THE
FORGOTTEN AQUARIUMS
OF
BOSTON
THIRD Revised Edition

By
Jerry Ryan
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PREFA CE TO THE THIRD EDITION
Boston is known as a city filled with history, but it’s not always the history you’d expect. Today millions of tourists walk the freedom trail with Paul Revere’s famous ride galloping through their heads. Little do they know that 85 years after the fateful lamp was lit in Old North Church, an entirely different kind of ride was taking place in the heart of Boston’s Downtown Crossing. This ride was performed by a woman seated in a nautilus-shaped boat being pulled by a beluga whale through the largest tank in the first aquarium in the United States.

If you think that’s incredible, then keep reading. You’re about to unravel a complicated story featuring a brilliant inventor (named Cutting) and an infamous show biz entrepreneur (named Barnum), who managed to circulate 600,000 gallons of seawater from Boston Harbor to Boston Common without electricity. The story begins with banjo-playing, gun-toting harbor seals, proceeds through a den of serpents, and, without giving too much away, features a tragic one-way trip to an asylum.

All of this happened in Boston, and it would most likely be forgotten without the book you are reading now. When you’ve turned the last page, and let out a powerful exhale of amazement, be sure to check the author’s name again and thank Jerry Ryan for carefully exhuming such a tight knit chain of historical references from, among other places, miles of microfiche at the Boston Public Library. There was quite a bit of legwork put into this—literally. I’ve had the pleasure of getting to know Mr. Ryan in preparation for the release of this third edition of his book. From what he’s told me this decade-long project has included more than one flashlight wielding trip to the basement of Bromfield Street buildings searching for lost artifacts from the Boston Aquarial and Zoological Gardens. And thank goodness he did. The literal and figurative poking around that produced this work has resulted in a completely factual book that you wouldn’t believe if it weren’t for his meticulous collection of citations from press clippings, diaries and government notices.

Best wishes to you as you explore the Boston’s forgotten aquariums. The more you read, the more you’ll realize that history isn’t about confirming the stories you already know. It’s about being inspired by the stories you would never expect.

Jeff Ives, 2011
PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

A large framed lithograph of a painting by Winslow Homer, which used to hang on one of the walls of the conference room at the New England Aquarium, got me started on all this. The lithograph depicted an interior view of "Cutting and Butlers' Grand Aquaria" on Bromfield Street. There were also two smaller pictures on the same wall - one a list of fishes at the "Boston Aquarial Gardens," the other a colored handbill showing the tropical fishes at the "Barnum Aquarial Gardens" on Central Court. All this so intrigued me that one day I suggested to Jerry Schubel, the president of the Aquarium, that these ancestors of ours might be worth looking into, and this could be an interesting project for the pros in the media department. Jerry's reply caught me off guard: "Why don't you do it?"

Thus it was that I set out into the wilderness without a map, without the minimal professional tools and a kind of phony I.D. stating that I was suddenly a research assistant for the Aquarium. I was extremely lucky. The big find was stumbling across the newspapers in which the Aquarial Gardens advertised on a daily basis. This led me to other sources and enough material to reconstruct a good deal of the history of the Gardens. I still had no idea of what the New England Aquarium was going to do with my package. When it came down to putting it all in writing, I envisaged it as a sort of "internal document," addressed to the staff, in which I summarized my findings. When it was decided to publish it in book form, it was still with a limited and local public in mind.

The first edition was well received and quickly sold out. Over the course of time the uniqueness and significance of the Boston Aquarial Gardens came to be recognized on a wider level and the need for a more complete and documented edition, addressed to a larger public, began to make itself felt. All this would probably have remained wishful thinking were it not for Scott Dowd and Lee Finley. Scott is an aquarist at the New England Aquarium who, from the start, interested himself in my project and was a great source of encouragement. He introduced me to Lee Finley, the catalyst behind this second edition. Lee and I hit it off right away. We had exactly the same idea: incorporate all the documents that could be found; let the documents themselves speak to the reader so that the evolution of the first true aquarium could be followed
throughout its brief existence on its own terms and with the idiosyncrasies of the epoch; rewrite the text taking this format into consideration. In the course of assembling the material new elements appeared that I had overlooked the first time around and are included in the revised text. I also discovered several errors of interpretation, aspects which were insufficiently nuanced. Lee Finley has a passion for aquarial history and was an enormous help in enabling me to put events into their context and see the significance of details I would have missed. And it was also Lee who did all the "dirty work," all the stuff that goes into publishing something and of which I am blissfully ignorant. To say that I'm very grateful to both Scott and Lee somehow seems inadequate.

This does not pretend to be the last word on the Aquarial Gardens and the South Boston Aquarium. It's only the best I can do with the means that I have. There are many blanks, many unanswered questions that others, perhaps, can eventually clarify.

Jerry Ryan, 2002
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The devil, they say, is in the details. It was Editor-in-Chief of publishing programs, Ken Mallory, who took the demon by the horns - something I had neither the skills nor patience to deal with. Ken also suggested fresh sources of material when I had run out of steam and discreetly worked out the kinks in the presentation. For all this I'm heavily indebted and sincerely grateful.

I'd also like to thank New England Aquarium President Jerry Schubel for his encouragement and patient proof-reading, former Aquarium Executive Director John Prescott for his guidance and suggestions, Teacher Resource Center manager, Joel Rubin, former Associate Director of Programs and Exhibits, Alan Hankin, and Edgerton Research Laboratory manager, Marianne Farrington, for their collaboration and advice. This was a joint venture in many ways.

Finally, I'd like to express my gratitude for the cooperation, help, and guidance of the following people: Sally Pierce and Trevor Johnson of the Boston Athenaeum, Ed Kelly of the Boston City Clerk's Office, Amanda Helton of the Bostonian Society, Virginia H. Smith of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Bart McCauley of the City of Boston Archives, John Ruck of the Boston Park Department, Lorna Condon of the New England Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, Mary Sears of the Peabody Museum of Comparative Zoology, the staff of the South Boston Library, and the Boston Public Library. Matthew Miller, of Harvard University, was kind enough to share with me the fruits of his research on the South African aborigines which cast a ray of light on certain enigmas of the Aquarial Gardens. Jeff Ives, the New England Aquarium Web Master, was instrumental in putting together this electronic version of the Third Edition.

Thanks to their collaboration I was able to uncover, little by little, the forgotten histories of the old Boston aquariums.
THE BOSTON AQUARIAL GARDENS:
BROMFIELD STREET

The residence of the British Royal Governors, from 1716 - 1776, was located on what is now Washington Street in downtown Boston and was known as the Province House. Adjacent to it were the Royal Gardens, which extended to the Boston Common and the Granary Burying Grounds. All that remains now are the steps that once led to the Gardens. Facing this staircase, on Province Street, is a yellowish brick two-story building. A series of small shops take up the ground level. There's a jeweler, a shoemaker, a barbershop, a restaurant bar called Governor's Alley, a smoke shop and a locksmith. The high-arched windows of the second and third floor look as if they were originally designed for a large hall. This is the site of what was the Aquarial Gardens, Boston's first public Aquarium, the main entrance for which was located on Bromfield Street.

Today the third floor houses a series of offices, and most of the second floor is a dining room and bar for the restaurant on the ground level. In a window of the restaurant is a sign promising genuine nineteenth century atmosphere - the sort of pub where friends would gather in the last century. The interior of the restaurant, both upstairs and down, is decorated with nineteenth century memorabilia. Two wall-size murals dominate the decor, one of the original Faneuil Hall, the other a view of Province Street in an earlier period.

Looking at the building from the Bosworth Street staircase, it is easy to imagine the Aquarial Gardens there. The high arched windows correspond to a lithograph of the original aquarium (see cover photo), and the building is certainly long enough to house many exhibit tanks. It was also common for museums of that time to be perched on small shops that were affiliated "gift shops." The current edifice, known as the Hutchinson Building, was constructed in 1924 as a result of the widening of Province Street from an alley to the street it is today. Yet from the partial glimpses we have of the original building, it seems similar to the present one - three stories high, high arched windows, shops on the ground level. There is a certain architectural continuity on the site.
This photo shows Province Street as a narrow alley before it was made into the wider street it is today. Image courtesy of The Bostonian Society.

A view from Bosworth Street shows the Hutchinson Building where the Aquarial Gardens was originally built. The Staircase in the foreground used to be the staircase for Province House, the original British Governor’s house in the days of British occupation. Photography by Kenneth Mallory.
Perhaps due to its very brief and turbulent history, the significance and originality of the Boston Aquarial Gardens has long been overlooked. It was, however, a pioneer aquarium, a germ for future aquariums. It can lay claim to being the first "pure" public aquarium in the world that was exclusively dedicated to the exhibition of marine life, even though its period of "purity" in this respect was short-lived. To appreciate the "Gardens" and their importance, we have to put them in the context of the 1860s.

The first great public aquariums were the result of the coincidence of a cultural movement and a scientific discovery. With the work of Immanuel Kant, the ultimate consequences of the Cartesian "revolution" were exhausted. Kant's implacable logic took the powers of pure reason about as far as they could go and drew out all the implications of Descartes' fundamental certainty: "I think, therefore I am." The "final solution" had been achieved, the definitive answer had been given, and it left a deep dissatisfaction.

A reaction began to take shape; pure reason and logic were not the only sources of knowledge. There was also a wisdom of the heart, a quality of knowledge that could only come from compassion and love. German Romanticism was the dominant manifestation of this reaction, and it spread throughout Europe in the early nineteenth century. As regards the natural sciences, this new outlook had many practical consequences. Nature was no
longer considered as something exterior to ourselves to be dissected and dominated by the intellect but something of which we are a part, whose destiny is linked to ours and which we must love with a certain tenderness before we can understand it. Natural history also became the basis of a natural theology, or, at least, the source of a certain form of piety. Creation manifests its author and is thus sacred and edifying.

About the same time, it was discovered that plants sealed in containers reabsorb the oxygen they produce and can thus flourish in glass containers. It was also found that aquatic plants could give off enough oxygen to the water for fishes to survive. Given a balance of aquatic scavengers such as snails to assure the filtering process, one could maintain a tank of fishes without any need to change the water. If salt water was called for, the simple solution was to add salt. By the middle of the 19th century this process had been sufficiently refined to permit the first great public aquariums.

The breeding and conservation of fishes, where natural conditions permitted, had been going on for centuries, chiefly for
practical or aesthetic purposes. The ancient Romans had a thing for eels and not only as a culinary delicacy. It was fashionable in the late Empire to cultivate eels as pets (one emperor had a monument erected to his favorite eel when it "passed away"). There are also records of "eel pits" as an alternative to lions' dens for punishment and amusement. The Chinese and Japanese, as it is well known, made a science out of the breeding of carp and goldfish as an aesthetic experience.

What characterized the birth of modern aquariums was a new appreciation of aquatic life, not just because it served some purpose for man, but because it was worthy of respect and interest on its own merits. With this new-found appreciation of aquatic life and the means to contain and display it, the first great public aquariums began to appear in Europe in the early 1850s, at Regents Park in London, at the Dublin Zoological Gardens and elsewhere. In all these instances, the marine life exhibits were incorporated into a zoological-horticultural context as part of an already existing exhibit, as an added attraction.

In 1856, the original great American showman, Phineas T. Barnum traveled to England to give "temperance" and "how to succeed" lectures despite the fact that he had just become legally bankrupt. He had paid off a part of his debts in the United States by selling the contents of his American Museum in New York to two gentlemen, Greenwood and Butler, and claimed to be an employee of the new owners, who paid him a modest stipend to find new curiosities for the museum. With his inimitable flair, Barnum realized that the English aquatic exhibits could be a success in the United States.
Victorian ladies collecting specimens at the seashore.  
(Illustrated London News, August 1859)

The collection rage, however, came in for a great deal of ridicule.  
By 1857 there were already aquarium attractions at the American Museum - some designed locally, others purchased in England. Here the exhibits were not part of a zoo or botanical garden, but of a collection of curiosities and freaks and pure "humbug." They featured attractions such as the "FeeJee Mermaid," which was the top of a mummified monkey sewn on to the rear end of a fish and the Six Foot Man-Eating Chicken, which turned out to be a man, six feet tall, eating chicken.

One of the nominal owners of the American Museum at that time was Henry D. Butler of New York, who, in 1858, authored a very popular book entitled *The Family Aquarium*. In the book he gave instructions for mounting a household fish tank using the aquatic plants-scavenger method, suggesting which species could be compatible with one another under given conditions. He was also among the first to seek aquatic specimens by deep water dredging – which he carried out in the Gulf of Maine. Although Butler was legally Barnum's boss, he was, in fact, more his agent and front man. With Butler's help, Barnum "bought back" the contents of the American Museum with surprising ease and for an undisclosed price in 1860.

Henry Butler is an elusive and enigmatic character who keeps popping up in the history of early aquaria but usually in a
secondary role. Barnum barely mentions him in the various editions of his autobiography despite the fact that he relied heavily upon him during the time of his bankruptcy and later on as the co-owner of the New American Museum. Butler's whole career seems to have revolved around Barnum. Even in the preface of his very original and pioneering book on family aquariums, he feels obliged to render homage to the Great Phineas T. The book was not only a practical guide. It was also, in its introduction and conclusion, a passionate and lyrical hymn inviting the reader to enter into an almost mystical relationship with the marvels of the aquatic world.

It seems probable that Henry Butler provided the capital for the Boston Aquarial Gardens, which opened in early 1859. He certainly contributed some of the technical knowledge he had acquired from the sea-life exhibits in the American Museum. But with his responsibilities in New York, it is doubtful that he played a very hands-on role at the beginning of the Boston venture. The person more immediately responsible for the launching of the Aquarial Gardens was James Ambrose Cutting.

James Cutting was born in Hanover N.H. in 1814. When he was still quite young his family moved to Haverhill N.H. and took up farming. At the age of 30, Cutting devised and patented a new kind of beehive with removable frames, which he successfully promoted. He eventually moved to Boston where he established a shop for manufacturing the hives. His next venture was in the fledgling field of photography. He is credited with the discovery of a process for making pictures on glass called ambrotypes (after his middle name). There are two wildly different versions of his financial success - or lack of it. According to some accounts, he was able to sell his ambrotype patents for $40,000, an enormous amount of money at that time. Other sources attest that the patent he took out was poorly worded; others improved his techniques and profited from them. Prior to his adventure in public aquariums, Cutting had developed two small but "perfect" fish tanks as early as 1854, which gave him the distinction of being one of the very first American aquarists.
What Cutting and Butler founded on Bromfield Street was the first recorded aquarium that was not "part" of something else. The Aquarial Gardens were first, foremost, and exclusively dedicated to the appreciation of marine life and the education of the public, and, in this lies their uniqueness. For the year and a half that the Aquarial Gardens resided on Bromfield Street under the direction of Cutting, they maintained this clearly defined focus.

The first advertisements for the Grand Aquaria at the Aquarial Gardens appeared in the April fifth, 1859, edition of the Boston Post. "This magnificent display of one of the most fascinating phenomena of nature is nearly completed and will be open to the public on Thursday the 7th," announced the Boston Post. "These Ocean and River Conservatories are the most exquisitely interesting subjects to contemplate ever yet presented to the admiring gaze of mankind by the hand of taste and refinement. They present us with a perfect and striking illustration of LIFE BENEATH THE WATERS."

Boston Post ad announcing the opening of the Aquarial Gardens (4/5/1859).
THE
GRAND AQUARIA!
IS NOW OPEN FOR PUBLIC EXHIBITION!
AT THE
AQUARIAL GARDENS,
NO. 21 BROMFIELD STREET.

This is the title of the latest novelty in the world of popular science. It makes an extraordinary addition to the circle of fascinating, yet innocent and exceedingly instructive amusements. The aquarium, termed "Aquaria" in the plural, is a fish globe on a comprehensive scale, and one in which

The Water is never Changed.
The Aquaria consists of fresh and salt water crystal ponds, varying in capacity from twenty to one hundred gallons. These ponds are enclosed in plate glass. They are perfectly transparent, and, being artificially furnished with rocks, sand, &c., with varieties of sea-wood, afford a vivid representation of the bottom of the sea. Here, therefore, we can have, in their natural element and conditions, every variety of

LIVING MARINE AND FRESH WATER FISH,
MOLLUSCS, ZOOHYTES, AND PLANTS.
The scene is at once wonderful and intensely beautiful. Hours of delight may be spent in watching the habits of the animals seizing and devouring their prey, and dispersing themselves as freely as if they were still enjoying their full freedom in the ocean or river where they first saw life.

