

BELOW THE DEPTHS WITH *USS BECUNA*: REINTERPRETING COLD WAR  
HISTORY THROUGH SUBMARINES AND CARTOONS

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## ABSTRACT

Connecting people to the past through thought-provoking interpretations is one of the chief aims of history museums. The submarine *USS Becuna* at the Independence Seaport Museum (ISM), however, has been without critical interpretation since its opening as a museum in 1976. In order to better fulfill its mission, the museum must interpret *Becuna*'s Cold War history. This project explores the Cold War through the history of the submarine's service and the lives of the submariners. First by examining submarines during the early decades of the Cold War, this paper fills in the gaps in the historiography of this overlooked part of naval history and reveals the major transitions that the submarine fleet underwent during the 1940s and 1950s. Then, by studying cartoons drawn by the submariners and other naval personnel, this paper showcases their unfiltered attitudes about Cold War Era military life. Analyzing the naval cartoons reveals a number of themes, including tensions between enlisted crew and officers, hyper-sexualization of women, and underlying racism. These themes allow us to understand the Navy's culture during those years since they reflect accepted social norms. Finally, this thesis details how the interpretation of the cartoons along with the submarine's Cold War history can be integrated into a new app-based tour on the *USS Becuna* so that visitors can explore and interact with this socially important and forgotten history.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

The *USS Becuna*, a submarine at the Independence Seaport Museum, is a window into the history of the United States Navy. It teaches us about the Navy from the midst of World War II to the middle of the Cold war. After being decommissioned in 1969, the *USS Becuna* (SS-319) remained moored at the Philadelphia Naval Yard until it was transferred to the *USS Olympia* Association in 1976.<sup>1</sup> Since being moored beside the *Olympia*, the *Becuna* has served as a museum and memorial to the history of the submarine service. And yet, during that time, interpretation aboard the *Becuna* has remained relatively unchanged. In order to better provide visitors with the full history of the *Becuna*, a new and engaging interpretation is needed, one that uncovers details of the submarine's Cold War history as well as the lives of the submariners who served on her.

Connecting people to the past through thought-provoking interpretations is one of the chief aims of history museums. To this end, a new interpretation aboard the *Becuna* will provide both deeper historical content and a stimulating view into Navy culture. This new interpretation has two key components. The first involves examining of submarines during the early decades of the Cold War, which will both fill in the historiographical gaps in this overlooked part of naval history and illustrate the major transitions that the submarine fleet underwent during the 1940s and 1950s. The second component shows how cartoons drawn by the submariners and other naval personal reveal the unfiltered attitudes of Cold War Era enlisted men. Analyzing the naval cartoons reveals a range of

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<sup>1</sup> Craig Bruns, *Submarine USS Becuna Research* (Independence Seaport Museum, August 2015), 11-12.

anxieties, including tensions between enlisted crew and officers, the hyper-sexualization of women, and deep underlying racism. These themes allow us to understand the navy's culture during those years because they reflect accepted social norms. The final chapter proposes how the interpretation of the cartoons along with the submarine's Cold War history can be integrated into a new app-based tour on the *USS Becuna* so that visitors can explore and interact with this socially important and forgotten history.

Toward understanding the *USS Becuna*'s interpretive possibilities, it is useful to understand the three major historiographical trends that relate to its significance. The first concerns maritime history museums, the second relates to United States submarine strategies during the Cold War, and the third pertains to the methodological challenges of analyzing cartoons as historical documents. Each one must be understood so that a complete and accurate interpretation of the submarine may be completed.

## **Museums**

Maritime history museums contribute to an important and often changing public historical landscape. This is because these museums are placed in a unique position due to their connections to naval and state history as well as most aspects of everyday life such as industry, commerce, and urban living. This often creates a tension between upholding a traditional narrative and exploring new and challenging topics and stories. Despite these tensions, maritime museums must tell as many narratives as possible since most peoples are in some way or another connected to waterways and thus these museums can tell often-overlooked narratives.

While many maritime museums are now concerned with expanding their narratives, this was not always the case. The lack of inclusivity can be seen clearly in Peter Neill's *Maritime America: Art and Artifacts from America's Great Nautical Collections* (1988), which looks at all the major non-naval maritime museums throughout the United States. While Neill claims that maritime museums can tell the social history of America, his work is focused on harking back to the proverbial good old days than truly exploring the deeper themes in social history.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, *Maritime America* barely mentions slavery despite its importance and connections to the maritime history of the U.S. The discussion of southern museums, for instance, such as the Mariner's Museum in Virginia, disregards that slaves were transported on waterways. Indeed, *Maritime America* mainly sees maritime museums as serving to rekindle Americans' relationship with the sea and as such, seems willing to view maritime history more nostalgically than museums should.

This nostalgic approach to maritime museums began to change in the 1990s as illustrated by Katherine Pandora's review of the Los Angeles Maritime Museum, in which she commends the museum for working to democratize history but calls on it to do more. Pandora believes that the museum's exhibit on longshoremen's tools worked to raise questions on the social and cultural aspects of the artifacts.<sup>3</sup> However, she also stresses that the lack of narratives and the large gaps in historical knowledge highlight

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<sup>2</sup> Peter Neill, *Maritime America: Arts and Artifacts from America's Great Nautical Collections*, (New York: Balsam Press, 1988), 9.

<sup>3</sup> Katherine Pandora, "Los Angeles Maritime Museum Review", *The Public Historian*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (Spring, 1993), 197.

that “we have much to learn from local pasts, and much to contribute in return.”<sup>4</sup> This review thus signaled the shift in the understanding of maritime museums as needing to do more than just showcase models and evoke a longing for the past.

The push to democratize the history told at maritime museums was further developed throughout the early 2000s. One of the first of many to write on this topic was Robert Hicks, who believed that maritime museums must interpret the “new social history” and focus narratives around “women, labours, ethnic minorities, or the underclass.”<sup>5</sup> Hicks states this is important because maritime museums are uniquely suited to do this work as most people are connected to the sea by some form or another. Furthermore, since most museums make use of ships, they can engage in more anthropological studies since they can examine things such as “ritual, language, and memory.”<sup>6</sup> Hicks expands these ideas into his main theme of the seascape, which includes land, sea, and undersea, and believes that by understanding our relationship to the seascape we can understand our cultural connections to the sea.<sup>7</sup> However, one shortcoming of Hick’s analysis is his lack of concern with the use of nostalgia and aura, which he believes could help connect people to the past.<sup>8</sup> While this is true, there should be more caution if used since they can obscure the historical reality in favor of a

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Robert D. Hicks, “What Is a Maritime Museum?,” *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 19:2, (2001), 160.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 163.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 169.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 162.

romanticized past. One example of this trap is that of pirates, which is always a popular theme and can help bring in the crowds but one that does not offer as much in terms of interpretation as seen at both the Independence Seaport Museum and the Maritime Museum of British Columbia.<sup>9</sup>

In 2004, two significant works followed Hicks' article. The first was Phyllis Leffler's "Peopling the Portholes: National Identity and Maritime Museums in the U.S. and U.K." This work examines the differences and possibilities with how maritime history is presented in both the United States and the United Kingdom. Leffler emphasizes that good museums can "help visitors rethink their assumptions" and to do so must be willing to engage with intellectual conflict and controversy.<sup>10</sup> Since the U.K. is an island nation, its culture has a maritime focus built around the ideas of colonization and conquest and therefore often relies on a nostalgic longing for the glory of the empire instead of critically examining the damaging effects of these policies. On the other hand, the U.S. while having a notable maritime connection and past identifies more with land than sea.<sup>11</sup> Despite these differences, Leffler states that museums on both sides of the Atlantic have started to move toward exploring "geophysical, political, social, economic, and cultural facets of maritime history," instead of only exhibiting "ships, ship models...

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<sup>9</sup> Meredith McCarthy, "'It's Always Ourselves We Find in the Sea: ' Maritime Museums and Education at Independence Seaport Museum". Bryn Mawr College Thesis, (2004), 36; Paula J. Johnson, "Maritime Museum of British Columbia," *The Public Historian*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2004), 95

<sup>10</sup> Phyllis Leffler, "Peopling the Portholes: National Identity and Maritime Museums in the U.S. and U.K.", *The Public Historian*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Fall 2004), pp. 23-48

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 26-27.

and the heroism of famous naval leaders.”<sup>12</sup> This is a key shift according to Leffler since they were pushed by major players in the museum world, namely the National Park Service and English Heritage, showing that changing how we relate to and understand the sea is a major concern. One essential development out of this change has been taking more critical stances on difficult histories, as seen with the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich’s exhibit “Trade and Empire,” which looked at Britain’s role in the slave trade.<sup>13</sup> This type of exhibit countered previous uses of maritime museums as tools for developing national pride and instead looked to encourage conversation and reflection among visitors.

The other major article published in 2004 was “Tales from the Sea: Oral History in British Maritime Museums,” by Ann Day and Ken Lunn, which began by stating the use of oral history had drastically changed how British maritime museums can approach and present history.<sup>14</sup> Day and Lunn emphasize the importance of oral history because it can allow the visitor to have a “depth of human experience which inanimate displays cannot do.”<sup>15</sup> “Tales from the Sea” expands on this idea by showing that oral history allowed for the movement away from only telling naval history and focusing around the theme of empire to stories that are often excluded such as those concerning women and laborers. This is seen clearly with their example of the National Fishing Heritage Centre’s

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 42.

<sup>14</sup> Ann Day and Ken Lunn, “Tales from the Sea: Oral History in British Maritime Museums,” *Oral History*, Vol. 32, No. 2, Memory and Society (Autumn, 2004), 87.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 87.

work to preserve the stories and skills of those who lived and worked on the seas.<sup>16</sup> Thus, oral history work continues along the school of thought that stressed the use of maritime museums to connect with the public through the experiences of the people rather than the elect few. Indeed, Day and Lunn hope that the use of oral history would not only allow new stories to be preserved and told but also lead to a complete reshaping of what British maritime heritage means.

Changes in maritime museums to focus on critical interpretation for diverse audiences were happening throughout the 21<sup>st</sup> century in the public history landscape. Andrew Hurley's *Beyond Preservation* (2010), for instance, demonstrates the necessity of grass roots preservation to revitalize urban communities. Hurley bases most of his argument around his experience working with community organizations in the city of St. Louis, Missouri, which led him to believe that it is important to focus on the social issues that shaped a place so that the people can gain a true sense of ownership and "collective stewardship."<sup>17</sup> From Hurley's perspective, the mainstream use of preservation in places like Philadelphia's Society Hill or Boston's Beacon Hill is not sustainable or effective since they focus only on one instance of the past and lack a focus on shared memories.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, Hurley believes that a shared authority, including the public in the creation of historical interpretation, was needed in order to truly engage the community in its own

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 89.

<sup>17</sup> Andrew Hurley, *Beyond Preservation: Using Public History to Revitalize Inner Cities*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010), x.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 25.

history so that they can keep their past and work to revitalization without fear of gentrification. Hurley's other examples include the Old North St. Louis Restoration Group, which through community research and organization was able to get the district on the National Register of Historic Places and produce a series of public history projects such as a community museum and history trail.<sup>19</sup> While Hurley admits that historic preservation was only one part of a larger attempt to revitalize the neighborhood, it helped create a strong sense of community pride, which gave residents a sense of ownership of the area. Through this project and others like it, Hurley concludes that for a preservation project to be successful it must be socially inclusive and be based at the grass roots level. Indeed, without these community connections to the past, Hurley argues that it would not be possible to address current problems facing the public.<sup>20</sup>

Another work that highlights the general change in museum interpretation and the importance of public history in today's society is Amy Tyson's *The Wages of History* (2013). Tyson studies costumed historic interpreters at Fort Snelling in Minnesota, examining how these workers on the "front line" of history understand their roles and the emotional effects of their jobs on them. Tyson argues that there is a deep "relationship between the production of public history and the performance of customer service."<sup>21</sup> This business side of sites limits the success of public history because the workers and

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 64 and 73.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 159.

<sup>21</sup> Amy Tyson, *The Wages of History: Emotional Labor on Public's History's Front Lines*, (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013), 28.

the sites are focused on appeasing the visitors instead of delivering impactful and challenging interpretations.

Tyson's study of Fort Snelling also brings to light a number of interesting conflicts and pressure points in the working environment, the most notable being the difference between people who identify as interpreters and those who identify as reenactors. This is a critical distinction since Tyson's reenactors are more interested in playing soldier than engaging with the public in meaningful ways.<sup>22</sup> Interpreters on the other hand invest a significant amount of time outside of work studying history in order to better service the public, which shows the dedication that some have for the job. On a whole, *The Wages of History* is an important book because it uncovers many of the problems and struggles facing historic interpreters. It also demonstrates the need to adequately train and support historic interpreters since they are the ones who really present the history to the visitors. Indeed, this work highlights the need for museums to ensure that the interpretation presented to visitors is critical and of high quality in order to ensure that the public gets as much out of their visit as possible.

Returning to maritime museums, Seth Weiner's 2012 master thesis, "Save Our Ships: The Viability of Naval Vessels as Museum Exhibitions," examines the problems facing the New Jersey Naval Museum (NJNM) and its main artifact, the *USS Ling*. While Weiner sees much potential in the museum and the submarine as being able to serve both local and national narratives, he recognizes the many limitations that face the NJNM.

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 57.

These problems are vital to understand since they haunt most history organizations: lack of funds, low attendance, uncooperative boards, and untrained staff.<sup>23</sup> Weiner shows how these factors resulted in the museum being run poorly, causing further problems, such as a lack of an accession or deaccession process or the *Ling* being close to a state of disrepair.<sup>24</sup> However, the most critical problem that Wiener observes is lack of interpretation, as “there seems to be no policy or strategy with regard to how objects are displayed.”<sup>25</sup> Thus, the museum was failing in its most important role of helping visitors connect to and understand the past. While Wiener attempts to offer solutions to these many problems, such as expanding interpretation to include social and cultural narratives, many of his plans seem to serve only as stopgaps and likely could not save this failing museum. Nevertheless, “Save our Ships” illustrates the challenges that small maritime museums face in presenting engaging history to the public.

One of the most recent works written on maritime history is James Lindgren’s *Preserving South Street Seaport: The Dream and Reality of a New York Urban Renewal District*. In this work, Lindgren analyzes the rise and fall of the South Street Seaport in New York and attempts to highlight what maritime sites should address in the future. Thus in comparing it to Wiener’s work, Lindgren looks at how even large maritime sites can be ultimately unsuccessful. In order to understand the challenges facing South Street

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<sup>23</sup> Seth Weiner, “Save Our Ships: The Viability of Naval Vessels as Museum Exhibitions” (2012). *Seton Hall University Dissertations and Theses* (ETDs), paper 1828, 18, 16, 36.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 65- 66.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

Seaport, Lindgren traces its conception and history, showing that it began in response to the loss of historic structures like Penn Station in 1964. This desire to preserve caused the leaders of the Seaport to purchase as many ships as possible for their collection, eleven altogether, despite lacking the funds or space to repair and use them.<sup>26</sup> In addition to its large fleet, the Seaport was also unique because it was set up as a full urban waterfront renewal project, as the site was given four and a half blocks to redevelop and use as seen fit.<sup>27</sup> This often put the museum aspect of the seaport at conflict with its commercial side, especially once developers built a mall in the Seaport in 1983.<sup>28</sup> This tension often led the board to favor the commercial side, leaving the ships in disrepair and a museum that only had one unchanging exhibit.<sup>29</sup> Lindgren argues that, as a result, the Seaport moved away from the roots that made it successful in the 1970s, namely the idea that the museum is people.”<sup>30</sup> Thus, Lindgren illustrates that once cultural institutions enter into the marketplace, the quality of the culture they are meant to protect can begin to decline. This therefore connects to many of the other recent works on maritime museums by revealing that without the public the museum cannot thrive or even survive.

