

MVMUSEUM

Quarterly

Martha's Vineyard Museum's Journal of Island History

Formerly
The Dukes County
Intelligencer

MAY
2020

VOLUME 61
NO. 2

MVMUSEUM.ORG

Cottage City to Quitsa in 1906



Café Moska,
Summer 1964

Inventing Seaside Tourism:
Sweden, Germany and Martha's Vineyard


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SUMMER PEOPLE

“Summer people” have been part of Vineyard life for so long that nobody now alive remembers the Island without them. Beginning 150 years ago, in the aftermath of the Civil War, they fueled the construction of resort hotels and attractions, and the clearance of farms, fields, and woodlots for neighborhoods of second homes. More a part of the Island than day-trip tourists, yet divided from year-round residents by a deep, nearly unbridgeable gulf, they changed the contours of the Island’s economy not just in the summer, but—because of their impact on the housing market and their demand for services, year-round. A century-and-a-half after they first arrived in numbers, the Island is still trying to come to terms with them.

This issue of the *Quarterly* explores three stories of Island “summer people.” Gale Huntington, the founding editor of this journal, recalls (in a chapter from an unpublished memoir) what it was like to travel from New York City to his family’s summer place in Chilmark, circa 1906. Doug Thompson recounts how Café Moska, a well-loved but short-lived Vineyard Haven coffeehouse featuring live music, was founded and run (for one eventful summer in the mid-1960s) by four Goddard College students with more ambition than cash. Swedish scholar Åke Sandström rounds out the issue with a first for the *Quarterly*: a comparison of the rise of mass tourism on Martha’s Vineyard, the Swedish province of Gotland, and the island of Rügen off the North Sea coast of Germany. Together, they suggest that the stories of summer people are as numerous and varied as the people themselves.

— A. Bowdoin Van Riper

On the Cover: Gale Huntington’s father, Dr. Elon O. Huntington of the US Navy Medical Corps, enjoys a musical interlude with his cousin Frances at the “Asa Smith place,” the Huntington family’s Chilmark summer home, in 1909.

MARTHA'S VINEYARD MUSEUM QUARTERLY

VOL. 61, No. 2

© 2020

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Author queries and manuscripts for this journal should be submitted electronically to bvanriper@mvmuseum.org, subject line "MVM Quarterly."

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ISSN 0418 1379

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Cottage City to Chilmark, 1906

by GALE HUNTINGTON,
edited & introduced by ELIZABETH W. TROTTER

IN THE THIRD quarter of the last century, when the Martha's Vineyard Museum was still known as the Dukes County Historical Society, Gale Huntington was one of its leading members. He was the founding editor of the Dukes County Intelligencer—now the MV Museum Quarterly—and a familiar fixture in the Society's library when the cinder-block building that housed it (later named in his honor) was still new. He was, in spirit if not in formal title, the Society's research librarian, and (with a brief break in the mid-60s) he edited the Intelligencer from 1959 to 1977.

Born in 1902, Gale married into the North Road branch of the Island's famous Tilton family. Chilmark fisherman Tom Tilton (whose memoir Gale later edited) was his father-in-law, and his uncles-by-marriage included Arctic whaleman George Fred Tilton and schooner captain Zeb Tilton. He was a fisherman, historian, writer, folklorist, musician, and teacher first at the Tisbury School and then at the Regional High School. Like so many of us, he fell in love with our cherished Island and made it his home.

Elizabeth W. Trotter, of Vineyard Haven, is a volunteer at the Martha's Vineyard Museum Library and a frequent contributor to the *Quarterly*.

Note from the editor of the *Quarterly*: In the manuscript from which this article is derived—chapter 1 of an unpublished 1975 memoir in the Museum archives—Gale Huntington interwove memories of his boyhood trips up-Island with his thoughts on the then-current state of the Island, and on the drawbacks of modern life. Liz Trotter has, with my full support, trimmed away the “present”-day commentary, leaving the core narrative—Gale's vivid reminiscences—intact.

In her draft of the edited version she carefully indicated the resulting gaps with ellipses, which I have elected—in the interest of flow and readability—to omit, adding periods and capital letters and, in some cases combining brief, adjacent paragraphs. Gale would, I believe, have understood. In his own tenure as editor of this journal, he used a similar approach in publishing the diary of Jeremiah Pease.

The “smoothing,” the added explanatory footnotes, and any errors they may introduce are my own. [ABVR]

In 1977, at the age of 75, Gale wrote a memoir of his early years on the Vineyard, now housed in the Museum archives. Reading between the lines, one finds an ode to the Island's beauty and unique charm woven among the recollections of a prodigious past and a life well-lived. There is, throughout the memoir, also a sense of urgency: a plea to future generations to preserve what Bartholomew Gosnold called this "fair isle," so that its beauty can forever continue to enchant others.

The memoir begins with Gale describing an early memory of journeying to the Island from Montclair, New Jersey—a trip taken before interstates and automobiles carved the well-known paths followed by today's travelers. His description doesn't end when the steamer pulls into Cottage City, however, for the journey is then only half over. His family's destination is an up-Island address accessible, at the turn of the century, only by...well, let me let him tell you...



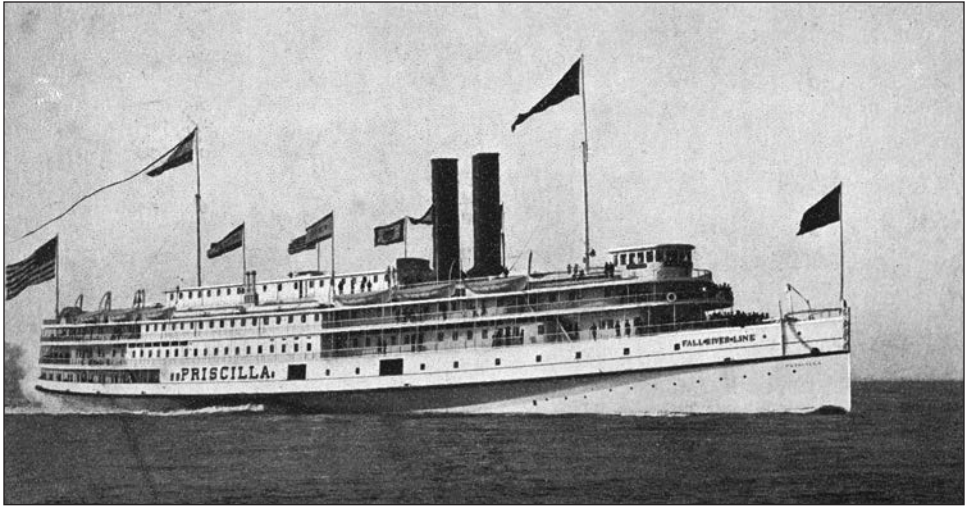
My first real knowledge for the beautiful world came when I was four years old. That was in the summer of 1906, when we first came to the Vineyard. We had left Montclair the afternoon before our arrival on the Vineyard, and taken the train, the Delaware Lackawanna and Western, to Hoboken, then the ferry across the Hudson to New York, and finally a cab, horse-drawn, of course, to the Fall River Line pier. Those were the days when traveling by public transportation was fun. It took a lot longer to get where you were going but I would a lot rather do it again if I could then drive a car on our awful superhighways and speedways.

I am not sure which Fall River Line steamer we boarded that summer afternoon in 1906. Had the *Priscilla* been built as early as that, or was it an earlier one, one of those great paddlewheel Sound steamers?¹ If I remember correctly, our steamer left Pier 14 [in Lower Manhattan] at five o'clock, and we swung into the East River and then through Hell Gate into Long Island Sound in company with a whole fleet of smaller paddle-wheelers bound for New Bedford, Providence, New London, and [other] cities. That trip to Fall River was a wonderful time for a small boy. There was so much to see, so much to learn, that bedtime always came too soon. On deck, there were the other steamers to watch and the splashing of our great paddle-wheels to listen to.

We reached Fall River very early the next morning after a brief stop in Newport. Fall River was then a mill city and a very prosperous one. From Fall River we took the train to New Bedford, which involved a change at Myricks.² If we had gone to Woods Hole the change would have been

1 It could, indeed, have been the *Priscilla*, which entered Fall River Line service in 1894.

2 A small village in Berkley, MA.



The *Priscilla*, queen of the Fall River Line “night boats” that carried New York passengers through Long Island and Block Island Sounds to Fall River. Once there, passengers could board trains to New Bedford or Woods Hole. (MV Museum, RU 131, Steamers and Ferries Collection)

at Middleboro. Our train went right down to the wharf in New Bedford where one of the little paddlewheel steamers of the New Bedford, Martha’s Vineyard and Nantucket Steamship Company was waiting for us. I am not sure which of the little steamers it was. It could have been the *Gay Head*, which was the largest, or the *Martha’s Vineyard*, which was the oldest, or the *Nantucket*. I don’t think the little *Uncatena* had been built then, but we travelled on her many times in later years. She was the first steel-hulled vessel to be put on the line, and she was a beauty.³

All those little steamers had walking beams. The function of the walking beam was to transfer the power from the upright cylinder and piston to the crankshaft that turned the paddle-wheels. The great engines that turned the paddle-wheels of the so-much-larger Fall River Line steamers were horizontal, the drive shaft connected directly to the crank shaft, so there were no walking beams.

The train took us right to the wharf where the little paddlewheel steamer was waiting to take us to the Vineyard. At the pier, right across from where she was waiting, was the larger steamer of the New Bedford Line that had arrived there that morning. We could have come on her and saved the train trip, but my mother, who was eminently set in her ways, had decided that the Fall River Line was the best, and ever after we did come that way. So we crossed Buzzards Bay to Woods Hole, where more passengers came aboard from the train from Boston and then across the sound to Oak Bluffs.

³ It could, in fact, have been the *Uncatena*, which had entered service four years before, in 1902, replacing the aging *Monohansett*. The last paddlewheel steamer built for Island service, she ran until 1929 and was, indeed, a beauty.



The *Uncatena*, last of the sidewheelers built for the Cape-and-Islands run, leaving Edgartown in the early 1900s. (MV Museum, RU 359, Postcard Collection)

The Cape Cod Canal would not be opened to traffic for almost another eight years so Vineyard Sound was then still one of the great maritime highways of the world. Indeed, it has been said that before the opening of the canal Vineyard Sound was second only to the English Channel in the number of vessels that passed through it annually. The vessels were of all and every sort. [There were] coasting schooners loaded with every imaginable cargo, for remember those were the days when commercial sail was still in direct competition with steam. There were oceangoing tugs hauling their long tows of coal-laden barges. There were steamers bound east to Boston and Portland and west to New York and Philadelphia and all the southern ports. In a single crossing of the sound one might count a dozen or even half-a-hundred vessels, and in Vineyard Haven there would be more schooners waiting for a fair wind. For those who loved ships and the sea, as my father did, that was a wonderful time.

