NASOH 2021, Pensacola Florida
Abstracts

Bailey, Roger, University of Maryland. "'A Free Republic, Like Our Own' The US Navy and the Founding of Liberia"

The African Colonization movement emerged in the United States in the early 1800s as a loosely-affiliated group of societies that established settlements for free African Americans in what would become Liberia. Colonizationists hoped to extend the influence of American commerce, democracy, and religion into the African interior; expedite emancipation of slaves; and give African Americans a society free from widespread racism. But colonization also promised to rid the nation of free blacks who were seen as a threat to domestic slavery. The movement was popular with leading figures of the federal government who used their influence to organize naval support for the colonies.

Federal sanction for private colonization ventures created an ambiguous situation for naval officers. The colonies and their land were not officially American, yet their residents were almost entirely Americans. The Navy Department's vague and inconsistent instructions meant that naval commanders generally had to determine for themselves what the navy's role should be and balance the colonies' interests against their other obligations to protect American commerce and police the slave trade. Most dramatically, as the colonies clashed with native Africans, officers had to decide when to mediate, when to back the settlers' agendas with military force, and when to refuse to be drawn into local disputes. By examining officers' personal papers, official reports, and publications, this paper will study how officers' individual understandings of slavery, colonization, and American expansion affected their decisions and framed early American imperialism in Liberia.

Beck, Monica, UWF, and William Lees, FPAN. "The 'River God' has again risen…": The River Shipping Network of an Apalachicola Merchant & Cotton Factor.

Waterways were the conduit between the plantation communities in Florida, Georgia, and Alabama and the larger world market. The Flint and Chattahoochee Rivers, originating in Georgia, merged to form the Apalachicola River that flowed to the Gulf Port of Apalachicola. Nineteenth-century Apalachicola merchants are excellent sources for the study of interior landings and blue water connections. William G. Porter & Company was one of the numerous merchants in Apalachicola that operated from the early 1830s until the late 1860s. Emory University Archives now houses over 30 years of surviving business and personal correspondence, financial records. Scholars have documented the general importance of steam navigation for the Antebellum plantation economy of the Apalachicola-Chattahoochee-Flint River system. Using bills of lading and other business records preserved in the William G. Porter & Company collection, we provide a nuanced view of the relationship of in- and outward-bound riverine shipping from the perspective of an individual merchant and cotton consignment agent operating during the 1840s and 1850s. While these papers also document the complex interrelationships of Apalachicola merchants with one another during this period, we focus solely on Porter's river shipping via several steamboats and the resulting footprint of his business network stretching into the interior of Florida, Georgia, and Alabama.

Beeler, John, University of Alabama. "Britain, Spain, the United States, and the Cuban Slave Trade during the American Civil War, 1861-65"

Great Britain's Cuban anti-slavery patrol, established following Spain's outlawing of the slave trade in 1818, was for decades hamstrung by American refusal to allow British warships to search and detain U.S.-flagged vessels. This obstacle was effectually removed by the American Civil War and an 1862 treaty between the two countries permitting the Royal Navy to extend its anti-slaving activities to American ships. Yet a new obstacle arose in the form of Spanish opposition to violation of Cuban territorial waters by both British and U.S. warships. In addition, other factors, including disease and a shortage of suitable vessels, thwarted British efforts to interdict Cuba-bound Slavers. This paper will explore the diplomatic and operational contexts of the British anti-slavery patrol off Cuba during the American Civil War, drawing on the official and private papers of the Royal Navy's Commander-in-Chief on the North America and West India Station, 1860-64, Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Milne.

Bernard, Samantha, ECU. "Life and Times of the Civil War Blockade Runner *Rob Roy*"

The American Civil War spanned four years of bloody fratricide that divided the country. During those years, President Abraham Lincoln declared a blockade on all Southern ports hoping to cut supplies to the Confederacy in an attempt to shorten the conflict. As a result, blockade running became a lucrative career and several captains, with no allegiance to the Union or Confederacy, took advantage of the potential profits. One such captain, William Watson, successfully ran the blockade from 1862 to 1865 with the assistance of the eight-man crew of the centerboard schooner Rob Roy. On 2 March 1865 Rob Roy was intentionally run aground and burned in order to avoid capture in Deadman's Bay, off the coast of Florida. This research seeks to contribute to the overall understanding of blockade running in the Gulf of Mexico during the American Civil War by looking at the political, economic, and social relationships between people interacting with Rob Roy using the theoretical concepts of artifact biography. Artifact biography studies recognize the undeniable relationship between people and objects and the important role an object plays in understanding the cultural past of humans. This thesis utilizes both primary and secondary historical sources to analyze the unique role Rob Roy played in the American Civil War while comparing its success to other blockade runners of the Gulf of Mexico. The archaeological fieldwork conducted for this research provided additional information that contributed to the overall understanding of social interactions in ports along the Gulf Coast. Ultimately, the main question being pursued is, "what contribution does the study of one blockade runner have on the general understanding of the interaction of ports in the Gulf of Mexico during the American Civil War?"

Benchley, Elizabeth, Warren Carruth, Danielle Mount and Jennifer Melcher, UWF. "The Maritime Landscape of Emanuel Point"

Emanuel Point is a high bluff overlooking Pensacola Bay that is bounded on the west by Bayou Texar and on the east by Pensacola Bay. Apparently named for its Second Spanish owner, Manuel Gonzalez, Emanuel Point is a prominent feature on the landscape, particularly when approached from the Bay. The landform was first described in 1559 when the Tristán de Luna expedition elected to settle there after anchoring its fleet of twelve ships in the deep channel just offshore. A month later a hurricane sank six ships in the fleet and disrupted the settlement attempt. The Spanish withdrew the last of their military and colonists two years later. Prior to this Spanish settlement attempt, Emanuel Point had been occupied by a variety of Native American groups while they harvested the coastal resources of the bay and bayou. Following the Luna

settlement attempt, archaeological and historical research has revealed the point was used by 18th century Spaniards, possibly including British smugglers, and later by British and Second Spanish ranchers and farmers. While the juxtaposition of the shipwrecks in the bay and the settlement on the land offer a unique situation to study the cultural landscape of the 16th century, Emanuel Point drew a series of occupations through time. Each of these cultures interacted with the local environment in its own way and was influenced by cultural norms and emerging technologies. All have left their marks on this maritime landscape.

Bolte, Christina, UWF. Transplantation of a New Spanish Colonial Culture and the Maritime Cultural Landscape of the 1559-1561 Tristán de Luna Expedition

The 1559-1561 Tristán de Luna Settlement effort was dispatched from Veracruz, New Spain with 12 ships and an abundance of supplies to sustain the 1,500 colonists, which included 200 Aztec Indians from the Valley of Mexico. Many of Luna's complement were Mexican-born Spaniards, essentially first-generation New Spaniards, who had become accustomed to material goods used by the local indigenous population, or Spanish forms reproduced using local materials. Similarly, the expedition's inclusion of Aztec Indians, who would have presumably carried at least some of their own material culture, were probably the first generation of post-colonial Aztecs, converts to Catholicism and devoted subjects of Spain. Both groups represented a unique population distinctively different than their Pre-conquest and Spanish-born counterparts. This generation of interaction undoubtedly has ramifications for the material signatures left by these settlers and how they interacted with the landscape at the Luna Settlement site. Following the hurricane in September 1559 that destroyed 7 ships in the fleet and the majority of the colony's food stores, the Viceroy of New Spain dispatched 4 relief fleets that carried items and quantities of supplies New Spanish in character. Utilizing documentary sources and archaeological work conducted to date on the Luna Settlement site and Shipwrecks, this presentation will discuss how the Luna Settlement effort is a reflection of the colonial culture of New Spain transplanted on the maritime cultural landscape.

Boren, Courtney, UWF. "Maritime Connections through the Native American Landscape at the Bay of Ochuse"

The history of Pensacola's maritime landscape begins long before the age of exploration. The surrounding bays and river drainages have provided an abundance of natural resources that have sustained Native American populations for thousands of years before the arrival of Europeans. This paper will highlight how maritime resources have shaped the history of Native American sustenance and culture by examining both archaeology and historical documents. Previous archaeological research has illuminated that the people inhabiting the bay systems and river drainages from Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and the Florida panhandle shared many cultural similarities that are fostered by their maritime landscape. Many of these similarities have been found archaeologically, one of the most common is the pottery made and utilized by the people along the northern Gulf Coast. A brief overview of Native American history in the context of maritime resources will lead into current studies of the late Mississippian period, contact, and protohistoric period in the Pensacola area and at the Luna Settlement site. This research will discuss these results and the importance of the natural resources and landscape to local Native Americans such as the Ochuse and Panzacola.

Bratten, John, UWF. "Elemental Mercury Recovered from the 1559 Luna Shipwrecks: Usage and Origin"

The first Emanuel Point Shipwreck was discovered in Pensacola Bay, Florida, in 1992. Archaeological investigation of the ship's hull remains and the analysis of more than 3,500 artifacts confirmed the vessel's identity as one of seven ships lost from Tristán de Luna y Arellano's 1559 Spanish colonization fleet. Emanuel Point II was discovered in 2006 and Emanuel Point III was found in 2016. In addition to metal, stone, ceramic, faunal, and floral finds, elemental mercury was recovered from all three shipwrecks in quantities ranging from a few drops to more than three kilograms. That the Spanish carried mercury on board these colonization ships is almost certainly related to medicinal use as opposed to employment in the mercury amalgamation process. This paper will discuss how and why a "physician" administered mercury to the ailing along with some thoughts on the curative's origin, providing insight into the likely use of mercury on both maritime and terrestrial components of the expedition.

Broadwaer, John. JRS Explorations Inc. "Redefining a Battlefield Landscape: The Significance of Naval Aspects of the Siege of Yorktown, 1781"

The siege of the British position at Yorktown in October 1781 by allied American and French forces could never have succeeded without a major naval action that took place off the Chesapeake Capes and the subsequent entrapment of a fleet of some 70 British warships and transports within the York River. However, a visit to the battlefield does not adequately convey the significance of the naval aspects of the Allied victory at Yorktown, the last major battle of the American Revolution. Archaeological research focused on the remains of the British fleet is revealing new information on the importance of sea power and Britain's ability to transport and support large armies in remote parts of the world. During 1978-89 the Virginia Department of Historic Resources conducted archaeological research in the York River that discovered the remains of two British warships and seven wrecks believed to be British transports. In recent years, JRS Explorations, Inc. has located two additional wrecks believed to be associated with the 1781 British fleet. This research has generated an expanded definition of the battlefield landscape at Yorktown to include a large section of the adjacent York River and, by extension, the geographical setting of Tidewater Virginia.

Brooks, Catherine, Texas A&M. "Breadfruit and Botanical Gardens in the West Indies as a Tool of British Environmental Imperialism in the 18th Century"

As early as 1758, advertisements for botanical prizes ran in the *Transactions* of the London Society of the Arts. Rewards were offered for the successful cultivation of medicinal and profitable commercial plants, and for the establishment of nurseries of exotic crops in the West Indian colonies of the British Empire. A scheme meant to circumvent the problems of time and costs sunk into the voyages of trade ships around the globe, it contributed to the further naturalization of non-native plant species in the Americas. The first botanical gardens in the New World were established on the islands of St. Vincent in 1765 and Jamaica in 1779, to host these profitable exotic plants. It is to these two gardens that the cargo of live breadfruit trees from *H.M.S. Providence* was successfully delivered in 1793, after Captain William Bligh's previous failed attempt to bring the crop from Tahiti to the New World. Meant to feed the enslaved workers of the Caribbean in a time of food scarcity, the plant that had captivated the minds of West Indian planters and British officials alike ended up snubbed, given instead to hogs and cattle. Centuries later, breadfruit is

found and eaten all over the Caribbean, with its Pacific origins – and the British involvement in its transportation across the world – forgotten by many. Now regarded by researchers as a crop to help combat food insecurity in the tropics, the story of the breadfruit, sparked by imperial environmental designs, comes full circle.