No pen can describe the beauty of the brilliant Zoophytes, which everywhere cast their silvery and dead loveliness on the water. Many of these are attached to the sides and bottom, and we are offered with an almost infinite number of water plants. When we attend and follow the scenery of life painted by the brush of the master, our eyes are satisfied, and our mental imaginations are occupied far beyond the limits of this description. The whole grounds are filled with the most beautiful and interesting objects, some of which are truly marine, and others of which are truly domestic. There are many others that cannot be described in words, and which the eye would never cease to interest and interest. Who can say the name of the most hidden master place of art?
A handbill dated July 4th, 1859 waxes more eloquently: "The scene is at once wonderful and intensely beautiful. Hours of delight may be spent watching the habitats of the animals, seizing an devouring their prey and disporting as freely as if they were still enjoying their full freedom in the ocean or river. To the student of Natural History, the Aquaria present rare facilities for studying the habitats of the dwellers beneath the waters and no one can fail to be impressed with emotions of reverence for the Great Creator who has so 'fearfully and wonderfully' made even the smallest of the finny Tribe that moves before this vision and thus look 'from nature to nature's God!' No pen can describe the beauty of the brilliant Zoophytes which embody nearly every color and shade known to us. Many of these sea animals have every appearance of belonging to the vegetable kingdom and we experience sensations of wonder and delight as we behold these apparent plants and flowers extend their leaves and seize such prey as comes within their grasp."

The Aquarial Gardens were open from 9 AM - 10 PM except on Sundays. Admission was twenty-five cents, fifteen cents for children under ten. A liberal discount was made to schools. This advertisement remained essentially unchanged most of the time that the aquarium remained on Bromfield Street.

The Aquarial Gardens, Bromfield Street, Boston
July 4th, 1859.
GRAND EXHIBITION.
LIFE BENEATH THE WATERS.
THE AQUARIAL GARDENS
No. 21 Bromfield Street.

This is the title of the latest novelty in the world of popular science, and makes an extraordinary addition to the circle of fascinating and instructive amusements. The Aquaria, in the singular, “Aquarium,” is a number of quite glass tanks in which the water is never changed. These tanks are filled with salt and fresh water and vary in capacities from twenty gallons to seven hundred gallons. They are supplied with an endless variety of fishes and being artifically furnished with rocks, and sea-weed, afford a vivid representation of the sea. Here, therefore, we have, in their natural element and conditions, every variety of

Living Salt and Fresh Water Fish, Molluscs, Zoophytes and Plants.

Among the fish are to be seen Sturgeons, Alligators, Black Fish, and other representatives of the larger varieties of the denizens of the deep. The scene is at once wonderful and intensely beautiful. Hours of delight may be spent in watching the habits of the animals, seizing and devouring their prey and dispersed as freely as if they were still enjoying their full freedom in the ocean or river.

To the student of Natural History, the Aquaria present rare facilities for studying the habits of the dwellers beneath the waters, and no one can fail to be impressed with sensations of reverence for the Great Creator, who has so “scarcely and wonderfully made” even the smallest of the fishy tribe that moves before his vision, and thus seek “from nature up to nature’s God.”

No pen can describe the beauty of the brilliant Zoophytes, which are blest nearly every color and shade known to us. Many of these sea animals have every appearance of belonging to the vegetable kingdom, and we experience sensations of wonder and delight as we behold these apparent plants and flowers extend their leaves and rear such prey as comes within their grasp.

CUTTING & BUTLER, Proprietors.

Admission 25 Cents.
Children under 10 years, 15 Cents.
A liberal discount made to schools.

A detailed handbill for The Aquarial Gardens on Bromfield Street.
There are two lithographs of the interior of the main hall on the second floor of the Bromfield Street Aquarium, one dated May, 1859, the other April, 1860. They are quite similar. Forty tanks of between twenty and thirty gallons were arranged in a circle that surrounded a larger octagonal tank containing a pair of sturgeons and a family of perch. The glass of the tanks was certainly more opaque than glass in aquariums today and visitors were advised to look through that part of the glass nearest the object to prevent dizziness. Although the water in the tanks was never changed, a series of aerators, designed and patented by James Cutting, kept the water well oxygenated. A reservoir was filled with air which was forced by a piston to the bottom of the tank through Indian rubber piping "causing an agitation that renders the water perfectly sweet". This represented a major innovation. In previous aquaria, the water eventually became murky anyway and the fish tended to hide among the plants. With Cutting's aeration system, there was no longer any need for plants and the clarity of the water was far superior. This represented a qualitative leap and paved the way for future aquariums.
Patent number 31,657, issued on March 12, 1861, under the rubric “improvement in aquaria,” describes Cutting’s invention: “The air reservoir consists of a cylindrical or other shaped vessel, partially filled with water, within which is inserted another vessel so as to play freely up and down. The inner vessel is supplied with air, and being allowed to descend gradually, forces the air through a flexible tube into the aquarium. Claim. – The combination of a tank or aquarium for containing water, fishes, aquatic plants &c. With a reservoir of air, said reservoir so operating as to gradually force into and keep up a supply of air in the said tank, as set forth.” There was an attempt to recreate underwater scenery within the tanks by arranging rocks, sand, and seaweed in the form of groves and beaches.

The specimens exhibited were not as "rare" (by our standards) as the advertisement had stated. A catalogue dated September ninth, 1859, listed the contents of each tank. In the 1859 lithograph the numbers on the tanks correspond to the catalogue list, and each exhibit is appropriately depicted. There were minnows, all sorts of crabs, starfish, sunfish, sea anemones, living coral (imported from London), black bass, perch, lobsters
scallops, sand lances, flounder, prawn, pipe fish, stickleback, carp, catfish, tadpoles, sea ravens, barnacles, rudder fish, long-nosed pickerel, file fish, clams, and water newts. One of the more exotic attractions was a Menobranchus (fish lizard) from Lake Superior. A "man-eating grey shark" was also advertised but only for a short while. It apparently did not survive very long. The grey shark shared a tank with skate tooth shark and "the Ray and Eggs." Next to the sharks, in tank #33, was a crocodile.

At the far end of the hall there were microscopes where one might observe such intriguing articles as a drop of water, sour yeast, a fly's eye, a spider's foot and a diamond beetle. In the 1859 and 1860 lithographs, there was a balcony on one side of the hall where musicians provided background music. On the ground floor there was a seal pool and a few additional exhibits: an alligator, tortoises, an edible snail and a horned toad.

The addition of Ned and Fanny, the "learned" seals, in the summer of 1859, was a great success. Captured when they were three months old, they were trained by James Cutting and their varied and amusing repertoire included the playing of a hand organ by Ned. An article written at the time describing the
performance made much of the very special relationship between the seals and their trainer. What is astonishing is that Cutting was able to elicit very complicated behaviors from the seals in the space of a few months. The seals were captured in July and by November had a full repertoire (Appendix 2).

A catalogue dated December nineteenth, 1859, no longer lists the Menobranchus nor the grey and skate sharks. We do find, however, a number of different species of frogs and a dogfish. The ground floor exhibits had been enhanced by the introduction of a "den of serpents" consisting of a South American Boa Constrictor and an African Python. An opossum, pigeons from Penang, an agouti from Para and a pelican from Tortugas were also installed on the ground floor.

In a catalogue of January twenty fourth, 1860, a Menobranchus reappears. The population downstairs continues to grow. A guinea pig, a Chinese monkey, a golden eagle, and a musk deer from Java have moved in. To judge by these catalogues it would appear that the mortality rate was not very high - but then again, most of the species exhibited were easily replaceable.

Louis Agassiz, 1807 – 1873, born in Moter, Switzerland, studied in Zurich, Heidelberg, Munich, Paris, became famous for his work and recent and fossil fish, 1847 professor Harvard University (USA).
Louis Agassiz, the Swiss born founder of the Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology, who was brought to the United States to deliver the Lowell lectures and wound up staying, was a consultant for the Aquarial Gardens. His cooperation lasted throughout the succession of changes in the Gardens, and he occasionally gave lectures there.

An article in *The New York Times* dated 1859 is eloquently enthusiastic in its description of the Aquarial Gardens. This is significant since the author was certainly familiar with the aquatic exhibits at Barnum's *American Museum*. The writer finds that the well-lit hall of the building formerly occupied by the Mercantile Library Association is "admirably suited to the display within thanks to the light from the dome and the windows on both sides of the apartment which makes the translucent dwellings of the marine strangers (...) well illuminated in the most secret corners". The exhibits are arranged in a circle with an octagonal tank, 8' in diameter, at the center. The article continues to marvel at the aeration process and the "tasteful adaptation of the tanks to the habitats and customs of the inhabitants." The author is fascinated by the "*Tautag* (or Black Fish) which changes color to blend with the settings and comes quietly to the surface when called by a low whistle or a snap of the fingers." He marvels at the sticklebacks who can be observed building nests for their offspring, at the *Rhodactinia Davis* - "the splendor of whose salmon-colored tentacles render it one of the most beautiful objects conceivable." The author also notes that "some excellent glasses of high magnifying power are provided for the inspection of the smaller specimens or for the observation of some of the larger mollusks which are of great interest." The article concludes by pointing out that "the exhibition has already drawn numerous visitors of the most intelligent people whose interest increases at every visit, the natural consequence of an investigation into the habits of a hitherto unknown class of living creatures."

The initial impact of the Gardens is also described, retrospectively, in a long article which appeared in the July 1862 issue of *Ballou's Dollar Monthly Magazine* and is obviously based on an interview with James Cutting. "For some time previous to the year 1859, James A. Cutting had revolved in his mind the idea of founding in Boston an aquarium on a grand scale. Until then, the collection of fishes and aquatic wonders had generally been made in small tanks and were little better than pretty scientific toys. No one had yet turned the tide to practical purposes; the elegant miniature fish ponds were comparatively useless. Mr.
Cutting, on being satisfied that the principle of the aquarium had been fully established, determined to develop it to its fullest extent. If, he reasoned, a minnow can be kept alive and healthy, why not a monster of the deep? If a shrimp, why not a shark? Satisfied of the justness of his conclusions, in spite of dismal prophecies of failure from some and incredulous smiles from others, he worked persistently and, on the sixth day of April, 1859, the sanguine and successful natural historian boldly ventured before the public. The announcement of the opening of the Aquarial Gardens on Bromfield St. fairly took Boston by surprise. People were not prepared for the idea that fish could be exhibited like birds and beasts - their habitats studied at pleasure and their countless varieties and peculiarities made to contribute to our information and amusement. For once, that much-to-be-wished-for-thing, 'something new', was found and everybody rushed to see it. What was the surprise of the gazers when, for the first time, they beheld corallines and polyps, water-soldier and hermit crabs, sea-cucumbers and star fish, water beetles and sea mice and, above all, the strange spectacle of a stickleback building his nest like a bird - and of an actinia whose delicate pink petals rivaled the roses of the earth!"

By the spring of 1860 the orientation of the Aquarial Gardens had begun to change. Henry Butler, having "resold" the contents of the American Museum to Barnum, was now free to dedicate himself to the Boston project and he assumed the position of manager. The owners decided to move to more spacious quarters and to expand to zoological exhibits as well. Butler's idea seems to have been to imitate the success of the American Museum by introducing a variety of constantly changing attractions. In a catalogue of April seventh, 1860, the Aquarial Gardens found itself endowed with a "Happy Family," a clone of a similar exhibit at the American Museum consisting of an opossum, a raccoon, a muskrat, a guinea pig, a crow, monkeys, cats, and bats. A ringtail iguana from the Bahamas had joined the "den of serpents." A pair of kangaroos had also arrived. It must have begun to become pretty crowded downstairs.
BOSTON AQUARIAL AND ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS:
CENTRAL COURT

After eighteen months on Bromfield Street, the Aquarial Gardens were rebaptized the Boston Aquarial and Zoological Gardens, and moved to Central Court, off Washington Street, opposite the Academy of Music, where the Lafayette Mall now stands. Nothing remains of Central Court. On the old street maps it appears as a dead-end street between Summer and Avon.

The architect's plan for the Central Court Gardens building, which was expressly designed to house the Aquarial Garden (and thus holds the distinction of being the first aquarium designed as such) is strikingly similar to the actual Hutchinson Building on the corner of Bromfield and Province Streets. Although only two stories high, it presents a relatively narrow facade and is of considerable length. Here, too, high arched windows define the building's appearance. Since it was built on a slope, it would appear to be of a single story when approached from the front. A lateral view shows stairs leading down to a lower level of considerable proportions. From the street one entered directly into the aquarial section on the upper level, where the ticket office was located.

The 1862 Ballou's article goes on to inform the reader that "the total cost of construction was $ 50,000 of which $10,000 was invested in laying pipes from the Gardens to the foot of Summer Street a distance of 3/4 of a mile. At the harbor terminus of the pipes, a steam engine of 24HP was put in place to pump up the sea water and send it along the underground channel. Another steam engine of 12HP was installed at the Gardens. This engine forced the sea water into a reservoir on the roof and from there into the tanks - at the rate of 860,000 gallons a day." This represented another decisive innovation, unheard of in its time, and copied ever since. The Great Central Tank of the Central Court Aquarium was 30' in diameter and 6' deep containing more than 22,000 gallons of water. It was divided into 18 panels "each of which is filled with a single monster panel 1" thick. The glass was made for this special purpose in Europe and imported to this country at the expense of $6,000." All these mechanical breakthroughs enabled the Gardens "to display a variety of fish and mammals others could only dream of: the first shark displayed in captivity - a gray shark 6' long - the first dolphin, the first whale (a Beluga) and the first tropical fish ever brought alive so far north. There were fifty-six smaller tanks, probably arranged in a circle
around the central tank as was the case on Bromfield Street. The lower hall was reserved for the zoological specimens. The upper hall also included a "deep gallery and spacious stage on which "occasional scientific lectures are delivered and scientific exhibitions conducted".

This latter statement concerning the use of the stage might have been valid at the time Cutting was interviewed and after Butler had returned to New York in May, 1861. But this was certainly not the case while Butler was in Boston. The stage was used for plays, musical groups and all sorts of vaudeville and freak shows which had nothing to do with the aquatic and zoological exhibits - much to the scandal of Louis Agassiz.

It is significant that, in this 1862 interview, James Cutting, who envisaged the Aquarial Gardens as a serious institute of natural sciences whose purpose was to educate and edify the public and who was not bashful about his achievements (modesty not being a Victorian virtue), makes no mention of his partner and previous co-owner, Henry Butler whose ideas for the Aquarial Gardens were quite different. Likewise, in an 1897 interview with Butler, he boasts that he once owned an aquarium in Boston but makes no mention of Cutting. It can be presumed that the relationship between the two "co-owners" was conflictive, to say the least. Apparently veracity was not a Victorian virtue either. It is not infrequent to find Cutting or Butler or Barnum each taking exclusive credit for successes in the Gardens and ignoring the others.

During the first months of the Gardens, while Butler was still in New York, Cutting was free to impose his direction on the fledgling institution and maintain its "purity". But when the Aquarial Gardens moved to Central Court Butler immediately made his presence felt. The inauguration announcement lists Cutting and Butler as co-owners but H. D. Butler appears as the manager. There was no doubt now as to who was running the show.

The inauguration announcement promises that the new rooms are well lit, warmed and ventilated and that, in the aquarial department, "marine plants and animals will be on display in new and more elegant tanks." When Barnum eventually took over the institution, he expressly forbid any description by anyone other than the manager or superintendent. The hours were the same except that it was now opened on Sundays. The entrance fee remained fixed at twenty five cents for adults and ten cents for children.
Aquarial and Zoological Gardens,
Central Court, Washington-street.
Entrance between O. W. Warren's Dry Goods Store and Crosby, Homewell & Morse, Jewelers.

The new Aquarial and Zoological Gardens—removed from the late Aquarial Gardens, Bromfield-street—are THIS DAY, (Friday,) Oct. 5th, open to the public.

The South African Aborigines will be on exhibition throughout the day, attired in their native costumes, and in the evening, at 8 o'clock, will go through the performance of their war and festive dances, and will accompany the dances with their national songs.

In the Aquarial Department, the Fluvial and Marine Plants and Animals will be on exhibition arranged in new and more elegant tanks—and the Zoological Department is enriched by the addition of a Mocce, a Leopard, Kangaroo, and other wild animals, and several Seals, besides Ned and Fanny, the old favorites, who will go through their interesting performances as usual.