Scholarship concerning maritime museums highlights the importance of recognizing the role that the public plays in preserving and interpreting maritime culture.

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<sup>26</sup> James Lindgren, *Preserving South Street Seaport: The Dream and Reality of a New York Urban Renewal District*, (New York: New York University Press, 2014), p. 73.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 137, 177.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 215, 233.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 298.

Indeed, no longer can maritime museums rely on the use of nostalgia and past glory as narratives but rather they must push the boundaries by exploring topics that other museums cannot or will not. Once maritime museums do this, they will be better able to fulfill their missions of engaging with the public as these new interpretations can provoke the visitors and cause them to think about the past in new ways. Indeed, if museums fail to make changes then they will be just encouraging the repetition of facts and depriving the visitors the goal of public history to help one come to a deeper understanding of the past. Furthermore, as seen at NJNM and South Street Seaport, poor public history can endanger the very survival of the historical institution, demonstrating that a strong interpretation is good for both the museum and the visitors.

### **Submarines**

Beyond being managed by a maritime museum, the *USS Becuna* creates special interpretive possibilities simply by virtue of being a submarine. The United States' strategic planning for its submarine fleet underwent major transitions from the end of the Second World War and into the Cold War. This change in strategy was important because it illustrated the evolving nature of naval conflict due to advanced weaponry and different modes of fighting. The *Becuna*, therefore, and other submarines of its vintage, ushered in the change from the commercial raiding and wolf packs of World War II to the nuclear powered ballistic missile submarines of the 1960s and onwards. That said, because submarine historians tend to focus on World War II or the later years of the Cold

War, there are only a few books that get to the heart of the 1940-50s transition years.<sup>31</sup>

This historiographical gap has limited our understanding of transformations in the Navy after World War II.

One of the few major books concerning these years is Michael A. Palmer's *Origins of the Maritime Strategy: American Naval Strategy in the First Postwar Decade* (1988). However, while this work is using the 1950s to study naval strategy, Palmer's goal was to use it to discover the meanings of naval strategy developments during the 1970s. Even though it focuses on this transitional time, it did so in order to examine the later decade of the Cold War. Furthermore, Palmer's study deals mostly with carrier fleet planning rather than submarine tactics, which is a common trend in studies of the early Cold War. However, *Origins of the Maritime Strategy* is still an important work because Palmer was able to describe the Navy's shift from an oceanic focus to a transoceanic perspective, which changed how the Navy saw its role in the world.<sup>32</sup> Thus, while the book's examination of the role of submarines leaves much to be desired, it shows how the immediate post war period was a time of flux.

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<sup>31</sup> Works on focused on World War II: Edwin P. Hoyt, *Submarines at War: The History of American Silent Service*, (New York: Stein and Day, 1983); Jean Hood, ed., *Submarine: An Anthology of First-Hand Accounts of the War Under the Sea, 1939-1945*, (London: Conway Maritime, 2007).

Works on later Cold War: Gannon McHale, *Stealth Boat: Fighting the Cold War in a Fast Attack Submarine*, (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2008); Alfred Scott McLaren, *Silent and Unseen: On Patrol in Three Cold War Attack Submarines*, (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2015).

General history of submarine: Richard Garrett, *Submarines*, (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1977); Michael Gunton, *Submarines at War: A History of Undersea Warfare from the American Revolution to the Cold War*, (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2003); Robert C. Stern, *The Hunter Hunted: Submarine Versus Submarine: Encounters from World War I to the Present*, (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2007).

<sup>32</sup> Michael Palmer, *Origins of the Maritime Strategy: The Development of American Naval Strategy, 1945-1955* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1988), 3.

One of the few works to focus solely on developments in submarines is Gary Weir's *Forged in War: the Naval-Industrial Complex and American Submarine Construction, 1940-1961* (1993). Weir, unlike other scholars writing on the early days of the Cold War, is a historian of submarines and their technological developments. He therefore examines the relationship of the United States Navy to shipbuilders and scientists in order to reveal the changing nature of submarines during this period. The focus here is on technological change, not the meaning behind those changes. Nevertheless, this approach is important because it reveals the interplay between science and strategy; without developments in the former the latter would never change. Furthermore, by including private shipyards in the study, Weir is able to demonstrate how the Navy had to modify plans in order to meet the needs of its contractors.<sup>33</sup> Despite its limitations, *Forged in War* is an important work especially when read alongside broader policy based studies to reveal the goals and strategies of submarines during the late-1940s and 1950s.

Jeffery Barlow's *From Hot War to Cold: The U.S. Navy and National Security Affairs, 1945-1955* (2009) also examines transitions in the United States Navy after World War II. Barlow's explores how the Navy shifted its focus from national defense to national security beginning with the administrations of Truman and Eisenhower. Barlow emphasizes the influence of World War II on later Navy strategy as well as the effect of developments in nuclear technology. This work, much like Palmer's, focuses on the

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<sup>33</sup> Gary Weir, *Forged in War: the Naval-Industrial Complex and American Submarine Construction, 1940-1961*, (Washington D.C.: Naval Historical Center, 1993), 111.

broader implications of naval strategy by looking at the creation of the unified Secretary of Defense position. Conversely, unlike Palmer, Barlow remains focused on the immediate postwar period and by doing so is able to provide a deeper analysis of the effects the Department of Defense's creation had on the Navy. However, while *From Hot War to Cold* does provide insight into the changing role of the Navy, it invests the bulk of its examination into the interplay in the administration, looking at the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations as well as the conflicts between the Navy and the Air Force.<sup>34</sup> In doing so, this focus on administration history causes limitations since it does not address practical developments and implications for submarine strategy.

The newest work to address changes in the Navy during the 1950s is Elliott Converse's *History of Acquisition in the Department of Defense Volume I: Rearming for the Cold War 1945-1960* (2012). Converse contends that after World War II research and development became the crux of the Department of Defense as it believed that new technology provided the best defense. The book approaches this history by focusing on both general Department of Defense policies as well as individual acquisition processes for the Navy along with the Army and Air Force. Furthermore, similar to past works, *Rearming for the Cold War* remains focused on general national policy and does not get into the roles of individual ships or submarines. Indeed, because of its broad lens and its use as an institutional history, this work is only able to focus on the major acquisitions of each department resulting in the exclusion of the routine yet critical acquisitions that

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<sup>34</sup> Jeffrey Barlow, *From Hot War to Cold: The U.S. Navy and National Security Affairs, 1945-1955* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 73.

fueled Navy strategy. Due to this focus, Converse, like other scholars, gives greater attention to aircraft carriers, naval aviation, and the Marines, than he does to the acquisitions of submarines.<sup>35</sup> While the carrier was the main tool of the Navy, it is important to remember the role that submarines played in transitioning the Navy to ballistic missiles. Despite this limited in-depth analysis of submarine acquisition, Converse pairs nicely with Weir by providing a deeper look into the military policies that would drive relations with submarine shipyards.

Understanding the early years of the Cold War is critical for understanding the history of the *USS Becuna*. While there is still room for more historical research into this topic, especially on submarines, there is still enough to demonstrate the major changes that the Navy underwent during World War II and how those changes affected submarines' role in the Cold War. Thus a strong public history exhibit on submarines would focus on the developments in technology and strategy and how that affected the lives of the crews.

## **Cartoons**

Since the intent of this project is to demonstrate how cartoons and comic strips can help us understand the lives of postwar submariners, it is useful to consider how others have deployed these rich sources as historical evidence. In 1973, for instance, Thomas Milton Kemnitz's argued that while historians had used cartoons in their studies

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<sup>35</sup> Elliot Converse III, *History of Acquisition in the Department of Defense volume I: Rearming for the Cold War 1945-1960* (Washington, D.C.: Office of the Secretary of Defense Historical Office, 2012), 359 & 555.

they had failed to use them as “evidence to answer wide questions.”<sup>36</sup> Indeed, Kemnitz argues that cartoons’ value rests not in the cartoons themselves but in what they can “reveal about the societies that produced them.”<sup>37</sup> According to Kemnitz the two main types of cartoons—those intended primarily to be humorous and those that seek to advance an opinion—need to be read with care, and with attention to symbols and language, else one runs the risk of misinterpretation. Thus to prevent error, historians need to know about contemporary culture as well as the history of the cartoonist and the newspaper in order to fully understand the content behind the drawing. Once a cartoon is understood within its historical context, it can then highlight public opinions that could not be revealed in more traditional written records.<sup>38</sup> Kemnitz’s work is thus deeply significant for laying the methodological groundwork for reading historical cartoons.

An early work that examines the use of military cartoons is Joseph Darracott’s *A Cartoon War: World War Two in Cartoons* (1989). Darracott focuses his study on the symbols the cartoons used to communicate the war to the public in a way they could understand. Moreover, he believes that these cartoons were important not because of their “explicit meanings” but rather for their “underlying implicit assumptions,” which could then be used to learn more about society’s beliefs.<sup>39</sup> For his study, Darracott relies mainly on editorial cartoons concerned with political leaders such as Hitler, Stalin, and

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<sup>36</sup> Thomas Milton Kemnitz, "The Cartoon as a Historical Source." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 4, no. 1 (1973), 81.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 92-93.

<sup>39</sup> Joseph Darracott, *A Cartoon War: World War Two in Cartoons*, (London: Leo Cooper, 1989), 19.

Churchill. Thus, when Mussolini was depicted as a weak follower or when Stalin was drawn as deceitful and dangerous, Darracott believes that these cartoons would demonstrate how the cartoonists and the audiences they were drawing for understood the developments of the war. While he does make some references to American war cartoonist Bill Mauldin, Darracott's analysis is lacking inasmuch as he was unable to examine how soldiers in the war saw themselves in the struggle. This is a critical lapse since editorial cartoons drawn by those back in the states for those in the states cannot give an accurate understanding of how those on the ground understood the struggle. Thus while Darracott's work laid groundwork for the study of military cartoons, it lacked the in-depth analysis called for by Kemnitz.

There have been great improvements in the study of cartoons since the beginning of twenty-first century. Ilan Danjoux's *Political Cartoons and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (2012) examines newspapers cartoons published in the buildup to and during the conflict to determine if the nature of the cartoons predicted fighting. His argument is premised on the idea that the audiences could shape the topic of the cartoons since they reward "producers who create content that reflects and reinforces their beliefs."<sup>40</sup> Thus, these cartoons could act as a means of preserving public opinion and therefore highlight their feelings and prejudices that each community had for the other. While Danjoux's study is unable to show a predictor to the actual conflict in the cartoons, as they do not significantly change themes until after the conflict, he is able to show that they

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<sup>40</sup> Ilan Danjoux, *Political Cartoons and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 1.

anticipated the breakdown in the Oslo Peace Process.<sup>41</sup> This is a significant discovery as it demonstrates how cartoons can be a record of public sentiment in both historical and sociological terms.

Although not dealing with military cartoons, Katharine Hundhammer's *American Women in Cartoons* (2012) is important for showing how changing depictions of women in cartoons demonstrates changing ideas about femininity. Hundhammer stresses that cartoons are not only an artifact of popular culture but also that they help to shape identity.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, since cartoons can express ideas and emotions that would be either difficult or socially inappropriate to express textually, Hundhammer believes that they preserve unfiltered reactions to the women's suffrage movement. This is evident in two typical early twentieth-century cartoon portrayals of women: the New England woman, which highlighted domestic and maternal societal expectations, and the Gibson girl, which depicted women as stronger, braver, and more human.<sup>43</sup> These cartoons represented changing ideas about women's gender identity and their role within society. While Hundhammer admits that it would not be possible to fully evaluate their effectiveness in changing people's perspectives, their constant use by both pro and anti-suffragists illustrate their importance and relevance to the public. Thus, *American Women in Cartoons* reveals how cartoons document the changing beliefs of society insomuch as

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 127

<sup>42</sup> Katharine Hundhammer, *American Women in Cartoons, 1890-1920: Female Representation and the Changing Concepts of Femininity during the American Woman Suffrage Movement* (Frankfurt: Peter Kang GmbH, 2012), 32.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 50, 52.

cartoonists need to create symbols that their audiences understand. This idea translates well into military cartoons since the armed forces have very unique experiences that shape their worldviews and thus a cartoonist must make sure to consider those beliefs when drawing for a military audience.

One of the newest works on the study of military cartoons is Christina Knopf's *The Comic Art of War: A Critical Study of Military Cartoons, 1805-2014, with a Guide to Artists* (2015). This is a groundbreaking study because, previous scholarship rarely focused on cartoons drawn by and for the armed forces.<sup>44</sup> Of the few works that have looked at military cartoons, most examine them within the frame of a single conflict.<sup>45</sup> By looking at a long history of military cartoons, Knopf hopes to "learn about [universal] military experiences through the content."<sup>46</sup> One important aspect that Knopf defines early on is that, since comics are an interpretation of the world, they can both reflect and challenge social norms.<sup>47</sup> This concept is critical as it allows us to understand how members of the military saw themselves within both the military and the world at large.

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<sup>44</sup> Anne-Marie Obajtek-Kirkwood and Ernest Hakanen eds., *Signs of War: From Patriotism to Dissent* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2007); Aaron Clayton, "Bloody Hell: Realism in American War Comics." *International Journal of Comic Art* 12, no. 1 (April 15, 2010): 370-387; Richard Iadonisi, "Not Necessarily Better Dead than Red: Authority and Dialogism in U.S.-produced Korean War Comics." *International Journal of Comic Art* 15, no. 2, (2013), 643-656.

<sup>45</sup> Scott Cord, "'Frankly, Mac, This Police Action Business is Going too Damn Far: ' Armed Forces Cartoons during the Korean Conflict.'" Paper presented at the Korean war Conference, June 24-26, 2010; Nancy Hudson-Rodd and Sundar Ramanathaiyer, "Cartooning the Iraq War: No Laughing Matter." *International Journal of Comic Art* 8, no. 1 (April 15, 2006): 532-545.

<sup>46</sup> Christina Knopf, *The Comic Art of War: A Critical Study of Military Cartoons, 1805-2014, with a Guide to Artists* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2015), 4.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

The *Comic Art of War* is also important for the method Knopf deploys to critically study cartoons. She employed fantasy theme analysis, which involves looking at symbols and then grouping and branching cartoons under common themes in order to make connections between various artists and drawings. Indeed, through this structural examination Knopf first identifies the rhetorical vision, or the shared social reality, and then breaks the cartoons down into fantasy types and themes. For instance, Knopf's chapter on "service before self" identifies 'military is community' as the vision, 'tradition' as the type, and 'slang' and 'hazing' as themes.<sup>48</sup> Knopf's work is important because it displays how to develop the connections between cartoons and then reveal how those connections reflect military culture as a whole.

The use of cartoons to study and understand the past is an important addition to the historian's tool kit. Indeed, it has been shown to be critical when analyzing public opinion and trying to understand underlying cultural beliefs. This is especially true for military cartoons as they can express the worldviews of the armed forces that would otherwise be lost. As we will see in chapter three, submariners used the cartoons to create a common culture built in part on a hyper masculine worldview encouraging sexism and racism.

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 59.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE *USS BECUNA* AND AMERICA'S POSTWAR NAVY

In order to understand the culture of submariners, and the navy as a whole, it is important to understand the world in which they served. The *USS Becuna* and the rest of the American submarine fleet underwent major transitions from the end of the Second World War and into the Cold War. Changes during the period from 1945 to the early 1950s illustrated the evolving nature of naval conflict due to advanced weaponry and different modes of fighting. Yet historians have overlooked this critical part of Navy history, focusing rather on World War II or the Cold War during the 1960s through the 1980s. What they miss is the change from the commercial raiding and wolf packs of World War II to the nuclear powered ballistic missile submarines of the 1960s and later. The post war period saw the Navy contend with external threats from the Soviet Union and even more dangerously with internal threats from the Army and the Air Force. Due to this dual threat, the Navy had to develop a clear strategy in order to maintain its presence and prominence as the world's largest navy.