Casserley, Tane, NOAA. "America's Forgotten World War II Battlefield"

Beyond Monitor National Marine Sanctuary's (MNMS) current boundaries off North Carolina lie waters associated with nearly 500 years of western maritime history and includes shipwrecks representing coastal heritage, American Civil War, U.S. naval aviation, World War I, and most prominently World War II (WWII). MNMS is proposing a boundary expansion to protect and honor these additional resources. MNMS expansion represents an ideal opportunity to celebrate, study, and preserve a nationally significant collection of shipwrecks and would serve as a uniquely accessible underwater museum and memorial to WWII's Battle of the Atlantic. MNMS's expansion boundaries will contain the most publicly accessible collection of WWII shipwrecks near America's shore and would constitute the largest area designated as a WWII battlefield anywhere in the United States. With the 75th anniversary of the close of WWII this is the time to honor the history and sacrifice of Allied servicemen and the U.S. Merchant Marine.

Cavell, Sam, Southeastern Louisiana University, "Royal Navy Prizes, Vice-Admiralty Courts, and the Limits of State Power in the West India Colonies, 1803-1815"

The High Court of Admiralty, which oversaw the condemnation of prizes seized by the Royal Navy, operated in the form of Vice-Admiralty Courts in Britain's West India colonies. These courts were administered by colonial officials, drawn from the planter class, who generally judged prize cases according to the best interests of their colony. During the Napoleonic Wars, appeasing naval officers with favorable court rulings directly affected the security of the islands which depended upon naval protection. Distance from London allowed much autonomy in judicial matters and enabled the passage of many legally-questionable decisions designed to ensure naval support for planter interests. The result was a corrupt system of Vice-Admiralty Courts that frequently manipulated the laws of the state whose only apparatus for enforcing those laws, the Royal Navy, was a direct beneficiary of their corrupt practices. Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1807 only emphasized the problem. The *de facto* relationship between the plantocracy and Royal Navy officers allowed violations of state law to flourish in the Caribbean frontier. This paper examines the extent of the limitations of state power, in terms of both jurisdictional reach and the Royal Navy as its agent of enforcement in the colonies.

Chiarappa, Michael, Quinnipiac University. "Portraying the Maritime Landscape: Photography and the Shaping of the Delaware Bay's Environmental Identity"

At the turn of the twentieth century, New Jersey's Delaware Bay waters and coastline became a marine environment whose resources were economically liberated by the advent of modern infrastructure and an expansion of commercial networks. These developments brought new focus to the bayshore's longstanding occupations and leisure activities, and, given both the benefits and tensions that accompanied these transformations, a heightened awareness of how these pursuits and their environments defined the region's identity. From the closing years of the nineteenth century until the early 1940s, a series of photographers took stock of, and responded to, these developments on New Jersey's Delaware Bay and its maritime landscape. While a variety of factors motivated these

photographers—nostalgia, regional romanticism, nature education, marketing, and social commentary—all were linked in the role they played in creating a visual archive that shaped the area's identity, and, more importantly, its ecological memory and environmental imagination. The photographic zeal lavished on the Delaware Bay's shad and sturgeon fisheries, and its oyster industry, particularly the emphasis placed on each enterprise's wider environment and cultural landscape, is attributable to each occupation's mythic standing in the American experience—both regionally and nationally.

This presentation will evaluate a series of photographers whose images of the Delaware Bay's signature occupations put their maritime landscapes at the forefront of multiple societal agendas between the 1890s and 1940s. Starting with the work of William J.S. Bradway and Cora Lupton Sheppard, who scrupulously documented the Upper Delaware Delaware Bay's shad and sturgeon fisheries, this presentation will then shift to Harvey Porch's images of the bay's oyster industry. These photographers set the stage for Graham Schofield's images that made viewers reckon with oyster industry's profound cultural and economic standing as its "Age of Sail" came to an end. I will conclude with a discussion of news service photography in the 1930s and with Arthur Rothstein's Farm Security Administration photography and its environmental critique of the Delaware Bay oyster industry's shucking architecture and environments.

Convertito, Cori, Key West Art & Historical Society. "Suppressing Piracy on the Frontier-Commodore David Porter and His Mosquito Fleet"

With Spain and her Latin American colonies at war during the late 1810s, West Indies piracy flared up, setting sights on European and American shipping. While the U.S. government was alarmed by the presence of pirates, suppressing it was a challenging mission. Once Florida became a United States territory in 1821, its Navy was charged with addressing the pirates that harried seaborne commerce. A key member of the fledgling U.S. Navy, Commodore David Porter gained notoriety during the Quasi-War with France, and experienced success during the War of 1812. His ardent and zealous leadership style, coupled with his proficient leadership skills and earlier successes, prompted the Navy to order him in command of its anti-piracy squadron on the edge of its newly acquired territory. Porter, lacking ample regulation or direction, was left to establish fleet strategies. Under his governance, particularly his insistence on fleet size, tactical skills and navigation know-how, the Navy triumphed, purging the region of pirates. However, Porter's achievement was short-lived. His impulsive and unauthorized invasion of Fajardo, Puerto Rico in 1824, and his consequent court-martialing, swiftly altered the course of his naval career. This study will examine Porter and the U.S. Navy's initiatives in the West Indies, paying particular attention to the challenges facing Porter and his Mosquito Squadron operating on the new frontier.

Cook, Greg, UWF. "Updates on the Maritime Archaeology of the 1559 Emanuel Point Shipwrecks: The Submerged Remnants of a Spanish Colonial Maritime Landscape"

Three wreck sites from the 1559 fleet of Tristán de Luna y Arellano have been identified to date. Research on these vessels, as well as excavations on the settlement site overlooking the wrecks, provides a unique opportunity to examine an early European colonization landscape through both maritime and terrestrial lenses. This presentation will provide an overview of the expedition, the research that has been done on the three shipwrecks, and the most recent developments in studying these underwater sites.

Cragg, Jess, UWF Historic Trust. "Florida Squad Goals: The West Indies Squadron and Suppression of Piracy in the Early Republic"

The United States Congress passed *An Act Authorizing an Additional Naval Force for the Suppression of Piracy* on December 20, 1822. According to the act, the resulting naval force came into "immediate service, for the purpose of repressing piracy, and of affording effectual protection to the citizens and commerce of the United States in the Gulf of Mexico, and the seas and territories adjacent." The naval force became known as the West Indies Squadron. The United States, in a bid to remain diplomatically neutral, publicly declared a crusade against Caribbean pirates while at the same time assisting Spain with their privateer problem in order to complete negotiations for the Florida territory. An environment of piracy blossomed in the Western Hemisphere that revealed two groups of pirates operating in the Early Republic: patriot privateers and coastal bandits.

Earle, Blake, Texas A&M. "The Africa Squadron and Antebellum American Foreign Relations"

In 1808 the United States joined Great Britain in declaring the transatlantic slave trade illegal. The horror of the Middle Passage garnered the sympathy of observers from across the Atlantic world, yet American policymakers did little to enforce the ban. During the 1810s, 1820s, and 1830s Great Britain concluded treaties with nearly every Atlantic nation allowing the Royal Navy to stop and search vessels suspected of engaging in the slave trade. The United States resisted inclusion in this international system, citing fears that the British Empire would use it as an excuse to run roughshod over American rights at sea. Throughout the nineteenth century Americans were leery of any attempt by Great Britain to abridge the maritime rights of the United States. The maritime world was a fraught place for Americans—a place where debates about statecraft and nationalism played out in highest relief. As the United States remained aloof of this international system, slavers increasingly flocked to the American flag and the protections it afforded from British meddling. As international pressures mounted and the nation became associated with this repugnant traffic, American policymakers knew they had to take action. That action came in 1842 with the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. In it the United States pledged to maintain a permanent naval squadron on the west coast of Africa to police the trade. This paper examines the circumstances surrounding the creation of the Africa Squadron, concluding that the flotilla was less concerned with actually ending the transatlantic trade in humans and more concerned with serving as a check on British power at sea. The Africa Squadron was conceived, constructed, and commanded to counter British sea power and its threat to American sovereignty.

Eckroth, Carrisa, University of Evansville. "Jurisdiction in Maritime Archaeology"

Who has jurisdiction to underwater sites is a hotly debated topic. Rules and regulations have been created to protect maritime archaeological sites around the world; however, these rules can be complicated and inadequate, forcing exceptions to be made for some sites. This presentation will illustrate the complexity and inadequacy of regulations through a discussion of two very different shipwreck sites: the Titanic, a British vessel that sank 350 nautical miles off the coast of Canada in 1912, and the Esmeralda, a 1502 Portuguese ship from Vasco de Gama's armada that wrecked off the coast of Oman. In the case of the Titanic, new rules were created to preserve the wreck and her artifacts. Since the Titanic sank in international waters, the law of salvage of the law of finds would have been the normal laws applied, but with many countries claiming ownership over the vessel and the wreck, the normal rules needed to be

altered. The Esmeralda shipwreck is an example of how the original laws help preserve certain wrecks. Since two countries were able to claim ownership of the wreck, successful excavation and preservation were collaborative efforts. Both of these case studies show how the rules need to be flexible in order to successfully protect sites.

Falcon, Gregory, Chapman University. "Four Fathoms Below: exploring below-deck Navy sailors during World War II"

The public memory of the U.S. Navy during World War II is permeated with narratives of great men securing victorious battles through exceptional doctrine, framing naval battles in almost mythological terms. Traditional war histories say little sailors who rarely saw combat below active war decks. Of the roughly 2,611 unique, or one time, entries of Navy Cross recipients during WWII, about 1,476 of those entries honored leadership positions. Yet, navy ships were and are comprised of multiple elements of the common man engaged in various interconnected duties. These interactions played out in the same space for multiple months at a time. As such, this paper argues that generals and everyday sailors did not experience war the same. The broader war can be positioned in the context of letters and diaries to illuminate everyday connections to home and wartime strategy. These personal records complicate the slick narrative of service reflected in traditional scholarship and biographies privileging naval heroes. As important glimpses into unique specialized positions in the navy, this study intersects battle narratives with skill usage and acquisition. What was important for everyday sailors amidst their intense workday and future plans while abroad? Societal acknowledgment of sailors is still unbalanced; sailors understood their experience in conversation with, but not dictated by, their ship history and tactical endeavors. Such voices are often obscured by the mythic memory of the Navy, complicating whose story receives recognition.

Feehan, James, UWF. "The Boom of Shipbuilding in Pensacola During World War I and its Effect on Workers' Occupational Safety"

During World War I the demand for ships increased dramatically. This led to a boom in the shipbuilding industry in Pensacola with Shipbuilding companies springing up towards the end of World War I in the Gulf South area. After looking at the legal records of the Pensacola Shipbuilding company and seeing the many lawsuits filed against the company from workers and their spouses, it is clear to see the hazards with working in this industry at this time in Pensacola. These lawsuits were due to serious injuries and death while at work. With the increased demand for ships came a necessity to produce in a time frame, which may have had a detrimental effect on shipyard workers' occupational safety. As well as this, there are many wage disputes in these records which paired with the occupational safety hazards could indicate how the shipbuilding companies valued their workers. This study will make unique contributions into the study of workers' occupational safety in the scope of Pensacola shipyards, predominantly through the use of primary sources from the shipbuilding firms' archival records. The study of workers' safety and workers' rights has not received the same attention in Pensacola as it has in other larger cities in the United States. It is important that this region is studied and investigated because it played an influential part in producing ships. This project would attract interest from different academic disciplines including historians, those who have a focus in labor history, maritime history, economists, and anthropologists.