The new rooms are well lighted, warmed and ventilated, and every precaution has been taken to assure the comfort and convenience of visitors.

Open from 9 A.M. to 10 P.M., daily.

Admission to the entire Exhibition, 25 Cents.

Cutting & Butler, Proprietors.
H. D. Butler, Manager.

Wm. H. Brookings, Treasurer.

BOSTON AQUARIAL AND ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS,
Central Court, Washington-street. The advent of the Prince of Wales will cause a great influx of visitors to Boston this week, and all should make it a point to visit the new Aquarial and Zoological Gardens, an institution peculiar to Boston, and having no counterpart in this country.

The exhibition of Fluvial and Marine Animals and Plants: the Educated Seals; those rare specimens of Australian Zoology, the Kangaroo; the enormous African Python; the Leopards and the Moccas Deer, and above all the five Aborigines from South Africa, clad in their native costume, comprehend a list of attractions worthy the attention of the man of science as well as the visitor for mere amusement.

Admission 25 cents; Children 15 cents.

Open from 9 A.M. to 10 P.M., daily.

Cutting & Butler, Proprietors.
H. D. Butler, Manager.

Wm. H. Brookings, Treasurer.
The Boston Aquarial and Zoological Gardens was officially opened to the public on October fifth, 1860. "Professor Agassiz delivered a brief and interesting address upon the occasion, in which he set forth the importance of studies of living specimens in natural history".

The main attraction on opening day was the South African Aborigines "attired in their native costumes" who were to perform "their war and festive dances accompanied by their national songs." A small brochure, written by Walter Clarence, was put out to publicize the Aborigines' presentation at the Gardens. After "giving a brief description of the southern portion of the African continent and a sketch of the early life of each individual specimen of the nomadic tribes," Clarence affirms that "Messrs. Cutting and Butler will shrink from no expense to render the new Boston Aquarial and Zoological Gardens still more interesting and worthy of patronage....(the Gardens) is now exceeded, in extent alone, by the Zoological Gardens of London and the Jardin des Plantes of Paris."

We have two wildly opposed descriptions of the Central Court Gardens in its early days. One dated October 10, 1860 (5 days after the grand opening) appeared in The Farmers' Cabinet of Amherst New Hampshire: "having a spare hour or two in Boston, we dropped into the 'Aquarial Gardens', at their new quarters, just above Summer Street, and were richly repaid for our time and money. Aside from the multitude of attractions presented in the great variety of fishes and creeping things that inhabit the waters, all alive and happy in their native element, the trained seals, so fat and sleek and good natured attracted great attention. The huge anaconda, the moose, the deer, the kangaroo, the cub bears, the young crocodile, eagles, herons, owls and monkeys attracted attention(.....)The gentlemanly attentions of the proprietor and his attendants and the beautiful arrangement of the Gardens make a visit doubly pleasing, and we cordially and voluntarily advise our readers visiting the city not to fail to visit the Gardens."

The second account appeared in the New York Daily Tribune and is dated November 16, 1860. The author prefaces his remarks by lamenting the lack of distracting amusements in Boston where the idea of a wild night out consists in attending a lecture. He continues; "In the very desperation of dullness, one evening we betook ourselves to the Aquarial Gardens, whose flaming advertisement of five real living native savage Africans seem to promise some relief from the monotony of civilized life. We went and found the fish tanks drained and deserted, no
stickleback building his nest, no soldier-crab going through the broadsword exercise with his eccentric right claw. The fish were perhaps eaten up during the last Lent. Only the huge tank remained in which the shark used to take his (illegible) before he was called to some other sphere of action to us unknown, and in this a solitary (illegible) flopped about, occasionally holding up one melancholy flipper as if soliciting sympathy."

How to explain these two contradictory experiences, one five weeks after the other? The jaundiced cynicism of the New Yorker might have been a factor as he seems determined to be negative while appearing clever. There is one possible explanation. It was only in November, 1860, that the advertisements mention the pumping of Boston Harbor water into the Central Court tanks. There was, perhaps, a transition period when the system was being put into operation or being perfected and our visitor arrived at just the wrong time. It is also not impossible that contaminated water or failures in the heating systems occasionally decimated the aquarial exhibits. This sort of mishap would not appear in the advertisements.

The October fifth advertisement also announces that Mademoiselle Lanista, the great animal trainer, will demonstrate her extraordinary power over the wildest animals and the most repulsive reptiles. A moose and leopard had been added to the downstairs exhibits.

The Central Court Gardens opened on a Barnumesque note and would continue along these lines for the next several months.

A Catalogue of Fishes and Animals during the early days at Central Court makes special mention of a newly discovered species of sea anemone, the *Trochanthea pendula*, which was introduced to the scientific world at the Aquarial Gardens. It was the first specimen ever found and had been named by Louis Agassiz. The bird collection now included several species of parrots and hawks. There was now a deer pen, a few rabbits, and a year old black bear (Appendix 3).

In November of 1860 it was announced that "The Atlantic Ocean was now flowing through the City of Boston as a consequence of the admirable working of steam engines conveying the salt water through pipes to the Gardens direct from the harbor, offering a distinct view of the marine plants and animals." These "engines" pumped 600,000 gallons a day into the tanks. Whether the water was filtered or treated is not explained and the estimates of the amount of water being pumped vary considerably.
The Kaffirs and Hottentots gave their final presentation in December and went to New York to perform at Barnum's American Museum during the holidays. Barnum, of course, claimed all the credit for bringing them from South Africa and produced a letter from Professor Agassiz certifying that they were authentic - a letter certainly originally addressed to Cutting and Butler. They were replaced by "the red men of the forest, Mohawk chief AT-SAA-KA-TA who, with his wife and family, will go through several interesting Indian ceremonies." An added attraction was Mdlle. Victoria, the Queen of the Magicians, recently arrived from Paris. On the last day of 1860 it was announced that the zoological department would be under the charge of Uriah Beans "who has trained the bears, the kangaroos, the goose and the baboon to perform wondrous feats in the ring." Cutting's activities would be limited to the aquarial section. We are reminded that the collection of snakes is the finest in America.

In January of 1861, Professor A.W. Sprague began delivering a series of "lectures on Practical Science illustrated by brilliant experiments upon electricity, air and gases, rare and curious metals etc." These lectures afforded "a rare opportunity to see an experimental illustration of the wonderful phenomena of Modern Science." Professor A.W. Sprague was followed by "our Boston favorite", Professor Harrington, who "will exhibit his wonderful skill in Ventriloquism and other marvels."
Boston Post ad of January 16, 1861.

Boston Post ad of February 20, 1861.
February saw the return of the South African Aborigines "back on a visit prior to returning to their native land." But they had plenty of competition. A Mammoth Ox - the largest in the world, twelve feet in length and six feet four inches high - had arrived along with Abdallah, the Arabian Horse, and the Egyptian Sphinx (whatever that might have been). The Kaffirs and Hottentots had been incorporated into an original drama in three acts entitled "Latakoo! Or A Yankee Among the Kaffirs" in which the method of Kaffir Border Warfare will be represented. Predictably the Kaffirs get creamed. Later on the drama was followed by "a favorite dance by the fascinating Miss Emma Leone" and the whole thing concluded with the musical commedietta entitled "The Loan of a Lover." A catalogue of fishes dated February twenty third is uninspiring. Nothing of any significance has been added. More and more the aquatic displays were becoming a backdrop to the other activities (Appendix 4).

In March of 1861 the "Swiss Cottages with their original music" were added to the show which now concludes with a laughable farce entitled "The Secret". We are informed that a new burlesque, "The Robbers of Baghdad" or "The Fairy Queen" is in rehearsal. In consequence of the great success of The Fairy Queen, the management went on to produce another masterpiece "of far greater brilliance and effects - the most gorgeous thing ever witnessed in Boston. A great scenic, musical, mythological, mimical, pantomimical and unprecedentedly extravagant olla podrida entitled "An Hour on Olympus" or "A Glance at the Gods." This monster production lasted about two weeks and was replaced by "the great moral drama of Ten Nights in a Bar Room." Heads of families are enjoined not to miss it.

In May of 1861, there was an abrupt halt to all this nonsense and a return to decorum. Henry Butler is no longer listed as manager and co-owner. A letter from Louis Agassiz dated May twenty seventh refers simply to the "aquarium of Mr. Cutting." Butler will resurface in New York as the co-owner (along with Barnum) of the American Museum.

There is a very plausible reason for the precipitated departure of Henry Butler. Near the end of February, 1861, three members of the South African aborigines, who had recently returned to Boston, assaulted Mr. Butler in a robbery attempt. One of them was armed with a pistol and threatened to shoot Butler if he refused to hand over his money.

In spite of this incident, the South Africans aborigines, who were, in fact, living in Port Natal when they were recruited and who were
fluent in Dutch and English, remained at the Gardens after the incident. On Sunday, April 28, 1861, things took a tragic turn. The following day the Boston Post reported "The suicide of One of the Africans at the Aquarial Gardens" and goes on to relate that: "One of famous company of wild Africans, for a long time past on exhibition at the Aquarial Gardens, Central Court, committed suicide last evening under the following circumstances. The deceased was Hottentot, about 17 years of age, and named Stoodman Gangees and in his native country filled the position of wagon driver, at Port Natal. A suspicion has for some time prevailed that he was insane, acting in a manner singularly at variance with the behavior generally marking the other natives. Yesterday he refused joining his comrades in a visit to a missionary, and during their absence, he appears to have carried into effect a deadly intent against himself. It is the custom of his countrymen, when purposing to commit suicide, to clear their house or room of all portable articles, and he yesterday transferred to a distant part of the Aquarial Gardens Building, all the furniture in the natives' quarters. Then came the final act and all additional known in regard to the matter is that Stooman Gangees was found hanging by his neck. He procured a strong rope for the purpose and had evidently been dead half an hour when discovered. The negroes say he was insane and no other cause can be assigned for the commission of the deed. He and his companions have always received the kindest of treatment from Messrs. Cutting & Butler and their employees, and their feelings have always appeared to persons visiting the Gardens as those of marked happiness and contentment." The departure of Butler took place shortly after this suicide. On May 9, the Boston Evening Transcript informs that "Mr. Cutting, of the Aquarial Gardens, will send the Africans, those on exhibition, home by way of Liverpool in the steamer which sails from this port on Wednesday the 15th". The body of the Hottentot suicide was given to the Harvard Museum of Natural History.

Boston Post ad of May 6, 1861
On May sixth, two of "the largest crocodiles ever witnessed in this portion of the globe" were put on display. But they will soon be eclipsed by something far larger. A few weeks later a "Living Whale measuring 12 feet and weighing 2,100 pounds" was presented in the great central tank. Barnum, with his customary bravado, claimed to be the first to capture and exhibit a whale measuring twelve feet long and weighing twenty one hundred pounds was presented in the great central tank. Barnum, with his customary bravado, claimed to be the first to capture and exhibit a live whale and dramatically described his Herculean feat in his autobiography. Cutting obtained his specimen prior to Barnum and with such discretion that it is difficult to ascertain just where and how he did it. Cutting’s whale survived for at least eighteen months. Barnum’s whales were notoriously short-lived (Appendix 5).

The whale is announced in this Boston Post ad of June 6, 1861.

In this Boston Post ad (7/3/1861) the whale is noted to be sharing its tank with a dolphin.
BOSTON AQUARIAL
AND
ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS!
Central Court, Washington Street.

A LIVING WHALE!

In a Communication to the Boston Journal, Professor Agassiz gives the following description of the WHITE WHALE.

CAMBRIDGE, MAY 25, 1861.

DEAR SIR:—It gives me pleasure to comply with your request to furnish you with some information respecting the White Whale now in the aquarium of Mr. Cutting, in Boston.

This animal is an inhabitant of the Northern Seas, its lowest range being the Gulf of the St. Lawrence. Martens, in his journey to Greenland and Spitzbergen in 1671, was the first to give an accurate account of this species under the name of "Weissfisch" (white fish) the name of fish being applied in earlier days to all marine animals. Like the Sperm Whale, the Right Whale, and the Porpoises, however, it belongs to the class of mammals and not to that of fishes. The first systematic name it received was Balanena albicans (the Whitefish Whale,) so called by Klein, a contemporary of Linnaeus, on account of his whitish color. But since the family of Whales embraces a number of distinct genera, it was afterward called Delphinapterus, by Lacépède, and still later Beluga, by Gray. Accounts of its habits, more or less extensive, may be found in the works of the Arctic voyagers, especially in Grant, Egede, and Scoresby, and scientific descriptions in Fabricius, Shaw, Cuvier, &c. I congratulate Mr. Cutting heartily upon having succeeded in bringing to Boston, alive, so interesting a specimen. Indeed it is no mean achievement to have brought into a populous city a living Whale, and to have put it up for exhibition in a glass tank; even though that Whale be neither the Right Whale nor the Sperm Whale, but a smaller species, rarely exceeding twenty feet in length, though specimens forty feet long have been captured. It has already afforded me the means of much valuable information, and I trust it may afford as much pleasure to many others, to see it turning round and round in his large tank and now and then coming to the surface to breath, or blow as is the phrase with the cetaceans. When I last visited the aquarium, I was particularly pleased to see the evidence of a return to a higher style of exhibitions in that establishment, to say the least, and to understand that the performances formerly carried on in it, from which nothing could be learned, are at last to be stopped.

Very respectfully yours,

(Signed.) L. AGASSIZ.
When skeptics protested that it was an albino porpoise, Louis Agassiz intervened publicly to dispel the doubts. He congratulated Mr. Cutting for having succeeded in bringing the whale to Boston and ended his communication by stating how pleased he was to see, during a recent visit, "evidence of a return to a higher style of exhibitions in that establishment, to say the least, and to understand that the performances formerly carried on in it, from which nothing could be learned, are at last to be stopped." The "performances" did, in fact, cease for nearly a year and the aquatic and zoological displays became, once again, the principal attraction. This did not prevent Mr. Uriah Bean from demonstrating his skills as an animal trainer "downstairs" in the zoological department. A visitor in the summer of 1861 has left us a description of Mr. Bean's act and other impressions of the Aquarial Gardens (Appendix 6).
We have a catalogue of fishes, which is probably from the summer of 1861. The Living Whale from the Arctic Seas had plenty of company in the Central Tank - skate, striped bass, haddock, sculpin, lobster, pollack, cod, sturgeon, a grey shark, eels, hard heads, and a green turtle. Cutting had also succeeded in a little in-house breeding. In tank #6 were young pickerel hatched May twenty second from eggs laid by the pickerel in tank #7.
In July a "Magnificent Dolphin" was added to the Central Tank. Agassiz identified it as a bottlenose dolphin "in contradistinction of the common dolphin which is of smaller size" (Appendix 7). The dolphin apparently did not survive very long. There is no mention of it after December twentieth, 1861. Less likely to perish was a "monstrous preserved and mounted walrus."

Another catalogue from the same period mentions outside bird cages featuring bald eagles and a silvery gull. The fish also found themselves accompanied by an encased swarm of bees (Cutting apparently never lost his interest in bees). Meanwhile "downstairs," in the zoological department, the alligator shared a cage with a snapping turtle, a box turtle and an African ibis. There were also a pair of lions, a leopard, a grizzly bear, assorted monkeys and parrots, an albino flying squirrel, a couple of deer, owls and foxes. The "den of serpents" included an anaconda, large and small pythons, a pine snake and a black snake. Another catalogue of the same time period shows the changing nature of the exhibits (Appendix 8).

In July of 1861 the Central Tank became seriously crowded. Barnum loaned two of his St. Lawrence belugas to the Aquarium Gardens for two months prior to their installation in New York. There were now three "living whales" measuring nine, eleven, and twelve feet and weighing from eight hundred to one thousand pounds thus "rendering the Gardens, in this particular alone, the most instructive and interesting place of amusement in the world."

In all probability, this was the third pair that Barnum had captured. Having failed miserably in maintaining the first two previous pairs of belugas, it seems likely that the "great showman" tried to learn
the technique of keeping whales alive in captivity in Boston before moving them to their final destination. P.T. Barnum seldom did anything with disinterest. When Barnum finally moved his two whales to New York, they quickly expired. By December ninth, 1861, only a single whale and the dolphin were listed. A week later it was a sturgeon that replaced the dolphin in the advertisements (Appendix 9).