The purpose of this chapter is to look at both the national policy developed by the Departments of the Defense and Navy during this period, and to consider the actual submarines that made policy real. In this regard, the *USS Becuna*, a *Balao* class submarine, will serve as a case study to understand the practical applications of submarines during the postwar period. The *Becuna* is an important vessel since it was built for service in World War II and after the war was upgraded a number of times so that it could be used with the new submarine strategies. The *Becuna* is also important

because its history reveals how this time of transition has been overlooked. The submarine's description on the National Park Service's website states that the "*USS Becuna* is in good condition and aside from the addition of the snorkel and exterior changes, retains much of her World War II integrity."<sup>49</sup> This is concerning since it seems to treat the submarine's postwar service as a blemish rather than as an important facet of its long history. Thus, uncovering the hidden and overlooked history of the *Becuna* will reveal much about how naval submarine strategy was developed and implemented during the late 1940s and 1950s.

### **A Navy in Transition**

Even before the end of World War II, the United States military was already preparing for a demilitarization process and reductions in budgets. Indeed, just days after the surrender of Japan, the Navy implemented plans to cancel all construction orders for auxiliary vessels as well as to "discharge personal to the greatest possible extent and as rapidly as possible."<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, due to demobilization, the Navy faced reductions in budget, with a decrease of 80% of the Navy's budget by 1950. Thus funding restrictions and demilitarization became the most influential aspects in developing strategy, since the Navy had to maintain readiness with limited resources.<sup>51</sup> One of the effects of the

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<sup>49</sup> National Park Service, "*USS Becuna*," *Warships Associated with World War II in the Pacific*, [http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online\\_books/butowsky1/becuna.htm](http://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/butowsky1/becuna.htm).

<sup>50</sup> *CINCPAC Dispatch to CNO, NCR 4509*, (Aug. 18, 1945); *CINCPAC Dispatch to CNO NCR 4558*, (Aug. 18, 1945). CNO Strategic Plans 1940s-1970s AR/131 Box 7 Folder 7: Basic Postwar Plan No.1, Naval History and Heritage Command Archives Branch.

<sup>51</sup> Converse, *History of Acquisition*, 324.

reduced budget was the National Security Act, which called for the unification of the Departments of War and Navy into one single Department of Defense. The goal of this merger was to give the President, through the Secretary of Defense, greater “general direction, authority, and control” over the departments as well as to “eliminate unnecessary duplication or overlapping in the fields of procurement ... and research.”<sup>52</sup> However, this plan raised grave concerns within the Navy since it believed that the Army and newly separated Air Force would ally against the Navy and strip it of the naval aircraft and the Marines thereby reducing the Navy to nothing more than a transport service.<sup>53</sup>

This was a legitimate concern because with the development of the atomic bomb there were widespread questions about whether navies and especially aircraft carriers would still be strategically useful in times of war. For instance, a Department of Defense plan developed after the war in 1948 recommended the reduction of carriers from eleven in 1949 to four by 1951.<sup>54</sup> Additionally, Army and Air Force generals openly discussed their desires to limit the Navy, with Air Force General Carl Spaatz testifying to Congress that the carrier had “reached its highest usefulness and that it is now going into obsolescence.”<sup>55</sup> Even more alarming for the Navy was General Leslie Groves’ speech at

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<sup>52</sup> Harry Truman, *Memoirs*, vol2 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1956), 107 in Edwin Hooper, *United States Naval Power in a Changing World* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1988), 191.

<sup>53</sup> Palmer, *Origins of the Maritime Strategy*, 56.

<sup>54</sup> Converse, *History of Acquisition*, 323.

<sup>55</sup> General Carl Spaatz testimony to the Senate Military Affairs Committee, November 1945 in Lisle Rose, *Power at Sea: A Violent Peace, 1946-2006* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2007), 16.

a military dinner that “whether you like it or not ... the Navy is going to end up only supplying the requirements for Army Air and the ground forces.”<sup>56</sup> These two quotes demonstrate the level of animosity the Air Force had towards the Navy and its desire to use unification to supersede the Navy in importance.

Before the end of World War II, the Navy was making preparations for new strategic planning by recognizing that the United States would have to remain involved in global affairs and that it would be necessary to maintain a fleet in order that it might be “employed in overseas operations in support of national policies.”<sup>57</sup> One of the major changes to United States Navy submarine strategy at the end of World War II resulted from the change to envision navies as having “power from sea,” not just “power on sea.”<sup>58</sup> This is an important distinction because it promoted the idea of navies projecting their power ashore to coastal inland positions and beyond. While this type of strategy favored both carriers, due to their ability to send aircraft into enemy territories, and warships, due to their imposing physical nature, it potentially weakened the role that submarines could play since they could not be used in the landing of troops on foreign shores or giving direct aid in terms of firepower to secure coastal areas. Furthermore, as states increasingly used navies as a tool to support overseas policies, many saw that surface ships—not submarines—would play a bigger role, since “warships appearing

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<sup>56</sup> Undated Memorandum titled “Hazards of Merger,” part 2, 8-9, appended to “Memorandum for President” by James Foskett, January 14, 1947 in Rose, *Power at Sea*, 16.

<sup>57</sup> CNO Memorandum for Secretary of the Navy, *The United States Navy (Postwar) Basis for Preparations of Plans*, (March 3, 1945), 1 & 3. CNO Strategic Plans 1940s-1970s AR/131 Box 7 Folder 7: Basic Postwar Plan No.1, Naval History and Heritage Command Archives Branch.

<sup>58</sup> Rose, *Power at Sea*, 2.

directly off the shore represent a real threat,” that a submerged submarine does not convey.<sup>59</sup> For this reason, in the immediate postwar period, the U.S. Navy sent its warships and aircrafts around the Mediterranean as a means of sending a message that the United States was there to protect those nations from the advances of the Soviet Union.<sup>60</sup> This development in naval power thus potentially limited the use of submarines in strategic planning.

While part of the Navy’s strategy threatened the use of submarines, the developments of the Soviet fleet made the submarine a useful tool. Originally, due to the lack of Soviet naval presence, the U.S. Navy found it difficult to justify maintaining a large fleet, since there was no other nation that could threaten its might. In fact, the closest rival in terms of sea power was Britain, which was barely able to maintain control of its own sea-lanes, let alone threaten U.S. interests.<sup>61</sup> However, despite the limited size of the Soviet Navy, the United States was concerned about the power of its submarine fleet as the addition of captured German technology could pose a grave threat to the carrier fleets. Indeed, the Soviets saw the submarine as the best way to counter the United States Navy aircraft carrier threat since the submarine “concentrated all the main factors characterizing the power of the navy: high strike power, high mobility and concealment, and the ability to conduct conflict action on a global scale to destroy important ... surface

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<sup>59</sup> Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, *Understanding Soviet Naval Developments, 1978* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Navy, 1978), 10.

<sup>60</sup> Hooper, *United States Naval Power in a Changing World*, 196.

<sup>61</sup> Rose, *Power at Sea*, 4.

ships of the enemy.”<sup>62</sup> This demonstrated that Soviet leaders saw the submarine as the main way to equal the playing field with the United States in terms of control of the world’s oceans.

This focus by the Soviet Union on submarines became the main concern and driving force behind the United States Navy planning in the immediate postwar period, since it posed the greatest threat to U.S. shipping and communication lanes. This was made evident at a speech in 1948 to the Armed Forces Staff College, when Captain Anderson of the Office of Naval Operations stated that without a strong antisubmarine force of both surface and undersea vessels, then “that one nation [the Soviet Union] ... would attain and could maintain complete domination of the Eurasian land mass.”<sup>63</sup> This demonstrated the importance that was placed on countering the Soviet threat since without the anti-submarine capabilities of the United States submarines and surface ships, the Navy feared they would be unable to protect their national interests aboard. Therefore, during this critical time before the development of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), the Navy had a main focus of countering the Soviet Union with making advances in antisubmarine warfare (ASW) technology in order to enable the Navy to control and protect the sea lines in the case of a war.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, in a report to the General Board on shipbuilding and conversion, the Navy stated that the submarine could

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<sup>62</sup> Sergei Gorshkov, *The Sea Power of the State* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1979), 192.

<sup>63</sup> Captain George W. Anderson Jr. U.S. Navy, “Strategic Planning” (Lecture, Armed Forces Staff College, February 19, 1948), 13. CNO: Strategic Plans 1940s-1970s AR/131 Box 58, Folder 1: Plans, Projects and Policies, 1948. Naval Heritage and History Command Archives Branch.

<sup>64</sup> Converse, *History of Acquisition*, 321.

be the “most effective antisubmarine vessel,” since it could hunt enemy submarines as well as serve in the radar pickets around the carrier task groups acting as an “early warning barrier.”<sup>65</sup> This is where submarines would have their main usefulness during the end of the 1940s and into the 1950s since they were able to assist in the defense of the carriers and also threaten the Soviet fleets.

### **New Submarines for a New Navy**

Examining the actions of an actual submarine as a case study, the *USS Becuna* reveals the implications of the developments in the United States Navy strategy. The history of the *USS Becuna*, a *Balao* class submarine built in 1944, in the postwar naval environment is important because as a transitional vessel it highlights the practical differences between the times. The *Becuna* can be seen as a strategic step toward a new naval understanding of undersea warfare with a focus on “faster, deeper, longer.”<sup>66</sup> The *Becuna* is in some ways unique since it was not mothballed, or placed in reserves, after the war. In fact while there were 234 submarines in service in 1945, by 1951 there were only 70 active submarines covering the Pacific and the Atlantic.<sup>67</sup>

However, while the *Becuna* is special, its survival highlights the extent of demilitarization of the military and the limited resources that were available to the Navy.

Furthermore, after the war, the *USS Becuna* was stationed in the Pacific but in April 1949

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<sup>65</sup> *Enclose B to General Board, Shipbuilding and Conversion Program: Fiscal Years 1951-1960*, (March 22, 1949), 15. CNO: Strategic Plans 1940s-1970s, AR/131 Box 64, Folder 2: A-1: Plans, Projects and Policies, 1949. Naval History and Heritage Command Archives Branch.

<sup>66</sup> Gary Weir, e-mail message to author, (March 17, 2016).

<sup>67</sup> *From Hot War to Cold*, 10 & 253.

it was reassigned to the Atlantic, which reflected the Navy's growing concern over the safety of the Atlantic over the better secured Pacific.<sup>68</sup> In fact, in postwar planning the Navy assigned an additional ten active submarines to the Atlantic than it did to the Pacific, with 49 compared to 39. This is particularly interesting since the Pacific maintained a greater number of most other types of surface ships, which revealed the submarine's greater usefulness in the Atlantic where there was a larger presence of Soviet submarines.<sup>69</sup>

In response to the possible developments of a strong Soviet submarine presence, the U.S. Navy tried to improve its own submarines to assist in ASW in order to protect the carrier fleets and the sea-lanes. The first development was the Greater Underwater Propulsion Power program (GUPPY) beginning in 1947 and running through the 1950s, which upgraded the Navy's vast World War II submarines to be better at hunting enemy submarines and avoiding enemy detection.<sup>70</sup> The conversions were set to cost between 1 and 1.8 million dollars, with the Navy planning to convert upwards of 70 World War II submarines between 1951 and 1955.<sup>71</sup> While this may appear to be a large sum, it was

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<sup>68</sup> Craig Bruns, *Submarine USS Becuna Research* (Independence Seaport Museum, August 2015), 5.

<sup>69</sup> *Appendix A: U.S. Post War Naval Forces General Provisions of Plan to Basic Post War Plan No. 1*, (May 2, 1945), 3. CNO Strategic Plans 1940s- 1970s, AR/ 131, Box 7, Folder 7 Basic Post War Plan No 1. Naval History and Heritage Command Archives Branch.

<sup>70</sup> Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, *GUPPY Manual NWIP 23-5*, (Washington, D.C.: Department of Navy, 1951) 1-3, *USS Becuna* Collection: Series II: Manuals, Box 50, F1 GUPPY Manual. J. Welles Henderson Archives and Library, Independence Seaport Museum.

<sup>71</sup> Weir, *Forged in War*, 103; *Appendix B: Vessel Requirements to Enclose B to General Board, Shipbuilding and Conversion Program: Fiscal Years 1951-1960*, (March 22, 1949), 4. CNO: Strategic Plans 1940s-1970s, AR/131 Box 64, Folder 2: A-1: Plans, Projects and Policies, 1949. Naval History and Heritage Command Archives Branch.

still less expensive than building an entire new fleet from scratch. Furthermore, since the Navy did not have the budget or the need to build as many submarines per year as it had during the war, the GUPPY upgrades served the practical purpose of keeping the submarine construction yards open and ready for when new submarines could be built.<sup>72</sup> This program was developed based on the technology from the captured German type XXI submarine, which was far ahead of U.S. submarine technology.

One of the main changes to these submarines, as seen through the *USS Becuna*, was the addition of snorkels. The snorkels allowed the submarines to remain submerged for much longer than before since the diesel engines could run while underwater and thereby charge the submarines' batteries.<sup>73</sup> With these changes, the GUPPY type submarines could stay submerged on battery power for 24 hours longer and travel upwards of five knots faster as compared to the pre-modification fleet type submarines.<sup>74</sup> In addition to increased undersea time, the GUPPY upgrades removed the surface guns to increase speed and decrease noise, both of which allowed the GUPPY submarines to function as submarine hunters.<sup>75</sup>

The main tactical reasons for these upgrades were an attempt to make the World War II submarine fleet closer to a true submarine as opposed to a submersible vessel. The

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<sup>72</sup> Weir, *Forged in War*, 108.

<sup>73</sup> Bureau of Naval Personnel, *Submarine Training Manuals* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955), 176.

<sup>74</sup> *GUPPY Manual NWIP*, 1-8.

<sup>75</sup> *GUPPY Manual NWIP*, 1-8, 1-18, 2-15.

distinction is important since a submersible can only stay underwater for a very limited amount of time and while the GUPPY type was still not a true submarine, like its nuclear-powered descendants, the upgrades aided the GUPPY in “remaining undetected until the attack has been delivered.”<sup>76</sup> Furthermore, the GUPPY type made the Navy’s submarines effective and strategic again since they could now counter the strong ASW technology that had developed by the end of the World War II.<sup>77</sup> Without these changes, the fleet type submarines used in World War II would have been unusable in the postwar period since they would have been easily detected by their noise and need to surface. By remaining underwater, the submarine is unable to be spotted by enemy aircraft, which protects it from depth charges and allows it to move about freely.<sup>78</sup> Furthermore, the reduction in noise allowed the submarine to stealth against SONAR and RADAR, which would be one of the driving forces behind the development of the nuclear submarines. Thus, the GUPPY program made the submarines more strategic as they could enter enemy waters undetected.

The other major reason for the Navy’s desire to upgrade the old fleet type submarines was over the fear that the Soviet Union would use its own captured German type XXI submarines to make its submarines more advanced as well. This was a grave concern since the type XXI submarines outperformed the United States Navy’s ASW and therefore the Navy needed a quick and inexpensive response to keep pace with Soviet

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 2-4.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 2-5.

<sup>78</sup> Palmer, *Origins of the Maritime Strategy*, 71.

developments.<sup>79</sup> This was such a major necessity that Admiral Nimitz, Chief of Naval Operations, placed developments in ASW on the same priority level of the Navy's atomic bomb tests at Bikini Atoll. Indeed, Nimitz continued in his memo to top Navy admirals, they had to "accelerate the design and construction of interim U.S. Submarines possessing characteristics similar or better than the Type XXI."<sup>80</sup> Until the Navy could build a new submarine fleet from the ground up, the GUPPY program would serve to keep the U.S. sea lines protected and at the same time counter the Soviet submarines.