Fontenoy, Paul, Independent Scholar." Building the first "Great Wall at Sea": Imperial China and mercenary squadrons"

Although Imperial administrators were well aware of modern naval developments, adopting them rarely seemed necessary, since China's ability to cut off Western access to trade generally sufficed to maintain control. The First Opium War (1839-1842) overturned this equation, but almost twenty years elapsed before China took significant action to create a modern fleet. The chaos of the Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864) forced change upon China's military. In addition to indigenous efforts, the Imperial government turned to Western mercenaries, either as coherent military formations or as expert trainers and leaders of largely native forces. The most significant, the Ever-Victorious Army, comprised Western-officered native troops led by Frederick Townsend Ward until his death in action in September 1862. Ward made extensive successful use of extemporized gunboats, leading him to order a small flotilla of purpose-built warships from New York in 1861. Contemporaneously, the British head of the Chinese Imperial Customs Inspectorate, Horatio Nelson Lay, worked to create a flotilla directly under Imperial control. He organized a British built, manned, officered, and commanded squadron that arrived in China in 1863. In the event, neither flotilla played any role in creating a modern Chinese navy. Ward's death and the exigencies of the American Civil War ensured that none of his flotilla left the United States. Conflicts over control of Lay's squadron led Imperial officials to reject and dissolve it dissolved. Instead, advocates of the Self-Strengthening Movement pressed forward with hiring foreign expertise to develop the necessary indigenous industrial infrastructure and training.

Fraga, Sean, University of Southern California. "Whistling in the Dark: Steamboat Pilots and Navigational Labor in Puget Sound, 1870–1920"

This paper examines the environmental labor performed by steamboat pilots in order to navigate Puget Sound and adjacent Pacific Northwest inland waterways between 1870 and 1920. In contrast to scholarship focused on environmental labor in extractive industries, like logging or mining, I use Puget Sound's intricate maritime geography and unpredictable weather to demonstrate that navigation was a type of labor dependent on environmental awareness and interpretation—labor that produced a voyage, instead of a commodity. As pilots negotiated
Puget Sound's complex matrix of islands, peninsulas, inlets, and passages, they watched the shoreline for distinctive features and recorded key details about each voyage (such as prevailing wind, tidal currents, and running time between points) in personal logbooks. When visibility was poor, they used these records of past trips to predict their course, while verifying their position and speed by listening for whistle echos and feeling for physical changes in how the vessel responded. For the traveling public, though, the illustrated route maps published by steamboat companies depicted water transportation as simple and consistent—something for passengers to consume—while simultaneously hiding the labor necessary to produce it. By theorizing navigational labor and historicizing coastal steamboat travel, this paper demonstrates how sensory, intellectual, and technological tools enabled maritime movement in a coastal region.

Galloso, Robin, Texas A&M. "Archaeological History of a South Texas Port"

For over three hundred years, Brazos Santiago, located on Brazos Island, was the main deep-sea port to what is known today as the southernmost region of south Texas and northern Mexico. Although it was first introduced into the historical record by Alonso Álvarez de Piñeda in 1519, it was not formally opened by Mexico for foreign trade until the 1820s. Throughout this period legal and illegal trade were conducted in the port with commodities (of both legalities) ranging from

exported cow hides and tallow to imported food and manufactured goods. Depending on their size, ships either unloaded their cargo at the wharves or by lighters. These materials were then moved by oxcarts or mules to the nearby town of Matamoros. Conversely, any goods leaving the region were gathered in Matamoros and then transported to Brazos Santiago where the items were loaded and shipped to outside markets. Since its European discovery, the region has experienced exploration, colonization, several wars, and economic growth resulting in an extensive maritime history. During the American Civil War, the Rio Grande region was used to funnel cotton out of the Confederacy and into Europe via blockade runners and other ships under various foreign flags including the British. In return, these vessels smuggled much needed military and medical supplies back into the area. The Confederates held the mouth of the Rio Grande and its ports without interference until 1863, when the Union temporarily took over the port with a Rio Grande expedition headed by Nathaniel P. Banks. During Union occupation, Brazos Santiago's infrastructure was improved and expanded upon. New roads, warehouses, and ferries were established. As of 1867, Brazos Santiago benefited from a booming market and even had an operational railroad. However, on October 7, 1867, a hurricane destroyed everything on the island. All buildings were flattened, and the railroad was heavily damaged. Today The Rio Grande Valley (RGV) has an approximate population of 1,357,887 permanent residents. This is a 7.56 percent increase since the last census was taken in 2010. The coastal county of this region (Cameron County) which meets the Gulf of Mexico and is the location of several barrier islands (South Padre Island, Brazos Island, and others) hosts a population of 423,908 individuals (a 4.35 percent increase from 2010) with 183,392 residents situated around the city of Brownsville and its associated port. These numbers do not include seasonal occupants of the RGV. Along with the rapid population growth of this region, there has been an increase in commercialization and industrialization of the coastal environment. Numerous residences both primary and seasonal are under construction along the south Texas coast and oil and gas companies along with Elon Musk's SpaceX program are developing infrastructure in the area. This region boasts over 300 listed archaeological sites on the state's shipwreck database, but there is little archaeological investigation. Most archaeological work is cultural resource management (CRM) federal compliance due to commercial and infrastructure developments. Other archaeological inquiries are periodic or emergency-based check-ins. This presentation will cover the history of the archaeological investigations which have occurred at Brazos Santiago.

Ganas, Kate, UWF. "New Insights on the Identity of the Vessels of the Luna Expedition"

As part of the ongoing historical research on the 1559-1561 Tristán de Luna expedition, this presentation offers new insight into the identities of the sailing vessels that were employed throughout the expedition. Compiling information from several different documents, the paper takes a closer look at the identities of these vessels, including the fleet of ships that sailed to and from Pensacola in the original expedition, most of which wrecked in Pensacola Bay during the September 1559 hurricane that doomed the colony's success. Subsequently, the viceroy of New Spain commissioned several vessels to assist the four relief fleets that ultimately traveled to Pensacola, including at least one *fragata* that was built especially for the voyages. Additionally, two smaller vessels were actually constructed in Pensacola which then sailed to Havana and Veracruz for aid. This research has provided more concrete evidence on the identities of the sunken vessels, including the revised identification of one vessel that actually survived the hurricane, and was not lost as was previously thought. Examining these voyages carefully has led to a better understanding of the expedition, broadening our overall understanding of the Luna Settlement effort, including multiple attempts at resupply over the two years following the hurricane.

Ganguly, Aratrika, University of Calcutta. "Kala Pani and Jahaji Mates: A study in external Indentured Coolie system"

In the Indian sub-continent coolie refers to any labourer who carries 'baggage'. However, in the colonial period it was being used by the British colonizers to refer to any indentured labourer and later it became a racist word as well. The coolie trade originally referred to the importation of Asian contract labourers (especially Chinese and Indians) under force or deception during the 19th century. It emerged during the gradual abolition of slavery in the early 19th century, and coolies were exploited as substitutes for slave labour. Internal migration within India and external migration from India to other colonies were a part of the Indenture system. Not only the British, but the Dutch, French and others followed suit. The whole indenture system operated along the same lines of exploitation. Some people were sent plantations within the country and others to plantations of various South-East Asian countries, to the Caribbean, to various countries of Africa, to the Guineas etc. The voyages they embarked on made them cross the feared kala pani or the black water apparently which caused the loss of caste for people belonging to the Hindu religion. However, while crossing the kala pani, the shipmates became friends with each other and addressed them as jahaji bhai (ship brother) and jahaji behen (ship sister). This paper will explore the relationship the shipmates formed with each other and how these relationships made them form a community that transcended the barriers of caste, language, religion, and gender. This paper will try to analyse the journey of the indentured labourers or the coolies and how it has been represented in selected literary texts and will also incorporate materials from archival sources.

Gazaway, James, UWF. "Maritime and Terrestrial Military Artifacts from the Luna Settlement and Fleet of 1559: Armor from the Emanuel Point I Shipwreck"

The 1995 find of a heavily encrusted breastplate in the stern wreckage and debris field of the EP I wreck provided an opportunity to look at Spanish military equipment from both a marine and a terrestrial point of view. Historical documents indicate that both groups used many of the same pieces of military arms and armor, in similar, but different, applications. X-ray and CT scans of the breastplate (before conservation) were reviewed by a member of the Tower of London Armory who determined that the artifact was a c.1510 Italian peasecod. After conservation and analysis, the identification is now in question. This paper will briefly review the analysis of the breastplate, which suggests a Spanish origin, while also looking at how this opportunity would most likely not have been possible if it had been a terrestrial instead of a maritime find.

Gifford, Dan. University of Louisville. "The Whaling Bark Progress and the Failure of the Whaling's Memorialization in the White City."

The bark *Progress* should have been New Bedford's paean to American whaling—an authentic whaler transformed into a whaling museum for Chicago's 1893 world's fair. Journeying across North America, the whaleship enthralled crowds from Montreal to Racine. The Progress seemed a perfect Columbian Exposition attraction; instead, she became a failed sideshow of marine curiosities and a metaphor for a dying industry out of step with Gilded Age America. Fire and dynamite eventually sent her to the bottom of Lake Michigan. This paper will explore how the physical and psychological connections between a whaling museum and its original home became strained and eventually broken. This paper is particularly important at a conference about maritime connections because the Progress serves as a cautionary tale about becoming disconnected from core maritime communities. It is meant to spark conversations—especially among maritime curators and public historians—about how to honor groups of laborers that

may not be ready for their final eulogy or want a museum to become their mausoleum. In fact, within a few months of the charred remnants of the Progress settling into a muddy Lake Michigan grave, the people of New Bedford gathered and began to plan a whaling museum in their own city, rebuilding a connection to their maritime history and heritage that had been lost nearly a decade earlier on Chicago.

Grubbs, Kevin, University of Southern Mississippi. "Crime on the Margin: The Limits of Imperial Authority in Caribbean Port Cities, 1850-1900"

Commerce, sovereignty, and empire intersected regularly in the port cities of the Caribbean. The growth of the modern nation-state and the demands of industrial capitalism necessitated new approaches to international trade. In the late nineteenth century, imperial governments increasingly occupied themselves in limiting access to the metropole and in regulating their borders. These efforts caused friction between imperial authorities and the seamen who regularly passed through those borders as part of their daily lives. Since they moved between empires, maritime crime frequently drew the attention of other empires, turning minor infractions into imperial conflicts. When dealing with troublesome criminals and contested property, imperial representatives often sought to restrict the authority of their governments. This paper contends that power on the periphery included the ability to disregard problems and project them onto other empires. This simultaneously asserted imperial authority while avoiding difficult problems.

A study of criminality in the maritime community helps reveal the undercurrents of imperial control on the periphery. Rowdy sailors pressed the boundaries of civilized behavior. Recalcitrant captains asserted their personal authority over legal regulations. Acquisitive merchants defrauded the revenue in pursuit of personal profit. All three groups presented direct challenges to imperial authority. However, the demands of international trade forced imperial representatives to balance the demands of their governments with the realities of the maritime community.