The "Wonder Feat Of The World" is proclaimed in an ad from the Boston Post (12/26/1861).
Representations of the “Wonder-Feat of the World” as idealized by an artist (top) and as it appears in the sketches of a young girl’s diary (bottom).
James Cutting, who had been so successful with the "learned seals," Ned and Fanny, undertook the training of the beluga whale. This resulted in the "Wonder-Feat of the World, the Realization of the Poet's Dream and the Age of Fable brought into Actual Existence; the Whale Harnessed to a Shell-constructed Car, in the form of a Nautilus, and Driven around the Mimic Sea by a Beautiful Young Lady of this City," supposedly an illustration of the mythical car of Venus. Cutting was not above a bit of showmanship himself. In his book *Ocean Wonders*, published in 1879, William E. Damon recalled how he had eventually been given the "...immediate charge and supervision..." of the whale and goes on to give a slightly different version of the Wonder Feat of the World (Appendix 10). On the strength of his recent acquisitions Cutting felt himself justified in announcing that the Gardens possessed the most complete aquarium in the world.

In February of 1862 Cutting announced a series of six lectures delivered by Louis Agassiz entitled "Explanatory of the Animals being kept Alive in the Establishment" at fifty cents a lecture or $2.00 for the course.

In May of 1862 the "Beautiful Pictures of the Stereophan" were exhibited every evening. The final catalogue of the Boston Aquarial and Zoological Gardens was that of May. The last advertisement appeared on May twenty ninth.
BARNUM AQUARIAL GARDENS

On May thirtieth of 1862, the Gardens were closed "for extensive improvements a change having taken place in the management." P. T. Barnum had bought the "Establishment." Everything indicates that this was a "hostile takeover". One of the ironies of the 1862 Ballou interview with Cutting is that, between the time the article was written and its publication in the July 1862 issue Barnum had intervened. As is often the case, we might know the facts as reported in the press but can only speculate as to what went on behind the scenes. In the interview, however, Cutting appears very proud of what he had accomplished and with the orientation he had restored to the Gardens. All that was about to change brusquely. It can be safely said that Henry Butler was Barnum's proxy and without the presence of his agent, the Great Showman felt that he had lost control of the Gardens which he had been financing, at least in part. The "Establishment" was reopened on June 16th, featuring a "Great National Dog Show." On this occasion Barnum issued a sort of manifesto in which he proclaimed that the Gardens would be associated with the American Museum in New York and that the new manager would use his "extraordinary facilities for procuring Rare Novelties from nearly every portion of the globe." At the same time he hoped "to form such a happy blending of amusement with instruction as not to depend solely upon the scientific public for support but to render this establishment attractive and popular with all respectable classes." James Cutting was engaged "to remain at the Gardens and take charge of the living whale and the musically educated seals together with rare animals about being introduced here and of the Aquarial Department generally."

The "Establishment" was renamed the Barnum Aquarial Gardens and described as a "Museum of Instruction and Amusement." It would be closed on Sundays and assured "performances of a chaste, interesting and wholly moral nature" in deference to the new owner's moral principles. Barnum reigned for eight months over the Aquarial Gardens, which became little more than a poor parent of his American Museum in New York. As promised, the "rare novelties" arrived thick and fast. The marine life exhibits were mere background.

An advertisement of June twelfth announced the arrival of "a Wonderful Black Sea Lion, the only one ever captured alive, who weighs two thousand pounds and eats a hundred pounds of fish daily." Along with the sea lion "that marvel of the day, Professor
Hutchings, will be present at each entertainment and astonish and delight visitors by his unparalleled proficiency in Mathematical Calculations." Perhaps Professor Hutchings calculated how much the sea lion ate. The following week Fancy Glass Blowing was on display and the premium performing dogs selected during the Great National Dog Show gave "exhibitions of their extraordinary sagacity at short intervals" (were they sagacious at short intervals?). The Albino Family from Madagascar arrived at the Gardens "for two weeks only."

General Tom Thumb made his first visit to the Aquarial Gardens on June thirtieth. Also on the program for July was Miss Dora Dawson, the Double-Voiced Singer, Master Dudley Waller, the Infant Orator only six years old and Mr. Wm. Tomlin, the great English Buffo and Baritone from Nobility's Concerts, London.

On July fourteenth the Grand National Baby Show began - with prizes for the finest babies. Twins, triplets, quaterns, fat babies and several beautiful colored babies were on exhibit from eleven A.M. - three P.M. and from seven - eight P.M. Also featured was Mr. Alf Burnett, Elocutionist and Most Amusing Mimic, with his "melange of Mirth, Oratory and Mimicry, Laughable Delineations of Character, Comic Debates interspersed with Wonderful Imitations."

This Boston Post ad (8/6/1862) has more of a typical Barnum ring to it.
[Image of a page from a newspaper or a ticket with various illustrations and text.]
An eight month old baby from Cincinnati, Ohio, was held over from the Baby Show. Weighing but one pound, seven ounces it was "the smallest speck of living humanity ever seen. An ordinary finger ring slips easily over his hand and arm to the elbow. No conception can be formed of the exceeding diminutiveness of this little atom of the human race which is really the Greatest Wonder of the World." Meanwhile "hundreds of fishes swim in crystal ponds."

P. T. Barnum undoubtedly possessed prophetic vision. Already, on July twenty eight, 1862, he proclaimed that his Aquarial Gardens was the "Coolest" Place of Amusement ever constructed.

In an early ad (Boston Post 6/3/1862) for his Boston venture, Barnum had not yet added his name to the masthead of the Aquarial Gardens.
Commodore Nutt, "the New Hampshire shrimp of humanity" headed the Grand Gallery of Attractions - complete with his miniature carriage of enlarged English Walnut, drawn by the smallest ponies in the world. Miss Leone, attired as Venus, continued to drive the whale around the Great Central Tank and the sea lion continued to roar.

Commodore Nutt stayed for two weeks and was joined by Mr. Edwin Kelly, Tenor and Light Comedian, and Master Leon, the Ethiopian Cubas. Miss Dora Dawson continued her double-voiced singing in a unique costume representing half man and half woman. There were also living otters. Later in August the Alleghanians, vocalists and bell ringers, and Miss Jane Campbell, the celebrated Connecticut Giantess, were the principal attractions.

Barnum had not entirely forgotten that he was also running an aquarium. During the summer of 1862 he began his sailing expeditions to Bermuda to collect tropical fish, some of which landed in Boston. The expedition was "perfectly successful" and the Aquarial Gardens was now swarming with "fifty Gorgeously Beautiful Angel Fish, Spanish Lady Fish, Cherubs, Squirrel Fish, Porcupine fish, and other rare and splendid specimens, all of brilliant colors." Barnum claims the collecting expedition cost him
some $3,000 and encouraged the public to hasten to see these new acquisitions because “It is doubtful that we shall be able to preserve these beautiful fish alive in our climate for any considerable length of time, and it is too late to send another expedition South this season, even if there was a fair prospect of being reimbursed for the great pecuniary outlay involved in such an interpose.” So that his aquarial acquisitions might be more fully appreciated, Barnum engaged Dr. Colton “whose lectures and exhibitions have been the wonder and delight of tens of thousands in all our principal cities.” Dr. Colton specialized in nitrous oxide - otherwise known as laughing gas. It was promised that “a number of Ladies and Gentlemen” would inhale the gas at each entertainment.

September of 1862 saw the return of General Tom Thumb and Commodore Nutt who competed in a “trial of skill for one thousand dollars before setting sail for Europe.” The first “trial” was ruled a draw but the competitors objected to dividing the prize and decided to have a rematch before a new set of judges. The Gorgeously Beautiful Fish swarmed in the background.
At the end of September Commodore Nutt is still around "by popular demand." Apparently he missed his boat for Europe. The newest attraction was Wilson's Panorama of Japan, painted in oil, on nine thousand feet of canvas and showing with scrupulous fidelity "the Costumes, Temples, Streets, Bridges, Scenery and Rivers of the Japanese Empire." This panorama was painted secretly by native artists "who would, if discovered, have incurred the penalty of death." Also engaged was Mr. William B. Harrison, the Celebrated Improvisatore.

In October it was Professor Wyman (the Wizard) who had top billing. This Unequaled Magician and Ventriloquist appeared twice a day in his brilliantly Illuminated Mystical Temple of Witchcraft, Fascination and Delusion. There were now only thirty angel fish - but a cow fish, a crimson cavarrata, a grouper, a yellow snapper and a zebra fish had been added. During his fourth and final week Wyman the Wizard was overshadowed by Mons. Bihin, the Belgium Giant, Eight Feet High. The public was also invited to admire a "grand and extended Gallery of Magnificent Cosmoramic Views comprising a vast and beautiful series of Landscapes, Cities, Ruins, Statuary etc." There were now six "immense living anacondas." The Living Whale in Harness was still being driven around.

In November the Alleghanians were back with their Swiss Bells. They shared the stage with Sig. Montiverdi, the celebrated Contortionist. Next were Chas. E. and Geo. C. Dobson, celebrated professors of the Banjo, and Jacob Showles, the equally celebrated rope and poleantic performer. Miss Fannie Whitney had replaced Miss Leone at driving the whale around. Near the end of November "What Is It?" appeared at the Gardens, the "most singular animal living, being neither a man nor a monkey but apparently a mixture of both." Ned, the Learned Seal, continued to perform at short intervals throughout the day and evening. The next big attraction was the Mammoth Hippopotamus, "a native of the river Nile and the great Behemoth of the Scriptures." A native Arabian keeper, Sadaam, the only man who can control or exhibit the hippopotamus, was in constant attendance.
In the middle of all this, witnessing his dream being cheapened and destroyed, was James Cutting. One can only speculate as to what must have been going on inside this pioneer aquarist who marveled at the wonders of marine life and wanted to share this experience with others. It is uncertain when Cutting left the "Establishment". William Damon, another creature of Barnum, claims, in his memoires, to have been in charge of the "living whale" at the Gardens but he does not specify when he assumed this responsibility which had previously belonged to James Cutting. Cutting made a futile and short-lived attempt at founding an alternative to Barnum's institution. On November twenty-sixth, 1862, the New Boston Aquarial and Zoological Gardens opened on the corner of Summer and Chauncy Streets with Cutting and Guay as proprietors. Mr. Guay most likely put up the capital and appears to have had no other credentials. He most certainly counted on a return for his investment. The announcement of the grand opening reflects the ambiguity of the new institution. It is to be "an Exhibition of Novelties in Natural History, Arts, Science etc." The principal attraction was the "Wonderful Esquimaux Indians" brought to this country from the Arctic Regions by C. F. Hall Explorer....they represent a distinct race of men and are
doubtless the Greatest Curiosities in the World. A familiar description of their Habits, Customs, Religion etc. is to be given... The Aquarial Department, under the direction of Mr. Cutting, is unique and comprises, among many valuable specimens, Two Gigantic Japanese Salamanders. There is also a new animal from the mountains of Niphon, a superb Black African Ostrich, a Pair of Building Beavers and an immense Happy Family Cage." Perhaps the most pathetic exhibit was "Rebel Relics from Recent Battlefields."

One of the rare ads for Cutting and Guay's short-lived venture. Boston Post, 12/1/1862.

The last advertisement for the Cutting and Guay Gardens appeared on December eight. All in all it lasted two weeks and received very little attention in the local newspapers. It is difficult to make sense of this venture. Perhaps Cutting knew that Barnum
had already decided to move out of Boston and hoped that there
was a way to continue the aquatic tradition in the city. Or did
Cutting break with Barnum and pretend to set himself up as a
competitor in a gross mismatch doomed to failure? At any rate his
role in the new institution, as curator of a pair of salamanders after
all that he had accomplished, must have been humiliating, as the
separation from Ned and the Living Whale and the other fish and
mammals he had nurtured must have been painful. It was a tragic
ending for a gifted scientist and naturalist.

While Cutting and Guay were making this attempt to compete
with Barnum, the Great Showman was making "extensive
alterations and improvements at the "old" Aquarial Gardens. The
aquarial exhibits were removed to the lower hall to share that
space with the zoological specimens while the upper hall was
converted into "the most cozy and beautiful Vaudeville Theatre in
this country.... a very comfortable and chastely decorated
auditorium is presented, capable of seating over 1,000 persons."
On December 17, the renovated upper hall was inaugurated by
Barnum himself who delivered the opening address to an
overflowing crowd and promised "unsurpassed entertainments...free from all objectionable features." He assured
that "every precaution will be made to make an unexceptionable
place of resort so that ladies and children can visit the
establishment unattended without fear of annoyance." The
company then sang The Star Spangled Banner.

Six weeks later, on January 31, 1863, the Barnum Aquarial
Gardens were put up "for sale or for rent." "Notwithstanding the
liberal patronage bestowed upon this popular place of
amusement, the Manager, in consequence of his other extended
business and finding it impossible to give it his personal attention
and superintendence is compelled to offer the establishment for
sale or to let on liberal terms. There is an unexpired lease of six
years on the building with the privilege of renewal." The last ad,
announcing a "dramatic presentation", appeared on February 14.
The Barnum Aquarial Gardens closed soon after that date and the
contents of its aquatic and zoological exhibits were transferred to
the American Museum in New York.
It is possible that there was a link between Cutting's break with Barnum and Barnum's apparently abrupt decision to close his Aquarial Gardens. Cutting's departure would have left Barnum without the aquatic expertise and the trainer he badly needed. All the same, it is puzzling that Barnum would suddenly put the Gardens on the market after having invested heavily in a new auditorium and in spite of "the liberal patronage bestowed upon this popular institution". Barnum hardly mentions the Aquarial Gardens in his various autobiographies which are litanies of his accomplishments; Butler is only referred to in passing as the caretaker of the American Museum. It seems obvious that that Barnum was not proud of the whole adventure and wanted to forget about it.

An article in Ballou's Monthly of December, 1867, four and a half years after the closing of the Gardens, has its own interpretation of what happened. The author affirms that the Aquarial Gardens was very popular until the proprietor, with small means, endeavored to make too great an affair out of it and it sank from its own weight...ambition, that is at the bottom of so much unhappiness and ruins so many, caused the proprietor, a very worthy and enthusiastic man, to leave well enough for better. He tried to enlarge his phylacteries by introducing ballet dancing and questionable shows and the "virtuous" public, that might admire fish but did not fancy gossamer, left the concern to its fate – which chanced to be Barnum – and the concern soon died out.' Despite its proximity to the events this interpretation is a bit suspicious. It was not Cutting who introduced "gossamer" thus alienating the "virtuous" public; rather it was he who was the stabilizing influence

The final advertisement for the Barnum Aquarial Gardens.
which kept the institution on course. What might have been a factor in the demise of the Gardens, however, was the competition from other establishments, notably the nearby Boston Museum on Tremont Street adjacent to Kings Chapel. For many years Barnum had a bitter-sweet relationship with this institution and its owner, Moses Kimball, sometimes cooperating with it, sometimes competing with it. The Boston Museum and the Gardens under Barnum had become very similar and perhaps Barnum realized that Boston wasn't big enough for both. Moreover, many of the transient attractions at the Gardens had already appeared at other establishments of the city previously or would appear elsewhere subsequently. The Gardens had lost its originality.

The building on Central Court continued as a theater for plays, vaudeville, and burlesque until it burned down in the Great Fire of 1872. Henry Butler managed the New York American Museum until it was destroyed by fire in 1865. He then presided over the "new" rebuilt American Museum until that too burned to the ground a few years later. Butler reappears in 1876, contracted as manager of the fledgling Coup Aquarium in New York. After the demise of this institution, Butler became associated with Coup's traveling exhibition known as "The W. C. Coup New United Monster Shows", which featured variously The New York Aquarium, Wonderful Broncho Horses, The Royal Japanese Circus, Melville's Australian Circus, Calvin's Great Menagerie, Fryer's Startling Trained Animals and Wood's Museum. Barnum, by this time, was concentrating all his energies on his traveling circus.

Most of the exhibits perished when the American Museum went up in flames. One of the few survivors of the fire was Ned, the "learned seal." The New York Clipper reported that Ned was saved by a Brooklyn fireman who pulled him out by the flukes, placed him in a champagne basket and conveyed him on a cart to Fulton Street, where a fish tank was found.