Oak Bluffs, where we landed—most people still called it Cottage City—was then the center of the Island's summer resort business.⁴ There were innumerable summer hotels and boarding houses, and the closely built

4 The name "Oak Bluffs" originally applied only to the real estate development between the Methodist Campground and Nantucket Sound. Part of Edgartown when it was established immediately after the Civil War, it became part of the new township of Cottage City in 1880, along with similar resort developments (Lagoon Heights, Bellevue Heights, and Vineyard Highlands), the Campground, and the colonial-era village of Eastville. Oak Bluffs was formally adopted as the name of the township in 1907.



Oak Bluffs Wharf as Gale Huntington might have seen it from the upper deck of an arriving steamer in the first decade of the new century. The pointed spire of Trinity Episcopal Church and the low, sloping roof of the Flying Horses are visible in the middle distance. (MV Museum Photo Collection)

cottages that had given the place its early name. Edgartown, the county seat, and not yet recovered from the terrible economic slump that followed the end of its great whaling days, but even then, it was beginning to attract a few wealthy summer families, as was West Chop. But up-Island where we were going could boast hardly a dozen summer families and was still largely unchanged from what it had been a hundred years earlier.

Bart Mayhew, who drove the up-Island mail stage, was waiting at the wharf. Bart was the descendant of other Bartlett Mayhews who had been famous whaling captains.⁵ He found our trunks and bags...and loaded them onto the stage and then piled the up-Island mail bags on top of them. Bart always had beautiful horses. My father was interested in Bart's rig for the stage was drawn by three horses abreast which my father thought was unusual, and he wanted to know if a tandem rig of four horses wouldn't be better. But Bart said no. Those three horses, and the way they were hitched, was just what he needed for the distance they had to go and the roads they had to travel. For the Island's roads were dirt roads then, usu-

⁵ The name "Bartlett" recurs frequently in the Mayhew family. Bartlett Mayhew (1793-1879), the grandfather of the stage driver, was one of two whaling captains to carry the name. Between them they commanded sixteen voyages between 1830 and 1860, hunting sperm whales in the Atlantic. The driver's uncle, Rev. Bartlett Mayhew (1829-1860), was a Baptist minister.



A three-horse coach (not Bart Mayhew's) waits for passengers to board at the north end of Ocean Park. Vineyard Transit Authority busses still stop there, but pointing in the other direction. (MV Museum, RU 465, Basil Welch Photo Collection)

ally with three well defined ruts. One for each horse. Then, with two or three other passengers, we were off.

In 1906 the Island's six villages were Oak Bluffs, Eastville, Edgartown, Vineyard Haven, North Tisbury and West Tisbury. The towns were Edgartown, Oak Bluffs, Tisbury, West Tisbury, Chilmark and Gay Head. In Chilmark and Gay Head there were no clearly defined villages unless we accept the fishing village of Lobsterville which was seasonal. Menemsha Creek had not yet come into its own.⁶

Bart Mayhew's stage was heavily laden and because of the roads, in many places the horses could do no better than walk. It took a long time to make the trip from Oak Bluffs to Quitsa, and too, there was a stop in Middletown where Bart changed horses. Middletown was the old name for North Tisbury. The name was changed when a Post Office was established there, because there already was a Middletown in the state.

After leaving Vineyard Haven and the few farms on its outskirts, there was only one house—one farm—on the whole stretch of road until one reached Middletown. Between Middletown and West Tisbury village there were only four houses. Chilmark was a land of farms, all separated from each other by stone walls, and the farms were divided into fields and pastures by stone walls, too.

Some of the farms were small, only ten or twelve acres. Others were of a hundred acres and more, with wide pastures for sheep and cattle. Until

⁶ Gale is using "town" and "village" in their traditional New England senses: "a contiguous area of land under a single municipal government" and "a built-up population center" respectively.



The road from Holmes Hole (Vineyard Haven) to West Tisbury, near the site of the present-day Agricultural Hall, sometime in the 1910s (MV Museum, RU 359, Postcard Collection)

well after the Civil War sheep raising on the Island was an extremely profitable business. It was still profitable into the beginning of [the twentieth] century when more and more wool began to be imported from Australia and New Zealand. Then quite a number of up-Island farmers began to turn to dairy farming to supply the enormous demand for fresh milk and cream and butter in Cottage City in the summertime. No milk came from off-island then. In the winter the milk was largely made into cheese.⁷

Between West Tisbury and Quitsa, except for a few small woodlots, there was hardly a tree. The land and hills were clean and beautiful; pasture, meadow, and cultivated field, each with its different shade of green and brown and each separated from the other by the ubiquitous stone walls. [F]rom where the road crossed the Tiasquam River to Beetlebung Corner in Chilmark, there were in the whole distance, only nineteen houses and almost of them were farms.⁸

From the top of Abel's Hill, where Bart rested his horses, there was a breathtaking view in every direction. To the west and north were the hills of Chilmark, a vast undulating pattern of stone wall. To the south was the ocean, bright and shining that day we first came to the Island, on other days wave-

7 See Clyde L. MacKenzie, Jr., "The History of Dairy Farming on Martha's Vineyard," *Dukes County Intelligencer*, August 1997, pp. 3-43.

8 The Tiasquam River, site of a mill since the 1660s, lies on the eastern border of Chilmark, near West Tisbury village. Beetlebung Corner, where South Road and Middle Road intersect with the Menemsha Cross Road has, since 1900, been the village center of Chilmark: site of its school, church, public library, and town hall.

lashed and terrible. To the east was an uninterrupted view of beach, pond, marsh and low-lying farm land extending all the way to Edgartown. A visitor to the Island in the mid-nineteenth century said that the isolated farm houses were like ships on an ocean of land bounded by an ocean of water.

Bart giddaped to the horses and we started the long western slope of the hill. Beginning just beyond the cemetery was Herman Mayhew's big farm. He, and his son, Mark, after him, were dairy farmers. Paul, one of the adopted Blackwells who failed to make the grade, worked for some years for Herman Mayhew as a farm hand.⁹ Later he went west to be a cowboy and was never heard from again. Herman Mayhew's house was what is called, on the Vineyard, a double half house.

Beyond the Herman Mayhew place was the summer home of George Blackwell by the Mill Brook. That was, and is, a double whole house.¹⁰ It used to be called the "South Road Tilton place" because there were Tiltons on the South Road, Middle Road, and North Road. There is a tradition that once in that George Blackwell house there were two kitchen hearths because the daughter and mother-in-law who lived there could not abide each other.

Beyond the Mill Brook there had been another farm that stretched all the way from the South to the Middle Road. It was called the Lothrop place after the last man to live there. The house burned to the ground in the dead of winter when I was still a small boy.

Next came the Allen place. The house is a very old one, and to me beautiful, though I have heard some call it ugly. It is another double half house. Henry Allen and his family lived there. The place had been a very big sheep farm, but in my time, because Henry Allen was not overly ambitious, the size of the flock was sadly diminished. Actually, Roger, Henry's son, ran the farm even then when he was a boy. But later, when he became Chilmark's master carpenter, he could only give it part of his time.

Beyond the Allen place were two Mayhew places on the right. The first was Hertford Mayhew's big farm. Hertford, like Henry Allen, was long a selectman of the town of Chilmark. Beyond Hertford's place was what is probably the oldest house in Chilmark. It was built near the end

9 Members of the Blackwell family of Boston—doctors, ministers, abolitionists, educators, and reformers—were among Chilmark's earliest "summer people." Gale's memories of them will be featured in a future excerpt from his memoir.

10 A Colonial-era "whole house" had two front rooms, each with a multi-pane window, with the front door centered between them and opening onto a narrow staircase leading to the attic sleeping area. The chimney was typically centered on the roofline, directly above the front door. A "half house" had a single front room with the front door, stairway, and chimney to one side. A "three-quarter house" had one large and one small front room with the no-longer-centered front door and chimney between them.



Chilmark's distinctive landscape: Low rolling hills shaped by the glaciers, vegetation cropped low by grazing sheep, and mortarless stone walls built with the byproducts of clearing the land for plowing. (MV Museum Photo Collection)

of the seventeenth century. Its only rival for the distinction of being the oldest is the Harris place on the North Road near the Roaring Brook. Before the dormer windows were added it was a perfect example of the Vineyard whole house. Now it belongs to a group of summer people and is called the Barn House.¹¹

Beyond that very old house the road takes a sharp turn toward Beetlebung Corner. On the right is the Austin Smith house, now, of course, a summer place. Austin Smith who built the house was not a farmer but one of Chilmark's most successful whaling masters. He was one of five Smith brothers, all whalemens, who were born in the Asa Smith house toward which we were heading, and which was to become our semi-permanent home for the next nine years. Asa Smith was a whalerman too, but not a successful one like his brother Austin.¹²

Across the road from Austin's place is the Lucy Vincent house, though then it was still called the Elihu Mosher place for Lucy's father. Lucy was long Chilmark's *grande dame*. She was interested in everything that went

11 On the history of the Barn House as a structure, see Jonathan F. Scott, "The Three-Hundred-Year Evolution of a Chilmark Homestead," *Dukes County Intelligencer*, August 1990, pp. 12-31. On the "summer people" who gathered there, see Arthur R. Railton, "Artists and Other Free Spirits at the Barn House," *Dukes County Intelligencer*, August 1995, pp. 3-34.

12 The five Smith brothers—sons of Mayhew and Sally (Cottle) Smith—were Otis (1808-1863), Austin (1813-1893), Frank (1816-1911), Rufus (1818-1895), and Asa (b. 1824). Austin, Frank, and Rufus all became captains, commanding a total of 18 voyages between 1838 and 1867.

on in the town and if an important issue was coming up at town meeting it was normal to ask: “What does Lucy Vincent think of it?” She was the town librarian for many years and she was a bird watcher of note. Ephraim Mayhew built Lucy’s house in 1810 or 1812.¹³

But now the afternoon is getting on and Bart’s horses are getting tired and we don’t want the reader to get tired too.

So, we come to Chilmark center and the center of the center was E. Elliot Mayhew’s store. Elliot Mayhew’s motto was “dealer in almost everything” and that was very nearly true. There, one could buy groceries, most of which came in bulk, in boxes and barrels, and dry goods, notions, hardware, boots and shoes, everything. The odors of each mingled to make a rich and rare whole, all tintured with the scent of kerosene.

Elliot Mayhew had married Florence, the eldest of Sam Blackwell’s numerous daughters.

E. ELLIOT MAYHEW,
DEALER IN
Stoves, Furnaces and Ranges,
Hardware, Wooden Ware, Tin Ware and Kitchen Furnishing Goods.
Groceries, Farming Tools, Fertilizers, Paints, Dry Goods, Crockery.
In fact, dealer in almost everything.
Connected by telephone. Established in 1875.
CHILMARK, - - MASSACHUSETTS.