Guiterrez, Miguel, Audubon Field Solutions. "Cotton the Middle of an Economic Struggle: Brownsville, Texas and the American Civil War"

One of the primary causes contributing to the eventual downfall of the Confederacy during the American Civil War was the South's relative inefficiency in the transportation of military supplies. The port city of Brownsville, Texas, located at the mouth of the Rio Grande, is a good case study because it highlights the many aspects of this dilemma. Many Brownsville residents did not have a card in play at the outset of hostilities mainly because slavery was uncommon in the area. However, due to the city's geographic location and despite the smaller role and quantity of slaves, the national importance of the cotton trade was not unknown to the region. After the ineffectiveness of the cotton embargo was evident, the Confederate government decided to use the cash crop to buy military supplies and support the war effort. The textile mills of Great Britain needed Southern cotton to stay alive and Confederate armories needed to be filled with weapons and ammunition from foreign ports. Yet, by this time, the Union blockade made export of the crop very difficult. To overcome this obstacle, Southern planters shipped their cotton to Texas cities where they were subsequently transported overland by wagon to Brownsville and ferried across the river into Mexico, a neutral nation, legally immune to Union interference. From there, the cotton could be legally exported to support the war effort. Cotton, however, sold to foreign merchants for twice or even three times the price of cotton sold in the interior. This motivated individual speculators, government agents, brokers, and many others to rush to Brownsville to try their fortunes, rather than the fortunes of the Confederacy, in the cotton trade, creating an atmosphere reminiscent of California in

1849. Regulation of the cotton trade for the benefit of the Confederacy was extremely difficult and, in some desperate cases, even led to impressment of the crop. The city quickly became a focal point for both sides of the conflict and culminated in the capture and burning of Fort Brown in 1863. Subsequent control of the city remained a heated tug-of-war between the North and the South until the Confederacy surrendered in 1865 and the war came to an end. In many ways, this city, along with the city of Matamoros on the opposite banks of the river, was the epicenter from which the reverberations resulting from the difficulties of controlling and administering the cotton trade in the Rio Grande Valley were felt throughout the Confederate States of America. Its role in understanding the downfall of the Confederacy is just as important now as it was 155 years ago, when its role was to prevent such a result

Haley, Heather, Auburn University. "Unsuitable and Incompatible: Ensign Vernon "Copy" Berg, Bisexuality, and the Cold War U.S. Navy"

Three years before Senator Joseph McCarthy's claim that Communists had infiltrated the State Department, a growing number of politicians concerned themselves with the personal lives of federal employees who exhibited signs of "habitual drunkenness, sexual perversion, moral turpitude, [and] financial irresponsibility." 1 These were the parameters by which State Department officials expelled those whom they considered "security risks" despite their loyalty to the country. The ubiquitous political fear of "sexual deviants" threatening national security led the State Department to initiate invasive security checks. Historian David Johnson calculates that between 1947 and 1949, ninety employees found themselves unemployed due to allegations of homosexuality. 2 The association of the euphemism "security risk" with homosexuality in the Cold War era, Johnson further explains, "involved behaviors or associations that might lead one inadvertently or unwillingly to betray secrets in the future." 3 The idea of homosexuals as security risks susceptible to blackmail continued to be the most prevalent justification for the removal of homosexuals from federal employment throughout the Cold War. Ensign Vernon "Copy" Berg's situation, however, is inconsistent with this longstanding definition. Following a five-month-long investigation into his personal life history and homosexual propensity, which culminated in a personal interrogation by NIS agents, Berg received a higher security clearance that he maintained for the remainder of his tenure aboard USS Little Rock. His expanded access to sensitive material after his admission of bisexual behavior defies the Cold War notion that gay, lesbian, and bisexual servicemembers were inherently criminal and, therefore, susceptible to foreign coercion and espionage.

Hardy, Penelope, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse. "From Swab to Scientific Instrument: A Case Study in Naval/Naturalist Cooperation"

In the late 1860s, British naturalists leveraged connections with the Royal Society of London, Britain's premier scientific body, to convince the Royal Navy to provide surveys ship for weekslong scientific cruises in the North Atlantic. While the stable platform—and readily-available labor pool—of a large ship allowed access to the deep sea, an area previously inaccessible to science, naturalists still had to learn to access it and to interpret what they found. Their early efforts returned mixed results, leaving the naturalists ready to conclude that some areas of the bottom supported little life, which meshed well with then-current scientific understanding of the deep. The ship's captain, however, suggested a simple but vital change to their rig, which when implemented provided a bounty of sea life for the naturalists' study and radically reconfigured their understanding of ocean fauna. While the relationship between scientists who study the sea and the sailors who get them there has sometimes been contentious, this case study demonstrates not just of cooperation but active and innovative collaboration between naturalists and crew. This

relationship would be crucial to the further development of ocean science, beginning with the same sponsors' support for a multi-year expedition of global scope aboard HMS Challenger a few years later. The captain's contribution also changed scientific understanding of the sea bottom at a key moment in the development of marine biology, suggesting a need for historians of science to pay more attention to the ship's crews who have generally been treated as invisible technicians.

Hermann, Brandon, UWF. "Scale Weights and Their Identity Onboard Sixteenth-Century Shipwrecks"

Over the last thirty years, there has been much done to study the archaeological and nautical history of sixteenth-century shipwrecks in Pensacola Bay. However, this study focused not on ship construction in the sixteenth century, but instead on how surviving artifacts from the crew and passengers' personal possessions on the ships of the 1559-1561 Tristán de Luna y Arellano expedition assisted in developing a comprehensive analysis of their material culture. A multi-faceted field focused on one select artifact group for this specific study, scale weights. Scale weights offer a brief glimpse into the personal possession's analysis of "pursers" on the Emanuel Point shipwrecks. Hence, to better illustrate the sixteenth century, the research expanded to incorporate the Padre Island (1554) shipwrecks of Texas (*Santa María de Yciar*, *Espíritu Santo*, and *San Esteban*) and the *Santa Clara* (1564), formerly known as the St. Johns Bahamas wreck. Overall, this established a 10-year research baseline between 1554 and 1564 in which to study scale weights and their usage onboard sixteenth-century vessels.

Horrell, Christopher. TBA

Hubbard, Jennifer, Ryerson University. "Red Tide! Canadian Atlantic Marine Science and the Global Issue of Paralytic Shellfish Poisoning"

The scientific investigation of paralytic poisoning began after people in the San Francisco area ate mussels that had been harvested along the coastline between the Monterey Peninsula and Fort Bragg. A major outbreak in 1927 affected 102 people and killed six. By 1937, a medical professor at UC San Francisco, D. Hermann Sommer, assisted by Karl F. Meyer, director of the National Canners Association's canning research laboratory in San Francisco, identified a planktonic dinoflagellate, *Gonyaulax catenella*, as the cause of this and other outbreaks. After their groundbreaking publication, neither continued in this research: they lacked the institutional support or connections to go further. Across the continent, however, Canadian scientists on the Bay of Fundy were also researching local outbreaks of paralytic shellfish poisoning. This paper will argue that the institutional support provided by the St. Andrews Biological Station enabled Drs. Carl Medcof and Alfreda Needler to construct a world-leading research program that would link paralytic shellfish poisoning for the first time to the global environmental phenomenon of so-called red tides and a range of dinoflagellate and other planktonic species. I will argue that Medcof and Needler were able to build on Sommer and Meyer's breakthrough due to a growing body of local research into Bay of Fundy marine ecology, plankton studies and the like, but were also assisted by traditional Mi'kmaq lore that proscribed eating Bay of Fundy shellfish for certain seasons. While the ocean may be global, this case-study shows the importance of local science and research institutions.

Hughes, Dwight, Independent Scholar. "An Ironclad Connection: The Heritage of the USS *Monitor*"

In its Civil War engagement with the CSS Virginia on March 9, 1862, the ironclad USS Monitor epitomized ongoing military, industrial, and cultural revolutions. She was "in fact unlike anything that ever floated on Neptune's bosom," wrote a Vermont reporter. Monitor transformed warship design and construction, becoming an icon of America's surging industrial ingenuity and strength. But many feared she would not float. Captain John L. Worden: "Here was an unknown, untried vessel…an iron coffin-like ship of which the gloomiest predictions were made." Monitor's cramped, artificial, and subsurface space—foreshadowing future submarines—was a radical departure from traditional men-of-war, and not a little frightening. Nathaniel Hawthorne observed that the strange craft "could not be called a vessel at all; it was a machine…a gigantic rat-trap." Monitor redefined the relationship between men and machines in war, challenging ancient concepts of honor and valor. Behind all that iron, "There isn't danger enough to give us any glory," one officer assured his wife. In post-Civil War America, Monitor inspired innumerable popular representations and advertisements for everything from whiskey to giant harvesters. Her memory thrives today as the centerpiece of a premier program in maritime archeology, recovery, and preservation with a popular museum of her own. This paper explores the USS Monitor's ironclad connections to the nation's military, technological, and cultural heritage. Based on the new book: Unlike Anything that Ever Floated: The Monitor and Virginia and the Battle of Hampton Roads, March 8-9, 1862 (Savas Beatie, March 2021).

Jarvis, Charlotte, Texas A&M. "Superstitious Seadogs and Logical Landlubbers: The Scientific Revolution at Sea"

In 1817, the most famous sea monster to grace the New England shores visited Gloucester Bay. Hundreds saw it, both on shore and on the water, and reports quickly circulated through newspapers. Even literary great Nathaniel Hawthorne commented on the Gloucester Serpent. The Linnaean Society of New England launched a formal scientific investigation to gather data about the rare creature. While sea serpents figure widely as exciting, fantastical beasts in maritime folklore, its importance is greater than a mere anecdote. At a deeper level, the creature provoked fierce debate over who possessed authority over the natural world—university-trained scientists, newspapers, or seafaring people who had long been keen observers of the ocean's wonders.

The Gloucester Sea Monster debate pitted seamen and naturalists against each other amid the backdrop of the Scientific Revolution, as scientific knowledge clashed with popular folkloric beliefs and observations of the mysterious. This paper examines a common scenario in early modern society—the elite looking down upon a group they considered lesser than themselves—played out on a new stage: the Atlantic Ocean. The difference between these two belief systems came from how each learned and passed down knowledge across generations. The Gloucester Monster debate set these contrasting bodies of knowledge into stark relief as Americans struggled to make sense of the event and who could speak with authority on the matter.

Jensen, John. UWF. "Opportunities Afloat: Sailing Women on the Great Lakes and the History of Domestic Labor in the United States, 1870 to 1910"

This paper is a continuation of the research project "Cooks and Catastrophe: Gender and Death under Sail on Great Lakes" introduced at the 2018 NASOH Conference. Drawing on published reports of shipwrecks,

we argued that the employment of women as cooks on Great Lakes merchant sailing vessels, while virtually unknown elsewhere in the Anglo-American Atlantic world, became commonplace in the years after 1860 and persisted beyond the first decade of the 20th Century. We documented distinctive geographic, cultural, and technological patterns of women's employment and raised questions about how scholars have interpreted contemporary narratives about these sailing women. Domestic service was the dominant paid labor sector for working women until after 1940. Despite its importance, according to historian Vanessa May, domestic service "stands on the margins of the ways that historians have traditionally talked about women and work" and "at the nexus of problems that American historians have puzzled over for decades." [1] May's statements applies equally well to the widespread employment of women as cooks on Great Lakes merchant vessels.

Women's employment in domestic service, whether on Great Lakes merchant vessels or in middle-class households, occurred within spatial and social contexts that obscured public scrutiny and lay outside of the traditional domains of terrestrial and maritime labor history. This paper describes the gendered overlapping of the domestic and maritime spheres labor and their common origins in the profound economic, demographic, and cultural transformations that occurred in the United States during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era. Drawing on recent scholarship by historians of domestic service, contemporary labor studies published in the 1890s and 1900s, and data culled from regional newspapers and genealogical sources, this paper addresses the following question. “How do the lives of women who sailed as cooks on the Great Lakes merchant vessels inform the history of female domestic service in the United States?

Johnson, Kenneth, Air University. “The Far Side of the World: French Naval Operations in the Indian Ocean, 1804-1810”

Although the Indian Ocean was never the primary focus of French naval operations in the Anglo-French War of 1804-1814, Napoleon Bonaparte was constantly enticed with the idea of projecting power in the Indian Ocean as a way to occupy the British navy and disrupt British trade. From Admiral Charles-Alexandre Léon Durand Linois’ expedition in 1803-4 to the frigate squadrons from 1807 to 1810, French naval forces did manage to harass the British with mixed results. At the far side of the world, the Indian Ocean theater presented several significant challenges. Long lines of communication back to France that encompassed delays of several months in communication and vulnerable to interception forced Napoleon to relinquish much of his operational control to his subordinate commander, particular General Charles Mathieu Isidore Decaen, the Capitaine-Generale of Ile de France. Furthermore, the maintenance of a naval presence in the Indian Ocean put an extensive strain on Ile de France’s minimal resources which hampered the effectiveness of later French naval operations.