James Cutting made one last effort at a comeback. On June 15, 1863, Buckley's Serenaders opened their new "Minstrel Hall and Aquarial Gardens on the corner of Summer and Chauncy Streets - in the same building in which Cutting and Guay had set up their short-lived New Aquarial and Zoological Gardens.The well-known Buckley Serenaders had settled in New York after first functioning as a traveling show, but when the city enacted its "Concert and Saloon Bill of 1862" forbidding the combination of stage entertainment, female waitresses and the sale of alcohol in theatres, the group moved to Boston where the laws were more
lenient in this regard. The building on the corner of Summer and Chauncy Streets had previously been used by the U.S. Post Office. The notice announcing the inauguration of the Minstrel Hall informs us that "a portion of the Summer Street building has [since] been occupied as a gymnasium and aquarial gardens but without any previous arrangement for either". This latter observation suggests that it may have been leasing problems which lead to the premature closing of the Cutting and Guay establishment. The article goes on to assure the reader that the Trustees of the Property have decided to accept the offices of Messieurs Buckley...and the result has been the fitting up of a magnificent Minstrel Hall...the Hall is brilliantly lighted and finely ventilated and contains seats for 1400 persons. The aquarial part occupies the two lower stories and is under the charge of J. A. Cutting to whom our citizens are indebted for the establishment of this interesting forum of public amusement.

It would seem that the aquarial part of the enterprise was more a project than a reality when The Buckley Serenaders New Minstral Hall And Aquarial Gardens opened its doors. An ad dated July 20, 1863, announces that "the fast-sailing schooner Josephine having been charted by the Buckleys to visit Bermuda to collect curiosities for their aquarial gardens, a few passengers will be taken, For particulars, apply at the Aquarial Gardens, corner of Summer and Chauncy Streets, between the hours of 11 and 12." On September 7, the public is informed that "the Schooner Josephine has arrived at Holmes Hole laden with tropical fish". On September 10, a further notice announces that "the Schooner Josephine, sent out by the Buckleys to obtain a supply of fancy fish for their aquarium on Summer Street, arrived at this port yesterday. It is to be regretted that four dolphins which were secured died on the passage home". This latter detail suggests that the Summer Street facilities would have been able to accommodate the four dolphins and thus included a tank of considerable proportion.

"THE GRAND OPENING OF THE AQUARIAL" was proclaimed in an ad on September 14. It was to take place at 9AM on a Monday morning and featured "the Finest and Largest Collection of Tropical Fish in the World". September 23 promises "Double Entertainment - the Aquarial Gardens and the Buckley Minstrels. Persons visiting the Aquarial Gardens in the day time will receive checks for the evening performances". Tickets were 25 cents, 50 cents for reserved seats and 15 cents for children. In the September 11 issue of The Boston Herald, there is an account
from "a gentleman who arrived here a few days since from Bermuda" describing the blockade runners which "literally jammed the ports of Bermuda- even Northern vessels flying the Confederate flag - the warehouses and wharfs overflowing with cotton". The same gentleman notes the sympathy of the locals for the rebel cause. This could be none other than James Cutting.

An undated excerpt relates that "the success of the Buckley Minstrels still continues and their elegant place of amusement is crowded nightly with the fashion and beauty of Boston. Mr. Cutting is preparing for the aquarial department a Fire Fountain. The water receives the rays of calcium lights and appears to be a cascade of fire".

Apparently the tropical fish did not survive the colder weather. The last ad referring to them was on October 17, 1863. As of November 9, the ads simply refer to the Buckley Minstrels without any mention of aquarial gardens.

James Cutting was listed in the Boston City Directory until 1862. The encyclopedic reference concerning him concludes from this that he was committed an insane asylum in Worcester "due to his weakened mental state" sometime in 1863. He would die there in 1869. As his account of the Bermuda blockade runners indicates, he was still very lucid and observant towards the end of 1863. We do not know if the psychological collapse of James Cutting was due to the ultimate failure of the Aquarial Gardens and his subsequent aborted ventures. In his book *The Toy Fish*, A. Klee suggests another possible cause. For years, Cutting was engaged in a patent dispute. He had applied for a patent concerning the use of potassium bromide in combination with collodian for the preparation of photographic negatives. If processed, this patent would have allowed Cutting to license virtually all photographic processes. He was accused of having stolen the idea from others who claimed prior rights. Eventually, the decision went against Cutting - but he was already institutionalized by this time.

The short and chaotic history of the Boston Aquarial Gardens could be the subject of a B-rated melodrama, pitting the noble naturalist Cutting against the voracious and unscrupulous duo of Butler and Barnum. In reality this history illustrates a complex problem that continues to confront contemporary aquariums. Butler had a sense of business and showmanship, but he was also a pioneer aquarist whose contributions were enormous. And Cutting had a sense of showmanship as evidenced by the
remarkable success of his "learned seals." Both were aware that an aquarium should both amuse and instruct. The question was which aspect should predominate. To instruct, one must attract and arouse curiosity and interest. To survive financially and to be able to improve one must cater to the tastes of the public before attempting to refine and fashion these tastes.

When Barnum proclaimed his intention of making the Establishment attractive and popular to all and to not depend solely on the scientific public for support, he made sense. There's a danger for an aquarium to lose sight of the public with the best of intentions, to pursue a purist ideal of professional aquarists in which a well-educated elite might find satisfaction but which would have limited public appeal. On the other hand, there is a line that separates popularity and vulgarity. One senses a sort of instinctive repugnance for the increasing lack of respect towards nature - and, by that very fact, towards the public - that came to predominate at the Aquarial Gardens. It was as though the sole function of the exhibits was to amuse and distract, to attract by appealing to the public's most superficial instincts. This is degrading both for the wonders of nature - which do not exist for our amusement - and for the public, which is duped into a false conception of its relationship to nature. It is a betrayal of the very sentiments that led to the birth of aquariums in general, and
certainly contrary to what the Boston Aquarial Gardens pretended to be at its beginnings.

Times have obviously changed and it is easy to snicker about certain aspects of Victorian priggishness and phoniness. In our professedly egalitarian society, the patronizing morality of the "intelligent and virtuous" elite doesn't resonate very well. There is more awareness that culture and esthetics do not preclude cruelty and arrogance, that poverty and vice are not synonymous. Yet there remains a certain truth in the intuition that "beauty will save the world" (Dostoyevsky).

Modern aquariums face a similar dilemma. They must be "attractive" enough to capture the public interest, arouse curiosity and wonder, be able to assume an educational role, and create an awareness of the marvels of nature and a respect for the environment. The initial dialogue with the public should be in a language that can be understood. There is an inherent conflict in the necessity of "amusing" and the duty of educating that has no simple solution. Rather it would seem that there must be a continual reevaluation, a constant examination of conscience to assure that a proper balance is maintained, without allowing the institution to be confined to a particular preconceived idea. It is vital that the dialectic be active enough to permit revisions and recognize exaggerations.

Notwithstanding, the reverence and wonder which the old Boston Aquarial Gardens tried to provoke in its clientele remains an essential goal of aquariums. In the measure in which an aquarium succeeds in this initial seduction, it will provoke people to want to learn more, to support research and to take conservation concerns seriously. There would seem to be a profound complicity between the human psyche and the world of water. The biologist and psychologist, the sociologist and the anthropologist, the philosopher and the theologian would each interpret this complicity differently in terms of their respective sciences - yet the fact remains that water exercises an ambivalent fascination over us as a symbol of destruction and horror, of peace and purification. In a mysterious way, the waters define our identity and spontaneously provoke our awe.

This is perhaps why there is another aspect of aquariums that involves neither amusement nor education. There is a therapeutic element in aquaria brought about through a silent and solitary encounter with the marvelous. Many people (perhaps more than we suspect) expect the aquarium to be an oasis of peace, a return to childhood simplicity in the midst of a culture of consumption and
competition. Displaying aquatic life opens the possibility of what we might call "contemplation which needs neither words nor explanations but leaves viewers free to admire and fantasize on their own terms and perhaps forget their troubles for a while. In our contemporary world, there is an overwhelming information glut, a diminished attention span, a bombardment of images yet little coordinating wisdom. The availability of knowledge of all sorts is certainly positive - but the person must know how to assimilate it, to be selective and discerning. Perhaps one of the major contributions an aquarium can make is to offer a contact with nature in its simplicity as a counterweight to the artificiality which surrounds us. "The purpose of art is to establish a moral order among our experiences", wrote John Ruskin, the 19th century art critic. In this sense, an aquarium should make a visitor "better".

The South Boston Aquarium had no other purpose than to allow this kind of contemplation. It was free, it was run by the City of Boston, and it had no scientific ambitions nor educational programs. Its solvency depended on the local government, not on attendance, and thus there was no need to "attract." Its exhibits were modest. Yet, as long as it was maintained properly, it drew up to half a million people yearly, who simply "came to see the fishes."
THE SOUTH BOSTON AQUARIUM

"Streaks of green and yellow iridescence,
Silver shiftings,
Rings veering out of range
Silver - gold -
Green grey opaqueness sliding down,
With sharp white bubbles
Shooting and dancing,
Flushing quickly upward.
Shooting bubbles,
Swallowing them.
Fish.
Blue shadows against silver-saffron water,
The light rippling over them
In steel bright tremors.
Outspread and translucent fins
- interfold and relapse;
The threaded light prints through them
On the pebbles
In scarcely tarnished twinklings.
Curving of spotted spines,
Slow up shifts,
Lazy convulsions;
Then a sudden swift straightening
And darting below;
Oblique grey shadows
Athwart a pale casement.
Green man-eating eels
Slumber in undulate rhythms
With crests laid horizontal on their backs.
Barred fish,
Striped fish,
Uneven discs of fish,
Slip, slide, whirl, turn,
And never touch.
Metallic blue fish,
With fins wide and yellow and swaying
Like Oriental fans,
Hold the sun in their bellies
And glow with light;
Blue brilliance cut by black bars
.....An oblong pane of straw-colored shimmer,
Across it, in a tangent.
A smear of rose, black, silver,
Short twists and upstartings,
Rose black, in a setting of bubbles;
Sunshine playing between red and black flowers
On a blue and gold lawn.
Shadows and polished surfaces,
Facets of mauve and purple,
A constant modulation of valves.
Shaft-shaped,
With green bead eyes;
Thick-nosed,
Heliotrope colored;
Swift spots of chrysolite and coral;
In the midst of green, pearl amethyst irradiations.

Outside,
A willow tree flickers,
With long white jerks,
And long blue waves
Rise steadily beyond the outer islands."
A. Lowell, 1916.

Boston was without an aquarium for nearly fifty years after the closing of the Aquarial Gardens. In Smith's 1886 Cyclopedia of Boston, there is mention of a "World's Museum, Menagerie and Aquarium" at 667 Washington Street. It claimed a "large collection of living animals including an elephant, bears, lions and tigers. Also seals, fishes, reptiles and other curiosities," all for the modest admission price of ten cents. This seems to have been a "fly-by-night" enterprise that didn't make any kind of a serious impression.

In the late nineteenth century, the marsh flats east of Q Street at City Point, South Boston, were an eyesore - and, even then, a nose-sore! All the debris of the harbor somehow managed to find its way there. The city decided to create a recreational park by leveling a nearby hill and filling in the flats. From the outset an aquarium was envisioned as part of the new "Marine Park."

The Boston Society of Natural History - whose membership list included the elite of local society - elaborated an ambitious project for the proposed aquarium. The society wanted two aquariums: a saltwater aquarium at Marine Park and a freshwater aquarium at Ward's Pond, just north of Jamaica Pond, although the Ward's
Pond project never came to be. It is interesting to note that the Marine Park project suggested that the aquarium's halls be illuminated only by the lighting in the exhibits to give the visitor the impression of being underwater, the same rationale proposed for the current New England Aquarium.

The Society of Natural History wanted to emphasize the educational function of the new aquarium. The exhibits should manifest "the relation of animals and plants to their surroundings...the suitability of organisms to do the work they have to perform, illustrating this in many ways." The public should be given "clear ideas of some of the fundamental laws of organic modification," and shown how "changes have taken place in the structure of descendants of air-breathing land animals in order to fit them for life in the sea."

The filling of the marsh flats was completed in the 1890s, and a statue of the Civil War naval hero Admiral Farragut was erected at City Point with great fanfare. Castle Island was ceded to the City of Boston by the Federal government, and a covered bridge was built between Marine Park and the island (in 1920 the bridge was replaced by a causeway). A "Great Pier" was laid out on the other side of Marine Park thus embracing what is now known as Pleasure Bay. Three large ponds were left in the flats to be used
for the new aquarium. In these ponds it was proposed to place "amphibious animals and marine mammalia, including porpoises, seals, walruses and the like." The work on the ponds was finished in 1893. Unfortunately, once the filling in and beautification of Marine Park were completed, the city did not have sufficient funds to build the new aquarium. The Boston Society of Natural History may have been generous with its ideas, but that was about as far as its philanthropy went.

It was not until 1912 that the City of Boston undertook the construction of the aquarium thanks to a fund set up in the will of George F. Parkman for the improvement and maintenance of the city's parks. The aquarium was inaugurated on Thanksgiving Day, 1912. The architect was William Downes Austin, who had previously designed the Detroit Aquarium. The original project called for a much smaller aquarium, about half the size of the one that was actually built, and at half the price. The city fathers, however, not wishing to be outdone by Detroit, decided that they should at least equal the rival aquarium and allotted the necessary funds for that purpose. The total cost, including all equipment, the architect, and engineers' commissions was $135,778.

Like most of the aquariums built around this time, the South Boston Aquarium resembled a church or museum both inside and out, with the fish tanks presented like portraits hanging on the walls. There was, however, a new effort to exhibit the fish as they would appear in their natural habitat, and an attempt was made to simulate caverns and grottos under the sea. The building was located on the slope of a hill, leaving the basement on the east side entirely above grade. There were steps leading down from the principal entrance to the lower level.

The South Boston Aquarium building was "L" shaped, with a dome at the angle. The original plan called for a cruciform design with a nave and double apse, but due to its final location bordering Farragut Street, the western apse had to be abandoned. There was a large seal pool under the dome. The entrance portal was elaborate. The eaves of the gable over the entrance and the three supporting corbels contained wood carvings of "grotesque dolphins, crabs and other marine life".

The recessed patio was of white marble with panels in colored marble. Two pillars, with capitals representing sea horses and shells, supported a marble arch with a keystone depicting Cupid riding a dolphin. At the spring of the arches, on either side over the columns, were life-sized figures of mermaids riding waves and combing long tresses with coral.
An artist's drawing shows the front elevation of the planned South Boston Aquarium.
The entrance to the South Boston Aquarium – features elaborate pillars and sculpture Image courtesy of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities
The building had a brick exterior covered with rough-cast plaster and took up about 8,000 square feet. The foundation walls were of concrete. The roof was of wood, covered with red shingle tiles. The dome was surmounted by a bronze weather vane in the form of a cod. The interior floors and walls were of multicolored terrazzo.

Upon entering, the visitor came into a rectangular vestibule with rest rooms on either side. The vestibule opened to a corridor leading to the rotunda; smaller tanks lined both sides of the corridor and were spread around the sides of the rotunda. A wing to the east of the rotunda contained a few more of the larger tanks. There was a second entrance on the basement level with two tanks in the vestibule and a staircase leading to the seal pool under the domed area.

This first floor plan of the South Boston Aquarium shows the original cruciform design and arrangement of exhibits. The west wing was subsequently eliminated leaving an “L” shaped structure. Image from the Boston Parks Department.
The fifty-five exhibit tanks were built of cypress, each about five feet high and three feet six inches deep. The lengths varied, permitting their subdivision into two to five compartments, each with a front four feet, six inches high and three feet three and one quarter inches wide. English plate glass, one and one-eighth inches thick, was used for the tanks; similar glass, but unpolished, and only seven eighths of an inch thick was used for the partitions. The tanks were raised about two feet above the main floor. They were lighted by skylights in the roof during the day, and in the evening, by electric light diffused through the water in the tanks behind the glass fronts.

Salt water from the harbor was pumped into an underground reservoir with a capacity of 100,000 gallons. From the reservoir the water was pumped to distributing tanks in the attic and then sent by gravity to the exhibit tanks. One of the distributing tanks was fitted with a steam coil to warm the salt water for the tropical fishes. City service supplied the freshwater tanks. The water in all the tanks was in constant circulation and the salt water was returned to the underground reservoir through filter beds. The refrigerated fresh water was also filtered and reused, whereas the ordinary fresh water was emptied into the city sewerage system.