He was postmaster, merchant, farmer and even a banker for the town, and she was the founder of the Chilmark Library, a pillar of the Methodist Church, strong in the temperance movement. Their adopted son was Walter Lloyd Mayhew. He was ten or twelve years older than I. A fixture on the front porch of the store was Grafton Hillman. He was the local

blacksmith and “a mighty man was he,” at least in weight which must have been close to three hundred pounds.¹⁴

Flanking the store on either side, were the Menemsha School and Grafton Hillman’s blacksmith shop, and at Beetlebung Corner, which we had just passed, was the new town hall. The old town hall had been on the Middle Road near the top of Bassett’s Hill. The Methodist Church was still on the Middle Road then, near the junction with Tea Lane; some fifteen

13 David Seward’s memoir of his time as handyman and personal assistant to Lucy Vincent during her last years in the old house was published in the February 2018 and August 2018 issues of the *Quarterly*.

14 The quoted phrase is from Henry Wadsworth Longfellow’s 1840 poem “The Village Blacksmith,” memorized and recited by generations of schoolchildren (doubtless including Gale himself) in the first half of the twentieth century.



“New” Chilmark Center (the old one had been at the intersection of Tea Lane and Middle Road) between 1900 and 1910. The prominent white building is the Town Hall; the Methodist church (now the Chilmark Community Church) was moved to the intersection a few years after the picture was taken.

years later it and the parsonage were moved to their present position on the Menemsha Cross Road.¹⁵

After dropping off the mail and a few assorted boxes and after my mother had left an order for groceries with cousin Elliot, Bart picked up the reins again and clucked to the horses and we were off on the last leg of our journey. After crossing the brook, where they stopped for a drink, the horses had a hard climb ahead of them up Boston Hill and Bart and my father got out and walked.

From the top of Boston Hill there was another breathtaking view, this time of the western end of the Island, of Quitsa, Squibnocket, and Gay Head.¹⁶ From the top of Boston Hill the only trees to be seen were a small clump of pines on the Anderson Poole place and a small stand of oak and sassafras on the right, called Lambert’s Grove which was a favorite place for picnics. The ocean was on the left and the ponds, Menemsha and Quitsa

15 Dedicated in January 1843, the Chilmark Methodist Church was moved to the Menemsha Cross Road in 1910. Renamed the Chilmark Community Church in 1982, it remains in use today.

16 The hill got its name from a patriarch of the town who used it as a vantage point from which to observe the world (especially the passing parade of vessels in Vineyard Sound) through his spyglass. On a clear day, he was fond of saying, you could see almost to Boston. [Gale Huntington, *An Introduction to Martha’s Vineyard* (1969), p. 84]



The wreckage of Hariph's Creek Bridge the morning after its destruction by the 1938 Hurricane, which cut off road travel to the western end of the Island for several days.

and Squibnocket, were ahead. In the distance beyond Squibnocket was Nomansland and beyond Menemsha Pond the high pasture land of Gay Head.

"There it is," my mother exclaimed, pointing.

"What?" my father asked.

"The Asa Smith house," my mother said. "Can't you see it, Elon? See the chimney?" Actually, that was almost all you could see, the great central chimney and the barn.

The stage continued down the hill, Bart occasionally touching the brake and the horses holding back. In those days every hill had a name. At the foot of Boston Hill there was a slight rise and then a dip. That was Thorn Tree Hill because two small thorn trees grew there on either side of the road. Then another slight rise to the top of Bridge Hill. At the foot of Bridge Hill was the old stone bridge across Hariph's Creek (always pronounced crick). Hariph's Creek connects Quitsa and Stonewall ponds. The bridge went out in the 1938 hurricane when the sea came over Stonewall Beach. There had not been a storm like that for over a hundred years.

The first house we came to was what we always called the brown house. It was painted brown, of course, and had been the summer home of Sam Blackwell and Antoinette and their daughters. Later, it became the summer home of Tom Jones and his wife, Agnes, who had been Agnes Blackwell. Beyond the brown house was the green house. That had been the home of Edward Mayhew who was Elliot Mayhew's father. Edward May-



The "Asa Smith Place," the Huntington family's summer home, with Menemsha Creek and Pond visible in the distance, and Vineyard Sound and the Elizabeth Islands beyond.

hew had had an enormous farm that covered much of Quitsa. When we came to Quitsa the green house was the summer home of Albert and May Bruno and their children.

Beyond the green house was the Asa Smith place. The gate was open and Bart swung his horses into the narrow land that led up past the barn to the old house. And it was an old house for it had been built before the Revolution and six or so generations of Smiths had lived there. It was low and squatty, grey shingled, a beautiful example of the Vineyard whole house. But apparently then, in that so-long-ago day, it was not beautiful to me. For I am told that I asked, "Are we going to live in that shabby old place?"

Bart Mayhew laughed and said, "Boy, that's one of the finest places in the whole town of Chilmark." Two things I really do remember. One was a what-not in a corner filled with the most wonderful collection of things from all over the world, most of them brought home by Captain Hilliard, Willie Mayhew's father. The other thing that I remember is the wonderful smell of salt cod that permeated the house. Ever since that day, salt cod has been one of my favorite dishes. Yes, I will choose it even in favor of fresh cod.

And so, we came to the end of a wonderful day.



Café Moska: A Folk Music Venture On Union Street in 1964

by W. DOUGLAS THOMPSON

EARLY IN THE summer of 1964, folk singer Tom Rush was headlining at the Moon-Cusser Coffee House in Oak Bluffs and was effortlessly reestablishing that venue as the premier musical establishment on the Island. Meanwhile, something exciting was brewing unnoticed in Vineyard Haven.¹

Steve Kaber, who had just finished his freshman year at Goddard College, was dejected about the end of a relationship and so decided to spend his summer on the Vineyard, where he had enjoyed good times as a child when this uncle, Ralph Levinson, ran the Edgartown Café. Kaber had no idea what he would do on the Island until he began brainstorming with his close friend at Goddard, a musician named Ted Myers. On a whim, giving no thought whatsoever to the logistical complexities, they decided to open a coffee house in the style of those that New Yorker Myers had frequented in Greenwich Village. The Vineyard seemed to be as good a place as any for such a venture.

Kaber and Myers gathered up two other friends from Goddard, Robert Barab and Henry Lieberg, and the foursome was soon stepping off the ferry in Vineyard Haven with pooled resources of \$400 in start-up funds. Heading up Union Street, they discovered an empty storefront. Little investigation was needed to determine that the building belonged to Henry Cronig, and, to their surprise, he proved to be rather amused by their proposed use of the place.² The summer season was about to go into full

1 This article is based primarily on unpublished material from interviews recorded in 1996 with Robert Barab, Steve Kaber, Henry Lieberg, and Ted Myers. Photographs and ephemera are all courtesy of Henry Lieberg.

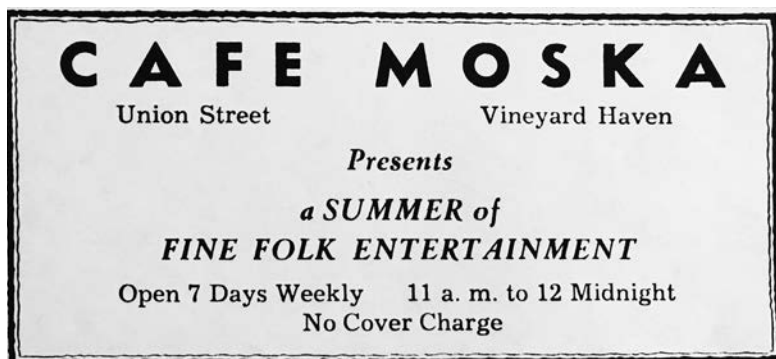
2 One of four Lithuanian immigrant brothers who founded Cronig's Market in 1917, Henry left the grocery business early and became Vineyard Haven's leading real estate broker. Cronig's Real Estate still operates from its original office next door to the former site of the grocery store on Main Street.

W. Douglas Thompson was born on the Vineyard and currently divides his time between Oak Bluffs and Portland, Maine. He did not know of the existence of Café Moska in 1964 but was a frequent and enthralled patron of the Moon-Cusser and Unicorn.

swing, and Cronig had no other prospective tenants. He kindly exacted no rent until such time as the enterprise had established itself.

A hodge-podge of tables and chairs was purchased cheaply from an inn that had just gone out of business. The décor was simple: basic black. The lights were covered with colored tissue paper to produce an atmospheric reddish glow. A friend of Lieberg's parents, artist Morris Shulman of Maine, gave him some paintings to hang and sell on consignment. Kaber put together a bare-bones sound system. With a couple of hot plates and a second-hand coffee maker, the makeshift kitchen was readied for business.

Three female students from Goddard were enticed into joining the effort as waitresses. Each loaned fifty dollars to help the operation get on its feet.



Café Moska advertisement in the *Vineyard Gazette*, July 10, 1964.
(All images in this article are from the author's collection)

Myers describes the philosophy as one that Tom Sawyer would have recognized: "For just fifty dollars you too can have the privilege of waiting tables in our coffee house." Old doors and blankets were used to partition off the back section of the place and to create individual cubicles where all the owners and staff lived.

None of the group had thought about such formalities as licenses, and they needed to scramble once reality began to sink in. The Town of Tisbury initially resisted, having had little if any experience with live musical entertainment in what was, after all, a dry town. Kaber recalls having undertaken a hasty public relations campaign, which entailed visiting local merchants and securing their signatures in support of the coffee house. Meanwhile, the name for the place had been decided upon; it would be Café Moska, based on what the group thought to be an Arabic word meaning "enlightenment" or "brotherhood." By June 30 they had obtained a victualler's license and even a License for Entertainment on the Lord's Day. Within a couple of days they had obtained a permit to sell milk "produced at the dairies of Hoods and Whitings." The nature of the entertainment was specified to be "quiet folk songs," and the applicants were required to describe the type of dress to be worn by the artists. Perhaps this stipulation served to protect the town from exotic dancers; at any rate,



Mainstays of the Café Moska stage: Co-founder Ted Myers (shown here at R in duo harmonizing, perhaps in Hebrew, with his longtime friend Jon Meyers) and his fellow Goddard College student George Austin.

the applicants were able to assure the selectmen that the performers would be wearing regular street clothes.

Before hanging out their new sign with its mushroom motif and opening for business, the owners obviously needed entertainers. During the afternoons they planned to rely largely on recorded music. For the live performances in the evening, they hoped to avoid paying anyone. As was the tradition in many of the smaller coffee houses in Greenwich Village, musicians deemed worthy would be afforded the privilege of performing and of then passing the hat.

Myers was in charge of the entertainment, but he had no contacts on the Vineyard. He himself sang and played guitar, and so he was frequently featured, especially early in the season. It seems that his delivery of blues tunes was effective. A local merchant who stopped in regularly was a widower with two small children. Myers' version of "Motherless Child" moved him so greatly that he would often have to leave the café.