Jolly, Hillary, UWF. “Prehistoric Transitional Communities and the Reuse of Coastal Landscapes on Pensacola Bay”

While the Luna Settlement site and its associated shipwrecks have garnered much attention from both researchers and the public alike, this coastal landform was home to many indigenous communities that predate the Luna settlement. Decades of intermittent archaeological surveys conducted on the site have recorded several different prehistoric components. One summer’s excavations, conducted by a section of UWF’s 2017 archaeological field school, revealed a large shell midden with a small, central cooking pit beneath. This shell midden yielded ceramics typical of the Late Woodland period alongside those typical of

the Early Mississippian period. This ceramic assemblage suggested that the site was in use during a transitional time period in which Late Woodland ceramic traditions were still being utilized, but newer technologies (such as shell-tempering) were gradually being adopted by coastal communities in Pensacola. Radiocarbon assays returned dates that were respectively earlier and later than anticipated, suggesting that the shell midden was intermittently reused throughout centuries of occupation by communities along this coastal landform. This paper will explore the possible chronology of the development of this shell midden, how it came to be reused hundreds of years after its initial deposition, and how coastal indigenous communities came to create innumerous sites like this one across the region.

Jordan, Michael, Independent Scholar. "Raising the CSS Georgia the First Time: Solving A 19 th Century Shipwreck Salvage Mystery"

When archaeologists under contract to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers began recovering the wreckage of the Confederate ironclad warship CSS Georgia from the bottom of the Savannah River in 2015, they were surprised to find convincing evidence that the wreck had already been salvaged in the past, with artifacts inexplicably returned to their watery resting place. Filmmaker and historian Michael Jordan, who was commissioned by the Corps of Engineers to produce the official educational documentary on the recovery of the Georgia, set out to discover who first salvaged the vessel and why these individuals tossed back many of their hard-earned prizes. The search for answers took Mr. Jordan on an archival treasure hunt of his own, uncovering new primary sources and links to a century and a half of manmade changes which have permanently altered the maritime landscape and riverine environment of this historic seaside city. The result is a tale of cutthroat competition, dueling government agencies, sabotage at sea, malarial fevers, and broken dreams that winds its way from the Savannah to the halls of power in postwar Washington, D.C., with reverberations still felt today. Mr. Jordan's work is featured as a stand-alone section within the forthcoming report, CSS Georgia Archaeological Data Recovery and Mitigation for the Savannah Harbor Expansion Project (SHEP), Chatham County, Georgia and Jasper County, South Carolina. Submitted to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Savannah District by Panamerican Consultants, Inc., Memphis, Tennessee.

Keiner, Christine, Rochester Institute of Technology. "Humboldt and the Unbuilt Central American Canal"

I seek to contribute to both the panel topic of "Science and the Sea" and to the broader conference theme of "Maritime Connections: History, Heritage and the Maritime Landscape" by focusing on a well-known figure in the history of science, Alexander von Humboldt, in a less familiar context—that of failure, frustration, and disconnection. Humboldt was the first modern proponent of an Atlantic-Pacific ship channel, which he discussed in his bestselling Political Essay (1811), Personal Narrative (1826), and Views of Nature (1849). Although he changed his mind about the optimal route and form (i.e., with or without locks), until his death in 1859 Humboldt promoted "a communication between two seas, capable of producing a revolution in the commercial world." However, despite his ability to mobilize networks of knowledge, resources, and disciples for other pet projects, Humboldt failed for forty years to convince statesmen and naturalists to survey the canal routes he identified. His canal advocacy provides a useful challenge to the ideas of geographical and historical determinism that still permeate popular writings on

the Panama Canal. Moreover, his support for such a monumentally-transformative project complicates the historiographical debate on his legacy as an agent of imperialism versus a prophet of the Anthropocene. Examining Humboldt's canal advocacy gives us a better sense of the environmental challenges and imperial blind spots underlying the longstanding plans for an isthmian canal, and demonstrates the crucial role of knowledge networks vis-à-vis megaproject feasibility.

Klein, Marti, MiraCosta College. "Master Blockhead Goes to Sea: A Glimpse into the Experiences of Midshipman Federick Marryat"

Frederick Marryat was a distinguished Royal Navy officer and war hero, and a highly-respected author of naval fiction about young men who went to sea "with their white gloves on." Subsequent authors of sea literature recalled reading his books with great interest, and that his books contributed to their decisions to ship before the mast. Very few formal biographies of Marryat exist. The first was written twenty-four years after his death. To understand an author's work, one must first understand the author. In this case, Marryat's own work must speak for him.

In 1819, Marryat created a series of watercolor sketches based on his own experiences as a young midshipman. In collaboration with renowned British caricaturist George Cruikshank, *The Progress of a Midshipman, exemplified in the career of Master Blockhead* was initially published in 1820 as a series of plates following the adventures (and misadventures) of a midshipman. *Master Blockhead* is humorous and gentle for the most part, albeit mildly satirical, and provides a glimpse into the life of Marryat and his midshipmates.

This paper introduces students of maritime literature to Marryat, and students of Marryat to *Master Blockhead*. It examines how the book portrays the emotions of a young man entering the Royal Navy in the first decade of the nineteenth century, speaks to the accuracy of Marryat's naval literature and provides additional insight into Marryat's perceptions of his own naval career, including how it was influenced by what he called his nation's thirst for blood in battle.

Kohnen, David, U.S. Naval War College. "'A Vague Feeling of Contempt for the Past'-- Naval Professional Education, Historical Ignorance, and the Future of the U.S. Navy"

History was merely hobby for many naval professionals at the turn of the last century, as it seemed to lack practical purpose. Challenging this notion in an era of industrialization and revolutionary social change, Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan worried about the, "vague feeling of contempt for the past, supposed to be obsolete, combines with natural indolence to blind men even to those permanent strategic lessons which lie close to the surface of naval history." In the century since the death of Mahan, contemporary naval thinkers have consistently failed to seek perspective in the phosphorescent wake of history, always looking beyond the horizon in the uncharted waters of the future. Frequently charging into the hazy nexus between peace and war, contemporary military practitioners are also hindered by the progressive demise of the academic discipline of history in civilian universities. As a result, the U.S. Navy must take a more aggressive role in examining the fundamental problem of historical ignorance in order to avoid the future pitfalls inherent with fighting to secure intangible strategic ends. This paper will retrace the paths leading to the lost treasure of Naval Professional Education. Unlike armies and air forces, the sea services

do not require wars to be strategically relevant. Thus, it will be argued that the quasi-word so popular among contemporary practitioners, "warfighter," should never be spoken by serious naval thinkers.

Maggard, Alicia, Auburn University. "Steaming Coal: Energy History, Maritime History, and the Politics of Fuel"

Ocean-going steamships were among the first industrial sites to depend on coal, but getting steamships to run on coal was a difficult proposition in the mid-nineteenth century. Doing so required not just innovations in marine steam technology and the growth of terrestrial extractive industries but also operational imperatives, political investments, and fleets of sailing vessels. Drawing on naval and corporate records, this paper explores the decision-making and the work that went into building coaling infrastructures for the first generation of U.S. steamships. It argues that, especially in the early years, the use of coal was more the result of political choices than operational necessity. Those choices made maritime industries critical to the early proliferation of fossil fuels.

Marolda, Edward, Independent Researcher. "Tempest in the Navy Department: Theodore Roosevelt as Assistant Secretary of the Navy"

Theodore Roosevelt served as Assistant Secretary of the Navy for little over a year, from April 19, 1897 to May 10, 1898 but during that time he significantly strengthened the Navy for the coming war with Spain and served as one of President William McKinley's key military and foreign policy advisers. In this talk, supported by an illustrated PowerPoint presentation, I would focus on Roosevelt's cultural and educational preparation for the job; interaction with the Naval War College and naval strategist Alfred Thayer Mahan; his sometimes-troubled relationship with his boss, Navy secretary John D. Long; readiness and deployment of Admiral George Dewey's Asiatic Fleet; the impact of TR's concern for the poor health of his wife and son; his reaction to the USS Maine disaster; the development of plans to deploy the fleet to Key West and to blockade Cuba; interaction with the U.S. Army leaders; and resignation to join the Army in Cuba to fight with the "Rough Riders." The presentation is supported by my research and writing for a chapter in John Hattendorf and William Leeman's forthcoming Forging the Trident: Theodore Roosevelt and the United States Navy.

Mateja, Cyndal, UWF. "Soldiers, Sailors, and Civilians: Charting Patterns of Communal Cooking Across the Luna Settlement"

The 1559-1561 Tristian de Luna y Arellano settlement in Pensacola, Florida provides a unique opportunity to examine the assemblages of lead glazed coarse earthenwares in both maritime and terrestrial contexts. While pottery from nuclear households would display a normal range of use that can be identified in the archaeological record, most of the sherds from the Luna collection show a greater degree of surface alterations. The pottery from the settlement show many indications of use, while pottery from the shipwrecks show minimal surface alterations due to the pristine condition of trade goods. These alterations are most apparent on the cooking vessels that were assigned to companies of soldiers and shared communally. The diverse nature of these environmental landscapes manifest in the archaeological record and provide patterns which can be analyzed through the presence and absence of surface alterations. By focusing on the surface alterations that are present on these sherds and comparing them to sherds that are

found in other archaeological and cultural environments, a more complete picture of use and wear can be revealed.

McCahey, Daniella, Texas Tech University. "Ocean Empire: The Case of South Georgia"

In most of these accounts on the relationship between the ocean and the British Empire, the sea is seen as a bridge connecting Britain to its colonies. In other words, the ocean is important because it makes it possible for Britain to make and maintain territorial claims over land. But this overlooks the ways that the sea itself effectively serves as British territory in and of itself. In fact, the British Empire claimed uninhabited islands around the world, in part for strategic purposes, but also to establish sovereignty in their surrounding waters. For example, the Discovery Investigations (1918-1951), based on the sub-Antarctic island of South Georgia, were a series of marine science investigations meant to better maintain the Southern Ocean whale population. In addition to funding this program, the Colonial Office granted licenses to ships from around the world to fish these waters. In the 1950s, when their sovereignty over the Falkland Islands Dependencies was being contested by Argentina and Chile, Britain used its history of funding marine science and whaling regulations to argue by maintaining this fishery, they behaved as a state should, and therefore deserved sovereignty. This paper will explore the history of the whaling industry in South Georgia, arguing that its regulation and ultimately its place in South Atlantic geopolitics call for a reconsideration of imperialism that includes the sea not just a means to acquire land, but as territory to be claimed, managed, and controlled

Meenu, Rabecca, University of Sanskrit. "Reimagining Indian Ocean: Crossings in the Ocean-a Trans-temporal Approach"

"As long as the sun and moon last" is a befitting turn of phrase, indeed a catchphrase that is demagogic and romanticizing in nature, adopted, adapted and appropriated by the VOC (Dutch East India Company) from Asia to allure the indigenous population through the medium of treaties for a stint of more than fifty years in the 17th century. Of late, there was a surge in the reuse of this attention-grabbing phrase. The very recent usage popped up in the official dialogue of the Netherland prince amid his state visit to India. Notwithstanding the cultural hegemony of Europe over Asia, a trans-temporal analysis and decolonial approach put the fact forward that the phrase is seldom seen in Old Testament in Hebrew (psalm), Sumerian, Akkadian and Asyrian court blessings, Ajanta caves in India in Prakrit language (3rd century), Chola, Chera, Chalukya, Kakathya inscriptions of ancient and early medieval times in Sanskrit language, Seventeenth century treaties between Dutch and indigenous rulers in India (Coromandel and Malabar) and South East Asia (Palembang in Indonesia and Johor in Malaysia) rendered in various languages; Malayalam, Tamil, Southeast Asian languages and certainly in the Dutch language.