The exhibits included several species of large turtles, local fresh- and saltwater fishes, tropical saltwater specimens and, of course, a number of seals. The South Boston Aquarium made no secret of its ambitions. It was "primarily and principally for the exhibition of fishes and only very secondarily for the promotion of scientific study." No attempt was made to train the seals nor to educate the public, yet the aquarium attracted as many as 15,000 visitors in a single day.

The history of the South Boston Aquarium is as bucolic as that of the Aquarial Gardens was agitated. The aquarium depended on the Park Department of the City of Boston. The Franklin Park Zoo was being developed at the same time as the aquarium, and it also depended on the Parkman Trust for its funding. In the beginning, the zoo got the lion's share of attention and the aquarium received what was left over.

Within two years of its inauguration, the South Boston Aquarium underwent a management crisis that had far reaching consequences for its future development. Its first director was Louis Mowbray from Bermuda. Mowbray took his responsibilities very seriously and had dreams of making the South Boston
Aquarium a first class institution and a model for scientific research. To do so required money. In January of 1914, Mowbray was allotted $1,500, a lot of money in those days, to purchase fishes in Philadelphia. A month later he was fired for "inefficiency and conduct injurious to the discipline of the Park Department."

Mowbray did not dispute the injurious conduct charge but demanded that the accusation of "inefficiency" be struck from his record as unfounded and misleading. The Park Department complied with his request.

Louis Mowbray went on to become one of the most famous and respected ichthyologists of his times. He went from Boston to head the New York Aquarium for several years. He left New York to oversee the construction of an aquarium at Miami Beach and was its director until it was sold in 1924. After another short stay in New York, he returned to his native Bermuda, where he served as curator of the government aquarium until his death in 1952. He is credited with the discovery and capture of several species of rare fish. His obituary notice in the New York Times notes his success in sending live eels in bottles from Florida to Denmark via parcel post; they arrived in good health.

It is regrettable that a man of Mowbray's vision and talent should have been frustrated in his tenure as director of the South Boston Aquarium. Yet it was probably inevitable. The aquarium was never designed for scientific research. The city had already spent twice as much as originally intended in the construction of the building and had been generous both in supporting Mowbray's salary and his plans for stocking the aquarium. There was neither the will nor the means to satisfy Mowbray's ambitions for the institution, and it was these circumstances that produced the acrimonious conflict that led to Mowbray's dismissal.

Mowbray's successor was John Benson, who, from 1914 to 1919, managed both the Franklin Park Zoo and the South Boston Aquarium in the capacity of "Advisor on Animals." For renewing the exhibits of tropical fishes, Benson was referred to the New York Aquarium whose collecting trips off Key West were organized by-Louis Mowbray. The cold water specimens were collected at Woods Hole.

Benson also seems to have taken his responsibilities seriously. He appears continually in the Park Department records pushing for improvements in both the zoo and aquarium. Eventually he pushed too hard and too often. In May of 1919, the position of Advisor on Animals was abolished and Benson's "services were no longer required for the efficient conduit of the Zoological
From this moment on, the South Boston Aquarium was doomed to mediocrity. Rather than a "director," it would have a "superintendent" to assure the smooth functioning of the status quo.

A 1927 "Table of Information Regarding the Aquariums of the World" compiled by the New York Aquarium lists the annual maintenance cost of the South Boston Aquarium at $40,000. A Wm. J. O'Brien figures as the "presiding officer". According to this document, there were 62 exhibition tanks whose capacity varied between 45 and 1,500 gallons. There was a single pool (for the seals) which contained 4,500 gallons of water. 31 reserve tanks had a total capacity of 6,500 gallons. The 2 reservoirs could accommodate a total of 128,000 gallons. The salt water tanks accounted for 17,000 gallons and used 90,200 gallons a day; the fresh water tanks had a capacity of 15,600 gallons and used 100,700 gallons a day. The total number of exhibits is given as 3,904, comprised of 2,835 fishes, 4 mammals, 20 reptiles, 25 amphibians and 20 invertebrates. The table claims that the aquarium received an average of 844 visitors a day and operated with a staff of 10 including a Director, a matron, 4 engineers, 3 firemen, 1 part-time engineer, 1 mechanic and 5 attendants. The institution was open every day of the year from 10 to 5. There were no pamphlets. There is an item listed as "balanced aquaria" with a total capacity of 300 gallons and 4 water systems (fresh, fresh-refrigerated, salt and salt-heated). The aquarium also had a fresh water fish hatchery which hatched 5,000 fry a year.

During the 1920s there was a sustained effort to replace corroded pipes, add new fixtures, and exercise a preventive maintenance. With the help of the Detroit Aquarium, fishes from the Great Lakes were added to the exhibits while the rest of the stock was renewed annually by buying into the Caribbean collecting trips of the New York Aquarium and expeditions to Woods Hole.

With the arrival of the Great Depression, followed by the Second World War, maintenance repairs and the replacement of defective fixtures practically ceased. Nothing more than "survival maintenance" was provided between 1930 and 1946. The priorities of the city and country were elsewhere. The Park Department was also taking on more and more responsibilities, and their new projects relegated what was already in place, such as the South Boston Aquarium, to a place of oblivion.

The annual renewal of exhibits through New York and Woods Hole continued during this period but with diminished funds. In
1941, the New York Aquarium had to donate its contribution. The final expedition to Woods Hole was allotted $39.00. Apparently no private benefactor took interest in the Aquarium. South Boston was then, as it is now, a world unto itself, little known by "outsiders."

When things returned to normal, the underfunded and neglected aquarium was in a pitiful state. Almost half the tanks were empty, the water in the occupied tanks was murky, only one seal of the colony remained, and the building was in dire need of structural repair. It was painful to visit the once proud institution: smelly, dirty and half empty, it was a shell of its former self. It was estimated that the rehabilitation would require $300,000. Mayor Hynes refused to appropriate the money and ordered the building closed.

September 30th, 1954, was the aquarium's last day. The remaining seal and fishes were sent to the Franklin Park Zoo. It is unclear what happened to the five huge turtles, all over 200 pounds, which were the sole remaining attraction. Rumor has it that Myrtle, the New England Aquarium's giant green turtle, was one of these. It's not impossible; she came to the New England Aquarium from the old Provincetown Aquarium, but that would have been a logical place to send the South Boston turtles.

A public tennis court now stands on the site of the South Boston Aquarium. An MDC skating rink has taken over the three ponds. Across the street Admiral Farragut still looks out on Boston Harbor. The willow tree is no longer there but the long blue waves still rise steadily beyond the outer islands. Robert Lowell wrote the epitaph:

"The old South Boston Aquarium stands
in a Sahara of snow now. Its broken windows are boarded.
The bronze weather vane cod has lost half its scales.
The airy tanks are dry.
Once my hand crawled like a snail on the glass;
my hand tingled
to burst the bubbles
drifting from the noses of cowed, compliant fish.
My hand draws back. I often sigh still
for the dark downward and vegetating kingdom
of the fish and reptile.....

------------------------------------
The Aquarium is gone. Everywhere,
giant finned cars nose forward like fish;
a savage servility
slides by on grease."
EPILOGUE

Fortunately the story does not end here. The South Boston Aquarium was to be the phoenix from whose ashes the New England Aquarium was to rise. Its demise left a void, and that, in itself, was its contribution. Through the South Boston Aquarium, generations of Bostonians had learned to appreciate the wonders of marine life. The seed had been sown for something greater.

The failures of both the Boston Aquarial Gardens and the South Boston Aquarium were inscribed in their structures. The first was a purely mercantile venture that measured its success by its profits. The second was a purely civic institution with very limited goals, severe budgeting restrictions, dependent on non-professionals for its orientation, and subject to the whims of local politics. Even prior to the closing of the South Boston Aquarium, a replacement was envisaged as a private, non-profit organization that would incorporate the best elements of the previous aquariums, while hoping to avoid their pitfalls.

At first, a small, modern aquarium was projected as part of the Museum of Science, and preliminary studies were undertaken in this direction. In 1957, however, a group of local businessmen formed what was to be the New England Aquarium Corporation with the intent of founding an independent aquarium. The directors of this new organization chose the then neglected and dilapidated Boston waterfront as the site for their project.

The rest is well known. The New England Aquarium was not only a resounding success, which served as a model for similar ventures the world over; it also resurrected the whole waterfront area of Boston, changing a disgrace into a civic treasure.
APPENDICES
APPENDIX 1

James A. Cutting’s patent, with illustration, for his aquarium aerating device.
APPENDIX 2

THE DOMESTIC HISTORY
OF THE
LEARNED SEALS,
"NED" and "FANNY,"
AT THE
BOSTON
Aquarial Gardens,
21 Bromfield Street.

NEW YORK:
G. A. Whiting, Printer, 42 Ann Street.
1860.
THE LEARNED SEALS

The pair of Seals now domesticated at the Aquarial Gardens, Boston, have attracted so much attention and remark by their pleasing and wonderful performances, that we shall gratify not only those who have visited the Gardens, but the public generally, by giving a brief history of the curious and intelligent animals.

The pair, named by the proprietors of the Aquarial Gardens, “NED” and “FANNY”, are of the common species so well known upon our coast. They were taken in Saco Pool, and were then about three months old. The Seal is by no means easily captured, even by experienced Seal hunters, but manifests a sagacity and cunning far beyond anything to be met with in the descriptions of the animal given by writers on natural history. Indeed, naturalists, until very recently, seem to have been singularly ignorant of the capacities, if not of the habits, of the common Seal. Seen in his native home, he is one of the most playful and vivacious creatures which inhabit the great deep. Though with great difficulty captured alive, he is neither shy nor timid. He will gambol round a boat, and inspect every movement of those on board with the closest and most scrutinizing attention, and will even follow the boat for a considerable distance; always however, keeping far enough out of the way of any device for his capture. His curiosity is often excited by attaching a bucket or some other object to the end of an oar. This he will approach, and intently examine, but the very moment an attempt is made to take advantage of his curiosity, he dives beyond the reach of all harm. He has a singular faculty of taking on board ballast, when he wants to sink below a certain depth, ten fathoms being the “lowest depth” he can reach without this aid. When he would explore the “regions beyond”, he swallows a number of pebbles, which he disgorges when his errand is completed.

The young Seal almost from its natal day exhibits the agility, and a large share of the intelligence, of its parents, and is nearly as difficult to capture. So innate is this intelligence, that when a Seal is caught young, as were “NED” and “FANNY,” it may be taught to do almost anything that it is physically able to perform. The Seal’s temper, however, is peculiar, unequal and uncertain, resembling in this respect that of the feline race. The instructor’s own temper, and more especially his judgment and power of self command, are, therefore, largely called into exercise in the process of tuition. However wayward “NED” and “FANNY” might be, Mr. Cutting, who has been their sole tutor, has always
maintained his own equanimity and inflexibility of purpose. Harshness, even of voice, is not only useless in the taming and domestication of the Seal, but would utterly frustrate tuition. Kindness, firmness, and a judicious system of rewards, however, accomplishes every thing with the docile and intelligent Seal. We should have added to these a careful deliberation, aided by impressiveness of voice and eye. When these qualities are brought into steady and continuous play, the work of instruction goes on pleasantly and prosperously, and we do not remember an instance of having twice to put either “NED” or “FANNY” through the mere form of any performance. The Seal, in fact, appears to have a tenacity of memory as wonderful as its quickness of intelligence. After once performing a trick, the rest was only the rehearsal that is necessary to perfection.

In the interesting pair of Seals now exhibiting at the Aquarial Gardens, there is just about that difference in capacity to perform that may be accounted for by the difference of sex. “NED” has learned some things to which “FANNY” showed an inaptitude, or at least a disinclination, while “FANNY” goes through performances which “NED” either could not or would not learn, possibly thinking them not becoming his dignity. As the visitor to the Aquarial Gardens will have observed, there is equal intelligence in their eyes, and the same ready appreciation of Mr. Cutting’s commands, though their performances are different both in kind and extent. One of “FANNY’S” performances amuses every one who sees it. She will lie upon her back, meekly fold her hands – meaning, of course, her flippers – upon her bosom, and will feign sleep and snore with the energy of the most inveterate

“NED” SHOWING HOW THE LADIES BATHE AT SACO POOL
night-trumpeter in the human family. This is perhaps the most remarkable, as well as amusing of her many pleasing performances, displaying a power of mimicry, in a direction contrary to her nature that is really marvelous. She seems to delight in the performance of this as though she thoroughly comprehended and appreciated the joke she is playing upon her visitors.

‘NED’S’ performances are quite varied, and though the circle of them is so extended, he neither forgets them nor wearies of them. He does, however, manifest a preference in respect to them, especially in one particular, which will be hereafter pointed out. He has proved himself a very apt scholar. His education was commenced immediately after he was received into the Aquarial Gardens. He shows his visitors, with much latent drollery, how he wakes himself in the morning and makes his exodus from dreamland into this matter-of-fact world. Next he takes his bath, thereby conveying to the spectators the lesson that a matutinal plunge is a very wholesome and proper performance. If Mr. Cutting intimates to him that this cleanly exercise has been somewhat hurriedly and imperfectly performed, “NED” makes no scruple about repeating it, and this time he “goes under” with a will. At the request of his teacher he also gives an illustration of the manner in which the ladies and gentlemen of his race bathe in Saco Pool. Satisfied now with himself, and that he is “fit for company” and ready to salute his visitors, he is profuse in his bows and salutations, being less scrupulous about the extent of his obeisance than was our Minister to the Court of Pekin. Having thus, as becomes a polite and accomplished host, acknowledged the honor his guests have paid him by their visit, he will next take
a seat in their presence, sitting upright on his vertebra without support, and again make his salaam to his audience, showing special deference to the ladies by kissing his hand to them. Next he assumes a graver and more aspiring character, and Mr. Cutting having handed him a rifle or gun, ’NED’ shoulders arms *instanter*, and with all the gravity of a member of the Governor’s body guard, or the comicality of a Massachusetts farmer on training day. But passing over his other performances, we may mention one other, and that one most marvelous. We refer to his playing upon the hand organ, which he has learned to do with perfect ease and wonderful adroitness, even to the changing of hands when one of them is wearied with the exercise. It is to his performance that we have alluded as being his favorite one. Whether it is the revolving motion of the handle, or that he has a greater passion for that class of music than most human householders have, we pretend not to decide, but we are sure that he takes pleasure in it from the fact that if the organ is left upon his platform he will play upon it from choice in the night as well as in the day time.

What other performances either “NED” or “FANNY” may devise for the entertainment of visitors to the Aquarial Gardens before what we have now written comes back from the printers, or at some more remote day, we will not venture to foretell. Of this, however, we are well assured, after months of daily observance of this “interesting couple”, that their docility and intelligence are beyond those of any animal we have seen below the rank of man in the scale of animate creation. And their affection is equal to either their docility or their intelligence. The visitor to the Gardens
will have observed how their bright eyes beam with joy at the sound of Mr. Cutting’s step or voice. This pleasure is manifested even more strongly when he is alone with them, than when he greets them in the presence of visitors. We can assure the reader that the expression of delight that illumines the “bright black eyes” of “NED” and “FANNY” as Mr. Cutting approaches them is no part of their performance. It is a genuine expression of joy, springing from an intercourse, the giving and receiving of instruction, that has been marred by no unpleasant episode. Should the proprietors of the Aquarial Gardens continue to be as successful as they have been so far, in preserving the health of and carrying on the education of this sealed pair, as with their new building and increased facilities they expect to be, it is more than probable that “NED” and “FANNY,” if they do not write their auto-biography, will at least be entitled to and will find a place in biographical history. But who know that they will not – “NED” inditing and “FANNY” acting as amanuensis – themselves put on record, however briefly, “the story of the two Seals who found a home in the Boston Aquarial Gardens!”
CATALOGUE OF ANIMALS

—AT THE—

BOSTON AQUARIAL

—AND—

ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS,

CENTRAL COURT, WASHINGTON STREET.

CUTTING & BUTLER, PROPRIETORS.

OPEN FROM 9, A.M., TO 10, P.M.
The common names are in Capital letters, the scientific in italic. Following the scientific name, is the abbreviated name of the author from whom it is taken.

THE ANIMALS ARE FEED DAILY, AT 11 O'CLOCK, A.M.

AQUARIAL DEPARTMENT.

No. 2. Red Fish, Loxias sexmaculatus—Storer.

No. 3. Brook Trout, Salmo fontinalis—Mitchell.

