden Boats: A Lost Chapter in Maritime History,” *APT Bulletin* 20 no. 3 (1988): 61-71.
- Williamson, Ray. *Maine Windjammer Cruises Keeping the Tradition Alive: A Pictorial History of Maine’s Original Windjammer Fleet*. Maine: Mainewindjammercruises.com, 2011.
- Wilson, Garth and John Summers. “Maritime Museums and Material Culture Studies,” *The Northern Mariner* 4, no. 2 (April, 1994): 31-39.
- Winkler, Commander David F. “Bringing Historic Ships Back into the Fleet,” *Proceedings Magazine* 139, no. 2/1,320 (February 2013) Accessed February 12, 2013.  
[www.usni.org/magazines/proceedings/2013-02/bring-historic-ships-back-fleet](http://www.usni.org/magazines/proceedings/2013-02/bring-historic-ships-back-fleet).
- Works Progress Administration, Federal Project No. 6, *The Historic American Merchant Marine Survey*, ed. Melvin H. Jackson. Salem, New Hampshire: They Ayer Company, 1983.
- Wojtas, Joe. “Mystic Seaport will Relaunch *Charles W. Morgan* in July.” *The Day Connecticut*, April 9, 2013. Accessed April 10, 2013,  
[www.theday.com/article/20130311/NWS01/303119927/0/](http://www.theday.com/article/20130311/NWS01/303119927/0/)
- Wren, Tony P. “The Tourist Industry and Promotional Publications,” *Historic Preservation* 16, no. 3 (1964): 111-113.
- Zytaruk, Maria. “Cabinets of Curiosities and the Organization of Knowledge.” *University of Toronto Quarterly* 80, no. 1 (Winter, 2011): 1-23.

## ARCHIVES/LIBRARIES

Museum Archives and G.W. Blunt White Library, Collections Research Center, Mystic Seaport: The Museum of America and the Sea, Mystic, Connecticut.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY

Library of Congress, Washington, DC