The journey, crossings and sojourn of this particular phrase from time to time, language to language, culture to culture, region to region and ocean to ocean transcending space and time connecting civilizations, empires and cultures across the ocean bring in the argument that the ocean is required to be perceived as a world space transcending borders and annulling the notion of nation state and nationalism that are generally schismatic and disruptive. Indubitably, the ocean is a global comparative frame for exploring history. Given the argument that the ocean is a world space and the world is primarily 'connected', paying a heed to the 'family resemblance' in the trans-oceanic space, the paper reimagines

the model of the Indian Ocean and the popular idea of 'Indian' ocean is rebuked and further replaced as a world space. Since a fish can travel from South East Asia to India, China, Europe, Arab, African countries and the Mediterranean like phrases and traders, and religion and culture, the paper argues that the framework of the 'Indian' ocean is a misrepresentation and construction to imagine it as a more prominent security zone of India.

Mercagliano, Sal, Campbell University. "American Naval Expeditionary Forces – Learning on the Fly"

The dispatch of a substantial force of the U.S. Navy, under the command of William S. Sims does not usually receive the designation of expeditionary, but it surely deserves it. Sims was initially tasked on a fact-finding mission, but he was immediately overcome by events and assumed command of, "United States Naval Forces Operating in European Waters." But more accurately, he oversaw American Naval Expeditionary Forces, from the initial 28 destroyers sent to Queenstown, to the eventual 81,000 sailors and 373 ships dispatched across the Atlantic. Sims, along with his subordinates and supporting commanders, utilized new technologies and weapons, along with implementing and formulating new tactics and strategies to battle the German naval threat. Collectively, they demonstrated a unique ability to amalgamate with the Royal Navy, while Pershing and the army opposed any such integration. In the first few months of American naval combat operations, Sims's Boys – those commanders on the 28 destroyers –along with units under Admirals Niblack and Wilson, and Gleaves' troop transports all proved willing to experiment and adapt to meet the threat posed by the Germans. The expeditionary nature of the United States Navy in the First World War set the model for the sea service and influenced the conduct of the senior commanders in the Second World War.Many of the senior commanders in the Second World War could look back on their experiences and utilize the lessons formulated by Admiral Sims and the naval expeditionary services utilized by the Navy in the Great War.

Miller Wolf, Katherine, Christina Bolte and John Worth, UWF. "A Hypothetical Bioarchaeological Reconstruction of the Fate of the 1559-1561 Luna Settlement People"

Archaeological investigations conducted on the Luna Settlement site and shipwrecks have yet to yield associated human remains. However, the extant documentary record suggests that continued investigation of the settlement site in the future may reveal a significant number of human skeletal remains from burial contexts. The Luna expedition was dispatched from New Spain and arrived in Pensacola with 13 ships and an abundance of supplies to sustain the 1,500 colonists. The expedition's participants included Spanish men-at-arms, sailors, women, and children, as well as, servants, slaves, and 200 Aztec Indians. After being in Pensacola for just over a month, a hurricane struck the fledgling settlement on September 19-20, 1559, destroying seven ships in Luna's fleet and the majority of the colony's food stores. Luna reports a great loss of life following the hurricane, and the documentary record reflects two years of hunger and deprivations at the bayside settlement before it was abandoned in August 1561. The Luna colonization effort presents a unique mid-16th century case and the possible demographic sample would be unlike any other in the Southeastern U.S. Additionally, the expedition's New Spanish origins, coupled with extreme food shortage and native hostilities, may reveal distinctive life-histories of poor health, disease, pathological, and traumatic injuries that would be unique to the Luna Settlement. Utilizing the documentary record and comparative analysis of bioarchaeological investigations at similar sites, this paper seeks to present a hypothetical and preliminary reconstruction of life at the Luna Settlement should we recover burials with human skeletal remains.

Moretz, Joseph, Independent Researcher. "The Other Side of Naval Education: The Attendance of Army and Air Force Officers at the Royal Naval Staff College, 1919-1939"

In the aftermath the First World War, the British Admiralty sought to capture the salient lessons of the conflict in its regime of executive officer education in a period now of uncertain peace. The World War had highlighted deficiencies in materiel, tactics and doctrine, but perhaps no shortcoming was so pronounced as that in the area of strategy. Fundamentally, this pointed to a weakness in Britain's higher direction of war, but a close second remained the distance in procedures and principles that separated the services, now three in number in their approach to war. As a maritime power, Britain's war-making had always been joint, and, in the years before 1914, tentative steps had been taken to develop a common doctrine to support power projection operations. Yet whether the locale had been Gallipoli, East Africa, Salonica, or Mesopotamia, first evidence demonstrated much remained to be learned. One immediate response saw the sending of officers to each of the services' higher-level courses in professional military education. Owing to the constraint of time, this paper will examine those army and air force officers who attended the Royal Naval Staff College. It will examine the background and experience of those studying at Greenwich during the interwar period and offer conclusions on the challenges faced and the relative success secured by the British Army and Royal Air Force by the test presented in a new global war.

Mumford, Megan and Janet Lloyd, UWF. "Comparison of Luna Settlement and Shipwrecks Material Culture"

The 1559 Spanish colonization attempt, led by Tristán de Luna y Arellano, created a maritime cultural landscape that provides archaeologists and historians with a truly unique opportunity to study the lives and behaviors of those who sailed to and settled North America's first multi-year European colony. On-going research and excavations of the Luna land settlement site and three of the shipwrecks from the ill-fated fleet have provided an abundance of artifactual data that continues to refine our taxonomic classification of 16th- century cultural material. Analysis of these data comparing the relative proportions of separate functional categories and the presence/absence of the different material types found across the interconnected landscape continues to provide a more holistic picture of past human lifeways for the 1559-1561 coastal community.

Nash, Alexandria, UWF. "Policing Prostitution: How Legislation Changed the Red-Light District of a Port City"

Abstract: TBA

Nelson, Derek Lee, Independent Researcher. "Is the Port of New York In Danger?": Shipworms and the Professionalization of Marine Woodborer Research and Prevention, 1920-1950"

In March of 1922, a gathering of worried biologists, chemists, and railroad engineers convened in New York to discuss a pressing question: "Is the Port of New York In Danger?" An invasion seemed imminent. Not by a belligerent nation, but from a dangerous shipworm known as *Teredo navalis*. In the years just before the meeting, *Teredo navalis*—a wood-boring bivalve mollusk— made waves nationally after it

invaded San Francisco Bay and destroyed wharves and piers to the tune of twenty-five million dollars. Now it had been spotted off the coast of New Jersey, and appeared to be moving northward towards New York, where it threatened to do even more damage to wooden harbor structures. To fend off the introduction, the attendees at the New York meeting banded together and christened the New York Marine Borer Committee to stimulate woodborer research and timber preservation technologies. This study explores how coastal science and technology adapted to woodborers at the turn-ofthe-century. It examines how fears over a *Teredo navalis* invasion of New York Harbor during the 1920s stimulated advances in woodborer research and timber technology that brought about the end of the woodborer epidemic. Much of this was coordinated at the national level. Initially, the National Research Council took the lead and encouraged the formation of regional marine borer committees to study everything from shipworm taxonomy, physiology, to timber treatment technologies. An emergent class of professional shipworm researchers debated methodologies, met at conferences, and compared data from a nationwide test board program. Increasingly, the navy invested in woodborer research and technology in the name of military preparedness, and by WWII these efforts started to pay off. The professionalization of woodborer research demystified these once enigmatic organisms and helped bring an end to a decades-long crisis.

Oerters, Rikki, UWF. "Maritime Culture, Bathymetry, and the Emanuel Point Shipwrecks in Pensacola Bay"

Tristán de Luna y Arellano sailed his fleet of 11 ships into present-day Pensacola Bay in August of 1559. Just five weeks later, seven ships were lost to a tragic hurricane, leaving the colonization attempt in peril until 1561 when the settlement was abandoned by the Spanish. Since their return in 1698, nearly 150 years later, people have developed an evolving relationship with Pensacola Bay and its connecting waterways. The bay naturally influenced the lives of those inhabiting its surrounding lands. Likewise, people have impacted the bay and its contents, including the 1559 Luna shipwrecks, three of which have been discovered. This paper presents an historical examination of the maritime cultural processes present in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the Pensacola Bay area, with a focus on those which have the potential to affect the bathymetry of the region surrounding the Emanuel Point shipwrecks to further understand these archaeological sites.

Paine, Lincoln, University of Maine, School of Law. "Historicizing Maritime Law"

Customary and written law governing our use of the sea and its resources are ancient and ubiquitous. Law had been central to the development of maritime trade, warfare, migration, and resource exploitation for millennia. While many have studied particular laws per se, there have been few attempts to assess the role of law on the general course of maritime history at either a global or national level.

The legal regime governing activities at sea is traditionally divided between maritime law concerning nautical issues and private maritime disputes adjudicated by admiralty courts, and the law of the sea, treating the use of the sea in international contexts. This paper considers the convergence and divergence of the large body of property, environmental, commercial, labor, and other laws that have had both direct and indirect impacts on maritime enterprise.

Taking the idea of legal identity in the maritime world as its starting point, this paper will consider geographic space, ships, people, and marine life and the environment through a legal lens. While identity in the law takes many forms—most obviously in the guise of legal personality—and has been subject to

endless interrogation, it is especially useful in studying the evolution of maritime law, especially at an historical moment when apparently historical norms like the doctrine of the free sea are under subject to increased challenge.

Peebler, Tony, TCU. "Captains, Missionaries, and Merchants: The Influence of U.S. Naval Officers on the American Community in Hawaii: 1826-1843"

The arrival of American protestant missionaries on Oahu in 1820 established a permanent U.S. presence in the Hawaiian island chain. This American presence ultimately needed protection by the U.S. Navy by the 1840s, but not from the indigenous population. Finding a community very receptive to Christianity, the missionaries quickly befriended the ruling elites in the Kingdom of Hawaii and gathered large followings which allowed them to influence the government. American whalers and merchants also had great success in the area and the ruling Hawaiians were at least somewhat willing to conduct business with them. The threat to the American community in Hawaii instead came from within and from European powers. Early U.S. Naval visits often had to settle infighting between the missionary and mercantile communities as each vied for influence over the Hawaiian government. Disputes with French missionaries in 1839 and British business interests in 1843 would demonstrate that U.S. Naval intervention was needed to save Hawaii from foreign annexation.

This paper will argue that U.S. Naval captains acted as diplomats to successfully deescalate a number of dangerous situations for the American community in Hawaii and that the U.S. Navy was ultimately necessary for the survival of the American presence in the islands. Journals and correspondence during the 1820s-40s demonstrate that the Americans in Hawaii came to rely on the U.S. Navy to protect them from foreign powers and rival American groups.

Plummer, Jane, TCU. "Gateways to the Gulf: How the Waterways Mapped the Gulf South"

This paper addresses an understudied and essential period in North American history under the Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe administrations (1801-1825). As Americans grew more confident in their government and developed an independent national identity, American expansionism became more prominent. While the United States was an established power in North America, it had yet to take over all the land from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean at the beginning of Jefferson's administration. Due to the colonial nature of North America, the French, Spanish, Indigenous, and British influences remained potent in the Gulf South region. 1 Due to financial and political factors, none of the previously named presidents were willing to wage war in order to conquer the Gulf South; however, they were willing to support American's efforts to occupy a foreign territory in an effort to eventually annex it into the United States. My presentation will chronicle American expansionists' efforts to settle and develop foreign territory, their efforts to revolt against the European governments, and join the United States. This study will emphasize the waterways, exploring topics such as how American frontiersmen utilized different water ways for settlement, transportation, and commercial endeavors. Furthermore, I will analyze the role of prominent waterways including the Mississippi, St. Mark, Apalachicola, and Pearl Rivers.