Myers contacted an old friend, Jon Meyers, with whom he had done some singing in high school. Meyers was an Orthodox Jew with an interest in Israeli folk music. At Myers' urging, he came to the Vineyard and performed his songs at Café Moska; several were sung in Hebrew, with Myers harmonizing. Myers also recruited fellow Goddard student George Austin to come down and perform on banjo and Hugh Magbie to play blues.

Soon musicians on the Island began showing up, and several agreed to perform. John Stone, using the name Oudi Hune, occasionally played Asian music at the Café. Also on the Island was a musician named David

Myers decided that what was needed in order to get Café Moska established was a “name artist” who would draw an audience. Toward that end, he felt that he had achieved something of a coup in booking Dusty Rhodes. Rhodes was already a veteran of the Boston/Cambridge folk scene and hosted hootenannies (open-mic sessions) on Sundays at Café Yana in Boston. He was a country and western balladeer, one of the few of that genre to gain a wide audience during what David Bromberg and others have referred to as the “folk scare” of the 1960’s. Rhodes was paid what seemed like an astronomical amount of seventy dollars for a three-day gig at Café Moska, but he failed to pull in as large an audience as Myers and his cohorts had hoped. Nevertheless, they were doing well enough to pay Henry Cronig the first one hundred dollars towards the rent.

A food check, rounded up to the house-minimum of 99 cents, including a serving of the café's signature "Moska Fries."

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These were made from unpeeled potatoes cut to resemble mushroom caps and then deep fried. They were served with salt, pepper, and paprika.

Café Moska was initially open from 3:30 in the afternoon until midnight. Soon, to increase income from food service, they began opening at 11:00 a.m. Later they extended their nighttime hours of operation to 1:00 a.m. The level of noise at night did provoke some complaints, and in mid-July Lieberg received a letter from Manuel Maciel on behalf of the Tisbury Board of Selectmen. It began: "Having had several hesitant complaints about the noise at one o'clock, the Board would like to have you close at quarter of one, to assure that everyone will be out by one." Maciel continued in the same civil tone: "Those who live in neighboring apartments state that it is one-thirty before the noise quiets down outside the café. They did not object to the twelve o'clock closing but say it is quite noisy after midnight. Could you plan to play softer music between twelve and one? We wish to cooperate in every way possible. With every good wish."

The police were frequently seen at the Café, but not because of any illegal behavior of which they were aware. Their office was located right across the street, and the night shift soon discovered Moska Fries. They usually entered through the rear door of the kitchen, scaring the life out of those who had taken to smoking marijuana back there.

Although relations with the selectmen and the police were cordial, the same could not always be said about relations with the operators of the two other coffee houses on the Island. Rivalry and a certain amount of distrust were often evident. When he was sixteen years old, Kaber had worked with Tom DeMont of Oak Bluffs in a gallery in Vineyard Haven. In the summer of 1964 DeMont joined forces with George Papadopoulos in opening a Vineyard branch of Papadopoulos's Unicorn Coffee House, which was an established enterprise on Boylston Street in Boston.³ DeMont showed up several times at Café Moska, ostensibly to rekindle his friendship with Kaber. However, Kaber suspected that DeMont had been sent by Papadopoulos to spy on the competition.

For his part, Myers devised a plan to turn the success of the Moon-Cusser to his own advantage. The plan involved the kidnapping of Jose Feliciano. At least that is how Myers likes to describe it; in actuality, the escapade was considerably shy of a full-blown abduction. Myers learned that Feliciano was scheduled to appear at the Moon-Cusser within a couple of days following his premier performance at the Newport Folk Festival. Myers decided

3 The Vineyard branch of the Unicorn was located first above the Manter Motors showroom at Five Corners in Vineyard Haven, then in the Tivoli (torn down in 1964 to make way for what is now the Oak Bluffs Police Department) and then at the far end of Circuit Avenue (in a building later occupied by a succession of restaurants and now [2020] by a branch of the Rockland Trust Bank).

to drive over to Newport and to make contact with Feliciano following his performance. The two had gone to junior high school together and already knew each other somewhat. Myers offered to drive Feliciano to the Vineyard for his gig at the Moon-Cusser but brought him directly to Café Moska. As a consequence, Myers and his friends got to have a special guest star for the one or two days preceding his scheduled appearance at the Moon-Cusser, where he shared the bill with the Simon Sisters.

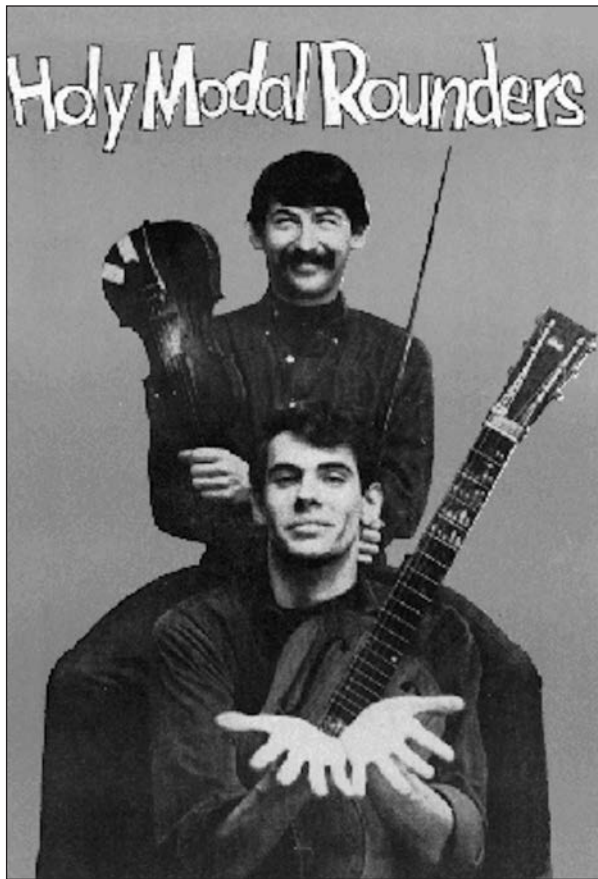
Another coup for Café Moska was to book a group known as Banana and the Bunch. Banana, whose actual name was Lowell Levinger, ran the Island String Shop, an instrument sales and repair operation that was a sideline business of the Moon-Cusser and that was located in Oak Bluffs adjacent to the Moon-Cusser through the rear, although its storefront was between the Corner Store and Walmsley's Bakery.⁴ Banana and his two coworkers in the String Shop, Mike Kane and Rick Turner, served as the house band at the Moon-Cusser, improvising accompaniment for the headline acts that did not bring along their own backup players. At the end of July, the performers on the bill at the Moon-Cusser were the bluegrass group The Country Gentlemen and protest singer Phil Ochs. The Country Gentlemen had a full complement of players, and Ochs, like most of the protest singers of the day, played solo. Therefore, the services of Banana and the Bunch were not needed at the Moon-Cusser, and they came over to play at Café Moska in what could be viewed as direct competition with their employer and landlord.

For Banana and the Bunch their gig at Café Moska was not a matter of loyalty versus disloyalty to the management of the Moon-Cusser. It was simply a matter of playing whenever and wherever they could find an audience. The ever-fluid personnel of Banana and the Bunch also included Monte Dunn for the performances at Café Moska. They rocked the place with a mix of folk tunes and bluegrass.

The operators of Café Moska wanted most of all that their coffee house should be as unlike as possible the typical slick night club. The Holy Modal Rounders, who were the most popular and longest running of the acts booked into Café Moska, certainly guaranteed just that. The duo consisted of Peter Stampfel and Steve Weber, and their music cannot be easily pigeon-holed. A promotional brochure from 1964 summed it up this way: "It contains aspects of ragtime music, Everly Brothers, old-timey fiddle tunes, the pro musica antiqua, rhythm and blues, old comic books, and everything else." They gravitated toward oddball lyrics such as these from "Blues in the Bottle": "Rooster chews tobacco, and the hen uses snuff / The baby chickens don't take nothin'; but they just strut their stuff." Two lines

4 The Moon-Cusser operated in the space currently occupied by Basics clothing store. The front entrance was on Circuit Avenue, the back entrance on what is now Healey Square, at the time a street rather than a pedestrian mall.

from “Euphoria” went like this: “Euphoria, when your mind starts wheeling and a-walking, your inside forces start squealing and a-squawkin’ / Floating around on a belladonna cloud, singing euphoria, euphoria.” Their own vocal style often involved what could be described as exactly that – squealing and a-squawkin’ – but musically they were very accomplished, with Stampfel on fiddle and banjo and Weber on guitar.



The spectacularly eclectic Holy Modal Rounders were Café Moska's longest-running and most popular act.

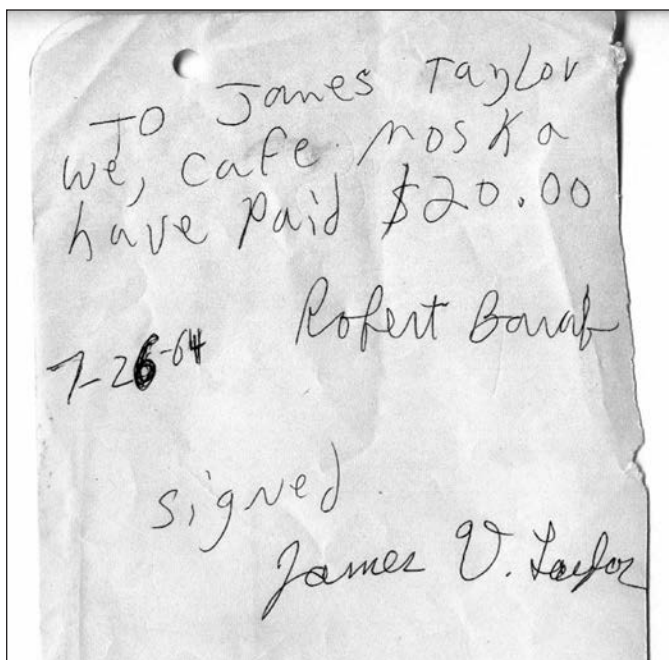
It has been said that the Rounders started out as an absurdist beatnik take on such academic folk revivalists as The New Lost City Ramblers but wound up as the sole practitioners of a genre that might be called “acid-folk.” Neil Strauss tried to capture the essence of the Rounders when he stated in *The New York Times* that they played “psychedelic, irreverent leftist folk abstractions that were as warped as they were musically learned.”

Myers always looked for new talent that might be found right under his nose in Vineyard Haven. One day he spotted a lanky sixteen-year-old kid carrying a guitar on Union Street. The kid was Jamie Taylor, and Myers inquired as to whether he could actually play the instrument. After getting a non-committal answer, he brought Taylor into the Café

and asked him to play a bit. Immediately it was evident to Myers that this kid had talent, so he invited him to play that evening. Just how many nights Taylor's gig lasted is uncertain, but on at least one of those nights he was accompanied by his friend Danny Kortchmar, known as Kootch. During the previous summer, Taylor had been an audience favorite at the hootenannies that showcased amateur talent on Monday nights at the Moon-Cusser. But evidently it was in July of 1964 at Café Moska that he had his first experience as a professional on the Vineyard; he was paid twenty dollars.