The deployment of the *USS Becuna* also exemplified the shift in U.S. naval strategic focus from World War II to the Cold War. The role of submarines had a significant shift in that no longer were submarines hunting either in wolf packs or by themselves to attack enemy shipping, rather they were deployed either as picket vessels for the defense of the carrier task forces or as ASW vessels against Soviet submarines. The *Becuna's* service record demonstrated this change because during World War II it operated in the Pacific on patrols to attack Japanese merchant shipping. In fact, on its first patrol, it heavily damaged a seven-thousand ton merchant vessel and on its second, this time with two other submarines, attacked a twelve ship convoy.<sup>81</sup> However, after receiving its GUPPY upgrades, the *Becuna's* service in the postwar period saw it

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<sup>79</sup> Barlow, *From Cold War to Hot*, 163.

<sup>80</sup> Memo, the Chief of Naval Operation's to the Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance et al., subject "Anti-Submarine Warfare Problem, assignment of priority to," Op-34H serial 0007P34, June 7, 1946 in Barlow, *From Hot War to Cold*, 164.

<sup>81</sup> Don Keith, *The Final Patrol: True Stories of World War II Submarines* (London: NAL Caliber, 2006), 180.

stationed with the Sixth Fleet in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.<sup>82</sup> Now its role was to monitor and track Soviet submarines in the area so that the Navy could stay ahead of Soviet movements.<sup>83</sup> Its use in the Mediterranean was especially important since it revealed the more global strategy that the Navy had assumed since it had to fill the void left by the depleted British Navy. Consequently, this time has been described as the beginning of the transoceanic navy since the United States had to focus on more than just the Pacific and Atlantic and had to be able to apply power to the European continent in order to defend against Soviet advances.<sup>84</sup>

Throughout its postwar service, the *USS Becuna* participated in numerous U.S. and NATO training exercises, such as SPRINGBOARD in 1954 and 1957 and NEW BROOM VIII in 1958, and when not on patrol was used in the Caribbean as a training submarine for officers and crews.<sup>85</sup> These uses highlight the constant state of readiness that the Navy demanded of its ships and crews so as to be able to counter any possible Soviet threat. Therefore, by serving as a training submarine, the *Becuna* reflected this period as transitional as it prepared Navy personnel to serve on more advanced submarines, such as the new fast attack submarines of the later 1950s. Thus, the *USS Becuna* and other Guppy class submarines, helped usher in the technical changes that

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<sup>82</sup> Craig Bruns, *Submarine USS Becuna Research*, 6.

<sup>83</sup> Bruns, *Becuna Research*, 1.

<sup>84</sup> Palmer, *Origins of the Maritime Navy*, 3.

<sup>85</sup> Commanding Officer, *USS Becuna (SS 319) Ship's History*, (January 10, 1966), 2. Ships History- Decommissioned (Prior to Jan 1 2001): Beaumere (SP 444) to Beeville (PC 617). Box 90, Folder *Becuna* (SS-319). Naval History and Heritage Command Archives Branch.

defined the U.S. Navy in the later stages of the Cold War. Furthermore, the *Becuna* service also revealed the cooperation between the United States and the United Kingdom, since it “operated extensively with ships and aircraft of the British... helping to train them in the latest anti-submarine tactics.”<sup>86</sup> This is important because by maintaining close relations with the British, the United States sought to secure additional allied forces to supplement the decreases in the number of vessels the U.S. Navy had in the postwar period.

In addition to training, the *Becuna* also was used in many good will port visits in order to build up confidence against rising Soviet pressure. These visits included trips to Scotland and ports along the North Sea in 1952 and 1956, which underscored the concern of Soviet submarine activity in that area and in the Baltic.<sup>87</sup> Additionally, the Navy stationed 24 of the GUPPY type submarines in the Norwegian Sea in order to be available for antisubmarine operations and to monitor the Soviet submarines moving north out of the Baltic.<sup>88</sup> This demonstrated planning within the Department of the Navy, which prepared for the defense of strategic ports in the North Atlantic in the event of the Cold War becoming hot. These plans anticipated intense fighting around Iceland and thus

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<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>87</sup> *History of USS Becuna (SS319)*, 2. Ships History- Decommissioned (Prior to Jan 1 2001): Beaumere (SP 444) to Beeville (PC 617). Box 90 Folder *Becuna* (SS-319). Naval History and Heritage Command Archives Branch.

<sup>88</sup> *Enclose B to General Board, Shipbuilding and Conversion Program: Fiscal Years 1951-1960*, (March 22, 1949), 26. CNO: Strategic Plans 1940s-1970s, AR/131 Box 64, Folder 2: A-1: Plans, Projects and Policies, 1949. Naval History and Heritage Command Archives Branch.

readiness in the North Sea would aid in defending key U.S. interests.<sup>89</sup> In addition to protecting the Atlantic, the Navy's concern with protecting the Mediterranean was also seen in the service of the *USS Becuna*. Along with many of the fleet exercises, the Sixth Fleet, to which the *USS Becuna* was assigned, was sent in 1952 and 1957 to numerous ports in the eastern Mediterranean, such as Geno, Monaco, and Malta.<sup>90</sup> These port visits served to reassure the United States' allies of the Navy's presence and readiness in the event of a Soviet attack. Thus, much of the post-World War II service of the *Becuna* mirrored the constant state of uncertainty over the potential war with the Soviet Union. Consequently, it was this concern that made the *Becuna*'s upgrades and service necessary and pushed the Navy through these advances to the development of the nuclear powered ballistic missile submarines of the 1960s.

The history of the U.S. submarines during the later 1940s and early 1950s was a time of great flux as the Navy struggled with budget and internal conflicts. This period became one of the defining eras of the development of the submarine as the GUPPY upgrades to the World War II submarines showed the need for true submarines. Moreover, these advances guided the changes in naval strategy that would come to define the Cold War. It was these postwar submarines that led to a change in how submarines were seen and used, since they no longer were thought of as convoy raiders but rather

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<sup>89</sup> *Office of the Chief of Naval Operations Memo to Op-30B on Report of Army-Air Force War Stunner*, (October 13, 1948), 2. CNO Strategic Plans 1940s- 1970s, AR/ 131, Box 59, F9 A-16-3 Warfare Operations. Naval History and Heritage Command Archives Branch.

<sup>90</sup> Commanding Officer, *Ship's History of USS Becuna (SS 319) January 22, 1958*, 2. Ships History- Decommissioned (Prior to Jan 1 2001): Beaumere (SP 444) to Beeville (PC 617). Box 90 Folder *Becuna* (SS-319). Naval History and Heritage Command Archives Branch.

viewed as a major contributor to antisubmarine warfare. Additionally, this transition in how submarines were utilized created an opening for a more advanced role of the submarine, leading to the call for developments in nuclear power and ballistic missile technology. While this was a significant time in the history of the submarine, it still has often been overlooked not only in the historiography but also in public memory. Indeed, when the National Museum of American History opened an exhibit on submarines in 2003, Gary Weir lamented that the “exhibit does not adequately draw visitor’s attention to this vital transitional period.”<sup>91</sup> Thus, for the history of the submarine and the transformation that occurred to be understood, changes must continue to be made not only to how the history is interpreted but also to how it is presented. It was the GUPPY conversion, as depicted by the *USS Becuna*, which demonstrated that the post-World War II period was one of uncertainty in which submarines found a new role that would fill the gap in the United States’ strategic planning before the advent of the nuclear powered ballistic missile submarines of the 1960s. Thus, it is through the understanding of this period that an analysis of the submariners’ worldview can be studied.

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<sup>91</sup> Gary Weir, “Fast Attacks and Boomers: Submarines in the Cold War’: The National Museum of American History,” *Technology and Culture* Vol. 44, No. 2 (Apr., 2003), 361. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25148112>.

## CHAPTER 3

### COLD WAR NAVAL CARTOONS

With the history of the *USS Becuna* and the submarine fleet established, it is possible to explore the human side of the submariners who served during the Cold War. Naval cartoons are one way to undertake this analysis since they can reveal insights into the submariners' lives that would not be otherwise evident in written sources. Examining the cartoons reveals three major themes in sailors' lives: life in the Navy, relations with others, and violence and death. Together these allow one to understand the sailors' world since the themes "reflect and challenge social norms."<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, these three themes along with oral histories highlight the shared camaraderie and bonds that submariners felt during and even long after their service.

Before exploring each of the themes in detail, it is important to discuss the cartoons used in this study. Many of the cartoons analyzed come from digitized versions of the magazine *All Hands* from the years 1946 through 1960. This magazine was a monthly publication issued by the Bureau of Naval Personnel and touted as a magazine "by sailors for sailors."<sup>93</sup> Additionally, many of the cartoons featured were either drawn by members of the magazine's staff or they were drawn by regular members of the Navy who submitted cartoons for the magazine's numerous cartoon contests. Thus, the cartoons cover a wide range of years and sailors and therefore allow for an examination into Navy culture.

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<sup>92</sup> Christina Knopf, *The Comic Art of War: A Critical Study of Military Cartoons, 1805-2014, with a Guide to Artists* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2015), 10.

<sup>93</sup> U.S. Navy Office of Information [http://www.navy.mil/ah\\_online/](http://www.navy.mil/ah_online/). Accessed February 6, 2017.

In addition, the *Dolphin*, a newspaper published by the U.S. Naval Submarine Base in New London, Connecticut, offers insight into submarine specific cartoons. Cartoons featured in various submarine and ship cruise books, as well as on uniform patches, were included providing illustrations intended for members of specific vessels. Finally, a number of cartoons drawn by members of the *Becuna* reveal how the cartoons pair with the history of the *Becuna*'s service. Taken as a whole, these sources create a strong sampling of naval cartoons that can be used to uncover details of sailors' worldviews.

### **Daily Life**

The first main theme that sailors explored through their drawings was daily life in the Navy. This topic has two subthemes that together illustrate how sailors dealt with the conditions onboard a ship and used that experience to build a common bond. The first subtheme is concern over the use of technology and how it affected the sailors' daily lives. The sailors focused on how technology was constantly evolving, becoming overly complicated, and often subject to failure. One common complaint that sailors often voiced was that the technology used by the Navy was overcomplicated for the sake of over-complication. Indeed, even as technology changed and became more advanced, the complaint remained the same. For instance, a cartoon from 1949 shows two sailors mocking a new complicated swab issued since the old ones were considered "obsolete" (figure 1).<sup>94</sup> Ten years later, a cartoon in *All Hands* satirized how technical the Navy had

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<sup>94</sup> Packwood, "The patent office...", *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, December 1949), 48.

become as a sailor looks on mockingly when an officer asks if he has any questions on how to use a new involved computer system (figure 2).<sup>95</sup> These two cartoons demonstrate how as technology advanced so did the sailors' relationship with it.

Furthermore, advancements in technology amplified the sailors' concern that the technology would eventually come to replace them. This was seen in a cartoon drawn for *All Hands* where a sailor laments to his captain that the Navy is changing as robots perform all the duties around them (figure 3).<sup>96</sup> Furthermore, sailors often noted in their drawings that computers would eventually act very similar to themselves, as demonstrated in a cartoon from 1957 showing a new robotic brain's first action was requesting a transfer (figure 4).<sup>97</sup> This type of imagery reveals the sailors' complicated relationship with technology since as it developed, it phased out the need for sailors to perform menial tasks, thus reducing the number of sailors the Navy needed to man its ships.

However, despite the threat of replacement from technology, the sailors' cartoons often depict technology as faulty and unreliable. The failure of technology ranged from mild inconvenience, such as having to use an abacus when the computer broke, to the catastrophic, such as having to use a fortune teller to land a plane when the radar system

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<sup>95</sup> W. R. Maul, "Now before I leave...", *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, April 1959), 52.

<sup>96</sup> L. F. Mahle, "Let's face it chief...", *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, February 1960), 54.

<sup>97</sup> H.G. Walker, "Navy Experiential Robot Brain," *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, January 1957), 23.

failed (figure 5 and 6).<sup>98</sup> Both of these cartoons demonstrate the need for the Navy to depend on its sailors over its technology since the sailors could be relied upon even when the technology could not. Properly working technology was of vital importance to a submerged submarine since the crew would rely on radar and sonar to travel underwater. Due to the importance of navigational technology, submariners would often draw cartoons portraying arrivals in unusual places, such as the Sahara Desert (figure 7).<sup>99</sup> Another cartoon depicts Eskimos placing a painting of a tropical location in front of the periscope to fool the submariners, with the joke implying that because of technical problems such a mistake would have been believable amongst the crew (figure 8).<sup>100</sup> These two examples highlight the importance of the navigation technology on a submarine and the potential for costly errors.

Cartoons dealing with technology thus illustrate an attempt among sailors to cope with technological changes in the Navy by depicting technology as inefficient and overly complex. This expression of concern is important since the early Cold War was a time of major transition within the submarine as the Navy moved from diesel to nuclear powered submarines, creating a critical shift in how submariners interacted with their vessels.

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<sup>98</sup> "Sorry, Mac...", *USS Prairie* Cruise Book (1960), 79, Naval History and Heritage Command Library Branch.

; Ken Duggan, "This is control...", *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, June 1954), 47.

<sup>99</sup> Atwood, "I'd like a word...", *Dolphin*, December 22, 1960, 4. *USS Becuna* Collection: Series IV: Crew Records, Box 74, F 27 Nick Salake, Welles Henderson Archives and Library, Independence Seaport Museum

<sup>100</sup> "I'll bet the navigator's...", *Dolphin*, December 22, 1960, 7. *USS Becuna* Collection: Series IV: Crew Records, Box 74, F 27 Nick Salake, Welles Henderson Archives and Library, Independence Seaport Museum

Thus, these cartoons reveal a sense of flux with the submariners' culture that mirrored the actual changes occurring within the Navy.

The other frequent subtheme in cartoons about daily life relates to complaints about food and medicine. This theme appeared over 60 times throughout *All Hands* and was also a common feature of cartoons drawn in cruise books. Typically, cartoons about food focus on it being inedible or the cooks being spiteful or incompetent. For instance, many cartoons from *All Hands* imply that the contents of the meals were a mystery with one cartoon depicting an officer dying from a bad soup and another with cooks washing their clothes in the chowder (figure 9 and 10).<sup>101</sup> Even though food on submarines was supposedly better than on surface ships in order to entice enlistment, submariners would often joke of the in-edibility of the food. Numerous oral histories from members of the *Becuna* recalled having all you could eat lobster every Friday while at port and fresh vegetables and steaks at the beginning of cruises; however, as the cruises progressed, they relied more on frozen and canned food. Furthermore, Robert Anderson, captain of the *Becuna* from 1962-1964, spoke of the cooks needing to be thick skinned since the “submarine crews were pretty hard on the cooks” and “if something didn’t turn out well, the cooks would hear about it immediately and at great length.”<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Jarrat, “Better cancel...”, *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, November 1957), 44; E.M., “Irish Chowder,” *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, December 1955), 48.

<sup>102</sup> Fred Gunter interviewed by Doug Buchanan October 15, 2000. *USS Becuna* Collection: Series IV: Crew Records Box 76, F21 Sub Vets’ Interviews, Welles Henderson Archives and Library, Independence Seaport Museum; Victor Nardo interviewed by Doug Buchanan. *USS Becuna* Collection: Series IV: Crew Records Box 76, F21 Sub Vets’ Interviews, Welles Henderson Archives and Library, Independence Seaport Museum; Captain Robert Anderson interviewed by Doug Buchanan October 15, 2000. *USS Becuna* Collection: Series IV: Crew Records Box 76, F21 Sub Vets’ Interviews, Welles Henderson Archives and Library, Independence Seaport Museum.