Rozwadowski, Helen, University of Connecticut. "Oceans in Three Paradoxes"

The maritime historian Benjamin Labaree published an influential essay in 1975 arguing that the Atlantic ocean had, paradoxically, acted simultaneously as bridge and moat for North American colonists, and later

citizens of the early United States. These overlapping functions of the sea – as at times bridge *and* moat and at other times bridge *or* moat – have since provided a touchstone for maritime history. This paper extends Labaree's insight to propose a taxonomy of three paradoxes for guiding our understanding of the ocean through the lens of the environmental humanities. In addition to the binary of bridge-moat are two more pairings: repository-mirror and destination-home. Together these characterizations of ocean space seem to represent the broad spectrum of interactions and interconnections between people and the marine environment. The ocean's functions as bridge, moat, repository, mirror, destination, and home effectively cover a wide time span and broad geography. This proposed framework of Oceans in Three Paradoxes offers several improvements to Labaree's time-tested idea. First, these categories call attention to the vastly three-dimensional environment that the ocean is, rather than the flat surface implied by bridge or moat. Second, they allude to the multiple functions the oceans fulfill for both people and for other species as well. Hopefully this framework can serve maritime history, and other humanistic efforts to understand the oceans historically, into the future.

Schaffer, Benjamin, University of New Hampshire. "The Sloop *Mary*: The Story of How One 17th-century Massachusetts Naval Vessel Navigated the Golden Age of Piracy, the Glorious Revolution, the Salem Witchcraft Trials, and Imperial War"

Within the context of a conference that seeks papers on topics that "relate to larger connections concerning landscapes, heritage and the preservation of cultural resources," I can think of no better example than a microhistorical study of Massachusetts's provincial sloop Mary. After Sir Edmund Andros commissioned the Mary as a local defense vessel in the late 1680s, its numerous captains and crew were tasked with patrolling the coast alongside Royal Navy guard-ships. Within months, the small sloop's officers and crew would play an oversized role in regional and international controversies including the Glorious Revolution, the Salem Witchcraft trials (particularly when the vessel's Captain John Alden was accused of sorcery), the Golden Age of Piracy, and King William's War. While the last decades of the seventeenth century were among the most dramatic in the British colonial experience, the presence of a small provincial ship in so many larger conflicts is interesting for two reasons. First, the presence of provincial navies in the development of colonial military defenses has too often been ignored by historians. Secondly, the fact that one small vessel and its crew were present for seemingly disparate events allows us to reexamine social, political, racial, and religious dramas in early America through a compact maritime 'porthole.' ' I believe reexamining these issues through a maritime lens will add depth to a vital era in the development of the English Atlantic world.

Sadler, Cassandra, UWF. "Spain's Golden Tupperware: A Historical Analysis of Iberian Pez Production and Atlantic Trade in the Sixteenth Century"

Sixteenth-century Spanish imperialism and maritime trade required the successful transportation of people, supplies, and products over vast distances. The trans-Atlantic shipment of liquid goods necessary to facilitate the physical and economic expansion of the Spanish empire was made possible by the methodical application of impermeable sealants to the porous interior of storage containers in the form of arboreal pitch. Identified in historic Spanish documents as "pez," this ancient Greek and Roman technology successfully prevented the seepage and spoilage of liquid contents, providing efficient and durable methods of transporting food and liquid products onboard ships. Spanish continuation of the early Mediterranean tradition on the Iberian Peninsula demonstrates not only the effectiveness and

necessity of pez as a technology, but also the importance of liquid transportation within the empire's maritime trade and colonization practices.

Although the physical and economic expansions of imperial Spain have been well documented by historians, the roles of pez as both an agricultural product and foodways transportation technology remain largely under-researched. This paper will explore the relationship between Spain's developing national forestry management system and the production of pez at both local and commercial scale in an effort to examine the technology's cultural and economic roles within the context of Spain's trans-Atlantic imperial activities at the time of Tristán de Luna y Arellano's attempted colonization of *La Florida.* Additionally, this study will contribute to the broader historical analysis of Spanish seafaring activities, trade distribution networks, and natural resource acquisition within the Spanish Atlantic world.

Schotte, Margaret, York University. "The Persistence of Traditional Mathematics in Early Modern Navigation"

Accounts of the development of navigation frequently differentiate between coastal navigation and open water navigation. The former is presented as "traditional" knowledge, learned through apprenticeship, whereas the latter required mathematics, precision, and book-learning. This dichotomy turns out to be overstated. This paper will demonstrate how European mariners engaging in coastal navigation have always incorporated mathematics into their daily practice, and how these techniques were in turn replicated for centuries. In order to compute high tides or take depth soundings, navigators have always needed to be comfortably numerate.

This talk will review the mathematics of calendrical calculations as well as estimating speed, highlighting their long-term use. By taking a *longue durée* perspective, we can uncover changes in how these methods were taught: in order to transmit what apprentices had once learned at sea, 17th-century navigation instructors began codifying these lessons in nautical textbooks and teaching them in schools. Far from a history that links mathematization and modernity, this is in fact a case of premodern numeracy flourishing through the centuries.

Sheehan, Maeve, Columbia University. "Collecting Life Histories On The Shores of The Chesapeake Bay: A Case Study of How One Maritime Museum Started an Audio Archive of Interviews with Locals, (done by locals)"

The oral history workshop hosted by the Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum, to be held in Spring 2021, can be used as a case study to better understand 1) how to conduct life history and work history interviews with a specific subset of people; those who are associated with the maritime industry. 2) how to teach local residents to view their communities through a fresh lens as they participate in this experience. 3) how these interviews complement and contextual the existing holdings/ collections in the Chesapeake Maritime Museum. The Upper Shore of Eastern Maryland has a varied maritime culture, with oystering, commercial fishing industry and wooden boatbuilding industries as well as marine tourism in the form of recreational boating and boat shows. St. Michael's, MD, where the museum is housed, is located within the Washington, D.C. metro area.

The Chesapeake Bay Maritime Museum plans to enlist the aid of community members who are affiliated with local organizations to gather oral histories. These recordings will be held by the museum. The workshop and the resulting interviews will provide one possible answer to the question, What can a maritime oral history collection sound like? This workshop will cover theory and practice of oral history, to include some of the ethical issues involved with interviewing and recording willing participants— who are also called narrators. The workshop will situate oral histories within the context of academia, journalism, documentary filmmaking and multimedia and experimental genres. This presentation will address the different ways in which narrators approach their experiences with the maritime industries and their connections to local maritime history. This talk will also provide a "lessons learned" component, with conclusions about how best to teach students the value of listening and observation/ co-collaborating on the interview, building on official local histories and recording audio virtually. Additionally, the lessons learned will include a list of topics of inquiry used by the interviewers. Oral histories' place as a source within greater history will be contextualized, using specific examples where these interviews add to local records that are already available.

Sledge, John, City of Mobile. "The Gulf of Mexico: A Maritime History"

As the author of the recently published *The Gulf of Mexico: A Maritime History* (2019, University of South Carolina Press), I would like to present a brief overview (PowerPoint) of the book. The volume is a readable survey of the Gulf, from the ancient Indians with their dugout canoes to the roughnecks, sailors, shrimpers, bar pilots, and tourists who work and enjoy its waters today. The Gulf is the tenth largest body of water on Earth. Almost completely surrounded by the shorelines of the United States, Mexico, and Cuba, its human history stretches back thousands of years and includes a fascinating diversity of people. Many famous figures and ships have plied its deep blue waters—Francis Drake aboard the *Judith,* Laurens de Graaf on the *Fortune,* Raphael Semmes and the fearsome *Alabama*, and Charles Dwight Sigsbee at the helm of the doomed *Maine.* Eager to respond to new maritime challenges, innovative Gulf coast residents have developed vessels and technologies, including Biloxi's graceful "White Winged Queens," and shipping containers. Ashore, people representing a gumbo of ethnicities built some of the world's most exotic cities—La Habana, New Orleans, and Mexico's oldest city, Veracruz. In the modern era, the Gulf has become critical to fisheries and energy production. Incredibly, there has been no overarching, accessible narrative of this sprawling and colorful subject. Consequently, the Gulf's rich history and vast modern importance have gone underappreciated by the American public. This book attempts to correct the imbalance.

Smith, Jason, Southern Connecticut State University. "Navigation Acts: Seamanship, Nature, and American Nationalism in the Antarctic"

In December 1839, four ships of the United States Exploring Expedition departed Sydney, New South Wales destined for the Antarctic. They returned more than two months later triumphant, having coasted and charted some fifteen hundred miles of a newly-determined continent. This article argues that the expedition's voyage was a nationalistic performance of navigation, seamanship, and discovery in mysterious, little-known seas designed by its promoters and executed by the men and officers of the

expedition to claim the Antarctic as an American contribution to geographical and scientific knowledge, but also as a natural stage on which the Americans could amplify their own ambitions along a Pacific frontier being transformed by Euro-American voyaging. Throughout, the article emphasizes the encounter between the Americans and the natural world as a defining feature in the stories the Americans told about themselves, particularly relative to rival European expeditions, and in terms that extolled their own navigational prowess and, indeed, struggles in a harsh marine environment as the currency with which national claims to the Antarctic could be articulated. At stake are the ways in which these Americans conceptualized nationalism in watery, ice-choked environments that otherwise flouted such designs as the United States sought to extend a degree of control and mastery over the ocean.

Stack, Margaret, University of Connecticut. "A Tale of Two Legal Systems: The Civil and Naval Trials of Alexander Slidell Mackenzie in the Court of Public Opinion"

The execution of three suspected mutineers aboard USS *Somers* at the end of 1842, including the son of Secretary of War John Canfield Spencer, led to a Court of Inquiry and Court Martial as well as a circus of public commentary. While both the courts and the press largely exonerated Commander Alexander Slidell Mackenzie's conduct, the aggrieved families of Philip Spencer and Samuel Cromwell, two of the alleged mutineers, looked outside of the Navy's courts for justice, and repeatedly tried to have Commander Mackenzie and Lieutenant Gansevoort tried for murder in the civil courts. They were ultimately unsuccessful.

This paper discusses both the legal justification for the dismissal of Cromwell and Spencer's cases and the public discussion of the failed civil case. Dismissal resulted from a conflict of jurisdiction: Mackenzie and Gansevoort had acted in their capacity as officers, aboard a naval vessel, and that the Navy's justice system was the only one that could justly try them. The American press tended to accept this argument. Public discussions of the dismissal connected this legal boundary to a more porous and contested one between maritime and terrestrial life: whether what was permissible at sea was different than what was permissible ashore. By examining both public acceptance and rejection of the legal and cultural boundaries between civil and naval, and the sea and the shore, this paper will explore the limits of American willingness to reconcile the different worlds, or to enforce legal and cultural differences between them.

Steele, Chuck, U.S. Air Force Academy. "Ethos: Education's Adversary"

In creating and maintaining a profession of arms, there is often a fine line between indoctrination and education. Specifically, armed forces habitually accentuate their great deeds for the sake of developing ethos, and this spirit is often as much a product of mythology as it is a thoughtful understanding of the past. There is no greater example of this phenomenon, and the dangers it poses to the efficient conduct of war than that provided by Britain's Royal Navy in World War I. From the days of Admiral Anson to the present, Britain has set the standard for behavior in the naval profession of arms. Yet, the weight of history as a component of a particular ethos was almost too much for the Royal Navy to bear as it struggled to maintain command of the seas in the Great War. This paper/presentation addresses the role of naval ethos in the conduct of the Great War at sea, and in coloring our current understanding of the war in both Britain and the United States. In particular, the struggles to understand and in some cases protect the reputations of key figures in

the Royal Navy, as well as the staking of claims to varying degrees of competence, remains central not only to our understanding of the Great War but also to developing an understanding of how the British and American navies would act as the 20th century progressed.