No. 4. Brook Char, Cynius carpius—Linn. From Messina, Sicily.

No. 5. Horned Pout of Catfish, Pimelodus atrius—De Kay.


No. 7. Shiner, Loxias americanus—Storer.

No. 8. Suck Fish, or Brook, Pimelodus vulpinus—Cuvier.

No. 9. Hybomis, Tubaria tinctoria—Linn.

No. 10. Silver Suck, or Spearfish, Ambrossia notata—Mitchell.

No. 11. Sea Anemone, Actinaria pentalata—Ag. attached to Titonius decerebratus.

This is the first specimen ever found. It has been named by Prof. Agassiz, and will be described in the proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History.
No. 26. Eggs of a Mollusk.

No. 27. Pollock, Merlangus purpureus—Storer.
Young Sculpin, Cottus glaucus—Cuv. and Val.

No. 28. Flounder, Platessa rana—Storer.

No. 29. Oyster, Ostrea borealis—Lam.

Horse Crab or King Crab, Polyphysus americanus—De Kay.

No. 31. Tautogi or Black Fish, Tautoga americanus—De Kay.

No. 32. Sea Anemone, Actinia margaritae—Le Su.

No. 33. Gunner, or Sea Robin, Priacanthus platys—Storer.

No. 34. Sculpin, Cottus virginianus—Storer.
Short-Spined Sculpin, Cottus glaucus—Cuv.

No. 35. Skate’s Egg.

No. 36. Mussel, Mytilus edulis—Linn.

No. 37. Sand Crab, Platypusus coelatus—Lav.

No. 38. Haddock, Morhua agilis—Cuv.

No. 39. Gunner, or Sea Perch, Omulobus caeruleus—De Kay.
Lobster, Homarus americanus—M. Edw.

No. 40. Spotted Skate, or Ray, Rajta coelata—Mitch.
Minnow, Fundulus punctatus—Cuv. et Val.

No. 41. Males of the Striped Minnow, Hybogryra flavilus—Storer.

No. 42. Two-Spined Stickelback, Galaxias bilamellatus—Mitch.
Four-Spined Stickelback, Galaxias quadrimaculatus—Mitch.
Many-Spined Stickelback, Galaxias DeKayi—Agassiz.

No. 43. Myxus coecetus—Linn.
An undescribed fish from Boston Harbor.

No. 44. Blood Fish, Astronotus rubescens—M. et P.
Red Star Fish, Linckia oculata—Stn.
Star Fish, Asplenium marginatum—Ag.
An undescribed species, named by Prof. Agassiz.

No. 45. Sea Raven, Hemirhapterus acadicus—Storer.

No. 46. Clam, Mya arenaria—Linn.
Eel, Anguilla bostonensis—Le Su.
Spotted Tubrot, Pluronectes maculatus—Mitch.

Central Tank.
Loggerhead Turtle, from Florida, Thalassochelys squamosa—Fitt.
Dog Fish, or Dog Shark, Asplanchus americanus—Storer.
Skate, or Ray, Rajta raphanites—Mitch.
American Turbot, Platessa oblonga, De Kay.
Striped Bass, or Rock Fish, Labrus viridescens—Cuv.
Haddock, Morhua agilis—Cuv.
Sculpin, Cottus virginianus—Storer.
Short-Spined Sculpin, Cottus glaucus—Cuv.
Lobster, Homarus americanus—M. Edw.

Zoological Department.

Snake Cage,
Anagonyx, from South America
Pitvossa, from Africa.
The Maja, from Cuba,
Black Snake.

Moose,
From Moosehead Lake, Maine.
Alces americanus—Jard.

Cage No. 1.
Land Tortoises, from Galapagos Islands,
Testudo nigra—Cuv. et Gm.
Land Tortoise from Europe.
Testudo graeca—Linn.
Land Tortoise from Africa.
Testudo radiata.
Land Tortoise, from Surinam.
Testudo sulcata.
Zoological Department—Continued.

Cage 1.—continued.

**No. 2.**

**Young Bald Eagle,** *Haliaetus leucocephalus.*

**No. 3.**

**Black Bears,** *Ursus americanus.*—Pallasi. About 2 years old.

**No. 4.**

**Leopard,** *Felis pardus.*—Schreb. From South Africa.

**No. 5. Happy Family.**

**Coati,** *Nasua nasua.*—Pr. Max. From Brazil.

**Otterum,** *Lutra virginiana.*—Shaw. From Georgia.

**Wood Duck,** *Aix sponsa.*—Gmelin.

**Red Tailed Hawk,** *Buteo jamaicensis.*—Cassin.

**Monkeys, Japanese Cat, &c.**

**Raccoon,** *Procyon lotor.*—Perrry.

**Cat Owls,** *Bubo virginianus.*—Bonap.

**Galago,** from Sénégal.

**No. 6.**

**Grey Parrot,** from Africa.

**Parrot,** from Brazil.

**Macaw,** from the East Indies.

**Marsh Hen, or Coot,** *Fulica americana.*—Bonap.

**Hushtan, or Angora Rabbit,** *Lepus capensis.*—Linnaeus. (var. angorensis—Denn.)

**Common Rabbit,** *Lepus americanus.*—Linnaeus. (var. domesticus.)

**Cavies, or Guinea Pigs,** *Cavia domesticus.*

**No. 7. Flying Squirrels,** *Pteromys volans.*—Cuvier.

**No. 8. American Sable, or Pine Marten,** *Martes americana.*—Turrton.

**No. 9. Kangaroo, from Australia,** *Macropus giganteus.*—Shaw.

**No. 10. Great Horned or Cat Owls,** *Bubo virginianus.*—Bonap.

**No. 11. American Porcupine, or Hedge Hog,** *Erethizon dorsatum.*—E. Cuv.

**No. 12. Deer Pen.**

**Buru, or Deer, from the Philippine Islands,** *Rusa philippinensis.*—H. Smith.

**Virginia or Red Deer, from So. Carolina,** *Cervus virginianus.*—Boddart.

**No. 13. Rama, or Indian Genet, from Java,** *Viverra indica.*—Geoffri.

**No. 14. Purple Gallinule.**

**No. 15. Mino-Bird, from East India.**

**No. 16. Scarrow Hawks,** *Buteo sparrowius.*—Linn.

**No. 17. Seal Tank.**

**Marbled Seal,** "Novi," captured at Saco Pool, Me., July 20th, 1859.

**Young Seals caught during the summer of 1890.**

**Phoca vitulina**—Linn.

**THE SOUTH AFRICAN ABORIGINES,**

Are on exhibition from 9 A.M. to 10 P.M.

They will also give an exhibition of their Native Songs and Dances, every evening, commencing at 8 o'clock.

**War Song**—"He-enter-le-men var" (We will kill our enemies.)

**Hunting Song**—"Try-great-hub she-be-hole" (Caution! caution! see, the leopard is coming!)

**Battle Song**—"So-shu-bro-she-song go-in, dor-by-see" Wane. (They come! they come! take care! oh, we will kill them all.)

The Hottentot songs are merely a chorus of sounds, without any intelligible words. The chorus of the Kaffir songs is repeated during the dance until it is ended.
APPENDIX 4

BOSTON AQUARIAL

ZOLOGICAL GARDENS.

CUTTING & BUTLER, PROPRIETORS.

Wm. H. BROOKS, Treasurer.

In addition to the attractions of the AQUARIAL AND ZOOLOGICAL DEPARTMENTS, at the above popular place of amusement, there will be performed on
MONDAY EVENING,

And to continue throughout the week, and likewise on Wednesday and Saturday Afternoons, at 3 o'clock,

A DRAMA IN THREE ACTS, ENTITLED

LATAKOO!

Or

A Yankee Among the Kaffirs!

In which the Kaffirs, Bushmen and Hottentots will appear, and the method of Kaffir Border Warfare will be represented.

With SUPERIOR ARTISTS engaged expressly for the Drama, and with NEW SCENERY painted expressly for the Drama—the whole under the direction of

Mr. C. H. WILSON, --- STAGE MANAGER.

JEDEDIAH DODD, a Yankee Traveller in search of his fortune. --- Mr. C. H. WILSON
HANS VAN SPLINTER, a Boer of Cape Colony. --- Mr. C. P. JOYCE
CAPT. BARNLEY, in command of Troops at Port Natal. --- Mr. E. MCCUBBE
SERGEANT. --- Mr. BROWN
LATAKOO, a Kaffir Chief. --- THE FINGO FROM SOUTH AFRICA
KAFFIRS AND HOTTESTOTS.

ANNEKE, (with Song.) --- Miss S. MELVILLE
MADAME VAN SPLINTER, Wife of Hans. --- Miss H. SPRAGUE
SOLDIERS, BERRANTS, &c.

Synopsis of Scenery and Events.


AN ORIGINAL SONG BY ANNETTE.

COUNTRY DANCE BY THE ENTIRE COMPANY.

ACT 3. The Parade Ground. Attention! Shoulder arms! "He who fights and runs away will live to fight another day." Jedediah instructs Captains in military tactics. How we did down 'em Junesbers! Annette in captivity. Listeners never knew what they were good for themselves. Kaffir war dance and songs. Submission to the Chief. Release of Annette. Preparing for Battle. "Song by Annette. March to the Battle Field!"

CHORUS and MARCH. GRAND COMBAT. DEFEAT of the KAFFIRS.

JEDEDIAH'S REWARD and SPEECH. "Sally may marry Nathan Jones as soon as she likes." TABLEAUX.

(End.)
APPENDIX 5

WHO CAPTURED THE FIRST WHALE?

In his autobiography Barnum notes that he became interested in exhibiting a whale when he heard that “some fishermen at the mouth of the St. Lawrence River had captured alive a fine white whale”. He was also told that such an animal, if packed in a box with seaweed and salt water, could be transported over land a considerable distance without danger to its life or health. He then proceeds to give a stirring account of his trials and tribulations in securing not one but a pair of beluga whales. Before the captured whales were even transported, Barnum hurried back to New York to inform the world of his exploit – and to notify the inhabitants of the towns through which the whales would be passing on their way to New York. This pair and a subsequent pair died shortly after their arrival at the American Museum.

All this showmanship led to the belief that Barnum was the first to capture and exhibit a living whale. Yet while Barnum was blustering and tooting his horn, a beluga had been quietly swimming around at the Aquarial Gardens for at least a month. The first ads introducing the “living whale” date from May, 1861. Barnum’s first expedition to the St. Lawrence was in June of that year.

Perhaps the “fine white whale” captured by the St. Lawrence fishermen and transported in a “box filled with seaweed and salt water” was, in fact, that obtained by Cutting. This would explain Barnum’s obsession with securing a pair in order to one-up his predecessor. Another curious note is Barnum’s claim that the “illustrious Agassiz” had come to see the animals and had given him a certificate that they were genuine white whales. It is difficult to imagine the “illustrious Agassiz” going to New York to certify what he had already certified in Boston. It is more probable that Barnum flaunted as his own the certification given to Cutting.

Barnum’s flamboyancy effectively obscured Cutting’s achievements. Later accounts have Cutting’s whale being a “loan” from Barnum. Another account has the whale being stranded on the North Shore and brought to Boston by Henry Butler.

The following article from the December, 1867 issue of Ballou’s Monthly Magazine (page 439) sets the record straight.
THE WHITE WHALE

The Beluga, or White Whale, is an inhabitant of the higher latitudes, though it does not confine itself exclusively to those latitudes, being found often in milder waters. Its most frequent haunt is in Hudson’s Bay and Davis’s Strait. The Saguenay River also abounds with these whales, by some called white porpoises, and they are very plenty in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Some years since, Mr. James E. Cutting, of this city, performed the then wondrous exploit of transporting several of these huge mammals from the St. Lawrence to Boston, by carriage and rail, and exhibited them in his aquarium; one of the most interesting exhibitions ever opened in Boston. The feeding of the whales excited the deepest interest among our savans. Their principal diet was eels, which they seized and devoured with great adroitness. Mr. Cutting, among other experiments to interest the public, devised a car, of nautilus form, to float upon the water, which he attached to the whale, and in this he placed a nymph, personating Amphitrite, who guided the aquatic steed around the large tank in which he was placed, by means of reins; but one day he turned suddenly on his track and a douche for the fair one was the consequence, that prevented further exhibition in this line. Mr. Barnum, also, following Mr. Cutting, procured several in the same way, and had them on exhibition at New York – one or two at the time of the burning of the Museum, the frying out of which was so graphically described by the reporter of the Tribune, whose report excited such wonder.

The average length of the Beluga is about sixteen or eighteen feet, and generally are a cream white; but in some specimens the cream tint is dashed with red, and becomes a pale orange. When young, it is marked with brown spots, the general hue of the body being a slaty gray. The head is short and rounded, the forehead being convex, and the lower jaw not so wide as the upper. Both jaws are well supplied with teeth, some of which have a tendency to break out as the animal increases in years. The eye is very small, not much larger than a man’s, and the iris is blue. The dorsal fin is absent in this mammal, and the pectorals are large, thick, powerful and rounded. The thick and powerful tail is bent under the body while swimming, and is used with such singular strength, that the animal can shoot forward with arrowy speed when alarmed.
APPENDIX 6

Extracted from *A Summer Trip Eastward* by Wilforley (Merry’s Museum, Sept. 1861, New Series 12(9), pages 134-135).

“I bent my steps...toward the Aquarial Gardens where, as numerous posters had been repeatedly informing me, a real livin’ live white whale was to be seen, not to mention sundry other objects of curiosity and interest. Well, I saw the whale, which was perhaps twenty feet long, and saw him spout on a small scale, and as it happened to be feeding time, witnessed his powers of swallow, which were not remarkable; it seemed to trouble him considerably to manage a good sized eel. A young shark, an ugly fellow, shared the whale’s tank with him. Ranged around the large tank were numerous small aquaria, in which smaller members of the finny tribe disported themselves, some of them very curious and beautiful. While I stood looking at the ungainly gambols of the whale, a deep voice close at my side suddenly announced, that if the ladies and gentlemen wished to see the performance of “the animals”, they would proceed downstairs. Although I had come only to see the fishes, still I had no particular objection to seeing any kind of other animals the Gardens might have to show, and if they performed, why, well and good, I’d look at them. So I did and saw a monkey ride a horse in four different ways, perform Napoleon Bonaparte and General Washington – or the Duke of Wellington – I’m not quite sure which – in pretty fair monkey style, promenade a supposed Washington Street in the most approved manner, and finally trundle a wheelbarrow with some difficulty; to this last part of the programme he objected loudly. There was a seal, too, a bright-eyed, intelligent fellow who showed us how the ladies bathed at Nahant and then kissed his *hand* very gallantly to them.

Then there was an *elk*-hunt around the ring, the hunter being the ring master with a whip, and after that a *kangaroo*-hunt, in which two kangaroos and two half-tamed Indians participated. The latter performance was one of the most grotesquely ridiculous sights I ever beheld. The kangaroos went jumping around the ring, hotly pursued by the Indians, who kept yelling at the top of their voices to make the persecuted creatures go faster. The kangaroos made good time, but the Indians were too much for them, and catching them by the tail, belabored them with sticks, never ceasing to yell at them. Altogether, the leaping kangaroos, and the Indians with
their tattered finery fluttering on the breeze, made a scene at once wild and comical, such as I shall not soon forget.

In cages at the sides of the room were various sorry specimens of the animal kingdom, and among them their chief representatives, the lion, king of beasts, and the eagle, king of birds, but both deposed from their kingly state, and immured – or rather enwired – for the rest of their natural lives. The lion paced moodily to and fro, gaping now and then, and the eagle hovered over its slovenly rest, occasionally uttering a shrill scream like the creaking of a cart-wheel. Was it thinking of the evil times that have befallen the land of which it is the chosen emblem? I fear its thoughts were rather of the tardiness of the keeper in bringing its dinner".
APPENDIX 7

Central Tank.
WHITE WHALE.  Beluga catodon—Gray.
BOTTLE-NOSE DOLPHIN,

Delphinus tursio—Fabr.
SKATE, or Ray.  Raja diaphanes—Mitch.
STRIPED BASS, or BOOK FISH.