Café Moska was in operation for just one season. In the fall Barab had to take off a semester at Goddard because he had failed to earn any money over the summer. Myers' varied musical tastes moved him away from folk toward rock, and he founded a rock band known as The Lost, which went on to become one of the most popular of the Boston-based bands of the 1960s.

Barab has summed up Café Moska this way: "Our café was the place to hang out and party. If you wanted to play your music but avoid the crowds and groupies, then Café Moska was the place to go. But we were a commercial flop." It is true that Café Moska did not manage to move out of the shadow of the established and highly successful Moon-Cusser, which, along with the Oak Bluffs branch of the Unicorn, survived through the summer of 1965. The four Goddard students had no budget for publicity and over the entire summer managed to purchase only a couple of advertisements in the *Gazette*. Word of mouth and people stumbling upon the place were the primary means for building a small but appreciative audience. It was the intimate atmosphere and the freshness and occasional zaniness of the talented performers that kept a devoted few coming back for the rest of that one short summer of 1964.



TO James Taylor
we, cafe moska
have paid \$20.00
7-26-64 Robert Barab
signed
James V. Taylor

Receipt for the \$20 earned by Café Moska's most (retrospectively) famous performer, James Taylor, in one of his first paid gigs.

The Early Mass Tourism Of Gotland, Martha's Vineyard And Rügen

by ÅKE SANDSTRÖM

Editor's Note: *Seaside resorts and the mass tourism they inspired arose on both sides of the Atlantic in the second half of the nineteenth century. The Vineyard's embrace of resort-based tourism has, however, never been examined in that context. Originally published in a Swedish academic journal and reprinted here with the author's permission, this essay does just that, relating the early history of Oak Bluffs to the experiences of two popular Baltic Sea resorts from the same era. Translated by the author, it has been edited only to Americanize spelling and punctuation and to add [in brackets] the English equivalents of metric measurements.*

IF WE WERE to ask Swedes to identify one of the most popular Swedish tourist destinations, many would likely mention Gotland. Most countries have their own versions of Gotland: places where the tourist industry is well established and where people arrive in massive numbers during high season. In Germany and the United States, the islands of Rügen in the southern Baltic Sea and Martha's Vineyard in the New England archipelago, east of New York City, respectively, hold similar positions in public consciousness. On all three islands, organized tourism developed in the nineteenth century and each one is connected to an urban area through railroads and ferries: Stockholm-Kalmar, Berlin-Hamburg, and New York-Boston. All three islands possess powerful brands enhanced by various forms of media. The classic horror movie *Jaws*, where a sharp-toothed giant beast looked upon Martha's Vineyard and its inhabitants and visitors as its preferred feeding place and food, is perhaps the best—but far from only—example from that island. As for Gotland, the movie based on Ulf Lundell's novel *Jack*, which was inspired by Jack Kerouac, secured Gotland as a must-visit location for Swedes. In Rügen's case, there is an extensive list of movie productions filmed on the island. No less than 25 different movies and TV series have been produced there since 1967.

The aim of this paper is to describe and compare the earliest forms of mass tourism on the three islands in the nineteenth century, the development of that tourism, and how the increasing numbers of visitors were received and handled both socially and economically. It is important to define the phrase “mass tourism.” It is used in this paper to describe a place that is regularly visited by such a number of people that the everyday life of the local population is noticeably affected for a period of time. The impact on the local population’s everyday life can manifest in several ways and be perceived both positively and negatively (e.g. higher price levels, new sources of income, noisy night hours, or enriched social life). It is difficult, and would be unhelpful, to provide an arbitrary number of visitors that must be reached to classify as mass tourism, since much depends on a destination’s physical—and the locals’ mental—capacity to accommodate a visiting population.¹

The Passion for Bathing and Other Water Cures in the Nineteenth Century

The three islands share some physical characteristics. Compared to the nearby mainlands, they enjoy mild summer weather and have plentiful opportunities for sunbathing and bathing in the sea. Prior to 1800, it was uncommon to view sunshine, salty winds, and bathing in the sea as components of a healthy and joyful life, but that changed in the century that followed. In the last third of the 1800s, the popularity of water for medical treatment, hygiene, but also for well-being and leisure peaked.²

It is hard today to imagine the many varieties of submerging, soaking, showering, steaming, and wrapping of wet blankets that were common in the late nineteenth century. Every different way of getting wet was documented thoroughly in a vast number of scientific and quasi-scientific studies. In a popular combined manual and guidebook from the 1890s covering Swedish spas and baths, a vast number of different water-cures are described: bathtubs with different levels of water, sunbathing, “Kreuznacherbathing,” meaning a bathtub filled with salt water, alkaline baths, baths with carbolic acid, sulfur, and other chemicals, hot air baths, and so on.³ One important form of the medical bath was sea bathing, and this was offered in abundance on all three islands. It was not only the medicinal aspects of the beaches and

1 For a more elaborate definition of the term, see Auvo Kostiaainen, “Looking for the Mass Tourist in History – The Experience of a Beginning Research Project,” in Mark Davies (ed.), *History and Tourism--empty meeting grounds?* Seminar at Mid-Sweden University, Östersund 1996.

2 Hermann Sommer, *Zur Kur nach Ems. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bade-reise von 1830 bis 1914* (Stuttgart 1999), 13–27.

3 Alfred Levertin, *Svenska brunnar och bad. Med en kortfattad badlära och dietetik m. af Carl Curman* (Stockholm 1892), IX.

bath houses that explains the popularity of the resorts, but also the possibilities of replacing everyday life with a laid back and relaxed way of living. In fact, a common critique of the spas and sea baths was that visitors were less concerned with the well-being of the body and soul and more interested in having a good time during the short summer weeks.

This issue is addressed, albeit toned down, in the guidebook of the



Dr. Alfred Levertin of Stockholm (1843-1919), whose advocacy of sea-bathing and other “water cures” helped to fuel the popularity of seaside health resorts in Sweden. (Wikimedia Commons)

Swedish baths mentioned above. The author points out that amusements and diversions can be beneficial, especially as the physicians of the spas watch over these activities.⁴ In the guidebook of Dr. Levertin, the amusements provided at the various spas are listed as comprehensively as the cures on offer: theatres, ballrooms, game tables, orchestras, skittle-alleys, and bars are all described.

Despite Dr. Levertin’s assurances, it is hard to sustain the idea that the medical services offered by the spas were the main draw for visitors. Likewise, while religious meetings were ostensibly a primary draw for the islands—Martha’s Vineyard in particular—it is likely that many visitors had a shallower agenda. For many visitors to the islands, it was easier to point to the desire to take care

of body and soul than to confess that they just wanted to relax away from the stresses of everyday life. Indeed, many visitors probably failed to see any conflict between these different objectives.

The Three Islands Before the Age of Tourism

The period from the middle ages until the fourteenth century was Gotland’s golden age.⁵ During this period, the island rose to one of the most important mercantile middlemen between the Caliphate and Byzantine Empire in the East and Western Europe. During the Viking age, the rural population of Gotland played an active part in this trade, transporting slaves and other commodities along the river systems leading down to the Black Sea. Huge amounts of silver were brought back as pay-

4 Ibid., IV.

5 For the general history of Gotland and Visby, see Roger Öhrman, *Gotlands historia* (Klinthamn 2017); Anders Andrén, *Det medeltida Gotland: En arkeologisk guidebok* (Lund 2017); and Hugo Yrwing, *Visby – hansestad på Gotland* (Stockholm 1986).

ment and most hoards of silver found in Sweden have been discovered in Gotland—items that can now be viewed in the Gotland Museum in Visby. From the thirteenth century, the economic core of the island was concentrated in Visby, which remains the only town on Gotland, and the importance of the countryside receded, leaving almost one hundred large parish churches built in limestone as monuments of a wealthy past. It was during the thirteenth century that Visby reached its peak as one of the most important trading posts in Northern Europe. Politically, the island was loosely connected to the still immature nation state of Sweden, but in practice Swedish influence was weak. From the end of this century, the German trading town of Lübeck—which, within the framework of the Hanseatic League, had control of eastern trade—outmaneuvered Visby. Gotland was conquered by the Danes in 1361 under their dynamic King Valdemar, who did his best to carry out an agenda aimed at competing with the powerful Hanseatic League. Gotland and Visby under the Danes, and after 1645 the Swedes again, however, never recovered from the loss of trade and the once economically powerful trading republic turned into a more traditional rural area. Agriculture remained one of the most important occupations of the burghers of Visby through to the 1800s. In the long run, and from a tourism perspective, the downhill trajectory of the Gotland economy from the fourteenth century until modern times conserved large parts of the medieval stone city, including its 3.4 km [2.1 mile] wall, since there was simply no need to expand the city beyond the walls. Still today, the area outside the city walls contains the preserved moats without buildings that were to ensure free angle of fire for the defending archers manning the fortifications. Gotland had slightly over a million overnight stays in 2016, placing it in the middle among Swedish regions and counties. With a population of only 58,000, however, tourism has an obvious impact on everyday life on the island.⁶

During the high and late Middle Ages, Rügen was in the hands of Slavs, Danes, and Germans. At the northern tip of the island, Cape Arkona, an early gathering place, in the shape of a temple castle dedicated to the god Svantevit, was situated.⁷ The remains of the temple area, placed in a beautiful scenic environment, are today one of the most visited attractions in Rügen, although the Danes destroyed the buildings when the area was Christianized in the twelfth century. The Slavs lost control of Rügen and the last Slavic-speaking person in Rügen is said to have died at the begin-

6 Statistikdatabasen, <http://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/> (retrieved 17 May 2018).

7 For the general history of Rügen see Fritz Petrick, *Rügen: Die Geschichte einer Insel* (Kiel 2017); Fritz Petrick, *Rügens Geschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Vol. 4: *Rügens Preußenzeit 1815–1945* (Putbus 2010).



The East Gate in Visby's medieval city wall: relics of the early-to-mid 1300s, before the town was eclipsed by Lübeck as a trading port within the Hanseatic League. (Swedish National Heritage Board, via Flickr)

ning of the fifteenth century.⁸ Germans, Swedes, and Danes continued to claim sovereignty over the island, however, until it was finally placed under German rule through Prussia by the Congress of Vienna in 1814. Rügen is the most visited of all German islands with the number of overnight stays reaching almost 5.9 million in 2014. The permanent population of the island is 70,000.⁹

As Europeans were settling on Martha's Vineyard during the seventeenth century, the island was already inhabited by the Wampanoag Indian tribe.¹⁰ This native population was decimated by two-thirds during

8 Idem, Rügen, 42

9 See "Dies sind Deutschlands beliebteste Urlaubsinseln," *Spiegel* <https://www.spiegel.de/reise/deutschland/ruegen-usedom-sylt-deutschlands-beliebteste-inseln-a-1101529.html> (last retrieved 17 May 2018); and "Zahlen & Fakten," *Insel Rügen*, <http://www.ruegen.de/ueber-ruegen/zahlen-fakten.html> (last retrieved 17 May 2018).