Sundberg, Adam, Creighton University. "Unexpected Agency in the Age of Sail: Shipworms in Maritime Ecology"

This paper explores the role of shipworms in transforming the maritime ecology of ships during the early modern period. Ships were, and are, unique hybrid ecosystems populated by communities of organisms that participated in complex and historically contingent relationships. People manufactured these ecosystems and expended considerable effort to control them, yet non-human species often resisted these efforts, significantly influencing human affairs. Between the fifteen and the nineteenth centuries, shipworms – a family of woodboring mollusks – played an important role in the changing ecology of the ship. They forced seafarers to alter their maritime ambitions and shipwrights to adapt ship design and maintenance. Mariners recognized the permeability of wooden ships and worked for centuries to harden that boundary. The development of iron and steel hulls in the nineteenth century eventually evicted shipworms from these maritime ecologies, yet opened new opportunities for other organisms in the process. This paper demonstrates that social and technical changes in ships and shipping were ecological changes as well, driven in part by non-human species.

Thiesen, William, USCG. Revenue Cutter *Bear*: The Coast Guard's Symbol of "all the service represents—for steadfastness, for courage, and for constant readiness to help men and vessels in distress"

The cutter Bear is arguably the best-known cutter in the Coast Guard's history and one of the most important vessels in American maritime history. As a historian of the Revenue Cutter Service wrote sixty years ago: "The Bear is more than just a famous ship; she is a symbol for all the service represents—for steadfastness, for courage, and for constant readiness to help men and vessels in distress." In essence, the story of the Bear reflects the service's core values and represents the Coast Guard in a similar manner to the navy's USS Constitution. The legacy of the Bear lives on in the legends and lore of places where she made history, such as the Arctic, Greenland, Bering Sea, Antarctica, Alaskan and Siberian coasts and the Pacific Ocean. And remnants of the Bear may be found in locations around the country, such as a mast and crew gravesites at Dutch Harbor, Alaska; Captain "Hell Roarin'" Mike Healy's grave in San Francisco; research collections at Fairbanks, Alaska; digitized logbooks on the internet; muster rolls at the U.S. National Archives; her bell at New York's Explorers Club; her figurehead at The Mariners' Museum; and now a new NOAA-based interactive web site on the internet.

This paper will tell the story of Cutter Bear, likely the most famous and representative of the Coast Guard's missions and history. This historic cutter, on which legends were made, remains preserved in the depths of the element she sailed and steamed for nearly ninety years. While gazing at the Bear tied up at a dock in San Francisco, an old Arctic sailor once remarked, "Too bad she can't talk. She'd tell some yarns. There's one in every timber she's got. If you put 'em all together, landlubbers'd call it a fairy tale."

Thomin, Michael, FPAN, and Jess Cragg, UWF Historic Trust. "Sail Bags and Black Flags: Identifying Material Culture of 19th Century Pirates"

From the 1780s to the 1830s, a brutal wave of maritime crime erupted in the Caribbean and along the Gulf Coast. Both privateers and coastal bandits took advantage of a fluctuating political climate, spawning an intense period of piratical acts that are relatively understudied. These men were vastly different than the Golden Age buccaneers who conducted large-scale fleet operations. The pirates from the turn of the 19th century are adept sailors who prefer guerilla warfare, frequently stemming from a terrestrial base of operations. Difficult to locate by contemporaries even at the time of their raiding, archaeologically these groups are enigmas - one of the best hopes at identifying associated sites is through the corroborating documentary evidence. This paper examines two case studies to identify material culture of pirates in the documentary record, and creates a preliminary process of researching, locating, and identifying these men of marque.

Toth, Michael, TCU. "Whalers and Whale Ships: A Culture of Violence"

On 26 January 1824, Samuel B. Comstock, a 22-year-old boatsteerer onboard the whaleship *Globe* instigated a mutiny that killed Captain Thomas Worth and three other ship's officers, and took control of the ship. Not long after, one of the mutineers William Humphries would be hanged on accusations of plans to steal the ship. Comstock in turn would die nineteen days later, killed by members of the crew who were concerned about what they perceived as his plans to destroy the ship, and kill the rest of the crew. While mutinies were distinctly uncommon onboard whaling ships, violence was not. Rather it was weaved into the nature of the culture.

Whaling was an inherently dangerous and violent profession that sought to track down, kill, and render the largest mammals on the face of the earth into oil. In the process of achieving this goal whalers frequently risked injury and death at the tail and jaw of enraged whales, the fickle whims of nature itself, the harsh discipline of ships officers who became tyrants at sea, and the hands of fellow crewmembers. The floating factories of death that were the whaling ships served to inculcate whaling men into a culture of violence and death, and provided numerous forms of kindling for eruptions of violence among the crew. Understanding the culture of violence which existed around whalers and whaling ships is a key component to understanding the story of whaling itself.

Wilhelm, Chris, College of Coastal Georgia. "Marine Preservation and the Expansion of Pelican Island National Wildlife Refuge"

Abstract: TBA

Wolters, Timothy, Iowa State University. "Compasses, Charts, Sandglasses, and Written Aids: Medieval Mariners and Their Navigational Instruments"

Historians have long considered the mechanical clock and the magnetic compass as two of the most important innovations of the Middle Ages. Not until the eighteenth century did the mechanical clock heavily influence the practice of marine navigation, a story popularized by science journalist Dava Sobel

in her book *Longitude*. The compass, on the other hand, was one of the earliest instruments employed by mariners as an aid to navigation. Authors like Amir Aczel have made grandiose claims that the compass "changed the world," but in reality this device only became an effective tool for navigating from point A to point B when combined with other key navigational innovations. Although historians of technology and maritime historians have long been cognizant of the relationships between the compass and other navigational instruments, most studies have examined these instruments in isolation rather than as parts of an evolving socio-technical system of marine navigation.

This paper will explore the historical debates surrounding the relationship between the magnetic compass and the complex of navigational innovations that helped drive the expansion of European commerce in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. Along with the magnetic compass, these innovations included portolan charts, sailing directions (*portolanos*), sandglasses, and navigational tables. It argues that the precise order in which European sailors adopted these instruments cannot explicitly be determined, in part because they almost certainly came into common use at different times in different places, but that it is nevertheless possible to put forward a general timeline. Furthermore, this paper argues that the most transformative of the new navigational innovations was not the compass but rather the portolan chart, which was the first navigational instrument that required mariners to see the world from an alternative spatial perspective. For the medieval mariner, the cognitive act of shifting from what one could see from the deck of a moving ship to an abstract, bird's-eye perspective was at the heart of the transition from pre-modern to modern navigational practice.

Worth, John, UWF. "Two Years at a Doomed Spanish Colonial Port: The Maritime Cultural Landscape of the Luna Settlement"

In August of 1559, some 1,500 soldiers and settlers transported in a fleet of 12 ships from Veracruz, Mexico made landfall on the shore of Pensacola Bay and began unloading people, equipment, and supplies for the construction of a new colonial port settlement. This settlement was intended to serve as the launching point for a terrestrial expedition into the interior. Fully realized, the Luna Settlement would have served as a transit point between shipping lanes in the Gulf of Mexico and a road leading overland to a second new port on the Atlantic Ocean. A massive hurricane in September doomed these plans, however, destroying most of the fleet with food reserves still on board, leaving survivors in danger of starvation. Over the next two years, inhabitants of the Luna Settlement struggled to survive just inshore from the wreckage of their fleet, while maintaining the port as a crucial connection to the outside world. Relief fleets from Veracruz arrived at 3 to 7 month intervals, even as most of the population moved 40 leagues inland to central Alabama for 5 months in an attempt to find food among Native agricultural populations. Faced with increasing Native hostility, however, the colonists returned to Pensacola Bay where they subsisted on both aquatic and terrestrial resources over the next year until the settlement was abandoned in 1561. This paper constructs a portrait of life at the maritime cultural landscape of the Luna Settlement based in part on four years of archaeological investigations at the site.

Zimmerman, David, University of Victoria. "For the want of a single gun the west coast will be lost!": The Defence of Canada's Pacific Waters in the Early Cold War"

From 1946 until 1957, despite the growing threat of the Soviet Pacific Fleet, the Canada's Pacific coast was left completely undefended. Faced with a policy decision that committed all Pacific-based Royal Canadian Navy warships in times of war to proceed to the Atlantic in support of NATO, the Flag Officers

Pacific Coast struggled to find a way to defend British Columbia's coastal waters and live up to defence agreements with the United States for continental security. The navy tried to enlist the assistance of the Canadian army to provide guns at key choke points, but the army refused to be drawn back into its traditional role of coastal defence. Other harebrained defensive schemes, included laying a massive minefield across the Strait of Juan de Fuca, provided equally impractical. The failure of Canada to live up to its continental commitments on the West Coast, was noticed by senior American military officers in the region. The Americans pressured the Canadian government and navy to increase the forces to be maintained in the Pacific in times of war. By 1957, strategic, tactical, logistical, and political factors finally forced the Canadian government to allow the RCN to deploy an effective anti-submarine warfare force and to develop a realistic security plan for the region. This paper will explore this turbulent time in the history of the RCN in the Pacific.

Roundtable: "Teaching Naval History: The Class of 1957 Professors at USNA"
Moderator: Armstrong, BJ, U.S. Naval Academy

Winkler, David, U.S. Naval Academy Class of '57 Chair
Smith, Gene, Texas Christian University
Trimble, William, Auburn University
Folse, Mark, U.S. Naval Academy Class of '57 Fellow
Mobley, Scott, University of Wisconsin-Madison

In 2006, the U.S. Naval Academy Class of 1957 endowed a new program with the History Department in Annapolis. That summer, Dr. Williamson Murray arrived in Sampson Hall as the first Class of '57 Distinguished Chair in Naval Heritage. He served for one year as a visiting professor, bringing his wealth of knowledge and experience both to the Midshipmen and his colleagues in the department. Since that beginning, a dozen senior historians have served in the Chair, and the Class of '57 introduced funding for a Post-Doctoral Research Fellow in Naval Heritage to bring exciting young scholars from the field of naval and maritime history into the classrooms in Annapolis. Over the years, the Class of '57 professors have introduced a range of pedagogical techniques and expertise to how the history department teaches Midshipmen about the maritime and naval past. The student body at USNA has both similarities, and differences from the civilian institutions where most of these scholars have spent their teaching careers. This roundtable brings together alumni of the program, both Chairs and Post-Doc Fellows, to reflect on the methods and techniques of teaching naval history, and to share what they have learned from their experience teaching both Plebes in the introductory American Naval History course and the various electives they have offered for upperclassman.

Roundtable: "Publishing in maritime and naval history."
Smith, Jason, Southern Connecticut State University
Smith, Gene, TCU

Holloway, Anna, NPS
Paine, Lincoln, University of Maine, School of Law

This roundtable will focus on publishing in maritime and naval history both from the author's and editor's perspective with the aim of demystifying the process for first time authors, junior scholars, and graduate students. It will begin with some opening remarks by the members of the roundtable organized around their experiences as authors and editors, providing tips for prospective authors and knowledge that they wish they'd known with hindsight. This will be followed by questions from the moderator about the nuts and bolts of the process from conceptualization to publication, handling editorial and peer reviewers' comments, and preparing the manuscript in a way that stands the greatest chance of acceptance. Emphasis will be on publishing within maritime and naval history, but also thoughts on how we reach broader audiences outside our subfield and how that might both be valuable professionally, but also for these fields as a whole. The roundtable will then open to questions and discussion from the Audience.