An illustration for the *USS Pickrel*'s cruise book shows a chief claiming he won a food service award for his Thanksgiving turkey even though the bird is poorly prepared (figure 11).<sup>103</sup> Another cartoon from a submariner's drawing book depicts the cook's meal winning a dishonorable discharge at a state fair (figure 12).<sup>104</sup> These two examples illustrate that despite the better food, submariners still felt inclined to mock the food service as a way to create and express connections among the crew. In addition to comments on the food, cartoons would also remark on the cooks and servers as malicious. A 1950 drawing for example portrays a happy server looking on as the bear trap he put in the food catches a sailor trying to take seconds (figure 13).<sup>105</sup> These cartoons of sailors coping with meals are important not only in the understanding of Navy culture but also because they highlight a more human side of the sailors' life while at sea.

Connecting with the complaints over naval food, sailors often showed displeasure in their drawings over their medical treatment. Cartoons depict sailors desperate to avoid going to the doctor, and especially the dentist, since both are portrayed as either clueless or barbaric. For instance, an illustration in the *USS Prairie* cruise book shows a surprised dentist exclaiming that he pulled the wrong tooth, while a cartoon from *All Hands* shows a dentist putting on boxing gloves before examining the patient (figure 14 and 15).<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> "Happy Thanksgiving," *USS Pickrel* Cruise Book (1966), Naval History and Heritage Command Library Branch.

<sup>104</sup> Dus, "Deep Doodle #10," *Deep Doodles: USS William Bates (SSN-680) Winter Cruise, 1974-1975*. Naval History and Heritage Command Library Branch.

<sup>105</sup> Dempsey, "I told you...", *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, March 1950), 55.

<sup>106</sup> "I'm sorry...", *USS Prairie* Cruise Book (1960), 63; Patrick, "Boxing glove dentist," *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, August 1952), 44.

While these were satirical exaggerations of the medical treatment of the sailors, other cartoons show sailors taking to other methods of healthcare to avoid the doctor, implying the cartoons' portrayal of the treatment may have had a grain of truth. A number of cartoons from the mid and late 1950s included a sailor selling apples outside the sick bay as an alternate treatment and another showing a sailor pulling out his own tooth with a plane propeller (figure 16 and 17).<sup>107</sup> Since these types of satirical cartoons were widespread throughout publications and cruise books, the sailors obviously enjoyed the jokes and likely could sympathize with the sailors depicted in the cartoons. Therefore, these cartoons expressing complaints over living conditions in the Navy highlight the shared understanding among sailors that was essential to the forming of a unique culture and worldview.

### **Relationships**

Beyond daily life, cartoons also highlight how the submariners interacted with and viewed the people around them. Within this theme of relations, there were three groups that sailors identified in their cartoons: officers, women, and racial minorities. The divide between enlisted sailors and officers stemming from the hierarchy of the Navy was a major theme throughout the cartoons. This divide varied amongst submarines due to the tight quarters and long period spent under the water. While some officers recognized that the tight quarters required less formality, others stressed the boundary between the groups

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<sup>107</sup> Jack Wing, "An apple a day..." *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, December 1954), 44; R. Carola, "Propeller tooth pull," *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, June 1958), 48.

and did not want to ‘try and cross that divider.’<sup>108</sup> From 1946 through 1960, sailors drew roughly 110 cartoons dealing with the theme of enlisted versus officers in *All Hands*, making it the second most common topic behind that of women. These types of cartoons would often focus on three major subthemes, the first focusing on the absurdity of the hierarchical rules, the second on the incompetence of the officers, and the third on the officers being malicious and cruel.

Sailors during the Cold War were quick to point out the absurdity in the rules of the chain of command since such strict adherence seemed counter-intuitive. For instance, a cartoon from *All Hands* portrays a sailor requesting permission to remove his finger from a hole in a sunken ship (Figure 18).<sup>109</sup> This image satirizes the officers’ prerogative to both give and rescind orders as well as the enlisted sailors’ duty to follow them no matter how illogical. Even simple aspects of the Navy’s hierarchy, such as saluting, were often mocked through the cartoons, as seen in a 1958 cartoon showing a sailor needing a third arm to properly address his superior (figure 19).<sup>110</sup> In addition to complaints over the hierarchy involving commissioned officers, sailors also expressed frustration at the position of non-commissioned officers (NCOs) (figure 20).<sup>111</sup> Here the sailors plan to

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<sup>108</sup> Victor Nardo interviewed by Doug Buchanan, Sub Vets’ Interviews F21; Oral History, name and date not recorded, *USS Becuna* Collection: Series IV: Crew Records Box 76, F21 Sub Vets’ Interviews, Welles Henderson Archives and Library, Independence Seaport Museum.

<sup>109</sup> Patrick, “Mitchell requests...”, in *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, February 1952), 43.

<sup>110</sup> “Saluting sailor,” in *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, September 1958), 50.

<sup>111</sup> Jack Wing, “Let’s have...”, in *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, January), 45.

team up against the petty officers in a snowball fight, as it would be dozens versus only a handful. This type of imagery reveals the tension between the two types of enlisted sailors since the NCOs were in a middle ground between the crew and the commissioned officers.

In addition to tensions between the ranks stemming from the structure of the Navy, the cartoons reveal some possible deeper animosity between the crew and the officers. Crewmembers often depicted the officers above them as unable to do anything without the reliability of the crew because they were either incompetent or lazy. This type of thinking was also reflected in the oral histories of crew members, as one crew member recalled an officer who would mix up orders causing chaos in the control room.<sup>112</sup> Many cartoons included in *All Hands*, feature images of overweight officers yelling at slim sailors or petty officers abusing their power to order seamen to do degrading tasks (figure 21 and 22).<sup>113</sup> Overweight officers were not just a satirical form of drawings since such officers were reflected in the oral histories, as one submariner remembered a large officer who would eat six Hostess cupcakes at a time.<sup>114</sup> These types of cartoons, when paired with the oral histories, reveal a deeper understanding of how crewmembers saw themselves within the hierarchy of the Navy. By creating cartoons that showed the crew

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<sup>112</sup> Alan Polhemus interviewed by Doug Buchanan, October 17 2000, *USS Becuna* Collection: Series IV: Crew Records Box 76, F21 Sub Vets' Interviews, Welles Henderson Archives and Library, Independence Seaport Museum.

<sup>113</sup> W.P. Duensing, "This is 'Boot Camp...'", in *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, December 1955), 19; "Hey striker...", in *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, November 1950), 50.

<sup>114</sup> Jim Ouzts interviewed by Doug Buchanan October 16, 2000. *USS Becuna* Collection: Series IV: Crew Records Box 74, F20 James Ouzts, Welles Henderson Archives and Library, Independence Seaport Museum.

as a singular force posed against the officers, the sailors created a shared identity through their daily struggles within the Navy's hierarch, often implying that the Navy could run more efficiently without officers.

Furthermore, without officers, sailors certainly believed the Navy would be a nicer place since they often portrayed their officers as spiteful and cruel. This was clearly seen in the cartoon displayed on the *USS Becuna*, in which the square showing "as his men see him" depicts the petty officer as a devil with horns coming out from beneath his hat (figure 23).<sup>115</sup> Indeed, this more sinister side of the relationship between the crew and the officers was seen on other submarines such as the *USS Croaker*, which featured an illustration of an officer at his desk whipping an unseen sailor (figure 24).<sup>116</sup> Anger towards officers as taskmasters often expressed itself in the cartoons as sailors taking revenge upon their officers, such as one from 1960, when a crewmember tries to put a voodoo curse on his commanding officer (figure 25).<sup>117</sup> Through drawing cartoons, sailors expressed their frustration at the hierarchy that the Navy imposed and sought ways to relieve the pressures that came from the officers. Furthermore, such drawings implied an "us versus them" mentality that would help build a collaborative culture amongst sailors as they sought to connect through their shared experiences.

Moving beyond relationships on the submarine, the most common theme is the objectification of women. From 1946 to 1960 such cartoons were drawn roughly 130

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<sup>115</sup> "USS *Becuna* cartoon," Independence Seaport Museum.

<sup>116</sup> "Get Dat Bell," *USS Croaker* cruise book, (1963), Naval History and Heritage Command Library Branch.

<sup>117</sup> David Majchrzak, "If voodoo works..." *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, January 1960), 57.

times in *All Hands*, the most of any other theme. These cartoons highlight a culture of viewing women as objects that effected the entire institution of the Navy, with submarines being no exception. The cartoons emphasize that women who fit into an idealized version of beauty were objects to be lusted after, with one cartoon using a submarine's periscope to spy on women at the beach (figure 26).<sup>118</sup> Based on the analysis of the cartoons, they convey a worldview in which sailors were simply unable to control themselves around beautiful women and as such it was expected that women would distract them from their work. One such cartoon depicts a drooling enlisted man using a naval helicopter to stare at women dancing below as his officer tries in vain to get him back to his mission (figure 27).<sup>119</sup> Furthermore, the cartoons emphasize that it was the women's fault for distracting the sailors since it was the women who dressed provocatively, as seen in a cartoon showing two women serving in the Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES) regretting wearing heels because of all the lustily stares they were getting (figure 28).<sup>120</sup> According to the sailors' cartoons the only way for a woman to be protected from the unwanted advances of a sailor was to be outside of the perfect figure that they believed defined women's beauty and worth (figure 29).<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> *USS Croaker* cruise book (1963), Naval History and Heritage Command Library Branch.

<sup>119</sup> "We're looking for submarines...", *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, May 1958), 46.

<sup>120</sup> Hoist, "They're looking at us...", *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, October 1947), 47.

<sup>121</sup> Dempsey, "Some dirty rat...", *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, March 1950), 42.

Beyond lusting at women from a distance, the cartoons emphasized a culture that accepted sexual assault against women. Numerous cartoons depict sailors trying to do whatever it took to see females naked, from blowing up their shirts to setting their clothes on fire (figure 30 and 31).<sup>122</sup> In addition to just trying to get a glimpse of women, the cartoons often imply that men could and should try to do more. One illustration shows a sailor stranded with a woman trying to play checkers on her patterned dress (figure 32).<sup>123</sup> Even more striking is a cartoon from 1946, showing a WAVE complaining to her officer about a sailor who tried to “wrestle” with her (figure 33).<sup>124</sup> This type of cultural attitude towards women was not unique to the Navy since it was found throughout the cultural landscape of the United States. For instance, Jane Sherron De Hart argues in *Rethinking Cold War Culture* that “female sexuality became increasingly eroticized during the fifties.”<sup>125</sup> Even in other form of cartoons, such as comic books, women were drawn to “reflect male criteria for the ideal woman.”<sup>126</sup> However, in comparison, the scenes illustrated in naval cartoons went beyond the actions of the male heroes in the comics, since comic heroes and heroines were virtuous and lived by strict codes of honor.

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<sup>122</sup> “Man blowing wind,” *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, May 1950), 50; Dempsey, “Man lighting fire to shirt,” *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, October 1950), 47.

<sup>123</sup> Patrick, “Checkers, Checkers...”, *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, November 1950), 52.

<sup>124</sup> Mainsheet, “And then he said...”, *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, June 1946), 61.

<sup>125</sup> Jane Sherron De Hart, “Containment at Home,” in *Rethinking Cold War Culture*, eds. Peter Kuznick and James Gilbert, (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), 126;

<sup>126</sup> William Savage Jr., *Combies, Cowboys, and Jungle Queens: Comic Books and America, 1945-1954* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1990), 78-79.

So while sexualization in the Navy reflected general feelings at the time, sailors would expand it into a hyper-masculine culture. Among sailors, actions of sexual harassment were played off as jokes, highlighting the hyper-masculinity of the Navy from the end of World War II throughout the early years of the Cold War. This type of portrayal reinforced a culture that saw women as objects for men's desire and pleasure and not as individuals in their own right.

Indeed, treating women as sources of pleasure was demonstrated time and time again in naval cartoons. Many illustrations imply that sexualizing women was good for the Navy as it helped occupy and entertain the sailors. One cartoon from 1958 for instance, shows an officer explaining to another officer that the stripper dancing for the men is simply a "personnel morale booster program (figure 34).<sup>127</sup> Furthermore, a cartoon from the *USS Pickrel*'s cruise book shows sailors paying prostitutes to come to a party at the hotel where the crew was staying (figure 35).<sup>128</sup> These cartoons illustrate a worldview wherein women exist only to provide sexual gratification to the sailors, even if the women themselves served in the Navy (figure 36).<sup>129</sup> One further way in which sailors often sexualized women was by illustrating them as mermaids. Such illustrations would further remove some of their human element but still allowed the sailors to play out their sexual desires. One cartoon for example shows a sailor lustfully imagining a

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<sup>127</sup> F. Mercado, "It's part of our new...", *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, December 1958), 49.

<sup>128</sup> *USS Pickrel* cruise book (1966), Naval History and Heritage Command Library Branch.

<sup>129</sup> A cartoon from the *Dolphin* depicts the submariners staring at the large breasted waitress that they have serving food on the submarine. Atwood, "We consider this the best...", *Dolphin*, December 22, 1960, 5. *USS Becuna* Collection: Series IV: Crew Records Box 74, F 27 Mike Salaki, Welles Henderson Archives and Library, Independence Seaport Museum.

woman he sees as naked but with a mermaid tail (figure 37).<sup>130</sup> This specific type of cartoon further highlights the dehumanizing effect that the sailors' sexualized worldview had on women.

Among the numerous cartoons concerned with women, several took objectification to an extreme. One from the *All Hands* magazine depicts a stranded sailor frantically trying to stamp out a fire because it has inadvertently signaled to a rescue ship. The sailor in the cartoon does not want to be rescued because he has with him on the island a half-naked women who he has bound and gagged (figure 38).<sup>131</sup> This cartoon in the span of a single frame conveys a joke about the kidnapping and likely raping of a woman. Such sexual fantasies appeared in ship cruise books as well, with one on the *USS Rendova* showing an officer yelling at a sailor for having a pin-up on his wall. However, the joke in this cartoon is that instead of a picture pinned up it is an actual half-naked woman pinned to the wall by her underwear (figure 39).<sup>132</sup> The cartoon suggests that the officer is not upset with the sailor kidnapping a women for his sexual desires but only that he broke the ship's rule that there be nothing pinned up on the walls. In addition to these suggestive cartoons, sailors were known to have drawn pornographic cartoons in order to express their sexual frustration. Indeed, the finding aid for a collection at the Naval History and Heritage Command states that such cartoons are "indicative of [the

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<sup>130</sup> Patrick, "Man dreams of mermaid," *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, March 1951), 47.

<sup>131</sup> Dempsey, "And who said I signaled?," *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, April 1951), 44.

<sup>132</sup> *USS Rendova* cruise book (1953), Naval History and Heritage Command Library Branch.

sailor's] frame of mind with respect to the long period he and his fellow servicemen spent away from home, and the lack of female companionship while deployed overseas.”<sup>133</sup>

Thus even the modern description of the cartoons imply that sexualizing women was an acceptable and understandable practice of sailors. Taken as a whole, all of these cartoons dealing with women reveal a culture that was institutionalized and perpetuated through sailors' portrayal of women.

The misogynistic culture of the Navy that was revealed through the cartoons was not just limited to drawings expressing fantasies; the culture expressed itself in other ways as well. For instance, in the *USS Pine Island's* cruise book, the sailors voted on the most attractive girlfriend and wife of the crew, including their pictures in the book. Furthermore, the description of the ‘Miss Summer Cruise’ stated that she was only seventeen and that her boyfriend had met her when he ‘accidentally’ knocked into her at a skating rink.<sup>134</sup> This shows that portraying women as objects of beauty was second nature in the Navy since the crew had little difficulty in ranking spouses or minors. In addition, the escape training tank in New London, Connecticut included two topless mermaid paintings that the trainees would see on their way up (figure 40). These large murals would be touched up every year in order to maintain their “curvaceous” figures, showing that support of such sexualization was officially supported by the Navy.<sup>135</sup> How this worldview was institutionalized was further seen in the Navy's dealings with the

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<sup>133</sup> <https://www.history.navy.mil/research/library/manuscripts/manuscript-index.html>

<sup>134</sup> *USS Pine Island* (1956), Naval History and Heritage Command Library Branch.