Labrax lineatus—Cuv
HADDOCK.  Morhua aegithina—Cuv.
TATOR.  Tintoga americana—Cuv.
POLLOCK.  Merlangus esocinus—Cuv.
Cod.  Morhua americana—Storer.
STURGEON.  Acipenser oxyrinchus—Mitch.
GREY SHARK.  Odontaspis griseus—Ag.
EKEL.  Anguilla bocconei—Le Su.
HARD HEADS.  Alosa menhaden—Stor.
ALESWIVES.  Alosa tyrannis—DeKay.
GREEN TURTLE.  Chelonia mydas—Fitz.
BLUE FISH.  Temnodon sattator—Cuv.

1) Detail from undated catalogue noting the dolphin as a resident of the central tank.

2) The letter from Agassiz published in the same catalog noted above confirming the identity of Cutting's dolphin.
CATALOGUE.

The common names are in capital letters, the scientific in Italic. Following the scientific name is the abbreviated name of the author from whom it is taken.

THE ANIMALS ARE FED DAILY, AT 11 O'CLOCK, A.M.

AQUARIAL DEPARTMENT.
IN THE UPPER HALL.

TANK NO. 1.

No. 2. Young Crocodile, from Cuba. Crocodylus acutus—Cuv.

No. 3. Sunfish, or Brushtn. Pomatos vulgus—Cuv.

No. 4. Young Eels. Anguilla borealis—Le Sueur.

No. 5. Tadpoles of the Pond. Fresh Water Clam. Aplonia simplex—Say.

No. 6. Young Pickerel, hatched May 22, from eggs laid by Pickerel in Tank No. 7.


No. 9. Danter, Danterina Obsculata—Agassiz.


No. 11. European Carp. Cyprinus carpio—Linn.


No. 14. The very small animals covering the stones and sides of the tanks are Fresh Water Polyps, or Hydra. Fresh Water Clam, Anodonta implicata—Say.

No. 15. Shiner. Leuciscus nigricans—Storer.

No. 16. Sun Fish, or Breast. Pomatos vulgaris—Cuv.


No. 22. Sand Cray. Ilyanassa oculata—Leach.

No. 23. Elat. Anguilla baeri—Le Sueur.


No. 27. Red Salm Fish. Loxias oculata—Forbes.

No. 28. Sculpin, or Porgy. Porgus argyroceus—Cuv. & Val.


No. 30. Sculpin. Porgus aculeatus—Ag.
**Aquarial Department—Continued**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Specimen</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Minnow</td>
<td>Fundulus pinnaeolus—Cuv.</td>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Minnow</td>
<td>Pungitius pinnaeolus—Cuv.</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>Sea Anemone</td>
<td>Actinia equina—Le Su.</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>Sea Anemone</td>
<td>Actinia marginata—Le Su.</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>Black Bass</td>
<td>Centropenis varius—Stor.</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>Striped Bass</td>
<td>Labrus mixtus—Cuv.</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>Horse Shoe Crab</td>
<td>Polypterus americana—DeKay.</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>Sea Rapt.</td>
<td>Pathetones pilatus—Stor.</td>
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<td>38</td>
<td>Rainbow</td>
<td>Balanus ovulatus—Lam.</td>
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<td>39</td>
<td>Connolly Crab</td>
<td>Cancer borealis—Stor.</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>Sea Robin</td>
<td>Priacanthus flavus—Stor.</td>
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<td>41</td>
<td>Tautog</td>
<td>Tautoga americanus—Un.</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>Tautog, or Blackfish</td>
<td>Tautoga americanus—Stimp.</td>
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<td>43</td>
<td>Common Crab</td>
<td>Cancer borealis—Stor.</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>Skate's Eggs</td>
<td>Raja ochotica—Mitchell.</td>
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<td>45</td>
<td>Yellow Skate</td>
<td>Raja ochotica—Mitchell.</td>
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<td>Spotted Skate, or Ray</td>
<td>Raja ochotica—Mitchell.</td>
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<td>White Pencil</td>
<td>Labrus mixtus—Cuv.</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>Many-Spined Stickleback</td>
<td>Gasterosteus De Kay—Agassiz.</td>
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<td>49</td>
<td>Young Crabs</td>
<td>Cancer borealis—Stor.</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>Many-Spined Stickleback</td>
<td>Gasterosteus De Kay—Agassiz.</td>
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<td>51</td>
<td>Horse Shoe Crab</td>
<td>Polypterus americana—DeKay.</td>
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<td>Sea Rapt.</td>
<td>Pathetones pilatus—Stor.</td>
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<td>53</td>
<td>Spider Crab</td>
<td>Polypterus americana—DeKay.</td>
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<td>White Pencil</td>
<td>Labrus mixtus—Cuv.</td>
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<td>55</td>
<td>Clam</td>
<td>Mya arenaria—Lin.</td>
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<td>56</td>
<td>Four-Spotted Flounder</td>
<td>An undescribed species, from Cape Cod.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Central Tank**

- **White Whale**: Beluga acutus—Gray
- **Skate of Ray**: Raja ocellata—Mitchell
- **Striped Bass**: Labrus mixtus—Cuv.
- **Haddock**: Merluca spicata—Cuv.
- **Tautog**: Tautoga americanus—Cuv.
- **Lobster**: Homarus americanus—M. Edw.
- **Pollock**: Merlangus carbonarius—Cuv.
- **Cod**: Merluca spicata—Cuv.
- **Sturgeon**: Anguilla anguilla—Mitchell
- **Gray Shark**: Odontaspis grisla—Ag.
- **Eels**: Anguilla anguilla—Le Su.
- **Hard Heads**: Alova menhaden—Stor.
- **Sharks and Turtles**: Chelonia mydas—Fitz.

*In the Gallery.*
CATALOGUE OF ANIMALS
IN THE LOWER HALL.

Cage No. 1.
Galápagos Tortoise.
Tartaruga nigra—Quoy & Gm.
Snapper, or Mud Turtle.
Cydobutis retinulae—Schw.
Box Turtle, Cuatro viñas—Agassiz.
Wood Turtle, Gephyro batrenus—Ag.
Painted Turtle, Chrysemys picta—Gray.
Alligator, Alligator mississippiensis, Dauglin.
African Ibis.

No. 2.
African Lion and Lioness.
Féla leo—Linn.

No. 3.
Black Bear, Ursus americanus—Pallas.
About two years old.

No. 4.
Leopard, Féla leopardi—Schreb.
From South Africa.

No. 5.
African Monkeys,
Angora Cats.
Pecos, or Mexican Hog.
Diadymes torquatus—Cuv.

No. 6.
Gray Furred, from Africa.
Pardus, from Brazil.
Macaw, from South America.
Guinea Fowl.

No. 7.
Crown Bird, from Africa.
Cockatoos, from the East Indies.
Agouti, Dasypus octodon—Illiger.

No. 8.
American Eagle, or Pine Martin.
Mystea americana—Turton.

No. 9.
Turtle Doves.

No. 10.
Virginia or Red Deer, from So. Carolina.
Cervus virginianus—Boddart.

No. 11.
Rusa, or Deer, from the Philippine Islands.
Rusa philippinna—H. Smith.

No. 12.
OPPORTUNE, Didelphys virginiana—Shaw.
From Georgia.

No. 13.
KANGAROO, from Australia.
Macropus giganteus—Shaw.

No. 14.
Goat, Capra aegagrus—Cuv.

No. 15.
POISON, from China.
Paradisaurus fuscus—Cuv.

No. 16.
MOOSE, from Moosehead Lake, Maine.
Alces americanus—Jard.

No. 17.
Snake Cage.
Asacondus, from South America.
Large Pythons, from Africa.
Small Pythons, from Africa.

No. 18.
Great Horned Cat Owls.
Bubo virginianus—Bonap.

No. 19.
American Porcupine, or Hedge Hog.
Erethizon dorsatum—P. Cuv.

No. 20.
Armadillo, from South America.
Dasypus novemcinctus.

No. 21.
Mino-Bird, from East India.

No. 22.
Gray Squirrel.
Sciurus carolinensis—Gmel.

No. 23.
White Rat.
Mus domesticus—Pallas.

No. 24.
Seal Tank.
Marked Seal, "Ned," captured at Saco Pool, Me., Ph. vitulina—Linn.

Outside Cages.
Bald Eagle.
Haliaetus leucocephalus—Say.

Bed Tail Hawk.
Buteo borealis—VieILL.

Pea Fowl.
Pavo cristatus—Linn.

Open from 9 A.M. to 10 P.M.
BOSTON AQUARIAL
AND
ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS!
Central Court, Washington Street.

THREE LIVING WHALES.
WONDEROUS ATTRACTION!

Just added to the great Central Tank, TWO MORE LIVING WHALES, rendering
the Gardens, in this particular chase, the most instructive and interesting place of
amusement in the world.

In a Communication to the Boston Journal, Professor
Agassiz gives the following description of the
WHITE WHALE.

(From the Boston Journal of A. of 27th, 1861.)

CAMBRIDGE, May 24, 1861.

DEAR SIR,—It gives me pleasure to comply with your request to
furnish you with some information respecting the White Whale now in
the aquarium of Mr. Cutting, in Boston.

This animal is an inhabitant of the Northern Seas, its lowest range
being the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Marius, in his journey to Greenland and Spitsbergen in 1671, was the first to give an accurate account of
this species under the name of "Wissfish" (white fish), the name of fish
being applied in earlier days to all marine animals. Like the Sperm
Whale, the Right Whale, and the Porpoises, however, it belongs to the
class of mammals and not to that of fishes. The first systematic name it
received was Balena albicans (the Whitefish Whale,) so called by Klein,
a contemporary of Linneus, on account of his whitish color. But since
the family of Whales embraces a number of distinct genera, it was afterward called Delphinapterus, by Lacaepede, and still later Beluga, by Gray.
Accounts of its habits, more or less extensive, may be found in the works
of the Arctic voyagers, especially in Grant, Egede, and Scoresby, and
scientific descriptions in Fabricius, Shaw, Cuvier, &c. I congratulate Mr.
Cutting heartily upon having succeeded in bringing to Boston, alive, so
interesting a specimen. Indeed it is no mean achievement to have brought
into a populous city a living Whale, and to have put it up for exhibition
in a glass tank: even though that Whale be neither the Right Whale nor
the Sperm Whale, but a smaller species, rarely exceeding twenty feet in
length, though specimens forty feet long have been captured. It has
already afforded me the means of much valuable information, and I trust
it may afford as much pleasure to many others, to see it turning round and
round in his large tank and now and then coming to the surface to breathe,
or blow as is the phrase with the cetaceans. When I last visited the
aquarium, I was particularly pleased to see the evidence of a return to a
higher style of exhibitions in that establishment, to say the least, and to
understand that the performances formerly carried on in it, from which
nothing could be learned, are at last to be stopped.

Very respectfully yours,

(Signed.) L. AGASSIZ.
# AQUARIAL DEPARTMENT

**IN THE UPPER HALL**

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<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
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CATALOGUE OF ANIMALS

IN THE LOWER HALL

Cage No. 1.
GALAPAGOS TORTOISE.
Tortoises, or Mud Turtles.
Chelonia serpentina—Schw.

RED TURTLE, Chelone nadiana—Agassiz.
WOOD TURTLE, Glyptemys insculpta—Ag.
PAINTED TURTLE, Chrysemys picta—Gray.
ALIGATOR, Alligator mississippiensis, Daudin.
AFRICAN AIG.

No. 2.
AFRICAN LION AND LIONESS.
Felix leo—Linn.

No. 3.
BLACK BEAR, Ursus americanus—Pallas. About two years old.

No. 4.
LEOPARD, Felis pardus—Schreb.
From South Africa.

No. 5.
AFRICAN MONKEYS,
ANGORA CATS.
Pecary, or Mexican Hog.

No. 6.
GREY PARROT, from Africa.
PARROT, from Brazil.
MACAW, from South America.
CROWNED BIRD, from Africa.
Cockatoo, from the East Indies.
AGOUTI, Dasyprocta aevi—Lilliger.
SILVER PHEASANT, Phasianus versicolor.

No. 7.
FLYING SQUIRRELS,
Pteromys volans—Cuv.

No. 8.
AMERICAN SABLE, or Pine Marten.
Mustela sibirica—Tourt.

No. 9.
TURTLE DOVES.

No. 10.
VIRGINIA OR RED DEER, from So. Carolina.
BOY, or Deer, from South Africa.

No. 11.
RUQ, or Deer, from the Philippine Islands.
RUSC PHILIPPINAE—H. Smith.
COMMON RABBIT, Lepus canicular—Linn.

No. 12.
OPOSSUM, Didelphys virginiana—Shaw.
From Georgia.
RACCOON, Procyon lotor—Storr.

No. 13.
KANGAROO, from Australia.
Macropus giganteus—Gray.

No. 14.
CIVIT, from Africa.
Viverra civetta.

No. 15.
Pouched, from China.
Paradoxus typus—Cuv.
RAISIN, or Indian Genet, from Java.
Viverra indica—Geoff.

No. 16.
MOOSE, from Moosehead Lake, Maine.
Alces americanus—Jard.

No. 17.
SNAKE CAGE,
Anacondas, from South America.
Large Pythons, from Africa.
Small Python, from Africa.
The Maja, from Cuba.
PINE SNAKE, Pituophis melanoleucus—Holb.
From New Jersey.
Black Snake, Bussanocr constrictor—B&G.

No. 18.
GREY HUNTED CAT OWL.
Schoeno virginianus—Bonap.

No. 19.
AMERICAN HEDGE HOG,
Erinororn dawsoni—F. Cuv.

No. 20.
ARMADILLO, from South America.
Dasypus spinosus.

No. 21.
MUKER BIRD, from East India.

No. 22.
GREY SQUIRREL, Sciurus carolinensis—Gmel.

No. 23.
WOODCHEEK, Arcturus monax—Gmelin.

No. 24.
WHITE RABBIT, Mus domesticus—Pallas.

No. 25.
FIBER RABBIT, Cuv.

SHEL TANK.
MARMAL DEER, "Ned," captured at Saco Pool, Me., Phoco vitulina—Linn.

Open from 9 A. M. to 10 P. M.

Three Performances, in the Lower Hall, by the Tamed Animals, trained by
Mr. U. W. Sears—at 11 A. M., 3 P. M., and 8 in the evening.

Admission 25 cents, Children under 10 years, 15 cents.

BOSTON, July 22, 1861.
APPENDIX 10


“The first one [whale] ever captured for such a purpose was secured by Prof. H. D. Butler, who brought it in perfect health to Boston, Massachusetts, where it was kept in an immense glass reservoir, and at a later date was under my immediate charge and supervision. It continued in good condition for more than a year, and became so perfectly acclimated to its new home that it actually showed some signs of intelligence. There was a nautilus-shaped boat made, to which he was occasionally tackled and taught to draw. I fancy he was not very fond of being treated like a draught-horse; for when we wanted him to “hold up” to be harnessed, he just put on speed and went all the faster around his glass-walled circle. He would, however, sometimes condescend to take a live herring or a squirming eel from my hand, and then, turning on one side, sail around and look for more of the same sort; and in other ways he would show that he was really becoming an intelligent Americanized citizen. This creature hardly ever remained still; it appeared to be always swimming around its tank, and ever in the one direction, but varying its speed; and it seemed to find amusement in diving up and down and in splashing the water with its tail, which was admirably formed for the purpose; varying its performances by occasionally spouting a stream of water through is blow-hole into the air”.

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Struggles And Triumphs; or, Forty Years’ Recollections of P. T. Barnum. 1875. Courtesy Lee Finley.

Daily Telegraph [Harrisburg, PA], May 8, 1889. Courtesy Lee Finley.

Courtesy Boston Public Library.


Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society.

Ballou’s Pictorial, November 19, 1859. Courtesy Lee Finley.

Top – Courtesy Boston Public Library. Bottom – Courtesy Boston Public Library.

Courtesy The Ernst Mayr Library of The Museum of Comparative Zoology, Harvard University.
References and Suggested Reading

Anon. (1890) Projects For Zoological Park And Aquarium. Boston Society of Natural History.
Bradlee, N. N. (N. D.) Drawings For Central Court, Vol. 9, Plaques 220-292.
The residence of the British Royal Governors, from 1716-1776, was located on what is now Washington Street in downtown Boston and was known as the Province House. Adjacent to it were the Royal Gardens, which extended to the Boston Common and the Granary Burying Grounds. All that remains now are the steps that once led to the Gardens. Facing this staircase, on Province Street, is a yellowish brick two-story building. The high arched windows of the second and third floor look as if they were originally designed for a large hall. This is the site of what was the Aquarial Gardens, Boston's first public Aquarium.