10 For the general history of Martha's Vineyard see Arthur R. Railton, *The History of Martha's Vineyard: How We Got to Where We Are*, Carlisle [Mass.] 2006; Henry Beetle Hough, *Martha's Vineyard: Summer Resort 1835–1935* (Rutland 1936). I would like to thank Dr. A. Bowdoin Van Riper, Research Librarian at the Martha's Vineyard Museum, for drawing my attention to this and other studies of the history of Martha's Vineyard.

the 1600s, mainly as a result of diseases brought to the island by the European settlers. Today, the tribe's members constitute a minority of the island population, mainly concentrated in the small town of Aquinnah, formerly known as Gay Head. The first permanent English settlement was established in the 1640s and was followed by "two centuries of fishing, fowling, sheep raising, grinding at mills beside Island streams, piloting, ship chandlery, whaling."¹¹

The economic boom came with the sharp increase in demand for whale oil around the mid-1800s, prior to the Civil War, when sturdy whaling ships could be seen in ports and anchor places around the island. With the prospects of the whaling industry sharply falling after the Civil War, the island soon turned to tourism.

The number of visitors to Martha's Vineyard today is not fully comparable to the other two islands, but there is little doubt that tourism impacts the economy and the daily life of the local inhabitants. In 2006, wages earned on the island by permanent residents outside the summer season accounted for only one fifth of the total income generated, and seasonal homeowners together with short-term visitors and vacationers consumed two thirds of goods and services.¹² The population of Martha's Vineyard increases every summer season from approximately 15,000 to 100,000, alongside an additional 25,000 short-term visitors, among them a large group of so-called "day-trippers" arriving on the ferries.¹³

The Genesis of Mass Tourism

Already by the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, there was a slow awakening of interest in Gotland's rich cultural history, with the medieval Hanseatic town of Visby and its city walls being the main attraction. However, this interest did not yet result in any considerable numbers of visitors to the island. The infrastructure did not exist, with there being more than 80km to mainland Sweden and only primitive communications to bridge that distance. It was not until 1865, with the founding of Ångbåtsbolaget Gotland (The Steamboat Company Gotland, henceforth termed Gotlandsbolaget) that tourist numbers began to increase, as visitors were carried by reliable and safe ships set to regular timetables. It can be argued that a much earlier start of the tourist industry was impossible given that the notion of going somewhere with no other purpose than to relax or amuse oneself was only incrementally in-

11 Hough, *Martha's Vineyard*, 10.

12 John J. Ryan, *Martha's Vineyard Economic Profile*. Prepared for The Martha's Vineyard Commission and The Island Plan Livelihood and Commerce Work Group, January 2008, 3.

13 E-mail of Martha's Vineyard Chamber of Commerce to the author, 29 November 2017.

roduced to the Swedish general public alongside industrialization in the course of the nineteenth century, a process that did not differ much from that of Germany and the United States.

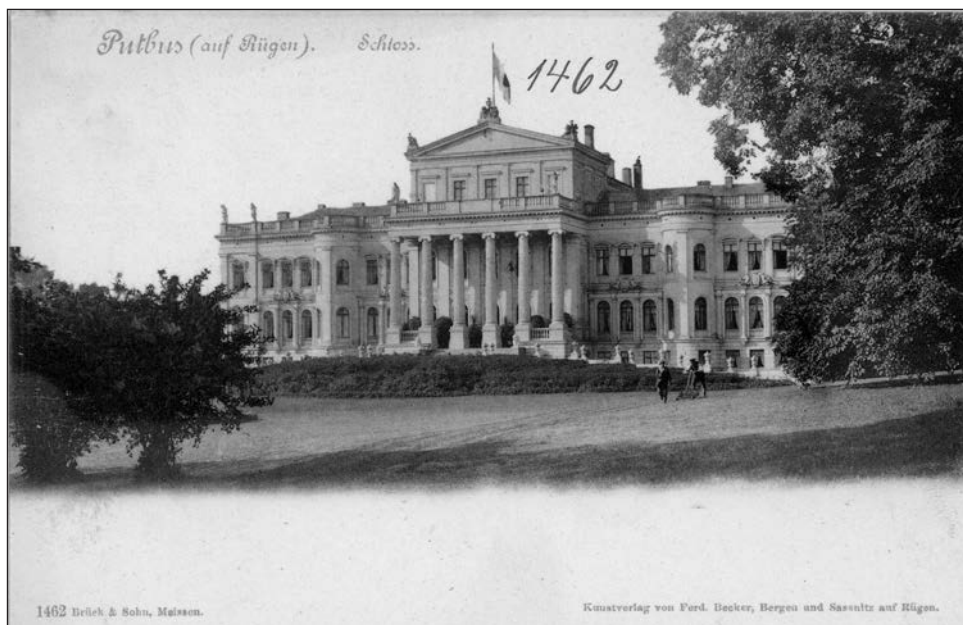
With the new ferry lines to and from Gotland, one of the most important tourist destinations of the nineteenth century was founded, the Visby Spa. The first wooden building with its various bathing facilities was erected in 1857 close to the harbor. The bathing house was extended and operated under different names until it was closed and torn down at the beginning of the First World War.¹⁴ By that time the bathing culture of the nineteenth century and the belief in water as a remedy for almost any ailment was all but at an end. The new steamships, the spa on the Visby waterfront, the mild climate, and the remains of by-past days of glory were the attractions that drew increasing number of visitors during the second half of the nineteenth century, and are therefore the roots of Gotland's tourism industry today.

The island of Rügen was, and remains, better placed than Gotland to develop mass tourism. The island, which is Germany's largest, is separated from the mainland province of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern by a narrow sound. Visitors therefore face a short journey to the island. Further, the various parts that united in 1871 to form the nation-state of Germany were generally ahead of Sweden in economic terms and therefore German citizens had more opportunities for leisure pursuits such as vacations. Although a health resort was founded around a spring of water rich in iron and carbolic acid—that had 334 guests in its opening year of 1795¹⁵—it was not until 1810 when Prince Wilhelm Malte zu Putbus established the town of Putbus as his residence that Rügen was seriously viewed as a place worthy of visiting for no other reason than leisure. The town—like Visby, also known as the “Town of Roses”—was built in an esthetical classical architectural style and when a seaside resort opened in connection to Putbus in 1816, the transition of Rügen from an island of traditional agriculture and fishing to a recreation area for visitors had begun.

Camp meetings became popular among American Methodists in the early 1800s, comprising of gatherings in the open air listening to sermons, conducting baptisms, and also socializing and enjoying nature. This phenomenon took root in Martha's Vineyard in 1835 after an earlier attempt in the 1820s. In beautiful surroundings and in

14 Lennart Bohman, Gunnar Fritzell and Valdemar Falck, *1800-talets Visby. En bildbok utgiven med anledning av Sällskapet D.B.V:s ijo-åriga tillvaro* (Visby 1964), 70.

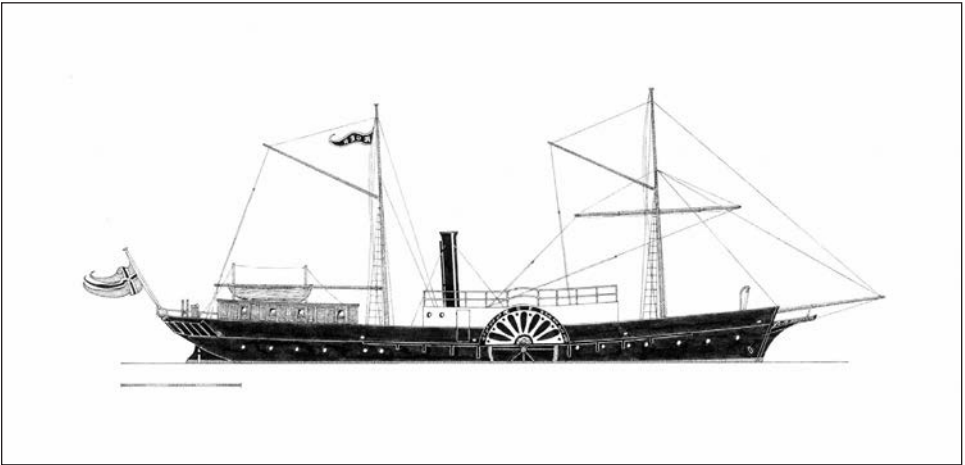
15 Petrick, *Rügen*, 71.



Putbus Castle on Rugen Island, home of Prince Wilhelm Malte zu Putbus, whose use of the island as a retreat helped to make it fashionable. (Wikimedia Commons)

the shade of gigantic oaks, small gatherings of people sat down and listened to sermons from a primitive stand in front of a roughly built shed.¹⁶ The ground was rented from the landowner at a cost of fifteen dollars and a promise to pay for any damages incurred. On this barren but beautiful piece of land, tents were erected to accommodate the visitors over a few intense summer weeks. From these simple arrangements, Oak Bluffs Campground would develop in the late 1850s, the tents being replaced with increasingly elaborately built and picturesque cottages that are today a popular tourist attraction. The streets dotted with the tents and cottages of Oak Bluffs acted as a springboard for the explosive development of tourism on the island in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was far more extensive and wide-ranging than the expansion of tourism on Gotland and Rügen. The extraordinary and rapid development of Martha's Vineyard as a tourist destination must be seen in the context of its position in the vicinity of one of the most expansive economic areas in the world, the northeastern United States. This geographic proximity was narrowed further by the increasing number of communication lines to and from the mainland during the course of the nineteenth century. However, not even a modern historian can

¹⁶ Hough, *Martha's Vineyard*, 34–36.



Vessels for a new era: Above, the Baltic mail steamer *Aeger*, launched in 1854 (illustration by Mike Bent for <https://sites.google.com/site/norwegiancoastalexpress>). On facing page: the Cape and Islands steamer *Island Home*, launched in 1855 (MV Museum Photo Collection).