<sup>135</sup> “Mermaid mural,” *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, October 1950), 37.

WAVES program. For instance, in an evaluation of an introduction booklet to the new female recruits found that while the booklet focused on teaching them how to have a good figure and good hair, new WAVES found that it “contributed little if anything that was new to them” and “got a laugh out of some of the information.”<sup>136</sup> Thus even in official naval business, the male dominated Navy lacked basic understanding into the actual needs of women because they were unable to see past their worldview that saw women as sexual beings first and foremost.

While not occurring as often as the other two subthemes, white sailors interacting with other races can be seen throughout a number of naval cartoons. Unlike the oral histories, which point at racial problems between whites and African Americans within the Navy, most of the cartoons directed their racial jokes against groups outside of the Navy.<sup>137</sup> While most of the racial cartoons drawn by sailors centered on portrayals of Asian and Pacific Islanders, there were a few that commented on African American racial stereotypes. One such racially charged cartoon, published in the *Dolphin* in 1960, portrays an African American dressed as Santa ringing a bell for charity. However, the text of the cartoon has him shouting that the money is for the “love of Allah,” much to the surprise of the white women walking past (figure 41).<sup>138</sup> The joke of the cartoon

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<sup>136</sup> “You In the Service,” 34 & 68, “Summary of the research report “You in the Service”” 25 & 31, Folder: You in the Service Research Evaluation, BUPERS Special Assistant for Women’s Policy: Series III Subject Tiles Box 17

<sup>137</sup> Student Stories of the Silent Service cd, *USS Becuna Collection*: Series IV: Crew Records Box 76, F22 Student Stories of the Silent Service, Welles Henderson Archives and Library, Independence Seaport Museum.

<sup>138</sup> Atwood, “Alms for the love of Allah...”, *Dolphin*, December 22, 1960, 4. *USS Becuna Collection*: Series IV: Crew Records, Box 74, F 27 Nick Salake, Welles Henderson Archives and Library, Independence Seaport Museum.

relies on the stereotyping of African Americans as Muslims, likely based off of the contemporary rise of the Nation of Islam.<sup>139</sup>

The majority of racial cartoons dealt with the sailors' interactions with those they encountered while sailing around the world. The common theme expressed in these drawings was that the locals were uncivilized and unintelligent. For example, one cartoon shows a group of Asian men depicted with large buck teeth and speaking in broken mispronounced English excitedly using basic hygiene supplies with US Navy logos on them (figure 42).<sup>140</sup> The cartoon implies that without the support of the Navy, these people still would not be bathing or shaving. Furthermore, in the cartoon is an unflattering depiction of an Asian man looking in a mirror and in broken English declaring himself "handsome," thereby delivering another racial joke on the questionable beauty of nonwhites. Further demonstrating this racial prejudice against local populations was a cartoon from 1948, in which a sailor is in a large cauldron being prepared to be eaten by two dark-skinned natives (figure 43).<sup>141</sup> However, since the idea of cannibalism is so foreign to the white sailor's western culture, he thinks he is simply taking a bath, signifying the perceived absurdness of non-western culture. These cartoons also denote a sense of superiority that the sailors felt they had over people from the non-western world.

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<sup>139</sup> The Nation of Islam saw its membership grow from 400 to as much as 300,000 from the 1950s into the 1960s. Furthermore with members such as Malcolm X, the organization reach national coverage. Southern Poverty Law Center, "Nation of Islam" <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/nation-islam>. Accessed February 9, 2017.

<sup>140</sup> "Asian men with supplies," *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, June 1946), 30.

<sup>141</sup> Don Orghe, "Cannibal natives," *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, May 1948), 48.

This sense of superiority was expressed in other cartoons that questioned the intelligence of native peoples, with a cartoon from 1957 showing dark skinned locals bringing offerings to a large statue that a sailor had erected of himself, suggesting a master or even demi-god type of relationship the sailor had created with the local population (figure 44).<sup>142</sup> The sailor in the cartoon is upset that he has just received transfer orders; however, the accompanying text from a fellow sailor reassures him that “there’ll be other islands.” Thus the cartoon lays out that not only was this sailor able to assert himself as a god to these simple minded peoples but that he can likely do it again because there are more indigenous peoples around the world to exploit. Along the lines of the uncivilized local was the risk of going native, in which a white sailor became Asian or African in behavior and appearance because he had been stationed overseas too long (figure 45 and 46).<sup>143</sup> These cartoons while not numerous still reveal a dark underside to the sailors’ worldviews and interactions with those they encountered during their service. Thus part of the Navy’s culture of the Cold War was built around a hyper Anglo-Saxon masculinity that looked down on both women and people of color. The cartoons depicting relationships with other groups illustrate how submariners understood their place in the world and served as basis for the sailors reaffirm their connections to each other.

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<sup>142</sup> B., “Don’t feel bad...”, *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, April 1957), 42.

<sup>143</sup> A cartoon from 1947 for instance depicts an officer sporting Chinese garb and facial hair as a surprised young sailor questions how long he had been stationed in China. Deisel, “Been here long sir,” *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, October 1947), 54; Bess, “Tell me, lieutenant...”, *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, September 1949), 42.

## Violence and Death

The final major theme that was evident throughout the sailors' drawings was their coming to terms with the violence and death that surrounded their service.

Understanding how submariners dealt with violence can be understood through examining the submarine's patches, which were usually made by a member of the crew to represent the submarine to the rest of the Navy and to the rest of the world. Here there is a divide between the patches' themes, with the first half from submarines which served in and around World War II and second from those built after the launch of the *USS Nautilus*. In the early stages it is clear the torpedo was seen as an integral part of the submarine so much so that one of the *Becuna*'s early patches depicts a *Becuna* shooting a torpedo out of its mouth (figure 47).<sup>144</sup> Defining the submarine based on its torpedoes, and the violence that comes from that, was seen further in a later patch that showed the fish wearing boxing gloves throwing a torpedo at an unseen enemy with its tail (figure 48).<sup>145</sup> This is important because traditionally these patches were drawn and chosen by the crew, which means as a whole crew they identified with this image. This association with the torpedo is not surprising since the torpedoes played an important part in the *Becuna*'s history as the *Becuna* engaged with numerous attacks against the Japanese during World War II. With five patrols in the Pacific, the *Becuna* registered three and a

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<sup>144</sup> "USS *Becuna* Patch," <http://www.navy.mil/navsource.org/archives/08/08319.htm>. Accessed February 6, 2017.

<sup>145</sup> "USS *Becuna* Patch," *USS *Becuna* Collection: Series VII: Photographs, Box 80, F 22 Patch*, Welles Henderson Archives and Library, Independence Seaport Museum.

half kills against Japanese merchant vessels.<sup>146</sup> Depicting the violence of the war through the inclusion of the torpedo in the patch was a way for the crew to display their wartime experience and power.

This obsession with the torpedo and the violence associated with it was not just limited to the crew of the *Becuna*, this was a Navy wide cultural phenomenon. This is clearly demonstrated with another World War II submarine, the *USS Cod*, whose patch is a torpedo embedded in a human skull (figure 49).<sup>147</sup> Thus, in terms of cultural history, submariners celebrated the torpedo patches as the thing that defined them and made them unique within the Navy. This relation to and celebration of weapons and conflict seems to be brought to the forefront because of the violence that the crews experienced during their engagements in World War II. These patches are important to understand since they are “primarily symbolic” and would have been displayed on “many high visibility areas to include uniforms, plaques, awards, stationary and media throughout the life of the ship.”<sup>148</sup> Thus, in many ways these patches could have been used to boost morale since they showed off to others the confidence that the crew had in dealing with the enemy. Moreover, these patches would have been a tangible way for the crew to rally around their submarine and display their pride in their work. Therefore, by connecting their

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<sup>146</sup> *Ships History of the USS Becuna, October 19, 1945*, p 5. Folder *Becuna*, Box 90: Ships History- Decommissioned prior to Jan 1, 2001, Beaumere to Beeville, Naval History and Heritage Command Archives Branch.

<sup>147</sup> “*USS Cod* Patch,” 1945, <http://usscod.org/info.html>. accessed February 6, 2017

<sup>148</sup> Tom Roeder, “Navy Needs Entries for *USS Colorado* Submarine’s Logo Contest,” *The Gazette*, (January 4, 2015). <http://gazette.com/navy-needs-entries-for-uss-colorado-submarines-logo-contest/article/1544009>. accessed February 6, 2017

submarine's identity with the torpedoes, the crews were making a clear statement as to their position and role in the war.

However, this practice of displaying the torpedoes is also striking since the Mark 14 torpedoes used in World War II were plagued with problems. The torpedo faced three main problems, namely it ran deeper than expected, the magnetic field exploder did not function properly, and the contact exploder would not ignite the warhead.<sup>149</sup> Most of these problems arose because the torpedoes were tested in still pure water not at sea and because of their high price tag tests were limited and often excluded the use of a warhead.<sup>150</sup> These errors caused the torpedoes to not explode and would allow enemy ships to evade damage, putting the submarine then at risk of a counter strike. Therefore, it is interesting that the crew would celebrate something that often let them down. However, this contradiction in how the crew depicted their torpedoes and how the torpedoes actually functioned reveals the significance the crew placed in the potential power of the torpedoes despite their limitations.

These patches are additionally interesting because as one traces the patches in the post war period, one can see the change in the worldview and culture of the Navy. The patches of the late 1940s and early 1950s maintain this violent theme as seen with *Barracuda* and *Tang* classes of submarines. This was likely because of how close World War II was still in the mind of the crews and therefore they wished to connect their more

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<sup>149</sup> Gannon, *Hellions of the Deep*, 75, 85, 90.

<sup>150</sup> *Ships History of the USS Becuna, October 19, 1945*, p 5. Ships History- Decommissioned prior to Jan 1, 2001, Beaumere to Beeville, Box 90, Folder *Becuna*, Naval History and Heritage Command Archives Branch.

peaceful service with the heroics and fighting of the past. Indeed, submariners on the *Becuna* continued to draw different variations of their patch during the 1950s, with one showing a grinning *Becuna* carrying its torpedo with its muscular tattooed arms (figure 50).<sup>151</sup> An additional example from the *USS Bonita* (SS-552), commissioned in 1952, depicts its submarine smiling as it beats an enemy submarine to pieces with its torpedo (figure 51).<sup>152</sup> Thus through World War II into the early 1950s, the culture within the Navy celebrated the torpedo and raised it up to the pinnacle of what defined a submarine. By doing so, the Navy encouraged a culture that embraced violent conflict as the main reason for existence.

However, when one moves into the later stages of the 1950s, a complete change occurs. No longer is the torpedo the center of the submarines' patches rather it has been replaced by the symbol of the atom, representing the Navy's move towards nuclear technology. Indeed, many of the patches, such as the *USS Sargo* (SSN 583) commissioned in 1958, have the atomic symbol engulf their submarine, revealing that the crew now sees technology and science as the defining part of their submarine's identity as opposed to the weapons and violence of the previous years (figure 52).<sup>153</sup> Furthermore a postcard from the *Sargo* in 1960 shows it breaking through the ice in the artic, with the phrase "New Frontiers through nuclear power," around the submarine, which underscores the importance that nuclear technology had to submariners from the late 1950s

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<sup>151</sup> Bill Westerfield, "*Becuna*," Independence Seaport Museum, 2000.35.21.

<sup>152</sup> "*USS Bonita* Patch," <http://www.navsource.org/archives/08/08552.htm>, accessed February 6, 2017

<sup>153</sup> "*USS Sargo* Patch," <http://www.ssn583.com/ThisNThat/Graphics/1960Patch.jpg>, accessed February 6, 2017

onwards.<sup>154</sup> Indeed, this change in theme in the patches underscores the radical changes occurring in the submarine fleet at this time since the Navy was moving away from diesel submarines to the more advanced nuclear one. Furthermore, the later developments of the Polaris missile systems would further remove the submarines from the direct combat and violence that the *Becuna* and other early Cold War submarines experienced.

The submarine patches are a fascinating way to enter the mind of the submariners in order to discover how they felt about their service and the violence of their profession. Indeed, the patches reveal the deep level of connection that the crews had to the torpedoes during times of violence, since the torpedoes were what stood between them and the enemy. On the other hand, they also show as the Navy settled into a more peacekeeping role, the crew's understanding and relation to the torpedoes changed as they no longer relied on them for the day-to-day life on the submarine. Thus through these symbols, the *Becuna*'s torpedo tubes and torpedo can be situated in the change of culture understanding from World War II into the Cold War. For while the *Becuna* did not gain nuclear power during the 1950s or 1960s, its crew would still likely have been enveloped in the same cultural mindset of the nuclear fleet, just as they were swept up in the social pattern of celebrating the torpedoes during the war.

In addition to the violence inherent in the submariners' lives in the Navy, the other common thread was sailors' dealing with the dangers of their service. These types of cartoons took on two forms, being shipwrecked and dying. Cartoons of shipwrecked

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<sup>154</sup> Sargo Cachet (1960), <http://www.ssn583.com/ThisNThat/Philately/Cover05.jpg>. Accessed February 6, 2017.

sailors focus on making light of the dangerous situation by showing how the Navy would continue to function despite being stranded. The most common joke among these illustrations is enlisted men trying to put in requests for transfers despite being on a small deserted island, as seen in two different *All Hands* cartoons drawn 5 years apart (figure 53 and 54).<sup>155</sup> Other lighthearted cartoons focus on situational irony, such as sailor's submission for a contest depicting a sailor asking for salt for his fish while adrift at sea (figure 55).<sup>156</sup> These types of cartoons focused on trying to make light of a dangerous and potentially deadly event of the sailor's vessel sinking.

This danger was even more real in a submarine where survival was even less likely, since the escape hatches only worked when at 100 feet deep or less. However, even then, as a submariner on the *Becuna* recalled, the crew often stored food in the escape hatches because of a lack of space, so even if needed, he admitted "there was no escape."<sup>157</sup> Thus, these cartoons serve as an escape from the realization that if something went wrong beneath the sea that it was likely a death sentence for those on board.<sup>158</sup> The constant presence of danger allowed the submariners to connect as they would share their

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<sup>155</sup> Theo H. Tennant, "I suppose it would be...", *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, July 1948), 44; Ken Duggan, "Oh, oh, here he comes...", *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, July 1953), 45.

<sup>156</sup> David Majchrzak, "Pass the Salt, please," *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, January 1960), 48.

<sup>157</sup> Roy Charlette interviewed by Doug Buchanan October 16, 2000. *USS Becuna* Collection: Series IV: Crew Records Box 76, F21 Sub Vets' Interviews, Welles Henderson Archives and Library, Independence Seaport Museum.

<sup>158</sup> Despite the risk, escape was still possible as seen when the Soviet submarine K-429 sank in 1983 and the escape pod could not function. The crew was able to escape through the torpedo tubes and swim the 150 feet to the surface, with all but two of the 106 crew surviving. Gary Weir, *Rising Tide: The Untold Story of the Russian Submariners that Fought the Cold War* (New York: Basic Books, 2003), 220-221.

experiences of their fear and survival, as a one submariner recalled in his oral history.<sup>159</sup>

Due to the high danger, a number of the shipwreck cartoons also took on a darker humor as a way for sailors to relieve stress and form a shared bond. An example from *All Hands* depicts two sailors coming across a mine and thinking it is an island they can stay on (figure 56).<sup>160</sup> This cartoon shows one of the sailors realizing it is a mine too late and it is left to the reader's imagination what will become of the two sailors. Such dark humor reveals the sailors acknowledgement of the probability of death that surrounded their profession.