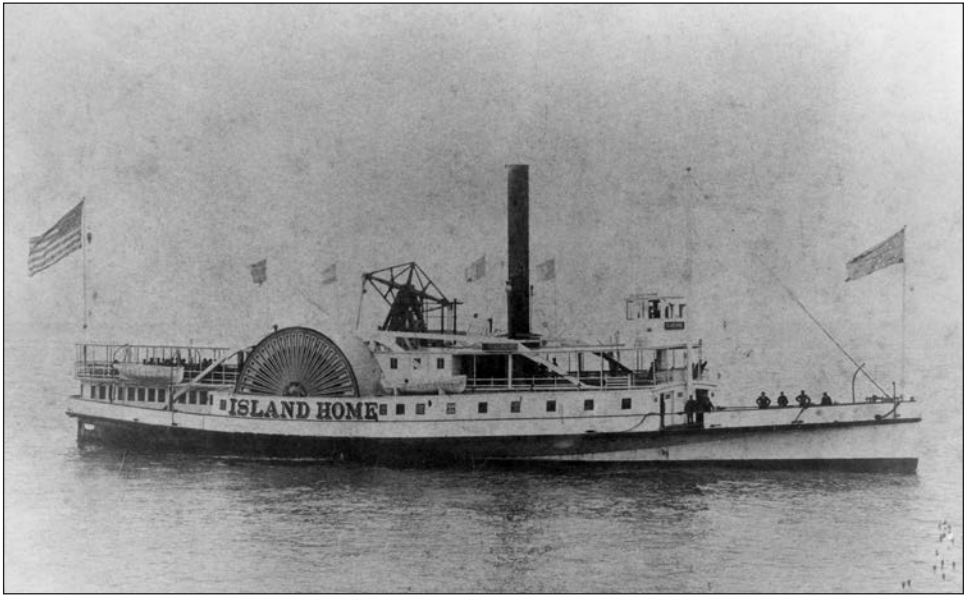
disregard the importance of chance, or whatever it was that amplified the impact of the first few Methodists taking their seats in the shadow of some oak trees on the island.

Take-Off

The moments of the genesis and take-off of tourism were very close on Gotland and coincided with the first regular ferries to mainland Sweden in 1866. Prior to that, from the 1830s, visitors to Gotland had to rely on uncomfortable and small postal steamers that left for Visby twice a week and an inconsistent number of steamers operated by different shipping companies trying—mostly with limited success—to establish themselves on lines between the island and the mainland.¹⁷ The early steamers, with their sporadic connections between Gotland and the rest of Sweden, were nevertheless important for the development of tourism as they made popular *lustresor* (pleasure trips) to and from Gotland during the summer months.¹⁸ In this sense, both Rügen and Martha's Vineyard were in a better position than Gotland. Rügen has a narrow sound separating it from the mainland and the Vineyard Sound is a mere 6 km [4 miles] wide compared to the 80 km [50 miles] separating Gotland from mainland Sweden. There are no extant statistics of the number of visitors to Gotland prior to 1866, but it is safe to assume that the figure was significantly smaller than the numbers of passengers carried by the ships of the new shipping company from the 1860s onwards.

17 *På gotländsk köl i 150 år. Rederi AB Gotland* (Visby 2015), 8–13

18 Christer Jansson, *Över Östersjön till Gotland: Passagerarfarten genom tide- rna* (Hyllinge 1996), 65–67.



From 1866, it is possible to glean the numbers of visitors with some reliability from passenger lists from the first steamer. A glance at the passenger lists from 1870, a year when alternative ways of getting to and from Gotland were limited and the shipment company Gotlandsbolaget had a second ferry in traffic, shows that the two steamers carried 3,168 passengers to Gotland that year.¹⁹ Approximately half that number can be accounted for as traffic connected to regular movements, which leaves approximately 2,000 passengers that can be classified as “tourists,” to use a term that was not yet in use. This category of visitors was often termed bathing or summer guests. The total of 2,000 tourists also includes passengers who made the crossing in other vessels than the Gotland shipment company’s two steamers, *Gotland* and *Wisby*. Stockholm was the most popular port of departure accounting for eighty percent of the passengers, with the remaining twenty percent leaving from Kalmar. The sailing season was of course restricted by the fact that the first ferries had limited ability to force their way through ice. It is obvious that even at the beginning of the era of tourism, Gotland struggled with the fact that the high tourist season only lasted for a few hectic summer months, if not weeks: a problem shared with Rügen and Martha’s Vineyard.

The three islands had various shipment companies vying to establish themselves on different routes to the mainland. In a German travel guide from 1882, the author points out that many of the different means of com-

¹⁹ Visby County Archive (ViLa), Rederi AB Gotlands arkiv, Utgifts-/inkomstverifikationer för fartyg, G2B1 7/8 (1870).

munications to and from the island are of temporary nature. For instance, the connection by steamer between Stralsund on the mainland and the Rügen port of Sassnitz is mentioned alongside the remark that it is doubtful that it will be operational, even though it opened as recently as the previous year.²⁰ Martha's Vineyard had similar issues regarding transport via steamers.

A number of changes were made by the various steamboat companies during the next forty years (after the 1850s) in attempts to bring profits, but there was little success. Part of the reason was that there were two, sometimes three companies competing for the limited traffic. Steamboats were expensive to buy and to run. The old sailing packets made more sense economically, but there was no going back.²¹

The Gotland experience was in this sense less dramatic through the firm establishment of Gotlandsbolaget in 1865, with its first steamer the following year. The company, started by prominent locals on the island, seems to have entered the market with such decisiveness that it swept away many attempts to start new lines across the sea. Other companies did still try to establish themselves on this route, but not as many as prior to 1865 and they were almost exclusively short-lived ventures—this is in contrast to Gotlandsbolaget that has maintained its dominant position until the present day.

Backlashes

The locals viewed the growing numbers of visitors arriving on Gotland as a mixed blessing. The guests provided welcome new sources of income, but their presence during the summer months also meant challenges for daily life in different ways. It is remarkable that the complaints against the visitors went along two different lines: on the one hand, it was the traditional criticism of the summer guests as unable to behave in civilized ways, while on the other it was argued that the visitors were boring and did not contribute to the social life of Visby. Both of these views appear in letters to the editors and articles in the local newspapers. In an article with the headline "Summer Notices," in a local newspaper from the summer of 1870, the author articulates his views on the Visby Spa and its guests. It is the latter that are specifically the subject of his resentment. He describes them as "pious souls" who discourage normal people from signing up to sessions at the spa. It would not have been a problem if the devoutly religious visitors had constituted a minor part of the guest list, and not as it is today, where they dominate, according to the disgruntled writer.²²

20 Edwin Müller, *Die Insel Rügen mit Berücksichtigung der benachbarten Städte des Festlandes Stralsund und Greifswald, und der angrenzenden Küsten des Zingst und Darss (Bad Prerow). Führer für Badegäste und Touristen* (Berlin 1882), preface

21 Railton, *History of Martha's Vineyard*, 410.

22 *Gotlands Tidningar*, 12 August 1870

This kind of complaint is common throughout the lifetime of the spa. In a letter to the editor of the same newspaper in 1887, the guests of the spa are described as "... country people that sigh, drink water, sing religious hymns, and cry out 'sweet Jesus.'"²³ It is obvious that for some reason, probably the influence of the physicians in charge, the Visby Spa obtained a reputation of being a place characterized by religious fervor and lacking the kind of amusements that were normally found in other spas in Sweden and abroad, e.g. dancing balls and other festivities. In a guidebook to Swedish baths and spas from the late 1900s, the author confirms the rumor of Visby Spa as a boring place to spend a bathing vacation or a session of water treatment as he highlights that dancing is prohibited and there are few other amusements.²⁴ In a short article in a health magazine from 1916, one of the former physicians in charge of the spa recalled the attacks on the lack of entertainment and the religious and "bigot[ed]" guests in the local newspapers during his three years in Visby in the 1890s. According to Dr. Berg, the repetitive outbursts in the papers were very unpleasant and were the reason he resigned his position. It is easy to empathize with the difficult position that Dr. Berg found himself in. The criticism of the operation of the spa reached epic heights when the editor of the local newspaper turned to the Viking sagas. Referring to Snorre Sturlason, he exclaimed: "Norway out of your hands, king!" referring to the battle of Svolder in the year 1,000 A.D. between Olaf Tryggvason of Norway and an alliance of his enemies—pointing out the perhaps less than obvious similarity between the Visby Spa and the kingdom of Norway.²⁵

The spa's guests were not merely uninteresting and irritating. The same category of tourists was a nuisance to the locals due to their shameless behaviour when sunbathing and relaxing outside the spa. In an article from the summer of 1874, the editor lets loose a formidable broadside against the spa's guests, who have allegedly gone beyond the limits of the acceptable with their uncivilized and primitive behaviour. The guests had taken "foot-sunbaths" by dangling their naked feet in the same spring from which the inhabitants of Visby drew their water.²⁶ It is interesting to note that a substantial number of the guests at the spa were obviously from the lower classes, e.g. servants and farm-workers. These were pioneers of a new era when social groups beyond just the privileged classes could afford vacations. They were, however, not viewed kindly by everyone in Visby—many of whom did little to hide their sentiments. In a letter to one of the national Swedish newspapers, *Dagens Nyheter*, that was reprinted in one of the lo-

23 *Gotlands Tidningar*, 5 August 1887

24 Levertin, *Svenska brunnar och bad*, 237.

25 *Hälsövännen* No. 7 (1916), 106 ff.

26 *Gotlands Tidningar*, 1 August 1874.



The collision of social classes at seaside resorts was not restricted to Gotland. Here Winston Churchill—emerging from the sea at Deauville, France, in 1922—looks askance at at guest *d'une certaine classe*. (reddit.com/r/HistoryPorn)

cal newspapers on Gotland in 1881, the author complained of the lack of amusements on Gotland, but also that Visby Spa hosts guests “*d’une certaine classe*,” and that it is disgusting to witness these farm workers from the mainland landscape of Småland sunbathing with rolled up trousers and skirts.²⁷

It is perhaps confusing that the same people causing so much irritation with their pious and tedious behavior were causing another kind of ir-

ritation that appears incompatible with piety. This is most likely explained by the fact that the ones sighing and shouting “sweet Jesus” were not necessarily the same people as those shamelessly revealing their naked feet and lower legs – and that different locals were irritated by different behaviors among the guests of the spa and other temporary visitors to Visby and Gotland. As the steam ships increased their capacity and the spa followed suit, there were not just possibilities of new sources of income, but also new sources of irritation. In short, the dual face of mass tourism had begun to take shape in Visby.