The dark humor associated with shipwrecked cartoons also showed in other type of cartoons drawn by sailors. One such cartoon features an angel complaining to naval officers about a missile test, the joke implying the test resulted in fatalities and thereby creating the angel (figure 57).<sup>161</sup> A similar cartoon shows two angels debating letting a sailor in and deciding that it does not matter since he will request a transfer soon anyway (figure 58).<sup>162</sup> The cartoons' ways to deal with danger either lighthearted or dark reflected the idea that death is always present but not always scary, that Christina Knopf found in her examination of military cartoons throughout the century.<sup>163</sup> Thus dealing with violence and death was a common way for those in the service to relate to each other and

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<sup>159</sup> Victor Nardo interviewed by Doug Buchanan Sub Vets' Interviews F21.

<sup>160</sup> Patrick, "Must be one of them...", *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, November 1950), 50.

<sup>161</sup> Patrick, "He wants to file...", *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, April 1957), 29.

<sup>162</sup> D.S. Churchill, *All Hands*, (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Information, April 1959), 42.

<sup>163</sup> Knopf, *The Comics Art of War*, 136.

expressed their shared fears and experiences. The use of heroics and adversity to unite the crews into one common mindset and bond highlights perhaps the most human side of the submariners' lives.

By examining the different type of illustrations created by sailors during the early years of the Cold War, it is possible to comprehend how the sailors dealt with experiences in their daily lives. These cartoons demonstrate that the sailors often struggled with basic aspects of life such as food and medicine and with how technology was changing the Navy and affecting their lives on the seas. In addition, cartoons also expressed significant parts of the sailors' worldviews and culture. These cartoons revealed struggles amongst the submarines in terms of their relationship with their commanding officers. Furthermore, they highlighted a darker side of Navy culture which was hyper masculine and fostered sexism and racism. Finally, the cartoons also illustrate how the sailors dealt with questions over their own survival and the violence they inflicted on others. While these worldviews were not always perfect, they contributed to the common camaraderie felt among submariners and helped shaped how the submariners understood themselves in the changing landscape of the Cold War.

## CHAPTER 4

### IMPLEMENTING INTERPRETATIONS ON THE *USS BECUNA*

We have seen how the *USS Becuna* represents an important transitional moment in the history of the American Navy after World War II. And we have seen also that its sailors struggled with a host of anxieties born of their service during the Cold War Era. But how do we translate these observations into a new interpretative treatment for the *Becuna*? That we must is imperative given that the *Becuna* has been generally overlooked by the museum as it has focused on other projects. Furthermore, although *Becuna* spent most of its service fighting the Cold War, interpretation aboard it has focused exclusively on its World War II history due to its National Historic Landmark period of significance. In addition, by focusing on the Cold War, the Seaport Museum can examine and explore the stories of submariners who served as well as the peoples they interacted with around the world. Therefore, it is important to create a new interpretive framework that critically examines the ship's service post 1945.<sup>164</sup>

The purpose here is to propose a new visitor tour for use on the *Becuna*. To do this, however, we must first consider what makes good public history so that interpretation aboard the *Becuna* can have the greatest impact on the visitors. Public history as a field strives to engage with the public in thought-provoking ways so that history is not just the repetition of facts but helps one come to a deeper understanding of the past. Recent public history scholarship, for instance, encourages museums to expand community engagement, invest in visitor and stakeholder communication, and showcase

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<sup>164</sup> *National Historical Landmark Designation*. USS *Becuna* Collection, Series V: Cruiser *Olympia* Association, Box 77 Folder 4 *Becuna* National Historical Landmark. Welles Henderson Archives and Library, Independence Seaport Museum.

evocative experiences. The new tour seeks to do precisely that by telling stories that have been forgotten in the largely static interpretation of the *Becuna*.<sup>165</sup> Since the Seaport Museum has focused only on the story of the *Becuna* during World War II, it has not provided visitors with the rest of the submarine's history. This has become such a problem that the curator of the museum has recognized that the *Becuna* has often been overlooked and not gotten the interpretation that it deserves.<sup>166</sup> It is possible to use historic cartoons to bridge the gap and explore aspects of *Becuna*'s history that have long been ignored.

Public historians understand too that exhibits can use emotion and controversy as tools for engaging visitors, such as Fred Wilson famously demonstrated in his famous *Mining the Museum* exhibit at the Maryland Historical Society.<sup>167</sup> While Wilson's exhibit used much more controversial and unsettling means of creating this emotional connection than intended for the *Becuna*, the new tour also looks to create strong connections between history and the visitor. Here the tour relies, once again, on historic cartoons, especially those concerning the difficulties of sailor life and the chauvinisms that ran through it. These varieties of cartoons will help visitors empathize with the submariners while at the same time encourage them to reflect on the problems within naval culture and the United States as a whole.

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<sup>165</sup> Franklin Vagnone, Deborah Ryan and Olivia Cothren, "The Anarchist Guide to Historic House Museums: Evaluation Methodology for Historic House Museums," *The Public Historian*, Vol. 37 No. 2, (May 2015), 102.

<sup>166</sup> Craig Burns, email message to author, (January 25, 2016); Craig Burns, email message to author, (March 16, 2016).

<sup>167</sup> Ken Yellis, "Fred Wilson, PTSD, and Me: Reflections on the History Wars," *Curator*, vol. 52 No. 4 (October 2009), 336.

We can learn too from the development of historic sites during the twentieth century, as illustrated by Cathy Stanton's *The Lowell Experiment*, which examines the successes and failures of Lowell National Historical Park. Stanton shows how success or failure hinged on the Park's willingness to connect themes of industrial history with current global conditions.<sup>168</sup> She argues that going beyond simple and easy stories to tell the complex histories challenges visitors to think sincerely about the topic. Aboard *Becuna*, examining the cultural history of the Navy will similarly challenge visitors to examine how and why worldviews change over time.

There are a number of ways that the Seaport Museum can integrate new sophisticated interpretation on the *Becuna*. While a mobile phone based app tour is the most effective way to implement the new interpretation, it is important to examine other options and their shortcomings. One strategy would be to create either permanent or temporary exhibits on the submarine to engage with visitors in a traditional way. However, a major challenge facing this method of interpretation on submarines is lack of space. Submarines are tight and compact vessels that make it difficult to add exhibits or other objects that help inform visitors. For much of the tour on the *Becuna*, visitors are forced to walk in single file, leaving little room for new displays. This approach would mean that such exhibits would be small, favoring thin interpretation and analysis that may not meet the requirements of good public history. An alternative to housing the exhibit on the *Becuna* would be to house an exhibit in the museum itself, which would allow for a more in-depth discussion. However, this is less than ideal since it could create a

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<sup>168</sup> Cathy Stanton, *The Lowell Experiment: Public History in a Postindustrial City*, (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 76, 231.

disconnect between the visitors and the submarine, resulting in the exhibit making less of an impact.

Another approach would be to develop specialized tours for groups or individuals. A benefit is that visitors would enjoy greater depth than allowed by small exhibits. Additionally, it would not require the museum to change the physical displays on the ships. There are several ways for the museum to approach these tours. The museum could train its volunteers to give specialized tours, though this may be difficult given that volunteer guides are only available in the summer or through group reservations of ten or more.<sup>169</sup> Moreover, since the tour is built around examining naval cartoons, having tour guides without some sort of physical displays of the cartoons would result in a disconnected between the visitor and the history. Another approach would be to print short self-guided tour brochures for each of the various topics that visitors might choose from upon entering the *Becuna*. This would be relatively easy to produce and would also include images of the cartoons. However, this option is also less than ideal since it is a static tour that is not very engaging. This approach also limits the tour to what can conveniently fit onto small piece of paper, reducing the number of cartoons that could be included.

To best engage with the visitors and promote good public history, the Seaport Museum should make use of a digital self-guided tour optimized for various mobile devices. Mobile app tours are important because they allow for an integration of visual, audio, and textual interpretation that is not available in traditional self-guided tours.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> “Group Tours,” Independence Seaport Museum, <http://www.phillyseaport.org/groups>.

<sup>170</sup> Annette Lamb and Larry Johnson, “Interpretation, Investigation, and Imagination: Museum Apps in the School Library,” *Teacher Librarian*, 42.4 (April 2015): 60.

The tour can therefore allow the visitor to engage with digitized images of the various cartoons as well as hear parts of the museum's oral history collection. This option would best engage the visitor and would make use of new innovative technology in a more traditional museum setting. This method can make use of visitor smartphones since about 60% of the population under 60 have smartphones and would be more likely to be interested in an interactive mobile museum app.<sup>171</sup> Since this still leaves about 40% of this population without a smartphone, it would be necessary for the museum to provide alternative devices. This is similar to other museums, such as the Cleveland Museum of Art, which for a nominal fee rents devices to visitors in need of one.<sup>172</sup> Furthermore, the development of an app would allow for easier modification and reproduction so the Seaport Museum can add new tours and features throughout the entire museum.

Numerous museums around the world have started to use app-based tours and as a result, a number of studies have been made regarding their effectiveness. A study in 2012 by the American Alliance of Museums found that over half of US museums offered mobile features for exploring the museum, namely through smartphone apps and QR codes.<sup>173</sup> In addition, both of these mobile features were more popular than traditional audio tours, with a mobile tour being used by 17% of the responding museums and QR codes being used by 30%.<sup>174</sup> Laura Naismith and M. Paul Smith discovered that most

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<sup>171</sup> Matthew Petrie, Philip Katz, and Rebecca Atkinson, "Mobile In Museums Study: 2012 A Survey of American Alliance of Museums (US) and Museums Association (UK) Members," (2012): 19, <https://aam-us.org/docs/research/mobilemuseums2012-%28aam%29.pdf>.

<sup>172</sup> "ArtLens App," The Cleveland Museum of Art, <http://www.clevelandart.org/gallery-one/artlens>.

<sup>173</sup> Petrie, Katz, and Atkinson, "Mobile In Museums Study," 12.

<sup>174</sup> *ibid.*, 13.

visitors enjoy the use of the apps and find that it makes exhibits “fun and engaging.”<sup>175</sup> They stress, however, that for the apps to be successful they must be easy to use and have a strong link between the physical and the digital or else the museum risks losing the visitor’s interest.<sup>176</sup> The *Becuna* tour app will address this by connecting the cartoons to various parts of the submarine so that each section flows together and encourages interaction between the digital and physical.

However, there are a few brief drawbacks to the use of an app-based tour. The first is that the museum would need to install a number of Wi-Fi routers on the submarine to ensure that the app can access the internet as well as track the visitor’s location along the tour.<sup>177</sup> While this is a simple enough installation, a concern is that a large number may need to be installed in order to prevent a loss in signal due to the *Becuna*’s metal structures.<sup>178</sup> In addition, there is a concern over cost. For instance in 2010, the American Museum of Natural History launched its new museum app called Explorer, which can be used to find objects throughout the museum and tracks visitors as they move through the exhibits.<sup>179</sup> However, the app, which was built in house, cost an estimated 2.75 million

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<sup>175</sup> Laura Naismith, M. Paul Smith. “Using Mobile Technologies for Multimedia Tours in a Traditional Museum Setting.” in Mohamed Ally, ed., *Mobile Learning: Transforming the Delivery of Education and Training* (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2009), 16.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid., 16 & 18.

<sup>177</sup> Sam Grobart, “Multimedia Tours Guides on Your Smartphone,” *The New York Times*, March 16, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/17/arts/design/apps-give-museum-visitors-multimedia-access.html>.

<sup>178</sup> Tim Altom, "WiFi vs. Ethernet Pits Reliability, Convenience." *Indianapolis Business Journal*, Sept. 23, 2013, 30.

<sup>179</sup> Edward Rothstein, “From Picassos to Sarcophagi, Guided by Phones Apps,” *The New York Times*, October 1, 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/02/arts/design/02apps.html>.

dollars, funded mainly by Bloomberg Philanthropies.<sup>180</sup> Despite the high cost of this Explorer app, about 80 percent of museums were able to have mobile programs cost under \$10,000 per year.<sup>181</sup>

Thus, while the Independence Seaport Museum can build the app for less than the Explorer app, it does raise some concerns for a museum that has recently been into financial troubles, with a deficit of between 1.5 and 2 million dollars per year since 2011.<sup>182</sup> Indeed, managing a museum on a ship is already challenging since much of the funds that could be used to fund exhibits are spent on repairs and upkeep for the vessels. Such is the case, for instance, at the New Jersey Naval Museum, which had to forgo actively interpreting its submarine, *USS Ling*, since the majority of its budget went to water damage related maintenance.<sup>183</sup> For a new interpretation to be implemented it must not only be cost efficient, but it must also work within the confined space of a submarine and still be impactful. Nevertheless, the positives of an app-based tour far outweigh its negatives since it is a powerful way to engage visitors.

For the proposed functioning of the tour for the *Becuna*, the nature of the cartoons lends itself to the spatial organization of the submarine itself. When visitors board the submarine and enter the forward torpedo room, the app will feature a brief history of the submarine and the role that cartoons play in helping us understand submariners. As

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<sup>180</sup> Joseph Berger, "Find the Whale and the Bathroom with the Natural History Museum App," The New York Times, November, 21, 2016, [http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/21/arts/design/the-natural-history-museum-has-a-new-app.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/21/arts/design/the-natural-history-museum-has-a-new-app.html?_r=0).

<sup>181</sup> Petrie, Katz, and Atkinson, "Mobile In Museums Study", 35.

<sup>182</sup> Independence Seaport Museum 990 Form, 2011, 2012, 2013. <http://www.guidestar.org/profile/23-1584971>

<sup>183</sup> Seth Weiner, "Save Our Ships," 64.

visitors move into the officer quarters, the app will follow them and display a number of cartoons to examine. This section will focus on the satirical cartoons made by the enlisted crew at the expense of the officers (figure 18). Once a cartoon is selected, the visitor can then zoom in as well as read a brief description of the cartoon and its importance in understanding the relationship between the crew and the officers. Once the visitors have explored the officers' quarters, they will move into the control and radio room where the app will present cartoons concerning sailors' interactions with technology (figure 3). This section will highlight the apprehension they had for new technology and the comical turn the sailors used when equipment failed.

As visitors move further into the ship they will enter the crew's mess, where the tour will focus on the crew's complaints about their naval experience, highlighting aspects like food and medicine that often appear in satirical cartoons. This section of the tour will showcase a lighter side of the naval experience, as it will reveal the sailors' concerns over more everyday matters, which many of the visitors will be able to connect with (figure 9 and 14). These types of humanizing cartoons are important because many visitors to the Seaport Museum express a desire to "know how people lived aboard" the ships.<sup>184</sup> The visitors will thereby learn about the history and culture of the Cold War through the engaging lens of the lives of the submariners. The app tour will then lead the visitor to the crew's quarters, where the tour will focus on the objectification of women by members of the Navy (figure 28 and 38). The tour will feature both cartoons made for public and personal consumption; however, some of the images will need an age restriction because of the graphic nature of the images. This part of the tour will

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<sup>184</sup> Craig Burns, email message to author, (9/17/16).

challenge the visitor to think deeply about the portrayal of women in society and hopefully cause them to question why such images were socially acceptable.

The tour then enters the engine room. While most of the compartments of the submarine are able to fit neatly into a theme expressed in the cartoons, the engine room will not have that luxury. Since there are no clear cartoons that relate to this room and since there are no rooms that pair with racism in the Navy, these two will have to go together. Here, the app will discuss the Navy's racial problems with those outside the service, partially people of Asian or Pacific Island descent (figure 44). While there were likely internal racial problems, most of the cartoons deal with stereotyping people the servicemen meet at sea as opposed to those within the service. This section along with the sexualization of females will illustrate the negative sides of naval culture and confront visitors with aspects of our military worldview that remain persistently challenging. These sections are important because one of the main tenets of good public history is that it must be thought-provoking to the visitor and the material must not ignore controversial topics and histories.<sup>185</sup> The inclusion of these more difficult sections will help reveal the darker side of the Navy's history that is often overlooked in Naval History and Heritage Command museums and historic sites.

When visitors enter the next section of the submarine, the maneuvering room, they will be shown cartoons involving the sailors' chance of being stranded after a shipwreck (figure 53). This will be an important stop on the tour as it will show how the sailors dealt with the real possibility of their ship sinking and trying to survive. These cartoons will connect the visitors to the human aspect of fear that submariners faced

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<sup>185</sup> Carolyn Kitch, *Pennsylvania in Public Memory: Reclaiming the Industrial Past*. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012), 9.

while serving in the high pressure of the Cold War. The final section of the submarine in the aft torpedo room will look at two different sets of cartoons. The first set will focus on the torpedo room and how cartoons drawn by the sailors come to terms with the violent nature of their occupation. This section will also showcase various submarine badges and how the change in conflicts resulted in different ways in which the sailors saw themselves (figure 48). This is an important part of the tour since it will allow the visitor to reflect on the *USS Becuna* as a weapon, a concept that is often overlooked with the current interpretation of the submarine. The second set will be focused on the cartoon that is displayed in the room and will lend itself to an overview of how men in the navy can be understood differently by various people (figure 23). This piece will be used to have the visitor reflect on how the cartoons taken as a whole can help them better understand the experiences of these submarines during the Cold War.

On a whole, the tour takes the visitor through the submarine using the various compartments to connect with the different types of cartoons drawn by those in the navy. While the sailors likely believed that they were just drawing cartoons that would never hang in a museum, their illustrations have been shown to come to life and reveal underlying cultural beliefs that can be used to aid in the visitors' understanding of the Cold War. Grappling with sexism and racism compels visitors to think about the complexity of life aboard *Becuna* rather than dwell on overly simplistic narratives about technological history and military heroism. This will add to the interpretation of the *Becuna*, which has only focused on its World War II history. The tour will move the *Becuna* from a static one-dimensional war memorial to a dynamic multi-dimensional museum. This will also enable to the museum to connect to modern geopolitical events

of militarization and tensions at sea, such as Russia's increase in submarine activity in the Baltic or China's buildup in the South China Sea.<sup>186</sup>

The use of an app-based tour is important because it will also allow visitors to interact with the cartoons in more dynamic ways than an exhibit or traditional self-guided tour. Furthermore, it allows the museum to continually update the tour and add new features, such as using audio clips from their oral history collections. This new tour will better fulfill the museum's mission of fostering "an understanding of the connections between civilization and the sea, particularly maritime aspects of the social, cultural, political, environmental, and economic history," that is has often overlooked when it comes to interpreting the *USS Becuna*.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> Eric Schmitt, "Russia Bolsters Its Submarine Fleet, and Tensions With U.S. Rise," *The New York Times*, April 20, 2016, [https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/21/world/europe/russia-bolsters-submarine-fleet-and-tensions-with-us-rise.html?\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/21/world/europe/russia-bolsters-submarine-fleet-and-tensions-with-us-rise.html?_r=0); Carrier Strike Group One Public Affairs, "Carrier Strike Group 1 Conducts South China Sea Patrol," Department of the Navy, February 18, 2017, [http://www.navy.mil/submit/display.asp?story\\_id=98973](http://www.navy.mil/submit/display.asp?story_id=98973).

<sup>187</sup> Guidestar, <http://www.guidestar.org/profile/23-1584971>.

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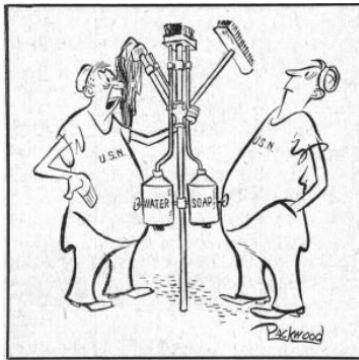
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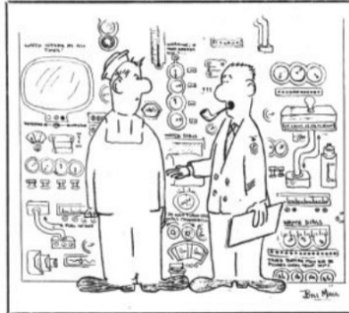
APPENDIX A: CARTOONS



"The patent office says swabs are obsolete."  
All Hands, December 1949, 48

**Figure 1**

All-Navy Cartoon Contest  
Honorable Mention  
W. R. Maul, CT1, USN

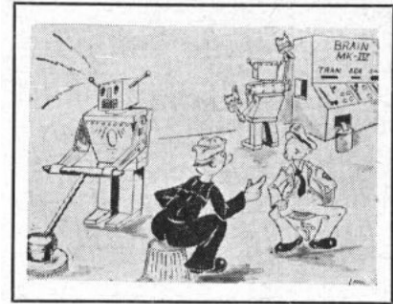


"Now before I leave, do you have any questions?"

All Hands, April 1959, 52

**Figure 2**

All-Navy Cartoon Contest  
L. "F." Mahle, AD1, USN

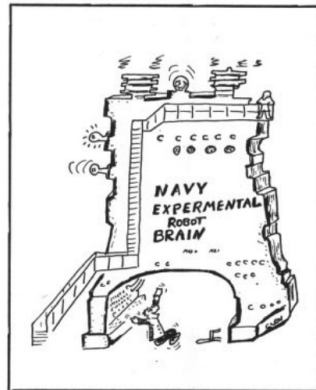


"Let's face it chief . . . It's a changing Navy."

All Hands, February 1960, 54

**Figure 3**

Honorable Mention,  
H. G. Walker, QM1, USN



"Success! Success! . . . it just submitted a request for transfer."

All Hands, January 1957, 23

**Figure 4**



USS Prairie Cruise Book 1960,

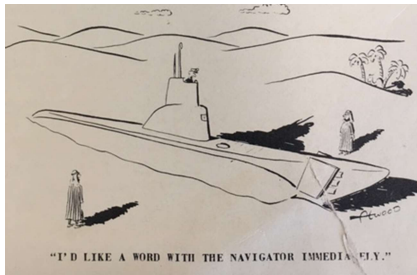
**Figure 5**



"This is control tower to XY2. We're checking your position now."

All Hands, June 1954, 47

**Figure 6**



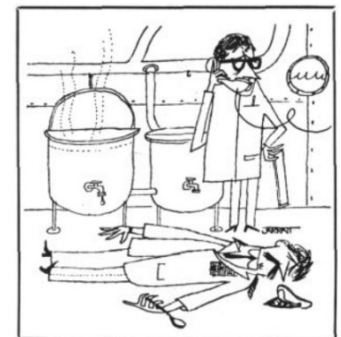
Dolphin, December 22,  
1960, 4

**Figure 7**



Dolphin, December 22, 1960, 7

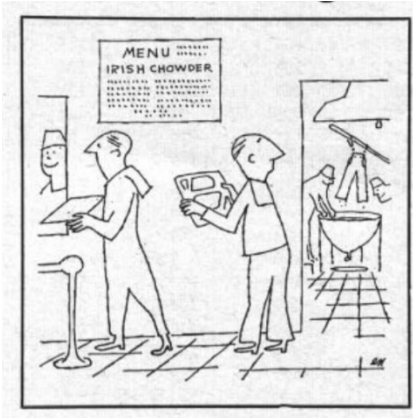
**Figure 8**



"Better cancel the rest of that mushroom soup, Sam."

All Hands, November  
1957, 44

**Figure 9**



All Hands, December 1955, 48  
**Figure 10**



USS Pickerel Cruise Book 1966  
**Figure 11**



Deep Doodles, 10  
**Figure 12**



"I told you—no seconds first time through!"

All Hands, March 1950, 55  
**Figure 13**



USS Prairie Cruise Book 1960, 63  
**Figure 14**

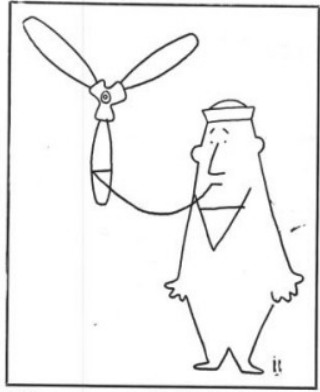


All Hands, August 1952, 44  
**Figure 15**



All Hands, December 1954, 44

**Figure 16**



FIRST —R. Carola, JO3, USNR

All Hands, June 1958, 48  
**Figure 17**



"Mitchell requests permission to take his finger out of the leak."

All Hands, February 1952, 43

**Figure 18**



All Hands, September 1958, 50

Figure 19



"Let's have a snowball fight... recruits against petty officers..."

All Hands, January, 45

Figure 20

Honorable Mention, W. P. Duensing, HM1, USN



"... This is 'Boot Camp'! We're going to take away those flabby muscles... gonna' make men out of you!"

All Hands, December 1955, 19

Figure 21



"Hey striker! Strike me a match."

All Hands, November 1950, 50

Figure 22



USS Becuna

Figure 23



USS Croaker Cruise book 1963

Figure 24

David J. Majchrzak, DN, USNR



"If voodoo works you're in trouble, Chief!"

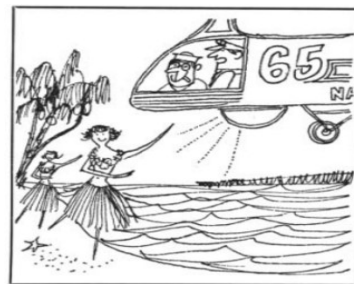
All Hands, January 1960, 57

Figure 25



USS Croaker Cruise book 1963

Figure 26



"We're looking for submarines, Larson, just submarines!"

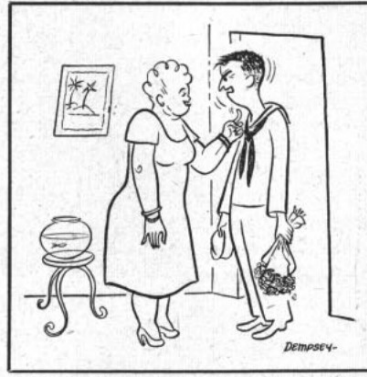
All Hands, May 1958, 46

Figure 27



Hoist, NavTraCen, San Diego  
 "They're looking at us. I told you we should have worn our regulation shoes."

All Hands, October 1947, 47  
**Figure 28**



"Some dirty rat named Joe sent me."

**Figure 29**



Mainsheet (USNTC, Bainbridge)  
 "And then he said: 'We're in the Navy to fight, ain't we? Okay, let's wrestle!'"

**Figure 30**



All Hands, October 1950, 47  
**Figure 31**



"Checkers, checkers! Is that the only thing you know how to play?"

All Hands, November 1950, 52  
**Figure 32**



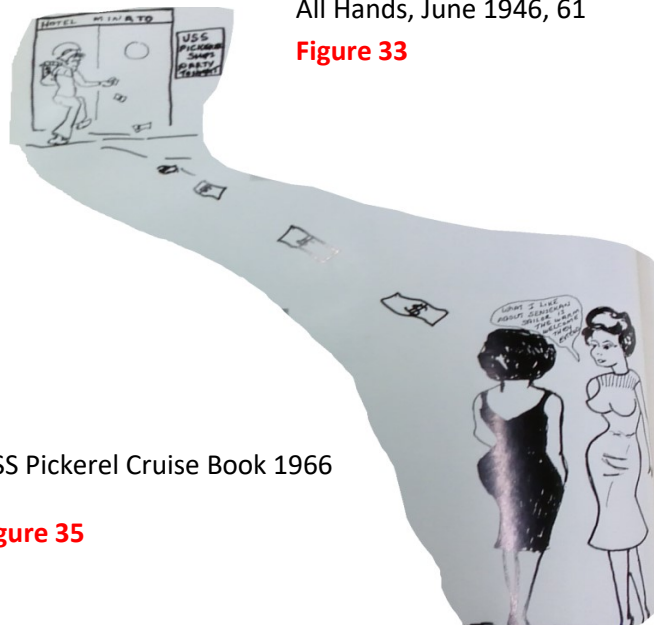
Mainsheet (USNTC, Bainbridge)  
 "And then he said: 'We're in the Navy to fight, ain't we? Okay, let's wrestle!'"

All Hands, June 1946, 61  
**Figure 33**



F. Mercado, SKSN, USN  
 "It's part of our new 'Personnel Morale Booster Program'."

All Hands, December 1958, 49  
**Figure 34**



USS Pickerel Cruise Book 1966

**Figure 35**



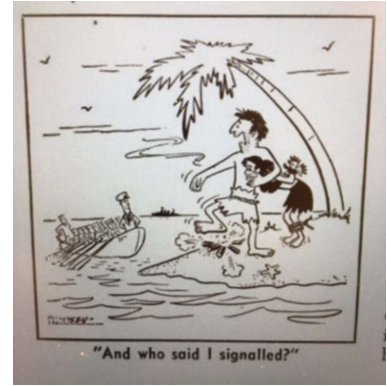
Dolphin, December 22, 1960, 5

**Figure 36**



All Hands, March 1951, 47

**Figure 37**



All Hands April 1951, 44

**Figure 38**



USS Rendova Cruise book 1953

**Figure 39**



All Hands, October 1959, 37

**Figure 40**



Dolphin December 22, 1960, 4

**Figure 41**



All Hands, June 1946, 30 **Figure 42**



All Hands, May 1948, 48

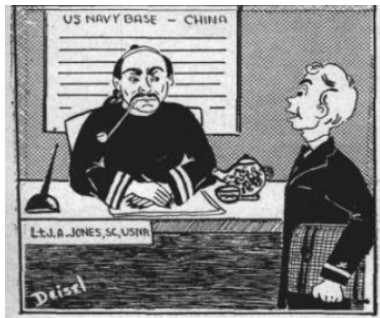
**Figure 43**



"Don't feel bad, Watson, there'll be other islands."

All Hands April 1957, 42

Figure 44



BuSandaA Newsletter  
"Been here long, sir?"

All Hands, October 1947, 54

Figure 45



CHEVRON, SAN DIEGO  
"Tell me, lieutenant, did the natives seem to pick up any of our customs?"

All Hands, September

1949, 42

Figure 46



"USS Becuna Patch," 1944

Figure 47



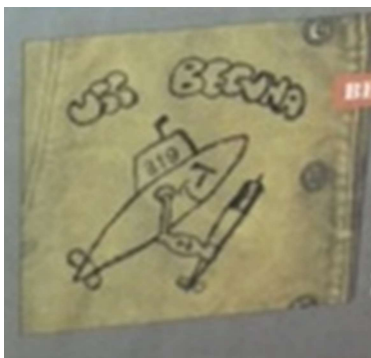
USS Becuna Patch,"

Figure 48



"USS Cod Patch," 1945

Figure 49



Bill Westerfield, "Becuna,"  
ISM 2000.35.21

Figure 50



"USS Bonita Patch,"

Figure 51



"USS Sargo Patch," early  
1960s

Figure 52



All Hands, July 1953, 45  
**Figure 53**



Theo H. Tennant, YNI  
 "I suppose it would be futile to request a change of duty."  
 All Hands, July 1948, 44  
**Figure 54**

All Navy Cartoon Contest  
 David J. Majchrzak, DN, USNR



"Pass the salt, please."  
 All Hands Jan. 1960, 48  
**Figure 55**

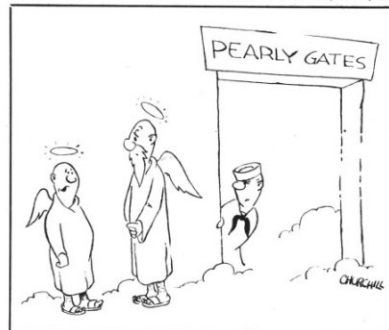


"Must be one of them floating islands we heard about."  
 All Hands, November 1950, 50  
**Figure 56**



"He wants to file a complaint about our last guided missile test."  
 All Hands, April 1957, 29  
**Figure 57**

FIFTH D. S. Churchill, QM2, USN



"Aw, let him in — He'll want a transfer in two weeks, anyway."  
 All Hands, April 1959, 42  
**Figure 58**