This dual face of an increasing number of visitors also hit Rügen and Martha’s Vineyard. In Rügen, the number of sea baths, hotels, and vacation houses exploded during the nineteenth century. The pressure of exploita-

²⁷ *Gotlands Tidningar*, 27 July 1881.

tion in the second half of the nineteenth century was definitely higher on Rügen than Gotland, resulting in a much more even spread of tourism infrastructure than on the Swedish island, where Visby absorbed—and is still absorbing—much of the investments made in the tourism sector. Small fishing villages were turned into spa baths with hotels and houses for rent. Parts of the island hard to reach by steamer were made accessible through the construction of narrow gauge railroads.²⁸ From the first spa bath founded by Count Malte of Putbus in 1816, “*mit fortgesetzter und keine Kosten scheuende Aufopferung*,” in Neuendorf, a few kilometers from his residence in Putbus, ten more were spread out along the island’s coastline in the following century.²⁹ In the advertisement section of a travel guide from 1900, thirty-seven hotels are listed, probably far from the total number of hotels and omitting all of the villages that had rental and other vacation houses present.³⁰

The development on Martha’s Vineyard followed and, if possible, exceeded that of Rügen during the second half of the 1800s. The amazing pace of the expansion of tourism from the 1870s seems to have been reinforced by economic factors: mainly the sharp decline in the demand for whale products, the most important industry on the island, which resulted in money, and hope, being funneled into tourism.³¹ The cotton city made up of primitive tents erected by the Methodists transformed in the late 1850s into more permanent wooden structures. The pace of development was noticeably increased as the Oak Bluffs Land and Wharf Company was formed after the Civil War and started to sell lots and erect summer houses (“cottages”) close to the old Methodist meeting place. In the area of a triangle with sides measuring only half a kilometer (3/10 of a mile), a thousand lots were sold and built upon in a few years around 1870.³² As a bold exclamation mark of the development project, a magnificent hotel, the Sea View, with 125 rooms and all the amenities of its time, a “nineteenth-century Disneyland,” was opened in 1872 at the shore of the new summer paradise with its numerous newly built houses.³³

The number of visitors during Gotland’s summer season roughly dou-

28 Petrick, *Rügens Preußenzeit*, 97–100.

29 Hans-Christian Bresgott, *Ostseeküste – Ostseebad: Von der Entdeckung des Nordens zur Entstehung der deutschen Ostseebäder im 19. Jahrhundert* (Konstanz 2017), 388; Petrick, Rügen, 89 ff. The quotation in Bresgott, *Ostseeküste*, 303: “with continued and unspared sacrifices.”

30 Karl Albrecht, *Die Insel Rügen. Praktischer Führer nach und auf der Insel* (Berlin 1900)

31 Hough, *Martha’s Vineyard*, 152–155; Railton, *History of Martha’s Vineyard*, 238

32 Railton, *History Martha’s Vineyard*, 244–248.

33 *Martha’s Vineyard Times*, 18 July 2012. Quotation: Railton, *History of Martha’s Vineyard*, 248.



Oak Bluffs' bathing beach, bathhouses, and observation tower in the late 1880s, with the Sea View hotel (at right) and some of the town's thousand vacation homes (left) in the background. (MV Museum Photo Collection)

bled in the thirty-five years between 1865 and 1900, from two or three thousand to an estimated four to five thousand.³⁴ Although an impressive increase, Rügen and Martha's Vineyard far exceeded those numbers through a high pace of exploitation. On Rügen, the village (today the town) of Sassnitz increased its number of tourists between 1857 and 1890 from two hundred to 5,522.³⁵ But Sassnitz was far from the only place that was expanding on the island. Several other villages grew in a similar manner, e.g. the close-by Crampas from five to 2,680, Binz having almost ten thousand guests in 1900, and Sellin 4,415 in the same year.³⁶

On Martha's Vineyard, the thousand plots of Oaks Bluff built with ornate houses were soon followed by several similar development projects in an all but exploding market that spread over the island in the early

34 ViLa, Rederi AB Gotlands arkiv, B2:1, styrelseberättelser (annual reports of the board) 1900 and 1901. The passenger numbers given in the reports are divided by four, thus getting closer to the number of tourists visiting the island, excluding regular passengers and passengers accounted for twice as they travelled both ways. Part of this method is collected from the 1902 Yearbook of the Swedish Tourist Association: STF:s årsbok 1902, 410.

35 Petrick, *Rügens Preußenzeit*, 103.

36 Ibid., 98–103.

1870s.³⁷ Even if many of those projects never materialized, those that did produced houses, hotels, roads, and railroads on the island. The steamers, filled with people from the mainland, came and went so often that they had to wait their turn in the sound to be able to unload their passengers in the crowded ports of the island.³⁸ The volume of daily passengers to and from Martha's Vineyard would have taken the steamers of Gotland several weeks to equal.

After the establishment of a growing visitor economy, Rügen and Martha's Vineyard took a different developmental road from Gotland. The social problems irritating the locals on Gotland—to be precise, in Visby—were also visible on the other two islands, but those kinds of problem were very much overshadowed by a sense of amazement at the economic possibilities opening up to the islanders. Rügen, however, and particularly Sassnitz, had a similar experience to that of the angry writer that attacked the Visby Spa and its guests *d'une certaine classe*. In a letter to the president of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern in 1885, a local official complained that the easiness with which Sassnitz was reachable nowadays made it lose its distinguished character and thereby the “regular visitors of the upper class of society.”³⁹ In 1906, Malte Küster, a wealthy industrialist and hotel owner on Rügen, forwarded the same complaint: the “*minderwertigen* (inferior) *Publikum*” pushed away the “*das feinere Publikum*” from Sassnitz.⁴⁰ It should be assumed, however, that the discontent with the new visitors to Rügen was more of an economic nature than social.

The development and heavy increase of tourism on Martha's Vineyard seems to have been met with less complaints regarding the perceived dark side of mass tourism, as was the case on the other two islands. To some extent, the apparent lack of complaints about tourists from the lower social and economic classes can be explained by different social attitudes in the old and new worlds. Additionally, and probably more importantly, the tourist industries on the three islands were built around different core groups. On Gotland and Rügen, the swelling numbers of visitors were compared to the earlier fewer but wealthier visitors who had arrived to take part in the cultural offerings of Visby and Putbus. Martha's Vineyard's experience was different, with a tourism industry originating from visitors coming from more diversified social backgrounds. Yet, the hordes of tourists arriving each summer did not pass unnoticed by the locals on the island. It is not difficult to find examples from the 1800s of Martha's Vineyard experiencing the worst aspects of tourism known to the modern

37 Railton, *History of Martha's Vineyard*, 249.

38 Hough, *Martha's Vineyard*, 126.

39 Petrick, *Rügens Preußenzeit*, 104.

40 Ibid., 105.



The development of large waterfront hotels and attractions effectively ended on Martha's Vineyard by 1900, but it continued on Rugen well into the twentieth century, resulting in a heavily built-up shoreline. (MaxPixel, used under a Creative Commons Zero license)

inhabitants of all three islands in peak season. In an old house at the foot of Indian Hill lived a bachelor named Edwin Luce. The hill was actually a substitute for a former native ritual hill, harder to reach and therefore replaced by a more accessible one by the livery stable drivers. Edwin Luce was in general welcoming to visitors, but not when he was out and they broke into his house to have a drink of water or just to have a look around. It is highly surprising that he had any warm feelings towards the tourists when we consider his personal records of visitor numbers. Between 1899 and 1908 an average of 657 people visited the hill annually.⁴¹

For Martha's Vineyard as well as Rügen, other problems beyond disturbing and misbehaving visitors dominated the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In fact, it could be argued that it was a relative lack of visitors that was the major problem for the tourism industry, despite the ongoing rocketing increase of tourists. There was a saturation of markets on both islands, a result of a combination of entrepreneurial spirit and an abundance of capital willing to invest in ever-larger projects in order to corral the staggering numbers of tourists. The intense and heavy investment in hotels (Rügen) and hotels and land developing projects (Martha's Vineyard) led to several bankruptcies and hotels were destroyed by fire, sometimes by the desperate owners themselves in order to get their investment back thorough insurance pay-outs, sometimes under suspicious but not clarified circumstances. On Martha's Vineyard, several hotels and

41 Hough, *Martha's Vineyard*, 241.



Gotland's relative isolation limited, and concentrated, tourism-related development. Here, on a quiet stretch of shoreline, dories and fishing shacks evoke the long-vanished seasonal fishing community at Lobsterville in Aquinnah. (Pikist; www.pikist.com/free-photo-vjbdv)

cottages went up in flames in the 1890s, among them the proud Sea View.⁴² In Sassnitz and in the nearby fishing village of Crampas, fifty-six bankruptcies and foreclosures and thirty-nine more or less forced sales were registered in 1882-1913.⁴³ Like Martha's Vineyard, Rügen also saw several hotels burnt to the ground. On Martha's Vineyard, the miscalculations seem to have been based on an overly optimistic outlook that the increasing visitor numbers would continue to grow exponentially. The same issue defined the situation on Rügen, but this was compounded by the fact that visitors increasingly came from weaker economic segments of society and those tourists tended to stay for shorter periods.⁴⁴

It is clear that Gotland did not suffer from the same backlash as the other two islands in the late nineteenth century. The most important explanation for this is likely the geographic position of Gotland compared to the German and American islands. The latter were, and still are, positioned close to densely populated urban areas with high degrees of economic development. It could be argued that this is also true of Gotland, but Stockholm is not New York or Berlin. More importantly, though, is the issue of accessibility. The Swedish island was not only farther away from Stock-

42 Hough, *Martha's Vineyard*, Chapter XXXI: "Flames in the Sky."

43 Petrick, *Rügens Preußenzeit*, 106.

44 Ibid., 105.

holm than Rügen was from Berlin and Hamburg, but it was also far more convenient to reach the German island: passengers could enter the express train in Stettiner Bahnhof early in the morning and arrive in Sassnitz in time for lunch—or if they preferred, continue on another train to the specific Rügen beach of their choosing.⁴⁵ These transport links were almost as good on Martha's Vineyard and its geographic position was even better than that of Rügen, with only a narrow sound separating the island from the heavily urbanized part of New England and less than 300 kilometers from New York City. The lack of such preconditions led to a more balanced development of the tourism industry on Gotland. Tourists did not reach such a critical mass that forced them to spread out over the countryside, as was the case on the other two islands, but stayed mainly in the Visby area, just as a majority of them tend to do today.

Gotland has still not experienced an almost exploding market with the following setbacks that shook the two other islands in the late 1800s: not even when the numbers of visitors took off in the next great leap towards the mass tourism of today on Gotland from the 1930s and onwards. The ongoing local debate on Gotland regarding possible issues connected to the new berth for large international cruise ships in Visby touches on problems that are reminiscent of the experiences of Rügen and Martha's Vineyard more than a century earlier: Is this project of a manageable scale? Will it be possible for Visby and Gotland to handle the new visitors and their sightseeing buses in a well-organized way and without serious disturbances to the local community? Time will tell.

45 Albrecht, *Insel Rügen*, 19 ff.

Selling Martha's Vineyard in the 1910s



In 1911, the steamship line serving Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket was bought by the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad. Over the next fifteen years, the railroad promoted the Vineyard through a series of brochures that combined detailed train and boat timetables with glowing descriptions of the Island's scenic beauty and recreational opportunities. The interiors featured actual photographs, but the covers were artists' fantasies of resort life in the emerging Jazz Age.

Cottage City to Quitsa



Images from a Cottage City-to-Chilmark road trip in the years before World War I. The story of one such trip, recalled by the late Gale Huntington, begins on page 3.